# The Rucksack War

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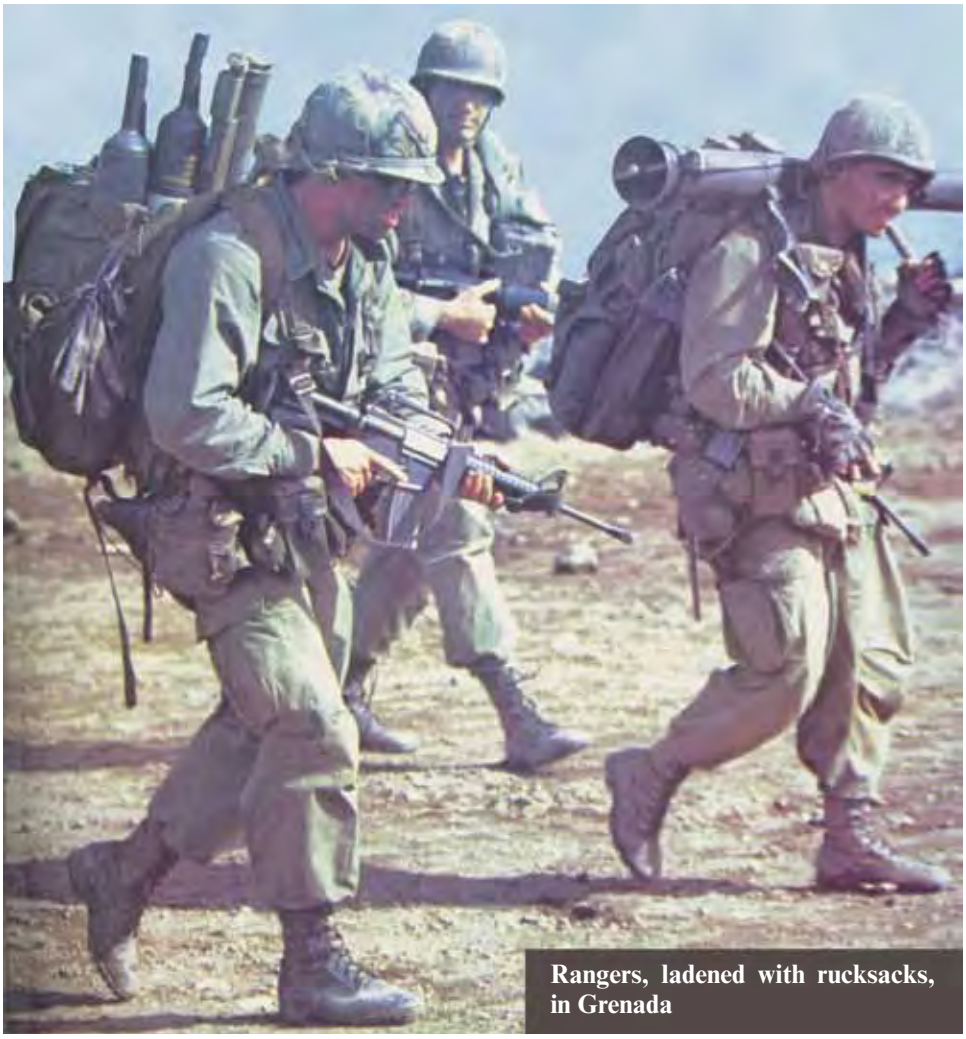
## U.S. Army Operational Logistics in Grenada, 1983



Edgar F. Raines Jr.

# The Rucksack War

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**Rangers, ladened with rucksacks, in Grenada**

Contingency Operations Series

# The Rucksack War

## U.S. Army Operational Logistics in Grenada, 1983

*by*

*Edgar F. Raines Jr.*




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# Foreword

Edgar F. Raines Jr.'s *The Rucksack War: U.S. Army Operational Logistics in Grenada, 1983*, the second volume in the U.S. Army Center of Military History's Contingency Operations Series, provides an account of how Army logistics affected ground operations during the Grenada intervention and, in turn, how combat influenced logistical performance. Noteworthy is the emphasis on the role of individuals and the decisions they made based on the necessarily incomplete and sometimes misleading information available at the time during an unexpected and short-notice contingency operation. The narrative ranges from the meetings of the National Security Council, where the president grappled with the question of whether to send in troops, to the jungle environs of Grenada, where a sergeant in combat coped successfully with a Cuban ambush even though he and his men were handicapped by a lack of hand grenades. The considerations that influenced these decisions and others like them are discussed at all three levels of war—strategic, operational, and tactical.

Most important, Dr. Raines tells the story of the Army's operations and its logistical effort in Grenada from the joint perspective. He covers not only planning and decisionmaking by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, U.S. Atlantic Command, and Joint Special Operations Command but also coordination and communications, or lack thereof, between the service contingents in the area of operations. The result is a fascinating account of a complex event that provides insight into the myriad issues the Army encountered and will continue to face in future contingency operations. Dr. Raines puts forth his conclusions on this brief but important campaign not as authoritative pronouncements but as a springboard for further professional reflection and discussion. Without question, for Army leaders, commanders, and especially logisticians, they offer instructive parallels and trenchant observations pertinent in today's complicated world.

Washington, D.C.
17 August 2010

RICHARD W. STEWART
Chief Historian

# The Author

Edgar F. Raines Jr. was born in Murphysboro, Illinois, in 1944. He obtained his B.A. and M.A. degrees in history in 1966 and 1968 from Southern Illinois University–Carbondale, where his thesis adviser was Professor John Y. Simon, editor of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*. Beginning in 1969, he attended the University of Wisconsin–Madison, where he studied with Professor Edward M. Coffman, one of the pioneers of the new military history, and in 1976 received his Ph.D. in history. After working three years as the assistant academic dean at Silver Lake College in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, and fourteen months as a historian at the Office of Air Force History, Dr. Raines joined the U.S. Army Center of Military History in November 1980. He coauthored (with Maj. David R. Campbell) *The Army and the Joint Chiefs of Staff: Evolution of Army Ideas on the Command, Control, and Coordination of the U.S. Armed Forces, 1942–1985* (1986) and authored *Eyes of Artillery: The Origins of Modern U.S. Army Aviation in World War II* (2000).

Dr. Raines has written not only numerous unpublished special studies but also several articles in military and social history. In 1985 his "The Ku Klux Klan in Illinois, 1867–1875" won the Harry E. Pratt Award for the best article in Illinois History, and in 2003 his "Disaster Off Casablanca: Air Observation Posts in Operation Torch and the Role of Failure in Institutional Innovation" won the Army Historical Foundation Award for the best academic article on the history of the U.S. Army. In addition, he completed several assignments with the Army Secretariat and Staff, including the Army Operations Center, October–December 1983, during Operation Urgent Fury; the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans' Ad Hoc Committee on Department of Defense Reform, November 1985, during the debate over the Goldwater-Nichols legislation; the Directorate of Roles and Missions, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, 1994–1995, during the debate over post–Cold War service roles and missions; and the Secretary of the Army's Realignment Task Force, 2001–2002, during an attempt to adapt the Army's infrastructure to the postmodern digital age. A member of several professional organizations, he is a past president of the Military Classics Seminar of Washington, D.C.

# Preface

The relationship between the supply of the armed forces and their ability to conduct active operations has long been an issue of concern to writers dealing with military topics. Perhaps the greatest Western commentator, Carl von Clausewitz, however, gave the subject only passing notice in his masterwork *On War:*

> Of the items wholly unconnected with engagements, serving only to maintain the forces, supply is the one which most directly affects the fighting. It takes place almost every day and affects every individual. Thus it thoroughly permeates the strategic aspects of all military action. The reason why we mention the strategic aspect is that in the course of a given engagement supply will rarely tend to cause an alteration of plans—though such a change remains perfectly possible. Interaction therefore will be most frequent between strategy and matters of supply, and nothing is more common than to find considerations of supply affecting the strategic lines of a campaign and a war. Still, no matter how frequent and decisive these considerations may be, the business of supplying the troops remains an activity essentially separate from their use; its influence shows in its results alone.[1]

Clausewitz was, of course, profoundly influenced by both the military and technological environment of his day and by the relatively constricted geography of Prussia in the early nineteenth century. He had served in an army in which a march of 100 miles (161 kilometers) represented a major strategic movement in a state that maintained both excellent roads and amply stocked magazines to supply those forces whether on the march or in camp. The military technology of the era—flintlock muskets with a low rate of fire––helped ensure that ammunition resupply was not a major concern on the battlefields of the period. Given this backdrop, it is easy to understand why he essentially dismissed logistics and turned to other matters.

His contemporaries and near-contemporaries in the United States Army would have found his attitude difficult to understand even then. Unlike Clausewitz, they had to contend with defending a nation that after 1848 stretched some 3,000 miles (4,828 kilometers) East to West and 1,500 miles (2,414 kilometers) North to South. Much of the land was still wilderness. Few first-class highways or supply depots existed, even in the long-settled East.

Consequently, to deal with the related problems of supply and administration, the Army established highly specialized bureaus within the War Department in Washington, D.C. While each bureau developed great skill in its own sphere, collectively they presented almost insurmountable problems of coordination for the civilian and military heads of the service. The solution in the early twentieth century was to create a general staff that would

[1] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 131.

function as both a coordinating and a planning agency and in the 1960s to simply abolish the supply bureaus as separate agencies and go to a wholly functional organization.

Stated in the most general terms, the problem the Army faced was how to develop the necessary expertise in often arcane areas while ensuring that this knowledge was available in sufficient amounts at the correct time and place to conduct effective military operations. In essence, that is the subject of this volume, seen through the lens of one short but important late Cold War military operation. In the process, I reached rather different conclusions than Clausewitz did on the centrality of logistics in military operations.

On 25 October 1983 U.S. land, sea, and air forces, operating in conjunction with ground force contingents from several Caribbean countries, landed on the island nation of Grenada in the eastern Caribbean. Operation URGENT FURY, the code name for this intervention, marked the U.S. Army's first commitment to combat since the close of the Vietnam war. In point of fact, the amount of fighting was slight in comparison with other conflicts during the twentieth century, lacking both great intensity and long duration. The logistical effort required to move and sustain two ranger battalions and two brigades of the 82d Airborne Division, in contrast, was considerable and not without difficulty. The genesis, evolution, and eventual solution of the logistical problems, and especially their impact on combat operations on the island, make a fascinating story in their own right. These facets are particularly pertinent because of the likelihood that the Army will face other short-notice contingencies in the future in which the same or similar circumstances prevail.

I wrote *The Rucksack War: U.S. Army Operational Logistics in Grenada, 1983,* over many years while also completing a large number of other historical projects for the U.S. Army Center of Military History. The book is organized chronologically but with a focus on logistics and its interaction with operations. The study begins with a consideration of the potential area of operations in 1983, the Grenadian background to the intervention, the organization and readiness of the Grenadian armed forces and their Cuban allies, the development of opposition to the Grenadian revolution in the eastern Caribbean, and the evolution of U.S. policy toward the island nation. A discussion of contingency forces on the eve of URGENT FURY follows, with emphasis on the Army's airborne and ranger formations covering their command, control, organization, doctrine, state of training, and available logistical support. This approach permits a rough assessment of their state of readiness and serves as a baseline to evaluate their subsequent performance in action. The focus then shifts to the sudden onset of the political crisis on Grenada, a description of American policymaking during the crisis, the state of U.S. intelligence, and the initiation of military planning and preparations. Detailed logistical planning receives close attention, as do the preparation and movement of forces and equipment to the area of operations and the continuous movement of support elements from the United States. The emphasis then turns to the area of conflict to include arrival airfield operations; the establishment and operation of an intermediate staging base; the distribution of equipment, supplies, and

services to the units on the island; the support of detainees and refugees; medical triage, treatment, and evacuation; and graves registration—to mention only a few topics. The parallel actions by various headquarters in the United States to support and sustain the forces, especially their interaction with those forces and the larger logistical community, also receive due attention. The account concludes with the return of units, supplies, and equipment to the continental United States; the hand-off to a small stay-behind training establishment; and attempts by the Army, the Department of Defense, and Congress to parse lessons from the experience.

As noted, URGENT FURY was a relatively brief operation lasting only a few days, yet the decisionmaking was highly complex and every bit as important as for a much larger and longer undertaking. This study thus examines the key Grenada decisions, from the highest strategic levels involving the president, the secretaries of state and defense, the national security adviser, and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on down to the tactical level, where rangers and airborne infantrymen in combat made choices that had far-reaching implications for the outcome of the intervention. Policy decisions set the parameters for operational planning, which in turn affected logistical preparations, and both influenced the conduct of units in battle. This work considers logistical decisions, plans, and operations at what Army doctrine writers describe as the three levels of war: strategic, operational, and tactical; however, most attention goes to the second and third, reflecting the role that the Army played on Grenada. Operational-level logistics involved questions of what type and amount of supplies, equipment, and services to introduce into the area of operations and the timing and sequencing of their arrival. Tactical-level logistics dealt with the distribution of goods and services already on the island to the ultimate users, the units in the field.

I first became involved with Grenada when I was assigned as the historian on the crisis action team in the Army Operations Center in the Pentagon during the second week of URGENT FURY. Since that time, I have encountered a great many individuals who deserve recognition for their guidance, assistance, and support. The chief of the Operations and Contingency Plans Division, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, the late Col. Michael J. Lally, went out of his way to make me feel welcome and part of the team at what was an extraordinarily busy time, as did the crisis team chief, Lt. Col. Aaron M. Royer. Because of Colonel Royer, who had become convinced at the outset that a historian should be assigned to the Operations Center, I was sent to the Pentagon. Later Royer drafted the directive that ultimately resulted in the preparation of not only this study but also the operational history of the Grenada campaign by Maj. Bruce R. Pirnie. During the intervention I worked most closely with Lt. Col. Lois M. Beck of The Adjutant General's Office and subsequently, while taking notes in the records vault at the Army Operations Center, with the administrative supervisor, M. Sgt. Jerry P. Anglin. I am in their debt.[2]

[2] All ranks are given as of the time I worked with the officers and men in question. Unless otherwise indicated, they were members of the U.S. Army.

This study could not have been written without the support of several chiefs and acting chiefs of military history, to include Brig. Gen. (Ret.) Douglas Kinnard, Brig. Gen. William A. Stofft, Brig. Gen. Harold W. Nelson, Brig. Gen. John W. Mountcastle, Brig. Gen. John S. Brown, Jeffrey J. Clarke, and Col. Peter D. Crean. During General Kinnard's tour I collected documents and identified the importance of the logistical story, while General Stofft approved and supported the initial project. I am also indebted to the deputy chief of military history, Col. Michael D. Krause, who ran interference for me when I had problems at the Army Operations Center; the chief historian at the time of the operation, David F. Trask; the acting chief historian, Morris J. MacGregor, who provided moral support at a low point; Dr. Clarke, who reanimated the project when it initially stalled due to classification concerns; and the current chief historian, Richard W. Stewart, who reviewed the entire manuscript. Dr. Stewart also organized the peer review panel and participated in it along with the chief of the General Histories Branch, William M. Hammond; a distinguished student of logistical history, Lt. Col. (Ret.) Charles R. Shrader; a highly regarded historian of contingency operations, Lawrence A. Yates; and the chief of the Publishing Division, Keith R. Tidman. The chief of the Staff Support Branch in October 1983, the late Paul J. Scheips, who had himself worked in the Army Operations Center over a decade earlier, gave me good advice about how to handle myself there. Two chiefs of the Research and Analysis Division played a major role in the genesis of the project: Lt. Col. Robert Frank and Lt. Col. Gary L. Bounds, as did two chiefs of the Histories Division: Dr. Stewart and, currently, Joel D. Meyerson.

All students of the Grenada campaign are obligated to Alfred M. "Fred" Beck. As the acting chief of the Research and Analysis Division during October 1983, Dr. Beck made extraordinary efforts working closely with Army records managers to preserve as much as possible of the contemporary written record. Because of the nature of URGENT FURY, that written record is sparse indeed. Much of the strength of the study therefore derives from the interviews with participants listed in the bibliography who took time out of busy lives to share and reflect upon their experiences. I am under a heavy obligation to them and their interviewers. Most of the interviews conducted immediately after the operation were done by the members of either the 44th Military History Detachment from Fort McPherson, Georgia, or the Grenada Work Group from the Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Through their hard work and intelligent questions they created a rich historical record where none would otherwise have existed.

During the course of my research I visited not only Forts McPherson and Leavenworth but also Forts Lee and Monroe, Virginia, and Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and then maintained contact by letter and e-mail with participants and historians at these and other installations. Maj. Charles R. Bishop made my trip to Fort McPherson both historically profitable and personally enjoyable. I also received support at different times from two command historians of U.S. Army Forces Command, the late Jean R. Moenk and Charles E. White. I am particularly beholden to Col. Daniel J. Cleary III, 1st Lt. Kirk

Henry, John S. Duvall, Carol Pilkay, Deborah Nevarez, Air Force Lt. Col. Thomas Powers, Air Force Capt. Nathan D. Flint, Sgt. James Markman, John W. Aarsen, and Roxanne M. Merritt at Fort Bragg, as well as successive historians of the XVIII Airborne Corps: Robert K. Wright Jr., who was also my colleague at the Center at various times; Michael Vice, another fugitive from the Center during Pulaski Building days; Cynthia Hayden, who provided many leads about where I might find records; and Donna B. Tabor, who did yeoman work tracking down materials available only at Fort Bragg and locating the particularly valuable aerial photograph of Pope Air Force Base that I used in this volume. At Fort Lee Lynn L. Sims steered me toward much of the relevant doctrinal literature; Steven E. Anders ensured that I obtained many valuable interviews during my research there; and Col. Robert C. Barrett Jr. shared his personal papers from the operation with me.

I am more obligated than I can say to the late Henry O. Malone, John L. Romjue, James T. Stensvaag, Claire S. Samuelson, and Daniel A. Brown at Fort Monroe; Carl F. Cannon at Fort Eustis, Virginia; Col. Louis D. F. Frasché, William G. Robertson, Lt. Col. Joseph A. Schlatter, Lt. Col. Robert P. Kraynak, Lt. Col. Thomas T. Smith, Maj. William E. McElroy, Joseph Goldman, Robert H. Berlin, Air Force Col. (Ret.) D. Matt Neuenswander, and Rita Siebenmorgen at Fort Leavenworth; the late Ronald Craig at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri; James W. Williams, R. Steven Maxham, and Jean M. Southwell at Fort Rucker, Alabama; Richard Hecht of the U.S. Army Ranger Association; Brig. Gen. John M. Bednarek, then the 25th Infantry Division's deputy commander for operations, who generously answered my questions at a time when he was preparing to deploy to Afghanistan; Col. (Ret.) John M. Mitchell; Col. (Ret.) Lawrence W. Hoffman; Air Force Col. (Ret.) Thomas A. Keaney, now executive director of the Foreign Policy Institute and senior adjunct professor at the School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University; Air Force Lt. Col. Kenneth E. Coburn, the II Marine Expeditionary Force air mobility liaison officer at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina; Air Force Lt. Col. (Ret.) A. Felix Meyer III, who allowed me to make copies of his personal papers; Air Force Col. (Ret.) Thomas A. Julian, author of a much anticipated history of Air Force aeromedical evacuation; Air Force Capt. Brian M. Mahoney, the air mobility liaison officer at Fort Campbell, Kentucky; Denis P. Dezso at Fort Sam Houston, Texas; Anthony Ricchiazzi and Kevin Toolan at Tobyhanna Army Depot, Pennsylvania; Lindsay M. Washabaugh at Letterkenney Army Depot, Pennsylvania; Stacy Umstead at New Cumberland Army Depot, Pennsylvania; Leo P. Hirrel at Headquarters, Joint Forces Command, Norfolk, Virginia; Dean C. Kallander at Scott Air Force Base, Illinois; Janice Missildine at McGuire Air Force Base, New Jersey; Daniel R. Mortensen, Air Force Col. John F. Groff, and Air Force Col. Donald D. Tharp at the Air Force Research Institute, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, and the late William D. Mohlenbrock, M.D., of Murphysboro, Illinois, who shared with me some of his experiences in military organizations.

Every author stands on the intellectual shoulders of others, and I am certainly no exception. As an undergraduate, I had an opportunity to hear S. L.

A. Marshall speak and read several of his books as a consequence. He wrote about the human side of war, and I aspired to write about the human side of logistics. John G. Westover's *Combat Support in Korea* is one of the few precursors to *The Rucksack War* of which I am aware, but the Westover volume is a collection of interviews illustrating aspects of the logistical effort rather than a sustained narrative. I sought to do more. In 1985, while my research was in its early phases, the U.S. Army Combat Studies Institute published Gary H. Wade's *Rapid Deployment Logistics: Lebanon, 1958*. Major Wade attempted much the same thing that I planned on doing, but given the relative lack of surviving sources, he could essay only a sketch and not develop all the complexities involved. Wade convinced me that I was on the right track.[3]

Eventually, I came to a point in my research when I knew what I wanted to do but not exactly how to do it. I drew on a discussion I had had with the late Forrest C. Pogue about how the first generation of Army historians had written the official United States Army in World War II series. Political and diplomatic history provided useful models for the high-level policy and strategy volumes, but no one other than Hugh M. Cole, who had written his dissertation in the field of military history, was certain about how to proceed with the operational volumes. "It's easy," he told his colleagues, "just use the five-paragraph field order as a model for the types of information that you need to include." So I dutifully taped an outline of the major elements of a five-paragraph field order on the wall above my computer before I began writing. It helped me keep focused on the big picture as well as the details.

I have indeed been fortunate in the circumstances in which I wrote the initial draft of this study and in particular for the collegial atmosphere of intellectual give and take in the Analysis Branch between 1983 and 1989. I would like to thank my then branch chief, Alexander S. Cochran, and the following historians: Lt. Col. Peter Kozumplik, Major Pirnie, the late Maj. Lawrence M. Goldberg, the late Maj. Charles E. Kirkpatrick, Maj. Thomas Grodecki, Col. Jonathan M. House, Maj. William W. Epley, and Lt. Col. Steve E. Dietrich. All of them played "Grenada Jeopardy" with me when I confronted an acronym or term in the documents that I did not understand in the days before such items were easily accessible through the Internet. All read and commented on an early draft of this manuscript, as did Daniel R. Beaver of the University of Cincinnati, a participant in the Center's visiting professor program. Colonel Kozumplik also loaned me some materials from service schools that he had attended to further my understanding of the Army's logistical

[3] The three books by S. L. A. Marshall that greatly influenced me are: *Night Drop: The American Airborne Invasion of Normandy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962); *The River and the Gauntlet: Defeat of the Eighth Army by the Chinese Communist Forces, November 1950, in the Battle of the Chongchon River, Korea* (New York: Morrow, 1953); and *Pork Chop Hill: The American Fighting Man in Action, Korea, Spring 1953* (New York: Morrow, 1956). For representative samples of the kinds of issues Westover addressed, see John G. Westover, *Combat Support in Korea*, U.S. Army in the Korean Conflict. (Washington, D.C.: Combat Forces Press, 1955), pp. 18–23, 38–41, 49–57, 102–04, 153–59, 199–201, 206–10. For Wade's approach, see Gary H. Wade, *Rapid Deployment Logistics: Lebanon, 1958*, Combat Studies Institute Research Survey no. 3 (Fort Leavenworth, Kans.: Combat Studies Institute, U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, 1985), pp. 1–41.

system. Two former colleagues who did original research on the operational aspects of the campaign, Lt. Col. (Ret.) George L. MacGarrigle and Major Pirnie, were particularly helpful. Stephen Harding proved an often amusing colleague who explored medical and public affairs issues but was assigned other duties before he could delve very deeply into the sources. Dwight D. Oland became the acknowledged expert on all the medical aspects of URGENT FURY and bequeathed me his files when he retired. He further did the bulk of the photographic research for this volume, locating some unique images of key personalities and events.

I also want to thank Lt. Col. Timothy S. Muchmore with whom I served in the Directorate of Roles and Missions, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, during 1994 and 1995. Colonel Muchmore insisted on the Army Staff's need for an accurate account of the Grenada operation, and he inspired me to persist in efforts to bring what became this volume to open publication.

When I resumed work on Grenada in 2000, I located and integrated a large amount of material not available before, particularly from the Grenadian side and the higher policy levels of the Reagan administration. I also benefited from Army records that I had missed earlier. During my initial research trip to Fort Bragg I was informed that the XVIII Airborne Corps emergency operations center records generated during the Grenada crisis had been destroyed. Much later the corps historian, Mr. Vice, located them and oversaw their retirement to the Washington National Records Center at Suitland, Maryland, where I examined them. At Suitland I worked most closely with Michael W. Waesche, Elizabeth C. Philpott (Sears when I knew her), and Bryan Warren. At the National Archives Building on Pennsylvania Avenue I worked with Rodney A. Ross and Richard T. McCulley of the Center for Legislative Archives, and at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, most closely with Timothy K. Nenninger of the Modern Military Records Branch and the staff at the Microfilm Reading Room. The staff at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library at Simi Valley, California, was a model of professionalism. Sherrie M. Fletcher guided me through the labyrinth of procedures involved in acquiring access to the records as well as pointing me toward the most rewarding files. Likewise, Mary Finch on the staff of the George H. W. Bush Presidential Library at College Station, Texas, provided invaluable assistance in obtaining photographs. Support at the U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, was outstanding as usual. I particularly want to thank Richard J. Sommers, Louise A. Arnold-Friend, John J. Slonaker, and David A. Keough for both their professionalism and their friendship.

One of the advantages of living and working in the Washington area is the ease of access it provides to other federal agencies and the individuals who work there. In particular, I want to thank Maj. Carl A. Strock, then the executive officer for the chief of engineers, who literally rescued from a wastepaper basket the operations journal of the 307th Engineer Battalion and asked me to see to its eventual retirement to the National Archives; Carrie L. McLeroy and LeRoy Jewell at *Soldiers Magazine*, who were gracious hosts and provided

me with two stunning images of the Grenada operation; John T. Greenwood at the Office of The Surgeon General, who enabled me to secure an interview with The Surgeon General, Lt. Gen. James B. Peake; the late Dale Birdsell, Robert G. Darius, Kim B. Holien, and Stephen W. Lehman at the headquarters of the Army Materiel Command; and on the Army Staff, Lt. Col. Daniel E. Staber Jr. and Maj. Michael E. Hess of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, Lt. Col. Eugene N. Russell and Lt. Col. David A. Measles of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Maj. Gary A. Oedewaldt of the Office of the Chief of Public Affairs, and more recently Lt. Col. Katherine Miller of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff G–8. In the late 1980s four Army officers—Lt. Col. Michael A. Anastasio, Lt. Col. Jerry Edwards, Lt. Col. Gilbert S. Harper, and Lt. Col. Michael Simmons—attended the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and prepared an analysis of Army logistics in Grenada; they very kindly donated both a copy of their paper and their backup files to the Center of Military History. At what is now the Naval History and Heritage Command Edward J. Marolda, Sarandis Papadopoulos, and Curtis A. Utz provided timely assistance about matters nautical. The late Herman S. Wolk, Perry D. Jamieson, Jacob Neufeld, Roger G. Miller, and Yvonne Kinkaid at the Air Force Historical Studies Office gave me information, advice, support, and friendship, while the late Benis M. Frank, Marine Corps Maj. (Ret.) Charles D. Melson, and Danny J. Crawford at the History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, educated me about their service. At the Defense Technical Information Center Debra Alexander proved an invaluable resource, as did Charles T. Erb on the Joint Staff. At the Joint History Office I benefited from the assistance of four fine historians—Graham A. Cosmas, one of my former branch chiefs at the Center; Ronald H. Cole, the author of a distinguished study on Grenada; David B. Crist, the son of one of the senior U.S. officers involved; and Steven L. Rearden, who was at work on a much anticipated study of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Reagan years. At the Office of the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, Alfred Goldberg, the late Stuart I. Rochester, and Diane T. Putney made my research there both professionally rewarding and fun, while at the Department of State, my former colleague, John M. Carland, provided wise counsel. The entire staff of the department's Classified Reading Room was very helpful and opened to me the treasures of the department's records. I thank them all, but especially Margaret P. Grafeld, Jane E. Diedrich, and Karen French. At the Defense Intelligence Agency Historical Office Judith L. Bellafaire invited me to attend the 25-year retrospective conference on the Grenada operation that her organization held in 2008. I particularly want to thank the conferees for sharing their recollections with such candor.

A number of people from outside the Center of Military History critiqued portions of the manuscript, including Mr. Wolk, Dr. Mortensen, and the late Robert P. Smith in what was then the Office of Air Force History; Theresa L. Kraus at the former Naval Historical Center; Jack Shulimson at the Marine Corps' History and Museums Division; Drs. Cole and Rearden at the Joint History Office; Dr. Sims, the command historian, U. S. Army Logistics Center;

Dr. Anders, the Quartermaster Branch historian; Dr. Cannon, the command historian, U.S. Army Transportation Center; and Col. (Ret.) James W. Dunn, then a historian in the Corps of Engineers Historical Office. I am also indebted to colleagues in the Histories Division at the Center, where I have been assigned since 1989, who took time away from their own projects to read and comment on the entire draft: David W. Hogan, William M. Donnelly, and Lt. Col. Mark J. Reardon.

At the Center, the branch chief occupies a particularly key position in the research and writing for a historian working on a major volume—a combination of mentor, father confessor, deadline enforcer, and defender of the project to higher authority. I had the good fortune to work in succession for two highly respected historians as chiefs of the General Histories Branch: Dr. Cosmas read and commented on the first two chapters, while Dr. Hammond improved context and language after reviewing various drafts of the manuscript enough times to have almost memorized the text.

In addition, Rebecca C. Raines of the Force Structure and Unit History Branch read the entire manuscript times beyond counting. Romana M. Danysh, the late John B. Wilson, Wayne M. Dzwonchyk, and Lt. Col. (Ret.) Michael E. Bigelow also read and commented on portions of the manuscript and provided the firm friendship that any writer in the throes of creation needs.

Writing often leads a historian into thickets where he realizes that he needs more information than he possesses. At the Center of Military History Janice E. McKenney, Mr. Wilson, Ms. Raines, Ms. Danysh, Edward N. Bedessem, Stephen E. Everett, Jennifer A. Nichols, Joseph R. Frechette, Joseph A. Seymour, Kathleen M. Fargey, and Maj. (Ret.) Thomas A. Popa guided me through the intricacies of Army unit organization. Over the years a number of colleagues in the Defense Acquisition Project and in the Histories Division were willing to discuss logistics history with me and otherwise assist with the project, including: Air Force Col. (Ret.) Elliott V. Converse III, Walton S. Moody, Walter S. Poole, Shannon A. Brown, Philip L. Shiman, Thomas C. Lassman, Air Force Lt. Col. (Ret.) Gary A. Trogdon, Bianka J. Adams, Jonathan B. Hood, Sgt. Maj. (Ret.) Robert S. Rush, Mark L. Bradley, Erik B. Villard, W. Blair Haworth, J. Patrick Hughes, Terrence J. Gough, Stephen A. Carney, Jon T. Hoffman, Stephen J. Lofgren, Glenn F. Williams, and Mark D. Sherry. I have benefited from both their intellectual stimulation and their friendship.

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support from members of the Center's administrative staff. I particularly want to thank Cathy O. Armstrong, who left her daughter's wedding celebration late one night to let me into the Pulaski Building after the locks had been changed; Cheryl D. Eddens, who during the past decade processed the paperwork associated with clearances and access to records; Bryan J. Hockensmith, who kept me well supplied with Center publications; Mary M. Thomas, without whom this study would have died stillborn; and the late Mildred K. Gee, whose hard work, dedication, and puckish sense of humor made working with her a real pleasure.

I also benefited from the fine work of the staffs at the Cumberland County [North Carolina] Public Library, especially Arletha Campbell; the National Library of Medicine, especially Judy C. Jordan; the Army War College Library, especially Shellie Glass; the National Defense University Library; the Pentagon Library, especially Greta E. Marlatt; and the Library of Congress, especially Darren R. Jones.

Bringing a manuscript to publication requires the dedicated work of many hands. The chief of the Editorial Branch, Diane Arms, who was originally my editor, provided useful commentary on several draft chapters. My editor, Joanne M. Brignolo, brought great energy and attention to detail to the project. Over time she gained a real grasp of the technical information and voluminous sources. Her critical queries allowed me to improve both the organization and the accuracy of the narrative. Going beyond normal editorial responsibilities, she demonstrated that she has not only a sharp pen but also a fine eye for visual images. This volume also benefited greatly from the work of Kate Mertes, who prepared the invaluable index; Beth F. Mackenzie, who did the handsome layout; S. L. Dowdy, who crafted the maps that are critical for this study; Carl E. "Gene" Snyder, who developed the charts and diagrams; and Michael R. Gill, who designed the cover.

My deepest appreciation, however, must go to my wife, Rebecca, and my son, Eddie, for their kindness, understanding, and unremitting support during the many years this volume was in preparation. Their encouragement and humor, love and affection, and Eddie's graphics assistance made the long slog bearable.

In closing, all of these helpful and supportive individuals, as well as any others whom I have neglected to name, deserve my heartfelt thanks and gratitude for their assistance and commitment to the project. Any errors that remain are mine alone.

Washington, D.C.
17 August 2010

EDGAR F. RAINES JR.

# The Rucksack War

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# 1

# Behind the Scenes

☆ ☆ ☆

Participants later remembered the heat, the ever-present dust, and especially the noise as successive U.S. Air Force C–141s landed, unloaded, and then took off from the partially completed runway. Occasionally a C–130 would land and break the monotony. Construction equipment and materiel cluttered the ramp in front of the shell of a terminal. Inside, members of the assault command post of the U.S. Army's 82d Airborne Division struggled to make sense of what was happening from fragmentary radio messages. The whining roar of a C–141's fan jets or the grumble of a C–130's turbine engines reverberated off the raw concrete walls, making it hard to hear or even to think. If the scene looked more like a job site than a military airfield at the heart of an important U.S. military operation, it was because only hours earlier that is exactly what it had been: a large international airport under construction on the Caribbean island nation of Grenada.[1]

As aircraft landed, the troops aboard disembarked and divided by unit. They waited in small groups beside the runway until enough men arrived to allow their organizations to perform their missions. When that might occur, no one could say. In the relatively quiet intervals between takeoffs and landings, soldiers could hear the pop, pop of small-arms fire in the distance. A motley collection of commandeered local vehicles drove to the edge of the airfield. The soldier drivers and any helpers they had brought with them dismounted and surveyed the jumbled piles of materiel that passed for supply points. After locating what their unit needed, they loaded up and drove back in the direction of the firing. At the far eastern end of the runway, a few weary men and a single forklift struggled to unload a C–141 and move its cargo to supply points as quickly as possible. They were the only cargo handlers available. When a C–130 touched down, it often completed its landing roll at midfield because its landings and takeoffs were shorter than those of a C–141. Then if it had any equipment or supplies aboard, it had to taxi to the far end where the forklift waited. South of the strip stood a berm-protected aviation fuel point consisting

[1] Interv, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; E-mail, Keaney to author, 8 Sep 2005, sub: Sound of C–141 Engines, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH; Michael Duffy, "Grenada," pp. 20–23, 26–28.

**Men, materiel, and aircraft at the Point Salines airfield**









of blivots—large rubberized bags designed to store fuel and other liquids—as well as hoses and pumps. Beside the berms, the men waited anxiously and scanned the sky for one of the fuel-carrying C–130s, called somewhat irreverently a bladder bird. They also watched for their customers, the pilots flying the division's turbine-engine helicopters that were still en route.[2]

Meanwhile, above the field, U.S. Air Force transports circled in a giant funnel of slowly descending aircraft that, according to one observer, reached "all the way to the ionosphere." With no parking ramp available, only one C–130 or C–141 at a time could stay on the runway. Until it took off, the aircraft next in line to land had to remain aloft. Unfortunately, no one on the ground knew what that aircraft was carrying. When lack of fuel caused a transport to divert to another location, which happened frequently, no one waiting below knew where it was going or when, if ever, it might return. Such was the Point Salines airfield on Grenada in late October 1983.[3]

Located in the eastern Caribbean Sea, Grenada represented both a culmination and a harbinger for the U.S. Army. It was the site of both the last major U.S. military operation of the Cold War involving all the services and also the U.S. Army's first contingency operation since the intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. As such, the effort foreshadowed the power projection role into which circumstance and policy would cast the Army in the years after the fall of the Berlin Wall: Panama (1989), Southwest Asia (1990–91), Somalia (1992–94), Haiti (1994–95), Bosnia (1995–2004), Kosovo (1999–), Afghanistan (2001–), and Iraq (2003–).

In contrast to those later operations, however, Urgent Fury, the code name for the military intervention on Grenada, was unique in a number of ways. More than any of the others, it was a come-as-you-are war. Planning time was very compressed—not more than three or four days for most staffs. Unlike the Canal Zone in Panama, Grenada did not contain any U.S.-controlled enclaves with depots. It also lacked the advantage of adjacent friendly territory where ground forces could assemble and build up a logistical base in advance of the conflict, such as that offered by Saudi Arabia prior to Desert Storm and by Kuwait before Iraqi Freedom. Finally, in Urgent Fury, soldiers entered combat almost immediately compared to their counterparts in most of the other operations. Rangers parachuted into Point Salines despite intense Grenadian antiaircraft fire. Other troops stepped off the ramp of their aircraft and within minutes came under fire.[4]

The troops who parachuted into Grenada or landed shortly thereafter had the supplies they carried on their backs and little else. Under these conditions one piece of equipment proved invaluable—the rucksack. A large olive-drab canvas backpack shaped around a light aluminum frame, it could hold in excess of seventy pounds of supplies and equipment. Airborne troopers

[2] Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[3] Duffy, "Grenada," p. 23 (quoted words); Intervs, Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, and author with Katz, 6 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[4] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

carried their rucksacks wherever they deployed and jammed into them almost every item they needed in the field. The contents ranged from reserve ammunition to meals, ready to eat (the self-contained field rations in lightweight packaging that the Army had introduced only three years earlier), to spare socks. Rucksacks both symbolized and confirmed the ability of airborne infantrymen to go anywhere, fight hard, and sustain themselves.[5]

That the fighting began as soon as Air Force transports appeared over Point Salines made the Grenada operation, especially its logistical support, very different and much more difficult than any of the Army's contingency operations after 1983 *(see Map 1)*. Because of the hostile pressure on the airhead, the buildup on Grenada required a delicate balancing act among a variety of requirements: introducing additional combat units; deploying logisticians to facilitate their arrival and resupply; providing resupply to troops already on the island; and determining what the support components, such as signal, intelligence, and engineer units, needed to cope with the situation on the ground. All were essential, but the proportion of these elements in the total force in the airhead at any particular time and their sequence of arrival were matters of judgment upon which rested the success or failure of the airborne operation. The performance of this balancing act and the decisions that facilitated or hindered it were thus central issues in Army logistical operations on the island and, in many respects, in Army combat operations there as well.

Grenada was also the first military operation to occur after the Army began transforming from an industrial-era organization to a postmodern one. As late as Vietnam, its approach to war required mobilizing large numbers of citizens, massing fire, stockpiling supplies, using acetate map overlays and grease pencils in planning, orienting troops by compass headings, and depending on the typewriter for administrative support. In contrast, by the end of the century the Army deployed relatively small numbers of highly skilled professionals; increasingly emphasized precision munitions; depended upon substantially reduced stockpiles of supplies and equipment; and widely employed computers linked by a military version of the Internet, global-positioning devices, and digital readouts to generate real-time situation maps. This transition, which began during the 1970s, promises to remain the norm in the twenty-first century. URGENT FURY offers an indication—a snapshot in time—of how that process was proceeding in 1983.

*Operational logistics,* the nexus between operations and logistics, especially how they interacted with and affected one another, is the focal point of this study. Two related questions are involved: How did the logistical effort affect the Grenada operation, and, conversely, how did the planning and conduct of the operation impinge upon logistical support?

Over the years the meaning of *logistics* has waxed and waned. During World War I one of the most important American theorists of the role of

[5] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; U.S. Army Natick Research and Development Command, *Items of Combat Clothing and Equipment*, p. 102; author's inspection of rucksacks, 1985; Karl E. Cocke et al., comps., *Department of the Army Historical Summary, Fiscal Year 1980*, p. 139.


THE CARIBBEAN
1983
U.S. Military Installation
ROBINSON PROJECTION
SCALE 1:23,333,333
CANADA
WASHINGTON, D.C.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Fort Bragg, N.C.
Sunny Point Military Ocean Terminal, N.C.
Charleston, S.C.
Bermuda (U.K.)
Fort Stewart/Hunter Army Airfield, Ga.
Jacksonville, Fl.
MacDill Air Force Base, Fl.
Gulf of Mexico
Miami, Fl.
THE BAHAMAS
Tropic of Cancer
HAVANA
CUBA
Turks and Caicos Islands (U.K.)
Puerto Rico (U.S.)
British Virgin Islands (U.K.)
Guantánamo Naval Station
Santiago de Cuba
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
Anguilla (U.K.)
ST. KITTS AND NEVIS
PORT-AU-PRINCE
JAMAICA
HAITI
KINGSTON
Roosevelt Roads Naval Station
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA
Virgin Islands (U.S.)
Guadelupe (FR.)
Montserrat (U.K.)
DOMINICA
HONDURAS
Caribbean Sea
Martinique (FR.)
ST. LUCIA
Aruba (NETH.)
ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES
BARBADOS
NICARAGUA
Netherland Antilles (NETH.)
GRENADA
CARACAS
COSTA RICA
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
PANAMA
VENEZUELA
GUYANA
COLOMBIA
SURINAME
BRAZIL
90°
60°
30°

**Map 1**

logistics, Marine Lt. Col. George C. Thorpe, defined the subject as "the means of . . . utilizing forces." Prior to World War II, however, few American military officers used the word. There seemed no need for this all-inclusive term. Until 1942 the highly specialized technical bureaus of the War Department provided all the administrative and supply support the Army needed. The advent of World War II forced the Army to place a much greater emphasis on the management of resources. Suddenly, *logistics* went from a word known only to specialists to one that enjoyed broad acceptance. Its meaning and daily usage now encompassed everything that the Army did except for planning and conducting combat operations.[6]

Army officers continued to use this broad definition during the early years of the Cold War, but the conditions that had buttressed this approach had begun to change. World War II had represented primarily a battle of mass industrial production, but the Cold War involved a competition between the United States and the Soviet Union to design and manufacture technically superior weapons systems. This increasing emphasis on research and development led eventually to the adoption of another inclusive term, *acquisition,* referring to the researching, designing, developing, testing, providing logistical support for, and fielding of new weapons systems. Usage was changing at the time of the Grenada operation, but the Department of Defense had not codified the new definition. For the moment, the word remained a subset of *logistics*.[7]

Officially, *logistics* in 1983 was "the science of planning and carrying out the movement and maintenance of forces." In its broadest scope, it incorporated four categories of activities—the "design and development, acquisition, storage, movement, distribution, maintenance, evacuation, and disposition of materiel"; the "movement, evacuation, and hospitalization of personnel"; the "acquisition or construction, maintenance, operation, and disposition of facilities"; and the "acquisition or furnishing of services." The definition of the word had thus shrunk from the full extent of its World War II meaning, but no overarching term had yet arisen to replace it. For the purposes of this study, *logistics* includes but is not bounded by the traditional core functions of supply; transportation; distribution; maintenance; medical triage, treatment, and evacuation; and other services most often associated with active operations in the field. Other support categories subsumed by the World War II definition, such as engineering, communications, military police, and personnel management, are discussed only to the extent that they affected these core activities during Urgent Fury.[8]

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[6] George C. Thorpe, *Pure Logistics*, pp. 3–5, 9 (quoted words). See also idem, *George C. Thorpe's Pure Logistics*, pp. ix–xxviii; Richard M. Leighton and Robert W. Coakley, *Global Logistics and Strategy, 1940–1943*, pp. 1–17; TM 20–205, Dictionary of United States Army Terms, 1944, s.v. "logistics."

[7] James E. Hewes Jr., *From Root to McNamara*, pp. 234–35; Shannon A. Brown, "Introduction," in Shannon A. Brown, ed., *Providing the Means of War*, pp. 5–17; James H. Edgar, "The Origins and Impact of the Defense Acquisition Workforce Improvement Act (DAWIA)," in ibid., pp. 261–79. For the modern usage, see also Glossary: Defense Acquisition Acronyms and Terms, 2005, app. B, s.v. "Acquisition."

[8] JCS Pub 1, DoD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 1979, s.v. "logistics."

Contingency forces are designed to go to war from a standing start using the personnel, equipment, and supplies immediately available. They are instruments created to venture into a great many places and to use violence, if necessary, to execute policy. While these forces are permanent organizations trained to react to crises in the abstract, each operation they conduct involves a crisis in reality. Going to war in the late twentieth century, as a result, required these forces to adapt themselves to the circumstances of the moment.[9]

The Army's participation in Urgent Fury began with an airborne assault. To achieve an understanding of the logistical effort to support Army forces on Grenada thus requires consideration of the unique characteristics of this type of military activity. Some analysts have judged amphibious assaults to be the most complex of military endeavors, but anyone who has participated in or studied airborne operations in depth could make a good case for them as strong competitors for the title. The movement of an airborne unit to a departure airfield is a complex ballet of men, equipment, and supplies choreographed with almost split-second timing to arrive in a predetermined sequence at a departure ramp. There, Army and Air Force logisticians load everyone and everything aboard appropriate aircraft. The simple repositioning of an airborne unit to its point of departure thus demands detailed coordination between the services. Activities in the area of operations are no less intricate and are often further complicated by someone shooting at the new arrivals.[10]

In 1983 the technology did not exist to permit collective updated planning en route to an objective. The speed at which an airborne operation was executed, some 500 miles per hour slowing to 120 over the drop zone, put severe limits on the ability of commanders to modify plans in the air. In contrast, amphibious commanders enjoyed the benefits of a more leisurely approach to their objectives that permitted continuous fine-tuning along the way.[11]

At its peak, an airborne deployment conveys an impression of massive force with an almost irresistible momentum. It is as if someone has switched on a machine and then needs only to step back and wait for it to produce the desired result. Yet such an impression contains a good deal of illusion. Movement to contact by air requires commanders on multiple levels to follow critical pathways along which good timing is just as crucial to success as good decisionmaking.

The type and quality of logistical support provided to U.S. Army units on Grenada depended upon the size and composition of the force dispatched. These factors were influenced, in turn, by the location of the potential area of operations, possible opposing forces, and an estimation of the type, intensity, and duration of any resistance that the Grenadians might mount. One key to understanding the operational logistics story of Urgent Fury is thus to understand where the troops were going and why.

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[9] For the evolution of Army thinking about how to conduct contingency operations, see Andrew J. Birtle, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1860–1941*; idem, *U.S. Army Counterinsurgency and Contingency Operations Doctrine, 1942–1976*.

[10] On the complexity of amphibious operations, see Jeter A. Isley and Philip A. Crowl, *The U.S. Marines and Amphibious War*, pp. 1–13.

[11] RCmts, Reardon, May 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

## On the Island

Grenada, the focus for U.S. contingency forces in October 1983, is the smallest and most southerly of the Windward Islands, lying 160 kilometers north of the coast of Venezuela and 2,300 kilometers southeast of Key West, Florida. The country consists of the large main island of Grenada, some 311 square kilometers in area, and several smaller island dependencies with a combined area of 33 square kilometers *(see Map 2)*. The most important of the smaller islands are the Grenadines, a series of islands and islets that stretch like stepping stones from the main island some 113 kilometers to the north to St. Vincent, the next major island in the Windwards. Of these, only the two northernmost islands belonging to Grenada—Petit Martinique and Carriacou—are inhabited. In 1983 the total population of the country was approximately 91,000.[12]

The main island is divided into three distinct regions—tropical rain forest in the center, coastal plain, and a semiarid zone in the southwest. The rugged interior, with seven peaks over 500 meters in height, is covered by thick double-canopy rain forests. Annual rainfall varies from 380 to 510 centimeters. The plain, where annual rainfall averages 152 centimeters, serves as both the center of commercial agriculture and settlement. All the island's towns are located there. In 1983 the capital, St. George's, with 7,500 residents, was the most populous, more than double the size of the next largest, the fishing village of Gouyave. Both are on the west coast. Most Grenadians, then and now, live in rural areas. Pearls Airport, the only operational airfield on the island in October 1983, was on the east coast. Its single runway was too short to accommodate large jets and the mountains just to the west made an extension impossible. The airport was connected to the capital by a narrow winding mountain road in great disrepair, reputed to be one of the worst in the Caribbean.[13]

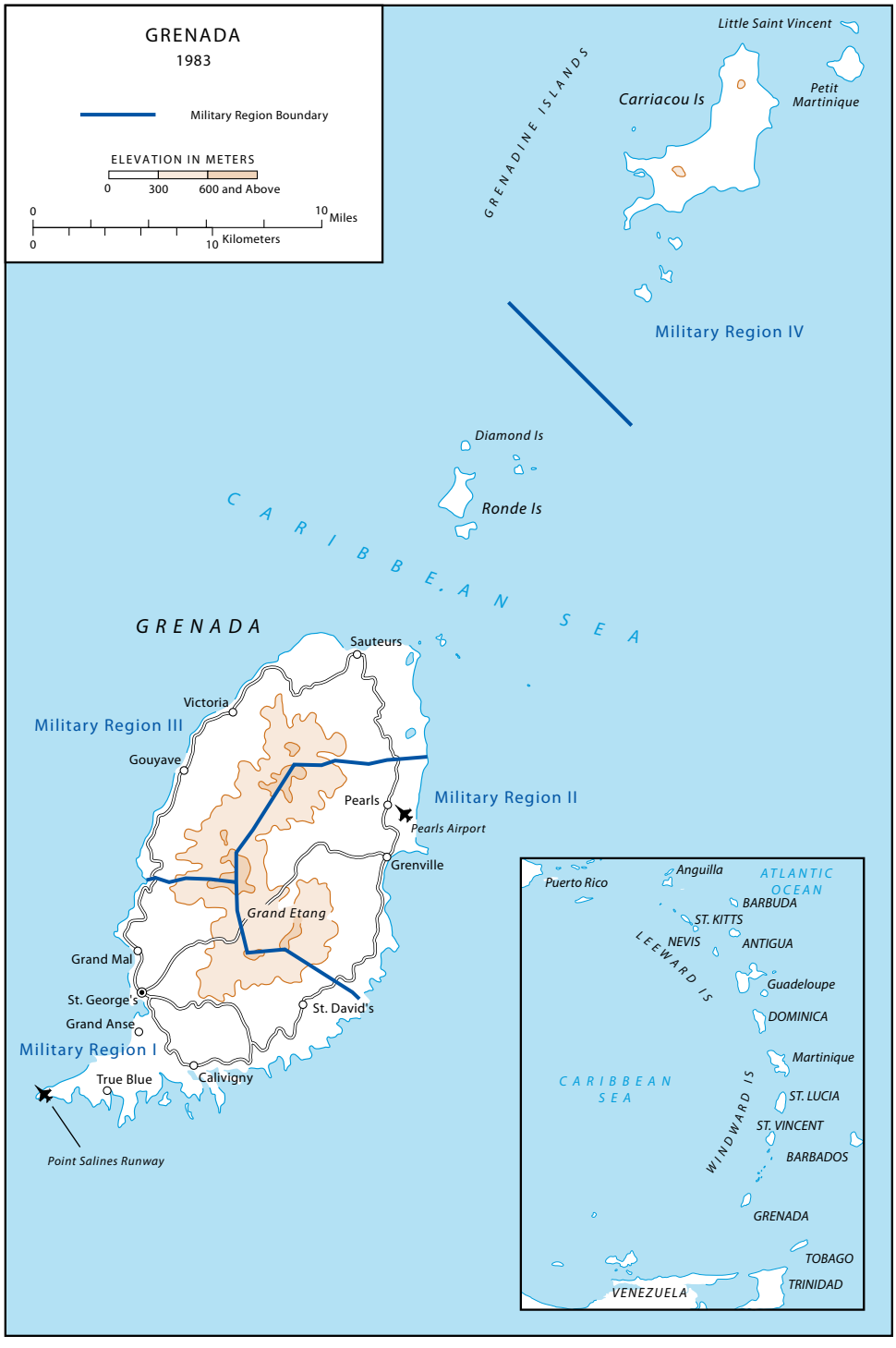
In the island's extreme southwest, a long peninsula points like a finger toward Caracas, Venezuela. The western end is called Point Salines. It was the site of the last remnant of a once thriving sugar industry that largely disappeared following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834. Rainfall averages only 76 centimeters each year, but thick vegetation, encouraged by the region's oppressive humidity, retards off-road movement. In contrast to the rest of the island, the hills on the Point Salines Peninsula are low and rolling.[14]

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[12] Sandra W. Meditz and Dennis M. Hanratty, eds., *Islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean*, pp. 349–52; Morley Ayearst, *The British West Indies*, pp. 350–53; Beverley Steele, "Grenada, an Island State," pp. 5–9; Tony Thorndike, *Grenada*, pp. xvii–xx; and Plan, Jiri Cerhonek, Jun 1982, sub: A Project for Grenada's Economic Development in the Period 1983–85, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH.

[13] Hugh O'Shaughnessy, *Grenada*, pp. 29–30; Kai P. Schoenhals and Richard A. Melanson, *Revolution and Intervention in Grenada*, p. 55; Meditz and Hanratty, eds., *Islands*, pp. 361–62; Plan, Cerhonek, Jun 1982, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH; United Kingdom, Central Office of Information, Reference Division, *Grenada*, pp. 2–3. On Pearls, see Rpt, Dellums to Price, [14 Jun 1982], sub: Fact-finding Mission—Grenada, CGD Mf 004744, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

[14] Rpt, Dellums to Price, [14 Jun 1982], CGD Mf 004744, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP; Michael G. Smith, *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*, p. 263.


GRENADA
1983
Military Region Boundary
ELEVATION IN METERS
0
300
600 and Above
0
10
Miles
0
10
Kilometers
Little Saint Vincent
GRENADINE ISLANDS
Carriacou Is
Petit Martinique
Military Region IV
Diamond Is
Ronde Is
CARIBBEAN SEA
GRENADA
Sauteurs
Victoria
Military Region III
Gouyave
Pearls
Military Region II
Pearls Airport
Grenville
Grand Etang
Grand Mal
St. George's
St. David's
Grand Anse
Military Region I
True Blue
Calivigny
Point Salines Runway
Puerto Rico
Anguilla
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BARBUDA
ST. KITTS
NEVIS
ANTIGUA
LEEWARD IS
Guadeloupe
DOMINICA
Martinique
CARIBBEAN SEA
ST. LUCIA
WINDWARD IS
ST. VINCENT
BARBADOS
GRENADA
TOBAGO
TRINIDAD
VENEZUELA

**Map 2**



**Views of St. George's harbor and surrounding terrain**





**Pearls Airport**

Although independent and a member of the British Commonwealth since 1974, Grenada remained an economic dependency of Great Britain. Tree crops, such as mace and bananas, dominated commercial agriculture. Most Grenadians, the descendants of African slaves, were very poor. While many citizens were literate, they lacked technical skills, and many were unemployed. By 1979 the unemployment rate was close to 26 percent and growing, the product of a stagnant economy and a booming birthrate. In March of that year a band of young radicals led by a young London-educated attorney, Maurice Bishop, overthrew the outwardly democratic but increasingly authoritarian government of Sir Eric M. Gairy and proclaimed a "new democratic structure" that somehow did not include free elections, freedom of speech, an independent press, or an apolitical judiciary.[15]

With Bishop at its head as prime minister, the People's Revolutionary Government proved widely popular at the beginning, and Bishop, handsome and magnetic, a charismatic speaker and a man of proven courage, gained a personal following that he never entirely lost. Real power rested not with the government ministers but with his party—the New Joint Effort for Welfare, Education, and Liberation (JEWEL) Movement—that operated behind the

[15] Frederic L. Pryor, *Revolutionary Grenada*, pp. 201–06; Plan, Cerhonek, Jun 1982, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH; George Brizan, *Grenada*, pp. 313–54; A. W. Singham, *The Hero and the Crowd in a Colonial Polity*, pp. 72–81, 94–99, 126–27; Michael G. Smith, *Stratification in Grenada*, pp. 238–42; Maurice Bishop, *In Nobody's Backyard*, pp. 81–82, 188–90, 257 (quoted words).



**Aerial view of the Point Salines airfield**

scenes. Its Central Committee, of which Bishop was chairman, made all the decisions that counted. For domestic and foreign consumption, however, he and his associates assumed the pose of a progressive left-of-center government under attack by forces they judged to be imperialist. In their public declarations, they held the United States responsible for everything that went wrong on the island, including even the most trivial incidents. When the Lesser Antilles Air Transport Service lost a tourist's luggage, for example, Bishop claimed that it was a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) plot to destabilize his nation's economy.[16]

Bishop and his associates saw Cuba as both an inspiration and a model for what they hoped to accomplish and actively sought the closest possible ties with that country and the Soviet Union. Each country ultimately provided considerable assistance. Cuba had started surreptitiously supplying the Grenadians with small arms and ammunition within days of Gairy's overthrow. Cuban military advisers soon appeared and established a training camp at Grand Etang in the mountainous center of the island to instruct the Bishop-led People's Revolutionary Army and the People's Revolutionary Militia. Deputy Prime

[16] See Michael Ledeen and Herbert Romerstein, eds., *Grenada Documents*, doc. 1; Maurice Bishop, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, pp. 26–31, 111–17, 228–33; Gregory W. Sandford and Richard Vigilante, *Grenada*, pp. 47–64; Frank V. Ortiz, "Grenada Before and After," pp. 7, 9, 12; Michael Massing, "Grenada Before and After," pp. 76–87; Chris Searle, *Grenada,* pp. 53, 68–70; Kwando M. Kinshasa, "Prime Minister Maurice Bishop," pp. 41–59. See also Msgs, Ortiz to SecState, 11 1203 Apr 1979, sub: Grenada—Meeting with Minister of Finance Bernard Coard; 11 1243 Apr 1979, sub: Meeting with Prime Minister Bishop and Foreign Minister Whiteman; and 16 1757 Apr 79, sub: Grenada: PM's Speech Attacks US "Veiled Threats." All in Msg files, DoS.



**Bishop**



**Gairy**

Minister Bernard Coard traveled to Moscow and signed the first of a series of trade treaties with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in June 1980. Some eight months later, in February 1981, the Soviets shipped eight armored personnel carriers and two armored reconnaissance and patrol vehicles to the island; even larger shipments of small arms and ammunition followed. Perhaps taken aback by a Communist party whose name conveyed no reference to communism and a government that proclaimed socialist doctrine to the population by hiring professional calypso singers, the Soviets waited until November 1981 to dispatch a resident ambassador to Grenada. Other Communist states, including North Korea, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Vietnam, contributed smaller amounts of arms, equipment, and training.[17]

[17] Memos, Jacobs for FM, Dep PM, and PM, 11 Jul 1983, sub: Grenada's Relations with the USSR; [MofFA] for PM, 29 May 1982, sub: USSR; USSR and Grenada, 27 Oct 1980, sub: Agreement Between Governments of Grenada and USSR and Deliveries from USSR to Grenada of Special and Other Equipment; 9 Feb 1981, sub: Protocol to Agreement of 27 Oct 1980; Frazier for Louison, 9 Oct 1981, sub: Materiel Means Received From Foreign Countries, Within the Period 1979–81; [unsigned] for PM, 29 May 1982, sub: Agreements Between Governments of USSR and Grenada. All in IDR nos. W1, 000190, 000193, 102170, and 103902, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH. See also Searle, *Grenada*, pp. 53, 78–79; Jiri Valenta and Virginia Valenta, "Leninism in Grenada," p. 8; and Mark Falcoff, "Bishop's Cuba, Castro's Grenada," pp. 67–76, Vernon V. Aspaturian, "The Impact of the Grenada Events on the Soviet Alliance System," pp. 41–62, and Charles Gati, "Fraternal Assistance: Eastern Europe in Grenada," pp. 87–96, in *Grenada and Soviet/Cuban Policy*.



**Coard**

The New JEWEL's economic strategy involved a massive expansion of the public sector while simultaneously shrinking the private sector until it disappeared. The centerpiece was the construction of a large international airport at Point Salines, where the rolling terrain made it feasible. Originally proposed by Gairy as a means of attracting tourists, the idea gained the support of Bishop and Coard only after they seized power. In 1981 the new administration of President Ronald W. Reagan saw the project as a means of extending Soviet and Cuban influence in the Caribbean Basin. It sought, with some degree of success, to block Grenada's access to capital markets.[18]

Even without American opposition, the airport construction project proved almost too demanding. Salt marshes had to be filled, hills leveled, a lighthouse dismantled and moved, and a large causeway constructed across a major inlet. Using Western construction firms and the labor of numerous Cuban workers, the People's Revolutionary Government pressed on. By the fall of 1983 success appeared to be in sight. The Grenadians hoped to formally open their showpiece on the fifth anniversary of the revolution, 5 March 1984.[19]

Bishop's policies, coupled with a worldwide economic downturn in the early 1980s, produced significant dislocations that threatened the legitimacy of his government. Despite this, the New JEWEL Movement had strong continuing support from landless peasants. The regime had confiscated estates belonging to Gairy's closest associates, most of which were south and west of St. George's; divided them into small parcels; and distributed them to families without land of their own.[20]

Ironically, one portion of the capitalist sector, a near neighbor to the resettled peasants, continued to be a solid revenue producer for the state: the St. George's University School of Medicine. Founded in 1976 by a group of American

[18] Conference Committee (Bernard Coard et al.), ed., *Independence for Grenada*, pp. 131–34; Jay R. Mandle, *Big Revolution, Small Country*, pp. 22–44.

[19] See Rpt, [PRG], c. 1980, sub: International Airport Project, Point Salines, Grenada, CGD Mf 008451, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP; Gregory W. Sandford, *The New JEWEL Movement*, pp. 132–33.

[20] Thorndike, *Grenada*, pp. 19–22, 69, 96–105; Chris Searle and Don Rojas, eds., *To Construct from Morning*, esp. pp. 15–34, 94–131, 150–59, and Conference Committee, ed., *Independence for Grenada*, pp. 69–76.

physicians, it was a for-profit institution for Americans rejected by U.S. medical schools. The college had two campuses—True Blue, located on the eastern end of the new runway at Point Salines; and Grand Anse, just south of the town of St. George's. By the fall of 1983 some 700 American students lived at the two campuses and in off-campus housing, primarily on Prickly Point near True Blue. While the income generated by the school represented between 10 and 15 percent of Grenada's gross national product, the institution proved to be a mixed blessing for the Bishop regime. Bishop and his associates considered the faculty and students a nest of spies in need of monitoring by the Grenadian intelligence service.[21]

## Grenadian Armed Forces and Cuban Workers

In the beginning the Grenadian army was an army in name only. The forty-odd men who overpowered the Gairy government in March 1979 provided a nucleus for the force formed hastily in the aftermath of the coup's success. The remainder consisted of party supporters, primarily teenagers, who gradually acquired AK47s as Cuban and Soviet arms shipments arrived. The force's development was so chaotic and unplanned that logistical support initially consisted of handouts of food from citizens celebrating Gairy's overthrow. In the end, the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces with Bishop as the commander in chief evolved into three components: the People's Revolutionary Army, a permanent force; the People's Revolutionary Militia, a much larger reserve establishment; and the small coast guard that manned converted fishing boats.[22]

In 1983 the People's Revolutionary Army consisted of three small companies—a motorized (in the Soviet sense) company, with 145 men when at full strength; a mobile company, with 150 men; and an exploration (reconnaissance) company, with 33 men, 24 drawn from the militia. While the motorized company was at 62 percent of full strength, the other two companies were virtually complete. The motorized company was equipped with Soviet armored vehicles—eight BTR60PB amphibious armored personnel carriers and two BRDM2 amphibious scout cars. The eight-wheel-drive BTRs, with well-sloped armor on the sides and overhead armor protection that mounted coaxial 14.5-mm. and 7.62-mm. machine guns in a small conical turret, had a 3-man crew and carried up to 8 fully equipped infantrymen in a rear compartment; the BRDMs had the same turret and armament as the BTRs plus one more crew member and, with 14-mm. armor, provided about twice the protection as the personnel carriers. Although both types were vulnerable to heavy machine gun and artillery fire, they were formidable weapons indeed in a region devoid of tanks and artillery. The light-infantry mobile company was capable of moving

[21] Linda Wolfe, "Young Doctors at Sea," pp. 34–39; Plans, MoI, Grenada, n.d., sub: CI Operations and Action for Security Forces in Armed Forces Maneuvers, 30 Jan–1 Feb 1981, IDR nos. 104968, 105161, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH.

[22] Memo, DGofPlanning, PRG, for All Permanent Secs, Dept Heads, and Liaison Offs for Cuban Collaboration, n.d., sub: 1983/84 Cuba-Grenada Collaboration Agreement; Rpt, Fraser, 30 Sep 1983, sub: Logistic Study Commission . . . ; Rpt, [c. 1980], sub: Reorganization and Structure of the Armed Forces; Rpt, GS, [Nov 1979], sub: Armament Subgroup; Rpt, Belfon to Bishop, 26 Aug 82, sub: Revised Student List for Overseas (Soviet Union) Course. All in CGD Mf 003264, 004038, 008543, 008543, 012559, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.



**Soviet BTR60PB;** *below,* **Soviet BRDM2**



by truck to any threatened sector. The exploration company replaced a rapid mobilization company, a militia unit theoretically capable of taking the field within twenty-four hours of notification but found wanting in this regard. Rounding out the permanent force were an antiaircraft battery, a logistics unit, and several platoons assigned to protect and support two high-value targets—the ministry of defence and interior and the Unified Storeroom. Previously, the People's Revolutionary Army had also fielded a separate mortar platoon and a separate antitank platoon, but these crew-served weapons and their operators had been distributed among the existing organizations.[23]

[23] Memo, [c. 1980], sub: [Estima]ted Time for Formation of Units in Transition Period; Rpt, [unsigned], n.d., sub: Reorganization and Structure of the Armed Forces; Notes, 29 Sep 1983, sub: Meeting of Bn Staff; Memo, MoD, 6 Jun 1983, sub: [Strength of General Staff and Units]; Rpt, MoD, 15 Oct 1983, sub: Situation, 1200; Notes, MoD, 14 Oct [1983], sub: [Strength of Carriacou Bn, St. George's Bn, St. Andrews Bn]; Chart, [MoD], 21 Sep 1983, sub: Situation of Completion of Units; Rpt, Francis to Bishop, 22 May 1983, sub: Specific Aspects That Relate to My Unit. All in CGD Mf 008543, 008543, 004032, 004032, 004279, 004416, 004416, 004849, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP. On Soviet equipment, see FM 100–2–3, The Soviet Army: Troops, Organization, and Equipment, Jun 1991 pp. 5-23 to 5-26, Archives files, CMH.

Five reserve battalions, consisting of regulars and militiamen, supported the permanent force. The regulars served as a command-and-control cadre to direct mobilization and training; the remainder of the troops were militiamen. All these units were organized as light infantry, and their size fluctuated widely. The St. George's Battalion, with 448 authorized personnel, was the strongest, while the Carriacou Battalion, with 256 men and women, was the smallest. In practice, the Carriacou Battalion had a strength of only 150; by Grenadian standards it was little more than a reinforced company.[24]

To administer the reserves and to facilitate mobilization, the Grenadian General Staff divided the main island and its dependencies into four military regions *(see Map 2)*. Military Region I encompassed the southwestern part of the main island, which included the capital of St. George's and the area around Point Salines; II, the east coast and the mountainous interior; III, the northwestern part of the main island; and IV, Carriacou and Petit Martinque. While Military Region I supported two reserve battalions, the other three mustered one battalion apiece.[25]

All the permanent units and the military regions reported directly to the General Staff, which functioned in practice (if not in theory) as a directing body. Following a reorganization in June 1983, it consisted of a chief of staff, Maj. Einstein Louison, and nine staff sections representing a combination of functional specialties and military branches. The General Staff's primary functions were to prepare military plans and to serve as the connecting link between the field forces and the secretary of defence and interior, General Hudson Austin. Austin was both the only general officer in the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces and the political head of the ministry, whose political, financial, and logistical sections reported directly to him *(Chart 1)*. His responsibilities as minister included not only the care and maintenance of the armed forces but also of the internal security apparatus. As with other members of the Bishop government, Austin held more than one major ministerial post. In his role as the minister of communications, works, and labour, he was responsible for the design and building of the airport at Point Salines. Austin reported directly to Bishop.[26]

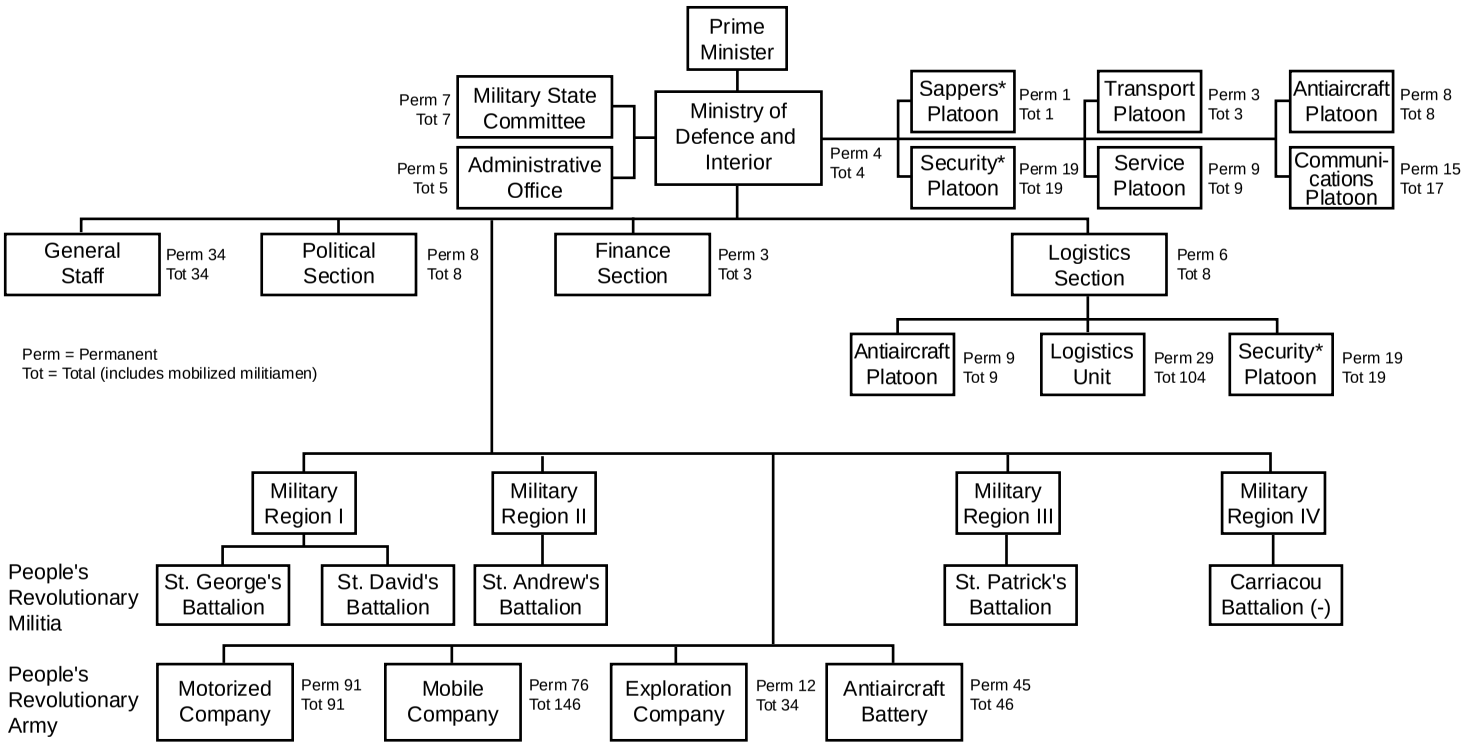
Soldiers in the People's Revolutionary Army, both officers and enlisted men, received individual training in both Cuba and the Soviet Union. The bulk of those who trained overseas traveled to Cuba, and the relative few who

[24] Dirs 001, AFofGrenada, n.d., subs: Organization of [Mil] Region I and Organization of [Mil] Region IV; Rpt, George to Bishop, 23 May 1983, sub: Combative Disposition and Status of Units; Chart, [MoD], 21 Sep 1983. All in CGD Mf 004311, 004067, 004270, 004416, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

[25] Dir, Bishop, [1981], sub: System of Completion and Control of the People's Militia (Reserves); Rpt, Abdulah to Bishop, 24 May 83, sub: Present Situation in Region IV; Chart, [MoD], 21 Sep 1983. All in CGD Mf 004849, 004849, 004416, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

[26] Order 001, CinC, AFofGrenada, n.d., sub: Instruction Year 1982–83; Rpt, [MoD], [1983], sub: Direction of Armed Forces; Galley Proof, n.d., sub: Grenada—Defense Establishment, Command Structure, and Force Organization; Chart, [MoD], n.d., sub: [General Staff Structure], June 1983–Present Day; Notes, 28 Sep 1983, sub: Meeting of Chiefs of Subcommission of Commission #1; Oath, PRA, n.d. All in CGD Mf 003484, 003499, 004032, 004344, 004344, 006646, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

## Chart 1—Grenadian Armed Forces Command Structure, 21 September 1983




* The Sappers Platoon was an engineer platoon, while the Security Platoon consisted of light infantry.

*Source*: Table, Situation of the Completion of Units, 21 Sep 1983, and Rpt, Fraser, 30 Sep 1983, sub: [Current Status of Logistics] CGO Mf 004032 and 004416, Entry 338 (UO), RG 242, NARA–CP; Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 11. All figures are actual troops with units as of 21 September.



**Austin**

went to the Soviet Union benefited from longer and more sophisticated courses. Beginning shortly after the 1979 revolution, both countries dispatched training teams to Grenada. The Cubans maintained a permanent training team that provided unit training; the Soviets, as well as other Warsaw Pact nations, occasionally assigned teams. By 1983 these efforts had produced the rudiments of a professional force.[27]

Despite the training, technical expertise remained in short supply. Because Grenadian junior and noncommissioned officers usually held more than one position simultaneously, it was hard for anyone to excel in any one position. Capt. Lester Redhead, for example, served as both the commander of the Motorized Infantry Company and the chief of the Training Section of the General Staff.[28]

While the troops gained a measure of competence with their individual and crew-served weapons, unit operations were another matter. The Grenadian economy was too poor to permit the extensive field training required to bring the island's forces to a high level of readiness. Conditions in the People's Revolutionary Militia were even worse than in the permanent force. Most reservists never even fired a weapon on a range. As a result, much of the army's and almost all the militia's training took place in the classroom rather than the field, and much of that class time consisted of ideological instruction. Lack of expertise also exacerbated training problems. Often the Central Committee selected key commissioned or noncommissioned officers on the basis of their technical skills or political connections without regard for their leadership abilities. Even when these men and women proved inept, they usually remained in their positions. This situation did nothing to foster productive teams.[29]

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[27] Ltr, Rodriguez to SecDef/Int, 10 Jan 1983; Rpt, Redhead to Louison, 21 Jul 1983, sub: Rpt on Present Situation in the Militia; Rpt, Stroude to Bishop, 4 Sep 1982, sub: Rpt on Training Course in Cuba. All in CGD Mf 006921, 008539, 012559, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP. See also Ledeen and Romerstein, eds., *Grenada Documents*, docs. 24, 25; John Walton Cotman, *The Gorrión Tree*, pp. 72–104.

[28] Ltr, Rodriguez to SecDef/Int, 10 Jan 1983, and Rpt, Redhead to Louison, 21 Jul 1983, CGD Mf 006921, 008539, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

[29] Ltr, Rodriguez to SecDef/Int., 10 Jan 1983; Rpt, Redhead to Louison, 21 Jul 1983; Cir, Louison to All Officers, NCOs, and Privates, 30 Apr 1982, sub: Wearing of Uniform on the Compound; Rpt, Parke, 24 May 1983, sub: Present Situation in Log [Base]; Rpt, Stroude to CinC,



**Member of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces stands guard in the street.**

The cumulative effect of these influences was that the permanent force improved militarily in a curious checkerboard fashion rather than along a broad front. While the quality of the Grenadians' antiaircraft units was quite high, that of their antitank teams was low—possibly because most of the soldiers had never seen a tank. Whatever the case, by 1983 the People's Revolutionary Army was fully capable of maintaining order against the regime's internal opponents. By contrast, the People's Revolutionary Militia was less a military organization than a patriotic society devoted to developing a sense of nationhood, promoting loyalty to the regime, and serving as a point of entry for a job in the public sector. Whether these organizations could defeat an external opponent of any strength remained to be seen.[30]

Logistical units and fixed installations provided support for the permanent troops and active-duty militiamen. As of May 1983 a small headquarters at True Blue, not far from the American medical school campus, provided command and control over five diverse elements: the Unified Storeroom, located

5 Oct 1982, sub: Organization of Political/Academic Work [for Year 1982–83]; Rpt, Stroude to CinC, 12 Jul 1983, sub: Present State of Party—Political Work in Armed Forces. All in CGD Mf 006921, 008539, 003064, 004849, 006259, 006942, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP. For a discussion of the state of the militia, see Kinshasa, "Prime Minister Maurice Bishop," pp. 48–50.

[30] Ltr, Rodriguez to SecDef/Int, 10 Jan 1983, and Rpt, Ad Hoc Cmte, 16 Apr 1983, sub: Special Rpt to Security/Defence Committee and Political Bureau, CGD Mf 006921 and 005196, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

at Frequente, which consisted of two large warehouses that handled all classes of supply; the Unified Workshop, which served as a centralized repair point for all types of equipment; the Medical Post, which treated all casualties; the Transportation Company, which controlled the bulk of the wheeled transport in the People's Revolutionary Army; and the Farm, south of St. George's, where soldiers grew food to supplement their army ration and to lessen dependence upon imported foodstuffs. By the fall of 1983 the regime had consolidated these elements into one logistics unit, with some small reduction in overhead.[31]

The Bishop government saw itself as the vanguard of the revolution in the Caribbean, and this conception influenced all defense policies. As part of its program to defend and foster the revolution, the government surreptitiously opened the army's training facilities to revolutionary parties throughout the Caribbean and turned the Unified Storeroom into a transshipment point for arms for the newly trained revolutionaries. The danger of this approach was that any effort to extend the revolution might invite an attack from counterrevolutionary forces. Rhetorically evoking Maoist tenets, Bishop and his supporters publicly stated they would resort to guerrilla warfare if an invader attacked and succeeded in capturing the island. This approach, however, had little chance of succeeding, given Grenadian realities. The country lacked the economic resources and the size to make such a campaign practical for an extended period. As a result, the Ministry of Defence made little effort to cache arms, equipment, or foodstuffs in the interior to support a sustained effort at irregular warfare.[32]

Bishop planned to neutralize the threat of an American invasion by building popular support for his regime in the United States. Rather than prepare for a U.S. intervention, the Grenadians focused on what they considered the most likely threat: a landing by one or two CIA-sponsored mercenary brigades, supported at most by a few destroyers and obsolete propeller-driven warplanes. In short, with Cuban encouragement, they prepared to refight the Bay of Pigs.[33]

Detailed planning envisioned that the People's Revolutionary Army would contain any invasion force during the early stages of the operation until the People's Revolutionary Militia could mobilize and overwhelm the intruders through sheer weight of numbers. Militiamen would move to concentration points at the center of the island where they could deploy in multiple directions depending upon the location of the threat. The Grenadians had studied U.S. Marine Corps amphibious doctrine and organization and had some hope of beating back an amphibious assault before the enemy landed. When the islanders ran exercises based on these plans, the outcome was always the same. They repulsed the invaders.[34]

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[31] Memo, n.d., sub: Principal Role of Log from Peace to War Time, and Rpt, Fraser, 30 Sep 1983, CGD Mf 003064 and 004038, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

[32] Rpt, James, 16 Mar 1983, sub: National Security . . . , and Memo, MoD, 18 Apr 1983, sub: Character of Enemy Actions, CGD Mf 004841 and 012496, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

[33] Rpt, James, 16 Mar 1983, and Memo, MoD, 18 Apr 1983, CGD Mf 004841 and 012496, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

[34] Memo, MoD, 18 Apr 1983; Chart, n.d., sub: MI Bn in Defence; Memo, Bishop, [Apr 1983], sub: Tactical Task for Realization of Unilateral Tactical Maneuver of Two Grades. All in CGD Mf 012496, 004490, 012496, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

A spring 1983 invasion scare, prompted by a television address by President Reagan in which he denounced the construction of an airport at Point Salines, sparked a high-level review of defense plans and capabilities of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces. Both the General Staff and its Cuban military advisers considered the Point Salines area as the most likely location for any attack. They laid out a well-conceived defense depending upon dispersed light machine guns and mortars with interlocking fields of fire. The plan left no part of the peninsula undefended by fire from predetermined fighting stations. Responsibility for the defense of the area rested with approximately 700 Cuban construction workers, whose camp stood on a hill overlooking the west end of the new airport's runway. All were reservists in the Cuban armed forces, but for some of the middle-aged members of the group, military training was an ever-receding memory. The Cubans organized their camp along military lines, and the Grenadians supplied them with light infantry weapons. The Cuban government required all the workers assigned to Grenada to train as a military unit, but in October 1983 most were new arrivals and had not yet done so. A realist with few illusions when it came to military affairs, Coard concluded that the construction workers were the regime's main defense against external attack.[35]

## Eastern Caribbean Neighbors

Revolutionary Grenada's relations with its eastern Caribbean neighbors were complex to say the least. Politically, Grenada remained a member of the British Commonwealth. The governor general under Gairy, Sir Paul Scoon, a former school teacher from Gouyave who had studied in Great Britain and Canada, continued on as the ceremonial head of state and representative of the Queen under Bishop. His reputation as "a very decent human being," to quote Keith Mitchell, a Howard University faculty member, no doubt eased the transition. At the same time, however, the New JEWEL Movement continued fraternal ties with other regional progressive parties that aimed to overthrow the governments with which the Bishop regime maintained formal diplomatic ties. Economically, however, considerable solidarity existed between the regional governments. Grenada remained a member of the Caribbean Community and Common Market—an organization of British Commonwealth states in the region that sought economic integration; cooperation in such areas as culture, education, and tourism; and coordination of foreign and defense policies. Given Grenada's orientation toward Havana and Moscow while most of the group's other members looked toward Great Britain and the United States, the Bishop regime's adherence to the last objective was a mere formality with little substance. In 1981 Grenada did join with the other governments of the Windward and Leeward Islands to form the Organization of

[35] Fidel Castro, *War and Crisis in the Americas*, pp. 128–30; Republic of Cuba, *Statements by Cuba on Events in Grenada, October 1983*, pp. 5–6; Interv, Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Rpt, Ad Hoc Cmte, 16 Apr 1983, and Overlays, subs: [Cuban Defensive Positions, Point Salines] and [Disposition of Units for Defense of Point Salines], with Map of Grenada, CGD Mf 005196 and 00317(#1)/002761, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.



**Cuban construction workers and their camp at Point Salines**



Eastern Caribbean States, a body associated with the Caribbean Community and Common Market but designed to foster the political, economic, foreign policy, and defense interests of the microstates it represented. Many of these neighbors opposed the Reagan administration's efforts to block Grenada's access to capital markets.[36]

Despite this cooperation, Grenada's Communist affiliations and military buildup caused increasing nervousness among its neighbors. Prime Ministers J. M. G. M. "Tom" Adams of Barbados, Eugenia Charles of Dominica, and Edward Seaga of Jamaica became the Bishop regime's most dedicated local opponents. Largely in response to the military buildup on Grenada, Adams took the lead to establish the Regional Security System that included Barbados and four members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States: St. Lucia, Dominica, the nation of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and the nation of Antigua and Barbuda. All signed a memorandum of understanding on 29 October 1982 to codify the arrangement—a member state whose security was threatened could call upon the others for assistance—and all agreed to draw up contingency plans, to earmark reaction forces (eighty-member paramilitary special service units on each island), to arrange for combined training, and to create a regional command-and-control apparatus. Barbados provided the bulk of the funds and the only trained soldiers; the other islands had only police. Col. (later Brig.) Rudyard Lewis, the chief of staff of the Barbados Defence Force, became the first coordinator of the regional forces. In a crisis Lewis would oversee the actions of the special service units from the Barbados Defence Force's operations center. At the same time that the member states agreed to this limited centralization, they declined to give Lewis the more formal powers of command that Adams had hoped to secure.[37]

No sooner had Adams obtained the defense agreement than he attempted to isolate Grenada diplomatically. In November 1982, at the third meeting of the Caribbean Community and Common Market heads of government, he pushed for a revision of the organization's basic treaty to commit member states to maintain parliamentary democracy. In response, Bishop displayed formidable political skills. He worked behind the scenes to defuse the issue, giving private assurances that Grenada would hold elections eventually, although not necessarily for a Westminster-style parliament. The other heads of state rejected Adams' proposal and instead adopted a resolution recognizing "ideological pluralism" in the region and the sovereign right "of all peoples" to select their own path "to social, economic, and political development." Bishop was at the height of his prestige.[38]

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[36] Meditz and Hanratty, eds., *Islands*, pp. 654–55, 732; Eric Pace, "In the Eye of the Grenada Storm," *New York Times*, 27 Oct 1983 (quoted words).

[37] See William C. Gilmore, *The Grenada Intervention*, pp. 93–94; Meditz and Hanratty, eds., *Islands*, pp. 414, 417, 599, 622–24.

[38] Msg, Bish to SecState, 28 Oct 1982, sub: Antigua to Sign Regional Defense Agreement, 82 Bridgetown 05457, DoS; Rpt, [MoFA], 23 Mar 1982, sub: Present International and Regional Situation and Grenada's Plans in the Period, CGD Mf 007668, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA; Meditz and Hanratty, eds., *Islands*, p. 417; Tony Martin, ed., *In Nobody's Back Yard*, 2:63–64, 65 (quoted words), 66.



**Lewis, Scoon, and Adams** *(left to right)*

## U.S. Policy Shifts

For the previous two hundred years Grenada had existed largely outside the strategic calculations of the great powers. U.S. presidents had expressed security concerns about developments in the major islands of the Caribbean extending back at least to President James Monroe in 1823. The United States, however, had traditionally demonstrated little interest in the eastern Caribbean and its small states. The Grenadian revolution changed all that.[39]

U.S.-Grenadian relations were strained from almost the beginning of Bishop's rule. From 1977 until 1981 the administration of President James E. "Jimmy" Carter Jr. was hardly unfriendly to left of center populist regimes, as the New JEWEL Movement portrayed itself. Bishop and his associates, however, believed that the United States exercised a hegemonic, almost demonic, influence on the regional economy. This predisposed them to cast in the worst possible light anything that the United States or its agents did.[40]

[39] Lester D. Langley, *The United States and the Caribbean in the Twentieth Century* pp. 281–88.

[40] Bishop, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, pp. 22, 48–59; Ledeen and Romerstein, eds., *Grenada Documents*, doc. 1; Valenta and Valenta, "Leninism in Grenada," pp. 2–4; M. Glenn Abernathy et al., eds., *The Carter Years*, pp. 55–59; Flora Lewis, "Spice Island Strains," *New York Times*, 28 Feb 1983.

The Carter administration initially attempted to establish a working relationship with the Bishop government. Bishop's public attacks and growing ties with Cuba, however, caused American policymakers to reduce contacts with Grenada and to adopt an approach best described as correct but cool. Events on Grenada occurred in a Cold War context of worldwide competition and sometime cooperation with the Soviet Union and its allies. The Americans had long considered the eastern Caribbean a British sphere of influence, and the attitude persisted years after Great Britain had given every indication of desiring to do nothing more than withdraw from the area. Yet the 1979 revolution led the Carter administration to revise the American policy of benign neglect. Grenada became a very tiny piece—but a piece nonetheless—within an "arc of crisis" of expanding Communist influence that President Carter's National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski perceived as stretching from Afghanistan through the Horn of Africa to Central America.[41]

Given the range of problems it faced abroad, the Carter administration could muster only a modest upgrade in local U.S. military capabilities in the region. To focus on the northern Caribbean, it created a standing joint task force (JTF) that functioned as a planning headquarters reporting to U.S. Atlantic Command in Norfolk, Virginia. A second headquarters, U.S. Antilles Command, performed a similar mission for the southern Caribbean. The administration also increased U.S. economic assistance to friendly governments in the area while pointedly excluding Grenada because of its close ties to Cuba.[42]

Taking office in January 1981, President Reagan adopted a much more rigid anti-Communist stance than his predecessor. The new chief executive and his senior advisers gave Grenada more personal consideration than had the Carter team. Expanding a Carter initiative, U.S. forces made their presence felt in the region through maneuvers and exercises. In addition, acting on Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger's instructions, Atlantic Command consolidated its two small subordinate commands into one more robust organization, U.S. Forces, Caribbean, with headquarters in Key West, Florida. On 23 March 1983 the president made the issue of Soviet and Cuban influence on Grenada his own in a very public way. In a television address primarily devoted to proposing a satellite-based antiballistic missile system, dubbed Star Wars by its critics, Reagan displayed a reconnaissance photograph of the airport construction at Point Salines as well as other images to illustrate Soviet and Cuban penetration in the region. "Who," he asked, "is it intended for," noting that "Grenada doesn't even have an air force." His advisers feared they knew the answer to that question all too well. Grenada lay athwart major U.S. shipping lanes in the Caribbean that carried over 40 percent of U.S. oil imports. In an emergency, especially one that required the United States to reinforce

[41] Burton I. Kaufman, *The Presidency of James Earl Carter Jr.*, pp. 151–66; "The Crescent of Crisis," *Time*, 15 Jan 1979, p. 18 (quoted words).

[42] Robert A. Pastor, *Whirlpool*, pp. 42–64; Ronald H. Cole et al., *The History of the Unified Command Plan, 1946–1993*, pp. 70–71.

Western Europe, the island would provide the Soviets with an unsinkable aircraft carrier in a critical area.[43]

In May 1983 the Crisis Preplanning Group, an interagency committee chaired by a senior member of the National Security Council Staff, recommended that the United States go beyond exhortation by adopting a two-track policy toward Grenada. One track consisted of opening a dialogue with Bishop to lay out U.S. concerns and to encourage him to halt Grenada's slide into the Soviet orbit. If that failed, the second track would begin—a mix of economic, political, and military pressures to achieve the same result. In short, the group proposed that the administration "encourage" the St. George's University School of Medicine—the Bishop regime's primary source of foreign exchange—to relocate to another island with a friendlier political climate. At the same time, the United States would covertly fund Bishop's democratic opponents on the island and provide military assistance to neighboring governments threatened by his arms buildup. The group also considered, but rejected, unilateral U.S. military intervention to install a new government. Without a triggering event, such as an American held hostage by the Bishop regime, the diplomatic costs of such a move would far outweigh the benefits.[44]

Bishop came to Washington in late June 1983 as part of a good will tour of the United States and met with Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Judge William P. Clark, popularly referred to as the national security adviser, and other American officials. The "straightforward but amicable conversation" gave the Americans an opportunity to size up Bishop and to "see how committed he was to his present course." Bishop argued that his government sought only friendly relations with the United States, while Clark emphasized that actions were more important than words. Immediately after the meeting, Bishop told the media that the Reagan administration was training mercenaries to invade his country. Judge Clark was not amused. The administration closely monitored the activities of the Bishop regime for ninety days following the meeting. Detecting no change in either rhetoric or behavior, President Reagan signed National Security Decision Directive 105 on 5 October 1983. It made the dual-track approach official U.S. policy. The directive still sat in the national security adviser's in-box awaiting implementation when events on Grenada overtook it.[45]

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[43] R. Cole et al., *Unified Command Plan*, pp. 71–74; Ronald W. Reagan, *Public Papers of the President of the United States, 1983*, 2:440 (quoted words); Issue Paper, [Interagency Core Group], [18 May 1983], sub: Grenada, CJCS files (Vessey), 502B (NSC Memos), RNSC, NARA–RRPL.

[44] Issue Paper (quoted word), [Interagency Core Group], [18 May 1983], and Memo, Hill for Clark, 18 May 1983, sub: Grenada, CJCS files (Vessey), 502B (NSC Memos), RNSC, NARA–RRPL.

[45] Bernard D. Nossiter, "Grenada Premier Establishes 'Some Sort' of U.S. Rapport," *New York Times*, 10 Jun 1983 (A8, quoted words); Ledeen and Romerstein, eds., *Grenada Documents*, doc. 32; George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, pp. 324–25. In RNSC, NARA–RRPL, see also Memo, Dam for Reagan, 17 Jun 1983, sub: Meeting with Bishop, Country files (Grenada), vol. 1 (5), box 91,365; Memo, Clark for Reagan, 4 Oct 1983, sub: Grenada, and NSDD 105, Reagan, 4 Oct 1983, sub: Eastern Caribbean Security Policy, NSDD files, box 91,291; and Memo, Clark for Shultz, 15 Jun 1983, CJCS files (Vessey), 502B (NSC Memos).

## Behind the Scenes

### Chain of Command Complexities

What was happening at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, located some 530 kilometers south of Washington, D.C., and home of the Army's main contingency force—the XVIII Airborne Corps and its 82d Airborne Division—would have a major impact upon subsequent operations on Grenada. On Friday, 14 October 1983, Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr., a 41-year-old graduate of the U.S. Military Academy (class of 1963) assumed command of the 82d Airborne Division's 2d Brigade at Fort Bragg. For Silvasy it was a homecoming. Almost twenty years earlier, he had joined the division as a platoon leader. He rose to command a rifle company during the 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic, the last contingency operation conducted by the 82d. Afterward, he served in a variety of assignments away from Fort Bragg, including a tour in Vietnam with the 101st Airborne Division. Now, for the first time, he had returned.[46]

Silvasy's new brigade had a special mission. As the Army's strategic ready force, the XVIII Airborne Corps could dispatch a battalion-size task force aboard Air Force transports to a destination anywhere in the world within eighteen hours and follow up with increasingly larger elements. Once the men, plus equipment and supplies, arrived at their destination, they could, if necessary, parachute onto the objective prepared for combat. This task force was formed from the 82d Airborne Division's brigade with the highest state of readiness, Division Ready Brigade-1. The mission rotated among the three brigades according to a fixed schedule. As luck would have it, Silvasy's brigade had Division Ready Brigade-1 status on 14 October.[47]

Yet leading a combat mission was the farthest thing from Silvasy's mind that day. Replacing an officer who had led the brigade for nearly three years, he had much to do and to learn before he would feel comfortable in his new command. He would have little time, however. Even as he took the flag of the 2d Brigade, the Grenada intervention was fast approaching. Silvasy would have a scant ten days to reacquaint himself with his old division before the call came.[48]

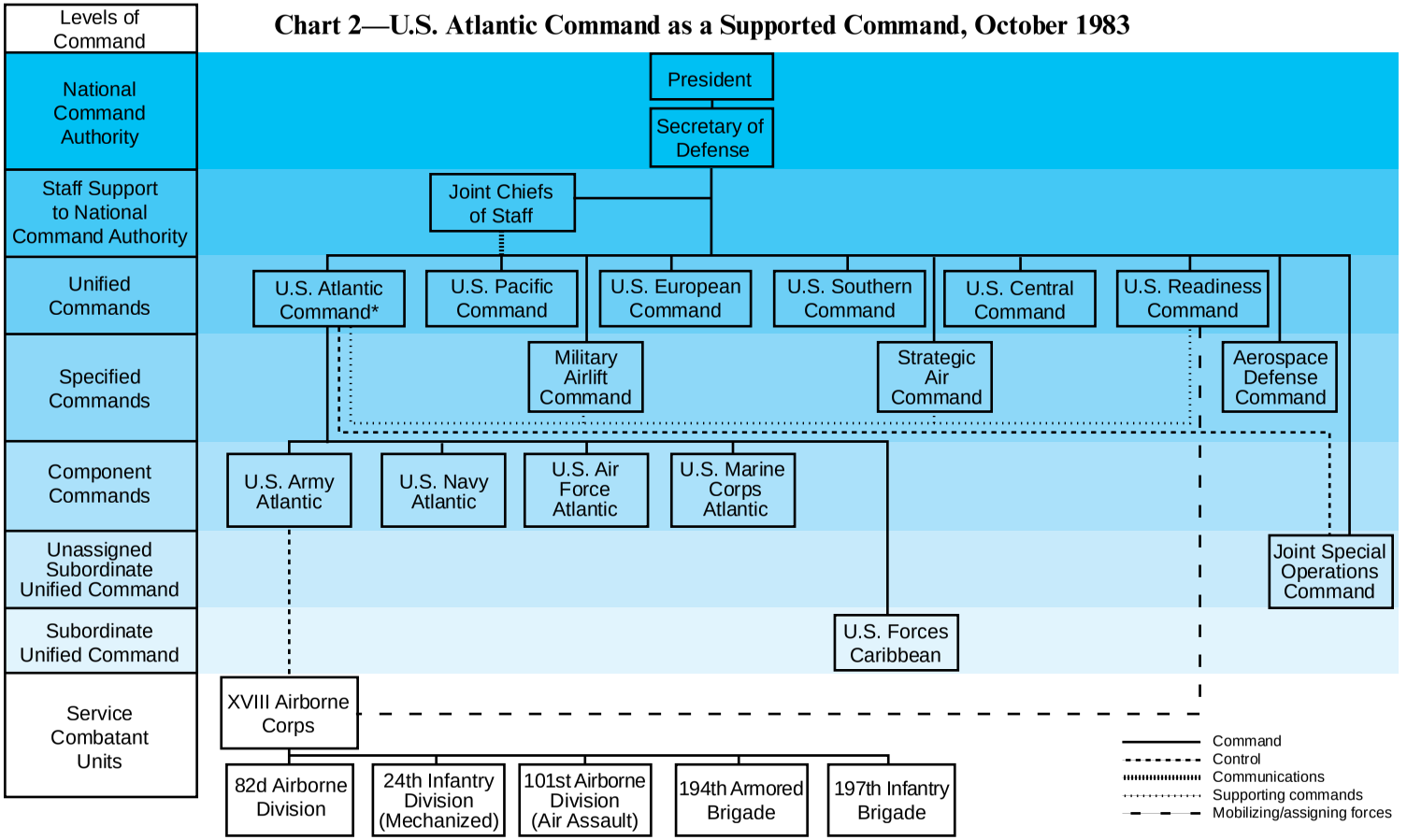
The field army to which Silvasy returned in 1983 represented a mixture of the old and the new. The operational chain of command provided one ingredient of continuity. It remained exactly the same as it had been in 1965, beginning with the president and the secretary of defense (together, the National Command Authority) and then moving down the hierarchy to the commanders of the nine unified and specified commands—major multi- and single-service organizations with a continuing geographical or functional mission created by the president *(see Chart 2)*. Responsibility for transmitting communications from the secretary to the nine commanders fell to the Joint Chiefs of Staff

[46] Silvasy Resumé, 20 Apr 1988, GenOff files, CMH; Briefing, Silvasy, 8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; "Falcon Brigade Passes Colors to New Commander," *Paraglide,* 27 Oct 1983.

[47] Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. This standard media briefing, which was unclassified, formed the basis for all information about the division's internal procedures, including timing.

[48] "Falcon Brigade Passes to New Commander," *Paraglide,* 27 Oct 1983.

## Chart 2—U.S. Atlantic Command as a Supported Command, October 1983




* The commander was triple-hatted as the Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Command; Commander in Chief, U.S. Atlantic Fleet; and Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic.

*Source*: Adapted from Ronald H. Cole et al., *The History of the Unified Command Plan, 1946–1993*, pp. 127–29.

(JCS). In a time-sensitive crisis, the JCS chairman could represent the Joint Chiefs in forwarding orders.[49]

Army General John W. Vessey Jr. had been the chairman of the Joint Chiefs since June 1982. Because he had spent much of his career learning the gritty realities of soldiering in the field, one newsman proclaimed him a Mud Soldier. After enlisting in the Minnesota National Guard in 1939, Vessey had served in combat with the 34th Infantry Division during World War II, gaining a battlefield commission at Anzio, Italy, in 1944. His subsequent career had involved much troop duty and slow advancement. He had missed the Korean war but served in Vietnam. In 1967 his successful defense of Fire Support Base Gold against long odds made his reputation. Within eight months the Army promoted him from lieutenant colonel to colonel and four years later to brigadier general. He was forty-eight. His rise thereafter was rapid: major general in 1974, lieutenant general in 1975, and general in 1976. He served successively as deputy chief of staff for operations and plans on the Army Staff, 1975–1976; commander, U.S. Forces, Korea, 1976–1979; and vice chief of staff, U.S. Army, 1979–1982.[50]

As chairman, Vessey had sought cooperation between the services and exerted influence with the Reagan administration behind the scenes rather than by courting a high public profile either for himself or the Joint Chiefs as an institution. In particular, he had developed a close personal relationship with Secretary of Defense Weinberger, who respected his judgment. Vessey had a dry sense of humor and a way of expressing large truths in understated epigrams: "Don't get small units caught in between the forces of history" was one. The president, too, admired his common sense.[51]

Unified commands, which reported to the president and the secretary of defense through the Joint Chiefs of Staff, constituted the next link in the joint chain of command. By definition, they contained substantial elements from two or more services, labeled components. Unified commanders in 1983 exercised only tenuous authority over their component commands in many key areas: internal administration, discipline, training, logistical support, and tactical employment. Most control in these realms lay with the subordinate component commanders. As far as logistics was concerned, law and regulation limited the unified commander to coordinating policies and procedures

[49] Alice C. Cole et al., *The Department of Defense*, pp. 316–24; JCS Pub 2, Unified Action Armed Forces, 1974, chg. 1, pp. 16–19.

[50] George C. Wilson, "A 'Mud Soldier' for Joint Chiefs," *Washington Post,* 5 Mar 1982; Clay Blair, "Vessey: A Soldier's Soldier," *Washington Times,* 17 May 1982; Richard Halloran, "A Commanding Voice for the Military," *New York Times Magazine*, 15 Jul 1984, pp. 18–25, 52; Willard J. Webb and Ronald H. Cole, *The Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, p. 105, 106–07; George L. MacGarrigle, *Combat Operations*, pp. 127–32; Vessey Resumé, 30 Sep 1985, GenOff files, CMH.

[51] Wilson, "'Mud Soldier,'" *Washington Post*, 5 Mar 1982; Blair, "Vessey," *Washington Times*, 17 May 1982; Halloran, "Commanding Voice," *New York Times Magazine*, 15 Jul 1984, pp. 18–25, 52; Vessey Resumé, 30 Sep 1985, GenOff files, CMH; Caspar W. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace*, p. 120. For the Vessey quotation, see http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authority/john_w_vessey_jr.html.



**General Vessey** *(sitting)* **and the Joint Chiefs**

through the component commanders; in this manner he was supposed to ensure effectiveness and economy and to prevent overlap or duplication of functions and facilities among the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine units of his command. Many unified commanders believed, however, that *coordination* did not give them sufficient authority to achieve those objectives. In their view the service departments in Washington exercised more influence than they did over the actions of the component commanders.[52]

In an emergency involving something less than his entire operational area, a unified commander normally created an ad hoc joint task force with two or more elements from different services to accomplish a specific, limited objective in a relatively brief period of time. Because the Joint Chiefs of Staff considered missions that involved centralized direction of logistics inappropriate for operations of short duration, the JTF commanders' logistical responsibilities remained circumscribed. Each coordinated and controlled the logistics of his subordinate commanders only enough to meet needs essential to achieving his mission. The service elements determined their own logistical requirements and largely established their own priorities.[53]

In the event of a crisis requiring a commitment of forces from the continental United States, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, acting in the name of the

[52] JCS Pub 2, Unified Action Armed Forces, 1974, chg. 1, pp. 38, 47, 49; R. Cole et al., *Unified Command Plan,* pp. 37–91.

[53] JCS Pub 2, Unified Action Armed Forces, 1974, chg. 1, pp. 51–52.

secretary of defense, would assign the necessary units to a designated unified commander *(see Chart 2)*. The Joint Staff, acting in accord with a formal procedure known as the Crisis Action System, would develop a force list of the units needed and inform U.S. Readiness Command, which then would notify the respective units and at the appropriate time pass them to the operational control of the command that would use them.[54]

Located at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida, and commanded by Army General Wallace H. Nutting, Readiness Command was the joint headquarters that controlled the U.S. strategic reserve consisting of only Army and Air Forces units in the continental United States. Its mission included responsibility for developing joint doctrine to guide the actions of elements of two or more military services working in conjunction to achieve a common objective. With the doctrine in hand, it was expected to organize and train joint task forces to execute missions in an appropriate fashion. Finally, when ordered by the president (as conveyed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff), Readiness Command was either to conduct operations or to pass forces to the relevant unified commander. Despite having identified discrepancies between Army and Air Force doctrine and having tested solutions successfully, it had never become the powerful advocate of joint doctrine envisioned by its early supporters because it lacked the authority to impose solutions. As a result, authoritative statements on doctrine remained the preserve of the individual services. The command could only forward issues to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for negotiation, and because the Joint Chiefs followed the rule of unanimity, the negotiations often went nowhere.[55]

Army units in the continental United States, such as the XVIII Airborne Corps and the divisions it controlled, came under the U.S. Army Forces Command. Headquartered at Fort McPherson, Georgia, and commanded by General Richard E. Cavazos, a tough, no-nonsense infantryman, it had the primary mission to train units in Army doctrine, and in doing so reported directly to Headquarters, Department of the Army. At the same time, when activated, it was the Army component of Readiness Command and thus prepared Army units for joint operations. Its Air Force counterpart, the U.S. Air Force Tactical Air Command at Langley Air Force Base, Virginia, had a similar dual responsibility.[56]

A predominantly naval entity with no Army and very few Air Force units assigned on a permanent basis, Atlantic Command was responsible for contingency operations in the Caribbean, among other regions. Its commander also served as commander of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet and as Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, a North Atlantic Treaty Organization position. Having

[54] AFSC Pub 2B10, Organization and Command Relationships, 1981, and AFSC Pub 1, Joint Staff Officers Guide, 1980, copies in CMH.

[55] JCS Pub 1, DoD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 1979, s.v. "doctrine (DOD, IADB)"; John W. Partin, *United States Readiness Command/Joint Deployment Agency Command History, 1983–1984*, pp. 1–24. See also Interv, Monclova and Lang with Adams, 5–8 May 1975, SrOffOHist files, CMH.

[56] Partin, *Readiness Command*, 1:1–24.



**Atlantic Command headquarters building** *(2010 photograph)*

one man hold three demanding posts simultaneously, noted one former incumbent, meant that he lacked the time and energy to deal with any one of them to the degree that it demanded. His staff was also overstretched: It functioned as the staff of both Atlantic Command and the Atlantic Fleet. Given these dual responsibilities, it focused largely on naval operations. The staff consisted of Navy and Marine Corps officers, with only a few representatives of the Army and Air Force added to provide a joint perspective.[57]

In October 1983 a veteran Navy fighter pilot, Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, was at the helm of Atlantic Command. A 1946 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, McDonald completed flight training in 1950 and flew the first generation of Navy jets that served with the fleet. By August 1964 he was the commander of Naval Attack Squadron 56 and during the Gulf of Tonkin incident led the initial strike on North Vietnam, for which he received the Navy Cross. A series of staff and line appointments culminated six years later in his

[57] AnHistRpt, CinC, LANTCOM, 1983, pp. vii–ix, Archives files, CMH; Charles K. Duncan, "The Reminiscences of Admiral Charles K. Duncan," Memoir, 4:1662–98; Memo, Hirrel for author, [22 May 2007], Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

receiving command of a carrier, the USS *Coral Sea*. Promoted to vice admiral in July 1977, he assumed command of U.S. Second Fleet, which was assigned to Atlantic Command. Two years later he moved to Washington as a deputy chief of naval operations. He took over in Norfolk in September 1982.[58]

A crisis might require Atlantic Command to direct Army or Air Force units. In that circumstance, the commanders of Forces Command and Tactical Air Command would normally become McDonald's component commanders, adding yet another possible joint assignment to their duties. In this role they became commanders of U.S. Army, Atlantic, and U.S. Air Force, Atlantic, respectively. In addition to these two entities, activated only for training or in times of danger, one other permanent headquarters that reported to Atlantic Command might figure in a regional emergency—U.S. Forces, Caribbean, which succeeded both the standing joint task force and the Antilles Command. A subordinate unified command, it collected intelligence, prepared plans, and conducted operations, if necessary, in the Caribbean. In 1983 R. Adm. Ralph R. Hedges headed this organization—essentially a staff without forces under its control—from its headquarters in Key West.[59]

In an emergency Admiral McDonald could also draw assistance from another subordinate unified command not normally assigned to him—the Joint Special Operations Command established at Fort Bragg by the Joint Chiefs in late 1980 in the wake of the hostage crisis in Iran to control future military efforts involving special operations units from more than one service. If a unified commander decided that he needed such forces, the Joint Chiefs would assign the command to him for the duration of the contingency not only to plan and conduct intelligence gathering behind enemy lines but also to direct missions or raids in concert with any assigned conventional forces. Army Maj. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes headed the Joint Special Operations Command in October 1983. An officer with an extensive background in mechanized infantry, he had also served as an assistant division commander in the 82d Airborne Division from 1979 to 1980.[60]

In the event of a crisis requiring the dispatch of a large Army contingent, the XVIII Airborne Corps commander might act as the JTF commander, as the ground commander under the JTF commander, or simply as a corps commander under the ground commander. The area of operations, the capabilities of the enemy, the mission of the force, and the number of troops deployed

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[58] Memo, OofInfo, U.S. Navy, 3 May 1974, sub: R Adm Wesley L. McDonald, Archives files, NHHC; "Navy Pilots Tell of Raids," *New York Times*, 11 Aug 1964; "NATO Reports Appointment of Its Top Naval Commander," *New York Times*, 14 Aug 1982; List, Cdrs, Second Fleet, Hist files (PDocs/Bios), CMH; E-mail, Knechtmann to author, 20 Feb 2008, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

[59] "Officer Named To Lead Caribbean Task Force," *New York Times*, 3 Oct 1979; AnHistRpt, CinC, LANTCOM, 1983, p. XIV-7, Archives files, CMH.

[60] Charlie A. Beckwith and Donald Knox, *Delta Force*, pp. 260–65; Francis J. Kelly, *U.S. Army Special Forces, 1961–1971*, pp. 3–18; David W. Hogan Jr., *Rangers or Elite Infantry?* pp. 218–19; Susan L. Marquis, *Unconventional Warfare*, pp. 60–90; Scholtes Resumé, 15 Jul 1982, GenOff files, CMH; JCS Pub 1, DoD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 1979, s.v. "direct action mission (unconventional warfare)."

would determine the corps commander's role. The 82d Airborne Division, the 101st Airborne Division (a helicopter-rich air assault division), and the 24th Infantry Division (a mechanized division with a large complement of tanks and infantry fighting vehicles) were the large units he was most likely to direct in combat because he supervised their training in peacetime. His command relationship with any special operations forces rested upon the same circumstances that dictated the number and type of divisions and that might vary significantly from one situation to another.[61]

In 1983, although outside the operational chain of command, the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force raised and trained units, developed doctrine, and provided the necessary administrative and logistical support to forces in the field. The Department of the Army, in particular, bore heavy responsibility for sustaining organizations in extended ground combat, not only providing for its own units but also furnishing common items of supply for those of other services. The U.S. Army Materiel Development and Readiness Command, located in Alexandria, Virginia, and commanded by General Donald R. Keith, oversaw the entire spectrum of Army logistics, including the development, testing, purchase, storage, distribution, repair, and disposal of weapons, equipment, and supplies. For forces deployed in contingency operations, the key subordinate command in this logistical organization was the U.S. Army Depot System Command at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, led by Maj. Gen. Henry H. Harper. It provided the materiel reserves to sustain ground operations.[62]

In 1983 the services were largely self-contained entities—or *stovepipes*, to borrow a word that later became popular with analysts—and thus inward looking and highly responsive to their respective doctrines and needs. The Army and Air Force enjoyed relatively good relations based on frequently training together, but cooperation between the Army and the Navy remained tentative and sporadic, with neither service having much understanding of the other's needs and capabilities. Even though the Joint Chiefs of Staff had created exercises in which all the services participated, the Navy worked much more comfortably with the Marine Corps than with the Army. In a sense, the blue water headquarters that was Atlantic Command demonstrated just how far all the services had to go to effectively conduct joint operations.[63]

## Caribbean Concept Plan

Joint doctrine envisioned a spectrum of conflict in which a unified commander might have to conduct military operations. It could range from a

[61] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[62] A. Cole et al., *Department of Defense*, pp. 320–22; Donald R. Keith, "Logistics Initiatives Back Fighting Force of 80s–90s," pp. 66–76; AMCHO, "Brief History of Army Depots, Part II," Paper, 2000, printed copy in Hist files (SStudies), CMH.

[63] On Army–Air Force cooperation, see Richard G. Davis, *The 31 Initiatives*, pp. 65–87. Even the contemporary critics were service oriented: Richard A. Gabriel and Paul L. Savage, *Crisis in Command*, pp. 159–76; James Fallows, *National Defense*, pp. 171–84; and Richard A. Gabriel, *Military Incompetence*, pp. 187–99. For the current usage of *stovepipes*, see Mark A. Olinger, *Logistics and the Combatant Commander: Meeting the Challenge*, Land Warfare Papers, no. 68 (Arlington, Va.: Institute of Land Warfare, 2008), p. 4.

noncombat environment, with no armed enemy, for example, disaster assistance, through full-scale nuclear war. Given the various gradations of possible combat and the wide expanse of places where a commander might have to send his forces, it was impracticable, even for a large, professionally trained military establishment, to prepare equally well for all situations. Joint doctrine recognized this dilemma and anticipated three potential types of campaigns. The easiest contingencies to execute—at least until friendly forces came in contact with the enemy—were those for which detailed operational plans already existed. These plans would need only minor revisions before the commander could issue orders implementing them. Circumstances in which a staff had completed some planning represented a middle range of preparation that required considerably more work before the commander could issue orders. Totally unanticipated situations constituted by far the most difficult cases because no plans existed for them.[64]

Atlantic Command's staff had given some thought to the possibility of conducting operations in the Caribbean, but conditions had not appeared pressing enough to prepare specific operational plans for particular Caribbean islands. Instead, in 1975 the command had prepared a broad outline adaptable to any small island. It was known as Concept Plan 2360. A 30 March 1983 revision, apparently prepared simply as a matter of routine, assumed an armed intervention in a number of countries, one of which was Grenada, to support U.S. or Organization of American States interests "endangered by a deterioration of the political environment." It provided a range of options that extended from evacuation of U.S. nationals to large-scale ground intervention. If a major operation became necessary, overall operational control would rest with the commander of U.S. Forces, Caribbean, who would then serve as the commander of Joint Task Force 140. Once the Americans had established themselves ashore, the commander of U.S. ground forces—to be designated Joint Task Force 149—would exercise operational control.[65]

In his role as the head of Atlantic Command's Army component, General Cavazos had multiple responsibilities under 2360 as he would have had in any plan that Atlantic Command had to execute. He and his staff would prepare for the logistical and administrative support of Army forces in accordance with the plan and any directives from the Department of the Army. He would assign an Army officer to serve as the JTF 149 commander and assist in the development of a ground plan to support the Atlantic Command design. In March 1983 Cavazos selected the XVIII Airborne Corps commander, Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull, as both the JTF 149 commander and as the Army component commander under Joint Task Force 140. In the latter role Mackmull would not only orchestrate the introduction and sequencing of Army forces into the area of operations but also oversee their administrative and logistical support. In accord with current doctrine, he would delegate direction of

[64] AFSC Pub 1, 1980, copy in CMH.

[65] Concept Plan 2360–83, LANTCOM, 30 Mar 1983, Grenada files, CmdHO, FORSCOM. Numbers were arbitrarily assigned to the joint task forces depending upon parent headquarters.



**General Mackmull**



**General Trobaugh**

tactical operations to his senior ground force subordinate so that he could concentrate on these broader responsibilities.[66]

Atlantic Command normally held one biannual joint exercise, typically in odd-numbered years, that involved large numbers of Army and Air Force as well as Navy and Marine units. Known by a variety of names since its inception in the 1960s, it was by the mid-1970s called Solid Shield. Each individual exercise held after 1973 carried the last two digits of the year in which it was conducted. Beginning in the early 1970s, the exercise was staged in the Carolina low country. In his role as commander of Atlantic Command, Admiral Charles K. Duncan had proposed shifting the site to Puerto Rico to test the logistical support more realistically by forcing Army and Air Force units to move some distance from their established bases. The Air Force did not concur, citing budgetary reasons, and the exercises remained in the Carolinas.[67]

In November 1981 Atlantic Command had practiced a scenario involving a hostage rescue during Solid Shield 81. In this hypothetical crisis, a hostile power known as Costa had first threatened and then invaded a smaller coun-

[66] Ibid.; AFSC Pub 1, 1980, copy in CMH; Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[67] Leo P. Hirrel, with William R. McClintock, *United States Atlantic Command Fiftieth Anniversary, 1947–1997*, pp. 26–27; Memo, Hirrel for author, [22 May 2007], Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH; Interv, Mason with Train, 3 Nov 1976, Archives files, NHHC; Duncan, "Reminiscences," Memoir, 4:1695–97.

try named Ventura, with the United States intervening on behalf of Ventura. As the XVIII Airborne Corps commander, with the 82d and 101st Airborne Divisions participating, General Mackmull filled the roles of U.S. Forces, Ventura, commander and Army Forces commander. In May 1983, during Solid Shield 83, Atlantic Command repeated the exercise. The command carefully stipulated that the exercise was not intended to test any particular operational or concept plan but only to practice general contingency operations. This time, while Mackmull once again acted as the U.S. Forces, Ventura, commander, 82d Airborne Division commander Maj. Gen. James J. Lindsay served as the Army Forces commander for much of the exercise. The separation of responsibilities proved problematic. Lindsay's division headquarters, in the view of some observers, lacked sufficient staffing to handle the additional tasks. Mackmull was dissatisfied with the results and consequently repeated the command relationships aspects of the program in a field training exercise for the 82d Airborne Division shortly after the arrival in June 1983 of a new division commander, Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh. Trobaugh later admitted that the results of the second exercise were also unsatisfactory. He believed, however, that all the problems could be solved.[68]

## XVIII Airborne Corps

Since 1958 the XVIII Airborne Corps had been the key Army headquarters for executing contingency operations. The idea the corps embodied was even older. The concept of using Army units in the continental United States as a ready reserve dated back at least to the reforms of Secretary of War Elihu Root following the War with Spain. In the immediate aftermath of World War II the Army had created a Strategic Striking Force, later redesignated the General Reserve, and for the first time had identified specific higher headquarters to prepare and lead such units in battle. The Army envisioned that the bulk of these troops would move to an area of operations by ship, but the force nonetheless included at least one airborne division. In 1958 the service replaced the General Reserve with the Strategic Army Corps. Consisting of the XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters, its supporting units, and four (later three) divisions, the new organization was designed to control the movement by air of Army fire brigades to trouble spots throughout the world. In that capacity, both the XVIII Airborne Corps and 82d Airborne Division had played major roles in the 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic.[69]

By 1983 the corps had become a very different organization from its World War II or even Korean war configuration. During those conflicts the corps had functioned strictly as a tactical headquarters, with logistical and

[68] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, plus Pirnie with T. D. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[69] Memo, Todd for Wright, 13 Jan 2008, CofS, Army, Misc Recs, 1907–1916, RG 165, NARA–CP; Memo, Edwards for CGs, ASF, AAF, AGF, 8 Sep 1945, sub: Strategic Striking Force and the Inactivation of Units, Army-AG Classified Dec. File, 1943–1945, 322 (9–8–45), RG 407, NARA–CP; Vernon R. Rawie, "STRAC," pp. 43–47; Bruce Palmer Jr., *Intervention in the Caribbean*, pp. 1–11.

administrative units clustered in divisions and field armies. This arrangement had remained standard doctrine throughout the war in Vietnam, but no corps had deployed to Southeast Asia. Instead, an improvised headquarters called a field force had filled that slot in the chain of command. Unlike the corps, it had directed logistical as well as tactical units. Although field forces disappeared from the Army's lexicon at the end of the war, the Army reorganized the corps so that it was a field force in all but name. It became the main external source of supplies, equipment, and transportation for the divisions it directed. At lower levels this new arrangement was well understood by everyone because it was a part of soldiers' everyday life and training. Arguably, as the Grenada intervention approached in October, some senior officers, because of the particular pattern of their careers, had not internalized the new doctrine in their thinking and thus lacked such intimate experience with the change.[70]

During General Creighton W. Abrams' tour as chief of staff from 1972 to 1974, the Army had increased the total number of its divisions, but overall troop strength had declined because of budgetary cuts. The Army Staff had achieved this apparent sleight of hand by moving combat service support units from the active force to the reserves, by abolishing field armies in the continental United States (at least in peacetime), and by consolidating many of the remaining corps-level combat service support units. As a result of these actions, many divisions in the active force—but not those in the XVIII Airborne Corps—could not go to war unless the Army mobilized key reserve units. Even the XVIII Airborne Corps could benefit from some roundout from the reserves.[71]

Under the new organizational arrangements, the XVIII Airborne Corps provided command and control for up to five divisions and various corps support units. In 1983, under General Mackmull, the corps controlled five maneuver formations: the 82d Airborne Division; the 24th Infantry Division; the 101st Airborne Division, whose men entered combat by helicopter rather than by parachute; the 194th Armored Brigade; and the 197th Infantry Brigade. It supported these formations with several more traditional brigade-size units—the 18th Field Artillery Brigade, the 35th Signal Brigade, the 20th Engineer Brigade, the 16th Military Police Group, and the 525th Military Intelligence Group—and with the division-equivalent 1st Support Command. The 18th Field Artillery Brigade tactically controlled and supervised three attached field artillery battalions equipped with 155-mm. towed howitzers; its mission was to reinforce the fire of division artillery. The 35th Signal Brigade, with more sophisticated signal equipment than found in divisions, linked corps main with both the forward tactical and rear command posts; its communications assets included satellite radio, facsimile, and automatic data-processing links both to higher commands

[70] William Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports*, pp. 187–88; Robert L. Burke, "Corps Logistics Planning in Vietnam," *Military Review*, pp. 3–11; Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul and 4 Aug 1986, and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[71] Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul and 4 Aug 1986, and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

and to the divisions assigned to the corps. The 20th Engineer Brigade could both reinforce existing engineer capabilities in the divisions and provide more specialized skills (such as mapmaking), utilities repair (such as water, electrical, and natural gas systems), firefighting, and bridge building; its 548th Engineer Battalion was equipped with massive land-transportable construction equipment and its 618th Engineer Company (normally attached to the 82d Airborne Division) with air-transportable bulldozers, which augmented the 548th's ability to clear and construct forward airfields. As with the 20th Engineer Brigade, the 16th Military Police Group and the 525th Military Intelligence Group provided provost marshal and intelligence competencies not found within a division. Supervision of these support units normally fell to the deputy commander, who acted as the direct representative of the corps commander *(see Chart 3)*.[72]

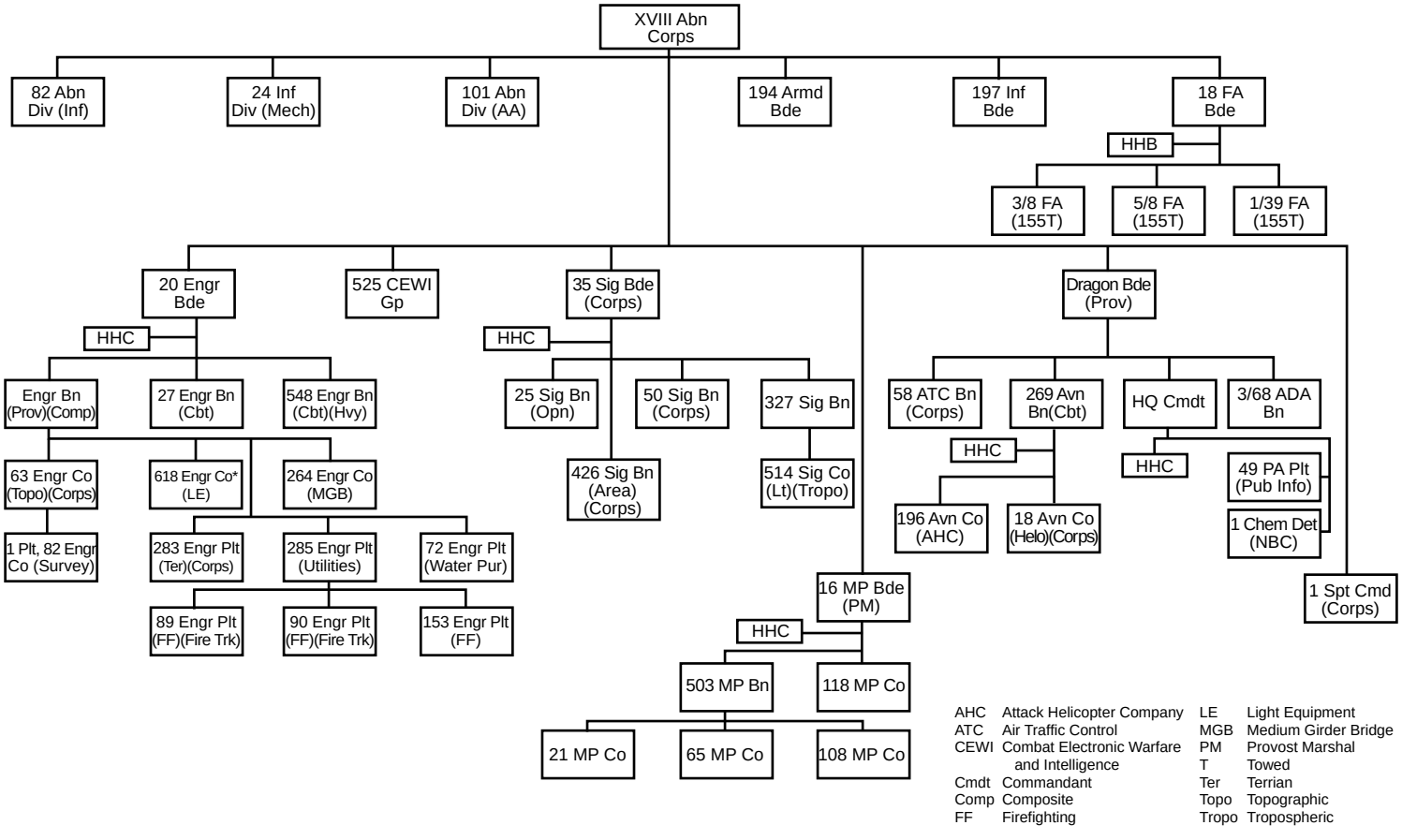
By 1983 the corps had consolidated its command-and-control elements, two smaller combat units, and one combat service support unit under an intermediate provisional headquarters dubbed The Dragon Brigade, an organizational innovation that relieved the corps commander and his staff of considerable administrative detail. The command-and-control elements included the corps headquarters and headquarters company, an air traffic control battalion, and a public affairs detachment. The combat units consisted of the 3d Battalion, 68th Air Defense Artillery, and the 269th Aviation Battalion, which augmented divisional troop-lift capabilities. The 1st Chemical Detachment, essentially a staff element, advised the corps commander on nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare issues and developed corps-level plans in these areas.[73]

As corps commander, General Mackmull was a shrewd and magnetic leader who had a wealth of experience with Army aviation and airborne units. A 1950 West Point graduate, he had served as the General Staff secretary at the U.S. Army Aviation Center and School at Fort Rucker, Alabama, in the early 1960s, when that organization was the chief institutional advocate for the creation of an airmobile division. Moving to Fort Bragg in 1964, he assumed command of the 13th Aviation Battalion and deployed with that unit to Vietnam. On his second tour in Vietnam, Mackmull commanded the 164th Aviation Group of the 1st Aviation Brigade; on his third and final tour he became commander of the brigade itself, the last major Army combat unit to leave Vietnam. In the mid-1970s he served as an assistant division commander of the 101st Airborne Division. He subsequently had back-to-back tours at Fort Bragg, first as chief of staff, XVIII Airborne Corps, and then as commander of the John F. Kennedy Center for Military Assistance, which gave him a tie to the special operations forces community. Following a stint in

[72] Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH; Interv, author with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also TOE 6–401H, 21 Jun 1972, chg. 16; TOE 52–2H, 20 Jun 1974, chg. 17; TOE 19–262H, 30 Sep 1974, chg. 17; TOE 5–5101H, 16 Aug 1976, chg. 15; TOE 11–412H, 29 Mar 1978, chg. 11. All in TOE files, CMH.

[73] AnHistRpt, XVIII Abn Corps, 1 Oct 1982 to 30 Sep 1983, pp. 9–10, Archives files, CMH; FORSCOM PO 99–6, 1st Chemical Det, 9 Jul 1980, OrgHist files, CMH; TOE 3–500H, 24 Jul 1972, Archives files, MHI.

## Chart 3—Organization of XVIII Airborne Corps, October 1983




*Habitually attached to the 82d Airborne Division.

*Source:* Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH: Active Troop Lists, 30 Jun 1983, pt. 3, pp. 26–28, and 30 Dec 1983, pt. 3, pp. 25–27, Library, CMH; and AnHistRpt, XVIII Abn Corps, 1 Oct 1982–30 Sep 1983, Archives files, CMH. See also FORSCOM PO 131–7, 327th Sig Bn, 2 Sep 1980; DA GO 29, 17 Aug 1983; and Certificates, 3d and 5th Bns, 8th FA. All in OrgHist files, CMH.

command of the 101st Airborne Division, Mackmull assumed command of the XVIII Airborne Corps in August 1981.[74]

For day-to-day corps business, Mackmull relied on his deputy, Brig. Gen. Jack B. Farris Jr.; a chief of staff; and the standard General Staff sections. General Farris had followed a more conventional career in the Infantry, but his experiences complemented Mackmull's varied background. Most of his troop assignments had been in mechanized units, but he had served three airborne tours—as a platoon and company commander in the 82d Airborne Division early in the 1960s, as the senior adviser with a South Vietnamese airborne infantry battalion from May 1965 to July 1966, and as commander of a battalion of the 173d Airborne Brigade in Vietnam from April 1970 until April 1971. In July 1983, following command of a training brigade, service as an assistant division commander in the 4th Infantry Division, and two years as deputy director for deployment, U.S. Joint Deployment Agency, MacDill Air Force Base, Florida, he arrived at Fort Bragg to become General Mackmull's deputy.[75]

Army doctrine envisioned that the speed, complexity, and lethality of the modern battlefield might require a corps headquarters to divide its command post into three separate entities, dubbed the tactical, main, and rear command posts. The tactical command post would be the farthest forward of the three, located within the combat zone so that the commander could easily control his subordinate units and directly influence the battle. Its small size would allow him to direct the battle while remaining as inconspicuous to the enemy as possible. The senior operations officer (the G–3) usually organized and ran the tactical command post, drawing personnel from the intelligence (G–2) and G–3 sections and from such other staff specialties as fire support, tactical air control, and air defense artillery. Normally, he included at least one junior representative from the staff logistical (G–4) section. This individual, however, functioned primarily as a liaison officer to corps main, as officers referred to the main command post. He kept the logistical planners at corps main up to date on changing supply requirements during combat.[76]

Located beyond the battle area, corps main contained the bulk of the staff and sizeable contingents from the four major staff sections: personnel, intelligence, operations, and logistics. Normally, the senior G–1, G–2, and G–4 officers took station at this site. Organized and run by the corps chief of staff, the main command post focused on sustaining current operations and on planning for future ones.[77]

The rear command post, headed by the deputy corps commander, included the entire civil-military operations (G–5) section, as well as representatives from the G–1 and G–4 sections; from the offices of the adjutant general, inspector

[74] Mackmull Resumé, 25 Nov 1983, GenOff files, CMH. On Mackmull's Vietnam service, see Interv, Franus with Mackmull, 6 Jun 1969, VNIT files, CMH.

[75] Farris Resumé, 17 Jun 1988, GenOff files, CMH.

[76] FM 100–5, Operations, Aug 1982, pp. 7-7 to 7-25, and FM 101–5, Staff Organization and Operations, May 1984, pp. 8-4 to 8-5.

[77] FM 101–5, May 1984, p. 8-5.

general, judge advocate general, and provost marshal; and from Military Airlift Command. Typically, this command post provided command and control for any administrative and logistical support units assigned to the corps.[78]

## Corps Logistics System

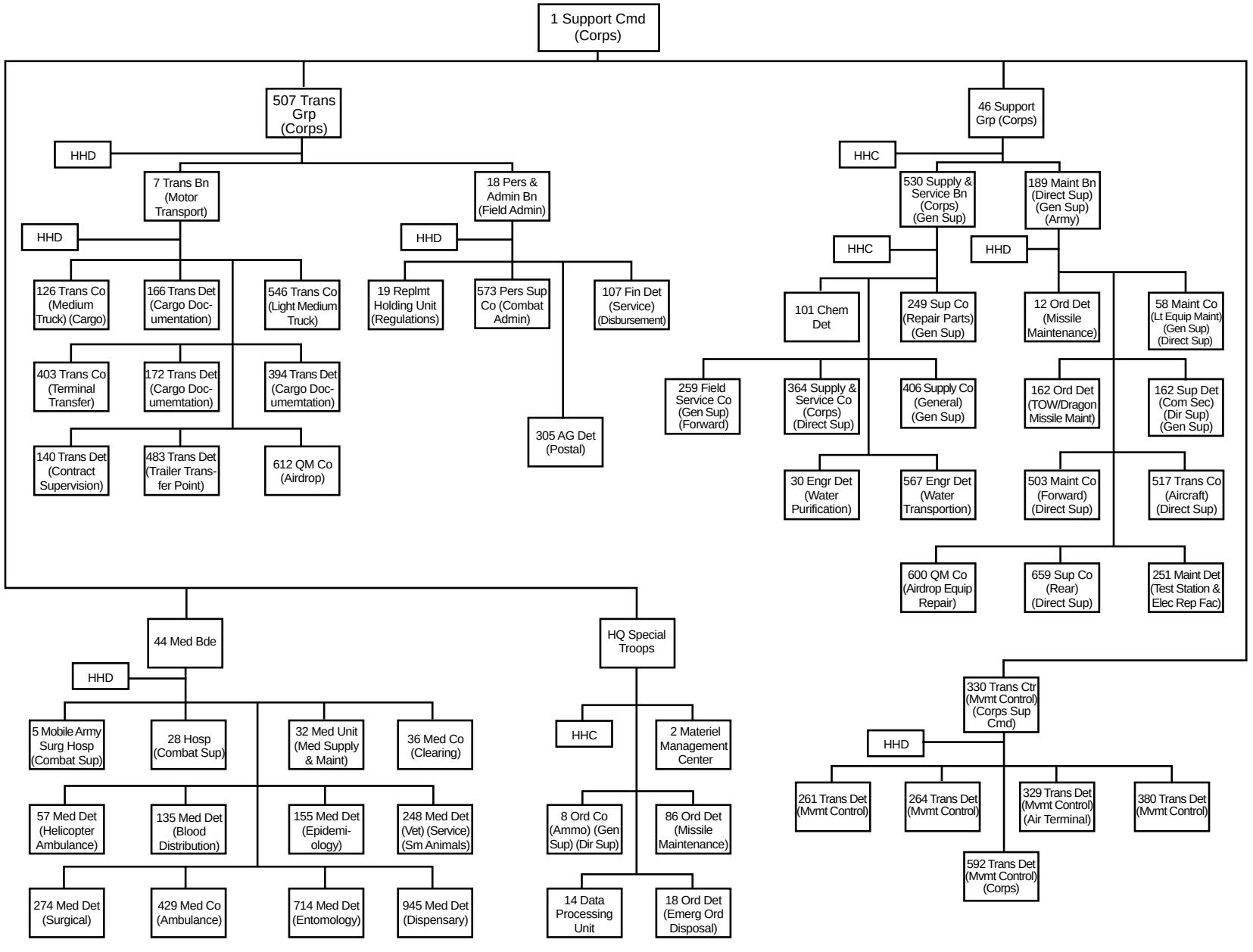
The ways in which corps were organized to perform their newly acquired logistical functions were very much a product of how senior Army leaders envisioned the next war *(see Diagram 1)*. Reflecting those views, Army doctrine in 1983 focused on a major ground force encounter with the Soviets in Central Europe. Its authors believed battle would occur within a well-defined combat zone that was much deeper and less linear than ever before. As in both world wars and Korea, divisions would occupy the forward area of the combat zone while corps would be responsible for the rear. In this context a corps support command would provide equipment, supplies, and services to nondivisional units located in the corps area, a process referred to as direct support. The support command's primary mission, known as general support, was to keep division-level logistical units farther forward supplied so that they could furnish direct support to all units operating within their areas of responsibility. It also could provide more sophisticated maintenance services than those available in the divisions. In civilian terms, it operated both as a retailer for corps units and as a wholesaler for the divisions under the corps' direction.[79]

The 1st Support Command performed the main logistical mission in XVIII Airborne Corps *(see Chart 4)*. Led by Col. William J. Richardson Jr., a veteran airborne logistician nearing retirement, the unit included a medical brigade, a transportation battalion, a provisional headquarters operations support battalion, a personnel and administration battalion, and a support group with a supply and service battalion and a maintenance battalion. The supply and service battalion offered a wider range of services than those available in any of the divisions; it included, for example, the 101st Chemical Company that among other things provided showers to decontaminate both soldiers and equipment in the event of a nuclear, biological, or chemical attack. The maintenance battalion illustrated the relative weight the command gave to direct as opposed to general support; its two companies received and executed repair assignments from one of the divisions assigned to the corps as a supplement to the division's own maintenance assets and returned any equipment they repaired to the originating unit. At the same time, six materiel maintenance centers provided technical advice and general support maintenance—that is, they supported the entire corps. They repaired items either too badly damaged for the quick turnaround demanded in divisional areas or that required more sophisticated tools and techniques than available there. Each center was organized around a particular specialty, such as the combat vehicle and armament

[78] Ibid., pp. 8-5 to 8-6.

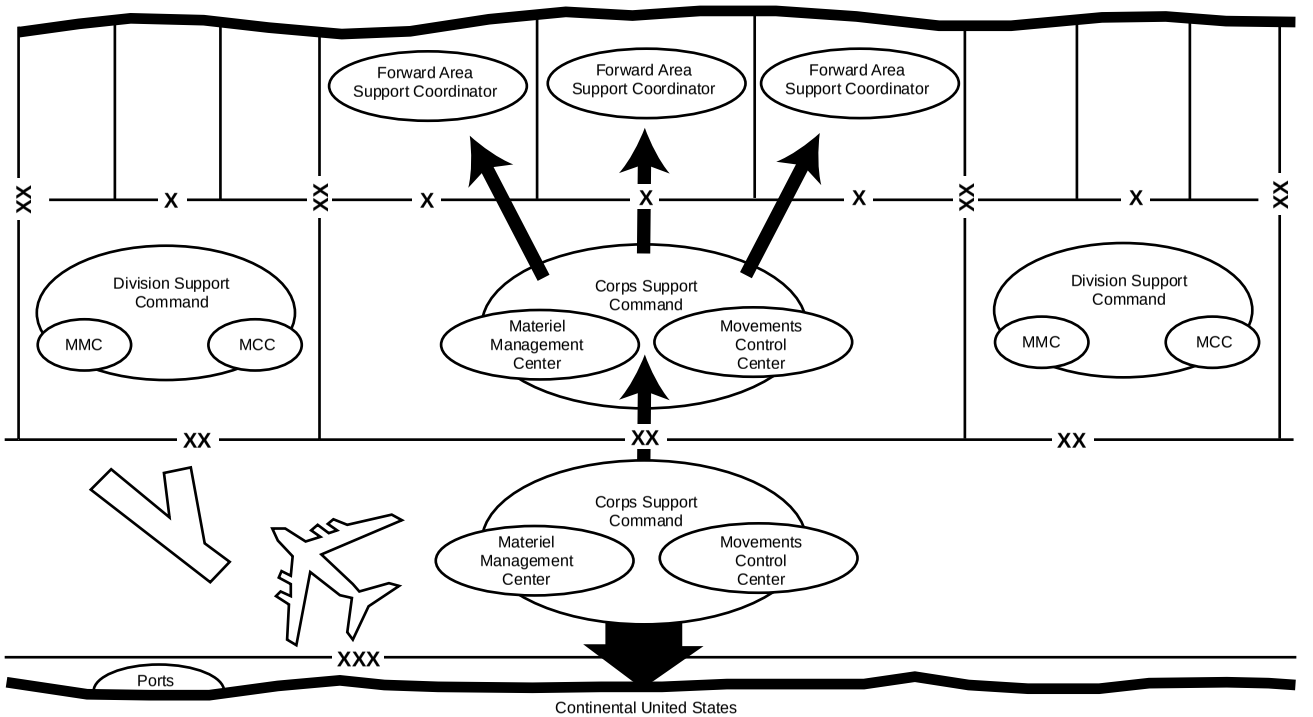
[79] Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH; TOE 54–22H, 28 Jul 1978, TOE files, CMH; Erwin M. Graham Jr., "The Emerging Logistics System," p. 4.

## Chart 4—Organization of 1st Support Command, October 1983




*Source*: Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH.

**Diagram 1—Combat Logistics Management Levels in a Theater of Operations**




*Source*: Erwin M. Graham, Jr. "The Emerging Logistics System." *Army Logistician* 7 (September–October 1975): 2.

center, which meant that the mechanics available had developed great expertise in their particular area. Working within guidelines and priorities communicated to the command by the corps staff, Colonel Richardson exercised control of logistical operations through a materiel management center and a movement control center that both made extensive use of computers.[80]

The advent of computers and their role in Army logistics represented one of the changes at Fort Bragg since Colonel Silvasy's last tour. During fiscal year 1980 the corps had received upgraded computer capacity in the form of an IBM 370 mainframe. Used to run programs that tracked repair parts, supplies, and personnel, it had high reliability, multiprogramming capabilities, and greater capacity than the IBM 360 that it replaced. Like the 360, it was mobile in name only because it required a C–5A to move the entire van-mounted central processing unit and ancillary equipment. Standard procedure in the corps was to leave the computer on post during deployments and send information back to Bragg, where it could be entered on IBM punch cards and fed into the machine.[81]

With field armies gone, corps support commands obtained supplies by communicating directly with the Army's logistical system in the continental United States. The commands monitored the movement of requisitioned equipment and supplies from depots until they reached the ordering unit, a process logisticians called *throughput*. When the supplies went from the source to the consumer bypassing one or more of the traditional echelons of supply, logisticians referred to this as *throughput distribution*. A product of the reforms introduced in the early 1970s based on experience in Vietnam, the approach in its ideal state sought to bypass all the intermediate levels and ship materiel directly from the source to the user. As a corollary, the reformers anticipated that most resupply would be *pull* rather *push*. Users would order supplies and equipment based on their actual needs rather than have superior echelons anticipate their requirements and ship materiel in advance. This, of course, presupposed the existence of timely detailed communications between logistical units in an area of operations and depots in the continental United States.[82]

## Contingency Forces

While contingency plans and the operational chain of command represented constants in Colonel Silvasy's world, the Army's contingency forces

[80] Graham, "Emerging Logistics System," pp. 4–5. For comments about Richardson's experience, see Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and Oland with W. Richardson, 3 Mar 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; FM 100–5, Aug 1982, pp. 5-1 to 5-11, 7-1 to 7-17; TOE 3–87H7, 29 Jul 1977, TOE files, CMH.

[81] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Cocke et al., comps., *DA Hist Sum, FY1980*, p. 65. On the IBM 370, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IBM_System/370.

[82] Cocke et al., comps., *DA Hist Sum, FY1980*, p. 65; Rpt, Joint Logistics Review Board, [1 Mar 1970], sub: Logistic Support in the Vietnam Era, vol. 1, p. 69, copy in 228.01 HRC 334 Boards, Joint Logistics Review, Archives files, CMH; Joseph M. Heiser Jr., *Logistic Support*, pp. 49–51; AR 310–25, Dictionary of United States Army Terms, 1977, chg. 1, s.v. "throughput distribution."

had changed markedly between 1965 and 1983. In 1965 Army airborne forces had consisted of two divisions and various smaller units. All were general-purpose forces that shared the same ground combat mission with other Army units yet were unique in how they arrived in combat. In 1983 these forces still existed, but in reduced numbers. Two specialized airborne units had joined them: ranger battalions and a company-size counterterrorist unit. The old and new formations had one salient trait in common: seizing an objective by parachute against opposition. Together with Fleet Marine Forces (Atlantic/Pacific), they provided the nation with a forced-entry capability.

Within Fleet Marine Forces, the smallest air-ground task force that was most readily available in a crisis situation was a marine amphibious unit, operating from a Navy amphibious squadron. Typically, in 1983, a marine amphibious unit consisted of a battalion landing team, the ground maneuver element; a composite helicopter squadron, which provided troop lift, gunfire support, and a limited capability to resupply by air over short distances; a service support group, which handled logistics; and a small headquarters group. At the battalion landing team's core was a marine infantry battalion, 824 officers and men, recently reorganized to enhance its firepower (134 grenade launchers, 32 Dragon antitank weapons, and 8.50-caliber machine guns) and mobility (52 jeeps). With a field artillery battery and other mission-dictated specialized units attached, the landing team could conduct helicopter or surface amphibious assaults or some combination of the two. This flexible organization gave Fleet Marine Forces, in the words of historian Allan R. Millett, those "capabilities dear to military planners—'mobility,' 'flexibility,' 'versatility,' and 'readiness.'"[83]

Each type of contingency force offered advantages and disadvantages. Marine units, supported and supplied from the sea, usually had some heavy equipment (such as tanks) and, in conjunction with the Navy, enjoyed a robust logistical support package as long as they did not venture too far from the coast. Yet what they gained in tactical and logistical robustness they paid for in the loss of strategic mobility, for they could approach a crisis area and reinforce units once in theater only as fast as the ships that carried them could steam. Conversely, airborne forces traveled by air and moved as light as possible, normally carrying three days of supplies—or, in Army parlance, their basic load. Extended operations depended upon how quickly they could build up a support base in-country. They could respond more quickly and traverse greater distances, and their points of entry were not restricted to coastal areas. Once on the ground, however, their mobility was limited largely to march speed. And lacking heavy weapons, they were vulnerable to a better equipped enemy.[84]

In 1983 the Army's Ranger organization consisted of two units—the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, at Hunter Army Airfield, Georgia, and the 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, at Fort Lewis, Washington. Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor

[83] E-mail, Melson to author, 25 Mar 2010, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH; Ronald H. Spector, U.S. Marines in Grenada, 1983, pp. 1–2; Allan R. Millett, *Semper Fidelis*, pp. 547–48 (quoted words).

[84] James A. Huston, *Out of the Blue*, pp. 47–64; Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Jr. commanded the former; Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler Jr., the latter. As with all officers assigned to ranger battalions, they both had already completed successful tours of duty in similar positions with nonranger units.[85]

Resembling standard airborne infantry battalions, the ranger battalions consisted of a headquarters, a headquarters company, and three ranger companies. The companies were somewhat larger than their airborne infantry counterparts and equipped with more machine guns and recoilless rifles but with fewer and lighter mortars. The larger size of the ranger battalions allowed them to control more ground than the airborne battalions, a particularly valuable trait in broken terrain. Conversely, because the ranger battalions were designed to operate independently and because the airborne battalions were part of a larger combined arms team, the latter could generate more combat power by drawing on both internal and external sources.

The ranger battalions' wartime missions were to plan and conduct long-range reconnaissances, raids, ambushes, and attacks against key targets. Their men could maneuver in all types of terrain under all kinds of climatic conditions and enter and depart combat areas stealthily whether by air, land, or sea. Designed to operate independently for only short periods of time, ranger battalions contained little logistical capacity of their own. Each possessed the modest planning capability provided by a typical battalion logistical (S–4) section and the limited medical support offered by a battalion aid station. As a result, these units could fight as conventional infantry only if higher headquarters provided the artillery, armor, aviation, engineer, signal, intelligence, military police, and logistical assets found in standard organizations.[86]

Much of ranger training focused on airborne and air assaults, with a special concentration on the seizure of airfields. Unlike the 82d Airborne Division that emphasized a wide range of general-purpose assignments in its preparations, the Rangers stressed a few special missions. As a result, by devoting considerable thought, planning, and training to these commando efforts, they achieved a great degree of proficiency.[87]

Although the concept of ranger operations originated during the early colonial period, ranger units had existed in the modern U.S. Army only from 1942. Since then, they had experienced a checkered history as the Army struggled with the related questions of whether it needed such elite units and, if so, how best to organize and employ them. They had functioned as independent battalions in World War II, divisional companies in Korea, and long-range reconnaissance patrols in Vietnam. The possibility of Soviet intervention in the Middle East during the latter stages of the Yom Kippur War of 1973 had raised the issue of how quickly the Army could feed forces into that region.

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[85] Intervs, author with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986, and Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. For an overview of the Rangers, see Hogan, *Rangers.*

[86] Memo, Vessey for Cowles, Jan 1974, sub: Ranger Battalion, OrgHist files (1Bn75Inf), CMH. See also TOE 7–65H, 30 May 1974; TOE 7–87H, 30 May 1974; TO&E 7–37H, 20 Nov 1970. All in TOE files, CMH

[87] Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, plus MacGarrigle with Abizaid, 15 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Elite forces lighter than even the 82d Airborne Division that could speedily deploy and hold airheads or ports until heavier units arrived appeared to be the solution to this problem. In 1974, largely because of the initiative of General Abrams who also saw light, easily transportable, elite forces capable of being employed anywhere in the world on short notice as an answer to growing terrorist threats, the Army formed two ranger battalions as elements of the 75th Infantry. The general officer on the Army Staff most intimately involved in getting these units started was General Vessey, who went on to other more important assignments but never lost interest in the ranger battalions.[88]

A continuing and increasingly sophisticated threat from international terrorism led the Army in June 1977 to form an elite counterterrorist unit modeled after the British Special Air Service Regiment. Composed of long-service professionals, this unit could conduct company-size and smaller operations with a particular focus upon the problem of hostage rescue. Its mission, doctrine, and organization were highly classified. Given the nature of its short-duration operations, the force normally required no resupply because it carried all requisite supplies and equipment. Initially, its medical support consisted of a small emergency medical cell, but a small surgical suite was added after the failure of the Iranian hostage rescue attempt in 1980.[89]

From World War II through the 1970s a recurring weakness of the Army's handling of special operations forces, such as the ranger battalions and the counterterrorist unit, was the failure to establish a higher headquarters to provide for systematic training, to develop Army-wide lessons learned, and to formulate doctrine. By the early 1980s the Army special operations community included not only the two ranger battalions and the counterterrorist unit but also a special aviation unit, various Special Forces groups (whose primary mission in the wake of Vietnam was to train foreign military forces in conventional and unconventional warfare), a psychological operations group, and a civil affairs battalion. In October 1982 Forces Command provisionally activated the 1st Special Operations Command to oversee training and to provide logistical support for these units. At the onset, however, the headquarters lacked the communications to support its forces once they deployed.[90]

These smaller and more specialized units represented an organizational compromise because they were more dependent on external elements for logistical support than their larger counterparts. As their size decreased, they became progressively less flexible, less capable of sustained operations, and less able to engage successfully a wide range of enemy forces. They had to be more selective in their targets. An airborne division could do a great many things well; a counterterrorist unit, only a few yet with remarkable execution.

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[88] MFR, Huffman, 22 Jan 1974, sub: Ranger Battalion, OrgHist files (1Bn75Inf), CMH; Blair, "Vessey," *Washington Times*, 17 May 1982; Ltr, Vessey to Armstrong, n.d., Archives files, JHO.

[89] Beckwith and Knox, *Delta Force*, pp. 84–151, 163; Hogan, *Rangers*, pp. 206–11; Interv, author with Peake, 27 Apr 2004, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[90] Michael J. King, *Rangers*, p. 75; Hogan, *Rangers*, pp. 217–18; Ross Kelly, "U.S. Special Operations Revisited," p. 32; Richard W. Stewart et al., *Standing Up the MACOM*, pp. 1–4.

A ranger battalion fell between these extremes. The smaller units sacrificed firepower for surprise. Requiring operational secrecy, good intelligence, and rehearsal time to maximize their strengths, they sought to paralyze an enemy by the quickness of their attack and the deftness of their aim. With its greater combat power, an airborne division could attain its normal level of operating effectiveness with less effort but, of necessity, lacked the precision the ranger battalions and the counterterrorist unit had in executing missions in their areas of special expertise. At the same time, it could perform many missions that the smaller units could not.

## 82d Airborne Division

In outward appearance, the 1983 version of the 82d Airborne Division was much like the 1965 version in which Silvasy had served as a captain. It was still a standard Reorganization Objective Army Division—universally referred to as ROAD—modified for the special circumstances of airborne warfare. The Army in the early 1960s had recognized that its primary operating environment would be conventional, as opposed to atomic, warfare. The ROAD configuration represented the Army's attempt to ensure staying power by providing each division with three powerful maneuver brigades and the ability to generate a large volume of fire. At the same time, by maximizing the division's ability to organize around specific tasks, the design allowed commanders great flexibility in combat. The 82d's primary wartime mission was to move by air and "by airborne assault to seize and hold assigned objectives" until ground units linked up either through air or amphibious landings or by advancing overland.[91]

The 82d's organization was thus the product of two antithetical requirements understood by all airborne units: the principle of lightness to enhance strategic mobility and the capability to fight independently until relieved. Its vehicles, for example, whether tactical or administrative, were relatively few in number compared to those of other U.S. divisions of the period. In consequence, however, the 82d's tactical mobility once on the ground depended largely upon the marching skills of well conditioned light infantry. "The 'star of the show,'" remarked one of the battalion commanders, "is the individual U.S. Paratrooper."[92]

U.S. Army airborne divisions had compiled a distinguished combat record in World War II, at which time their vulnerability to enemy armor had led Allied commanders to employ them to attain objectives relatively close to the front lines rather than to make the deep penetrations envisioned by airborne pioneers. Airborne units were particularly useful in screening river crossings and amphibious assaults, as well as in fighting as conventional infantry.

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[91] See TOE 57H, 30 Sep 1974, chg. 2 (quoted words), TOE files, CMH, which was still in effect as of October 1983; respective MTOE references on UHD Cards, UHD files, CMH, governing newly organized divisional elements. On the ROAD division, see John B. Wilson, *Maneuver and Firepower*, pp. 291–322.

[92] Abstract (quoted words) attached to George A. Crocker, "Grenada Remembered—A Perspective," Student Paper.

During the hot moments of the ensuing Cold War, however, even their tactical role became suspect because they had few opportunities to execute parachute assaults. Only one jump occurred in Vietnam, for example, and it involved just one brigade. That unit was not from the 82d. By Department of Defense policy, the 82d Airborne Division was the mainstay of the Army's strategic reserve. All but one of its brigades remained in the United States during the Vietnam conflict to handle crises that developed in other areas, including domestic riots.[93]

In the 1960s the airmobile division, which in theory contained enough helicopters to move an entire brigade and its supporting units, appeared to threaten the airborne's place in the force structure. Troops that airdropped were often scattered over wide areas, but delivering units by helicopter to the battle zone ensured that they arrived as intact organizations. The range limitations of rotary-wing craft, however, meant that airmobile units lacked the long-range mobility that their airborne counterparts enjoyed courtesy of the U.S. Air Force. An airmobile unit could move to an area of operations by Air Force transport, but it required a friendly intermediate staging base to assemble its machines before it could venture into combat.[94]

After Vietnam, the Army focused on a European battlefield that required heavy mechanized units. The approach proved inhospitable to both the Army aviation and the airborne communities. Although the Army Staff carefully preserved one division in each specialty to retain their unique competencies, the inevitable reductions in force structure came as a shock to professionals who had believed they were on the cutting edge of modernity. Airborne officers and their airmobile counterparts had no doubt about their units' ability to succeed on a European battlefield, but they recognized that some of their contemporaries did not agree with them. This awareness, observed Lt. Col. Frank H. Akers Jr., who served as the 82d Airborne Division's G–3 in 1983, coupled with the fact that the 82d was the last division in the U.S. Army capable of conducting a parachute assault, led the unit's senior leadership to conclude that they must always accept combat missions, no matter how poorly defined, and then make them work. To ensure the survival of their organization, they could only respond in the affirmative.[95]

As in all ROAD divisions in October 1983, the command group of the 82d Airborne consisted of a commander, General Trobaugh; two assistant division commanders, one for operations and the other for support; and a chief of

[93] Huston, *Out of the Blue*, pp. 232–56; James M. Gavin, "Cavalry, and I Don't Mean Horses," *Harper's,* April 1954, pp. 54–60; Roy E. Appleman, *South to the Naktong, North to the Yalu*, pp. 654–61.; Billy C. Mossman, *Ebb and Flow, November 1950–July 1951*, pp. 335-43; MacGarrigle, *Combat Operations,* pp. 112–22. On doubts about airborne divisions, see James Hessman and B. F. Schemmer, "The Airborne?" pp. 12–13. On use of the 82d in domestic disturbances, see Paul J. Scheips, *The Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders, 1945–1992*, pp. 184–86, 196, 251, 258, 264, 288, 293, 297.

[94] Christopher C. S. Cheng, *Air Mobility*, pp. 132–34.

[95] Intervs, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], and author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. On the evolution of the Army after Vietnam, see Charles E. Kirkpatrick, *Building the Army for DESERT STORM*.

staff. The post of assistant division commander for operations was temporarily vacant; Brig. Gen. James D. Smith was the assistant division commander for support, a post he had held since August 1982.[96]

The exact delineation of responsibilities between the two assistant commanders depended heavily on the desires of the commanding general. Under the previous commander, General Lindsay, General Smith had exercised oversight of the 82d Support Command as well as seven separate battalions that provided various kinds of support to the division. By October Trobaugh had begun to reassign units that he regarded as essential to the maneuver force to the assistant division commander for operations, who assumed responsibility for the military intelligence and the air defense artillery battalions. The engineer and aviation battalions, however, had remained temporarily under Smith's purview.[97]

The division staff, directed by the chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., consisted of seven General Staff sections: G–1, personnel; G–2, intelligence; G–3, operations; G–4, logistics; G–5, civil affairs; force development; and comptroller. The head of each section was responsible for developing plans and policies, producing estimates and studies of requirements, coordinating staff activities, and providing staff oversight in his functional area of responsibility. In addition, thirteen special staff officers gave advice and provided supervision in their technical specialties. Five of them held an additional assignment (in the contemporary jargon, they were "dual-hatted") as commander of a support battalion or, in the case of the division fire support coordinator, of the division artillery.[98]

General Trobaugh was five months into his job as division commander when Colonel Silvasy assumed command of the 2d Brigade. A 1955 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, Trobaugh had extensive experience in infantry units, including two combat tours in Vietnam. He then assumed command of the 2d Brigade, 25th Infantry Division, in Hawaii from 1975 to 1977 and as assistant division commander for support of the 9th Infantry Division from 1978 to 1980. His airborne experience was limited to his time in command of the 82d Airborne Division and a few weeks at Pathfinder School in the late 1950s. He had benefited, however, from a number of high-level staff assignments, including service as executive officer to the commanding general of the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command from 1973 to 1975.[99]

While General Trobaugh lacked airborne command experience himself, many of his senior commanders and principal staff officers had considerable airborne experience, several with the 82d Airborne. The assistant division

[96] Interv, author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[97] Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH; Interv, author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[98] Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH; TOE 57–4H3, 1 Nov 1973, chg. 18, TOE files, CMH; Intervs, Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Frasché with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983, and author with Strock, 23 and 30 May 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[99] Trobaugh Resumés, 22 Jun 1983, 28 Feb 1987, 7 Feb 1989, GenOff files, CMH; Interv, author with Trobaugh, 7 Feb 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

commander for support, General Smith, had served in the division between 1970 and 1972, first as an infantry battalion commander and then as executive officer of one of the brigades; the division chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, as commander of an infantry battalion, as the G–3 on the division staff, and as a brigade commander; and both the division artillery commander, Col. Fred N. Halley, and the commander of the 82d Support Command, Col. William F. Daly Jr., multiple tours. While neither the commander of the 1st Brigade, Col. Henry H. Shelton, nor his counterpart in the 3d Brigade, Col. James T. Scott, had served in the division prior to their current tours, both had airborne experience: Shelton in special forces and the 173d Airborne Brigade in Vietnam; Scott as commander of the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry. Colonel Silvasy, in addition to his service in the 82d, had commanded an airborne company on jump status in Vietnam. Senior officers in the division thus fell into three categories of experience—those with an extensive history in the division, such as Colonels Boylan, Halley, and Daly; those with a moderate amount of airborne experience, a group that included General Smith and Colonels Shelton, Silvasy, and Scott; and General Trobaugh, who had a limited airborne background. As one veteran of the division noted, such a combination could create excellent synergy by combining new ideas with experience.[100]

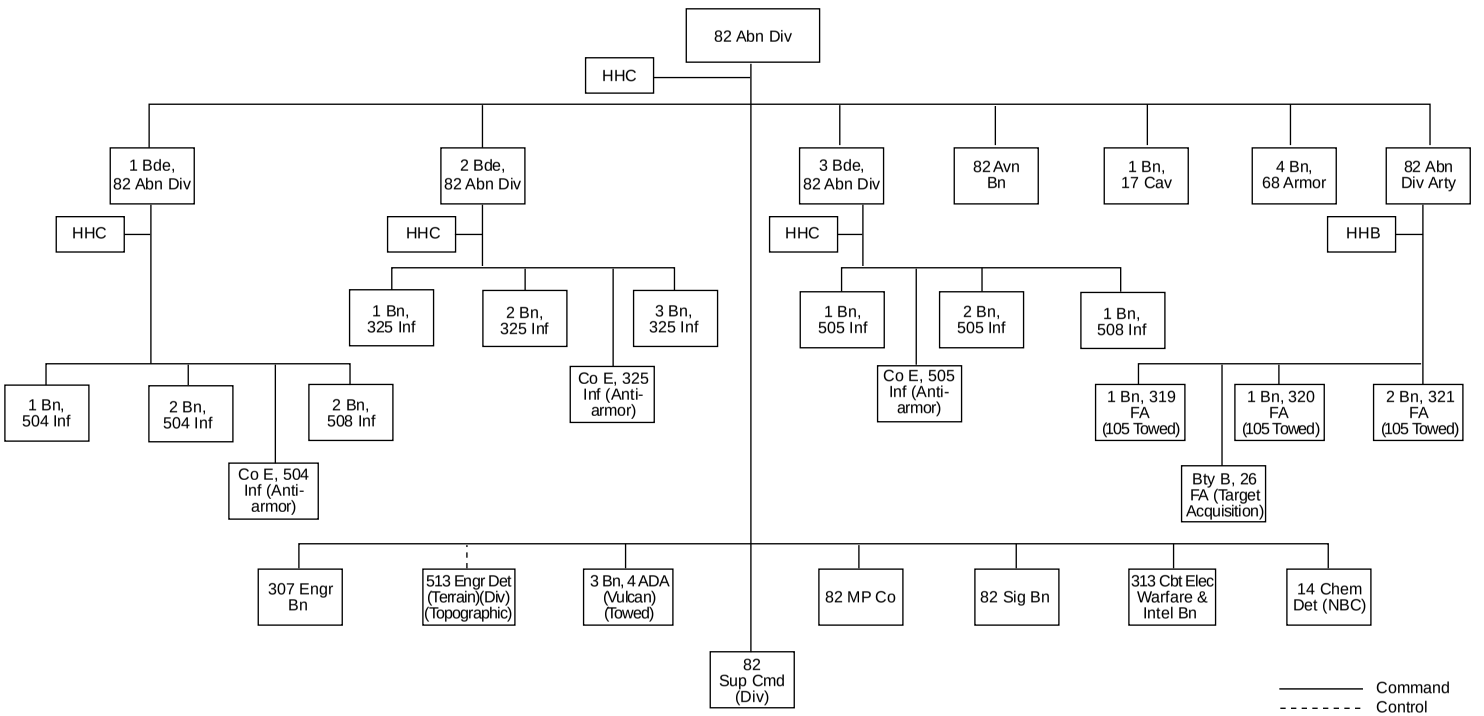
As with the corps, the division headquarters could break down into multiple command posts in combat. Because the division staff was smaller and its range of functional responsibilities less than the corps staff, normally it expected to organize two rather than three command posts—the assault and main—with responsibilities similar to their counterparts at corps level. In addition, the division commander could establish an alternate command post, usually a subordinate headquarters, at times when the division's command posts were severely damaged or in the process of changing locations.[101]

The division's combat power centered on nine airborne infantry battalions, each of approximately 730 officers and men, supported by three field artillery battalions armed with 105-mm. howitzers. Three brigade headquarters furnished intermediate command and control for the maneuver elements *(Chart 5)*. The division also had an armor battalion equipped with M551 Sheridan airborne assault reconnaissance vehicles (often referred to as tanks but having less armor) that were capable of being dropped by parachute, and an air defense battalion outfitted with Vulcan antiaircraft guns and Stinger missiles. The division possessed both an aviation battalion and a cavalry squadron. In addition to a installation maintenance company, a headquarters, and a headquarters company, the 82d Aviation Battalion had four combat aviation elements: two lift companies flying the new UH–60 Black Hawk helicopters; one general-support aviation company equipped with OH–58 Kiowa observation

[100] Boylan Resumé, 1 Jun 1988; Halley Resumé, 21 Mar 1988; Scott Resumé, 1 Mar 1988; Shelton Resumé, 11 Jul 1988; Smith Resumé, 20 Apr 1988; Silvasy Resumé, 20 Apr 1988. All in GenOff files, CMH. See also Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; RCmts, Reardon, May 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

[101] FM 101–5, May 1984, pp. 8-4 to 8-5.

## Chart 5—Organization of 82d Airborne Division, October 1983




*Source*: Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH.

helicopters and UH–1 Iroquois (Huey) helicopters; and one gun company furnished with AH–1 Cobra helicopters. The 1st Squadron, 17th Cavalry, consisted of a headquarters, a headquarters troop, a ground cavalry troop equipped with jeeps, and three air cavalry troops featuring OH–58 and AH–1 helicopters.[102]

In October 1983 Colonel Silvasy's new command, the 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, was organized as a standard light infantry brigade with three airborne formations—the 1st, 2d, and 3d Battalions, 325th Infantry (because the regiment was not a tactical organization, the units were so designated to foster tradition and esprit de corps). The 2d Brigade, like the other two brigades in the division, always trained as it planned to fight—as a combined arms task force. To enhance its power in battle, the brigade had attachments from the various combat, combat support, and combat service support elements within the division. Company B, 82d Aviation Battalion, supplied troop and cargo lift with its UH–60 Black Hawks. Company B, 4th Battalion, 68th Armor, provided direct fire support, as did the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, from the division artillery. At the same time, Company B, 307th Engineer Battalion, contributed combat engineering capabilities. The ROAD structure allowed the division commander to attach additional divisional or nondivisional assets to the brigade if it needed them for a specific mission.[103]

The division's 82d Signal Battalion operated and maintained a communications system with separate command, control, fire control, combat support, and combat service support radio and radio-teletype networks. These linked the division's main headquarters to a forward or assault command post; to one corps artillery group; to an adjacent division, if there was one; and to key divisional elements—the three brigade headquarters, the division artillery, an artillery signal center, the air defense battalion, the division support command, the military intelligence battalion, and three forward area signal centers with net control stations, one for each brigade. Because doctrine envisioned that the division would operate independently most of the time, the signal battalion required personnel and equipment augmentation to communicate with a second adjacent division. In addition, the battalion provided supply and maintenance for all secure communications equipment.[104]

As with the signal unit, the 307th Engineer Battalion had a logistical mission. The unit furnished the division with building materiel and potable water, although the Army was just beginning the process of transferring the water purification function to the Quartermaster Corps. Yet the engineers'

[102] Robert N. Seigle, "Looking Back at URGENT FURY," pp. 18–19, 22, 24, 57–58; Intervs, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, and Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH. For a discussion of the Sheridan, see Donn A. Starry, *Mounted Combat in Vietnam*, pp. 142–45; TOE 57–55H, 15 Jun 1974, chg. 4, and TOE 17–27H, 30 Sep 1974, chg. 36, TOE files, CMH; and UHD Card, 320th Inf, UHD files, CMH.

[103] See John K. Mahon and Romana Danysh, *Infantry*, pp. 96–100; Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[104] TOE 11–215H, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 2, TOE files, CMH.

contribution to the division's logistical success encompassed much more. They constructed, repaired, and maintained roads, bridges, fords, and culverts; removed obstacles in the division's rear area that hampered the easy movement of supplies and equipment; and carried out limited general construction assignments, such as building or repairing assault landing airstrips. Their principal purpose, however, was combat engineer support to the division, such as building bridges and constructing defensive positions under fire.[105]

One battalion, four additional companies, and a division support command rounded out the division. All the commanders of these units worked directly for the division commander. The 313th Military Intelligence Battalion provided combat intelligence, electronic warfare, and operational security support. The 82d Military Police Company, in addition to its provost marshal and internal security functions, enforced traffic control for motor vehicles within the division area and established collection points for prisoners of war and civilian internees. The 21st Chemical Company furnished "nuclear, biological, and chemical reconnaissance and decontamination support," the latter—like the company assigned to the corps—in the form of shower points. The other two companies, the 82d Finance Company and the 82d Adjutant General Company, received their guidance from the division commander and their logistical and administrative support from the 82d Support Command.[106]

## DIVISIONAL LOGISTICS

Colonel Daly's 82d Support Command held the primary responsibility for division-level logistics *(see Chart 6)*. His position gave General Trobaugh one authoritative point of contact for combat service support in the division. Daly and his staff also provided supply, maintenance, and transportation information and advice to the division commander and his staff. In the 82d Airborne Division, Daly occupied a position equivalent to an infantry brigade commander.[107]

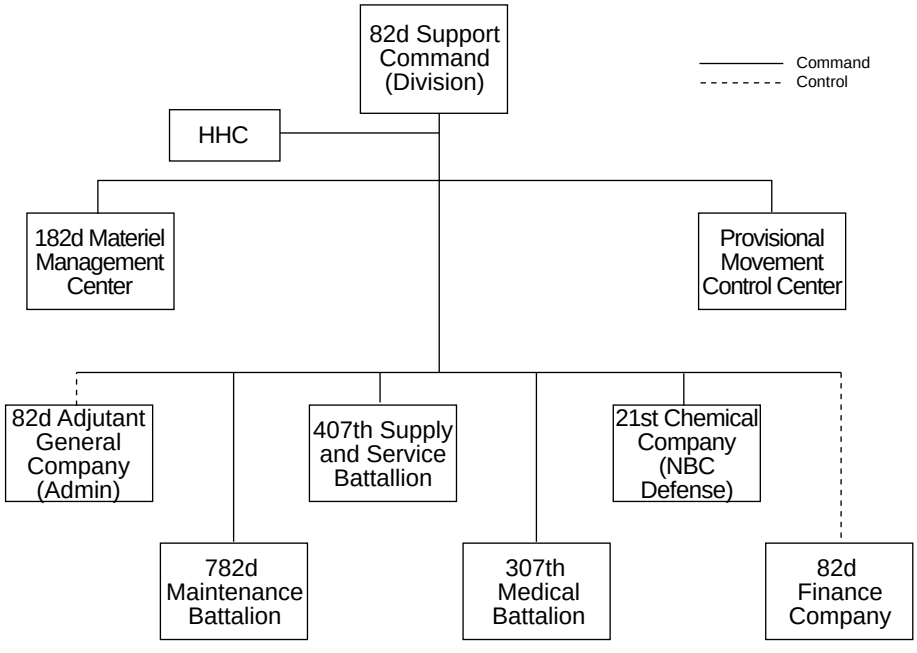
The 82d Support Command was responsible for five functional areas—storage, handling, and distribution of supplies; maintenance; transportation; computer support; and rear-area security. Its major subordinate elements consisted of the 182d Materiel Management Center, the 407th Supply and Service Battalion, the 782d Maintenance Battalion, the 307th Medical Battalion, and the Provisional Movement Control Center. The command distributed all military supplies and equipment in the division except for those furnished by the signal and engineer battalions. A small division data center in the headquarters company provided computer support. Equipped with an IBM 360

[105] TOE 5–25H, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 1, TOE files, CMH; William H. Haight, "Unexpected Engineer Missions During Operation URGENT FURY," Student Paper.

[106] TOE 14–37H, 31 Dec 1976, chg. 12; TOE 12–17H, 16 Aug 1976, chg. 13; TOE 3–87, 12 Dec 1980, chg. 1 (quoted words); TOE 19–17H, 19 Aug 1972, chg. 10; TOE 34–165H, 20 Apr 1979, chg. 1. All in TOE files, CMH.

[107] Lineage and Honors Certificate, HQ&HQ Co, 82d DISCOM, 11 Mar 1976, OrgHist files (82SustainmentBde), CMH; Jonathan M. House, *Toward Combined Arms Warfare*, pp. 154–60.

**Chart 6—Organization of 82d Support Command, October 1983**



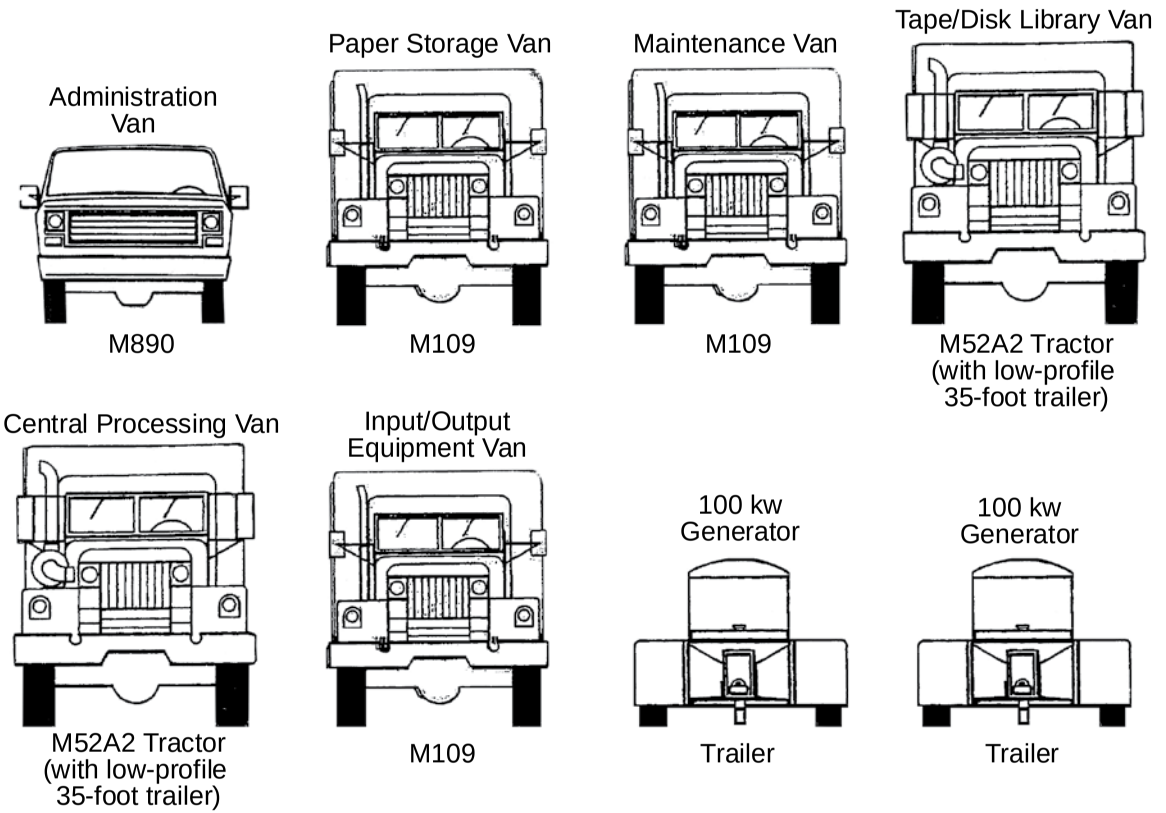

*Source*: Org Chart, XVIII Abn Corps and Fort Bragg, 11 Jan 1983, Hist files (Graphics), CMH.

mainframe system, it tracked the same sort of information for the division that the computer at the 1st Support Command did for the corps. Unlike the corps machine, the 360 was obsolescent (the Army was preparing to replace all 360s in divisions) and saturated by peacetime demands. Similar to the 370, the 360 was theoretically mobile. It required six vans and two trailers to move in a C–5A (the only part of the division that could not move by either C–130 or C–141) and was adverse to being rattled, an unavoidable component of air travel. It also did not react well to heat, humidity, or dust. Once it arrived in an objective, it represented exactly sixty-four kilobytes of memory *(Diagram 2)*. The division emulated the corps and left its computer at Fort Bragg whenever possible.[108]

The 182d Materiel Management Center, established in 1974 to manage materiel assets using computers, represented another institutional innovation—although possibly unnoticed by Colonel Silvasy, focused as he was on

[108] TOE 29–3H, 17 Nov 1975, TOE 29–51H, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 1, and TOE 29–52H3, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 19, TOE files, CMH; Memo, Hirrel for author, [22 May 2007], Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH; Waldo W. Montgomery Jr., "Exercising the Division Data Center," *Army Logistician*, pp. 20–23; Karl E. Cocke, comp., *Department of the Army Historical Summary, Fiscal Year 1974*, p. 79. On the IBM 360, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IBM_System/360.

**Diagram 2—Configuration of the Mobile Division Data Center**




*Source*: Waldo W. Montgomery, Jr. "Exercising the Division Data Center." *Army Logistician* 12 (May–June 1980): 22–23.

learning about the 2d Brigade. The center tracked the location and status of all division equipment and supplies other than medical, secure communications equipment, and materiel used for rail shipment. It was an invaluable tool for Colonel Daly to use in directing logistical operations.[109]

If the center represented the management side of the equation in the 82d Support Command, the 407th Supply and Service Battalion represented the labor side where strong men and women did much hard physical work. It included a headquarters detachment; a main supply and service company; three forward supply and service detachments, one for each infantry brigade; and a quartermaster airdrop equipment company. The battalion planned for and supervised the establishment and operation of all supply points for the division and any attached units. It also provided and operated a limited number of motor vehicles to support division logistical and administrative operations. In the process of performing these activities, it generated considerable supply data that Colonel Daly and his staff used for planning purposes. The 407th, like other supply and service battalions, had lost combat support capacity during the 1970s when personnel slots had migrated to the Army Reserve. The unit, for example, retained a responsibility to perform graves registration for the entire division but could do so only if augmented by reservists—this in a unit with the highest level of readiness in the continental United States.[110]

The members of the 82d Support Command also repaired all equipment in the division except secure communications and medical items. Providing what was known as direct support maintenance, they made major repairs on equipment that required more extensive work than users could conduct onsite. If an organization with damaged equipment could not make a quick fix, it requested repairs from the support command. Maintenance specialists might pick up the entire piece of equipment, such as a 105-mm. howitzer; take it back to their maintenance area in division-rear; and restore it to working order. Alternatively, they might disassemble the equipment in a forward location, removing only the particular component that needed repair. When they completed the repairs, they returned the equipment to the unit from which it came. The 782d Maintenance Battalion handled all such maintenance in the division. Its internal organization was very similar to that of the 407th, consisting of one headquarters company, one main support company, three forward support companies, and a missile support company.[111]

The 307th Medical Battalion was the third battalion in the 82d Support Command. Configured like the others to get its services and supplies forward

[109] OrgHist Work Sheet, 182d MMC, and Ltr, Strobridge to AGO, 18 Mar 1980, sub: Unit Redesignation, OrgHist files (182MMC), CMH; Memo, Hirrel for author, [22 May 2007], Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH; Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Documents in the official file contain conflicting information on the 182d's designation. Usage in this work conforms to official guidance found in TOE 29–53H3, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 19, TOE files, CMH.

[110] TOE 29–45H3, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 1, TOE files, CMH; Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul and 4 Aug 1986, and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[111] TOE 29–51H, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 1, TOE files, CMH; AR 310–25, Dictionary of United States Army Terms, 1975, chg. 1, s.v. "direct support maintenance."

to the brigades, it consisted of one headquarters and support company and three medical companies. It furnished division-level medical support, including patient triage, treatment, and evacuation; medical supplies; and low-level first line maintenance of specialized medical equipment. The maintenance it provided consisted of inspecting, servicing, lubricating, adjusting, and replacing parts or minor components, as well as small but important activities as washing exterior surfaces, tightening bolts, and replacing screws while maintaining an antiseptic environment.[112]

The table of organization and equipment for an airborne division support command, unlike that of a standard infantry division, did not provide for a separate center to both direct and track all vehicles that supported the division's logistical and administrative activities. The 82d Support Command surmounted this difficulty by organizing the Provisional Movement Control Center in its S–3 section. The relatively small center reported to the executive officer, Lt. Col. Ronald F. Kelly. In a related area, the support command provided computer support for the division's logistical, personnel, and financial activities.[113]

In addition to these logistical functions, the 82d Support Command also filled a limited combat role by planning for and conducting operations behind the battle zone under the direct control of its infantry battalions. Rear-area protection was a response the Army had developed to meet the threat of Soviet deep attacks on the central front in a European conflict. Units behind the front lines had to be prepared to defend themselves. For this reason, the support command provided security within its assigned areas of responsibility against enemy incursions, whether raids or more serious coordinated attacks. It had to ensure that its logistical units were prepared to defend themselves at all times and that they were positioned so that they would confront an attacker with interlocking fields of fire. No one expected maintenance or quartermaster units to go into the attack, but in a crisis a division commander might use his support command as a fourth maneuver brigade headquarters, assigning infantry battalions and their supporting artillery to it to clear enemy interlopers from division-rear.[114]

Normal command and staff relationships prevailed between the division staff and the 82d Support Command. The latter organization provided division logistical planners with data they needed to create the logistical annexes of operations plans and to shape command decisions. In turn, the planners gave the support command the logistical priorities it required to sustain the division plan of action and to build up the materiel necessary for future operations. The division transportation officer, Maj. Frederick C. Perkins, a member

[112] TOE 8–65H, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 30, TOE files, CMH; DA, Subcourse 420, Medical Support of Army Divisions, Jan 1982, TechLib.

[113] TOE 29–45H, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 1, and TOE 29–55H, 20 Mar 1978, chg. 25, TOE files, CMH; Intervs, Wade with Vitucci, [Nov 1983], and author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul and 4 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[114] FM 54–2, Division Support Command and Separate Brigade Support Battalion, chg. 2, 30 Sep 1976, pp. 4–5; Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

of the division's G–4 section, acted as the commander's representative for all of the division transportation assets, working closely with the Provisional Movement Control Center for internal transportation and acting as liaison between the 82d and external sources of transportation.[115]

## FORWARD AREA SUPPORT

Logistics doctrine, how the 82d Airborne Division planned to use its logistical elements in combat, had changed greatly between 1965 and 1983. The key to the new thinking was an entirely new entity, the forward area support team, an innovation devised at the Army Logistics Center at Fort Lee, Virginia, in the wake of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Geared for a mechanized war in Europe, the concept encouraged the arming, fueling, and repairing of weapons systems as far forward as possible on or near the battlefield. Army planners envisioned that a conflict in Europe would involve outnumbered NATO forces battling desperately to defend against a Soviet blitzkrieg that could strike with little or no warning. They assumed a come-as-you-are war. At the same time, the reduced military budgets and rising inflation of the 1970s appeared to indicate that American divisions would only have peacetime stockage levels available when combat started. The planners had to find an ultra efficient way to sustain the troops, and the forward area support team was their organizational response to this highly fluid yet austere environment.[116]

In 1975 the 82d became one of the first units to field test the new approach. Each brigade contained a team that consisted of one major—the Forward Area Support Team I, II, or III coordinator—and a small number of "field-oriented noncommissioned officers" from the three battalions within the 82d Support Command. A team was, in effect, a "minibattalion of specialists." Over the next eight years the command-and-control element remained constant, but the rest of the organization grew considerably. By October 1983 the team consisted of a company (or a detachment in the case of the supply and service battalion) drawn from each battalion—a total strength of over 350 personnel. Forward Area Support Team II, for example, which supported the 2d Brigade, consisted of Company C, 782d Maintenance Battalion; Detachment C, 407th Supply and Service Battalion; and Company C, 307th Medical Battalion. In garrison, these elements were under the control of their parent units, which were responsible for their technical training and administrative support, but during field operations they would deploy with the brigade *(Chart 7)*.[117]

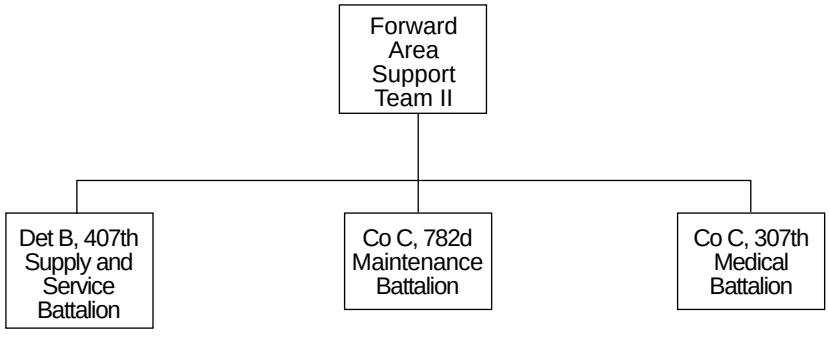
With a functioning team, a brigade commander had a single officer responsible for combat service support. For Colonel Silvasy's 2d Brigade,

[115] Graham, "Emerging Logistics System," p. 4; Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, and with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[116] Graham, "Emerging Logistics System," pp. 2–6; "Brigade FASCO," p. 17; Moorad Mooradian, "DISCOM in a 'Come as You Are' War," pp. 41–53; Kenneth C. Sever, "Unit and Missions—782d Maintenance Battalion (in Grenada)," pp. 3–6; Intervs, author with Cusick, 24 Jan 1989, and Oland with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[117] "Brigade FASCO," p. 17 (quoted words); Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

**Chart 7—Organization of Forward Area Support Team II, October 1983**




*Source*: Adapted from Moorad Mooradian, "DISCOM," p. 42.

that officer was an infantryman on Colonel Daly's 82d Support Command staff in garrison, Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III, who served as the forward area support coordinator in the field. The initial plan envisioned that a team leader would "coordinate and supervise the division support command elements that support the brigade" and also act as a liaison between the two. By October 1983, because the scope of his authority had expanded to include operational control over all support command elements assigned to the brigade area, the coordinator developed detailed plans to meet the supply, equipment, maintenance, transportation, and medical needs identified by the brigade's S–4.[118]

With the forward area support teams providing supplies through regular supply points and maintenance and transportation assistance needed in the forward areas, the remainder of the division support command would set up in the division's rear area. From there the division support commander could concentrate upon managing logistical assets for the force as a whole. Depending on the needs of the moment, he might, for example, send additional specialists forward to reinforce one of the teams. The portions of the three battalions directly under his purview functioned in roughly the same manner. Each set up one company in the rear and maintained limited reserve supplies there, ready to refurbish the forward area support teams on short notice. The maintenance battalion's missile repair company was located there also to perform more complex repairs than possible farther forward. The medical company, which had a limited medical repair capability but mainly concentrated on patient care, included an ambulance platoon to evacuate patients and a clearing platoon to furnish emergency dental, basic psychiatric, and other specialized treatments. In addition, the clearing platoon

[118] "Brigade FASCO," p. 17 (quoted words); Mooradian, "DISCOM," p. 42; Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

performed initial emergency care for severely injured soldiers who had to be evacuated from the division area.[119]

Although successfully tested eight years earlier, the forward area support team had yet to be validated in combat. Even so, field training had provided the 82d Support Command with ample opportunities to refine the concept.

## TRAINING

Colonel Silvasy's immediate goals upon taking command of the 2d Brigade were to become familiar with his key officers and to determine whether his unit could perform its mission. In terms of training, he had joined his unit at an opportune time. In the 82d Airborne Division the training cycle consisted of three stages: predeployment training, to which all units in the division gave priority; ready-brigade status, when the brigade and its attachments were at their highest readiness for deployment; and the deployment support and stand down, when the unit stood ready to assist the other brigades to deploy. The 2d Brigade had just completed intensive predeployment training and had entered ready-brigade status. With its attachments added, it became a brigade task force.[120]

Silvasy understood that how well the brigade performed in deployment exercises and field training would tell him much about the officers and men under his command. After the change of command ceremony, he instructed his officers and sergeants major to come to brigade headquarters the next morning, Saturday, for a transition meeting. He told them he wanted it casual; they should wear civilian clothing. The next day, after a seven- or eight-hour meeting, he stood and addressed the group. "O.K. guys," he said, "now we're going to see what you are made of." He called an alert.[121]

The battalion S–3s activated their telephone chain, with calls for 2d Brigade members to report to their company areas within two hours. Simultaneously, the alert set in motion all the support elements from the division and corps support commands, installation activities, and the uploading battalion. The calls also launched into action the attachments from division artillery and the separate battalions and companies that would transform the brigade into a combined arms task force. Thereafter, an intricate sequence of events began, designed to move the force to the adjacent Pope Air Force Base for boarding C–141s.[122]

This step-by-step series of actions, known as the notification-hour (or N-hour) sequence, was detailed in the division's readiness standing operating procedures, a document constantly refined on the basis of repeated exercises. It was one of three divisional standing operating procedures; the others guided ground and air operations, to include the actions involved in airdropping or

[119] Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; TOE 29–56H, 20 Mar 1978, chg. 2, TOE 29–47H, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 7, and TOE 8–65H, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 30, TOE files, CMH; DA, Subcourse 420, Jan 1982 pp. 3–1 to 3–38, TechLib.

[120] Briefing, Silvasy, 7 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; RCmts, Reardon, May 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

[121] Briefing, Silvasy, 8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[122] Ibid.; Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

airlanding troops, equipment, and supplies. Together they encompassed all aspects of the division's tactical and deployment operations.[123]

A complete loading exercise, called an Emergency Deployment Readiness Exercise, ended with the airborne infantry battalions parachuting into a training area. Because of the costs that Military Airlift Command charged for using its aircraft in exercises, the combat service support elements affiliated with a brigade, aside from a few token elements, usually did not participate in the airdrop. The medical company supporting a brigade, for example, always packed its equipment as if it was going to jump but then moved by truck to the maneuver area. Before matters progressed that far, however, Colonel Silvasy had learned what he needed to know. Just eight hours after the alert message, he concluded that he had a competent, if young, brigade staff and some fine battalion commanders who knew their business and thus terminated the exercise.[124]

When Silvasy assumed command, the 82d's mission was to be ready to deploy anywhere in the world and to fight upon arrival without extensive advance notice. Having the highest readiness status, the 2d Brigade would be deployed first in a crisis. In practical terms, this meant that it had to be prepared to sortie its first battalion (Division Ready Force-1) from Pope Air Force Base within eighteen hours of an alert message. The company that would lead the move, the Initial Ready Company, could depart even more quickly in an extreme emergency, for it kept its equipment loaded on vehicles in a holding area opposite its company barracks ready for deployment by air. Even so, no one wanted to deploy the company ahead of the rest of the battalion because it lacked artillery, engineers, aviation, signal, quartermaster, or other supporting elements that amplified ground combat power.[125]

Each of the division's nine infantry battalions also received readiness designations that ran from one through nine. The three battalions assigned to Division Ready Brigade-1 thus normally included Division Ready Force-1, -2, and -3. Following the deployment of the first, the others would deploy in numerical order as required. Division Ready Force-9, the last battalion to deploy, functioned as the uploading battalion, providing critical muscle power to assist the departing battalions. Just how it would deploy itself without the assistance of a support battalion remained an unresolved issue in 1983. The division rarely practiced loading as many as two brigades and never rehearsed loading all three. Indeed, because of budgetary implications, any exercise involving the Air Force involved decisionmakers well above the division commander. In fact, since World War II, the 82d Airborne Division had deployed all three of its brigades only once, during the 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic.[126]

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[123] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; William F. Daly and Raymond V. Mason, "The Quartermaster Corps in Grenada," p. 5.

[124] Briefing, Silvasy, 7 Dec 1983; Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, and Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[125] Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[126] Ibid.; RCmts, Reardon, May 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH; Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. For the Dominican crisis, see Palmer, *Intervention in the*

While the division was theoretically prepared to deploy anywhere in the world, to be prepared for everywhere was, in effect, to be prepared for nowhere. Successive division commanders had thus concentrated on readying the unit for the most difficult and dangerous contingency that the Army faced in the post-Vietnam era, a Soviet invasion of the oil-rich nations of the Middle East, particularly Iran. In such a scenario, the division would have to deploy quickly and then fight a delaying action until friendly heavy forces could arrive. This meant that division troopers had to be able to generate maximum firepower against an enemy certain to have large numbers of armored vehicles. The program carried with it an unspoken assumption that the skills it taught would stand the division in good stead in other contingencies of lesser difficulty.[127]

On Monday, 17 October, two days after Colonel Silvasy had ended his surprise exercise, Colonel Daly took the 2,200 men and women of his 82d Support Command to the post maneuver area for a field training exercise of his own. Daly, who had previously commanded the 407th Supply and Service Battalion and had served as the senior logistician on the division staff, had joined the division support command in August 1983. He was impressed with the high level of technical training of the men and women under him. They exhibited great competence when doing the jobs prescribed for their various specialties. Nevertheless, he was dissatisfied with their field training. Combat service support units, he later observed, were doing the Army a disservice if they slighted their combat roles by spending the majority of their training concentrating on the technical aspects of their positions. "Many . . . support centers would not last one day in combat," he said, "without the tactical training required to defend their positions."[128]

In his opinion, the 82d Support Command was a good unit, but rusty in the field. His main goal in the exercise was "to shake out" its field operating procedures and tactical operations centers, both at the battalion and division support command levels. The effort culminated in a two-day rear-area combat exercise in which the unit defended its position against the 82d Aviation Battalion. Early in the exercise Daly observed from his helicopter that his aviation fuel system supply point was neither secure nor camouflaged. He landed and called the commander, 2d Lt. Eric P. Katz, over to one side. Daly explained that in the 82d Airborne Division whenever a unit went into the field it assumed that it was operating in a hostile tactical environment. Katz's unit was doing good technical work, but it was unprepared to defend itself and had even left some 12,000-gallon bags of aviation gas lying around on the ground. These needed to be dug in. Daly asked the lieutenant how soon it would take him to organize his position tactically. Katz said two days. Daly promised to return and inspect the site again and, before leaving, explained his philosophy:

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*Caribbean*; Lawrence M. Greenberg, *United States Army Unilateral and Coalition Operations in the 1965 Dominican Republic Intervention*; and Lawrence A. Yates, *Power Pack*.

[127] Interv, author with Quick, [Jun 1998], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[128] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Daly and Mason, "Quartermaster Corps in Grenada," p. 5 (quoted words).

"Think war; train for war; and if you don't have to go, all that you've done is dig a few foxholes."[129]

Unknowingly, Daly had found one of the units most in need of such instruction, because the aviation fuel system supply point had not been tested in the field for years. When the colonel returned two days later, he found the gas bags dug in and all the approaches to the position covered by well camouflaged foxholes. He was satisfied that Katz and his men had learned what to do and how to do it.[130]

That same week Colonel Silvasy also had an opportunity to discover the proficiency of the 82d Support Command. At that time, General Trobaugh decided to find out how his new brigade commander handled surprises and called an unexpected emergency deployment training exercise for the 2d Brigade. Prophetically, Trobaugh selected a timely scenario for the exercise: the rescue of American citizens held hostage by a foreign government. As the division support commander, Colonel Daly was responsible for loading the division in conformity with its standing operating procedures. As a result, in the midst of his own exercise, he had to truck some of the support command back from the field to supervise the loading of Silvasy's brigade onto aircraft. Forward Area Support Team II also returned because it was part of the brigade task force. Both the 2d Brigade's deployment exercise and the 82d Support Command's field exercise proved successful. Silvasy remembered his first week in command as "very exciting." Daly, who had to juggle responsibilities for both exercises, could have said the same thing.[131]

Given his lack of an airborne background, General Trobaugh had approached his job with an exacting attention to detail that most of his predecessors had found unnecessary. His recent experience as an assistant division commander for support meant that he had joined the division with the importance of logistics firmly in view. In August he had meshed these two threads of airborne inexperience and logistical experience to produce a new readiness reporting system in the division. In that month he had directed, and General Smith and Colonel Daly had designed, a format for readiness reporting. Before an audience that included Trobaugh, Smith, Daly, and the appropriate brigade commander, each battalion commander had made a formal presentation of every possible aspect of his unit: levels of supply, availability of equipment, status of training, and numbers and preparation of personnel. The briefings covered these topics in minute detail, going so far as to include, for example, whether the vaccinations of members of the unit were up to date, an item that directly affected the battalion's readiness to deploy overseas. Division officers quickly learned not to take these briefings lightly. When one of the battalion commanders had attempted to obfuscate some embarrassing facts about

[129] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986 (quoted words), and with Katz, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Daly and Mason, "Quartermaster Corps in Grenada," pp. 4–5.

[130] Interv, author with Daly, 30 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Daly and Mason, "Quartermaster Corps in Grenada," p. 5.

[131] Daly and Mason, "Quartermaster Corps in Grenada," pp. 5–6; Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Cusick, 24 Jan 1989, and Briefing (quoted words), Silvasy, 7 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

his unit's vehicle maintenance, Trobaugh had exposed the true situation with some pointed questions that left the briefer decidedly uncomfortable. The new division commander's emphasis on logistics heartened the senior logisticians but caused some combat commanders to grumble that his briefings and their preparation cut too much into the time available for more useful operational planning and training.[132]

The 82d was extremely well drilled because General Trobaugh had stressed repeated emergency deployment readiness exercises. From the time he assumed command, Trobaugh insisted on a minimum of one emergency deployment readiness exercise at brigade level each month and often held more. (Previous division commanders had not considered it necessary to hold them so frequently.) These exercises, however, focused on the initial brigade's deployment. Due to the expense and competing budget priorities, higher headquarters had failed to fund larger exercises requiring Air Force participation. As a result, members of the division were largely unprepared for the complications involved in moving a force comprised of more than one brigade by air from neighboring Pope Air Force Base.[133]

## MORALE

These deployment exercises were extraordinarily important to the 82d Airborne Division, because of its role as the Army's fire brigade. The entire organization was focused on the problem of deploying the first battalion within eighteen hours of an alert and nothing was going to stop it from reaching that goal—not inadequate intelligence, inability to move all its logistical assets, poor terrain on the drop zone at the objective, or the possibility of meeting superior numbers of enemy forces. American infantry has traditionally possessed a can-do spirit when approaching difficulties and that philosophy was particularly prevalent among light infantrymen in 1983. Nowhere was the attitude more concentrated than among light infantrymen who jumped out of airplanes. Given their mission and organization, airborne soldiers had to believe in the primacy of human qualities—intelligence, training, and will—over materiel. It was an approach that the 82d Airborne Division went to some pains to reinforce. When a member of the unit received an order he did not salute and say: "Yes, sir." He saluted and said: "Airborne, sir," meaning that he would put 200-percent effort into whatever task he received and he would accomplish it.[134]

While the full flowering of the can-do spirit in the division helped enhance its readiness, it also worked to exacerbate strains between members of the combat arms and their counterparts in the support units. On the surface, this tension

[132] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, plus Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[133] Interv, author with Cusick, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; RCmts, Reardon, May 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

[134] Interv, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH, with key reflections on impact of emergency deployment readiness exercises. Quoted words based on author's observations at Fort Bragg (1986 and 1989) and discussions with Army officers.

took the form of what seemed normal good natured banter and friendly competition. A hint of raw emotion, however, ran beneath the surface of the humor. Airborne infantrymen, on the one hand, regarded logisticians as something less than real soldiers, an attitude not uncommon in any maneuver division. The only thing that counted from this point of view was the amount of combat power a unit brought to bear, most easily calculated by the number of maneuver battalions, artillery batteries, and combat aviation units it deployed. On the other hand, logisticians believed that they were unappreciated and that the combat arms officers as a whole did not understand the extent to which total combat power depended upon their efforts. The awkwardness that resulted surfaced in the epithets that the two groups used to refer to one another: Logisticians were "loggies," and thus not altogether serious; combat arms officers were "gunfighters" or "killers," and thus little more than Neanderthals. Colonel Daly's command had an unofficial slogan that succinctly summed up the logisticians' point of view: "82d DISCOM: Try Fighting Without Us."[135]

The tension between members of the combat arms and the combat service support branches also affected relations between the 82d Airborne Division and the XVIII Airborne Corps. Many officers and some enlisted men had served in both during their careers, mitigating the tensions between the two organizations. Even so, a natural rivalry developed simply because both units occupied the same post. In addition, most of the corps elements were combat service or combat service support units while the division contained a preponderance of combat units. As with the friction between combat arms officers and logisticians, this tension remained below the surface in peacetime.[136]

The strains between fighters and suppliers and between units in close proximity were hardly unique to Fort Bragg. They could be found in one degree or another throughout the Army. That the members of the 82d considered themselves special and something apart from the rest of the service, however, only complicated matters. Duty at Fort Bragg with its constantly demanding training came to represent the epitome of field soldiering for many officers and enlisted men. Some of them, in a practice referred to as homesteading, manipulated the personnel system so that they served in a wide variety of units but never left the Fort Bragg area. This meant that officers became highly proficient in a fairly narrow range of skills that might be too narrow if the Army ever had to mobilize again. Senior leaders at Fort Bragg tolerated this, unofficially encouraging homesteading because in their view the complexity of airborne operations required such specialization.[137]

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[135] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul, 7 Aug 1986, and Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, and Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH; author's observations at Fort Bragg (1986 and 1989) and discussions with Army officers, including a senior logistician. Quoted words from sign in the 82d Support Command headquarters.

[136] Interv, author with McElroy, 30 Apr 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[137] Intervs, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], and Pirnie, MacGarrigle, and author with J. L. Hamilton, 3 Jun 1985. Both in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also RCmts, Reardon, Sep 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

The practice figured prominently in a rumor that preceded General Trobaugh's arrival at Fort Bragg. The story made the rounds that General Cavazos at Forces Command had enjoined Trobaugh to bring the 82d Airborne Division back into the Army. For some, the report became more plausible as they came to know the general because he did not suffer fools gladly. He had very definite ideas about how he wanted things done, often made quick judgments, and then held them firmly. As a result, a number of officers with long service at the post became concerned about their career prospects. This fostered a tendency on the part of some to go no further than the letter of any order and to avoid taking the initiative. The command climate that resulted tended to breed suspicion and fear rather than teamwork. Whether a real operation would pull the division together remained to be seen.[138]

## HEAVY DROP RIG SITE

The members of the 82d Support Command had much more immediate concerns as they returned to garrison on Friday, 21 October. Most were not thinking of the next work week let alone the politics of promotion. They were concentrating on the prospects of the weekend ahead. Colonel Daly insisted, however, that before any unit released its personnel it had to return all its equipment to "100-percent go-to-war status." It was an unpopular order, but the men and women of the command complied.[139]

Company E, 407th Supply and Service Battalion, the quartermaster airdrop equipment company, was one of the last units out of the woods. The men had to return to the heavy drop rig site, a large factory-type structure in the pine barrens northwest of the main post, near Green Ramp on Pope Air Force Base. There, they would restore to a deployable condition all heavy equipment needed for any contingency so that the items could be rapidly moved to Pope Air Force Base and loaded onto an airplane with little or no additional preparation.[140]

The rig site consisted of two compounds in a clearing, each of which was surrounded by a cyclone fence topped with razor wire. The smaller of these was a vehicle holding area. A large metal building stood in the center of the second enclosure. Inside were six production lines, each equipped with rollers and overhead cranes designed to prepare everything from jeeps to bulldozers for a parachute landing. Each vehicle, which contained supplies and equipment referred to as bulk ballast because the parachutes required the extra weight to open correctly, entered one side of the building, where it moved onto rollers to pass through several work stations. Company E riggers first lashed it onto a pallet and then cocooned it in energy-absorbing honeycomb material as protection for airdrops. The riggers also covered a vehicle with three canvas web nets and attached one or more parachutes and static lines before loading

[138] Intervs, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], and Pirnie, MacGarrigle, and author with J. L. Hamilton, 3 Jun 1985. Both in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[139] Daly and Mason, "Quartermaster Corps in Grenada," p. 5.

[140] Ibid.

it onto a tractor trailer, normally a forty-foot flatbed trailer pulled by a M915 tractor, for transportation to Pope Air Force Base.[141]

Exceptions to these loading procedures were in place for specialized equipment, such as the Sheridans in the 4th Battalion, 68th Armor. Unit personnel, versus Company E riggers, would always prepare their own vehicles or heavy weapons for airdrop. Although Company E riggers could also load pallets of supplies and standard equipment for airdrop, as a rule the unit shipping the pallets usually prepared the ones that did not involve vehicles or heavy weapons. The degree of difficulty involved in such normal packing did not require the riggers' special expertise.[142]

Company E had endured a hard week. As with everyone else in the division support command, the riggers had gone to the field for the exercise only to discover that they had to return to support the 2d Brigade's emergency deployment readiness exercise. Once they completed that mission, they returned to the field to finish their rear-area combat problem. The company had a significant amount of work to do to recover from the week's activities. It was still at work when word came down the chain of command that there would be another emergency deployment readiness exercise on Monday, 24 October. Company E was to hold fast over the weekend. Because the rig site was a coveted place to work and all the enlisted men were long-service professionals, they grumbled at the news, but no one was really upset. It was just another day in the life of the 82d Airborne Division.[143]

The military community at Fort Bragg that Colonel Silvasy rejoined in October 1983 showed more continuity than change since his earlier posting in 1964 and 1965. The 82d Airborne Division, like other Army contingency forces in 1983, might best be described as an enhanced Vietnam-era unit. Combined arms still began at the battalion level so that a battalion task force constituted the essential building block for any overseas contingency. The division was beginning to receive precision-guided weapons, such as Stinger missiles, but most of its munitions remained the unguided conventional variety. Computers, because of their size and complexity, were used more commonly in fixed installations than in the field. The units themselves provided most of the sense of stability and continuity for the men and women in them. If the chain of command remained unaltered, however, the personalities involved were clearly different, and this could affect both the content and the style of decisionmaking. The planning process also represented a constant even, as the plans underwent continuous refinement.

The division remained an elite unit, part of the nation's fire brigade ready to deploy to crises around the world. Although budgetary constraints placed limitations on training, the 82d was better prepared to launch one brigade than

[141] Ibid.; Interv, author with Horton, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[142] Interv, author with Horton, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; RCmts, Reardon, May 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

[143] Interv, author with Horton, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

two in a crisis. The state of the Cold War and the Soviet threat to Iran also ensured that the division's training was more focused on fighting a high-intensity engagement against a mechanized opponent than a low-intensity conflict against a predominantly light infantry adversary. Because the same budgetary considerations precluded moving logistical units by air during exercises, senior commanders and combat arms officers habitually assumed the presence of adequate logistical support. Only the senior logisticians understood in detail the complexity of flying their units to an objective and what impact their presence might have on the introduction of combat elements.

At the same time Army contingency forces had changed since Silvasy's earlier tour. Four of the most important differences included the creation of a variety of such forces; the transformation of the corps into the key headquarters for logistical support; the effort to reduce usage of supplies and equipment; and the transition to delivering logistical support as far forward in the battle zone as possible. While the post-Vietnam shift to an all-volunteer force was exceptionally important to the Army as a whole, it had little influence on Army contingency forces, which had always consisted of volunteers. The new types of contingency forces permitted a more nuanced response to crises but introduced additional complexity into the planning and conduct of operations not present in 1965. The changes in Army logistics, in particular, remained somewhat problematic in 1983 because they had not been validated by combat.

In 1983 most soldiers—whether rangers, special operations forces, or airborne troopers—had little to do with planning and no concern for the chain of command other than their immediate superiors in their own units. Some issues, such as the relationships between the services or the impact of fiscal constraints on training, also remained outside their purview. Aside from senior commanders and a handful of staff officers, the soldiers lived an isolated existence, endlessly perfecting methods of conducting military operations, but little concerned about why or where. This was the world that Colonel Silvasy reentered at Fort Bragg.

At the time that Silvasy returned to Bragg, the small very poor Caribbean island nation of Grenada was one possible site for U.S. military intervention, but it hardly seemed likely to anyone on the post. The advent of the left-wing Bishop government in 1979 and its subsequent development of close ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union, its construction of a large international airport with potential military as well as civilian uses, and its constant stream of radical rhetoric against the United States had goaded the Reagan administration into reassessing United States policy toward Grenada. In early October 1983 the administration was on the cusp of initiating a tougher policy that could only increase Grenada's already considerable economic woes. Military intervention, however, was as far from the thoughts of the policymakers in Washington as it was from the calculations of the soldiers at Fort Bragg.

# 2

# Policy and Initial Planning

## 13–24 October 1983

☆ ☆ ☆

The leadership elite on Grenada experienced a growing sense of crisis during 1983. Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard had found it increasingly difficult to work with Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Although they had no real policy disputes, evidence of Bishop's lack of executive abilities had accumulated since the 1979 revolution. Bishop was very much the populist leader possessing the capacity to sway large crowds with his rhetoric, whereas Coard in his role as the New JEWEL's chief Marxist theoretician was the epitome of an ideologue. The two might have resolved their differences peacefully, but their friction occurred against the backdrop of the new government's failure to make much progress in reviving the island's moribund economy. If Bishop's government had succeeded in projecting a revolutionary image to its sponsors abroad, that success came at the cost of local social services. Moreover, the regime's main economic achievement—the decrease in unemployment—was due to the creation of a large number of construction jobs that would vanish upon completion of the airport. Underemployment, unemployment, and widespread drug use among teenagers thus remained almost as intractable as before the revolution. As initial hopes for quick economic success faded, so did the leadership's sense that the government enjoyed broad popular support. In fact, subsequent polling suggested that popular support had not declined, but the Coard faction of the party perceived that it had.[1]

In September 1983 Coard and his allies outmaneuvered Bishop in a series of Central Committee meetings. Coard wanted a reorganization at the top so that both men would nominally share power but where, in fact, Bishop acted largely as a figurehead. Distracted by the need to keep the economy afloat, Bishop agreed and then departed on an effort to secure capital from Eastern Europe. Coard remained behind and consolidated his support in key

[1] Gregory W. Sandford and Richard Vigilante, *Grenada*, pp. 137–48; Maurice Bishop, *In Nobody's Backyard*, pp. xxi–xli; Brian Meeks, *Caribbean Revolutions and Revolutionary Theory*, pp. 129–86; Jay R. Mandle, *Big Revolution, Small Country*, pp. 45–102; Gordon K. Lewis, *Grenada,* pp. 161–63; Frederick L. Pryor, *Revolutionary Grenada*, pp. 199–254; Courtney A. Smith, *Socialist Transformation in Peripheral Economies*, pp. 235–38; Tony Thorndike, *Grenada*, pp. 176–91; Patrick Emmanuel et al., *Political Change and Public Policy in Grenada, 1979–1984*, p. 23.



**Antigovernment demonstration in 1974, led by Bishop** *(circled)*

sectors, particularly the People's Revolutionary Army. During his trip Bishop reevaluated what he had conceded and returned determined to contest the decision for dual leadership. Almost all the key army officers, however, lined up behind Coard, and after a raucous session on Wednesday, 12 October, the Central Committee of the party deposed Bishop and ordered his arrest. When an attempt to announce Coard's succession as prime minister sparked a near riot in St. George's, Coard abruptly resigned from the government and went into hiding. The Central Committee, meanwhile, opted to cut communications with the outside world and to expel all foreign journalists.[2]

## Washington and Norfolk, 13–19 October

Officials in Washington first became aware of a potential crisis on Grenada on 13 October. The island briefly surfaced as a subject of discussion between two members of the Restricted Interagency Group following a meeting on Central America. Consisting of representatives from the Department of State, the Office

[2] Michael Ledeen and Herbert Romerstein, eds., *Grenada Documents*, doc. 112; "The Alienation of Leninist Group Therapy," *Caribbean Review* 12 (Fall 1983): 14–15, 48–58; Frank J. Prial, "Grenada Curtails Communications to the Outside," *New York Times*, 16 Oct 1983; R. S. Hopkin, *Grenada Topples the Balance in West Indian History*, p. 8; Thorndike, *Grenada*, pp. 153–56; Paul Seabury and Walter McDougall, eds., *The Grenada Papers*, pp. 329–39. See also Notes, n.d. sub: CC Meetings; Resolution, PRA Branch, NJM Party, 12 Oct 1983; and Ltr, Burke to Bishop, 11 Oct 1983. All in IDR nos. 000136, 100103, 100270, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH.

of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the National Security Council (NSC), the Restricted Interagency Group was part of an attempt by the Reagan administration to allow mid-level coordination of issues between agencies before they reached the president and his cabinet-level advisers on the National Security Council. The goal, mostly achieved, was to provide closer monitoring of issues and to resolve agency differences as far down the administrative hierarchy as possible.[3]

As with many such entities in Washington, however, the Restricted Interagency Group's history had little to do with the tenets of scientific administration. It was the forum through which Secretary of State George P. Shultz was seeking to regain control of the administration's Central American policy from a loose coalition of intelligence and defense officials and NSC staffers who favored a military solution to the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua as opposed to negotiations urged by the State Department. This long-running policy clash meant that at the beginning of the Grenada crisis departmental representatives within the group were highly sensitive to the need to protect the prerogatives of their organizations. As a result, the members exchanged information grudgingly and were inclined to find reasons for not doing things other agencies regarded as useful.[4]

The nominal JCS representative in the Restricted Interagency Group was assistant to the chairman, V. Adm. Arthur S. Moreau Jr. A nuclear submariner, Admiral Moreau was possibly the most powerful member of the group, respected by JCS Chairman General John W. Vessey for his brilliance and his judgment. By extension, because General Vessey in turn enjoyed the confidence of both Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger and President Ronald W. Reagan, his trust gave Moreau influence at the highest reaches of the government and made him a very important player in the group. He was, however, a very busy man. Unless he judged an issue to be of key importance, he usually sent a subordinate to represent him. On 13 October Grenada was not even on the agenda and the issues that were there did not rate, in Moreau's judgment, a flag officer's attendance. Air Force Col. James W. Connally, chief of the Western Hemisphere Division, Plans and Policy Directorate (J–5), Joint Staff, represented the Joint Chiefs at the group's meeting.[5]

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[3] NSDD 2, Reagan, 12 Jan 82, sub: National Security Council Structure, NSDD files, box 1, RNSC, NARA–RRPL; Langhorne A. Motley, "The Decision To Assist Grenada," p. 2; Interv, Cole with Connally, 25 Jul 1984, Archives files, JHO. No tape was made of this interview. Connally remembered that Motley approached him on 12 October, but everyone else's recollection was that the meeting occurred on 13 October. The latter appears more in line with events on Grenada.

[4] Motley, "Decision To Assist Grenada," p. 2. For a detailed account of the administration's Central American policy, see William M. LeoGrande, *Our Own Backyard*, pp. 72–146, 188–96, 356–57. See also Robert J. Beck, *The Grenada Invasion*, pp. 93–94.

[5] Richard Halloran, "Reagan as Military Commander," *New York Times Magazine*, 15 January 1984, p. 61; idem, "A Commanding Voice for the Military," ibid., 15 July 1984, pp. 18–25, 52. For Moreau's background, Moreau Resumé, 1 July 1986, Archives files, NHHC. On the Vessey-Moreau relationship, see Roy Gutman, *Banana Diplomacy*, p. 138, and Interv, Cole with Connally, 25 Jul 1984, Archives files, JHO.

As the meeting broke up, the group chairman, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Langhorne A. Motley, took Colonel Connally aside. Noting that there appeared to be some political unrest on Grenada, Ambassador Motley indicated that a military operation might be necessary for evacuating American residents on the island and stressed that the Joint Chiefs needed to dust off their plans for such a contingency. (Just what was the source of Motley's information remains unclear. The U.S. Embassy in Barbados did not cable the news until the following day.) Connally promised to pass the ambassador's concern to his superiors. The State and Defense Departments were then embroiled in a dispute over Middle Eastern foreign policy. Secretary Shultz believed in a vigorous approach backed by force, while Secretary Weinberger wanted to avoid any initiative that might drain political support from his primary objective—rebuilding U.S. defenses. Given this context, Connally's superiors apparently did little more on 13 October than note Motley's concern about Grenada.[6]

Coincidentally, on 13 October, the senior Latin American specialist on the NSC staff, Constantine C. Menges, reacted to the reports about a power struggle on Grenada by proposing a military intervention to rescue Americans on the island and to restore democratic government. Menges already had a reputation as an ideologue at odds with the pragmatists who dominated the staff. His initiative appeared to his superiors so wildly out of proportion to the situation that he played only a marginal role in the decisionmaking from then on. But he did introduce Grenada as a subject in the highest echelons of the NSC staff, and his recommendation proved to be a prescient judgment about how events might develop.[7]

That afternoon National Security Adviser William P. Clark, with minimal preliminary warning, announced that he had accepted the post of secretary of the interior in the president's cabinet. His deputy, Robert C. McFarlane, would succeed him. This stunning announcement to the NSC staff—only McFarlane had known in advance—probably slowed the follow-through on the Grenada issue. Not until 2000, local time, on 13 October did a lower-level staffer on the Latin American desk contact an officer in the Operations Directorate (J–3) of the Joint Staff. The staffer had wanted to know what resources were available on short notice to safeguard an evacuation of Americans from the island.[8]

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[6] Caspar W. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace,* pp. 135–74; George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, pp. 84, 103; Robert C. McFarlane and Zofia Smardz, *Special Trust*, p. 248; Interv, Cole with Connally, 25 Jul 1984, Archives files, JHO; Msg, Bish to SecState, 14 1508Z Oct 1983, sub: Report of a Marxist Coup by DPM Bernard Coard, Msg files, DoS. See also Stephen E. Flynn, "Grenada as a 'Reactive' and a 'Proactive' Crisis," Ph.D. diss., pp. 103–05, and Ronald H. Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, pp. 11–12.

[7] Constantine C. Menges, *Inside the National Security Council*, pp. 60–62. The judgment about Menges' subsequent role in the operation is in Beck, *Grenada Invasion*, pp. 120–21, 121n56.

[8] See McFarlane and Smardz, *Special Trust*, pp. 258–60, for impact of Clark's departure. On the approach to the JCS, see Msg Extract, JCS, 14 0000Z [Oct 1983], in Misc Master Scenario Events List (Planning/Execution Systems), Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH; Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 12.

The next morning, in response to this inquiry, the director of operations on the Joint Staff, Army Lt. Gen. Richard L. Prillaman, activated a crisis response cell in the National Command Center to monitor the Grenada situation. The quick action reflected the fact that the National Security Council was an agency in the Office of the President and hence represented higher authority in the chain of command. The crisis response cell consisted of Joint Staff officers from the Western Hemisphere Branch, Operations Directorate, and the Western Hemisphere Branch, Plans and Policy Directorate, plus Foreign Service officers from the State Department with a representative of the Defense Intelligence Agency in support. The cell was to assess the situation and prepare possible courses of action. It began work at 0800, local time, on Friday, 14 October.[9]

The Restricted Interagency Group held another scheduled meeting on 14 October, this time with Grenada as a minor agenda item. Ambassador Motley repeated for the entire group much of what he had told Colonel Connally the day before. In his view Bishop's arrest, now confirmed, opened the possibility of further radicalization of the New JEWEL Party. Such a development might pose a threat to the safety of the large number of Americans, estimated at 1,000, living on the island. Motley informed the group that the State Department was reviewing its standard evacuation procedures and formally requested that the Joint Chiefs scrutinize their contingency evacuation plans.[10]

In response to a "what if" call from the crisis response cell at the National Command Center that same day, the Operations Directorate at U.S. Atlantic Command headquarters began reviewing contingency plans for noncombatant evacuations/show-of-force operations and drafting options specifically related to the situation on Grenada. Initially these efforts were interspersed with the normal business of the directorate and proceeded at a somewhat leisurely pace.[11]

The planners at Norfolk had based all their work on three assumptions. First, they took for granted that the National Command Authority would make available all the forces listed in Concept Plan 2360, last updated in March 1983. (As one commentator observed, this expectation presumed that Atlantic Command chief Admiral Wesley L. McDonald could use some mix of those forces, depending on the circumstances of the moment, that the plan budgeted for Caribbean operations). Second, the planners stipulated that neither Cuba nor the Soviet Union would intervene militarily. Third, based on the spotty intelligence available, they postulated incorrectly that the bulk of the resident Americans were medical students and that they lived on the True Blue Campus of the St. George's University School of Medicine just off the runway at Point Salines.[12]

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[9] Msg Extract, JCS, 14 1200Z [Oct 1983], in Misc Master Scenario Events List (Planning/Execution Systems), Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH; Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 12.

[10] Flynn, "Grenada," Ph.D. diss., p. 105, provides the only available account of this meeting.

[11] Chronology, encl. 2 to Ltr, McDonald to Vessey, 6 Feb 1984, sub: Operation Urgent Fury Report, Archives files, JHO.

[12] Msg, Bish to SecState, 20 0739Z Oct 1983, sub: Grenada—Attitudes of Grenadian Medical School Toward Possible Evacuation of Their Students/Staff, Msg files, DoS; Msg,

Admiral McDonald's staff also fed information into the Joint Staff's crisis response cell. Both sets of planners knew that any noncombatant evacuation involved one major inherent risk—the intended evacuees could become hostages instead. The deteriorating security situation on the island compelled both policymakers and planners to pay increasing attention to that possibility.[13]

Three days later, on Monday, 17 October, Motley convened a special meeting of the Restricted Interagency Group devoted solely to Grenada. At that time, he reviewed State Department procedures for dealing with a situation in a foreign country where American lives might be at risk. The first three, more moderate, actions involved dealing with the government in power. Motley rejected them because in his view Bishop's arrest and Coard's resignation meant that no legitimate government remained on Grenada. The only feasible response was an evacuation of noncombatants in which the U.S. military would be prepared to use whatever force was necessary. Motley pressed for the Joint Chiefs to begin immediate planning for such an operation. Colonel Connally passed Motley's concerns on to his superiors. To the Joint Staff, the possibility of intervention appeared remote. The Joint Staff director, Army Lt. Gen. Jack N. Merritt, observed that the crisis was "just vibrating." Nevertheless, he ordered the Joint Staff's crisis response cell to work with Atlantic Command and develop a range of evacuation options—from a peaceful evacuation to the use of force. In response to the increased level and intensity of work this action generated, Atlantic Command activated its own crisis action team on 18 October.[14]

As the situation on Grenada began to attract high-level military attention, the U.S. Navy Amphibious Squadron Four took on the men and equipment of the 22d Marine Amphibious Unit at Morehead City, North Carolina. The unit's intended destination was Lebanon—a normal rotation to relieve the Marine garrison there. Commanded by Navy Capt. Carl R. Erie, an aviator of wide experience with attack aircraft, the squadron consisted of an amphibious assault ship, the USS *Guam*, the flagship; an amphibious transport dock, the USS *Trenton*; a dock landing ship, the USS *Fort Snelling*; and two landing ships, the USS *Manitowoc* and the USS *Barnstable County.*[15]

Marine amphibious units were the smallest of the Marine air-ground task forces. The 22d, commanded by Marine Col. James P. Faulkner, consisted of

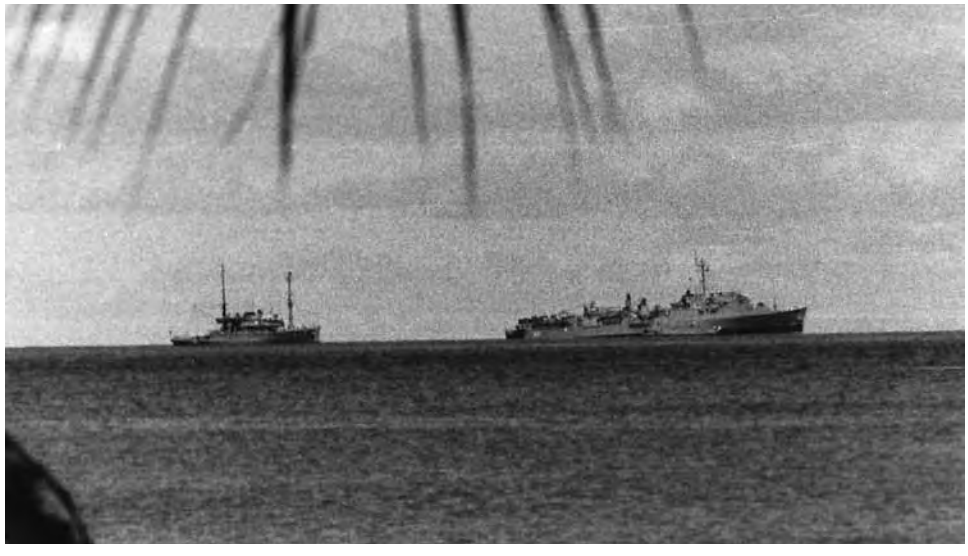
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McDonald to JCS, 20 0616Z Oct 1983, sub: Commander's Estimate of Situation, Grenada Evacuation, encl. to Memo, Merritt for Agency Dirs and Heads, JCS, 30 Jan 1984, Archives files, JHO; Interv, Pirnie with Nelson, 9 Jan 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[13] Chronology, encl. 2 to Ltr, McDonald to Vessey, 6 Feb 1984; Rpt, [Harris], 1 May 1985, sub: Joint Overview of Operation URGENT FURY. Both in Archives files, JHO. See also Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 11–12; Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 63–64.

[14] Motley, "Decision To Assist Grenada," p. 1; Flynn, "Grenada," Ph.D. diss., pp. 105–07; Interv, Cole with Merritt, 21 Jun 1984 (quoted words), and Chronology, encl. 2 to Ltr, McDonald to Vessey, 6 Feb 1984, Archives files, JHO; Msg Extract, JCS, 18 0000Z [Oct 1983], in Misc Master Scenario Events List (Cmd/Control—Task Org), Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH.

[15] Ronald H. Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada, 1983*, p. 1; Erie Resumé, Archives files, NHHC.



**Naval support in Grenada;** *below,* **USS *Guam***





**USS *Independence*;** *below,* **USS *Caron***



a small headquarters element; a battalion landing team built around the 2d Battalion, 8th Marines; a helicopter squadron; and a support group, composed of maintenance, supply, and service units—some 1,900 men in all. By Wednesday, 19 October, Amphibious Squadron Four was in the Atlantic en route to Lebanon. A powerful battle group from Norfolk, built around the aircraft carrier USS *Independence* with five destroyers, including the USS *Caron*, and intended to support the marines in Lebanon, was also at sea.[16]

## Death by Revolution, 19–20 October

On the morning of 19 October a crowd, estimated between 3,000 and 4,000, surged out of Market Square in the center of St. George's *(see Map 3)*. Shouting "No Bishop; no Revo," the demonstrators moved toward the prime minister's residence at Mount Weldale, some 800 meters north and west of the town center. Some of Bishop's adherents, including three former cabinet members and two labor leaders, had remained at liberty and had appealed for popular support. They were in the crowd when the demonstrators reached the outer courtyard of the residence. Acting under orders from the Coard group, members of the People's Revolutionary Army attempted to bar the entrance. The soldiers fired their weapons into the air; however, they melted away when the demonstrators stormed into the front courtyard.[17]

Inside, Bishop's supporters found their leader strapped to his bed. He appeared dazed, reputedly because he had refused all food and water for several days. He had feared, so it was said, that his former Central Committee comrades would attempt to poison him. As Bishop and his liberators exited the residence, a reporter at the scene asked him for his reaction. Bishop could only mutter, "the masses," before being swept away in a truck.[18]

Chanting "We want we leader" (the local dialect for "We have our leader"), most of the crowd returned to the capital to hear their leader. Others, however, accompanied Bishop to Fort Rupert, the location of army headquarters. The garrison proved as unwilling to fire on the demonstrators as the guards at the residence. Bishop and his lieutenants took charge and released another prisoner and supporter, the deposed army chief of staff Maj. Einstein Louison. On Bishop's orders, Major Louison began distributing Soviet AK47 automatic rifles to the crowd.[19]

Just what Bishop and his supporters intended next remains unclear. Before they could act, three Soviet-built armored personnel carriers rolled out of the

[16] Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada, 1983*, p. 1; Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 18; MFR, author, 13 Dec 2006, sub: 22d MAU, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

[17] "Leader of Grenada Is Reported Killed by Troops," *New York Times*, 20 Oct 1983 (quoted words); V. S. Naipaul, "An Island Betrayed," *Harper's*, March 1984, pp. 61–72; Frances Kay, *This—Is Grenada*, pp. 35–40; Thorndike, *Grenada*, p. 143.

[18] "Leader of Grenada Is Reported Killed," *New York Times*, 20 Oct 1983; Naipaul, "Island Betrayed," p. 72; Alister Hughes, "Island Bloodshed 'Started with Army Rockets,' Journalist Says," *Washington Post*, 30 Oct 1983 (quoted words).

[19] Hughes, "Island Bloodshed," *Washington Post*, 30 Oct 1983 (quoted words); Kai P. Schoenhals and Richard A. Melanson, *Revolution and Intervention in Grenada*, pp. 76–77; Mark Adkin, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 47–81.


D'Arbeau
Queen's Park Racecourse
St. Johns R
St. Johns R
ST. GEORGE'S BAY
Gretna Green
Sans Souci
Pime Minister's Residence
Governor General's Residence
Market Square
ST GEORGE'S
to Fort Frederick 1250 Meters
The Carenage
Fort Rupert
Fort George Point
THE SPOUT
Govt Offices
Prison
ST. GEORGE'S HARBOR
The Lagoon
Grenada Free Port
Paddock
MARTIN'S BAY
Belmont
Ross Point
ST. GEORGE'S AND VICINITY
GRENADA
1983
ELEVATION IN FEET
0
600
1200 and Above
0
500
Meters
0
500
Yards

**Map 3**



**Ransacked People's Revolutionary Army office at Fort Rupert;** *below,* **Attack on Fort Rupert, with Soviet BTR60s**






**Marine stands guard at the prime minister's residence.**

city. They were manned by soldiers loyal to Bishop's opponents, men who were not afraid to shoot. Who fired first is a matter of some dispute, but not who was slaughtered. When the armored personnel carriers opened fire, the crowd scattered, leaving a trail of bodies. Estimates of the dead ranged from ten to over a hundred. As the shooting started, witnesses remembered that Bishop cried out, "Oh God, oh God, they've turned their guns on the masses!" Bishop and his backers surrendered. Later, the soldiers stood him and seven of his prominent supporters against a wall in the inner courtyard of the fort and executed them. One or more of the soldiers also beat to death the former minister of education, Jacqueline Creft, who was pregnant with Bishop's child.[20]

[20] Edward Cody, "Prime Minister of Grenada Dies in a Military Coup," *Washington Post*, 20 Oct 1983; Bull, Main Political Dept, NJM Party, 20 Oct 1983, sub: Their Heroism Is an Example for Us, IDR 000091, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH; Adkin, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 69 (quoted words) and 70–76; On Creft, see Speech, Kenneth W. Dam, 4 Nov 1983, in *Department of State Bulletin* 83 (December 1983): 80. See also Transcript of Hughes Tape Recording,

The head of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces, General Hudson Austin, announced over Radio Free Grenada the formation of a sixteen-man Revolutionary Military Council with himself as president. Later, he informed the nation of Bishop's death, claiming that the prime minister had died in fighting started by his own supporters. He then declared an around-the-clock curfew that, in effect, placed all Grenadians and foreigners under house arrest. Soldiers, he said, would shoot violators on sight. The council also closed Pearls Airport, cutting the island off from the outside world.[21]

The Soviet Union's response to events in St. George's was calm and measured, but Cuba reacted with barely controlled anger. The leadership crisis on Grenada had taken Havana by surprise. On 20 October the Cuban Communist Party issued an official statement condemning the killings of Bishop and his associates and calling for the Revolutionary Military Council to clarify the circumstances of their deaths: "If they were executed in cold blood, the guilty ones deserve to be punished in an exemplary way." The Cubans did promise to continue their aid as part of their contract with the Grenadian people but with an ominous qualification that Cuban relations with the new ruling group would require "serious and profound analysis."[22]

## Reaction in the United States, 19–20 October

On 19 October the U.S. ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean Commonwealth nations, Milan D. Bish, reported the rioting and deaths in St. George's. Even before he learned of Bishop's assassination, Ambassador Bish, working from the embassy in Bridgetown, Barbados, believed that these conditions "posed an imminent danger to U.S. citizens resident on Grenada." His cable prompted yet another Restricted Interagency Group meeting; this time Admiral Moreau attended in person. All the participants agreed not only with Bish's analysis but also that the military needed to immediately begin planning for a noncombatant evacuation. Moreau stated that the Joint Chiefs understood the situation and would instruct the relevant commands to monitor it closely. He emphasized, however, that only the National Command Authority—either the president or the secretary of defense—could task the Joint Chiefs to prepare invasion plans.[23]

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Market Square, St. George's, Grenada, 19 Oct 1983, in *Congressional Record*, daily ed. (27 Mar 1984): S3278–79.

[21] Statement, Austin, 19 Oct 1983, sub: Rev Soldiers and Men of the PRA, IDR no. 000091, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH; Transcript of Austin Broadcast, 19 Oct 1983, c. 2230, in *Congressional Record*, daily ed. (27 Mar 1984): S3729–80; "Military Council Says It Now Rules Grenada," *New York Times*, 21 Oct 1983; Cody, "Prime Minister of Grenada Dies," *Washington Post*, 20 Oct 1983.

[22] Maurice Bishop, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, pp. 315 (quoted words) and 316. See also Edward Cody, "Cuba Condemns Grenada Coup, Will Review Tie," *Washington Post*, 22 Oct 1983. For an analysis of the Soviet response, see Jiri Valenta and Virginia Valenta, "Leninism in Grenada," pp. 15–22.

[23] Msgs, Bish to SecState, 19 2356Z Oct 1983 (quoted words), sub: Planning for Possible Emergency Evacuation of AMCITS, and 20 0409Z Oct 1983, sub: Grenada: Bishop Dead/Army Takes Over Fully/Imperialism Warned To Keep Hands Off, Msg files, DoS; Intervs, Cole with Connally, 25 Jul 1984, and with Moreau, 12 Jul 1984, Archives files, JHO; Flynn, "Grenada," Ph.D. diss., pp. 107–08.



**Vice Admiral Moreau**



**General Prillaman**

Later that day the Joint Chiefs held their formal meeting on Grenada. Following an intelligence briefing, they decided to dispatch a warning order to Atlantic Command for a possible evacuation of Americans. The order, which went out at 2347 local time on 19 October, directed Admiral McDonald to prepare an estimate by dawn the next day of the courses of action available "to protect and evacuate U.S. and designated foreign nationals from Grenada." The chiefs envisioned a three- to five-day operation. Possible scenarios included a show of force, seizure of evacuation points, combat operations to defend the evacuation, and postevacuation peacekeeping. This list encompassed a range of political objectives that extended from minimal involvement in the internal affairs of the island nation to creation of a posthostilities democracy. The amount of combat power envisioned for each increased in line with the scale of the objectives. U.S. Readiness Command, as a supporting command that might have to provide forces to Atlantic Command *(see Chart 2)*, received an information copy of this warning order. Shortly thereafter, the Joint Staff gave the operation the code name URGENT FURY.[24]

[24] Msgs, Vessey to CINCLANT, CINCMAC, and CINCRED, 20 0347Z Oct 1983, sub: Warning Order—Grenada NEO, and McDonald to JCS, 20 0616Z Oct 1983 (quoted words), sub: Commander's Estimate of the Situation, both attached to Grenada Timeline, plus Chronology, encl. 2 to Ltr, McDonald to Vessey, 6 Feb 1984, Archives files, JHO; Msg Extract, JCS, 18 0000Z [Oct 1983], in Misc Master Scenario Events List (Cmd/Control—Task Org), Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH; Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 13–14.

The warning order activated neither the Army nor the Air Force component commands of Atlantic Command. The officer who supervised its preparation, General Prillaman, sought in that way to keep the chain of command short and simple for what promised to be a quick operation involving minimal force. Current procedures gave Admiral McDonald the option of activating the component commands upon receipt of the warning order. Possibly for much the same reasons that motivated Prillaman, McDonald chose not to exercise this option. As a result, Headquarters, U.S. Air Force Tactical Air Command, and Headquarters, U.S. Army Forces Command, were effectively cut out of the URGENT FURY planning.[25]

Early on Thursday, 20 October, Admiral McDonald replied to the JCS warning order with his estimate of the situation. Later that morning General Vessey flew to McDonald's headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia, where the command group briefed him. McDonald's staff had prepared for both an uncontested departure of Americans—a permissive environment as the military styled it—and one in which the Grenadians and possibly the Cubans opposed the operation—a hostile environment. If the Grenadians permitted a peaceful evacuation of the Americans and designated foreign nationals, McDonald recommended two courses of action. Following diplomatic negotiations, the evacuees would use either chartered commercial passenger planes or Military Airlift Command aircraft. The latter option involved positioning a small security detachment at the departure airfield.[26]

If the Grenadians refused to permit the evacuation, McDonald proposed other options, one consisting of a show of force that used Atlantic Fleet warships and three others that anticipated ground combat to quickly overpower the Grenadians. The combat alternatives simply employed different force mixes to obtain this result. One used the 22d Marine Amphibious Unit supported by the *Independence* battle group, forces that could be ready to go by 25 October. The second involved substituting another Marine amphibious unit for the 22d. Atlantic Command would require nine days to position the unit; however, in contrast to the 22d, these marines could remain as an occupation force. The third employed one reinforced airborne battalion supplied by Readiness Command. Depending on the airborne unit selected, it might be available sooner than either of the Marine contingents.[27]

McDonald indicated that if he had to use force he preferred an all-Marine contingent both for the initial landings and for follow-on peacekeeping forces.

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[25] Msg, Vessey to CINCLANT, CINCMAC, and CINCRED, 20 0347Z Oct 1983, attached to Grenada Timeline; Msg, Nutting to McDonald, 19 Nov 1983, sub: Operation URGENT FURY; Memo, Shalikashvili for CofS, Army, 20 Oct 1983, sub: Situation in Grenada. All in Archives files, JHO. See also Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 12–13.

[26] Msg, McDonald to JCS, 20 0616Z Oct 1983, encl. to Memo, Merritt for Agency Dirs and Heads, JCS, 30 Jan 1984; Cover Sheet, Staber for DCSOPS, 21 Oct 1983, sub: Grenada Evacuation (URGENT FURY). Both in Archives files, JHO.

[27] Msg, McDonald to JCS, 20 0616Z Oct 1983, encl. to Memo, Merritt for Agency Dirs and Heads, JCS, 30 Jan 1984; Info Paper, Landers for DCSOPS, Army Staff, 21 Oct 1983, sub: URGENT FURY, encl. to Cover Sheet, Staber for DCSOPS, 21 Oct 1983, sub: Grenada Evacuation (URGENT FURY). Both in Archives files, JHO.



**National Security Council**

Option two, however, quickly dropped from serious consideration, simply because of the lag time involved. Option one became McDonald's small contingency. Vessey discussed the third option at some length. He proposed that McDonald use Army Rangers in the initial assault force because they specialized in seizing airfields. The potential hostage situation also suggested that this operation required the special skills possessed by the Pentagon's hostage rescue specialists—the special operations forces controlled by the Joint Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Additionally, Vessey envisioned the 82d Airborne Division strictly in a follow-on peacekeeping role. So modified, this option became McDonald's large contingency and brought a number of Army headquarters into the planning for the first time. After returning to Washington, Vessey also directed the Joint Staff's Operations and Plans and Policy Directorates and the Defense Intelligence Agency to assess the impact of McDonald's revised options on U.S. strategic readiness in the Atlantic. His action reflected the fact that, at the time, the military balance between the United States and the Soviet Union was of overriding importance to the Joint Chiefs.[28]

[28] Msg, McDonald to JCS, 20 0616Z Oct 1983, encl. to Memo, Merritt for Agency Dirs and Heads, JCS, 30 Jan 1984; Info Paper, Landers for DCSOPS, Army Staff, 21 Oct 1983, sub: URGENT FURY, encl. to Cover Sheet, Staber for DCSOPS, 21 Oct 1983, sub: Grenada Evacuation (URGENT FURY); Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987; and Ltr, Vessey to Armstrong, n.d. All in Archives files, JHO. See also Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 14–16; Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 63–66.

McDonald did not consider logistics either during this meeting or at any subsequent point in the planning for Grenada. Naval forces were self-contained; they carried the necessary supplies and equipment with them. As a result, senior naval leaders, such as McDonald, never had to concern themselves with the subject. When Vessey brought Army forces into the operation, McDonald made the assumption that the XVIII Airborne Corps would provide the necessary supplies and other support. As he later commented, he "never gave the matter another thought."[29]

While Vessey reviewed the Atlantic Command's plans, news of General Austin's 24-hour shoot-on-sight curfew prompted National Security Adviser McFarlane to decide that the crisis required White House oversight. The National Security Council replaced the State Department as the lead agency in the decisionmaking process. With the shift came a change in the name of the coordinating group. At McFarlane's direction, his deputy, R. Adm. John M. Poindexter, convened a Crisis Pre-Planning Group at 0800 on 20 October. Institutional representation remained the same as in the Restricted Interagency Group but with an expanded number of more senior representatives.[30]

As the attendees discussed the deteriorating situation, NSC staff member Marine Lt. Col. Oliver L. North mentioned that the *Independence* battle group and the 22d Marine Amphibious Unit had recently sailed for the eastern Mediterranean. Ambassador Motley wanted the Defense Department to divert them to the eastern Caribbean until the crisis eased. Admiral Moreau refused to entertain the idea short of a written presidential order. In the end, Admiral Poindexter's committee urged that the Special Situation Group, a committee of the most senior policymakers chaired by Vice President George H. W. Bush, assume responsibility for managing the crisis. The president accepted this recommendation.[31]

At 1645 that same day, just as the vice president prepared to enter the first meeting of the Special Situation Group, a staff member handed him a copy of a cable from Ambassador Bish reporting that Barbadian Prime Minister J. M. G. M. "Tom" Adams had requested U.S. assistance in overthrowing the Austin junta. Long before the onset of the present crisis, the vice president had expressed concern about the airfield construction at Point Salines and had directed the Defense Intelligence Agency to provide him overhead photographs of the peninsula on a regular basis. Moreover, he had just returned from a four-day visit to Jamaica, where he had received an in-depth analysis of the crisis from the Reagan administration's favorite Caribbean leader and free-market advocate, Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica. Seaga

[29] Interv, Harvard Fellows with McDonald, [1988], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[30] Menges, *Inside the National Security Council,* p. 68; Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 16; Don Oberdorfer, "Reagan Sought To End Cuban 'Intervention,'" *Washington Post*, 6 Nov 1983.

[31] Interv, Cole with Moreau, 12 Jul 1984, Archives files, JHO; Agenda, 20 Oct 1983, sub: CPPG Meeting, Country files (Grenada) I (9), box 90,931, RNSC, NARA–RRPL; Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph,* pp. 326–27.

believed that the coup and Bishop's murder posed a threat, by example, for all the democratic governments in the Caribbean. If the Austin-Coard clique remained in place, every adventurer in the area would have a working model for how to take power. Vice President Bush led off the meeting by reading the Bish cable and then summarized his own conversations with Seaga. "These people," he concluded, "are asking us to do something."[32]

Detained because he was testifying on Capitol Hill, Secretary Shultz entered midway in the meeting and outlined the State Department's plans to evacuate American citizens. He also noted that U.S. military forces would probably have to protect the evacuation. If that became necessary, Shultz advocated disarming the Grenadian armed forces as a safety measure. This was only one step short of outright regime change.[33]

General Vessey briefed the attendees on the risks of using force and the possibilities of Soviet or Cuban intervention. The Joint Chiefs "were determined," he said, "to make sure that [Fidel] Castro got the message that interference was not an option for him and that the message was clear and early." If the president decided to intervene, they wanted to send a pointed message to Cuba: "Hands off!" A representative from the Defense Intelligence Agency informed the group that the People's Revolutionary Army would oppose



**Seaga with Bush in Kingston, Jamaica**

[32] Msg, Bish to SecState, 20 1945Z Oct 1983, sub: Barbadian PM Tom Adams Pleas for U.S. Intervention in Grenada, Msg files, DoS; Flynn, "Grenada," Ph.D. diss., p. 111. On the vice president's interest in Point Salines, see MFR, author, 28 Oct 2008, sub: DIA Conference on Operation URGENT FURY (Invasion of Grenada), 28 October 2008, Hist files PDocs/Misc), CMH.

[33] Statement, George P. Shultz, 25 Oct 1983, in *Department of State Bulletin* 83 (December 1983): 69; Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 16.

any evacuation but that the Grenadian force was militarily ineffective. On the other hand, he added, the Cubans and Soviets simply lacked the means to intervene in sufficient strength to affect the outcome.[34]

The Special Situation Group anticipated that conditions on Grenada would continue to deteriorate and that at some point events would compel the president to rescue the Americans. Bush and his associates consequently decided that the Joint Chiefs should prepare a detailed operational plan for this contingency and directed McFarlane to begin drafting a decision directive covering such a circumstance for Reagan's signature. The Situation Group also recommended the immediate diversion of the *Independence* battle group and the marines. Shortly thereafter, Secretary Weinberger ordered the diversion without waiting for the White House to issue the order.[35]

Late that evening, about 2100, General Vessey contacted the commander of Joint Special Operations Command, Army Maj. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes, on a secure line and informed him that military intervention on Grenada was possible. He directed General Scholtes to develop a plan and come to Washington and brief him early the next morning. Specifically, Vessey wanted to know what targets Scholtes considered essential and how in general terms he would envision the operation taking place. At that time, Scholtes assumed that his men would be working directly for the chairman as they had done in the past with only one exception—the rescue in 1982 of Army Brig. Gen. James Dozier, kidnapped by the Italian Red Brigade. During the search for General Dozier, the special operations forces had worked for U.S. European Command.[36]

For both decisionmakers and planners, the available information about Grenada was seriously flawed. The figures on Grenadian and Cuban defenders given to the Joint Chiefs, for example, represented an overestimate on the order of 190 percent. The intelligence was the best available but derived from inferences rather than hard data. This lack of accurate and up-to-date information was the product of major structural problems in U.S. intelligence agencies and misguided policies in the local American embassy.[37]

The United States had drastically cut back its intelligence assets in the wake of the Vietnam war. In an attempt to economize, for example, the Defense Department failed to assign a defense attaché to the U.S. Embassy in Bridgetown, Barbados, during most of the period following the Grenadian revolution. Finally, in 1982 Army Lt. Col. Lawrence N. Reiman opened a one-man shop. As the Grenada crisis began, intelligence assets in the region were

[34] Ltr (quoted words), Vessey to Armstrong, n.d.; Info Paper, Landers, 21 Oct 1983, sub: URGENT FURY; and Memo, Cummings for Current Intel, DIA, [c. 20 Oct 1983], sub: Evaluation of the Threat. All in Archives files, JHO. See also Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 16–18.

[35] Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace*, p. 109; Statement, Shultz, 25 Oct 1983, in *Department of State Bulletin*, p. 69; Interv, Cole with Moreau, 12 Jul 1984, Archives files, JHO.

[36] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[37] Jnl, [Grenadian GS], 24 Oct 1983, sub: Strength of the Armed Forces in Terms of Permanent, Reserve, and Party Comrades, CGD Mf 005213, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP.

skeletal at best. All the agencies involved had to play catch-up in gathering information.[38]

The State Department was no different. Shortly after taking up his post in Bridgetown, Ambassador Bish, a Nebraska businessman with no previous experience in government, had quite reasonably concluded that the Bishop regime was Communist. Rather than seeking to obtain more information about what was transpiring on Grenada, however, he had arbitrarily directed his staff to drastically reduce even routine visits to the island. (This meant that Reiman, for example, concentrated on establishing contacts with friendly forces in the region.) The reporting from Bridgetown on events on Grenada during the crisis thus consisted of a composite of interviews with American citizens recently there, summaries of local press reports, transcripts of Radio Free Grenada broadcasts, and whatever information friendly governments with better sources chose to pass along to the embassy. Washington policymakers consequently received little if any special insight into the events or psychology of the key figures on Grenada that high-quality diplomatic reporting could have provided. Even more important, unaware of Bish's embargo on Grenada visits, they assumed that the embassy reports were much more solidly based on first person observation than they were.[39]

### Washington, Norfolk, and the Caribbean, 21–22 October

On Friday, 21 October, President Reagan formally directed the Defense Department to continue contingency planning, enjoined the State Department to contact allies and regional governments to determine both their assessment of the situation and their willingness to participate in a multilateral intervention if one became necessary, and confirmed the diversion of naval and marine elements to the eastern Caribbean. Early that same day General Prillaman telephoned General Scholtes and indicated that the Secretary Weinberger and General Vessey had decided to make Atlantic Command the supported command. Prillaman directed Scholtes to brief Admiral McDonald on the concept of operations and the outline plan Scholtes' staff had developed the night before. This directive notwithstanding, McDonald and his staff had one important disadvantage when they entered the briefing room: They knew little about the missions and capabilities of special operations forces. Scholtes had been directed to brief all major combatant commanders shortly after Joint Special Operations Command was established; however, after determining that Atlantic Command was the least likely command to require special operations

[38] See Christopher M. Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only*, pp. 350–502; Robert M. Gates, *From the Shadows*, pp. 56–63; Msgs, Ortiz to SecState, 15 1010Z Mar 1979, sub: Query re Gairy's Activities, and 19 1444Z Mar 1979, sub: Grenada: U.S. Presence on the Island, Msg files, DoS; Interv, Loendorf with Williams, 14 Dec 1990, SrOffOHist files, MHI.

[39] Author's reading of all Bridgetown cables during the crisis. See Msgs, U.S. Embassy, Bridgetown, 12–25 Oct 1983, Msg files, DoS. See also Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, p. 327; Sally A. Shelton, "Comments," in *Grenada and Soviet/Cuban Policy*, pp. 236–37; Interv, Loendorf with Williams, 14 Dec 1990, SrOffOHist files, MHI.

forces support, he had not yet made the presentation when events on Grenada produced a crisis.[40]

During the Grenada briefing McDonald became very concerned when he learned that Scholtes planned to launch his attack at 0230, the darkest hour of the night. How, wondered the admiral, could his men operate in total blackout? McDonald did not realize that special operations forces were equipped with night-vision equipment. It took some discussion to convince him that the operation was feasible. Once McDonald approved the concept, Scholtes directed his staff at Fort Bragg to begin detailed planning.[41]

The working relationship between Atlantic Command and Joint Special Operations Command was rocky in the beginning and then became worse. The officers at the two headquarters did not know one another, never having worked together. Tensions immediately developed between the intelligence sections of the two staffs. Scholtes' intelligence officers were used to directly communicating with and coordinating actions with Washington intelligence agencies. Atlantic Command's director of intelligence (J–2) was violently opposed to Joint Special Operations Command intelligence officers doing this and ordered them to desist immediately. Then he discovered that he lacked the means to communicate with several of the agencies involved and that he had to use Joint Special Operations Command facilities to do so. This was, in General Scholtes' phrase, "a very unfortunate situation."[42]

In the meantime, Vessey informed McDonald by secure telephone of the decision to expand Atlantic Command's mission to include neutralizing or disarming the Grenadian armed forces. U.S. forces would disarm the Grenadians only if they attempted to interfere with the evacuation. To cloak pending U.S. action, Vessey kept to his normal schedule that included a speaking engagement in Chicago. Before he left Washington late that same afternoon, he dispatched formal guidance to Atlantic Command, Readiness Command, Military Airlift Command, and Joint Special Operations Command. It reiterated what he had told McDonald. The Joint Chiefs directed Atlantic Command to prepare plans either for a rescue of American citizens in the face of military opposition or for a small invasion to disarm the Grenadians and Cubans and to evacuate Americans and foreign nationals. Moving the marines and the *Independence* battle group into the eastern Caribbean would allow them to quickly intervene if necessary. Readiness Command, Military Airlift Command, and Joint Special Operations Command would support these efforts.[43]

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[40] NSDD 110, Reagan, 21 Oct 1983, sub: Grenada: Contingency Planning, in NSDD files, box 1, RNSC, NARA–RRPL; Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[41] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chronology, encl. 2 to Ltr, McDonald to Vessey, 6 Feb 1984, Archives files, JHO.

[42] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[43] Msg, JCS to CINCLANT et al., 21 1755Z Oct 1983, sub: Contingency Planning for Grenada, attached to Grenada Timeline; Note, unsigned, 29 Oct [1983], 1730L, sub: CJCS Backgrounder to the Press; and Interv, Cole with Moreau, 12 Jul 1984. All in Archives files, JHO. See also Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, pp. 19–20; Pirnie, *Operation Urgent Fury*, pp. 63–68.

Coordination of planning during a compressed time period by these far-flung headquarters posed a problem. The Defense Department had in place an early version of the Internet called the Worldwide Military Command and Control System (WWMCCS). At this stage of its development, however, it was impossible to segregate recipients, so anyone with access to the system had access to everything on it. Because security concerns dictated that the planners could not avail themselves of this tool, Vessey directed them to coordinate their work through secure teleconferences and special category messages.[44]

This measure came too late to prevent first CBS News and then the Associated Press from breaking the story of the diversion of the *Independence*, fifteen ships of its battle group, and five ships of a Marine amphibious force, a fact confirmed by a "Defense Department official" during a briefing of Pentagon correspondents that evening. In response, "two aides" traveling with the presidential party in Augusta stated that the ships were in the area only to protect Americans if necessary and that no invasion was contemplated. The intended destination of Amphibious Squadron Four made the front pages of both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* the next day. Whatever the origins of the report, whether an unintended leak or a calculated indiscretion designed to influence the president's decision, it produced intense concern in the White House about operational security.[45]

While Vessey's order forestalled any further leaks to the media, it also effectively limited distribution of information about the contingency to a handful of key operations planners and intelligence officers on the Joint Staff and at the headquarters of the major participating commands. As a consequence, it excluded, among others, all logisticians, communications specialists, public affairs officers, and many intelligence officers, which meant that key portions of the plans never received timely expert review. The Joint Staff logisticians, as a result, learned about the Grenada planning shortly before the operation began. They only had time to react to specific problems and did not scrutinize logistical arrangements for the operation as a whole. The ban on sharing information also cut out the Defense Mapping Agency, hampering the preparation of maps in sufficient quantity for the forces involved.[46]

After Vessey departed for Chicago on Friday, 21 October, the acting chairman, Admiral James D. Watkins, the new chief of naval operations, attended a second meeting of the Crisis Pre-Planning Group. New intelligence reports suggested that the Cubans as well as the Grenadians might resist. The Cubans, according to one inaccurate report, might have introduced 240 combat troops

[44] Rpt, [Harris], 1 May 1985, Archives files, JHO; Perry R. Nuhn, "WWMCCS and the Computer That Can," pp. 16–21.

[45] B. Drummond Ayres Jr., "U.S. Marines Diverted to Grenada in Event Americans Face Danger," *New York Times*, 22 Oct 1983 (first quoted words); Cody, "Cuba Condemns Grenada Coup," *Washington Post*, 22 Oct 1983 (second quoted words); Fred Hiatt, "U.S. Says Situation Still Unclear as Naval Force Nears Grenada," ibid., 23 Oct 1983; Motley, "Decision To Assist Grenada," p. 2; Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO.

[46] Draft Rpt, J–3/OPD, 8 Jan 1984, sub: Operation Urgent Fury—Activation Sequence; Intervs, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, and with Prillaman, 9 Feb 1984. All in Archives files, JHO.

onto the island when the freighter *Vietnam Heroica* docked at St. George's on 6 October. At this point, senior leaders were inclined to believe that Cuban machinations lay behind the Coard coup. The intelligence reports hardened their agreement that the United States would have to use military force to protect the evacuation and might have to disarm all Grenadians and Cubans, even those well removed from the evacuation point.[47]

With the heightened awareness of security, the Joint Staff's Operations Directorate, contrary to standard procedure, did not generate a force list. Its alert order of 22 October to Atlantic Command and supporting commands only identified the Army Ranger units by name. Otherwise, Readiness Command was simply to provide "necessary" forces. Quite naturally given the time constraints, Admiral McDonald chose to work directly with the XVIII Airborne Corps' 82d Airborne Division, the Army unit that would play a role in the large contingency. He neglected, however, to keep the commander of Readiness Command, Army General Wallace H. Nutting, and his staff informed of the evolution of Atlantic Command's planning. Upon hearing of the potential operation, Nutting, a veteran armor officer with no experience in airborne operations, did not send a liaison officer to Norfolk on 19 October. In contrast, one of his predecessors, General Paul D. Adams, actually did this during the Dominican Republic crisis of 1965, thereby anticipating and solving problems. As a consequence of his failure to monitor the situation, Nutting first learned of the division's involvement when Admiral McDonald issued his operations order on the night of 23–24 October. Overlooked, the Readiness Command logisticians, like their Joint Staff counterparts, had no chance to consider the logistical plan or evaluate force structure for URGENT FURY. As a result, Vessey and McDonald had unintentionally deactivated two very important fail-safe devices in the logistical portion of the joint planning process. Atlantic Command was a "blue water" staff, whose Logistics Directorate could never provide the same kind of safeguards for the support of Army ground operations.[48]

Reaction in the eastern Caribbean to the dispatch of the *Independence* battle group and the marines was emphatic. The same day as the Defense Department announcement, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States heads of government met in Barbados. They unanimously agreed to intervene to restore order on Grenada and, because the forces at their disposal were minuscule, to request the assistance of both Barbados and Jamaica, delegating the chair, Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, to approach Great Britain and the United States for additional forces. They also prepared to make their case to the larger Caribbean community for still more local assistance. Attempts the following day to enlist other nations from the Caribbean

[47] Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 19.

[48] Msg (first quoted word), Nutting to McDonald, 19 Nov 1983; Draft Rpt, J–3/OPD, 8 Jan 1984; and Interv (second quoted words), Cole with Prillaman, 9 Feb 1984. All in Archives files, JHO. See also Msg Extract, JCS, 18 0000Z [Oct 1983], Misc Master Scenario Events List (Cmd/Control—Task Org), Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS); Nutting Resumé, GenOff files, CMH.

proved largely unsuccessful. The prime minister of Guyana, one of the most strenuous opponents of military action, purportedly contacted Austin and told him of the Charles initiative.[49]

The U.S. Embassy in Barbados struggled without avail to find a peaceful solution to the problem of U.S. citizens on the island. The whole thrust of the postcoup diplomatic offensive by the members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States was to isolate the Austin regime. Ambassador Charles A. Gillespie, Ambassador Motley's new deputy, interrupted an orientation tour of the Caribbean to provide Ambassador Bish with on-the-scene advice. Neither he nor Bish wanted to undercut this promising diplomatic development, but at the same time they had to start a dialogue with Austin, Coard, or whoever was in charge to ensure a peaceful evacuation. In short, the Americans had to negotiate without seeming to negotiate.[50]

The use of an administrator at St. George's University School of Medicine both facilitated and obscured the exchanges between the Americans and the Grenadians. Initially, Gillespie and Bish relied on the school's vice chancellor, Geoffrey Bourne, as a go-between. They communicated via teletype with Bourne, who then conveyed their views to representatives of the Revolutionary Military Council. Austin then took the initiative and on a few occasions visited the campus so that he could exchange ideas with the U.S. diplomats without the use of an intermediary. After much discussion, Gillespie and Bish convinced the Grenadians to allow a consular party headed by Kenneth Kurze, a Bridgetown embassy official, to visit the island to check on the Americans. Kurze and one other embassy colleague landed at Pearls Airport on 22 October.[51]

Kurze confirmed that the Americans on the island were unharmed, but his efforts to negotiate a resolution to the crisis foundered on Grenadian intransigence. While Austin proclaimed the Revolutionary Military Council's readiness to allow all foreign nationals to depart peacefully, the council's negotiator in this matter, Maj. Leon Cornwall, found various objections to each course of action proposed. When the Cunard Lines, for example, offered one of their ships to evacuate free of charge all foreign nationals who wished to depart, Major Cornwall denied the vessel docking privileges and said that the Grenadian Army would fire on it if it entered Grenadian waters. The Grenadians appeared to favor evacuation by air from Pearls Airport, but their failure to open it to commercial flights on 24 October called their good faith into question. The senior officials at the Bridgetown embassy came to believe that the Grenadians

[49] Edward Cody, "Caribbean Nations Discuss Response to Violence in Grenada, *Washington Post*, 23 Oct 1983; Frank J. Prial, "American Envoys Going to Grenada," *New York Times*, 23 Oct 1983; Motley, "Decision To Assist Grenada," p. 2. On the call to Austin, see Lewis, *Grenada*, p. 95.

[50] Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, pp. 333–34; Msgs, Bish to SecState, 21 1723Z Oct 1983, sub: Embassy Officers Travel, and 22 2219Z Oct 1983, sub: More Discussion with Eastern Caribbean Leaders, Unity Prevails, Msg files, DoS.

[51] Msgs, Bish to SecState, 21 2046Z Oct 1983, sub: Apparent Invitation from General Hudson Austin To Send USG REP To Discuss the Situation, and 21 2354Z Oct 1983, sub: Second Telex/Phone Contact Oct 22 with Medical School Authorities, Msg files, DoS.



**Bourne looks through the broken glass of his office on the Grenada campus.**

were already attempting to use the Americans on the island as bargaining chips.[52]

One CIA officer, Linda Flohr, entered Grenada during this period of limited access. Flohr spent over two days dodging Grenadian Army patrols while surreptitiously reporting via clandestine radio on the situation. The Grenadians, she noted, had confined the students to their dormitories and had posted sentries to keep them in and everyone else out. In her view, the students were already hostages. She urged an immediate invasion.[53]

So, too, on 22 October did Governor General Sir Paul Scoon, regarded by the regional governments as the only legitimate source of authority remaining on Grenada. He confided in a British official that he desired an intervention to overthrow the Austin clique. The State Department learned of the appeal early the next morning.[54]

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[52] Msgs, Bish to SecState, 23 0442Z Oct 1983, sub: Travel of Political Counselor and Vice Counsel to Grenada; 24 1740Z Oct 1983, sub: Possible Evacuation of American Citizens/Strong Media Interest as Well as Concern by Parents. Both in Msg files, DoS. See also Rpt, GWG, 24 Oct 1983, 0500, sub: Situation in Grenada, GWG, 1983, Accession no. 353–96–0002, DoS; Motley, "Decision To Assist Grenada," p. 2.

[53] Duane R. Clarridge and Digby Diehl, *A Spy for All Seasons*, pp. 250–51. Clarridge worked for the CIA as chief of the Latin American Division in the Directorate of Operations.

[54] Msg, Bish to SecState, 24 1659Z Oct 1983, sub: Grenada, 24 Oct, Morning, Msg files, DoS. Adkin, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 97–99, has the fullest account of the Scoon appeal, although it is wrong in one key detail: Ambassador McNeil did not carry a draft letter for Scoon's signature

## XVIII Airborne Corps and 82d Airborne Division, 19–22 October

Forces Command, which would have to provide Atlantic Command with troops in the event of Army involvement, first learned of the possibility of operations on Grenada on 19 October. As the Army component command of Readiness Command, it received a "heads-up" alert from General Nutting's staff. Forces Command passed the message along to XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg. Atlantic Command had already telephoned the corps directly. Marine Lt. Col. David G. Purdy had used a secure communications channel to alert the special duty officer in the corps emergency operations center of the "attempted coup" and of Ambassador Bish's concern that conditions might compel the evacuation of U.S. citizens. Colonel Purdy's information was sketchy. Most of the Americans were students at St. George's University School of Medicine "near an airfield." One of the options under consideration would involve the 82d Airborne Division. It should be ready to go on a sixteen- to eighteen-hour notice.[55]

In turn, XVIII Airborne Corps contacted the 82d Airborne Division. The division staff's operations section also received calls directly from the Army Staff and Forces Command inquiring about the division's state of readiness. As a result, a number of people at both corps and division headquarters knew that something was happening, but they did not know what degree of importance to attach to the calls. During the 1980s Americans were almost continuously in danger somewhere in the world. As a result, inquiries about the division's readiness, planning for overseas deployments, and even alerts for possible deployments happened with enough frequency to become almost routine. The Fort Bragg officers thus had no reason to treat this first stirring of interest about Grenada any differently than the others. In practice, heads-up calls meant that someone in the operations section of each headquarters had to pull the relevant concept plan out of the files and give it a careful reading.[56]

Late on Friday afternoon, 21 October, the acting assistant chief of staff for operations at XVIII Airborne Corps, Lt. Col. William R. Chewning, notified the corps commander, Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull, about Atlantic Command's request that an 82d Airborne Division planning team come to Norfolk the next day. General Mackmull had his hat in his hand and was on his way out of his office for a rare weekend at the beach when Colonel Chewning stopped him. He told Chewning to make certain that the corps had both good intelligence on the island and a representative on the planning

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to Barbados on 23 October. See Robert J. Beck, "The 'McNeil Mission' and the Decision To Invade Grenada," p. 103.

[55] Memo (quoted words), Lynn, [19 Oct 1983], in Initial Implementation file, XVIII Abn Corps, EOC Recs, Opn UF, Entry 228, UD–06W, RG 338, NARA–CP; Info Paper, Tillman, 19 Nov 1983, sub: Grenada LL, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[56] Info Paper, Tillman, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, and with J. Watson, 22 Nov 1983, plus Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

team. Instructing Chewning to contact him if anything important developed, he left for home.[57]

Chewning notified his counterpart on the 82d Airborne Division staff, Lt. Col. Frank H. Akers Jr., and briefed him about developments. Colonel Akers then alerted his commander, Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh, and contacted the division staff officers whom he intended to take with him. These included Akers' primary staff assistant for operations, Maj. Thomas D. Smith, and the division's senior logistical planner, Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree II. The senior plans officer in the corps G–3 section, Capt. Eric D. Hutchings, represented General Mackmull.[58]

As the planning team made preparations for an early departure on Saturday, 22 October, Atlantic Command had already begun detailed planning for the employment of the 82d Airborne Division even though the Norfolk planners did not include any airborne-qualified officers. Chewning and then Akers received telephone calls requesting information about flow data and readiness times. The callers always wanted to know when the division could dispatch a task force. Akers suspected that the officers calling did not understand airborne terminology. The last inquiry came at 0230 on the twenty-second. Roused from his sleep, Akers told the caller that he would come to Norfolk no later than 0900 that morning and would answer all questions at that time.[59]

## A 75-Percent Decision

The president later remembered "vividly" that the telephone call came in the "early hours" of the morning. Actually, it was sometime between 0400 and 0515, accounts vary, on Saturday, 22 October. McFarlane telephoned the president at the Eisenhower Cottage on the Augusta National Golf Course. Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz, and Treasury Secretary Donald Regan were in Georgia to enjoy a golf weekend. Because events on Grenada appeared to be moving toward a crisis, McFarlane had joined the party at the last minute.[60]

During the night of 21–22 October Prime Minister Charles in her role as chair of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States had formally

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[57] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[58] Intervs, Bishop with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983, and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov and [Dec 1983]; and Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[59] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983; Bishop with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983; Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[60] The president's daily diary does not record the time of this telephone call. Reagan remembered 0400, the JCS's history recorded 0430, and a senior member of the president's party reported 0515. See PDD, 22 Oct 1983, PDD files (1981–1989), box 11, NARA–RRPL; Ronald W. Reagan, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, 1986*, 1:245 (quoted words); idem, *An American Life*, pp. 450–51; Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 23; Oberdorfer, "Reagan Sought To End Cuban 'Intervention,'" *Washington Post*, 6 Nov 1983. See also Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, pp. 328–29; McFarlane and Smardz, *Special Trust*, p. 261.



**Shultz keeps abreast of events in Grenada;** *below,* **Reagan takes the wake-up call on the situation in Grenada.**



petitioned the United States to intervene on Grenada, with Ambassador Bish immediately forwarding her oral request to the State Department. This message had precipitated a very early morning meeting of the NSC's Special Situation Group and a call to McFarlane. Shortly after the wake-up call, the president, dressed in slippers and robe, met with McFarlane and Secretary Shultz in the living room of the Eisenhower Cottage. They briefed Reagan on the latest developments. The president's reaction, recalled Shultz, was emphatic: The United States had to respond positively to such a plea from small democratic neighbors. And then the danger posed to the Americans on the island loomed in the background. Reagan telephoned Washington at 0558 and spoke with Vice President Bush, who had been chairing the Special Situation Group to develop options and to recommend a course of action for the president. Next Reagan spoke with Secretary Weinberger, who had participated in the meeting.[61]

Reagan made no irrevocable decisions either then or at an 0900 teleconference with all the senior members of his NSC team. It was, as one scholar has observed, at best a 75-percent decision that certainly gave impetus to a military intervention. Everyone now agreed that the possibility of a peaceful evacuation of the American residents on Grenada no longer existed, and Reagan ordered the Joint Chiefs to draw up plans to intervene militarily.[62]

Having anticipated such a request, General Vessey already had plans in hand. The Joint Staff, working with the Atlantic Command, had prepared two force packages for the operation. One consisted of a Marine battalion landing team with Navy SEAL (sea-air-land) teams attached; the other was composed of two battalions of Army Rangers and a contingent of special operations forces from the Joint Special Operations Command. Each package now numbered about 1,800 men and could be reinforced by two or more airborne infantry battalions from the 82d Airborne Division. The Joint Chiefs anticipated, however, that the airborne units would function primarily as occupation troops in either scenario.[63]

Secretaries Shultz and Weinberger, both veterans of fighting in the Pacific during World War II, expressed concern that these elements were too light for the mission. Weinberger insisted that the United States apply overwhelming force to minimize casualties. He was determined to avoid the mistakes that led to the Desert One disaster, the costly failure in 1980 to rescue American hostages held in Iran, and so he told the Joint Chiefs to double whatever strength the theater commander considered adequate. On his own, using a similar rationale, Shultz advised Reagan to double the number of troops the Joint Chiefs

[61] Msg, Bish to SecState, 22 0735Z Oct 1983, sub: Organization of Eastern Caribbean States Officially, Formally Resolves Unanimously To Intervene by Force if Necessary, on Grenada and Pleads for U.S. Assistance, Msg files, DoS; Oberdorfer, "Reagan Sought To End Cuban 'Intervention,'" *Washington Post*, 6 Nov 1983; PDD, 22 Oct 1983, PDD files (1981–1989), box 11, NARA–RRPL; Reagan, *American Life*, pp. 449–52; Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, pp. 329–30; McFarlane and Smardz, *Special Trust*, pp. 261–62.

[62] See Beck, "'McNeil Mission,'" p. 101. See also Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 23.

[63] Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, pp. 23–26.

recommended. At this time, the president did not appear to make any final determination on the matter.[64]

The president did decide to send a special envoy, Ambassador Francis J. McNeil, a career foreign service officer, to the meeting of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States to gauge just how committed the heads of government were to intervention and to obtain their request in writing. Reagan wanted an independent evaluation of the situation "before making a 'go/no go' decision." Ambassador Motley remarked to McNeil as he passed on these instructions, "It isn't everyday that we get a request like this."[65]

## Atlantic Command and Army Planning, 22 October

Even as the policymakers deliberated, subordinate organizations began preparing for the potential operation. The Fort Bragg planning team had assembled at 0700 on Saturday, 22 October, in the office of the corps G–3, Col. James H. Johnson Jr., to receive an intelligence update on Grenada and then departed by air for Norfolk. It arrived at Atlantic Command headquarters at 0930 to discover that the planning session scheduled for 1000 was already in progress. One of the first people Colonel Akers saw was his next door neighbor at Fort Bragg, Joint Special Operations Command J–3 Army Lt. Col. Richard A. Pack. General Scholtes had sent Colonel Pack to Norfolk the day before to head the command's liaison team. Pack brought Akers up to date on the planning and then the two lieutenant colonels, the senior Army officers at the meeting, worked out an "Army position." They agreed to recommend that the Joint Special Operations Command use special operations forces and ranger units for the initial assault. The 82d Airborne Division would act as the follow-on force. The two proposed that the rangers use C–130s; the 82d Airborne Division, C–141s. The characteristics of slower cruising speed, smaller cargo capacity (and thus, a quicker airdrop of men or materiel), and smaller silhouette made the C–130 more suitable for a parachute assault than the C–141.[66]

Following the preliminary meeting, the planners assembled in a larger conference room together with a number of senior officers who were dressed very casually. One gentleman wearing a jogging suit turned out to be Admiral McDonald. The admiral opened the meeting by presenting what he considered the two major options for the operation: the use of an all-Marine force or a joint force that would include Army units. His remarks suggested that he did not consider General Vessey's guidance two days earlier to plan for a joint operation at all binding.[67]

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[64] Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace*, pp. 108–12; Intervs, Goldberg, Matloff, and Rochester with Weinberger, 12 Jan 1988, and Goldberg and Matloff with Weinberger, 21 Jun 1988, Archives files, OSDHO; Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, p. 329.

[65] Msg, Shultz to AmEmb, Bridgetown, 23 1833Z Oct 1983, sub: Instructions for Dealing with Caribbean Friends, Msg files, DoS; Beck, "'McNeil Mission,'" pp. 93–98, 99 (first quoted words), 100–22; Francis J. McNeil, *War and Peace in Central America*, p. 173 (second quoted words).

[66] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983 (quoted words); Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985; Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[67] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, and Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

A general discussion ensued that included the issue of whether to appoint an overall ground commander. The Army representatives supported this position emphatically, but Admiral McDonald appeared to make no decision at the time. McDonald then raised an issue that was to have a profound impact on the 82d Airborne Division's initial planning: What was the earliest time at which the forces involved could arrive on Grenada? The marines admitted that they needed three or four more days' steaming time before they could conduct an amphibious operation. The Air Force asserted that it would have difficulty positioning crews without going on full alert. The Joint Special Operations Command required time to rehearse the special operations forces for their portion of the operation. Colonel Akers, speaking for the 82d Airborne Division, was unequivocal: The division could dispatch its first elements from Pope Air Force Base within eighteen hours after McDonald gave the order. The 82d could deploy in less time if allowed to increase its readiness, but Akers warned that it would be almost impossible to mask these preparations, which might endanger the Americans on the island. He also contributed a most arresting metaphor to the meeting when he compared capabilities: The move from special operations forces to the airborne division would be a shift "from the scalpel to the chain saw." The division would accomplish the mission, he added, but it would "be a lot messier."[68]

In the end, Admiral McDonald favored the joint approach: "I think the 82d gives us an option that we want to keep," he said, "because if the M[arine] A[mphibious] U[nit] can't handle it, we've got to have other forces available to handle the operation." The officers then became engrossed in a discussion of a reconnaissance of the airfield at Point Salines. Sometime during the meeting the planners agreed that 0230 would be the optimal hour to land on Grenada, given the capabilities of the ranger battalions and the special operations forces. At the end of the meeting no one summarized the decisions or the stated and implied tasks. It was all too informal for that.[69]

As the session broke up, Admiral McDonald took Colonel Akers and the other Army representatives into a small room filled with senior officers. McDonald then contacted General Vessey on a secure phone. The JCS chairman had just briefed the National Security Council and obtained the president's authorization to proceed. Vessey informed McDonald that to ensure security Reagan wanted nothing committed to paper. Vessey and the other military officers involved would use secure communications to contact one another. Several of the island nations in the region, he said, would contribute military and police forces to a Caribbean Peacekeeping Force, which

[68] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[69] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82 Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, p. II-5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

would assist U.S. forces in removing the revolutionary government on the island.[70]

Having brought McDonald up to date on events in Washington, Vessey approved the large contingency using joint forces. While the remainder of the conversation centered on the need to gather more intelligence about the island, Vessey noted that the operation would receive whatever logistical support that it needed. He emphasized that if the forces involved submitted requests in a timely fashion they would receive "depot stocks, war stocks, whatever was needed to accomplish the mission."[71]

When the Army team departed from Norfolk, its members knew that the 82d would be involved in the operation in some capacity, but whether as an assault force or a peacekeeping force remained uncertain. Given General Vessey's assurances, logistical support appeared not to be a problem. They knew that Admiral McDonald had chosen not to activate Joint Task Force (JTF) 140, the headquarters under Concept Plan 2360 through which the U.S. Forces, Caribbean, commander would direct the small island operation. McDonald believed that the U.S. Forces, Caribbean, headquarters was too far away from Norfolk and too preoccupied with training exercises to be able to respond to the URGENT FURY assignment in the limited time available to stage the operation. Given the very close-hold nature of the operation and the speed with which it was mounted, McDonald's decision had an unintended consequence: Army and other service planners had no access to the detailed intelligence that U.S. Forces, Caribbean, had accumulated about Grenada, including the location of the American residents and particularly the status of the Point Salines airfield under construction. Furthermore, they also did not realize that McDonald had decided, as was his prerogative as a unified commander, to scrap all of Concept Plan 2360 except the list of the possible forces to be employed.[72]

When the Army planners returned from Norfolk on 22 October, they gathered in Colonel Johnson's office at corps headquarters. The deputy corps commander, Brig. Gen. Jack B. Farris, sat in, as did General Trobaugh, who was the acting corps commander in General Mackmull's absence, and Trobaugh's chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr. Following a briefing on developments at Norfolk, Trobaugh learned from Colonel Akers that no one from Forces Command had attended the meeting. "Well," asked Trobaugh, "you mean my boss doesn't know that I'm involved?" "Yes sir, that's exactly what the situation is." Johnson then sent Colonel Chewning out to get General Richard E. Cavazos on a secure line. Trobaugh explained the situation to Cavazos, who was perturbed that some of his forces would be committed to an operation

[70] Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Draft AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. Akers remembered the soon-to-be-designated JTF commander as being one of the senior officers, but see Interv, Brown with Metcalf, 13 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[71] Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[72] Ibid.; Intervs, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], and Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

without his knowledge. Once Trobaugh finished talking to him, Johnson suggested that someone should notify General Mackmull. General Farris telephoned him, and Mackmull started back immediately from the beach.[73]

Trobaugh decided that, given the operational restrictions, he would activate only a limited planning cell within the division staff and would notify only the appropriate brigade and battalion commanders along with those of the supporting arms. The possibility that the 82d might have to secure the entire island if the president decided to intervene prior to the marines' arrival immediately caught his attention. Clearly, the division would have to flesh out its concept plan just in case.[74]

The division planning team assembled in the division's N+2 Room, where the principal commanders would receive a briefing on force composition and mission two hours after a notification to begin an operation. Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr., the 2d Brigade commander then in Ready Brigade-1 status, attended the meeting, as did the division G–2, G–3, and G–4. Two of Silvasy's battalion commanders, accompanied by their S–2s and S–3s, also participated. The commanders of two units that normally supported the 2d Brigade—the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, and Company B, 82d Aviation Battalion—also sat in. Other officers present included Colonel Johnson, representing corps headquarters, and key officers on the division staff. A representative from the corps G–2 section provided an update on developments on Grenada, Colonel Akers gave a briefing on the two possible missions, and then General Trobaugh stood to say a few words about security. Anyone who wanted to end his career needed only to talk about the operation. Given General Trobaugh's reputation as a blunt and decisive officer, the planners needed no further convincing. Security remained very tight within the division throughout the planning phase of Urgent Fury.[75]

The initial session was brief because the information about the mission was still sketchy. The planners thus concentrated on the air assault rather than the airland mission. The planners assumed that Military Airlift Command would provide transport aircraft to move an airborne brigade task force rigged for airdrop in a single lift. Their concept of operations consisted of dropping two airborne battalions, one on each of the two airfields on the island. The 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, commanded by Lt. Col. Jack L. Hamilton, would assault the airfield at Point Salines at the same time that the 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, under Lt. Col. John W. Raines, parachuted onto Pearls Airport. Colonel Hamilton would then advance on St. George's

[73] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983, with Johnson, 15 Nov 1983, and with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, plus Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[74] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[75] For the participants, author relied on accounts by Colonels Johnson, Akers, and Chewning because they provided the most detailed information about the division's planning. Akers and Chewning kept notes, which they referred to during their interviews. See ibid.; Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983; Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983; GWG with Baine, Hernandez, and Kellogg, 9 Nov 1983; Parker with Hull, [Nov 1983]; Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983; and Briefing, Silvasy, 8 Dec 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

from the south, while Colonel Raines moved on it from the east, passing through the mountainous interior. If there was resistance, the brigade would attack the city using both battalions. Because the planners envisioned using less than a full brigade, they anticipated that Colonel Silvasy would direct tactical operations and that General Trobaugh would act as the Army Forces commander.[76]

General Trobaugh gave the officers no further guidance. He believed in issuing mission-type orders and allowing officers considerable latitude as to how to fulfill their assignments. At this point he simply wanted to get the information out to key officers so that they could decide what they needed and brief him on their requirements. To preserve operational security, he insisted that no one work late hours or come to division headquarters any earlier than usual. It was typical for officers in the 82d Airborne Division to work weekends when an emergency deployment readiness exercise was imminent. If anyone inquired, he said, tell them that the division was simply preparing for another exercise.[77]

Colonel Crabtree observed but did not participate in the meeting. In his view the operation's security restrictions prevented any substantial increase in logistical readiness during the planning phase. Limited activities such as coordination with key people, identification of certain items that units might need to take with them, and checks on unit supply status were all that seemed possible. Anything more would have involved logistical operators (truck drivers, warehouse foremen, and riggers), as well as the movement of supplies and equipment. While more and more logisticians learned about the operation as the planning continued, the division never included logistical operators in the preparations and thus supplies and equipment never moved.[78]

The 2d Brigade S–4, Maj. James F. Whittaker, became very busy after the meeting with "basic log planning." He went through staff estimates and attempted to identify logistical requirements and what kinds of logistical support the brigade could expect to find on the island once it arrived. Major Whittaker followed standard procedures in determining the types of supplies to carry and the days of supply required. As with Colonel Crabtree, he found it difficult to go beyond these basics, particularly because he was the only logistician in the brigade who knew about the operation. The governing factor at this stage was the lack of involvement of the 82d Support Command. Neither its commander, Col. William F. Daly Jr., nor any of his staff knew of the operation yet. Until they did, logistical planning would remain elementary.[79]

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[76] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983; Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983; and Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[77] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[78] Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[79] Intervs, Wells with Whittaker, 10 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## Presidential Party, Afternoon/Evening, 22 October

As these more detailed preparations began, Reagan, Shultz, and McFarlane debated whether the president should remain in Georgia and adhere to his schedule. They decided ultimately that an early return to Washington would lead to intense press speculation. In response, the Revolutionary Military Council might seize the Americans living on Grenada as hostages, thus precipitating the very situation the president hoped to avoid.

Such news accounts might also ignite a rancorous public debate that would impair the president's ability to act. Reagan and his senior advisers knew that America's defeat in Vietnam had produced extreme reluctance in the country, especially among the policymaking elites, to engage in any foreign military adventures. This complex of ideas and attitudes, often referred to as the Vietnam Syndrome, ensured that a public debate over a U.S. intervention on Grenada would occur. The president and his advisers deliberately chose to have that debate after rather than before the fact.[80]

While the president continued his golf, Shultz and McFarlane monitored the Grenada situation using a satellite telephone to call Washington. Even the efforts of an emotionally disturbed gunman who crashed the security fence at Augusta in a Dodge pickup truck and barricaded himself in the pro shop with five hostages—including two White House staff members—failed to shake the president's resolve to maintain a facade of normalcy. The Secret Service did insist that the president leave the course, while the pro shop crisis gradually moved toward a peaceful resolution.[81]

Reagan did not allow the excitement of the day to divert him from his Caribbean concerns. On the evening of 22 October, shortly before 1700, the National Security Planning Group, the highest level of the National Security Council presided over by the president (in this instance using a secure telephone), formally directed the Joint Chiefs to dispatch an execute order to the responsible theater commander. The order authorized, but did not require, Admiral McDonald to combine the troops in both options. Earlier in the day using a secure phone, General Vessey had suggested this possibility to McDonald. The chairman had told McDonald that the chiefs thought he needed to beef up the landing force to "intimidate" the Cubans. In the order, the Joint Chiefs estimated that the earliest possible time they could stage the operation was Tuesday, 25 October. They told the admiral to use that date as a target D-day.[82]

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[80] Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, pp. 329–30; Bernard Gwertzman, "Steps to the Invasion," *New York Times*, 30 Oct 1983; Reagan, *American Life*, p. 451; Dov S. Zakheim, "The Grenada Operation and Superpower Relations," in *Grenada and Soviet/Cuban Policy*, p. 179.

[81] Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, p. 330; Francis X. Clines, "Reagan Unhurt as Armed Man Takes Hostages," *New York Times*, 21 Oct 1983.

[82] Interv (quoted word), Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO; Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, pp. 26–27.

## A Concept of Operations

On Sunday, 23 October, Admiral McDonald accompanied by General Scholtes flew to Washington to brief the Joint Chiefs on his concept of operations. The news of the bombing of the Marine barracks at Beirut International Airport at 0620, local time (0020 eastern daylight time), had preceded them. Even though the number of casualties was yet unknown, the capital was somber with an undercurrent of high emotion.[83]

McDonald went over his briefing notes with Scholtes at the Pentagon. The admiral planned to advocate the use of a joint special operations task force under Scholtes' command as the land component of the operation. Then they went into the JCS conference room (or The Tank). McDonald laid out the key targets, the timeline of events, and the airflow. As soon as he had finished, Marine Corps Commandant General Paul X. Kelley turned to General Vessey and said: "The Marines must land on the island of Grenada or you will have destroyed the Marine Corps." Scholtes, sitting behind the principals, was "shocked." He had known that the marines were en route to the eastern Caribbean, but he had envisioned them as nothing more than a floating reserve. He was even more surprised when Vessey acceded to Kelley's request.[84]

How much of this hinged on the emotion of the moment—and General Kelley certainly was emotional—and how much on calculation is debatable. Both Shultz and Weinberger had already advocated dispatching a more robust force than McDonald had just recommended. Vessey almost certainly knew Weinberger's views given their close relationship and may have already received the secretary's directive to double the force. Atlantic Command had already given considerable thought to how to employ the marines, and McDonald had stated on more than one occasion that he much preferred using them to Army units. What is surprising is that he did not recommend initially a Marine package, but perhaps he felt constrained by Vessey's earlier guidance. In addition to these factors, the latest intelligence indicated that the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces were mobilizing and that the invaders might confront up to 4,100 defenders—1,500 army members, 2,000 militia, and 600 Cubans. A more robust landing force must have appeared prudent to the Joint Chiefs for this reason alone.[85]

Under the new plan, McDonald envisioned an amphibious landing by the marines on the beaches at Grand Anse (the as-yet-unsuspected location of the main campus of the medical school), while the rangers seized the airfields at Pearls and Point Salines and the special operations forces seized certain key targets, such as the governor general's residence. To this, Vessey objected. While theoretically sound, the plan overlooked the fact that the forces had never worked together and would have no time to exercise the plan to identify

[83] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[84] Ibid.; Memo (quoted words), Mellon for Cohen, 4 Sep 1986, sub: Meeting with Maj Gen Scholtes, Hist files (Papers/Scholtes), CMH.

[85] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, pp. 26, 72.

and solve coordination problems. He urged McDonald to keep the operation "simple." To illustrate what he meant, he drew a line across the island north of St. George's. The marines should operate north of the boundary, he said, and the Joint Special Operations Command south of it. McDonald adopted this suggestion. In his formal presentation, he had treated the 82d Airborne Division strictly as a follow-on peacekeeping force. The introduction of the marines did not change the 82d's role.[86]

Although intended solely to solve anticipated operational problems, the designation of a boundary had important logistical implications. Joint doctrine stipulated that the services would support their own forces for the first sixty days of an operation, after which time the Army became responsible for providing common items of supply to the ground forces of the other services. Distinct Marine and, ultimately, Army operating areas meant that Army logisticians could assume that, at least initially, they would only have to support Army units in the southern half of the island. This allowed them to plan to move fewer reserve supplies and vehicles to the island than otherwise would have been the case. Under this concept Army elements would never operate at any great distance from the airfield where Military Airlift Command aircraft would deliver supplies and equipment, greatly simplifying ground lines of communications.[87]

The Marine presence did change the timing of the operation. The marines were much less generously equipped with night-vision devices than General Scholtes' command, and Admiral McDonald thought them incapable of operating at 0230. McDonald also wanted both forces to land as close together in time as possible to maximize the shock effect on the defenders. From his perspective, 0500, twelve minutes before first light, would be ideal for the marines. Scholtes was attending the meeting only as an observer rather than as a participant. When one of the principals asked him for his assessment, he spoke out strongly for the original time. As far as he was concerned, the key point was not what the marines could or could not do but the fact that his troops could fight effectively then and the Grenadians and Cubans could not. He did not want to throw away for any reason this huge tactical advantage. In the end, the Joint Chiefs compromised but with the advantage only slightly weighted toward McDonald. They stipulated that the special operations forces would land at 0400 (J-hour) and the marines one hour later (H-hour). This left Scholtes' men a little more than one hour of darkness in which to execute their diverse missions.[88]

Just as the meeting was breaking up, Vessey asked McDonald how he envisioned command arrangements now that the marines were involved.

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[86] Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 26, 72; Interv (quoted word), Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO; Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[87] Interv, author with Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[88] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. During his interview Scholtes stated that the Marines lacked night-vision devices, but see Eric Hammel, *The Root*, p. 242, for evidence to the contrary. In the same interview Scholtes also misstated the original time as 0200 and appears to have comingled some of the events of the 23 October meeting in Washington with those of the 24 October meeting in Norfolk.

McDonald stated that he had originally intended for Scholtes to command the joint task force but, with an amphibious task force now involved, that the amphibious task force commander would be in charge. In crafting this response, McDonald followed existing joint doctrine to the letter. Vessey's next question was rhetorical: Was McDonald telling him that he wanted Scholtes to report to a Marine colonel, someone who was two grades his junior? Vessey told the admiral that this was not an acceptable situation. McDonald needed "to find a three star" to act as the JTF commander. McDonald did not immediately designate a commander. He said he would have to think about it, and the meeting ended on that uncertain note.[89]

Returning to Norfolk after his meeting with the Joint Chiefs, McDonald did not long ponder who to appoint as the overall JTF commander for the Grenada operation. The Second Fleet commander, V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III, was then in Norfolk rather than at sea with the *Independence* battle group. A sailor with extensive experience in the surface fleet (he had commanded all U.S. Navy surface vessels during the 1975 evacuation of Vietnam), Metcalf had a reputation as an energetic, straight-talking officer. (The *Washington Post* called him "colorful.") Because of his position, he had known that something was going on in the eastern Caribbean, but he had deliberately not participated actively in the planning and knew none of the details. He had kept abreast of general developments, at least, by sending a few members of his staff to Atlantic Command headquarters. At 1400, on 23 October, McDonald selected him to direct the operation as the JTF 120 commander *(Chart 8)*. The ground forces would consist of the ranger units and special operations forces under General Scholtes, designated as Joint Task Force 123, and the marines under Colonel Faulkner, designated as Task Group 124.2. Amphibious Squadron Four, commanded by Captain Erie, became Task Force 124. Scholtes reported directly to Admiral Metcalf. Thus, in addition to his other duties, Metcalf became the overall ground commander because McDonald had made no provision for such an officer.[90]

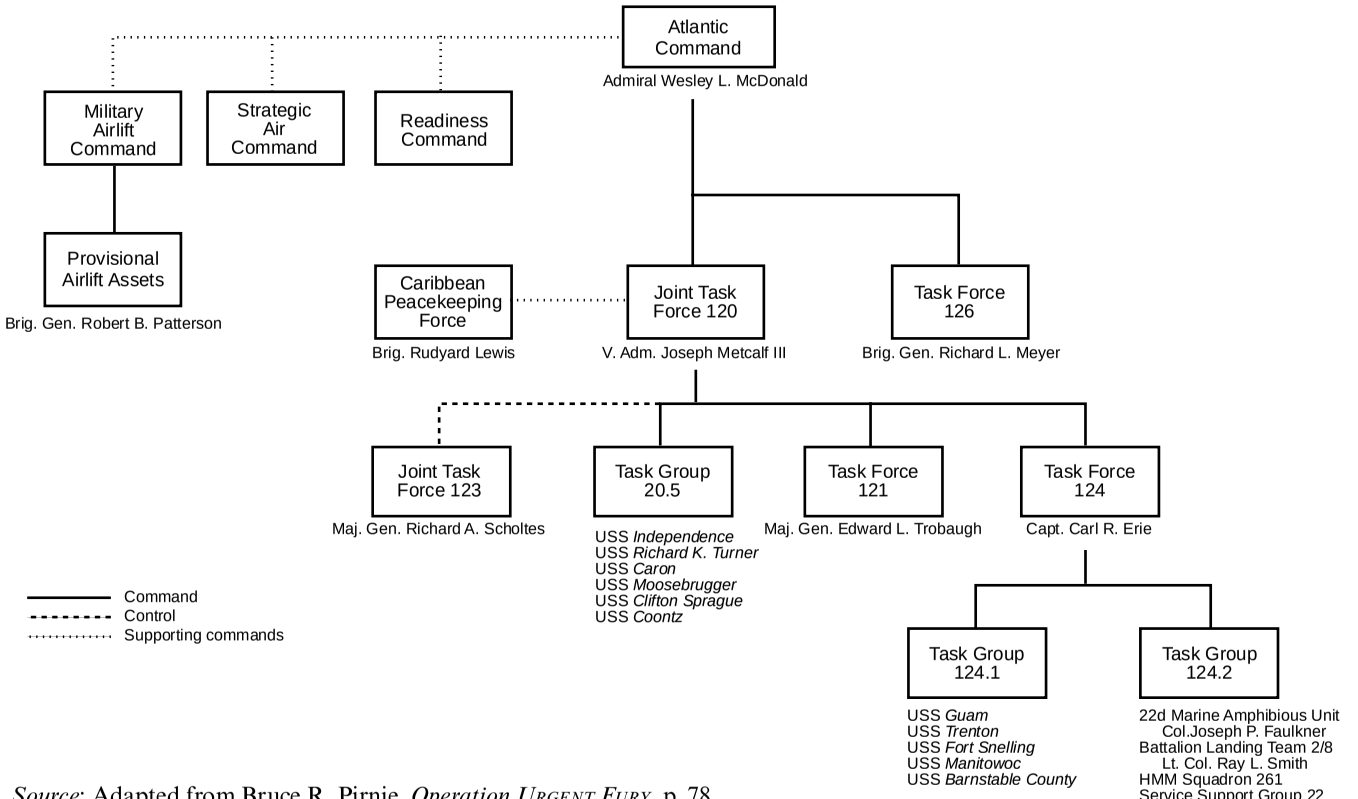
## Special Operations Forces and Ranger Planning, 21–24 October

Early Friday morning, 21 October, Scholtes' headquarters telephoned the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, commander, Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor Jr., and directed him to fly from Fort Stewart, Georgia, to Fort Bragg for a meeting variously described as a situation briefing or a planning conference. When he arrived, Taylor and other officers looked at contingencies for putting a force onto Grenada. As more information became available, Taylor concluded that

[89] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[90] Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO; Matt Schudel, "Joseph Metcalf Led Grenada Invasion," *Washington Post*, 11 Mar 2007 (quoted word); Chronology, 16 Apr 1984, in United States, Department of the Navy, *Operation Urgent Fury Lessons Learned*, p. III-3, which gives time of Metcalf's selection. On keeping abreast of LANTCOM planning, see Interv, Brown with Metcalf, 13 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH, and Joseph Metcalf III, "Decision Making and the Grenada Rescue Operation," in *Ambiguity and Command*, p. 282.

## Chart 8—URGENT FURY Task Organization, Atlantic Command, 25 October 1983




*Source*: Adapted from Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 78

actual armed intervention was highly likely, but he did not come away with any sense that action was imminent.[91]

Upon the conclusion of the meeting, Taylor called his executive officer, Maj. Jack P. Nix Jr., and told him to assemble the staff and the company commanders on Saturday, 22 October. They would prepare a staff analysis on intervention in Grenada. Major Nix, who had been so busy all week that he had neither followed the television news nor read any newspapers, was somewhat taken aback. He did not know where Grenada was. Later that night, after Taylor returned, he briefed Nix on the general concept of the operation and some of the planning details.[92]

While the conference was still in session, Colonel Pack at Joint Special Operations Command had contacted the 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, commander, Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler Jr., and transmitted the URGENT FURY warning order. The 2d Battalion was then in Ranger Ready Force status at Fort Lewis, Washington. Pack told Colonel Hagler "that there was a move afoot to go in and [that] it was going to be very soon. . . ." Pack directed the battalion commander to report to Fort Bragg the next day with a planning group. Hagler assembled his senior intelligence, operations, and logistical officers and departed on a commercial flight for the East Coast at 0800, local time, on 22 October. His executive officer, Maj. Robert M. Hensler, took temporary command of the battalion.[93]

Three hours earlier, the planning staff and company commanders of Colonel Taylor's 1st Battalion had gathered at Hunter Army Airfield, Georgia. The officers first examined the island as a target site and then looked at the options. They attempted to identify key terrain and discussed Grenada's strategic significance. Maj. Joseph J. Maher III, who had just taken over as operations officer on the battalion staff the previous day, remembered from a class at the Command and General Staff College that the Grenadians were constructing an airfield on the southern tip of the island. The battalion's planning was limited by what it lacked—knowledge of the precise nature of its mission and of the number and type of aircraft available to transport it to its target.[94]

Approximately two hours into the session, Colonel Taylor received another telephone call from Joint Special Operations Command, which directed him to bring his planning group to Fort Bragg immediately. After unsuccessfully attempting to obtain an aircraft to fly his officers to Bragg, the planners eventually departed from Hunter in two rental vans, arriving at command

[91] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and author with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[92] Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983; Interv, author with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[93] Prelim AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983 (quoted words), and with Hensler, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[94] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, and with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

headquarters at 1800, only about an hour before Colonel Hagler and his planning group arrived from the West Coast.[95]

Taylor's logistical planner, Capt. Stanley B. Clemons, remained at Hunter. Because experience permitted the calculation of the amount of supplies and equipment required for an operation based on the number of anticipated days of combat, Captain Clemons could do that at Hunter as well as at Bragg. Besides Taylor, who received informational copies of the messages about the potential operation, the other expected guest was Hagler's 2d Battalion.[96]

Colonel Hagler had decided to cancel all training in the battalion, even before he departed for Fort Bragg, but he did not immediately announce this decision because of operational security considerations. At 0900 (Pacific daylight time) on 22 October, however, Forces Command, notified the 2d Battalion at Fort Lewis to perform a no-notice emergency deployment readiness exercise.[97]

Major Hensler had to assemble the battalion, move it to an intermediate staging base, and prepare for follow-on operations, tasks made more difficult because two key officers, the assistant operations officer for air, Capt. James C. Yarbrough, and the assistant logistical officer, Capt. Robert C. Morris, were both absent from Fort Lewis. Captain Yarbrough was at the Yakima, Washington, Training Center, while Captain Morris was in San Diego attending a wedding. Hensler was able to contact both men without difficulty, and they returned immediately. At the same time, Hensler initiated the battalion's eighteen-hour notification sequence and coordinated with I Corps for aircraft. Once he arrived at Fort Lewis, Yarbrough, assisted by Morris, became immersed in keeping the sequence on schedule.[98]

Hensler took every person he could, including rangers preparing to leave the battalion within two weeks but who volunteered to go on the operation. He also shut down the Ranger Instructional Program, the intense pre-matriculation training required of all soldiers who volunteered for Ranger School. He brought engineers and ammunition handlers from the ranger support element and members of the ranger augmentation group, including the battalion's augmentation surgeon from Madigan Army Hospital. Not knowing the nature of the unit's mission, he also loaded an impressive array of supplies and equipment—some of which required repair before it was fully operable. Eleven C–141Bs of the 62d Military Airlift Wing, commanded by Lt. Col. Robert Mehan, moved the battalion and its logistical support. The first aircraft

[95] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-1; Prelim AAR, ibid., 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH. See also Interv, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[96] Intervs, author with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986, and Wells with Clemons, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[97] Interv, Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[98] Prelim AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Interv, Bishop with Hensler, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; E-mail, Hensler to author, 14 Aug 2007, Hist files (Papers/Hensler), CMH.

departed McChord Air Force Base, Washington, for Hunter Army Airfield at 0300 (Pacific daylight time) on Sunday, 23 October.[99]

When the 1st Battalion's planners arrived at Fort Bragg on the twenty-second, a Joint Special Operations Command staff officer informed them that their unit would receive a warning order at 2100 and that General Scholtes expected them to brief him on their plan the next morning. As yet, they still lacked a mission statement, but they understood that they should focus on the southern part of the island. On that basis, they wrote their own mission statement, specifying that the 1st Battalion would seize the Point Salines airfield under construction and then secure the medical school at the eastern end of the runway. The planners debated courses of action: amphibious landing, helicopter assault, airdrop, or an airland/airdrop combination. They preferred seizing the field by helicopter assault, but when Scholtes' headquarters notified them that the helicopters would be unavailable, they settled for the airland/airdrop option, planning to airdrop one company to clear the runway of obstacles and airland the follow-on companies. They included considerable flexibility in their planning. Colonel Taylor would make the decision based on the tactical circumstances at the time as to whether to airdrop one, two, or even all three companies and to then airland the balance of the battalion.[100]

General Scholtes restricted the battalion assault force to a total strength of 250 officers and men. The limitation apparently grew out of a misunderstanding that developed between Joint Special Operations Command planners and their Military Airlift Command counterparts. Staff officers at Scholtes' headquarters requested aircraft by type, C–130s, rather than stating the mission and size of the ranger force and leaving the determination of composition of the air transport component to Air Force planners. Once Joint Special Operations Command determined the type of aircraft, a shortage of C–130 aircrews trained in night airdrop procedures drove the size of the ranger force rather than the number of C–130s available. Had the staff at Military Airlift Command possessed the flexibility to choose the type of aircraft, they might have been able to provide sufficient planes for the entire battalion—not just part of it.[101]

Because Colonel Taylor thought that seizing the airfield was a complex mission that required three maneuver elements, he elected to take all three rifle companies at half strength, each about seventy-five men. These, plus a small headquarters element, rounded out the planned force. Because the size

[99] Prelim AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983; AAR, ibid., 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-1. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH. See also Interv, Bishop with Hensler, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Dean C. Kallander and James K. Matthews, *URGENT FURY*, pp. 34–35.

[100] Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, and with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[101] Interv, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH, reports the restriction on the size of the battalion. The most in-depth analysis of this problem, which must remain conjectural to some extent until research is possible in Joint Special Operations Command sources, is Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation URGENT FURY Assessment, pp. III-17 to III-18, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

of the force was insufficient to establish a continuous defense of the eastern and northern sides of the field, Taylor decided to establish a firm defense in the east and leave the west open.[102]

On the twenty-second the 2d Battalion's planning cell went through virtually the same experience as the 1st Battalion's, except that Colonel Hagler and his staff concentrated on the northeastern sector of the island. The planners sought to seize the key terrain feature in the area—Pearls Airport—by airdrop. The 2d Battalion worked under the same assumptions as the 1st Battalion: a 250-man cap on the size of the force, an operation that would last only twenty-four hours or less, and a linkup with a Marine follow-on force. H-hour for both battalions was 0230 on Tuesday, 25 October; link-up time between the marines and the rangers was 0700 the same day. Joint Special Operations Command neglected to not only indicate to Taylor and Hagler who would be the controlling headquarters for the linkup but also provide compatible communications, communications-electronics operating instructions (for secure radios), and far- and near-recognition signals because neither Atlantic Command nor Joint Task Force 120 had made such arrangements. Admiral McDonald's failure to appoint a single ground force commander and to establish a joint communications plan had already begun to disrupt URGENT FURY command and control even before the operation kicked off.[103]

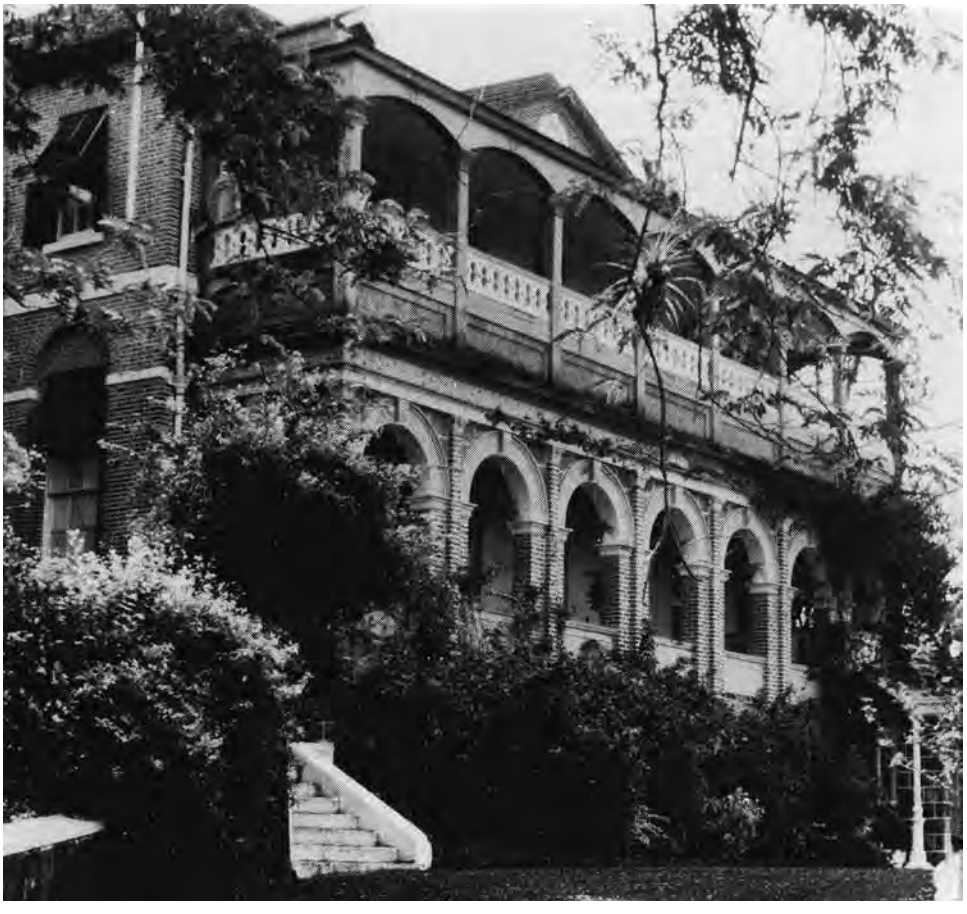
The special operations forces concentrated on the western portion of the island, particularly on the area around St. George's. They were to seize certain high-value targets, such as the governor general's residence; the People's Revolutionary Army headquarters at Fort Rupert (as late as 19 October); the Richmond Hill Prison, where U.S. intelligence believed the Revolutionary Military Council was holding political prisoners; and Radio Free Grenada's new broadcast studio and tower. Although heavily outnumbered, the special operations teams were highly trained. They planned to land by helicopter at night at a time when the Grenadian antiaircraft guns, which lacked radar guidance, would be practically useless and when their own night-vision goggles would give them a tremendous tactical advantage. Once they seized their targets, they planned to hold in place until relieved by the rangers or marines.[104]

Colonel Hagler and his staff officers departed Fort Bragg by rental car on 23 October, arriving at Hunter Army Airfield at 1345. Major Hensler, already there, briefed the battalion commander on the deployment from Fort Lewis. At 1600, while the company commanders learned about the mission, Hagler discovered that now the marines would seize Pearls unaided. The 2d Battalion would airland at Point Salines after the 1st Battalion seized the airfield and would then advance overland to secure the Cuban military camp on the Calivigny Peninsula. Working through the night, 2d Battalion planners

[102] Interv, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[103] Prelim AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983; Final AAR, ibid., 25 Nov 1983. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[104] Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 68–69. Adkin, *URGENT FURY*, pp. 171–76, has the fullest discussion of special operations forces' preparations. See also David C. Isby, *Leave No Man Behind*, pp. 170–206.

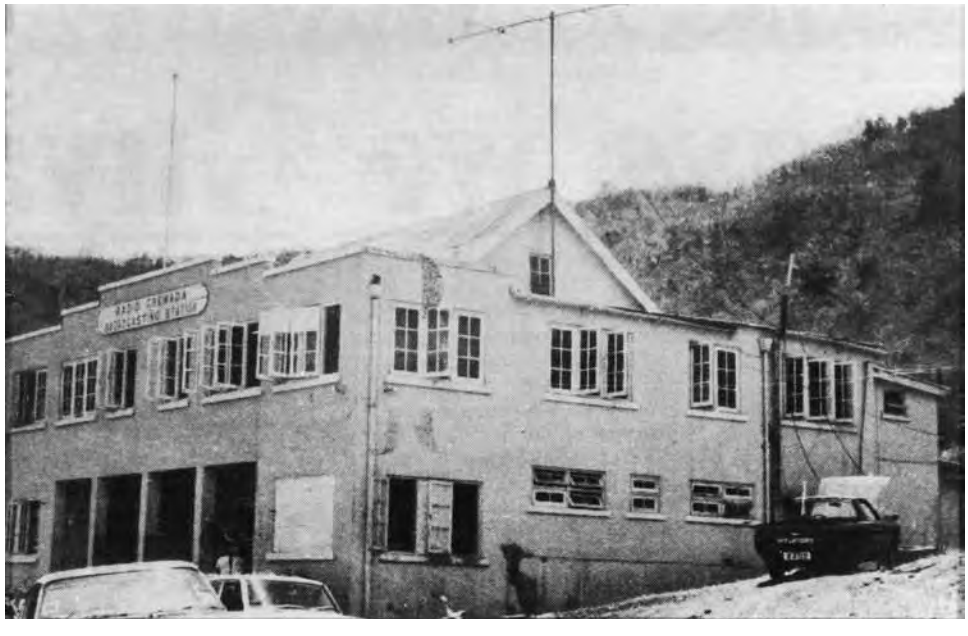


**Residence of the governor general;** *below,* **Fort Rupert**





**Richmond Hill Prison;** *below,* **Radio Free Grenada headquarters**



prepared an airborne option, which Colonel Hagler coordinated with Colonel Taylor at 1000 the next morning.[105]

Late-breaking intelligence, which suggested that the rangers might face stiffer resistance than expected, caused General Scholtes to order the 2d Battalion to prepare an airborne option as well. In the event of stiff resistance at the drop zone, the 2d Battalion would assist the 1st Battalion in seizing and holding the airhead by, in effect, securing the 1st Battalion's left flank. Colonel Hagler coordinated the option with Colonel Taylor at 1000 on Monday, 24 October.[106]

If the 1st Battalion's plan changed, its mission had not. Around 1500 on 23 October, just an hour after Colonel Hagler arrived at Hunter Army Airfield and while Colonel Taylor was still en route from Fort Bragg, Joint Special Operations Command notified Major Nix that the battalion would have to provide a company to assist the special operations forces on a classified mission. At the same time, the battalion learned that the Air Force would provide seven aircraft, three MC–130s and four C–130s, to deliver it to its target. At that point, General Scholtes removed the cap on the size of the battalion: Colonel Taylor could take as many rangers as he could load aboard the aircraft. Taylor decided to send his Company C to assist the classified mission and increased the size of Companies A and B to 159 and 147 men, respectively, plus attachments. The headquarters element, divided into two tactical operations centers, contained 31 officers and men. Total strength of the battalion stood at 337.[107]

When the two battalions departed for Grenada on the evening of 24 October, Taylor planned to use Company A to clear the runway and then secure the medical college campus at the eastern end. The company would then establish a defensive position on Hill 97 just east of the campus. Company B, which had initially drawn the assignment to clear the airport terminal complex, shifted east with the mission of securing the high ground south of the village of Calliste. The company's position fronted the Cuban compound located in a depression north of the village. Eventually, the company would advance north and east, tying in its left flank to Petit Cabrits Point on the north shore of the peninsula and its right flank to Company A, thereby establishing the airhead line.[108]

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[105] Intervs, MacGarrigle with Hagler, 27 Feb 1984, and Bishop with Hensler, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Prelim AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[106] Prelim AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Hensler, 1 Nov 1983, with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, and with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[107] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, and with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[108] Map, Grenada: Island of Spice, 1979, Hist files (Graphics), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, and with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

The eastern shore of the lagoon north of the runway formed the dividing line between the two battalions' areas of operations. Hagler's men would clear the terminal area and seize the high ground north and east of it before passing through the 1st Battalion's lines and advancing on the Cuban military compound on the Calivigny Peninsula. Once Hagler began his advance on the Cuban position, Taylor's left flank would again be exposed. Scholtes' planners optimistically assumed that in seizing the airfield the two battalions would have eliminated all organized resistance in the vicinity. No enemy units would be left to take advantage of this gap.[109]

### Ranger Logistical Plans and Preparations, 22 October

In contrast to the operational plans, the ranger logistical plans were developed informally, were relatively simple, and never changed. The disparity developed from the fact that the ranger battalions were designed for rapid deployment and could draw on pre-positioned supply packages. Basically self-contained, they would be able to sustain themselves for the short time that General Scholtes expected them to be in combat. Because of operational security considerations, he wanted to keep the number of agencies involved in providing logistical support for the rangers to a minimum. As a result, 1st Special Operations Command, which normally provided this support, monitored but did not participate in logistical planning.[110]

The ranger coordinator at Fort Stewart, Capt. Lawrence W. Hoffman II, who functioned as the single point of contact between the rangers and the garrison staff, first learned that the 1st Battalion might be involved in an operation on 21 October, the same day that Colonel Taylor did. The next day Captain Hoffman attended the battalion's planning session at Hunter Army Airfield. He then began his own preparations by meeting with his superior, Lt. Col. James R. Childs, the director of plans and training at Fort Stewart, to discuss possible scenarios. Because the 1st Battalion was not in Ranger Ready Force condition, the elements from the 24th Infantry Division normally used to load the force were unprepared to assume that mission immediately. Childs and Hoffman considered ways to recall the support personnel without drawing attention to what they were doing. Based on what Taylor had told him, Hoffman anticipated that the 2d Battalion would also stage out of Hunter Army Airfield. With that settled, he began to consider the kinds of resupply the two battalions would need once they entered combat.[111]

The cooperation of the garrison was absolutely essential to ensuring the quiet recall of the support personnel, the phase that Colonel Childs believed was most vulnerable to a breach of security. Because of the secrecy surrounding the preparations, Joint Special Operations Command allowed him to inform only one of his superiors at Fort Stewart—24th Infantry Division and

[109] Final AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 25 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[110] Intervs, Bishop with Sheets and Ferguson, 2 Dec 1983, plus author with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[111] Interv, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

post commander, Maj. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr. Childs had barely begun his briefing at Schwarzkopf's quarters when the general exploded with emphatic incredulity. "The United States," he declared, "would never invade that small island."[112]

As Fort Stewart geared up for the operation despite Schwarzkopf's skepticism, two parallel ranger logistical plans emerged from work by Captain Hoffman with the two ranger logistical officers, Captain Clemons of the 1st Battalion and Capt. Jose G. Ventura Jr. of the 2d. Both units would draw supplies from an Army depot in the eastern United States through Hunter Army Airfield. Attached to Scholtes' Joint Task Force 123, Company C, 1st Battalion, would draw supplies from Fort Bragg through Pope Air Force Base. Although Joint Special Operations Command notified both ranger battalions that they would withdraw from the island on the evening of D-day, Captains Clemons and Ventura prepared logistical plans to cover thirty days of combat. Major Nix and Captain Clemons arranged for the pre-positioning of the first two resupply packages at Saber Hall, the ranger marshaling area at Hunter Army Airfield.[113]

The relative stability of the 1st Battalion's mission during planning made Clemons' task easier than Ventura's. Clemons planned for the 1st Battalion to carry enough supplies to last forty-eight hours. This meant that the unit's first resupply pallet should arrive in the airhead within thirty-six hours. By contrast, the changes to the 2d Battalion's mission meant that Ventura had to concentrate primarily on ammunition resupply. At first this posed no problem; the battalion could airland ammunition pallets in the airhead. Matters became more complicated, however, when the Joint Special Operations Command gave the battalion an airdrop option. In reaction, Ventura decided to load as much ammunition as possible on the vehicles that would accompany the battalion. Because an airdrop implied that conditions on the ground might prevent a follow-on airlanding, Ventura had to allow for this contingency by providing a larger basic load for individual rangers.[114]

Medical planning was also less elaborate than the operational planning because the physicians involved could follow standard procedures worked out over scores of exercises. Colonel Taylor took his battalion surgeon, Capt. James A. Pfaff, with the planning team to Fort Bragg. Captain Pfaff was able to contact the Joint Special Operations Command chief surgeon, Lt. Col. Carmelito Arkangel Jr., a West Point classmate of Colonel Taylor. Pfaff gained some general information about the medical assets available at the command, but actual medical planning was just beginning while he was at Fort Bragg. Once he returned to Hunter Army Airfield, he intended to monitor medical developments at Bragg and make his own preparations accordingly.[115]

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[112] Tel Interv, author with Childs, 21 Jul 2006, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[113] Intervs, Wells with Clemons, 2 Nov 1983, and Bishop with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, and with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[114] Intervs, Wells with Clemons, 2 Nov 1983, and Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[115] Interv, author with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

In the event, Captain Pfaff experienced extraordinary difficulties communicating with Arkangel and other medical personnel using secure lines. These were limited in number and monopolized almost to the exclusion of all else by commanders and operational planners who needed to coordinate many things very quickly. As a result, Pfaff could not even confirm whether a medical package was coming, let alone its size, specific capabilities, or time of arrival.[116]

In the absence of definite information about the medical element's plans or capabilities, he decided to establish the battalion aid station at the True Blue Campus to stabilize casualties and then to evacuate them by helicopter to the USS *Guam*, the helicopter carrier supporting the Marine landing force. Pfaff hoped that some American physicians might be present at the college to assist him when he arrived, but he did not count on that. He made arrangements for two medical chests to accompany the assault force. He and the battalion physician assistant, CWO2 William Donovan, also loaded twenty to thirty pounds of medical supplies into their own M5 bags, which they intended to hand-carry into the airhead. Pfaff likewise arranged for medical resupply in the event the rangers remained in the area of operations longer than contemplated by General Scholtes. The surgeon accompanying the 2d Battalion made similar detailed preparations. Thus, having received ample notification and following a scenario already rehearsed many times, the ranger logistical and medical officers were able to prepare for worst-case situations. Not all Army logisticians enjoyed these advantages.[117]

## Washington and the Caribbean, 23 October

Another early morning telephone call, this time at 0239 on Sunday, 23 October, informed the president of the Beirut bombing. The news convinced all concerned that Reagan needed to return to Washington immediately. Throughout the day, as information accumulated, the scope of the disaster became clearer: 241 U.S. servicemen were dead and another 70 wounded. Much of official Washington was in shock. Ambassador McNeil, who had arrived in Washington early on Sunday, thought that the Beirut crisis would abort the whole Grenada enterprise. Nevertheless, after a State Department briefing on the situation in the eastern Caribbean, McNeil and a JCS representative, Marine Maj. Gen. George B. Crist, left for Barbados that afternoon. General Crist, whose normal post was vice director of the Joint Staff, was to make arrangements for military participation by the Caribbean governments.[118]

Upon arrival in Washington, the president and his advisers embarked on a round of almost nonstop NSC meetings that alternated between Lebanon

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[116] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. E, app. 1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[117] Intervs, Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, and Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[118] PDD, 23 Oct 1983, PDD files (1981–1989), box 11, NARA–RRPL; E-mail, Crawford to author, 18 Nov 2003, sub: Beirut Casualties, 1983, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH; Crist Resumé, 2 Dec 1988, Hist files (Bios), CMH; Beck, "'McNeil Mission,'" p. 99; Interv, Cole with Crist, 16 Feb 1984, Archives files, JHO.

and Grenada. As Grenada appeared to be progressing without problems, General Vessey concentrated on Lebanon and delegated most of the Grenada briefings to Admiral Moreau. The ghastly news from Beirut dampened everyone's spirits. At one point the president hung his head in his hands and wondered aloud if his administration would suffer the same fate as that of President James E. "Jimmy" Carter Jr. His advisers believed that a Grenada operation would only detract from his popularity. General Vessey ventured that with the 1984 presidential election only a year away, perhaps Reagan should call off the invasion. The president shot back that he intended to consider this operation strictly on its merits.[119]



**Crist as a general**

The president might have temporarily lost his ebullience but not his resolve. The key issue for him was that American citizens were at risk. As soon as he heard that hostages were involved, he made up his mind that he would use military force if necessary. He carefully refrained from telling anyone of that decision, however, because he intended to keep his options open until the very last minute. Periodically he asked Vessey if he had made any decision that had irreversibly committed him to a military operation. Vessey always assured him that he had not reached that point.[120]

That evening, 23 October, in the White House residence, after his advisers had departed, the president signed the National Security Decision Directive 110A for the invasion of Grenada. "The Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff . . . will land U.S. and allied Caribbean military forces in order to take control of Grenada, no later than dawn Tuesday, October 25, 1983." Reagan carefully stipulated that the State Department would not notify the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States of his decision until after 1800 on 24 October. The president did not inform his principal advisers of his action

[119] Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO; Memo, North for Poindexter, 9 Jan 1985, sub: Revised Presidential Corresp, Country files (Grenada), vol. 4, box 91,370, RNSC, NARA–RRPL; Oberdorfer, "Reagan Sought To End Cuban 'Intervention,'" *Washington Post*, 6 Nov 1983; Clarridge and Diehl, *Spy for All Seasons*, p. 254.

[120] Oberdorfer, "Reagan Sought To End Cuban 'Intervention,'" *Washington Post*, 6 Nov 1983; Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace*, pp. 108–15; Ltr, Reagan to Sandford, 8 Jan 1985, and Memo, North for Poindexter, 9 Jan 1985, Country files (Grenada), vol. 4, box 91,370, RNSC, NARA–RRPL.

until sometime the next day. The explanation for this reluctance appears to have been more personal than political. He was very much aware that a decision to intervene would cost lives, and he refused to make that determination until it was absolutely necessary.[121]

The news from the Caribbean continued to pressure the president toward military action. Ambassador McNeil arrived in Barbados on 23 October and immediately went into a meeting with the Caribbean heads of state that lasted almost three hours. Probing their rationale for intervention, he found their advocacy thoroughly grounded in the realities of the situation and concluded that they were deeply committed to action as the only way to preserve democracy in the area. Following instructions, he gave the prime ministers no hint as to what his recommendation would be.[122]

McNeil also spent some time reviewing all locally available intelligence on Grenada with particular emphasis on the medical students. He concluded that they were not hostages yet but that this well might be the Grenadians' next step. He believed the situation was deteriorating daily and was dangerous. With the fate of his colleagues in Tehran, Iran, during the 1979 takeover of the U.S. Embassy very much in mind, he recommended that the president order immediate military intervention. His one qualification was that it had to be quick, before surprise was lost.[123]

The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States heads of government, as well as Prime Ministers Adams of Barbados and Seaga of Jamaica, knew nothing of these developments and frankly doubted American resolve. Ambassador McNeil had brought a list of State Department concerns about the repercussions of U.S. military action. Based on the discussion of these points, the group drafted a formal request for U.S. intervention. As the chair, Prime Minister Charles, a 53-year-old woman of keen intellect and forceful personality, signed it on the evening of 23 October. She declined to forward it to Washington, however, until she received a "final positive U.S. decision."[124]

General Crist, meanwhile, coordinated with members of the regional military and police forces to organize the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force that would participate in an invasion. As had McNeil, Crist emphasized the conditional nature of these preparations. In response, Prime Minister Seaga promised a reinforced infantry company from Jamaica and Prime Minister Adams,

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[121] Memo, North for Poindexter, 9 Jan 1985, Country files (Grenada), vol. 4, box 91,370; NSDD 110A (quoted words), Reagan, 23 Oct 1983, sub: Response to Caribbean Governments' Request To Restore Democracy on Grenada, NSDD files, box 1. Both in RNSC, NARA–RRPL.

[122] Msg, Bish to SecState, 25 2203Z Oct 1983, sub: Uncleared, Informal Minutes of Meeting Between Ambassadors Bish and McNeil with West Indian Heads of Government To Discuss the Grenada Situation, Msg files, DoS.

[123] McNeil, *War and Peace*, pp. 174–75; Beck, "'McNeil Mission,'" pp. 100–101. Prime Minister Charles laid out the rationale of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States in Statement, Charles, [c. 25 Oct 1983], Accession no. 59–99–0424 (10/13), DoS.

[124] Msg (quoted words), Bish to SecState, 24 0541Z Oct 1983, sub: Grenada: Text of Final Draft OECS Invitation, Msg files, DoS; Ltr, Charles to Reagan, 23 Oct 1983, Accession no. 59–97–0323 (4/6), DoS.



**Charles** *(far right)* **confers with Reagan, Shultz, and McFarlane on Grenada.**

a reinforced infantry platoon from Barbados. The other prime ministers contributed detachments from their police forces. Crist made arrangements with the Military Airlift Command to move most of these forces to an assembly point on Barbados shortly before U.S. forces landed on Grenada to keep from signaling American intentions.[125]

The prime ministers knew Col. (later Brig.) Rudyard Lewis of the Barbados Defence Force, because he doubled as coordinator of the Regional Security System, and they selected him to command the Caribbean forces. Their presence was essential to legitimize U.S. actions before the world. Only the Jamaican Army and the Barbados Defence Force had received any military training, but these units had never worked together. As a result, General Vessey was determined to keep them out of combat. He intended to use them mainly to guard prisoners and maintain order in areas already captured by U.S. troops. This was an important role because it would reassure the Grenadian people that they would soon regain control of their own destiny and that the U.S. presence would be of short duration.[126]

Given the relative poverty of all the countries involved, the United States assumed responsibility for supplying the Caribbean forces as soon as they left their home islands. Once they arrived on Grenada, the U.S. Navy would

[125] Msg, Bish to SecState, 23 1614Z Oct 1983, sub: Movement of Regional Security System Personnel, Msg files, DoS; Interv, Cole with Crist, 16 Feb 1984, Archives files, JHO.

[126] Interv, Cole with Crist, 16 Feb 1984; Ltr, Vessey to Armstrong, n.d. Both in Archives files, JHO.



**Seaga greets Admiral Metcalf;** *below,* **Adams watches as Barbadian troops prepare for deployment to Grenada.**



provide logistical support. If their stay proved extended, the Army would pick up the requirement. Because they were armed with obsolete British Army weapons, Crist could only hope that their basic load of ammunition would suffice throughout the operation. No resupply was available from U.S. sources.[127]

By the early morning hours of 24 October, President Reagan was on the verge of making a final decision to intervene on Grenada. He had kept his own counsel well. Even at this stage, Secretary Weinberger, a close observer of the president since their days together in California politics some fifteen years earlier, was not certain what the president would ultimately do. Others, further removed from the center of decisionmaking, were convinced that nothing would happen. General Schwarzkopf was hardly the only skeptic.[128]

General Vessey, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Joint Staff were working with great intensity on military preparations as were several subordinate headquarters. They had to because time was short. The president's insistence on stringent security measures had already hindered planning by severely limiting the participation of logisticians at multiple levels in the chain of command. The real issue on the twenty-third, however, was what type of operation the United States was going to conduct. The plan the Joint Chiefs approved envisioned the use of an elite raiding force to capture key objectives in less than a day. At the last minute the Joint Chiefs had agreed to incorporate a sizable conventional force, a Marine battalion landing team, to give added punch to the initial landings. Given the information that the Joint Chiefs had available, this change was prudent. Follow-on elements of the 82d Airborne Division would maintain order after the troops that conducted the initial landings departed.

In this revised plan, Vessey quite rightly focused on the issue of command and control that the Marine participation raised, but his solution was less than elegant. Charging McDonald with finding a "three star" to lead the joint task force, Vessey created an opportunity for command and control to become convoluted, and it quickly did when McDonald selected an admiral to direct a land campaign. McDonald's first solution, to assign a Marine colonel to direct the operation, at least had the advantage of putting in charge someone who was experienced in land warfare. By following joint doctrine too closely, however, this approach ignored the unique qualities of the Grenada plan. Joint doctrine represented the hard-won experience of the amphibious campaigns of World War II in Europe and the Pacific. In these operations the amphibious elements coming out of the sea had always constituted the decisive force. Giving command of the overall effort to the leader of that contingent was the best possible solution.

On Grenada, however, the approved plan called for ranger units and special operations forces to act as the decisive force. In this context the only correct

[127] Interv, Cole with Crist, 16 Feb 1984; Ltr, Vessey to Armstrong, n.d. Both in Archives files, JHO.

[128] Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace*, p. 113.

call was to retain General Scholtes as the JTF commander. This would have required making an exception to existing policies and procedures, but one of the primary responsibilities of senior officers is to recognize situations that require such adjustments and take the necessary actions. General Vessey did neither.

This outcome was more a reflection of the circumstances in which the chairman made decisions than with his personal characteristics. Three sets of conditions contributed to this outcome. First, service protocol and the circumscribed nature of the chairman's power may have played a role; however, given Vessey's well-deserved reputation as a field soldier focused on practicalities, these considerations were probably minor at most. Second, and a more likely explanation, is that Vessey and the Joint Chiefs, given the press of events, did not have sufficient time to consider all the implications. Atlantic Command was not a real joint headquarters. It lacked the capacity to plan a land campaign involving special operations forces and ranger units. This paucity of expertise meant that too many details were unresolved, forcing the most senior officers in the armed forces to try to knit them together at the last minute. It was almost inevitable that something would be overlooked—and it was. Third, the timing of the Beirut bombing meant that Vessey and the Joint Chiefs were almost literally running from meeting to meeting on one crisis or the other. Given this combination of factors, perhaps the real wonder is not that the final plan had flaws but that it was workable at all.

Admiral McDonald's failure to appoint an overall ground commander likewise hampered operational planning and made coordination of effort between special operations forces and ranger units on the one hand and the marines on the other problematic at best. McDonald might have inserted Scholtes as the ground commander, but he chose not to. At this point, the admiral may have felt that command arrangements were becoming too complex for what was a minor operation. Given the scheme of maneuver, however, making Scholtes the overall ground commander was the next best solution to making him the JTF commander.

Despite these potential problems that emerged on 23 October relating to command and control, the military planners had accomplished a great deal in a very short time. Nevertheless, they needed to do much more before the first soldier or marine landed on Grenadian soil.

# 3

# Final Planning

## 22–25 October 1983

☆ ☆ ☆

Shortly after he returned to Fort Bragg late on Saturday, 22 October, XVIII Airborne Corps commander Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull learned that he personally would have little to do in the Grenada operation. U.S. Army Forces Command notified XVIII Airborne Corps that the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) had given U.S. Atlantic Command direct operational control of the 82d Airborne Division, bypassing corps headquarters. General Mackmull believed that his superiors were concerned about the political reaction if a three-star general became the ground forces commander on Grenada. In his words, they did not want to give the impression of "hitting a gnat with a sledgehammer."[1]

Mackmull's reaction was that the XVIII Airborne Corps and Fort Bragg should do all that they could to assist the 82d Airborne Division in accomplishing its mission. His subsequent efforts and those of his staff centered on getting the 82d deployed. He postulated that, after the division had arrived in the area of operations, Atlantic Command would assume responsibility for coordinating all the support that it required. He tried to be very careful to avoid influencing Atlantic Command's operations order because he was not in the chain of command. Nonetheless, he wanted to make certain that the division was ready to fight when it arrived on Grenada and that the corps did everything possible at Fort Bragg to ensure success. One of his first acts after he returned Saturday night was to meet with some of his principal staff officers to discuss what little he knew of the operation.[2]

### Mackmull and the Corps Weigh In, 23–24 October

Although General Mackmull scrupulously avoided any hint that he was injecting himself and the XVIII Airborne Corps into the operation, his suggestions carried something akin to the force of orders for the officers of the 82d Airborne Division. He was a very senior lieutenant general with the reputation of being one of the Army's best tacticians. In addition, he had both long experience with airborne units and was familiar with their unique logistical and operational requirements. As if that was not enough, he was the rating

[1] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[2] Ibid.; Interv, author with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

officer of the division commander, Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh, which only gave his opinions additional weight with that officer. All these circumstances contributed to make the XVIII Airborne Corps an unofficial senior headquarters for the division during the operation.[3]

Early on Sunday morning, 23 October, Generals Mackmull and Trobaugh received a detailed briefing from their staffs on the preparations for the Grenada operation. During the meeting Mackmull demonstrated why he enjoyed the reputation in the Army as a top-notch airborne officer. First, the corps G–2, Col. John D. De War, delivered an intelligence update. The corps had not obtained any significant information about the island since the last meeting. Second, the division G–3, Lt. Col. Frank H. Akers Jr., described the division's mission and preparations.[4]

Mackmull commented at length on what he had heard. His observations dealt mainly with how to obtain more recent intelligence and with various aspects of operational planning, but several concerned logistics. He identified flak vests, secure communications equipment, riot gear, and megaphones for crowd control as potentially critical items he hoped the division had in sufficient quantities. He also suggested that the division consider flying its Black Hawk helicopters directly to the island and asked what survival gear and auxiliary fuel tanks would be necessary if it had to execute this option. Getting CH–47 Chinooks to the island, he mused, might be more difficult because of their shorter range. Further, he posed some critical questions: Did the division intend to keep the helicopters resupplied using C–130 bladder birds? Had it made the necessary arrangements with the Air Force for regular flights of these aircraft to sustain helicopter operations for however long fighting lasted?[5]

The operation, Mackmull continued, would probably require heavy engineer and military police involvement. He advised that the engineers should make an early assessment of the condition of the runways at both Pearls and Point Salines because one or both of them might be damaged and unusable. He suggested that if it became necessary to reconstruct the airfields, the division should request the corps' 618th Engineer Company because it could land its equipment using low-altitude parachute extraction. This technique required a transport pilot to fly his aircraft five to ten feet from the ground. His cargo, protected by energy-dissipating material, would be loaded on a specially configured airdrop platform. At the appropriate moment, one to three parachutes would deploy through the open rear cargo hatch and pull the platform and its contents out of the aircraft. The chutes would keep everything aligned and help brake the load as it slid across the ground. Treated in this manner, a bulldozer, even a small one that executed a textbook landing, would make a considerable dent when it first hit the ground, especially on an asphalt runway.

[3] Interv, Danner, Frasché, and Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[4] Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[5] The most detailed account of this meeting comes from Akers, but many other participants mention it at some length. See Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, plus Bishop with Johnson, 15 Nov 1983, with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.




**Colonel De War**




**Colonel Akers**

Trobaugh would need such a capability only if the Cubans and Grenadians had so damaged the airstrip at Point Salines that aircraft could not land. Even then, the delivery of engineer equipment in this manner would allow him to restore the surface to landing condition more rapidly than would otherwise be possible.[6]

Mackmull continued by noting that the nature of the water system on the island could have a major impact on the composition of the forces that the division sent to Grenada. If sufficient freshwater was available, the division could use its own erdlators, water purification equipment designed to decontaminate freshwater. If freshwater was unavailable in adequate quantities, the division would need reverse-osmosis water purification units from the 1st Support Command to desalinate seawater. Before General Trobaugh could make an intelligent decision on the matter, he needed to know more about the available water supplies.[7]

Mackmull, for his part, wanted to know what kind of telephone system the Grenadians had because it would affect both the mix of engineers assigned to the island (they would have to repair it) and the type of communications package that accompanied the division. He recommended involving a corps

[6] Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; FM 10–500–1, Airdrop Support Operations in a Theater of Operations, June 1991, pp. 2-2 to 2-4.

[7] Discussion in this and the following three paragraphs is based on Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

unit, the 35th Signal Brigade. He also told the corps G–2 to start filling footlockers with gold or East Caribbean dollars, the currency used in the region, so that the division could purchase supplies locally. This would ease the stress on the aerial supply line to the island and inject funds into the local economy.

Mackmull then suggested that it was time to bring the rest of the corps staff into the planning. Medical support concerned him. Did the division want to take a mobile surgical hospital into Grenada or establish the hospital on Barbados, where the patients would be out of the combat zone? What kind of medical facilities would the Navy have available to support Army operations? At this point, no one knew.

Mackmull emphasized that the 82d Support Command would need a good plan to sustain the operation. For the moment, he suggested that Fort Bragg serve as an intermediate staging base and that the division place its logistical base on Grenada at Point Salines. He raised the issue of establishing a sea line of communications by moving heavier equipment, units required for occupation duties, and certain types of bulky supplies by ship rather than by air. Who was going to control the port of St. George's? Would the division need a terminal service company there to unload cargo? If so, it needed to find out where it could get one.

Although he did not state it explicitly, Mackmull implied that the division should not continue to pour combat troops into the airhead once the battle was over. Instead, he simply commented that the corps support command and the corps and division surgeons should develop the priorities that would determine the type of follow-on forces required and the sequence and timing of their arrival.[8]

Throughout his remarks Mackmull reiterated that the division could not take anything for granted. It needed to prepare for the worst case—heavy combat. In that spirit, he suggested that the division plan for employing two brigades rather than just two battalions. He stressed that even though the corps was not officially involved in the operation it would do everything that it could, whatever happened, to support the division.[9]

The attendees also discussed the second mission that Colonel Akers had brought back from Norfolk: the follow-on peacekeeping mission. The main body of the division could plan to airland in C–141s. This would reduce the amount of time it would need to prepare to embark because it would not have to move equipment to the heavy rig drop site. In this context, General Mackmull commented that the division would leave behind its AH–1 Cobra helicopter gunships and take only transport helicopters. After weighing all the factors, the consensus of the officers present was that the lead elements of the division would depart within ten hours of notification. Leaving any earlier would require the division to assume a higher readiness status, which might compromise operational security.[10]

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[8] Interv, Bishop with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[9] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, and Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files, CMH.

[10] Intervs, Bishop with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983, and Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## Final Planning

Mackmull scheduled a briefing on the operation for 1100 on 23 October to inform the rest of the principals on his staff and his brigade commanders. The 1100 meeting also served as a forum for the corps commander to present additional insights. Mackmull reiterated the importance of sending in sufficient fuel for the division's helicopters. The senior logistician on the corps staff, the G–4, Col. Corless W. Mitchell, only learned of the operation at this meeting. Even then, security was so tight that Mackmull cautioned him and the others that they could not tell any of their assistants about the preparations. In Mitchell's case, this meant that any corps-level logistical planning would depend for the moment on him alone.[11]

At the corps briefing Mackmull had suggested to the division representative that the 82d ought to send a planning team to Atlantic Command, but General Trobaugh opted to concentrate his planning efforts at Fort Bragg, thus losing an opportunity to enlighten the predominately naval staff at Norfolk of the needs of an airborne division. Trobaugh decided not to split his staff, given the dimension of having to plan simultaneously for an airborne assault and for an airlanding as a follow-on force. Each type of operation was far different from the other. Although the likelihood that the division would have to parachute onto the island diminished as the arrival time of the marines in Grenadian waters neared, planning for an airborne assault had to continue because it was such a difficult mission. With that in view, Trobaugh called a 1600 meeting on the twenty-third to draw an expanded circle of officers into the preparations.[12]

The session opened with a briefing by members of the planning team that had traveled to Norfolk on the twenty-second. Trobaugh raised the question of increasing the size of the task force. After giving some consideration to a one-brigade assault force composed of three infantry battalions, he opted for the two-brigade force suggested by General Mackmull. At this point, the outline plan called for Division Ready Brigade-1, Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr.'s 2d Brigade, to concentrate on the airfield at Point Salines, while Division Ready Brigade-2, Col. James T. Scott's 3d Brigade, assaulted Pearls. Because Pearls' runway was too short to receive C–141s, all follow-on echelons of the 3d Brigade would have to land at Point Salines and move overland to Pearls. The planners considered flying the 3d Brigade's follow-on echelons to Barbados, transferring them to C–130s, and airlanding them at Pearls. With C–130s committed to the Joint Special Operations Command, however, and believing mistakenly that these aircraft were in short supply, Trobaugh rejected that option for the moment.[13]

Paradoxically, as the number of troopers committed to the operation increased, the number of aircraft available to carry them to the area of operations declined. Based on what was undoubtedly a clearer perception of the total concept of operations than anyone in the division possessed at that time,

[11] Intervs, Bishop with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983; Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983; and author with C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[12] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[13] Ibid.; Interv, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Military Airlift Command had already reduced the number of C–141s available to approximately thirty.[14]

The need to airland troops drew attention to the condition of the runways at the two fields. The meeting considered the minimum landing distance for a C–141. Based on the conclusion that a C–141 could not use Pearls, General Trobaugh decided that the engineers should focus on improving the field at Point Salines. At this point, no one in the division was certain that the new runway would support C–141s, but planning proceeded on the assumption that it could. The engineers would have to prepare some ramps on which the aircraft could turn around. Trobaugh directed them to be ready to bring in whatever heavy equipment they needed to complete that task and any others that presented themselves by using the low-altitude delivery that General Mackmull had suggested. He then listed a number of logistical issues, including the requirement to configure ammunition bundles for the mission and the need to stockpile life preservers for the assault battalions. He did not intend to take his senior personnel and logistical advisers, the G–1 and the G–4, with him in the command group. Following doctrine, he proposed to leave them at the division main headquarters at Fort Bragg with his assistant division commander for support, Brig. Gen. James D. Smith, to plan for and coordinate reinforcement and resupply of the airhead on Grenada. Trobaugh believed that the forward area support teams could handle any logistical problems that might arise on the island. Then the meeting broke up into planning groups that would report back later with their conclusions. When they finished, the division would be prepared for both a one- and a two-brigade operation.[15]

After the Sunday morning briefing at the corps headquarters, General Mackmull became concerned about the compartmentalization of planning. The Joint Special Operations Command and the 82d Airborne Division were preparing to operate in the same area without either having a clear idea of what the other intended to do. This was not the way the Army designed an operation. In reaction, Mackmull telephoned Admiral Wesley L. McDonald at Atlantic Command and suggested that his corps needed to be included in the chain of command if only to ensure that Army units received proper logistical support. Rebuffed, possibly because McDonald misinterpreted the overture as an attempt to take control of the ground portion of the operation, Mackmull then telephoned General Richard E. Cavazos at Forces Command and discussed the situation. In the course of the conversation, Mackmull suggested that Joint Task Force (JTF) 120 commander V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III needed a high-ranking Army representative on his staff. General Cavazos proposed the 24th Infantry Division commander, Maj. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr., an experienced airborne officer. When Mackmull heartily endorsed the choice, Cavazos contacted Army Chief of

[14] Interv, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[15] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983; author with A. Perkins, 9 and 23 Jun 1986, and with Daly, 31 Jul 1986; and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Admiral Metcalf and General Schwarzkopf**

Staff General John A. Wickham Jr., who approved General Schwarzkopf for the billet.[16]

Immediately following the telephone conversation, Mackmull went to Army Maj. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes' Joint Special Operations Command headquarters to secure whatever coordination was possible under the circumstances between the command's preparations and those of the 82d. In doing so, Mackmull realized that he had to tread delicately to avoid altering Admiral McDonald's operational concept in any way. By visiting the command, he hoped to talk to General Scholtes, who would serve as the JTF 123 commander, and to obtain a clearer understanding of the special operations portion of the invasion. Scholtes was absent when he arrived, but his deputy, Air Force Brig. Gen. Edsel R. Field, told the corps commander what he needed to know. Mackmull later talked to Scholtes and arranged a meeting with him and Trobaugh. The three generals discovered that they shared a similar concern: Much of the Atlantic Command planning appeared to rest on best-case

[16] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. General Cavazos was also the component commander of U.S. Army, Atlantic, when either the secretary of defense or the commander of Atlantic Command activated the component headquarters.

assumptions. Scholtes emphasized that he wanted the 82d ready to land just as soon as he had his own force in position on the island. When the meeting broke up, Trobaugh and Scholtes may not have known all the details of each other's plans, but they did have a better grasp of each other's concept of operations. By his personal intervention, Mackmull had thus bent compartmentalization in favor of effective planning, but the effect was only partial. The two staffs involved still remained isolated from one another and so could do little to build on this newfound rapport. Detailed coordination remained impossible.[17]

Around 2300 hours while the planning session was still in progress, General Mackmull arrived at division headquarters. He informed General Trobaugh that General Schwarzkopf would accompany Admiral Metcalf aboard his flagship as "an Army adviser" and that Metcalf had scheduled a commanders conference for 0700 Monday morning. The corps commander added that Atlantic Command had changed the time of the operation to 0400 and that it wanted the division on the ground at 0900, five hours after the initial landing. Based on Mackmull's information, division planners used 0400 as the basis to calculate the sequencing of the 82d onto the island. Finally, without explaining why, Mackmull said that he needed to attach a light bulldozer and two equipment operators to the 20th Engineer Brigade, a request with which Trobaugh was happy to comply. Shortly afterward, the planners departed for their homes to avoid the appearance of unusual activity.[18]

As soon as Mackmull's G–4, Colonel Mitchell, returned to his office following the Sunday morning briefing, he wrote a series of notes to himself on actions that he should take once the operation became public knowledge. The first involved Anniston bundles—contingency packages of food, petroleum products, and ammunition maintained at the Anniston Army Depot in Anniston, Alabama, and capable of delivery by parachute into an area of operations. Mitchell made detailed plans to pre-position the bundles at the nearest civilian airfield large enough to handle C–141s. Because Forces Command controlled the supplies, he intended to call that headquarters immediately after the operation began and request permission to move the bundles so that they would be immediately available in case of an emergency.[19]

Mitchell's second priority involved establishing a sea line of supply to the area of operations. To that end, he planned to call Forces Command at the first opportunity and to request a roll-on/roll-off ship (RO/RO in Transportation Corps jargon) to move heavy tonnage items—ammunition, construction equipment, and building materiel. Mitchell wanted the ship because he suspected the capacity of the dockside facilities available at the port of St. George's was too small. In his view, any ship that went to Grenada would have to be able to discharge its cargo virtually unaided.

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[17] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[18] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and Bishop with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Akers based his discussion of the planned time of the operation on his contemporary notes rather than subsequent recollection.

[19] Information in this and the following four paragraphs are based on Interv, author with C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**C–141**

Over the next two days Colonel Mitchell worked closely with the division G–4, Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree II, to define their respective spheres of influence. The two agreed that because the division would be the main force on the island, Colonel Crabtree would control the logistics in support of the operation, while Mitchell would serve as the interface between the division and the wholesale logistical system. In effect, Crabtree would identify the items of equipment and supply that the division needed, and Mitchell would ensure that the division received them by contacting the appropriate Army depots in the United States. Anticipating that supply problems might develop during the course of the operation, Mitchell planned to send a liaison officer with the division into the airhead and another to Atlantic Command headquarters. He also analyzed the scattered and incomplete data about the airfield available from corps intelligence to determine its capacity and turned his conclusions over to Crabtree.

When Mitchell left the corps briefing on 23 October, he knew very little about the condition of the airfield under construction at Point Salines. He spent a good deal of time closeted with Colonel De War, the corps G–2. De War knew that the Cuban engineers had experienced problems because the fill in the causeway that carried the landing surface across Hardy Bay constantly settled. There was a pronounced dip about halfway down its length. Because C–141Bs would require the entire airstrip to take off and land, the issue had profound logistical implications. If transport aircraft could not use the entire strip, the Air Force could substitute C–130s. They needed less room to operate, and, depending on the exact location of the declivity, they might be able to use the field. C–130s, of course, had a much smaller load capacity. If substituted



**C–130;** *below,* **Vehicles, equipment, and helicopters crowd the flight line.**



for C–141s, they would slow the buildup of forces and supplies. The possibility also existed that the field would not support even C–130 operations. In that case, the Air Force would have to deliver supplies and equipment to the airhead by parachute, using either standard heavy drops from a considerable height or low-altitude parachute extractions.

Mitchell's appraisal of the capacity of the airfield rested at least as much on the logistician's considerable experience as on the data that Colonel De War could provide. De War knew a taxi area was under construction in front of

the partially completed main terminal that stood opposite the midpoint of the runway. If the area was available for use, Mitchell assumed for planning purposes that three aircraft might be on the ground simultaneously, what the Air Force labeled a MOG (machines on the ground) of three. If it remained closed, however, safety requirements would probably prevent landing more than one aircraft at a time, a circumstance that would greatly impede the buildup of supplies and equipment.

Detailed information about the airfield and its condition remained frustratingly unavailable to Mitchell and De War during most of the planning period. Cumulus clouds obscured satellite photographs, which revealed only snatches of the field. As a result, calculations about airfield capacity remained at best informed guesses. Mitchell sketched the outline of the airfield at its approximate location on a tourist map of the island, all that was available at the time. Not until late Monday could De War assure Mitchell that C–141s could land. Mitchell kept Crabtree apprised of all this, enabling Crabtree to concentrate on logistical issues internal to the division.[20]

### Atlantic Command Final Preparations, 23–24 October

The division G–3, Colonel Akers, was at his residence about midnight on 23–24 October when the staff duty officer called to say that the division had received a top secret message from Atlantic Command. Akers told him to bring it over, and they sat on the steps of his house and read the operations order for Operation Urgent Fury. It designated 0400 (Grenada time) on 25 October as J-hour, when Joint Task Force 123 was to seize the Point Salines airfield, and 0500 (Grenada time) as H-hour, when the marines from Task Force 124 would land on the east coast near Pearls Airport.[21]

The order thus bore out the information that General Mackmull had given Trobaugh about the timing of the assault at Point Salines. The Army elements, consisting of the division assault command post, a brigade task force headquarters, and two airborne infantry battalions, designated Task Force 121, would airland on Grenada "on order" from Atlantic Command within twenty hours of notification to relieve the rangers, special operations forces, and marines and to assume "protection/stabilization responsibilities." After arrival, the task force would establish "a multinational peacekeeping force to restore civil order and assist in restoring a friendly government in Grenada," at which time its name would change to Combined Task Force 121. Trobaugh would remain on Grenada in command of this new force.[22]

Although the bulk of the 82d's planning had envisioned an active combat role for the division, the order did not establish a link between the seizure of

[20] Ibid.; Interv, author with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[21] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, and Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, LANTCOM to JCS et al., 24 0007Z Oct 1983, sub: Urgent Fury Opn Order, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH.

[22] Msg, LANTCOM to JCS et al., 24 0007Z Oct 1983, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH.

the target and the deployment of the airborne task force. Instead, the order assumed that the force would enter the country after the close of military operations and confine itself to a constabulary role. Moreover, as General Trobaugh discerned, the order indicated no awareness of the division's emergency deployment readiness procedures, which stipulated that the division could begin to sortie the first battalion eighteen rather than twenty hours after notification. In itself this was not a major problem, yet what was apparent was Atlantic Command's lack of familiarity with airborne operations and general inattention to detail, particularly disturbing given the emphasis that Colonel Akers had placed on the eighteen-hour sequence during the recent meeting at Norfolk.[23]

The order dealt with logistics very concisely, stipulating that each of the services would be responsible for the support of its own forces. Only medical support, amid all the logistical specialties, received any elaboration beyond this bald statement. Medical units embedded in the forces would provide care during the initial operations. Commanders would identify "medical augmentation requirements . . . through normal service command channels." Admiral Metcalf, as the JTF 120 commander, would coordinate these efforts.[24]

The order also established a medical evacuation chain in concept but not in detail. Initially, the wounded would move to naval vessels with surgical facilities or to the nearest U.S. shore activity with appropriate medical facilities. From there, they would go to military hospitals in the continental United States. When appropriate, Military Airlift Command would evacuate wounded directly to the United States, bypassing intermediate stages.[25]

Late on the evening of 23 October, General Scholtes learned that Admiral Metcalf planned a commanders meeting at Norfolk the next morning. Scholtes and his planning team would brief the admiral on their portion of the operation. As soon as they arrived at Atlantic Command headquarters on Monday, 24 October, Scholtes encountered an angry Metcalf. He and Scholtes had never met one another, and thus no prior relationship existed to buffer what promised to be a very difficult day for both men. With virtually no input to the planning, Metcalf felt that McDonald was asking him to execute a concept that was problematic at best. Scholtes, on the other hand, was still upset about the JCS's changes to the plan.[26]

The point of the exchange was that Metcalf, on being notified of his appointment to command Joint Task Force 120, had attempted to contact Scholtes, but for reasons not immediately apparent the general had never responded. Searching for an answer, Scholtes suspected that Atlantic Command's obsolescent secure communications gear was unable to link to the modern equipment at Joint Special Operations Command. He explained the situation but could not restrain himself from emphasizing a key joint doctrine tenet, namely, the

[23] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[24] Msg, LANTCOM to JCS et al., 24 0007Z Oct 1983, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

superior headquarters should establish communications with the subordinate headquarters, not vice versa. Scholtes' observation, gratuitous under the circumstances, left the admiral seething. It was not an auspicious beginning to a command relationship.[27]

Those attending the Atlantic Command meeting on the morning of 24 October included General Trobaugh; Colonel Akers and one assistant, Maj. Thomas A. Bruno; the XVIII Airborne Corps G–3, Col. James H. Johnson Jr.; and the XVIII Airborne Corps liaison officer to Atlantic Command, Lt. Col. Richard C. Caporiccio. Prior to the meeting Trobaugh talked to General Schwarzkopf, who had received a necessarily general briefing on the operation on his way to the conference from the Forces Command's deputy chief of staff for operations, Maj. Gen. Richard G. Graves. General Graves left Schwarzkopf under the impression that J-hour would be 0300. The Army participants met briefly with Admiral Metcalf, who explained his concept of command-and-control arrangements. He told them that he planned to make Schwarzkopf the overall ground force commander. At this point, Trobaugh objected vigorously because Schwarzkopf was junior to him, stating "I told him that . . . I had already been told that I was to control the U.S. ground forces in there." He further added that the corps commander, General Mackmull, should command the long-term operation and cited as precedent the Dominican Republic intervention of 1965, where XVIII Airborne Corps commander Lt. Gen. Bruce Palmer Jr. had served as the U.S. ground force commander. Schwarzkopf sided with Trobaugh. The two left the meeting and telephoned General Mackmull to inform him of their recommendation.[28]

While Mackmull certainly agreed with Trobaugh and Schwarzkopf, evidence is lacking as to what happened to the initiative. Apparently, a host of other contentious issues subsumed their idea. Admiral McDonald was already on record as opposed to bringing Mackmull into the operation, so perhaps that was enough. In any event, Schwarzkopf remained the senior Army adviser to Metcalf, and Metcalf continued as the overall ground force commander.[29]

At the conclusion of the call to Mackmull, Trobaugh and Schwarzkopf attended a general meeting presided over by Admiral Metcalf. A number of high-ranking officers participated, including Admiral McDonald, General Scholtes, and Brig. Gen. Robert B. Patterson, who represented Military Airlift Command. Several State Department officials, led by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs L. Craig Johnstone, were also present. The senior Army officers had arrived expecting a fairly structured program with formal briefings. Instead, the presentations were informal, more like a seminar than a decision briefing. The participants sat around a table and

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and Pirnie with Schwarzkopf, 1 Nov 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, G–3, XVIII Abn Corps, 23 2315 Oct 1983, Corps EOC Duty Off, EOC Recs, Opn UF, Entry 228, UD–06W, RG 338, NARA–CP.

[29] Intervs, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, and Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

talked about the role of their commands in the operation. A fairly freewheeling, sometimes very animated, discussion followed.[30]

The State Department representatives wanted Scholtes to add another objective to his target list—Richmond Hill Prison in St. George's, where the Revolutionary Military Council had detained all political prisoners. In Scholtes' view, given the press of time, a major alteration was not feasible and, in addition, the prison was not militarily significant. Yet Johnstone and his associates insisted that they had a plan. Scholtes wondered who in the State Department was capable of preparing a military plan and why they would attempt it. After several increasingly heated exchanges of opinion, McDonald intervened and ordered Scholtes to take Richmond Hill Prison. The foreign service officers then allowed Scholtes to examine their plan; however, when he asked for a copy, they refused to give him one. (Later, he learned that they had considered the plan "too highly classified" to do so.) Given Scholtes' position, this rationale was at best Kafkaesque. Scholtes would later maintain that 24 October was the "most astounding day of my life in the military."[31]

In the discussion that followed the briefings, the lack of intelligence on the condition of the runway worried all the participants. The Air Force had failed in an attempt to insert a Navy special operations team into the Point Salines area during the night of 23–24 October. As a result, no one knew whether a C–130 could actually land on the partially completed airstrip. Trobaugh was also concerned about the timing of the various events. The three Army generals discussed them at length and concluded that the plan as it now stood made little sense. Scholtes proposed delaying the operation one day to insert another reconnaissance team. After listening in on their discussion, Metcalf agreed. One of the State Department representatives, however, strongly opposed any delay due to the danger of losing the support of the island states in the area. McDonald, who had little respect for the military capabilities of the Grenadians, then ended the debate by insisting that the operation proceed as planned. The conferees reluctantly went along. In the end, however, McDonald delayed J-hour until 0500 to give Scholtes an opportunity to insert one more special operations team that evening and to disseminate any intelligence it collected to the assault force. With this shift, J-hour and H-hour became the same time. This left the special operations forces with only twelve minutes of lessening darkness before first light, 0512 Grenada time. They almost certainly would be attacking in daylight.[32]

In the space of one conference the special operations forces, in effect, had gone from the supported ground force whose unique characteristics

[30] Intervs, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, plus Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, pp. 332–34.

[31] Interv, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[32] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, [JTF 120], n.d., Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, plus Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, and Pirnie with Schwarzkopf, 1 Nov 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.




**Views of Richmond Hill Prison**



determined the scheme of land maneuver to a supporting force that assisted a conventional unit attacking in circumstances that maximized the latter's strengths. Admiral McDonald had achieved this result simply by changing the timing of the assault by special operations forces. In both the JCS and Atlantic Command plans, the special operations forces and the ranger battalions had responsibility for all but one of the key targets and faced the strongest defenses. The Atlantic Command version, however, allowed the defenders to see the Americans, whereas the JCS version did not. No wonder Scholtes later considered the day "astounding."[33]

The underlying premise throughout the conference was that the military capacity of the Grenadians, even when reinforced by the Cubans, was so low that, at worst, resistance would be scattered, disorganized, and ineffective. Everyone assumed that the 82d Airborne Division would enter the island only after all organized resistance had ceased and that it would perform only a peacekeeping mission. The division's role appeared so perfunctory that Admiral Metcalf not only overlooked asking Trobaugh but also failed to address the key logistical issues the concept change raised. In particular, the ad hoc medical arrangements, inadequate if U.S. forces sustained mass casualties, received no mention.[34]

With the attack still scheduled for the next day, 25 October, time was pressing. Before the conference was half over, Metcalf and Schwarzkopf departed. Accompanied by a small staff, they boarded an aircraft and flew to Barbados. (Only after their arrival did they learn that the time of the attack had slipped to 0500.) A helicopter transferred them from the island to the USS *Guam*, which had become the flagship for Joint Task Force 120. By then, the rest of the conferees in Norfolk had scattered to their duty stations.[35]

Two other general officers also left for the eastern Caribbean, but they made stops en route. General Scholtes alighted at Hunter Army Airfield, where he received a briefing on the plans of the two ranger battalions, before heading on to Barbados. General Patterson went to the Joint Special Operations Command headquarters, where he talked to General Field, General Scholtes' deputy. Designated the airlift commander by the Military Airlift Command, Patterson was concerned about follow-on airlift requirements and had yet to see anything about command relationships. Old friends, the two men made a handshake agreement that, as soon as the ranger units had landed, the twelve C–130s carrying them would fly to Barbados and revert to Patterson's control. After the meeting Patterson boarded a C–5A bound for Barbados. It was loaded with Task Force 160, whose men and equipment were drawn largely from the Army's 160th Aviation Battalion from Fort Campbell, Kentucky.

[33] Intervs, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999 (quoted word), and Pirnie with Schwarzkopf, 1 Nov 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[34] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[35] Intervs, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, and Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

As part of General Scholtes' Joint Task Force 123, the aviators would fly the ground elements from Barbados to their objectives on Grenada.[36]

At the end of the conference General Trobaugh remained concerned that Atlantic Command might not understand the notification sequence in airborne operations. Before leaving Norfolk, he and Colonel Akers sought out Admiral McDonald's J–3, Navy Commodore Robert S. Owen. A short conversation revealed that Atlantic Command headquarters believed its operations order required the division to land in the target area within twenty hours of notification rather than depart Fort Bragg within twenty hours, an interpretation at variance with the understanding experienced airborne officers had. This meant a much earlier departure than the 82d's planners had assumed. Further discussion led to the conclusion that the division would comply with McDonald's wishes if it could sortie within ten hours of notification. Trobaugh and Akers agreed that this was feasible because the division had already completed much of its planning, an activity that took up almost half the time in the division's usual notification sequence. The 82d could not, however, pre-position any equipment or supplies quite as soon as it normally would because that would violate the stringent operational security measures surrounding the preparations. With this point clarified to everyone's mutual satisfaction, Trobaugh and Akers departed for Fort Bragg.[37]

## Division Support Command, 23–24 October

While General Trobaugh and his staff officers attended the Norfolk conference on 23 October, Col. William F. Daly Jr.'s 82d Support Command continued detailed logistical planning at Fort Bragg. Preparations had begun immediately after Trobaugh's Sunday afternoon planning conference, which Colonel Daly and a few of his key officers had attended. Upon returning to his office, Daly directed his staff to develop deployment options to support the division's possible move to Grenada. The staff officers developed four, which they briefed to a gathering that included almost all the key logistical specialists in the division, the men who would have to implement the plan finally adopted. The assistant division commander for support, General Smith, and the division G–4, Colonel Crabtree, attended along with representatives of the corps G–4 section. The role of all these men was to monitor the discussions, interjecting pertinent observations when appropriate. The key participants came from the support command. In addition to Daly, they included three officers intimately involved in the movement and management of materiel throughout the division: his executive officer, Lt. Col. Ronald F. Kelly; his S–3, Maj. Samuel S. Vitucci, who also commanded the Provisional Movement

[36] Intervs, Bishop with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, and with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, plus Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, LANTCOM to JCS et al., 24 0007Z Oct 1983, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH. Task Force 160 also had some assets from the 158th Aviation Battalion.

[37] Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. *Commodore* was the official rank for one-star flag officers in the U.S. Navy from 1983 until 1985, when the title reverted to *rear admiral lower half*.

Control Center; and the commander of the 182d Materiel Management Center, Maj. William M. Causey Jr. Equally important were Daly's three battalion commanders in charge of the labor force—Lt. Col. John J. Cusick of the 407th Supply and Service Battalion, Lt. Col. Kenneth C. Sever of the 782d Maintenance Battalion, and Lt. Col. Edward B. Wilson of the 307th Medical Battalion.[38]

Two of the options the staff briefed involved flying directly to Grenada in C–141s and the other two to Barbados in C–141s, transferring to C–130s, and then flying to Grenada. As circumstances dictated, the division could either airdrop or airland onto the island. Both of the Barbados options required the division support command to deploy elements in advance of the main body to assist in transferring men, equipment, and stores between aircraft.[39]

Colonel Daly regarded the Barbados options without enthusiasm because he disliked the idea of dispatching his logistical units in advance of the rest of the division to establish an intermediate staging base. Atlantic Command had not allocated any aircraft for the early transfer of such assets to this location, meaning that any Barbados scenario would require the command to revise its operations order. Given the speed with which it was mounting the operation, such a change seemed highly unlikely. More important, the main elements of a support command did not normally deploy to the forward area; they operated from their home station. Daly anticipated that his headquarters would be fully committed to controlling supply operations at Fort Bragg and, through its forward area support teams, to supporting the brigades in the area of operations. In the end, he chose to follow General Mackmull's solution: The division would use Fort Bragg as an intermediate staging base. This became the basic concept underlying all subsequent logistical preparations.[40]

If an intermediate staging base became necessary on Barbados, Daly knew that the corps' 1st Support Command alone possessed the manpower, training, and experience to establish it for the division. During all the exercises in which the division had heretofore participated, the corps had always identified the need for, established, and ran intermediate staging bases. In the rush to get ready, however, Daly had paid little attention to the question. Once he and his staff had worked out their concept of operations, they focused on the next pressing task at hand: the equipment and supply status of the 2d and 3d Brigades.[41]

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[38] Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Documents in the official file contain conflicting information on the 182d's designation. Usage in this work conforms to the official guidance in TOE 29–53H3, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 19, TOE files, CMH.

[39] Robert N Seigle, "Looking Back at Urgent Fury," pp. 18–19, 22, 24, 57–58; Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, and with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Some disagreement exists about the four options, probably because of the passage of time. Daly did not remember agreeing to options three and four, but both Smith and Perkins did. Their recollections are at least tangentially confirmed by Seigle and Rabon.

[40] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[41] Ibid.; RCmts, Reardon, Jun 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

On the morning of 23 October, while General Trobaugh met with the other senior leaders in Norfolk and while one of Colonel Akers' assistants, Maj. Thomas D. Smith, drafted the division's operations order, the 82d Support Command conducted a round of readiness briefings. Following Trobaugh's instructions, all of the division's battalion commanders appeared and outlined every possible aspect of their units' makeup—equipment, supply, training, personnel, inoculations, and anything else that would affect their ability to take the field. Normally a two-day process, the support command compressed it into one. The brigade commanders attended the briefing only while their battalion commanders made their presentations, so only Daly sat through the entire session. When Trobaugh returned and inquired as to the division's readiness, Daly could reply with precision that its overall operational readiness rate was at 94 percent. The 82d was ready to go.[42]




**Major Cleary**

In all the hustle, one critical portion of the plan remained incomplete: No one could yet determine whether the Point Salines airfield was capable of supporting the effort that Atlantic Command envisioned. As a matter of course, the 82d Airborne Division's logistical section maintained files on all airfields in potential areas of operation, but the runway at Point Salines was still under construction. The information on it was out of date. In addition, cloud cover had obscured the site over the preceding days, prompting all concerned to assume that no further information was available. In fact, Colonel Akers had recently acquired new imagery that showed the asphalt runway in precise detail, but the heavy security that continued to surround the coming assault prevented Colonel Crabtree's logisticians from obtaining copies of the latest aerial photographs, apparently because they lacked the requisite security clearances. The same thing happened to the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III. When he attempted to secure an aerial photograph of the airstrip on 24 October in hopes of doing some last-minute planning, Major Cleary got nothing because he lacked the necessary security clearance. As a result, the logisticians supplying the operation had no way to plot locations for supply dumps and administrative headquarters on and near

[42] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

the airhead. If the distribution points for fuel, ammunition, and other classes of supply were located in the wrong places, they could sorely impede landings, takeoffs, and other airport operations.[43]

## Engineers, 22–24 October

The confusion about imagery did not affect the commanders. When Generals Mackmull and Trobaugh wanted an assessment of the airfield at Point Salines, they turned to their engineers. The engineers had begun work on the operation at 1500 on Saturday, 22 October, when the corps intelligence officer contacted the corps engineer topographic officer to request assistance in requisitioning maps of Grenada. A call to the Defense Mapping Agency revealed that it had sent all available copies to "another Fort Bragg agency," which turned out to be the headquarters of the Joint Special Operations Command. Meanwhile, the corps engineer, Col. Daniel R. Schroeder, in his role as the 20th Engineer Brigade commander, had initiated a call-up of selected members of the 63d Engineer Company. By 0030, on 23 October, the company had copies of the Joint Special Operations Command map, an Esso road map of the island, and had begun work on the first of a series of Grenada maps. Throughout the operation, the mapmakers at XVIII Airborne Corps made do with the available information and then improved the maps as they obtained more data. By Monday afternoon, 24 October, they had produced enough maps to sustain the two ranger battalions in the initial assault force.[44]

Colonel Schroeder had attended General Mackmull's Saturday night meeting for XVIII Airborne Corps staff principals. The corps commander was particularly concerned about the engineering implications of the operation. The only ways to move a large body of troops into Grenada were either by ship or by aircraft. Consequently, he wanted to know in as much detail as possible the special characteristics of the island's airfields and of the port of St. George's. What, in particular, were their capacities? He also wanted to know about special environmental considerations. Was fresh water available in sufficient quantities to sustain a brigade or more of troops? Furthermore, what was the climate like? He also indicated that Schroeder needed to look at the task organization in conjunction with the corps operations officer to ensure that the combined arms team going into Grenada contained the proper mix of engineers to support it.[45]

Colonel Schroeder assigned the task of planning engineer support operations for the XVIII Airborne Corps to the assistant corps engineer, Lt. Col. Andrew M.

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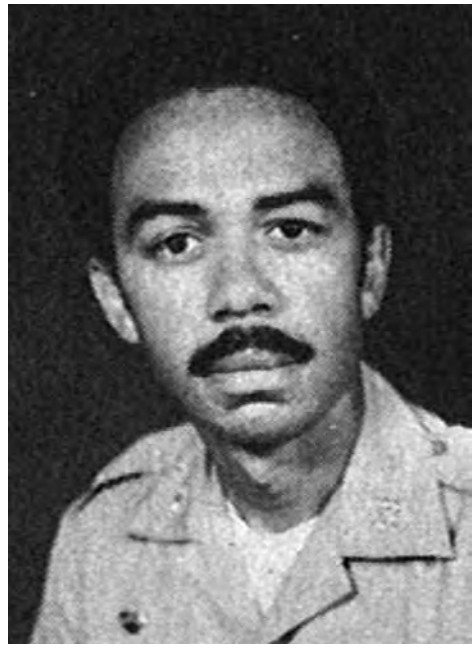
[43] Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, author with Cleary, 15 Jul 1986, with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, with C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989, plus McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also, in same file, Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, which discusses Crabtree's briefing of the S–4s immediately after the division commander's meeting on Sunday.

[44] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. G, pp. I-G-2 to I-G-5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Andrew M. Perkins Jr., "Operation Urgent Fury," pp. 86–90; Interv (quoted words), author with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[45] Interv, author with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Schroeder as a brigadier general**



**Colonel Perkins**

Perkins Jr. Colonel Perkins tailored an engineer support package to supplement the engineers organic to the division, adding skills from the 20th Engineer Brigade not available among the divisional engineers, such as electricians who could repair any battle damage to the Grenadian power grid. At the same time, 283d Engineer Detachment terrain analysts, using the latest aerial photographs, began to collect detailed and specific information about the port and the airfield.[46]

The 82d's engineers first became involved on Sunday evening, 23 October. Colonel Akers telephoned the assistant division engineer, Maj. Donald M. Tomasik, and told him to come to the headquarters immediately with his boss, Lt. Col. Lawrence L. Izzo, who also commanded the division's 307th Engineer Battalion. The two men arrived there at around 2000 and found that the 2d Brigade planners were already hard at work. Akers briefly outlined the operation and then asked for both an assessment of the Point Salines airstrip on the basis of recent aerial photographs and a plan for an airfield construction package to keep the airfield operating.[47]

From the photos, the field appeared to be in good condition. Normally, the airstrip at a major international airport would receive five layers of asphalt during construction. Colonel Izzo and Major Tomasik could tell that some of

[46] Ibid.; Intervs, author with A. Perkins, 9 and 23 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[47] Intervs, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, and with Tomasik, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Point Salines airstrip and control tower**



the layers did not extend down the length of the runway, so obviously construction on the strip was incomplete. They could not determine how many layers the construction workers had applied or where the bearing surface was weakest. As a result, they could not answer two key questions: Was there enough asphalt on the runway to support a fully loaded C–141, and was the difference in height between the layers so abrupt that it might cause aircraft landing or taking off to blow their tires? To deal with the possibility that the surface would need further work before C–141s could land, the two officers planned for a small airfield construction element, less than a platoon in size, to stand by at Fort Bragg. It would deploy only if needed.[48]

## Division Artillery, 22–25 October

When division headquarters summoned a planning group on Saturday, 22 October, it included one artilleryman—the commander of the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, Lt. Col. Duane E. Williams. His unit usually supported the 2d Brigade. As long as planners could assume the availability of almost unlimited numbers of aircraft to deliver the division to its objective, the 2d Brigade Task Force would take all its artillery and mortars with it. On Sunday, however, as the number of airframes that Military Airlift Command could furnish began to decline, the planners had to confront the issue of whether the task force should take mortars or artillery tubes. The steepness of the terrain suggested mortars, but greater range and accuracy argued for the tubes. The commanders of the 2d and 3d Battalions, 325th Infantry, Lt. Cols. Jack L. Hamilton and John W. Raines, concluded that, on balance, the artillery would be more useful for the task force. The decision, of course, rested with their brigade commander, Colonel Silvasy, who chose to cut the infantry's 4.2-inch mortars completely from the flow and directed that each infantry company take only two of its three 81-mm. mortars. Additional fire support would rest with two 105-mm. batteries, Batteries B and C, 320th Field Artillery, which normally supported the 2d and 3d Battalions, 325th Infantry.[49]

On Sunday, 23 October, Colonel Williams suggested strongly that the division artillery commander, Col. Fred N. Halley, and the assistant division fire support coordinator, Lt. Col. John J. Ryneska, needed to join the planning team. Headquarters demurred, citing the need to restrict the number of planners to preserve operational security. It did, however, allow Williams to bring in one additional artilleryman on Sunday evening, his battalion S–3, Maj. Paul V. Passaro.[50]

Based on the intelligence and the number of aircraft available, Colonel Williams and Major Passaro concluded that they could not bring in a full

[48] Intervs, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, and with Tomasik, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[49] Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, p. VII-9, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH. See also Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983]; Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983; McMichael with Steele, Glass, Stewart, and Henson, 5 Apr 1984; and Bishop with Baine, 10 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[50] Interv, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Artillerymen prepare projectiles for their howitzers.**

complement of howitzers, vehicles, and communications equipment. Williams emphatically objected to bringing in fragments of batteries, each consisting of only three howitzers out of a normal complement of six. One of the things that all the planners agreed on was that the division had to have as early as possible enough indirect firepower available to support operations beyond the airhead. To solve the problem, the two officers decided to use fire direction vehicles to tow the tubes. Williams believed that communications would be "absolutely essential" and intended to bring every communications specialist he could lay his hands on. By using his fire direction vehicles to pull his tubes, he would ensure complete batteries and the communications necessary to allow firing with full effect. Every constrained loading plan involves some trade-offs. Williams and Passaro decided to leave some target acquisition equipment behind, realizing that accuracy might become a problem in difficult terrain.[51]

The arrangement meant that the howitzers would be less mobile than normal on the ground but that they could accompany the infantry as it attacked toward St. George's. Initially, they would come under the direct control of Colonels Hamilton and Raines, but once the troops reached the vicinity of the Grenadian capital, Williams planned to reestablish battalion control.[52]

One of the real problems that Williams and Passaro faced during the planning phase was the need to determine the various kinds and amounts of

[51] Ibid. (quoted words); Scott R. McMichael, "Urgent Fury," p. 10.

[52] Interv, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

ammunition the operation would require. By late Sunday they had decided that the division would probably operate in a peacekeeping role. Consulting artillery after action reports from the 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic, they concluded that the artillery needed fewer high-explosive and special munitions, such as antitank shells, and more illumination rounds. Williams decided that a 60 to 40 ratio of high-explosive to illumination rounds would do the job. Soldiers at the Fort Bragg Ammunition Supply Point had already packed pallets with various combinations of shells for a variety of contingency operations. Over the next two days Passaro began the laborious task of identifying the individual pallets that most closely approximated the division's needs.[53]

## Division Aviation, 22–24 October

The 82d Aviation Battalion's S–4, Capt. Jimmie M. Rabon, was not among those deemed to have a need to know about preparations for the operation. On Saturday, 22 October, however, he received a telephone call to go to the battalion headquarters. Once there, he dealt with a variety of questions about the amounts of supplies needed to support the battalion under various circumstances—"If we took this many people to war and we had this many airplanes, what would we need?" Captain Rabon answered what he considered hypothetical queries with precise figures on the number of short tons of food, gas, ammunition, and repair parts required and then departed. Weekend exercises of this sort were all part of life at Fort Bragg, one aspect of the 82d's intense efforts to maintain a high state of readiness.[54]

Rabon's battalion commander was Lt. Col. Robert N. Seigle, who doubled as the division aviation officer. Colonel Seigle first learned something definite about the operation on Sunday morning. Around 0930, on 23 October, he received a call from Colonel Akers asking him to come to Akers' house in an hour in civilian clothes. Seigle immediately assumed that the division was going to Beirut, a misconception Akers speedily punctured when he arrived. The aviator acknowledged that he needed some orientation because he did not know Grenada's exact location. Akers sent Seigle to do his planning at corps headquarters, which had the only available map of the region. At this point, division headquarters expected that the aviators would fly from Fort Bragg to Grenada, using only their UH–60 Black Hawks.[55]

Seigle contacted his two Black Hawk company commanders, Maj. William J. Elder Jr. of Company B, who had attended the Saturday planning session, and Maj. Elton S. Sledge Jr. of Company A, and the three went to corps headquarters together. Joined at some point by the battalion S–3, Maj. Lonnie E. Weck, and the S–4, Captain Rabon, the group calculated that flying to Grenada by helicopter would take two days, sixteen to eighteen hours of actual flight time, with all that this implied in terms of wear and tear on men and machines.

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[53] Ibid.; Lawrence M. Greenberg, *United States Army Unilateral and Coalition Operations in the 1965 Dominican Republic Intervention*, pp. 31–55; Lawrence A. Yates, *Power Pack*, pp. 73–143; Bruce Palmer Jr., *Intervention in the Caribbean*, pp. 30–68.

[54] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[55] Interv, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

They mapped out a route and passed it on to corps, which would have to pre-position fuel along the way. They planned to fly to an isolated field in the Florida Everglades and then island hop across the Bahamas, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and ultimately to either Barbados or Grenada.[56]

They also developed a task force organization built on Major Elder's Company B. Elder would take fifteen Black Hawks with him, a full complement. Nine would come from his own unit and six with their crews from Company A to replace those from his company that were undergoing repairs. Support elements would fly on C–141s directly from Pope Air Force Base to Grenada after Task Force B arrived. That evening the officers briefed General Trobaugh, who approved their work but told them to put everything on hold. They were to come to work on Monday just as if it were a normal duty day unless he told them differently.[57]

On Monday, 24 October, Colonel Seigle reiterated to division staff members that if General Trobaugh wanted to have aviation support early in the operation, the division would have to predeploy aircraft and crews to an intermediate staging base. This observation produced agreement but no orders to begin deploying Task Force B. The division counted on the availability of the aviation element supporting General Scholtes' operations, Task Force 160, until its own aviators arrived. During the afternoon Seigle attended a 2d Brigade planning meeting, where he noted that the division had allowed Colonel Silvasy to include a few more planners and had provided more specific guidance than had heretofore been available. This, plus the continuing silence of division headquarters on the aviation task force, caused Seigle to conclude that the probability of his battalion's participation was declining as time passed. The aviators were aware of an undercurrent of excitement and tension in the division, but during most of the day they heard nothing more about Grenada.[58]

That night, division headquarters directed Seigle and his planning cell to continue their work in the division's emergency operations center until 2200 and then to depart for home. At this time the colonel learned that if Task Force B accompanied the division, it would go in Air Force aircraft. The aviators modified their previous plan in that light. They would break down their helicopters, load them aboard five C–5A aircraft (the largest transports in the Air Force's inventory), fly to Barbados (the Air Force did not want to risk C–5As at Salines), reassemble their machines, and fly them from Barbados to Grenada. Support elements would fly, as before, directly from Pope Air Force Base to Point Salines aboard C–141s.[59]

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[56] Ibid.; Intervs, GWG with Elder and McWilliams, 14 Dec 1983, and with Weck, [1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Seigle, "Looking Back at Urgent Fury," p. 18.

[57] Intervs, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, and GWG with Elder and McWilliams, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[58] Intervs, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, and author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[59] Interv, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## Communications, 22–24 October

Atlantic Command's communications planning for Urgent Fury was conspicuous mainly by its absence. No Signal Corps officers had accompanied the division planning team to Norfolk on 22 October, and Atlantic Command did not call a meeting of communications planners prior to the beginning of the operation. As a result, Admiral McDonald's staff did not disseminate communications-electronics operating instructions to the participating forces, and hence no assignment of frequencies, call signs, code words, and so forth. This was a serious oversight. The commander of the 82d Signal Battalion, Lt. Col. Frank G. Stump III, who was also the division signal officer, observed that "a 30-minute conference prior to the assault would have eliminated almost all the coordination problems."[60]

Although Atlantic Command chose not to implement the existing plan for Caribbean operations, Concept Plan 2360, it could have executed the plan's communications-electronics annex with minor changes. The annex encompassed physical compatibility (high-frequency versus very high-frequency versus ultra-high-frequency radios) and procedural capability (frequencies, call signs, and secure algorithms). The command never stated its rationale for rejecting this option, but the difficulty of physically distributing compatible communications-electronics operating instructions to Joint Task Force 120 in the available time may have driven the decision. Once disseminated, each radio required manual (as opposed to electronic) adjustment, a further time-consuming process. As an alternative, Atlantic Command could have implemented a preexisting communications plan designed to support the activation of the joint task force, but because the organization had never been intended for Caribbean operations, most of its subordinate elements either did not have copies of the communications plan or lacked the procedural information necessary to enter the net. Atlantic Command therefore rejected both options and chose to go with no plan, an alternative that only made sense if it anticipated no organized opposition to the intervention.[61]

In his initial operations order, Admiral McDonald specified six communications nets for the conduct of the operation. The command relied on its Command Net Alpha, a single-channel tactical satellite net, for joint communications involving the ground forces. It was to handle all traffic—operations, intelligence, logistics, and administration—and included Admiral Metcalf's Joint Task Force 120, General Scholtes' Joint Task Force 123, General Trobaugh's Task Force 121, and several other headquarters. In the scramble to get the operation under way, however, Metcalf failed to designate a control station to direct the net. As a consequence, all users had to compete for access to a communications satellite that linked the system's users but was designed, absent instructions from a net

[60] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 3-15, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[61] Ibid., pp. 1–2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], pp. 4, 7–8, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Rpt, [DCSOPS, DA], 1985, sub: Lessons Learned Grenada: U.S. Army Lessons Learned from Operation Urgent Fury, p. IV-e-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/DCSOPS), CMH; Draft AAR, [Opn Urgent Fury], JCS, [1984], sec. 12, pp. 1–7, Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH; MFR, Gibson, 5 Mar 1984, sub: Grenada Lessons Learned 28 Feb 1984 Visit to Fort Bragg, N.C., Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

control station, to give priority to the transmitter with the highest power. Because Army radios were much lower in power than their Air Force and Navy counterparts, Army communicators in many instances lacked access to the net.[62]

Army communications planning began when the 2d Brigade signal officer, Maj. Timothy L. Hull, attended the division's planning meeting on Saturday, 22 October. Major Hull immediately asked one of Colonel Akers' assistants, Major Smith, to include in the planning both Colonel Stump and the assistant division signal officer, Maj. John C. Woloski. Smith told Hull that security restrictions made them unavailable at the moment but that they would join at the earliest opportunity. Until then, Hull had to do the division-level as well as the brigade-level communications planning.[63]

His basic premise was that the task force would use the standard division communications frequency modulated nets. He requested that the 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry (the battalion going into Pearls in the initial plans), brigade command post, and division assault command post each take a tactical satellite radio. The 82d Airborne Division tactical command net was, like Atlantic Command's strategic communications net, single-channel, secure, and based on a satellite. General Trobaugh could use his satellite radio to communicate with Fort Bragg, while Colonel Silvasy at Salines and Colonel Raines at Pearls would need theirs if they were to communicate directly once the operation began. The 2d Brigade was still equipped with obsolescent Nestor secure communications gear and was not scheduled to receive more modern Vinson equipment until after it rotated out of Division Ready Brigade-1 status. The new equipment, when attached to radios, would automatically encode and decode digital voice transmissions, provided the user manually inserted the correct key code. As long as the operation involved only the 2d Brigade with its usual attachments, Hull foresaw no difficulty in using the older system.[64]

Hull's reservations about accepting Vinson devices reflected both a natural hesitancy about distributing equipment on which there had been no time to train and the degree of difficulty involved in setting the correct key codes in the Vinson. The procedure involved aligning a cryptological device over the Vinson equipment. It was essentially a black box, divided into two separate compartments. One compartment was empty, while the other contained numerous small spring-loaded rods set to various depths. When in position, the compartment containing the rods slid down into the empty compartment,

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[62] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], pp. 2, 7–8, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; ibid., 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 1–2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Rpt, [DCSOPS, DA], 1985, sub: Lessons Learned Grenada . . . , Hist files (PDocs/DA/DCSOPS), CMH; Draft AAR, [Opn URGENT FURY], JCS, [1984], sec. 12, pp. 1–7, Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH. See also Msg, LANTCOM to JCS et al., 24 0007Z Oct 1983; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, LANTCOM, 6 Feb 1984, encl. III, pp. IV-5 and IV-10. Both in Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH.

[63] Interv, Parker with Hull, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[64] Ibid.; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], pp. 7–8, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; FM 7–92, The Infantry Reconnaissance Platoon and Squad (Airborne, Air Assault, Light Infantry), Dec 1992, pp. E-19 to E-20; RCmts, Reardon, June 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.



**Communications equipment in use during URGENT FURY**



which allowed the rods to penetrate the Vinson device to prearranged depths and, in the process, move the Vinson keys, which were then locked into place. The radio was thus "keyed" to encode and decode transmissions only from radios similarly aligned. Because the entire system was mechanical rather than electronic, keying radios outfitted with Vinson equipment was a painstaking and time-consuming process requiring considerable precision.[65]

Major Hull's avoidance of the device proved short-lived. Colonel Stump and Major Woloski attended the division staff's briefing for General Trobaugh on the evening of 23 October following his return from Norfolk. The general's decision to plan for a two-brigade operation immediately called into question the assumption that Nestor would suffice. Ease of communicating with the 3d Brigade, already outfitted with Vinson equipment, dictated that the 2d Brigade immediately convert to the new devices. Hull recommended the change to Colonel Stump who approved it, but neither officer addressed the larger issue of communications compatibility with the other units participating in the operation. The assistant chief of staff for force modernization could have told them that the naval units involved in the operation did not have radios compatible with frequency modulated (FM) radios equipped with Vinson devices, but the division staff section dealing with force modernization had been excluded from the planning. Instead, early the next day, the communications-electronics officers of the 2d and 3d Battalions, 325th Infantry, and the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, began a crash conversion program that consisted of issuing equipment and training operators. Also excluded from the planning, they knew that something was afoot but not exactly what.[66]

The decision to shift to Vinson equipment was but one of two major communications issues that confronted Colonel Stump when he first learned of the plan on Sunday, 23 October. Stump and his staff normally configured the communications element that supported the division assault command post in the expectation that the XVIII Airborne Corps command post would also deploy and provide the sophisticated and powerful radios that the division lacked. In the initial planning Stump anticipated, at least implicitly, that the corps would be present, and thus he designed the division's communications resources accordingly; however, on Sunday evening the division learned that Atlantic Command had removed the corps from the chain of command. It was clear that the corps' radios would not be going to Grenada.

While the implications of this change on the ability to communicate were evident to Colonel Stump, they were not to the rest of the staff. Stump had two radio teletypes available to deploy with the assault command post. Both were mounted in Gamma Goats, 1 1/4-ton, 6 by 6, three-axle articulated trucks that the Army used to haul light loads of moderate bulk. With their trailers, which were required to carry the generators, they would occupy an inordinate amount of airframe space in the small number of available C–141s. Stump realized that

[65] Interv, author with Reardon, 9 Nov 2004, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[66] Intervs, Parker with Stump, [Nov 1983], with Woloski, [Nov 1983], and with Hull, [Nov 1983], plus author with House, May 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also RCmts, Reardon, Jun 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.



**Gamma Goat, with generator**

this equipment was necessary for the command post to receive and transmit hard-copy messages, but the other staff officers deemed this equipment as too bulky. He also suggested that the division move a multichannel radio with a big switchboard onto the island early in the operation, but the staff was unreceptive. Stump finally concluded that there were too many imponderables to warrant his pressing these equipment issues any further. He did not know whether the division would mount a one- or a two-brigade operation, whether the division would airland or airdrop (in which case a radio teletype would definitely be in the way), or what communications equipment other participating units might have. He thus decided to use Major Hull's plan and send a radio teletype to Grenada only if circumstances appeared to warrant its inclusion after troops were on the ground. Unfortunately, the limited number of available aircraft also dictated that Task Force 121 deploy without the equipment it needed to enter Atlantic Command's backup net, a system of high-frequency radios using yet a third kind of security device. In the meantime, Woloski had contacted Atlantic Command and made arrangements to reserve certain FM frequencies for the exclusive use of Task Force 121, which would ensure that the division could communicate internally without interfering with the transmissions of the other participants.[67]

## Medical, 22–24 October

XVIII Airborne Corps surgeon Col. James H. Rumbaugh had attended a preliminary briefing for the corps staff in the corps emergency operations

[67] Intervs, Parker with Stump, [Nov 1983], with Woloski, [Nov 1983], and with Hull, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 3-14, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Ltr, Trobaugh to Vuono, n.d., sub: Feedback on the CAC Preliminary Draft, Grenada—Operational LL, Hist files (PDocs/DA/GWG), CMH.

center on Saturday night, 22 October. Like the others, he was enjoined neither to tell anyone about the operation nor to call anyone to obtain more information. Colonel Rumbaugh's initial reaction was to regard the situation as just one more exercise, simply a little more realistic than usual. He was convinced that the corps G–2, Colonel De War, had outdone himself in preparing briefing slides that looked like the real thing. He learned the next day that the potential objective was Grenada. Only late in the day, with the marines en route, did the fact that this was an actual operation begin to sink in. With that realization, Rumbaugh began making mental lists of the things that he would have to do when he met with his staff. He also contacted the corps' 44th Medical Brigade commander, Col. Jack R. Wilson II, and Colonel Wilson of the division's 307th Medical Battalion, ascertaining that they "knew something was up." Without violating his instructions and discussing the "something" in detail, Rumbaugh assured himself that the two Wilsons were also doing useful ruminating that they would share with their staffs at the appropriate time.[68]

Around 1500, on 24 October, the 82d's surgeon, Lt. Col. Barry S. Sidenberg, learned that the division was preparing to launch a real operation. More details were forthcoming an hour later during a briefing by Colonel Daly. Most of the key officers in the 82d Support Command also attended, including Colonel Wilson of the 307th, the only other medical person present. Daly said that the White House would decide whether to launch the operation at 1700 local time. The limitations under which Colonel Sidenberg operated were exactly the same as those outlined to Colonel Rumbaugh. He was to think about the operation but not talk about it or to involve anyone else. Sidenberg's immediate concern was the immunization status of the brigade and whether the troops might need shots to protect against plague and yellow fever. Given the injunction about discussions, he did not raise this or any other issues with Colonel Wilson as the meeting broke up. Consequently, the formal planning phase ended in the corps and the division with a few senior medical officers aware of the operation but restricted to contemplating the situation. In effect, neither the XVIII Airborne Corps nor the 82d Airborne Division engaged in any medical planning prior to the final decision to go or not go.[69]

## Service Support Annex

Operations Order 15–83, written by one of Colonel Akers' assistants, Major Smith, on 24 October, was the final product of the division's planning effort.[70] In line with standard practice, it contained a service support annex prepared by the G–4 section. The annex reflected the support concept developed by Colonel Daly and his officers, as well as the contributions by Colonel Crabtree and his assistants. It covered the topics expected in such a document: command arrangements for logistical support, the kind and amount of supplies that would accompany the brigade task force, a system of requesting resupply

[68] Intervs, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov 1987 (quoted words), and with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[69] Interv, Wade with Sidenberg, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[70] Unless otherwise noted, this section is based on Opn Order 15–83, 82d Abn Div, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

from the continental United States, and a detailed treatment of the various categories of logistical support—*classes of supply* in official parlance.[71]

The service support annex to the operations order stipulated that either the division logistician or his representative in the division assault command post would monitor and coordinate logistical support for the force. Within the guidance the annex provided, the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Major Cleary, would conduct actual logistical operations in the objective area. He would deploy with the first flight of aircraft and take with him an initial complement of sixty people. Standard practice in the 82d assigned the responsibility to organize and direct the resupply efforts centered at Fort Bragg to the division support commander. This function was so well understood that the order only alluded to it in passing.

The 2d Brigade would deploy with enough supplies to sustain itself until resupply flights began. The planners allocated the brigade three days' supply of rations with one day's supply carried by individual soldiers and two days' packed as ballast aboard the unit's vehicles: 2,500 two-quart canteens, 200 five-quart canteens, and fifteen days' supply of munitions, including small-arms ammunition, grenades, and mortar rounds.

Once the brigade had deployed, the 82d Support Command at Fort Bragg would seek to maintain a three-day supply level within the troop units and build up an additional two-day reserve on the island. The 182d Materiel Management Center at Fort Bragg would identify preplanned resupply packages, some originating from the Anniston Army Depot for shipment to the area of operations. Initially, Colonel Daly's staff would estimate the supply needs of the units on the ground and dispatch resupply at fixed intervals, a procedure known as *push logistics*. Once those units could identify their needs themselves, they would send supply requisitions through the brigade logistician to Forward Area Support Team II, which would transmit them to the division support command via either tactical satellite radio or messengers on aircraft returning to Pope Air Force Base, a process known as *demand* or *pull logistics*. Given the short lines of communications back to the United States, the order stipulated that the brigade task force would use Fort Bragg for direct logistical support whenever possible. The division transportation officer, Maj. Frederick C. Perkins, would try to obtain daily flights by two dedicated logistical resupply aircraft between Pope Air Force Base and Salines and Pearls airfields.

Medical support received only perfunctory treatment in the service support annex, which simply restated the medical portion of the Atlantic Command operations order without further elaboration. The division order, however, went considerably beyond that of Atlantic Command in several other logistical areas, including water, ammunition, fuel, ground transportation, maintenance, support services, and aerial resupply.

Trobaugh's headquarters recognized that water could be a problem. As a remedy, the service support annex required each member of the brigade task force to carry five days' supply of halazone tablets that could be used

[71] Interv, Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

to purify local ground water. At the same time, each vehicle accompanying the force would carry a minimum of two five-gallon water cans. In addition to these measures, designed to provide sufficient drinkable water in the first hours after the force landed, the 307th Engineer Battalion would attach two water purification teams to Forward Area Support Team II. Each equipped with an erdlator capable of purifying 420 gallons of freshwater per hour, these teams would travel aboard follow-on aircraft rather than with the initial assault force. Finally, if the task force still required additional water after the erdlators arrived, 1st Support Command would provide a team equipped with one 600-gallon-per-hour reverse-osmosis purification unit capable of making brackish water and even seawater potable.[72]

Class III supplies—petroleum, oil, and lubricants—received even more attention than water. Units in Task Force 121 would deploy with normal supplies of petroleum, oil, and lubricants. Military Airlift Command would provide resupply by two different methods: C–130 bladder birds would each deliver jet fuel, JP–4, for the turbine engines of the division's helicopters, and other C–130s would deliver additional JP–4 along with gasoline and diesel fuel for ground vehicles in 500-gallon blivots. (One C–130 could carry five such blivots.) Forward Area Support Team II would receive, store, and issue all petroleum products arriving in the area by deploying two 10,000-gallon fuel bags for JP–4 and two 2 1/2-ton trucks, each equipped with a 500-gallon bladder, one for gasoline and the other for diesel fuel. The annex estimated that daily bulk petroleum, oil, and lubricant requirements would run at 20,000 gallons of JP–4, 1,000 gallons of gasoline, and 1,000 gallons of diesel fuel.

Ammunition requirements reflected the 2d Brigade Task Force configuration that Colonel Silvasy and his staff had developed. The lack of heavy armor or aviation on the island, the low probability of intervention by the Cuban Air Force, the dense population, and the desire to minimize collateral damage led the 2d Brigade to leave its 4.2-inch mortars and all antitank and antipersonnel mines, except for claymores and TOW (tube-launched optically tracked wire-guided) missiles at Bragg and to limit each of its battalions to six Stinger portable antiaircraft missiles. The brigade also issued 1,728 rounds of 40-mm. high-explosive dual-purpose rounds for use in the M203 grenade launcher; 28,800 rounds of 7.62-mm. linked ammunition with every fifth round a tracer; and five cases of M202 rocket launchers. Each launcher was armed with a four-round 66-mm. rocket clip. Because the 66-mm. warheads employed white phosphorous, they also functioned as incendiary devices. The munitions in this special issue encompassed the kinds of ammunition that would be useful in infantry close combat, the only kind of defense the Grenadians could wage. To prevent accidents en route to the island, division headquarters directed the division support command not to issue grenades to the troops at the ammunition supply point. Companies would carry cases of grenades with them.[73]

[72] Intervs, author with Anderson, 9 May 1986, and with Stewart, 4 Dec 2008, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[73] Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; RCmts, Reardon, Jun 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

The divisional concept for ground transportation provided that the 2d Brigade S–4, Maj. James F. Whittaker, and the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Major Cleary, would establish supply routes and traffic control procedures pending the arrival of a control element from division headquarters. Intelligence about the Grenadian road system was good but not perfect. The annex noted correctly that the island contained 600 kilometers of asphalt highway and 300 kilometers of improved roadway that was either gravel-surfaced or simply graded. The main highway, GS–1, that circled the island contained five bridges that exceeded 30 meters in length. The highway that ran the 20 kilometers between Pearls and St. George's, GS–2, had three bridges longer than 30 meters, steep gradients, and many hairpin curves. The road net linking Point Salines to the rest of the island was even more difficult. Passing along information obtained from the intelligence section, the logisticians reported that a single unpaved road ran from the airfield to GS–1.

All the highways were narrow, averaging 4.6 to 6.0 meters in width, and needed repair. The division G–4, Colonel Crabtree, nonetheless estimated that the roads could move at least 6,000 metric tons a day. To carry this volume of supplies, he proposed to augment the task force's ground vehicles by commandeering some of the 980 trucks of various sizes and 26 new buses already on the island. Without those assets, the division could advance only at the rate at which its troops could march, and the resupply of units located any distance from the airfield would become far more complicated.

The division's maintenance plan resembled the division's austere ground transportation plan. Trobaugh wanted the units in the task force to conduct preventive maintenance checks and to service their vehicles prior to deployment so as to minimize mechanical failures in the area of operations. Maintenance there would be restricted to what was mission-essential. The task force would return equipment requiring extensive repairs either to Fort Bragg or to other designated locations. For equipment that Task Force 121 could retain and repair in country, the service support annex established maintenance priorities in the following order: mission-essential weapon systems that could be returned to combat readiness in the shortest possible time; communications equipment; materiel-handling equipment; petroleum, oil, and lubricant-handling and -dispersing systems; and trucks, including Gamma Goats.[74]

Forward Area Support Team II was to make maximum use of its maintenance personnel by organizing them into contact teams that would go forward and repair equipment in unit areas. Organizations on the island would cannibalize equipment that maintenance personnel could not quickly return to service. Mechanics would remove serviceable parts, components, and assemblies from equipment needing major repairs to immediately restore similar equipment to a combat-ready condition. As the forward area support coordinator, Major Cleary would have to approve cannibalization in advance.

[74] TM 9–2320–242–35–P, Sep 1970, Direct Support, General Support, and Depot Maintenance Repair Parts and Special Tools List for Truck, Cargo, . . . [and] Truck, Ambulance . . . , MDC files, CMH.

Colonel Crabtree warned that conditions peculiar to contingency operations could have a major impact on the kind and amount of services that Forward Area Support Team II could provide early in the operation. Initially, the support team would be unable to provide bath, laundry, or clothing exchange services. Only after the follow-on aircraft arrived would it be able to issue two sets of jungle fatigues to each member of the task force. In the interim, the troops would have to depend on their A-bags for changes of underwear, socks, razors, and various other sundries. After the entire team deployed and received additional 1st Support Command specialists, it would establish and stock a limited central issue facility that would distribute, exchange, inspect, repair, and dispose of the troops' clothing and equipment. Even so, Fort Bragg would still do major repairs.

Colonel Crabtree recognized the importance of graves registration in a situation that might involve combat. His annex dealt with the subject in a separate subsection of the support services section. Units became responsible for the recovery and transport of human remains to a central collection point that Forward Area Support Team II would establish near the brigade trains. 1st Support Command would provide one officer to assist the team, until it could assume responsibility. At the time, U.S. Army graves registration doctrine required that Army units care for their own dead but not for those of the enemy. Like the doctrine, the order did not address the question of what to do with decomposing enemy bodies within American lines.[75]

The service support annex outlined the various logistical functions and services that would support the tactical fight on the island, but something was lacking. Under normal circumstances, many of those functions would have been performed concurrently with corps elements. Because Admiral McDonald had removed the corps from the chain of command, the division could no longer count on corps units arriving without being summoned. This had become the responsibility of General Trobaugh in his new role as Army Forces commander. The annex did not address the responsibilities imposed by this role. In their haste to meet a short suspense, the 82d's logisticians had brought forth a document well conceived to satisfy the needs of a force operating under the direction of a corps headquarters but not one where the corps headquarters was absent from the chain of command.

## Corps Support Command, 23–25 October

Whatever the case, corps-level units would be necessary if Atlantic Command conducted the operation. The key logistical unit in any contingency involving the corps and its components was the 1st Support Command, which became tangentially involved in planning for Urgent Fury on 23 October. The removal of XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command left this critical headquarters on the periphery of events. The commander of the 1st Support Command, Col. William J. Richardson Jr., and a team of officers that

[75] Interv, author with C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

included his newly arrived deputy, Col. Robert C. Barrett Jr., spent the weekend of 22–23 October in New Orleans, Louisiana, working on contingency and operational plans with the 377th Support Command, an Army Reserve unit. Returning by air late on Sunday, 23 October, Colonel Richardson found a note from the corps chief of staff waiting for him. While the other officers went home, he reported to the corps emergency operations center, where he received a briefing on the Grenada planning. General Mackmull told him to prepare a plan to support the division.[76]

Later that evening Colonel Richardson discussed the operation with his chief of staff, Lt. Col. Rudolph Baker, and his deputy, Colonel Barrett. Given the security restrictions, Richardson could not justify bringing any more of his staff into the planning at this juncture. As it was, he and his two subordinates had only a sketchy understanding of the operation. Lacking maps and having only a tentative grasp of the island's size and the complexities of its terrain, they assumed that Grenada was somewhat larger than it later proved to be. Knowing little, moreover, about the composition of the forces involved, they also made erroneous planning assumptions that would affect the performance of the 1st Support Command throughout the operation. In particular, they thought that Urgent Fury would require a two-division force—the 82d and 101st Airborne Divisions reinforced by marines—and that XVIII Airborne Corps would command the entire force.[77]

The three officers worked through the night on preliminaries. The next morning, 24 October, Richardson decided to bring other key officers into the planning, using the movement of a two-division force to Honduras as a cover story. It was only at 0415 on Tuesday, 25 October, less than an hour before the scheduled airborne assault by ranger units, that he finally revealed the true objective to his staff.[78]

## President Reagan Decides, 24 October

Although President Ronald W. Reagan had signed the National Security Decision Directive for the Grenada intervention on the evening of 23 October, he remained uncommitted to the operation. Shortly after 1200 on 24 October he met with the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ask each member individually to give his personal assessment of the plan. Did he agree with it? Was something more needed? The chairman, General John W. Vessey Jr., and the chiefs of service were unanimous on two points. First, they preferred a negotiated, peaceful evacuation of the students to armed intervention. Second, if the situation required intervention, they were satisfied with the plan and the forces committed to its execution. The meeting broke up with the president reassured about the plan but with his option of whether to execute still open.[79]

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[76] Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Briefing, Barrett, 9 Sep 1986, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[77] Interv, author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing, Barrett, 9 Sep 1986, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[78] Chronology and Briefing, Barrett, 9 Sep 1986, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[79] Ronald H. Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 39.



**General Vessey conducts a briefing for congressional leaders.**

Listening to this exchange, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger became convinced that Reagan had concluded to invade the island barring a last-minute diplomatic breakthrough. That afternoon, the president confirmed that this was his decision and gave the secretary the signed directive. Weinberger immediately returned to the Pentagon. With a military operation looking ever more likely, he delegated to General Vessey, in his capacity as the JCS chairman, full power to conduct the operation acting in the secretary's name. This decision reflected both the president's and the secretary's confidence in Vessey's professional abilities and their affinity for his low-key operating style. With this decision, Vessey gained more control over U.S. military operations than any uniformed officer since the Korean war.[80]

That evening Secretary Weinberger, General Vessey, and the Joint Chiefs went to the White House for a meeting with the president, the other members of the National Security Council, and the House and Senate leadership. At that time, President Reagan asked Secretary of State George P. Shultz to describe the situation on Grenada for the group. General Vessey followed with a briefing on the rescue plan. In the discussion that followed, Speaker of the House Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill and Senate Minority Leader Robert C. Byrd

[80] Ibid., pp. 28–40; Msg, Bish to SecState, 24 1659Z Oct 1983, sub: Grenada—Meeting with Seaga and Adams, 24 Oct, Morning, Msg files, DoS; Msg, LANTCOM to JCS et al., 24 0007Z Oct 1983, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO; Richard Halloran, "A Commanding Voice for the Military," p. 18.

expressed their unhappiness with the idea of military intervention but could offer no alternative. Without another option, the president observed that the intervention seemed like the only recourse and that he would approve it.[81]

As the meeting broke up, Reagan took Vessey aside and asked about the decision timeline. When did he need to decide to launch the operation? What was the latest time at which he could abort? Vessey told him that if he wanted to stage the operation the next day, 25 October, he had to make the decision immediately. Planes, ships, and troops were already deploying to launch positions. Vessey said that the latest time for an abort would be shortly before 0500, Grenada time, when U.S. aircraft would first enter Grenadian airspace. With that information in hand, the president said "Go."[82]

Just at that moment the national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane, walked over and told Reagan that he was activating the White House situation room. The president could come there at any time during the night and receive a briefing on the latest information from Grenada. Reagan turned to Vessey and asked what he intended to do that evening. Vessey responded that first he was going to make a call to the Pentagon to set the operation in motion. Thereafter, unless the president decided to call off the operation, neither of them could do anything further that evening. Vessey said he planned to go home and go to bed so in the morning, once the troops were on the island, he would be fully rested and alert. At that time, he might be able to do something to assist them, and he wanted to be ready. President Reagan replied that he intended to do the same.[83]

## An Intelligence Problem

At the time he issued his order, President Reagan and the other decision-makers and planners in Washington, Norfolk, and Fort Bragg believed that nearly all of the Americans on Grenada were at the True Blue Campus of the St. George's University School of Medicine. This assumption was incorrect because it overlooked the even larger Grand Anse Campus and the sizable collection of students and tourists living near Prickly Point. The misapprehension was due to two factors. The decision to remove the XVIII Airborne Corps from the operation had introduced considerable confusion into intelligence circles just as it did in the operational chain of command. Related to this was a failure by Atlantic Command to double-check the information about the Americans' location.

The removal of the corps also meant that Colonel De War and his G–2 subordinates could not tap into the national intelligence database maintained by the Defense Intelligence Agency because they lacked an official need to know. Evidence of whether General Vessey or Admiral McDonald had notified the agency's leadership that XVIII Airborne Corps was no longer in the chain of command is lacking. Consequently, no one in the agency realized that the

[81] Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

82d Airborne Division might require a packet of all the available intelligence information on Grenada. Complicating matters, division G–2 officers had always focused on the tactical level and never had an opportunity to develop contacts and expertise by working with the Defense Intelligence Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the National Security Agency as had their corps counterparts. Now they were suddenly confronted with having to deal with these national intelligence agencies. They not only had very little time to do so but also lacked such basic knowledge as what questions about Grenada they should submit to which agency. What should have been routine contact with national intelligence agencies thus became for the division G–2 officers a needless drain of energy and thought that could have been better applied to other issues. Indeed, the bureaucratic fog that had developed as a result helped divert everyone from a key question: Were all the Americans at True Blue?[84]

The answer was hardly a state secret. Because U.S. Forces, Caribbean, had the mission of conducting operations in the Caribbean, intelligence officers at Key West had already developed detailed information on the location of American residents on Grenada as a precautionary measure in case their evacuation became necessary at some future date. When Admiral McDonald decided not to use this headquarters to direct URGENT FURY, however, he cut these intelligence assets out. His senior intelligence officer should have requested all information compiled by U.S. Forces, Caribbean, and distributed it to the participating headquarters, but he did not. Located at Norfolk, he was undoubtedly just as confused about the new command arrangements and as oppressed by deadlines as his counterparts at Fort Bragg.[85]

Despite Ambassador Milan D. Bish's prohibition on routine visits to Grenada, his staff at Bridgetown also knew the general location of the students. On 20 October Bish had outlined to the State Department where the students lived, but he did not send an information copy to the National Command Center, so the message never reached military intelligence authorities. A copy did eventually come to rest in the records of the State Department's Grenada Working Group. The military liaison officer from the Pentagon with this group should have passed on the information, but no record exists of when the working group received the message; it may have arrived after the fact or with a mass of other cables. Although Bish devoted considerable space to describing the students' domiciles, his subject line only referred to their attitudes about evacuation. Given the time pressures of the moment, members of the working group could easily have overlooked this buried information.[86]

Intelligence officers also neglected to use two other obvious sources of information about the students. Most of the Americans at the medical school received federally guaranteed student loans. The Department of Education,

[84] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. B, p. I-B-5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; ibid., 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 2-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[85] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[86] Msg, Bish to SecState, 20 0739Z Oct 1983, sub: Grenada—Attitudes of the Grenadian Medical School Toward the Possible Evacuation of Their Students/Staff, Msg files, DoS.

which oversaw the program, had the street addresses of these students, including those who lived off-campus. Because the department was reviewing the school's accreditation, it had prepared a chart that listed all the students by name with their addresses alongside. The school's registrar had even more information, but no intelligence officers went to his office in Bay Shore, Long Island, to collect this material.[87]

Quite by accident at the very last moment, the Defense Intelligence Agency learned of the Grand Anse Campus. At the National Security Agency a secretary casually mentioned to an analyst that she had a brother studying on Grenada and that she had recently visited him at the Grand Anse Campus, where she took photographs. The analyst, who was involved with tracking events on Grenada, immediately recognized the significance of her remarks and arranged for her to meet an official at the Defense Intelligence Agency. She brought along her photos. A flurry of research confirmed the existence of a second campus. At 1800, on 22 October, a Joint Special Operations Command intelligence analyst picked up a package containing the new material and flew with it to Fort Bragg, arriving there late that same evening. At the same time, the Defense Intelligence Agency dispatched similar packages to two other intelligence offices, including Atlantic Command's. The next day an analyst briefed General Vessey on the second location.[88]

What happened next remains unclear. Somehow, what appeared so straightforward to the analysts in Washington became ambiguous to the analysts at Fort Bragg. Information overload, fatigue, tight deadlines, and stress undoubtedly played a role. At Joint Special Operations Command the reigning assumption in the intelligence shop remained that 90 percent of the students were at True Blue. The other 10 percent were clustered somewhere, but no one acknowledged that an actual second campus existed. As a result, no plans were changed, and the information never reached the units preparing to invade the island.[89]

## Cuba and Grenada, 23–25 October

As news of the regional opposition and the dispatch of U.S. naval forces filtered into St. George's, the People's Revolutionary Government attempted to reassure the Reagan administration and other governments about the safety of their nationals. At the same time, it stressed the cost of invasion to any hostile force. The head of state security, Lt. Col. Liam James, announced over Radio Free Grenada that any assault on the island would mean "the loss of several thousand innocent lives." On 23 October the Revolutionary Military Council placed the Grenadian army on alert and called up the reserves. For

[87] Interv, author with Hardman, 31 Jan 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Ltr, Hardman to Modica, 22 Jul 1983, box 90,118, Roger W. Fountaine files (Grenada) 1983 (1), NARA–RRPL.

[88] Interv, Pirnie with Nelson, 9 Dec 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; MFR, author, 28 Oct 2008, sub: DIA Conference on Operation Urgent Fury (Invasion of Grenada), 28 October 2008, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

[89] Interv, Pirnie with Nelson, 9 Dec 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

**Table 1—Strength of Grenadian Forces, 0600, 24 October 1983**

| | *Permanent* | *Reserve* | *Party Comrades* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Command Post | 18 | 2 | - | 20 |
| Logistics | 45 | - | - | 45 |
| Fort Rupert | 28 | 2 | - | 30 |
| Independent Company | 102 | - | - | 102 |
| Motorized Company | 148 | 15 | - | 163 |
| Prison | 39 | - | - | 39 |
| Reserved Company (310) | 28 | 43 | 9 | 80 |
| Calivigny Base | 4 | - | 1 | 5 |
| Region II | 23 | 27 | 19 | 69 |
| Security Platoon | - | 23 | - | 23 |
| Personal Security | 15 | - | 19 | 34 |
| Reserved Company (106) | 1 | 106 | - | 107 |
| Region III | 12 | 39 | 10 | 61 |
| Total | 463 | 257 | 58 | 778 |

*Source:* Jnl, [Grenadian GS], 24 Oct 1983, sub: Strength of the Armed Forces in Terms of Permanent, Reserve, and Party Comrades, CGD Mf 005213, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP. The table reflects the administrative confusion of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces. The units were apparently listed in the order telephoned rather than conforming to any administrative hierarchy. Some elements were omitted with no explanation, such as Region I. Arithmetic errors have been corrected. The parenthetical figure that follows each Reserved Company entry gives the total number of militia members at full mobilization.

deterrence, Radio Free Grenada broadcast bogus accounts of thousands of militia reporting for duty. In truth, only a handful stepped up—257 militia and 58 untrained "party comrades"—to reinforce the 463 men and women of the permanent force *(Table 1)*. Behind the scenes, Grenada scrambled to heal relations with Cuba. The council president, General Hudson Austin, wanted the Cuban engineers at Point Salines placed under Grenadian military control. He also wanted reinforcements from the Cuban army. He got neither.[90]

From Havana, the Revolutionary Military Council's strategic predicament appeared hopeless. Even if Cuba's relationship with the new government had been impeccable, U.S. naval and air superiority made reinforcement a forlorn

[90] William C. Gilmore, *The Grenada Intervention*, pp. 93–94; Edward Cody (first quoted words), "Caribbean Nations Discuss Response to Violence in Grenada," *Washington Post*, 23 Oct 1983; Maurice Bishop, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, p. 319; R. S. Hopkin, *Grenada Topples the Balance in West Indian History*, p. 22; Jnl (second quoted words), [Grenadian GS], 24 Oct 1983, sub: Strength of the Armed Forces in Terms of Permanent, Reserve, and Party Comrades, CGD Mf 005213, Entry 338 (UD), RG 242, NARA–CP. See also Gordon K. Lewis, *Grenada*, pp. 83–84.




**Fidel Castro photograph and training literature found during the intervention.**

hope. The only available alternative was a prolonged war of national resistance in the mountains and jungle. Yet the Coard faction in killing Maurice Bishop and his associates had alienated not only the people, whose support alone made such a strategy possible, but also Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba, who had considered Bishop a friend and protégé. Castro suggested that the new government could investigate and arrest those responsible for the murders and in this way mend the breach between itself and the general population. Such a solution, as Castro well knew, was impossible for Grenada's new leaders because they were the very ones responsible. Cuba could thus do little more than deplore the situation that had placed its considerable investment on the island at such risk. Castro did offer one bit of advice that the Grenadians could and did follow. They should, he said, stay away from the medical school. Any attempt to seize hostages would only make a U.S. intervention inevitable. The Grenadian leadership was shocked by Castro's refusal to act. One anonymous member of the Revolutionary Military Council could only conclude that "the deep personal feeling between Fidel & Maurice . . . has caused the Cuban leadership to take a *personal* and not a *class* approach to the developments in Grenada."[91]

Despite its objections to the Austin clique, the Cuban government agreed to defend the Point Salines area in a limited way. Castro confined

[91] Bishop, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, pp. 313–16, 319–21; Memo (quoted words, with emphasis), 21 Oct 1983, sub: On Cuba's Response to the Issue, IDR no. 00015, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH.

the construction workers to their work sites and directed them to fire only if fired on. Garbled communications between Havana and Point Salines led the Cubans on Grenada to believe that he meant for them to remain in their camp. Further, Castro instructed them not to oppose any attempt by the Americans to evacuate the medical students peacefully. Just in case the Reagan administration decided to invade militarily, he also sent a former head of the Cuban mission on Grenada, Col. Pedro Comas Tortoló, to take command of the workers and organize them for defense. Colonel Tortoló arrived on Grenada on 24 October. He divided the workers into squads led by Cuban advisers, whom he pulled away from their duties with the People's Revolutionary Army. Unfortunately from his point of view, the forty-three members of the Cuban advisory team were mainly technical specialists with only a few infantrymen in the group. Given the Cuban Army's ongoing participation in Africa's civil wars, however, those who were veteran infantrymen were very savvy indeed.[92]

The Grenadians deployed to cover the western end of the new airport's runway only. Castro's restrictions on the Cubans, at least as interpreted locally, meant that the central and eastern portions of the runway remained uncovered by fire. Moreover, Castro's instructions forced the erstwhile Cuban defenders to concentrate in one vulnerable location. They could not disperse to their prepared fighting positions. Under orders from Havana, the Cubans also forbade the Grenadians from entering their zone. All but abandoned, the Grenadians steeled themselves to resist. At 0455, on 25 October 1983, Radio Free Grenada announced that an invasion was imminent.[93]

Overall, President Reagan's insistence on extra security for the operation and General Vessey's acquiescence in it, while understandable given the political climate, were most unfortunate. The decision affected all the services adversely. The situation, in which the four senior medical officers in the XVIII Airborne Corps and the 82d Airborne Division were reduced to contemplating the medical phase of the operation but prohibited from committing anything to paper or even discussing it among themselves, represented an extreme circumstance. Nevertheless, all the planners were affected to some degree. The administration's excessive concern for security had a particularly chilling effect on the exchange of information among units of the different services. Coordination of effort suffered as a result.

The decision to cut the XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command had possibly even more adverse consequences for the Army than the president's preoccupation with security. The decision took place in at least four stages. First, the warning order from the Joint Staff J–3, Army Lt. Gen.

[92] Bishop, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, pp. 323, 329–36; Mark Adkin, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 205–06.

[93] Bishop, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, p. 325; Memo, 21 Oct 1983, sub: On Cuba's Response to the Issue, IDR no. 00015, Hist files (PDocs/CGD), CMH; John Walton Cotman, *The Gorrión Tree*, p. 219; Draft Chronology, n.d., sub: Grenada, 1498–1983, Hist files (Chronologies), CMH. Frederick L. Pryor, *Revolutionary Grenada*, p. 284, notes Austin's abuse of Coard.

Richard L. Prillaman, to Atlantic Command did not activate the component commands. Second, Admiral McDonald had the authority to activate these commands when he received the warning order but chose not to do so. Had either the order or McDonald activated Forces Command, it, in turn, would in all probability have activated XVIII Airborne Corps. At the very least, with General Cavazos involved in the planning process at Atlantic Command, the corps would have gained a strong advocate for its inclusion in the operation. Third, McDonald opted to discard the existing concept plan that required participation by the corps. Fourth, when Vessey recommended the 82d Airborne Division as a follow-on force without mentioning XVIII Airborne Corps, McDonald accepted the suggestion without question.

The rationale for these decisions were never committed to paper, and none of the participants recollect specifically addressing the role that the corps should or should not play in the operation. Given this context, the removal of the corps appears to be the by-product of decisions to develop a plan for the operation from scratch instead of using the existing concept plan, to emphasize special operations forces and ranger units rather than more conventional formations, to add a brigade from the 82d Airborne Division as insurance, and to keep the chain of command simple. Only the concern about the public relations problems posed by General Mackmull's high rank addressed the issue of corps involvement directly. In effect, the move to cut the corps from the operation was not the result of a formal decision but of a series of steps by a heavily bureaucratized chain of command focused on other issues. It was not so much a reasoned judgment as a compounding of unintended consequences best encapsulated by the phrase "bad things happen."

However formulated, the decision had major consequences. It tore apart all the working relationships defined by doctrine and developed by years of practice in both garrison and field exercises. It ignored the post-Vietnam evolution of the corps headquarters into an important component of the Army logistical system and the diminution of the ability of divisions to act independently of a corps base. To describe the situation in nautical terms, for Admiral McDonald to send elements of the 82d Airborne Division to the Caribbean without involving the XVIII Airborne Corps was roughly equivalent to ordering a squadron of naval attack aircraft to operate over Grenada from an unprepared base in Barbados while the squadron's carrier remained moored at Norfolk.

The more interesting question is why no one in the Army recognized the problem before Operation Urgent Fury began. Security restrictions and the compressed planning time provide part of the explanation, but the backgrounds of the officers were also to blame. In the Pentagon, three senior Army officers, Generals Vessey, Wickham, and Prillaman, reviewed the plan. All were skilled officers by both training and experience, and all their time and attention during the planning phase went to operational concerns. Not one of them had commanded a corps. Moreover, the emphasis on a quick raid in the JCS's approved plan meant that no one focused on what might happen should the special operations forces require conventional backup.

In the same way, the exclusion of the Joint Staff's Logistics Directorate until the last minute meant that the logistical implications of the plan did not receive the same scrutiny at the joint level as the operational aspects. The other senior headquarters that might have questioned the excision of the corps, U.S. Readiness Command, did not participate meaningfully or take any initiative because the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Atlantic Command kept it at arm's length. Finally, XVIII Airborne Corps itself failed to address the problem early in the planning because the process was so vague and communications so hampered by security concerns that no one realized at first that the corps would be out of the loop. In fact, it sent a representative to the first planning session at Norfolk on 22 October simply because it assumed it would take part. By the time the situation became clear, General Mackmull was faced with a fait accompli. Any attempt to insert the corps into the chain of command at that late hour might have proved more a detriment to the operation than an asset.

On the evening of the twenty-fourth, however, Admiral McDonald's most controversial and perhaps most consequential decision was his change in the timing of the operation: The special operations forces would be facing combat in daylight. The 0500 start time produced a subtle shift in emphasis from unconventional to conventional forces. With this change went an increasing role for logistics in determining the final outcome. McDonald's determination to avoid a one-day postponement of the invasion was an integral part of this revision of the plan. His resolve was based on his conviction that the Grenadians would not fight. If this premise proved mistaken, then the question would become how quickly the Americans could knit together their disparate forces into a coherent operation. The helter-skelter nature of the preparations created an opportunity for McDonald's senior subordinates to reflect that coherence might not occur effortlessly.

# 4

# Loading the Force

## N-hour to N+3:30

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Both the Rangers and the 82d Airborne Division followed similar approaches to deploy a force into combat by air. Upon notification, both went through a time-sequence checklist, known as the N-sequence. The letter *N* denoted the time of notification, plus the time of discrete actions expressed in the hours and minutes after notification. An airborne division was larger and more complex than a ranger battalion, and thus the 82d's readiness standing operating procedures, bound in a bulky volume, were longer and more elaborate. The ranger battalions encountered some difficulty but fewer problems than divisional elements, and their assembly and dispatch proceeded with almost textbook efficiency. While by no means complete, information on Grenada was readily available from the Joint Special Operations Command, and ranger logisticians became involved early in the planning cycle. Plans for the battalions changed markedly, but the overall mission did not: seizing one or more airheads against possible resistance.

In contrast to the ranger battalions, the effort to load the 82d Airborne Division proved problematic, if only because the force was so large with many elements to coordinate but also because information on Grenada was less readily available with the XVIII Airborne Corps removed from the chain of command. Division logisticians became involved relatively late in the planning, and the division's understanding of its mission oscillated between a combat assault to seize an airhead and a follow-on force to maintain the peace. Despite these handicaps, the 82d succeeded in dispatching the 2d Brigade Task Force more quickly than normal, but only by taking shortcuts that carried certain risks.

### Ranger Battalions

The director of plans and training at Fort Stewart, Lt. Col. James R. Childs, and the ranger coordinator, Capt. Lawrence W. Hoffman II, learned on 22 October that Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler Jr.'s 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, was coming to Hunter Army Airfield. In response, they made arrangements for 24th Infantry Division support elements to go on alert; readied Saber Hall for receipt of the 2d Battalion, which included evicting not only a Boy Scout troop camping in the area but also Ninth Air Force elements engaged in Joint

Exercise QUICK THRUST; and established an emergency operations center in the facility. Once completed, Captain Hoffman immediately took additional steps to ensure proper support if the 1st Battalion had to deploy.[1]

The Hunter Army Airfield deputy commander, Lt. Col. Eugene P. Semmens, was serving as acting installation commander in the temporary absence of Brig. Gen. Bernard M. Herring Jr. As yet, Colonel Semmens knew nothing of the Grenada preparations, but he recognized the signs that a major operation was beginning. He concluded that the 1st Battalion might have to assemble on short notice. At that time, almost all the personnel of the unit charged with loading the ranger battalion, the 260th Quartermaster Battalion, were in Florida to participate in Joint Exercise BOLD EAGLE. They included the commander, Lt. Col. Ronald V. Bila. His executive officer, Maj. Gregory D. Gibbons, commanded the rear detachment, which consisted of himself, one noncommissioned officer, and approximately ninety privates. Semmens asked Major Gibbons whether he could support the call-up with the personnel on hand. Gibbons quickly responded in the affirmative.[2]

At 2130 on Saturday, 22 October, Joint Special Operations Command issued a warning order to the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, for an operation on Grenada. Over two hours later, at 2355, the battalion executive officer, Maj. Jack P. Nix Jr., then with the planning team at Fort Bragg, called the 1st Battalion personnel officer, the S–1, Capt. John M. Bednarek, who was acting as the rear detachment commander, to provide him with specific instructions about recalling the battalion. The battalion commander, Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor Jr., he said, wanted to start the N-sequence early enough "to catch our deer hunters." It was a weekend, and the battalion was not on ready status. Captain Bednarek called in the company commanders and told them that at 0500 the next day, 23 October, he would order a Bravo Notification, which required the companies to assemble. This was the first stage of the loading process.[3]

The alert went out as scheduled, using a practice assembly as a cover. By the time the company commanders departed for the planning sessions at Fort Bragg at 0900 that same day, 80 percent or more of all ranger personnel in the three rifle companies had reported for duty. Because of the impending arrival of the 2d Battalion, the units assembled in their company areas rather than at the Saber Hall complex. To maintain security, Bednarek posted guards under cover at strategic points. By then he had briefed the company executive officers on the operations order from U.S. Atlantic Command. The troops knew that they were not taking certain types of equipment, such as arctic mittens, and that they could requisition whatever equipment for a tropical climate that their organizations needed. Meanwhile, they zeroed in their personal weapons,

[1] Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, and author with Semmens, 14 Aug 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[2] Interv, author with Semmens, 14 Aug 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[3] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

which involved firing test rounds over targets at known distances and making necessary adjustments to their sights.[4]

Major Gibbons proved as good as his word. Working with great intensity, his 260th Quartermaster Battalion-Rear personnel performed their duties in the noticeable absence of commissioned and noncommissioned officers. Colonel Bila returned in the midst of these preparations. Years later, one of Hoffman's most vivid memories of the operation was Bila personally helping set up tents for the incoming 2d Battalion. Success depended also on the support the 260th received from the Victory Brigade, a provisional organization specifically designed to support the 24th Infantry Division and other units assigned to Fort Stewart when they went into the field. The brigade commander, Col. John H. Mayer, placed his entire force at Gibbons' and later Bila's disposal.[5]

Between 1230 and 1600 on 23 October the 2d Battalion arrived. The rear detachment commander, Maj. Robert M. Hensler, also the battalion executive officer, had used an emergency readiness deployment exercise as a cover for the battalion's departure from Fort Lewis. Captain Hoffman, who had expected 500 rangers, was somewhat surprised at the size of Major Hensler's force. However, he had no difficulty in supporting the additional 160 men that arrived. The sixty-three pallets of supplies, twenty-three of them ammunition, that accompanied the battalion proved somewhat more difficult to accommodate. Hoffman had to decide where to break down the pallets to redistribute the contents. The battalion's mission did not require such a massive quantity of materiel. Moreover, much of it needed repair and reconditioning before use.[6]

Major Hensler had departed Fort Lewis before his men could confirm the accuracy of their weapons. They did so on the 1st Battalion's range at the Saber Hall complex. Hoffman made arrangements with the 24th Infantry Division for the unit to test-fire its 90-mm. recoilless rifles and 60-mm. mortars at Fort Stewart, a forty-five minute drive from Hunter Army Airfield. The 1st Battalion also zeroed in its crew-served weapons at Fort Stewart ranges but not without some friction because other Army elements arrived at the same time to participate in Quick Thrust.[7]

By 1800 both battalion commanders, Colonels Taylor and Hagler, had reached Hunter. They exchanged liaison officers and proceeded with detailed planning. Taylor and his executive officer, Major Nix, gave the 1st Battalion S–4, Capt. Stanley B. Clemons, special guidance on the amount of ammunition

[4] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Wells with Clemons, 2 Nov 1983, and Bishop with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[5] Interv, author with Semmens, 14 Aug 1987, and Tel Interv, author with Hoffman, 21 Dec 2004, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[6] Prelim AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Interv, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[7] Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Prelim and Final AARs, Opn Urgent Fury, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 and 25 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

the battalion should carry. Because the operation was supposed to last not more than twenty-four hours, Taylor calculated that a three-day load of mortar, machine gun, and rifle ammunition would suffice. Clemons issued enough water and rations for two days per man. Each ranger received two quarts of water and two C-rations, although by Ranger standards two C-rations amounted to only a one-day supply. Taylor calculated that the men would be too excited to eat much. He did not anticipate a problem with water because the battalion was attacking into a construction site, where the work crews could be expected to maintain an ample supply. Following standard Ranger procedure, the battalion's vehicles nonetheless carried an additional day's supply of water and rations. This would give Taylor greater flexibility if he needed it.[8]

Colonel Hagler also brought three days of supplies for the operation. Like Taylor, he instructed his 2d Battalion S–4, Capt. Jose G. Ventura, concerning what to take. Due to the constant mission changes that plagued the unit, Captain Ventura faced a more difficult task than Captain Clemons—first airland and then airdrop, first Pearls Airport and then Point Salines airfield. Each of these options required a different configuration of supplies. In the airland variant, most could be shipped on pallets. If the battalion had to airdrop because the Cubans obstructed the runway, Ventura would have to shift much of the supplies off the pallets and onto the backs of the rangers. For this he needed more load-bearing harnesses than Major Hensler had brought from Fort Lewis. In the end, Ventura borrowed what he needed from the 1st Battalion and the 24th Infantry Division. Harnesses were but one of several items of equipment in short supply in the 2d Battalion. When Major Hensler left the West Coast, he had not known what mission his unit would have. As a result, he had packed a wide array of supplies and equipment. Once at Hunter, he discovered that quantities of some items were insufficient while others were simply unsuitable for the operation at hand.[9]

Neither Clemons nor Ventura, of course, could allow himself the luxury of thinking of only a three-day operation. Once they had their battalions' basic loads ready, they began to prepare supply pallets to cover days four through six and to plan for resupply to sustain their units through thirty days of combat. Anniston Army Depot in Alabama necessarily figured into these computations because it held contingency stocks to support one deployed ranger battalion. Operation URGENT FURY, however, involved two battalions. Even so, the lack of capacity at Anniston appeared to pose little problem both because of the amount of supplies that Hensler brought with him and because the combined strength of the two battalions slated to deploy totaled slightly less than one fully manned battalion.[10]

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[8] Intervs, Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, and author with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. C-rations were designed to provide 3,000 calories daily, sufficient for a "moderately active" man. See William F. Ross and Charles F. Romanus, *The Quartermaster Corps*, p. 130.

[9] Interv, Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[10] Ibid.; Interv, Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. D, app. 2, p. D-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.




**Colonel Hagler** *(center)* **and his 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, command group.** *From left to right:* **Capt. Mark S. Crowson (S–5), Capt. Jose G. Ventura (S–4), Maj. Monte T. S. Hess (S–3), Maj. Robert M. Hensler (Executive Officer), Maj. Henry J. Salice Jr. (S–2), and Capt. Benjamin R. Clark (S–1).**

During the evening of 23 October, sometime after XVIII Airborne Corps commander Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull conferred with Joint Task Force 123 commander Maj. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes, Scholtes' staff requested bulldozers and equipment from XVIII Airborne Corps operators to support the airdrop at Point Salines. Mackmull and Scholtes wanted the engineers available if the Point Salines airfield needed additional work before follow-on forces landed. U.S. intelligence already knew that the Cubans had placed "some odd kinds of engineer machinery" on or in the vicinity of the runway. The engineers could move the equipment off the runway to prevent it from acting as an obstacle to the attacking forces. After that, they could use it to prepare defensive positions for the rangers if the need arose.[11]

The 20th Engineer Brigade commander, Col. Daniel R. Schroeder, who was also the corps engineer, directed the 548th Engineer Battalion commander, Lt. Col. Frederick G. Ernst, to select four equipment operators for special assignment and to rig a Case 1150 bulldozer that would accompany them for possible low-altitude parachute extraction. Colonel Schroeder also had to prepare for the possibility that conditions on the airstrip might preclude such a method of delivery, in which case the engineers would have to airdrop a bulldozer. The Case 1150, however, was unsuitable for airdrop, and Colonel Ernst's battalion did not have any bulldozers that were. The 618th Engineer

[11] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and author with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. C, pp. II-C-1 to II-C-7, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

Company, the corps unit permanently attached to the 82d Airborne Division's 307th Engineer Battalion, had such a machine—the D–5.[12]

Acting in his capacity as corps engineer, Colonel Schroeder telephoned the 307th's commander, Lt. Col. Lawrence L. Izzo, who was also the division engineer, and asked him to come to his office for a meeting. Once Colonel Izzo arrived, Schroeder told him that he needed two equipment operators and a D–5 bulldozer rigged for airdrop. A short time later the 618th Engineer Company commander, Capt. James G. May, walked into his company's dayroom. It was a typical Sunday evening. Some men were watching television; others were playing cards. From among them Captain May selected Spec. William R. Richardson, a young soldier who had just completed jump school but had a wealth of experience around heavy equipment. The company, May explained, had a requirement to support a Ranger exercise; Specialist Richardson and the D–5 would fly to Hunter Army Airfield. A few minutes later, Sgt. Charles E. Spain, a very experienced airborne soldier and equipment operator just beginning to assume managerial responsibilities, walked into the barracks. May ordered him to accompany Richardson.[13]

The two went to corps headquarters. There they met their counterparts from the 548th Engineer Battalion and a ranger operations officer who loaded them and their bulldozers aboard an Air Force aircraft that carried them from Pope Air Force Base to Hunter Army Airfield. Sergeant Spain was experienced enough to suspect that something more than a simple training mission was involved, but he could think only of the marines buried under the rubble in Beirut. Not until the rangers had the engineers locked in a secure area did he and his compatriots learn that they were going to Grenada. If an airdrop proved necessary, Spain and Richardson would parachute in with Colonel Taylor's lead company. The Air Force would then airdrop the D–5 if the situation required it. No one wanted this to happen unless it became absolutely necessary. A D–5, even one apparently gliding gently to earth with perfectly functioning parachutes, would gouge a rather large hole in an asphalt airstrip like that at Salines. The four other equipment operators, also rigged for an airdrop, would follow along with their Case 1150 after the infantry. A low-altitude parachute extraction would cause much less damage than an airdrop; however, an airlanding was still the preferred option for the two bulldozers.[14]

As the engineers journeyed to Hunter Army Airfield, some rangers prepared to move in the opposite direction. Company C, 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, commanded by Capt. David W. Barno, was supposed to fly by helicopter to Fort Bragg on Sunday night to support special operations forces on classified missions. His unit moved to its departure point, but the CH–47s to

[12] Intervs, author with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, and McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[13] Intervs, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, author with Anderson, 9 May 1986, and Wells with Spain, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; "Combat Jumpers," p. 28.

[14] Intervs, author with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, and Wells with Spain, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

carry them never arrived. Severe weather had curtailed air operations, so the troops spent the night in the riggers shed. At 0500, 24 October, the company boarded a C–141 for the flight to Pope Air Force Base. Captain Barno took his company's three-day basic load of supplies with him. Only after he reached his destination and learned about the mission would he be able to configure his company's basic load to the task at hand.[15]

Because Hunter Army Airfield was not designed to load more than one ranger battalion at a time, Captain Hoffman had to improvise a loading plan that would accommodate two battalions. He arranged for the 2d Battalion to board aircraft from Saber Hall, the normal departure point for a ranger unit. The 1st Battalion, for its part, would move from its barracks to Hangar 850 at the airfield and board there. By Monday morning, 24 October, the facility's normal occupant, the 132d Aviation Company, had vacated the structure. After lunch the 1st Battalion moved into the hangar, completing the shift within an hour. By then Captain Clemons had positioned ammunition inside the building and had broken it down by company. By 1500 Clemons had distributed all specialized equipment and ammunition to the men.[16]

If the notification sequences of both battalions proceeded smoothly, the loading aboard Air Force C–130s did not. The main difficulty was a lack of accurate information. Because no single point of contact existed, Captain Hoffman and the Air Force airlift control element received contradictory airflow information from the various agencies involved in the process. In previous exercises Joint Special Operations Command had always sent staff officers to Saber Hall to assist the rangers with their planning. The command failed to do so during Urgent Fury. Hoffman received word on Sunday to expect thirty C–130s. Instead, only sixteen arrived. Then, the airlift control element could not determine which aircraft were to load what battalions. This prevented preparation of a detailed parking plan for the aircraft and a loading plan for the units. In the end, Hoffman improvised a plan that would allow the battalions to load first come, first served, without knowing specific aircraft tail numbers. It became the one the rangers used.[17]

On Monday afternoon other information critical to the deployment became available. The battalion commanders learned that a Joint Special Operations Command medical unit would accompany their units; that the Military Airlift Command would dispatch three MC–130s and four C–130s for the 1st Battalion and five C–130s for the 2d Battalion; and that the time for the invasion had changed. General Scholtes arrived in the afternoon for a final briefing by both battalion commanders. After they finished their

[15] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, plus author with Barno, 20 Aug 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[16] Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[17] Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, and with Hensler, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. C, app. 10, p. C-10, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

presentations, Scholtes casually mentioned, "Oh, by the way, did you hear that there's a 2½-hour delay in the t[ime] o[n] t[arget]?"[18]

In their briefings both Taylor and Hagler had assumed an H-hour of 0230 on 25 October. They now knew that the time for the assault would be 2½ hours later at 0500. Hagler decided to stick to the times in his original loading plan up to the point that his men were to board the aircraft. Then they would hold in place until the C–130s arrived. Taylor opted to start his loading sequence 2½ hours later to account for the delay. Given 6½ hours' flying time from Hunter Army Airfield to Grenada, this meant a departure time of 2230 on 24 October. Making use of the delay, Major Nix ordered Captain Clemons to get a hot meal for the troops. Soon they were eating.[19]

The last of the sixteen C–130s that the Air Force had dispatched to carry the rangers and the special operations medical unit to Grenada (fourteen mission aircraft and two backups) reached Hunter Army Airfield at 1700 on 24 October. After taxiing to the Saber Hall complex, the aircrews departed by bus for their mission briefing. Captain Hoffman anticipated refueling the aircraft and then loading the battalions. Instead, upon returning from their lengthy briefing and well in advance of the 2230 take-off time, the aircrews taxied their craft to the loading ramps. Colonel Hagler's men were ready to board, but Colonel Taylor's were not.[20]

By then the 1st Battalion's jumpmasters had given their briefings, and Colonel Taylor was talking to the troops preparatory to issuing parachutes and then actually loading. The battalion S–3, Maj. John J. Maher III, had noticed a conflict in an Air Force message with the 2230 departure time and the 0500 time on target. He was in the process of sending someone over to air operations to straighten out the confusion when he heard the sound of taxiing aircraft. He went outside just as the craft stopped, and encountered Captain Hoffman and an Air Force major. Hoffman explained that the Air Force wanted to load immediately. Major Maher and the Air Force officer argued loading times without coming to any agreement.[21]

Maher walked out to the aircraft to talk to a senior Air Force officer to clarify the situation. At the same time Air Force mission commander Maj. Gen. William J. Mall Jr., who also commanded the Twenty-third Air Force, was striding in the opposite direction. General Mall wanted to talk to Colonel Taylor about the same topic. The gist of both conversations was brief and to the point: Did the rangers want to be late for the war? Because the obvious answer was no, the battalion sprang into action. The jumpmasters hastily

[18] Intervs, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, plus Wells with Miller, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[19] Intervs, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[20] Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, with Nix, 2 Nov 1983, and with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, plus author with Semmens, 14 Aug 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[21] Interv, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Rangers at the Point Salines airfield, gathering their gear and listening to Admiral Metcalf**



organized the battalion into chalks, aircraft-size loads of men and equipment, and issued parachutes. Then the troops sprinted for their assigned aircraft. They loaded so quickly that the first aircraft carrying Capt. John P. Abizaid and elements of the airfield-clearing team from his Company A, 1st Battalion, departed Hunter Army Airfield at 2130, an hour in advance of the take-off time Joint Special Operations Command had led them to expect.[22]

Obviously, General Mall and Colonel Taylor were working with different times. The problem apparently originated when an Air Force Staff officer prepared an execution checklist, which enumerated the key events and their times in order of occurrence for the aircrews assigned to the Grenada mission. The officer was cognizant of the three-hour difference between eastern daylight time and Greenwich standard mean time (or, in military parlance, Zulu) and that Grenada was in the Atlantic standard time zone, one time zone to the east. When he made his calculations, however, he neglected to take into account that Grenada was not observing daylight savings. Consequently, until the night of 29–30 October, when the East Coast reverted to standard time, Grenada, Fort Bragg, and Washington, D.C., were at Zulu minus 3, the same time. The discrepancy accounted for General Mall hustling the 1st Battalion aboard his aircraft with great intensity.[23]

## 82d Airborne Division, N-hour to N+2

Shortly before 2030 hours, on the night of 24 October, XVIII Airborne Corps received the execution order from Atlantic Command. The corps' acting G–3, Lt. Col. William R. Chewning, telephoned the 82d Airborne Division and said that the corps recommended beginning the loading sequence at 2300 using an emergency deployment readiness exercise as a cover. The division headquarters duty officer, Maj. Thomas D. Smith, the assistant G–3 for operations, saw no point in delaying the notification an additional two hours; the division needed all the extra time it could get. He set the notification hour (N-hour) at 2100, a judgment with which the division commander, Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh, strongly concurred once he learned of it.[24]

At 2100 division headquarters issued a formal call-up over a secure line to the forces involved, virtually every subordinate element in the division. In response, some of the units, such as the 82d Aviation Battalion, sent companies that reported directly to brigade headquarters. Others,

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[22] Ibid.; Dean C. Kallander and James K. Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 35; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. C, app. 15, tabs A–C, pp. A-15 to C-15, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[23] Interv, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. C, app. 15, tabs A–C, pp. A-15 to C-15, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Execution Checklist (Air Staff copy), Hist files (PDocs/DAF/DeptHQ), CMH.

[24] Intervs, Bishop with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, and Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See List, FORSCOM, n.d., sub: Implementing Orders and Directives [in Urgent Fury], Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH, which gives the date and time of Mackmull's emergency deployment readiness exercise notification to Trobaugh.

including field artillery, engineers, signal corps, and military police, attached elements directly to the 2d Brigade's two infantry battalions, each of which was organized as a task force. Logistical units in Col. William F. Daly Jr.'s 82d Support Command sent detachments as part of Forward Area Support Team II, whose coordinator reported to the brigade commander, Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr. The message took many officers involved by surprise, for they had anticipated that Grenada would prove a false alarm like so many crises in the past.[25]

For the next several hours the only time that mattered for the members of the 82d was the N-hour time. It became a key criterion of success or failure—the main indicator for whether a person or organization had successfully performed his, her, or its assigned task at the appropriate time in the loading cycle. As everyone strained to meet the target of N+10, they of necessity developed tunnel vision as they focused on the immediate tasks.[26]

Only a fraction of the units involved in the operation actually deployed to Grenada. The job of supplying and equipping the brigade task force and moving it to Pope Air Force Base required the efforts of the 82d Support Command, especially its Provisional Movement Control Center; the 182d Materiel Management Center; and the 407th Supply and Service Battalion, augmented by work details drawn from other divisional units. Three hours after the N-sequence began, for example, the Division Ready Force-9, the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, passed to control of the support command. The unit's soldiers would perform much of the backbreaking physical labor involved in loading the task force aboard aircraft.[27]

The effort to move the 2d Brigade also required assistance from elements outside the division—the XVIII Airborne Corps, especially its 1st Support Command, and the Directorate of Industrial Operations at Fort Bragg. Corps headquarters, however, remained unaware that the division had initiated its N-sequence two hours early and adhered to a notification time of 2300. This discrepancy could have complicated the loading immensely because logistical support elements in division and corps had to work closely together on a precise schedule. If the corps units began their alert two hours out of synchronization with the division, the possibility of monumental confusion loomed at the very beginning of the operation. Nothing of the sort happened, however, because of redundancy built into the division's readiness standing operating procedures and the hard work of the division transportation officer, Maj. Frederick C. Perkins. The readiness procedure required

[25] See Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986; Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, plus Bishop with J. A. Hamilton, 16 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also John J. Cusick and Mark J. Flavin, "'Golden Griffins' Pave the Way," pp. 28–31.

[26] Interv, author with Reardon, October 2005, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[27] Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986, and Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Documents in the official file contain conflicting information on the 182d's designation. Usage in this work conforms to the official guidance found in the TOE 29–53H3, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 19, TOE files, CMH.

that the division contact each unit in the 1st Support Command from which it needed support for the deployment. Major Perkins did so and verified that each had received notification. He then made certain that their trucks and other equipment arrived at designated points at the required times. Although the 1st Support Command's units received a delayed alert message through their own chain, Perkins found that all were "online" at the earlier time and ready to go.[28]

Division logisticians were concerned about how little equipment was available from corps, particularly from the 507th Transportation Group that normally provided the 82d with trucks and with such materiel-handling equipment as forklifts. Because most of this equipment was in Florida supporting Bold Eagle, Major Perkins worked directly with the group's 7th Transportation Battalion, with the Fort Bragg motor pool, and with XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters to make certain that they committed every vehicle capable of movement from whatever source to the operation. He could not make up for all the materiel in Florida, but his effort significantly reduced the deficiency.[29]

After receiving the alert message, noncommissioned officers began telephoning officers and men who lived off post to report to their units. Many of the recipients of these tidings had just settled down to watch Monday night football. They hastily collected personal items required for extended service in the field and departed, leaving wives and girlfriends in various emotional states to participate in yet another emergency deployment readiness exercise. Many, if not a majority, of the members of the division, however, suspected something different. Soon the All-American Highway leading to Fort Bragg was a snarled mass of traffic.[30]

The 2d Brigade began to assemble. In line with the division's readiness standing operating procedures, Division Ready Force-1, Lt. Col. Jack L. Hamilton's 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, posted guards to secure its unit area at 2200, one hour after notification. By 2300, the same time that the corps alerted its units, the battalion was supposed to be completely assembled. All except one of the rifle companies met the deadline, and it was over 90 percent present. The tardy 3d Brigade unit was Company B, 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, commanded by Capt. Mark D. Rocke. Colonel Hamilton unofficially redesignated it Company C, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, for Urgent Fury to avoid the confusion of two B companies in the same battalion. The real

[28] Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983]; McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984; Bishop with Chewning, 9 Nov 1983; author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986 (quoted words); and Wade with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. B, pp. I-B-1 to I-B-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[29] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-29, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[30] Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986; Intervs, Wells with Withers, 10 Nov 1983; Burdett with D. Davis, [Nov 1983]; Hicks with Pitts, [Nov 1983]; McMichael with Ryneska, 18 Nov 1983; Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Company C was still in training and not combat-ready. Captain Rocke's company replaced it at the last moment.[31]

The process by which Captain Rocke and his men became involved in the marshaling of forces illustrated how competing peacetime missions and the operation's tight security adversely affected even the readiness of the most combat-ready battalion in the U.S. Army. In 1981 Army Chief of Staff General Edward C. Meyer had introduced Project COHORT (cohesion, operational readiness, and training) in an effort to develop more stable and combat effective units. The Army recruited individuals who would train and serve together in a single company for an entire three-year enlistment. Testing the concept began in twenty companies assigned to selected units, one of which was the 82d Airborne Division. While well conceived to bolster unit esprit de corps, the concept posed particular difficulties for any unit required to maintain a high level of readiness. A COHORT company needed six months to complete individual and unit training, but brigades in the 82d rotated to the highest alert status on a ninety-day cycle. These two recurring events on dissimilar time schedules made inevitable the possibility that a battalion assigned a COHORT company might also find itself in Division Ready Force-1 status with only two rather than three combat-ready rifle companies. This was Colonel Hamilton's circumstance on 24 October 1983.[32]

Initially, planners in the division had tapped Lt. Col. John W. Raines' 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, to provide a company to round out Colonel Hamilton's force, but this solution became unworkable early in the planning when Atlantic Command indicated that it wanted two airborne battalions. The next battalion in the readiness sequence, Division Ready Force-3, could supply the company. That unit, the 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry, however, was training to rotate to the Sinai in January 1984 as part of a multinational peacekeeping force required by the 1978 Camp David Accords. A battalion's preparations for service in the Sinai were so complex and time-consuming that General Trobaugh decided he did not want to involve that unit in what might prove to be an open-ended commitment on Grenada. When the planners briefly considered using a one-brigade force of three battalions on Sunday, they designated Lt. Col. Keith M. Nightengale's 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, from the 3d Brigade, as the round-out unit for Colonel Silvasy's task force. Thus, when Atlantic Command directed the division to supply a one-brigade force of two battalions, General Trobaugh quite naturally selected one of Colonel Nightengale's companies to replace the COHORT company. The company's presence in the division seriously distracted Trobaugh and his staff when other issues of great importance demanded their attention.[33]

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[31] Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986; Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[32] Karl E. Cocke et al., comps., *Department of the Army Historical Summary, Fiscal Year 1981*, pp. 9–10, 46.

[33] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.




**Men of the 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, in Grenada**

Sometime Monday afternoon the 3d Brigade commander, Col. James T. Scott, told Captain Rocke that his company would be attached to Colonel Hamilton's battalion for an emergency deployment readiness exercise. At 1900 Rocke met with Hamilton, who gave the captain the same logistical guidance that all the other company commanders in the initial force had received: He could take a jeep and a trailer. Rocke was to load two 81-mm. mortar tubes, all his night-vision goggles, and several large RC–292 antennas. Each antenna weighed about thirty pounds and was roughly the size of a large gym bag, but it significantly increased the range of the radio to which it was attached. He could pack any remaining space in the vehicle and trailer with ammunition, spare parts, and whatever else he might consider important. It was an assignment that left the captain somewhat bemused, a common reaction for company commanders in similar circumstances: "I've got a table of organization and equipment," commented Rocke, "that's about sixteen pages long."[34]

Rocke prepared his packing list, made a roster of the men in his company who were not available to participate in the exercise, and worked out a series of actions that the company would have to take once it received an alert message. Then he drove over to his battalion commander's home; he wanted Colonel Nightengale to critique what he had just done. Rocke was there when the alert

[34] Intervs, Bishop with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1083, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

came. The message, of course, traveled through 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, channels. The battalion executive officer could not tell Rocke whether Hamilton wanted just him or the entire company. Rocke had to drive to Hamilton's headquarters to find out. Consequently, Company C, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, did not begin its alert procedures until 2130. A late start, however, proved less important than the unit's readiness status. Because it was lower than the other companies in the 2d Brigade, the unit took longer to assemble. The last straggler reported in at 0130 on 25 October, N+4:30, under the circumstances, a highly creditable performance for all involved.[35]

Normally, Division Ready Force-2 would have attained the same status 2½ hours later at 0500 on 25 October. Sometime prior to the alert, however, 2d Brigade headquarters had notified Colonel Raines that the 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, would have to complete its assembly five hours ahead of schedule—by 2400 on 24 October. Raines had immediately passed this information along to his company commanders. As a result, by 2300 his battalion's concentration was much further along than usual.[36]

At this time the commander of Company A, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, Capt. Danny W. Davis, reached his company area. He found that his men had already drawn their weapons and field gear and had begun packing personal issue items (extra pairs of socks, underwear, and spare uniforms) and necessities (toothpaste, hand soap, toilet paper, and razors) into their rucksacks. Any overflow went into their A-bags, enlarged versions of the World War II barracks bags of somewhat lighter construction. While the men would carry their rucksacks, the Air Force would bring the A-bags separately. Because his unit was well along with its preparations, Captain Davis went on to battalion headquarters. There Colonel Raines gave Davis, the other company commanders, and the battalion staff a preliminary briefing on what he knew about the mission. Raines still expected his battalion to parachute into Pearls Airport.[37]

The 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry, commanded by Lt. Col. Bobby R. Hurst, remained the Division Ready Force-3 at this juncture. While Colonel Hurst and his key subordinates may have realized that their unit would not participate in the assault phase of the operation, they were probably as yet unaware of General Trobaugh's decision to exclude them entirely because of the Sinai mission. After posting guards at key installations as required by the readiness standing operating procedures, Hurst sent his air movement officers to assist the brigade staff in planning. Hurst's men immediately began work on the brigade's vehicle priority list, the order in which the unit's vehicles would arrive in the area of operations. Each would carry the maximum feasible load of equipment, supplies, or ammunition. In some cases these loads, referred to as bulk ballast because in an airdrop their weight was needed to open the heavy parachutes strapped to the vehicles, provided reserve supplies of items

[35] Interv, Bishop with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[36] Interv, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[37] Intervs, Burdett with D. Davis, [Nov 1983], and Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Paratroopers relaxing and waiting to board aircraft for deployment to Grenada**



that the troops in the assault phase had already taken with them: small-arms ammunition, rations, and water. Other vehicles carried or towed equipment too heavy for troops to manhandle into position such as mortars, large radios, and artillery ammunition and tubes. At times a vehicle's priority for deployment depended as much on what it carried as on what it could do.[38]

Over the weekend Hamilton's and Raines' planning cells had prepared priority lists for their own vehicles. As the troops from both units would arrive before their follow-on supplies and equipment, Silvasy's staff had to determine how to distribute the vehicles from the two battalions, their attached elements, and the brigade command post in the airflow. While the staff could conduct preliminary work on the priority list in the first two hours of the N-sequence, preparation of a definitive list depended on receipt of the division's operations order and the commanding general's guidance at the N+2 briefing.[39]

In the supporting battalions, the organizations normally associated with the 2d Brigade—Company B, 307th Engineer Battalion; Company B, 82d Aviation Battalion; Batteries B and C, 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery; Forward Area Support Team II (Detachment C, 407th Supply and Service Battalion; Company C, 782d Maintenance Battalion; and Company C, 307th Medical Battalion); 2d Platoon, 82d Military Police Company; and elements of the 82d Signal Battalion—assembled and went through the same procedure as the infantrymen. Because the engineer battalion commander, Colonel Izzo, had been involved in the early planning at division headquarters and had at least an idea of what was really happening, he could read between the lines of what seemed to be merely an order for another emergency deployment readiness exercise. Able, as a result, to anticipate what the division needed, he alerted an equipment platoon of the 618th Engineer Company to prepare to deploy. He knew that it might have to prepare the airstrip at Point Salines to receive fixed-wing aircraft.[40]

The 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, commander, Lt. Col. Duane E. Williams, planned that his two batteries, initially attached to Hamilton's and Raines' battalions, would ultimately revert to battalion control. Consequently, Colonel Williams prepared to deploy with a very lean command group. Almost immediately he had to shuffle his staff. Because a new officer had just taken over fire support officer duties and because the previous officer, Capt. Lawrence Henson Jr., was serving in that role on Williams' staff, Raines went to Williams to ask that Henson be returned to him. Williams agreed, although he first contemplated acting as brigade fire support coordinator himself but then assigned one of his assistant S–3s, Capt. August J. Fucci, to fill this role.

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[38] Interv, Burdett with Hurst, [Nov 1983], and Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[39] Interv, Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, and Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[40] Lawrence L. Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support During Operation Urgent Fury," pp. 24–25; Robert N. Seigle, "Looking Back at Urgent Fury," pp. 18–19, 22, 24, 57–58; Interv, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Captain Fucci had recently commanded a battery and had previously served as the 2d Brigade fire support officer.[41]

Coincidentally, the assistant division fire support coordinator, Lt. Col. John J. Ryneska, had just arrived at division headquarters. The assistant G–3, Major Smith, greeted him with the news that this was an actual deployment, that he would accompany the division assault command post as its fire support officer, and that he could not take any vehicles with him—a fact that limited the number and power of any radios he might use. Smith could not tell Ryneska where the division was going; that would come at the division's formal N+2 briefing. Then Smith, who was extraordinarily busy, hurried off. To Ryneska, division headquarters had the appearance of an ant hill that had just been stirred with a stick. He stayed a few moments in a futile quest for more information and then retreated to his own office to collect his thoughts and pack his gear. If he was going to operate effectively, he decided, he would need "a whole bunch of radios."[42]

The units assigned to support the loading prepared to do so. The signal battalion put its outloading communications plan into effect by setting up internal telephone links and radio nets. It also disconnected most of the commercial telephones on post to ensure operational security. Company A, 407th Supply and Service Battalion, which provided transportation support for the entire division, marshaled drivers and trucks. The 407th's Company E, the riggers, were already in place at the heavy drop rig site. The Division Ready Force-9 commander, Lt. Col. Ralph E. Newman, and his command group were mustering the support details for the personnel holding area, the corps marshaling area, the central loading area control center, Green Ramp, and all the other locations where the battalion supplied manpower for the heavy physical labor of loading a task force.[43]

As the troops assembled, the battalion S–1s, not only those in the two infantry battalions designated to participate in the operation but also those in the battalions that contributed contingents to the brigade task force, became especially busy. Predictably, the N-sequence proceeded most smoothly in the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, which maintained the highest readiness of any battalion in the division. The battalion S–1, Capt. George K. Withers III, monitored the rate at which the men arrived in the company areas for Colonel Hamilton and prepared a list of those who would fly to the island in the assault phase.[44]

Personnel officers in battalions with a lower readiness status faced more complex problems. They checked whether the soldiers had signed wills and powers of attorney and made arrangements to store personal vehicles and

[41] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, and McMichael with Steele, Glass, Stewart, and Henson, 5 Apr 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[42] Interv, McMichael with Ryneska, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[43] Intervs, Parker with Woloski, [Nov 1983], and with Costa, [c. Nov 1983], plus author with Henry, 15 Jul 1986, and with Horton, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Cusick and Flavin, "'Golden Griffins,'" pp. 28–31.

[44] Interv, Wells with D'Arbonne, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Interv), CMH.

property. A number of young troopers who had not taken these requirements seriously discovered too late the need for them and left wives behind who had no way to cash a paycheck. Some soldiers, instead of storing their automobiles in a secured area as intended, left them in the battalion parking lots where they were vandalized. One officer recalled that "the amount of car keys and house keys that were literally thrown to me off the back of a deuce-and-a-half as they were pulling away was absolutely incredible." This problem was apparently greatest in the supporting battalions, and all the officers could do for those in the initial contingent was to catch the keys. By the time division called for follow-up forces, however, they and their counterparts had put the laggards to work making wills and filling out powers of attorney. The paperwork thus generated tied up the division legal office for the next several days.[45]

The task facing the 2d Brigade S–1, Capt. Gregory M. D'Arbonne, was less diffuse. About two hours before notification, the brigade commander, Colonel Silvasy, called Captain D'Arbonne into his office and told him that the division was going to Grenada with the same mission it had had in the emergency deployment readiness exercise of the previous week—to rescue American hostages. D'Arbonne would process U.S. nationals through customs when they left the island. Because the division G–1, Lt. Col. Edward R. Throckmorton, would remain at Fort Bragg, D'Arbonne would be the senior personnel representative on the island. As such, in addition to his other duties, he would advise the division commander on all manpower issues. D'Arbonne returned to his office and began to gather the forms he would need to function as the brigade S–1 and as an acting customs official. He soon discovered that he did not have enough room for everything he needed in his own rucksack and that of his assistant. The surplus went into A-bags. Colonel Throckmorton, who learned of the operation only when the N-sequence began, visited D'Arbonne's office and made some suggestions about things to do on Grenada, as did a representative from the division adjutant general's office. By then several hours had passed. D'Arbonne and his assistant left to draw their equipment and to join the brigade command group at the departure airfield.[46]

The alert also initiated intense activity in the battalion logistical sections, where the operation came as a surprise. In the 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, for example, Colonel Raines briefed his battalion S–4, 1st Lt. Randall L. McClure, on the operation only after the N-sequence began. Lieutenant McClure ran through a checklist covering the classes of supply, transportation, and maintenance trying to come up with recommendations for the colonel and the operations staff on what the battalion would need to parachute onto Pearls Airport and defend the airhead unaided. They had already prepared a vehicle list and worked out a partial list of supplies during the planning sessions over the

[45] Intervs, Wells with Withers, 10 Nov 1983, and with D'Arbonne, 9 Nov 1983, plus GWG with S. Moran, [Nov 1983] (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Moran provides the best description of S–1 functions.

[46] Interv, Wells with D'Arbonne, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

weekend, but these had to remain tentative until Raines received the division's mission statement, operations order, and scheme of maneuver at the division commander's N+2 briefing.[47]

McClure issued warning orders to his noncommissioned officers. He instructed the sergeant responsible for minimum mission-essential equipment to contact the 82d Support Command and arrange transportation for all equipment not held in the companies. The division and its support command followed a "contingency island" policy for all materiel listed on a unit's table of organization and equipment, with the division storing weapons and individual-issue field equipment in company areas and the support command keeping the remainder in warehouses for delivery to the heavy drop rig site for preparation for shipment by air as bulk cargo.[48]

The 82d Aviation Battalion logisticians were *leaning forward*, the term they often used to describe being both mentally and materially prepared. The battalion S–4, Capt. Jimmie M. Rabon, had participated in the planning on Sunday and knew what he had to do. On Monday morning he had directed his senior noncommissioned officer, Sgt. William Labor, to start filling out requisition forms for items that the battalion would have to draw from corps and division contingency warehouses when it deployed. At Captain Rabon's instruction, Sergeant Labor had left the date and requisition number on each form blank. At the same time Rabon had had other members of his section check to make certain that they had on hand all the various forms that a unit might need in the field. Throughout the day he had remained silent about the reason for this activity, which remained very low-key to avoid attracting attention. His men had moved no supplies, but they were poised to do so as soon as General Trobaugh issued his operations order.[49]

The logisticians in the other battalions were not nearly as well prepared because they knew nothing of the impending operation. "Logistics," observed Rabon later, "runs on paper." Because his section had prepared its paperwork, his battalion would enjoy a competitive advantage over other battalions. He could send representatives to corps and division warehouses before the other units could. Even so, as with every other logistician in the division, he needed the definitive guidance provided by the first critical milestone in the loading process, the N+2 briefing.[50]

Although General Trobaugh's perception of security requirements had precluded any real medical planning, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion, the medical unit normally associated with the 2d Brigade, had perhaps the easiest assembly of any unit in the task force. It was already positioned at a nearby field site and could move as a unit to Green Ramp. The division alert message at 2100 finally allowed the battalion's commander, Lt. Col. Edward B. Wilson, to brief his staff on the operation. Fifteen minutes later Colonel Wilson alerted the company for movement back to the battalion area. He also

[47] Interv, Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[48] Ibid.; Interv (quoted words), Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Interv), CMH.
[49] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[50] Ibid.

called the corps surgeon's office but discovered that the corps had not yet sent an alert message. This meant that security requirements continued to prevent the corps surgeon, Col. James H. Rumbaugh, and the 44th Medical Brigade commander, Col. Jack R. Wilson II, from briefing their staffs, let alone moving any units. At this point, medical preparations at corps and division were not synchronized.[51]

## N+2 Briefing and Concerns

At 2300, on 24 October, General Trobaugh and his staff conducted the critical N+2 briefing for which everyone was waiting. All concerned received a copy of the division's operations order (which, for security reasons, still read Macapa, the division's imaginary location for emergency deployment readiness exercises) with a map of Grenada attached. The division G–2 provided an updated account of what was happening on Grenada and confirmed that the 2d Brigade could expect only light resistance. Then Trobaugh gave further guidance to his senior subordinates. Both the 2d and 3d Battalions, 325th Infantry, would land at the Point Salines airfield to relieve the rangers in place. Colonel Raines thus learned for the first time that his battalion would not assault Pearls Airport but would follow Hamilton's battalion into the peninsula. However, whether the task force would fly directly to Point Salines or whether it would transfer onto C–130s on Barbados was still not clear.[52]

Trobaugh emphasized that he wanted to put as much infantry and as little equipment as possible aboard the first aircraft because he believed that the enemy was a light infantry force and because available lift for the first contingent had shrunk to twelve C–141s. Hamilton received seven of the planes for his battalion and the division and brigade command posts, while Raines obtained five for his battalion. These first twelve would contain only troops. All vehicles for the force would come with the follow-up aircraft. The artillerymen from Batteries B and C, 320th Field Artillery, would go in as infantry, and their howitzers would come later.[53]

The operations order from Atlantic Command clearly used the word *airland*. General Trobaugh was unhappy with such a rigid stipulation given all the imponderables. Normal procedure in the 82d Airborne Division was to configure the lead battalion for airdrop even if no opposition was anticipated. While Trobaugh did not modify the order at that time, before the meeting broke up the participants discussed the location of assembly areas for the various units in the event of an airdrop. The 407th Supply and Service Battalion commander, Lt. Col. John J. Cusick, could not resist one last question: Was the operation a real one or was this just another exercise?

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[51] Interv, Oland with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[52] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and with R. Newman, 16 Nov 1983; Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985; Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983; Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983]; and McMichael with Ryneska, 18 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[53] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; GWG with Baine, Hernandez, Hamilton, Barajas, 9 Nov 1983; and McMichael with Halley, 15 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

The entire briefing had followed closely the division's standardized format. Trobaugh paused and looked at his watch. "The frogmen went in the water two hours ago." The room was completely silent while the import of this information sank in. Then the participants returned to their commands to brief their subordinates. What one officer labeled as "the most professional meeting" he had attended in his almost three years in the division had lasted only thirty minutes.[54]

The recently arrived division surgeon, Lt. Col. Barry S. Sidenberg, was nonetheless surprised and dissatisfied with the briefing—surprised that more had not been said and dissatisfied because it had sounded like an information briefing. No one had directed either Colonel Sidenberg or Colonel Wilson to develop a medical task organization. "It was presented almost as a fait accompli." Moreover, Sidenberg had no idea either of how much medical support the rangers would have or of what the Navy might provide. As the meeting broke up, he stopped Colonel Silvasy in the hall and said that he was not clear as to what his role as division surgeon should be in the operation. Silvasy told him not to worry, for his 2d Brigade surgeon, Capt. Colin S. McKenzie, was aware of everything that was going on.[55]

Unhappy with this response, Colonel Sidenberg sought out General Trobaugh and repeated his concern. Sidenberg was disturbed because the operation was proceeding without what he considered normal medical involvement. He also observed that he was a board-qualified general surgeon. His skill as a physician would be needed on the battlefield, and he ought to accompany the task force personally. Trobaugh told him that the USS *Guam* would be offshore and that anyone injured would be flown there. He did not elaborate further.

Colonel Sidenberg was not the only officer to come away from the N+2 briefing with concerns about his role in the operation. The division G–5, Maj. William D. Archer, had attempted without success to become involved in the early planning. Consequently, he was "somewhat surprised" when Trobaugh mentioned toward the end of the briefing that Archer was to play an important role in the initial stages of the operation, particularly in matters related to refugees. First, under the instructions he received, his priority was to look into the possibility of food shortages on the island. Second, he was to go to the True Blue Campus of St. George's University School of Medicine and determine the situation there. Finally, he was to discover what multinational forces were involved "and establish liaison with them."[56]

At least one other officer, the division staff judge advocate, Lt. Col. Quinton W. Richardson, was particularly impressed by General Trobaugh's remarks

[54] Intervs, McMichael with Halley, 15 Nov 1983; Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985; Hicks with Barrett, [Nov 1983]; Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983; and author with Cusick, 24 Jan 1989 (quoted words). All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[55] For this and the following paragraph, see Interv, Wade with Sidenberg, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[56] Interv, Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

about refugees. As Colonel Richardson listened to the briefing, it became obvious to him "that there were going to be a number of JAG-related problems." These included the need to form a new Grenadian government, to commandeer vehicles, and to billet troops. He also anticipated that any fighting would generate a large number of refugees and prisoners, or rather detainees since the United States was not at war with either Cuba or Grenada. Under joint doctrine the Army had responsibility for the maintenance of prisoner-of-war or, as on Grenada, detainee compounds. Shortly after the meeting, Richardson voiced his concerns to the division chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., who added him to the assault command post roster and assigned him and Major Archer to the sixth aircraft.[57]

### Brigade/Battalion Staffs, N+2:30 to N+3:30

Colonels Silvasy, Hamilton, and Raines and their S–3s went directly to 2d Brigade headquarters to meet with the commanders of all their attached units. They discussed briefly the brigade's scheme of maneuver. Because Silvasy was not as sanguine as Atlantic Command planners about the amount of resistance that U.S. forces could expect, he decided to request a double-load of ammunition for his men. The reduction of aircraft from Sunday night required both Hamilton and Raines to revise the vehicle priority lists for their battalions. Raines, in particular, was convinced that water would be a problem and made certain that all of his 2½-ton trucks scheduled for early deployment pulled water trailers.[58]

After first passing on the results of the division and brigade meetings, the two battalion commanders sat down with their staffs to prepare battalion loading lists, by-name rosters of the members of the units going on the first twelve aircraft, and an inventory of the equipment they would take with them. Each battalion task force would consist of three rifle companies; the reconnaissance platoon from the Combat Support Company; a battery with Stinger missile teams from the 3d Battalion, 4th Air Defense Artillery; an engineer platoon from Company B, 307th Engineer Battalion; a combat electronic warfare and intelligence element; a Marine team from the 2d Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company; and a headquarters element. In addition, Raines decided to take the antitank platoon from his Combat Support Company organized as a reinforced rifle platoon.[59]

The colonel also made special arrangements in case his 3d Battalion had to use an intermediate staging base, still an option at the time of the N+2 briefing. He directed his S–4, Lieutenant McClure, to remain at Fort Bragg and

[57] Interv (quoted words), Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, pp. 1–2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[58] Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[59] Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and with Baine, 10 Nov 1983; Burdett with Clawson, [Nov 1983], and with Raines, [Nov 1983]; Parker with Costa, [Nov 1983]; and Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

to expedite the movement of the battalion's vehicles and resupply to Grenada after the unit deployed. To assist McClure, Raines left his assistant S–3 for air, who was slated to depart soon for another assignment. The colonel took his headquarters company commander, who had logistical experience, and his new assistant S–3 for air with him to handle any intermediate staging base operations on Barbados. They could ensure that the 3d Battalion, if diverted to Barbados as Raines expected, made the most efficient use of any C–130s.[60]

When the leader of the 2d Platoon, 82d Military Police Company, 1st Lt. David B. Lemauk, stopped at the 2d Battalion headquarters, Colonel Hamilton said that he would like to have the entire platoon attached to his battalion rather than the usual one squad. As justification, Hamilton cited the need to evacuate large numbers of Americans from the area of operations and the possibility of capturing a substantial number of prisoners of war. Somewhat later, when Lemauk visited the 3d Battalion headquarters, Colonel Raines asked him for a military police squad in addition to those going with the 2d Battalion for the same reasons. Due to the initiative of the battalion commanders, the 2d Brigade deployed with four military police squads instead of the normal two.[61]

Although much of the last-minute flurry of work in the battalion headquarters related to logistics, logistical planning was essentially complete when Hamilton and Raines returned from brigade headquarters and delivered copies of the division's operations order to their staffs. Logistical officers in turn briefed the officers and men of their S–4 sections. Noncommissioned officers prepared necessary paperwork, and then the members of the sections scattered to the corps and division warehouses to requisition the supplies and equipment that their battalions would need for the mission.[62]

They could do this so quickly because their predecessors had done the bulk of the logistical planning within each battalion long before the alert notification or even the first Joint Chiefs of Staff message warning about a possible operation on Grenada. Over time, using historic rates of wartime consumption, data drawn from exercises and computer simulations, battalion logistical officers had estimated unit usage rates according to the type of conflict—guerrilla, conventional, or nuclear. Based on these calculations, they had developed "packages" for various classes of supply. Once they knew the type of operation, they only had to send their men to retrieve the appropriate packages.[63]

If a battalion commander deployed, his executive officer ordinarily assumed command of the rear detachment. Until that time, the executive officers assisted

[60] Interv, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[61] Interv, McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[62] Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, and author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[63] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

the load preparations, often concentrating on items known to be in short supply. Thus, the 82d Aviation Battalion executive officer, Maj. George S. Eyster IV, personally attended to drawing over-water contingency items, such as life vests and life rafts. Supply officers at the warehouse had no difficulty in filling his initial requests, but in so doing they essentially depleted the existing stocks at Fort Bragg. Unless the Army's wholesale supply system replenished the Fort Bragg warehouses in remarkably short order, any subsequent helicopter flights would have to proceed without this equipment.[64]

## 82d Airborne Division, N+2:30 to N+3:30

Meanwhile, out in the black North Carolina night, an intricate fast-paced ballet began. When the commander of the 182d Materiel Management Center, Maj. William M. Causey Jr., returned from the N+2 briefing, he directed that the bulk ballast ammunition and certain contingency items that he knew were ready "begin rolling." With that the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, dispatched trucks, drivers, and working parties to support the loading. Trucks and drivers from the deploying battalions, segregated from their parent units at N+2, moved to divisional warehouses to pick up minimum mission-essential equipment. The 82d Military Police Company established traffic control points and secured division headquarters. One military police platoon assumed responsibility for protection of ammunition convoys. The division staff had already activated the emergency operations center at division headquarters to monitor the activities of U.S. forces in the Grenada area.[65]

The alert notification sent sleepy soldiers from the 1st Support Command and the 82d Support Command along with civilians from the Directorate of Industrial Operations to their respective contingency warehouses, many of which dated from World War II and lacked electricity. As a result, work details groped through the blackness searching with flashlights and lanterns for the items they needed. More often than not the materiel turned up in some cramped and all but inaccessible corner. The working parties formed long human chains to pass it to the loading docks by hand. The shortage of trucks caused a long but temporary delay until transportation arrived to move the materiel to the corps marshaling area. In the interim, the work parties moved to the next warehouse and repeated the process.[66]

Ammunition constituted a separate problem. The division used heavy and bulky aluminum shipping containers, called CONEX (or Containers, Express), the size of small rooms to store ammunition. Some confusion existed initially as to what kind of ammunition mixture the division actually desired. Officers of the 8th Ordnance Company, the corps unit in charge of the ammunition

[64] Interv, Baribeau with Eyster, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[65] Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983 (quoted words); Bishop with J. A. Hamilton, 16 Nov 1983; McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983]; and Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[66] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-29, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, plus author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**A 10,000-pound forklift backs away after placing a CONEX on a trailer.**

supply point, knew that they needed to start the ammunition flowing as quickly as possible. Not until after the N+2 Briefing, however, did they receive authoritative information about the division's needs in the form of the ammunition plan developed by the S–3 of the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, Maj. Paul V. Passaro. Then an additional problem presented itself. Although Major Passaro had attempted to identify each individual CONEX that contained the desired mixture of high-explosive and illumination shells, the ammunition supply point did not contain enough to satisfy the 2d Brigade's requirements. Consequently, the men and women of the 8th Ordnance Company opened additional CONEXs, removed the unwanted ammunition, and replaced it with the types required—a difficult and demanding task given the type of containers used. One officer estimated that reconfiguring the ammunition cost the division three to four hours.[67]

The ammunition-filled CONEXs required 10,000-pound rough-terrain forklifts to load them on flatbed trucks for movement to the airfield. Because Fort Bragg lacked a sufficient number, the 82d Support Command made do with a few 6,000-pound rough-terrain forklifts and a somewhat larger number of 4,000-pound models designed for use on shop floors. The 6,000-pound lifts were an acceptable substitute, but the extender bars for the fork were not

[67] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and with Mason, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

available. Consequently, the CONEXs were always threatening to fall off the lift, an undesirable event because they were filled with live ammunition. The lighter 4,000-pound forklifts were even worse. Like the 6,000-pound models, they needed extender bars to ensure that a CONEX remained in the fork. With extender bars and a full load, however, they showed a distressing tendency to tip over onto the ammunition-filled CONEX.[68]



**An aerial port squadron member uses a forklift to move pallets to a C–130 supporting URGENT FURY.**

Although loading of the ammunition proceeded gingerly, the first CONEXs nonetheless left the division ammunition supply point at 2400, N+3. Some went directly to Green Ramp, where they were loaded onto C–141s for shipment. Other CONEXs, containing bulk ballast ammunition intended for the task force's vehicles, went to the division's heavy drop rig site. Whether airlanded or airdropped, this ammunition would provide a valuable reserve for the task force during the crucial initial stages of the operation before aerial resupply built up a large stockage on Grenada.[69]

Had the division planned to airdrop into Grenada, the heavy drop rig site would have been a center of hectic activity. As it was, Company E, 407th Supply and Service Battalion, commanded by Capt. Bernard Slayton, was busy enough. The riggers broke out the ammunition and loaded it aboard the vehicles that the division planned to take to Grenada. Normally, the battalions would have been responsible for loading their own vehicles, but the special equipment available at the heavy drop rig site and the specialized training of the riggers meant that they could complete the task more quickly.[70]

To offset the reserve ammunition lost when division planners severely restricted the number of vehicles accompanying the 2d Brigade, the 82d

[68] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul and 7 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. For an authoritative discussion of forklift capabilities in a slightly different context, see AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-23, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[69] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[70] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and author with Henry, 15 Jul 1986, and with Horton, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; author's observations at Fort Bragg (1986 and 1989) and discussions with Army officers.

Support Command increased the number of ammunition CONEXs shipped by air. Division load planners in Maj. Samuel S. Vitucci's Provisional Movement Control Center had sufficient time to alter their standard load plans to meet this contingency. Using the Automated Airload Planning System, a computer program that allowed units to develop general load plans for a variety of aircraft, they prepared a gross estimate of the number and type of aircraft by mission. The system as it existed in 1983 was rigid in that it would only accept information from its official database and was not deployable. The database was physically located in a central processing unit at a university in California and was tied to the terminals in the Provisional Movement Control Center by insecure telephone and micrwave connections, which meant that anyone with the proper equipment could monitor the transmissions. Without an override provision for recording real data, such as the actual weight of equipment to be loaded on the aircraft, the program lacked operational flexibility. Furthermore, because the Army used the computer on a time-sharing basis with the university's faculty and students whose work took precedence, results often arrived very slowly. Using a field expedient, division load planners overcame these deficiencies by printing out airload planning data and then manually writing individual manifests for aircraft carrying the 2d Brigade Task Force.[71]

One other aircraft load issue that involved Forward Area Support Team II coordinator Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III surfaced at this time. Major Cleary had learned about the operation sometime before the alert; however, he did not know any of the details until he and Forward Area Support Team III coordinator Maj. Christopher O. Watson had received a briefing early in the N-sequence. Each team consisted of a supply and service detachment, a maintenance company, and a medical company drawn from its parent battalion in the 82d Support Command. Because of size, each had to move into an area of operations in phases. Over the previous months Cleary and Watson had worked out the sequence in which their personnel and equipment should arrive at an airhead and had developed standardized personnel and equipment force packages. The first of these, named Alpha Echelon, could provide a minimal level of logistical support to a brigade task force for a few hours.[72]

Major Cleary used the information in the briefing, particularly the fact that he would have only two C–141s available, to adjust the Alpha Echelon configuration to best support the 2d Brigade's mission on Grenada. Alpha consisted of thirty-five officers and men, including Major Cleary, equipped with two forklifts, a command-and-control jeep, a maintenance truck loaded with tools and spare parts, and a five-ton truck and trailer carrying the forward support fueling system. Cleary needed the forklifts to unload supplies and equipment

[71] LL, DALO–PLO, 5 Jan 1984, sub: Use of Deployable Mobility Execution System, Hist files (PDocs/DA/DCSOPS), CMH; Interv, Wade with Vitucci, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[72] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-23, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, and with S. Green, 5 Aug 1986, plus Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, and with C. Watson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

from aircraft, while the jeep, loaded with radios, allowed him to direct logistical operations scattered around a 2,800-meter airstrip. Because the 2d Brigade was bringing few vehicles, Cleary dispensed with the automotive repair truck Alpha Echelon normally brought with it. A ten-man repair team, headed by S. Sgt. Sammie L. Harris, from Company C, 782d Maintenance Battalion, replaced the vehicle. The group could provide only essential services until the remainder of the forward area support team arrived. Cleary told Sergeant Harris to bring whatever spare parts his men could carry.[73]

The aviation fuel system supply point, manned by 2d Lt. Eric P. Katz's Class III Platoon, Company A, 407th Supply and Service Battalion, was essential if the division needed to mount air assault operations on the island or even to stage administrative flights. Because the UH–60s in Company B, 82d Aviation Battalion, would carry no extra JP–4, they would have to rely on local supplies. The aviators would fly out of a major international airport on Barbados with ample stocks; however, they would depend wholly on whatever fuel the Air Force could deliver to Grenada. The fueling system, which General Trobaugh expected to be operational within twelve hours of its arrival, would drain Air Force tankers and store and then dispense the fuel as needed.[74]

Cleary had two major concerns about the composition of Alpha Echelon. They had to do with the type of forklifts available to his advance element and whether the brigade would allow him to bring them early enough. His table of organization and equipment gave him two 4,000-pound forklifts. He knew from his experience in Joint Exercise Bright Star in Egypt that he needed forklifts capable of handling ammunition-filled CONEXs on the first equipment aircraft, and he was also aware of the limitations of the 4,000-pounders. In his professional opinion, he needed a 6,000-pound forklift with extender bars in the airhead just as soon as possible.[75]

Around 2400, on 24 October, Cleary succeeded in borrowing a 6,000-pound forklift. He then rushed to brigade headquarters to secure a place for it in the airflow. Everyone was tired and working under great pressure. Colonel Silvasy remembered the discussion that ensued:

> Dan, as we were getting ready to go, came into my office, got about two inches from my face, and started ranting and raving, telling me that . . . the first aircraft that went in there with equipment on it better have some forklifts. . . . If it didn't, we would be in terrible straits. My S–3 got about two inches from my face and said: "Sir, you got to be kidding me. We got to get gunjeeps in there. We got to get command-and-control

[73] Intervs, Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, and author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kenneth C. Sever, "Units and Missions—The 782d Maintenance Battalion (in Grenada)," p. 4. Cleary stated immediately after the operation and again, almost three years later, that Alpha Echelon had thirty-five members, including himself, whereas Sever reported thirty-eight.

[74] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[75] Intervs, Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, and author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

vehicles, medical things. Who are we kidding about materiel-handling equipment?" Cleary was very persistent, kept yelling and screaming.

In the midst of this conversation, the colonel suddenly recollected a forklift's utility when he was a company commander during the 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic. Because of that half-forgotten memory Silvasy said, "Dan, I'll tell you what. We'll go ahead and let you take that." His response proved to be one of the key command decisions of the campaign.[76]

At the same time division staff officers and battalion executive officers gathered at division headquarters to learn the composition of the division assault command post. It remained very light, approximately forty officers and men with only limited communications equipment. The officers discovered, however, that General Trobaugh wanted two officers who would normally remain at Fort Bragg, the division aviation officer and the division engineer, to go forward with him. The general intended to use Task Force 160 that accompanied General Scholtes' special operations forces to furnish air support for the 2d Brigade until Major William J. Elder's Company B, 82d Aviation Battalion, arrived in-country. The division aviation officer and 82d Aviation Battalion commander, Lt. Col. Robert N. Seigle, would provide the expertise to do this intelligently. Colonel Izzo, on the other hand, could prepare a first-hand assessment of the condition of the airfield at Salines, upon which would depend the success of the division's reinforcement and resupply efforts. Given the general lack of information about the magnitude of the tasks facing the unit's engineers, Izzo was quite happy to go. On Grenada, better than anywhere else, he could determine the size of the engineer component needed and make his recommendations directly to the division commander.[77]

At this meeting the division G–4, Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree II, discovered that General Trobaugh did not intend to include a logistical staff officer in the division assault command post. Crabtree argued very strongly that the general would need a logistical specialist with him and carried the point. Crabtree selected his ammunition officer, Capt. James A. Rosebrock, to accompany the assault wave as the G–4 representative.[78]

Although the division planned to take Stinger antiaircraft missile teams attached to the field artillery batteries to Grenada, General Trobaugh decided not to include anyone from the division's airspace management element in the assault command post. The officer in charge, Capt. Harry L. McIntosh Jr., stayed at Fort Bragg, where he served as a liaison officer between division and corps headquarters. Trobaugh's decision rested on two perceptions: first, that the Cuban air threat on Grenada was minimal; second, that the assault command post needed to be kept as small as possible. The need to coordinate

[76] Interv, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986; Briefings (quoted words), Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[77] Intervs, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, and Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Task Force 160 also had some assets from the 158th Aviation Brigade.

[78] Draft AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.




**A divisional Gamma Goat used during the operation.**

artillery fire plans with aerial operations still remained, and this responsibility devolved as an additional duty upon one of the staff officers who accompanied Trobaugh.[79]

Back at Green Ramp, Major Cleary continued to modify the configuration of the Forward Area Support Team II advance element based on the availability of space for his men and equipment in the airflow. He wanted to take a Gamma Goat filled with medical supplies in Alpha Echelon just as he normally did, but the idea that the Navy would have ample medical facilities just offshore meant that it was an obvious candidate for bumping back to the team's follow-on force package, the Bravo Echelon. The vehicle was designed both to reinforce capacities in Alpha and to add some others not present but needed as the 2d Brigade built up at Point Salines. Suspicious of overly optimistic assumptions, Cleary expressed reservations about the medical information he had received;

[79] Interv, McMichael with McIntosh, 5 Apr 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

however, on obtaining assurances that it was accurate, he moved the vehicle further back in the loading sequence. At this point the real medical planning—as far as the division was concerned—began at Green Ramp. Colonel Wilson and his staff from the 307th Medical Battalion became heavily involved in putting together an advanced medical element that would accompany Cleary and precede the Alpha Echelon of Company C, 307th Medical Battalion, the company normally associated with Forward Area Support Team II. The group would consist of the division orthopedic surgeon, Lt. Col. Joseph P. Jackson Jr., and five medics. Cleary asked the Company C commander, Capt. Vincent E. Ashley, to give him his best medics. The individuals selected loaded themselves down with as many medical supplies as they could carry.[80]

Colonel Wilson thus succeeded in slipping one surgeon in addition to the battalion surgeons into the deploying force. Although not technically a part of Forward Area Support Team II, Colonel Jackson accompanied the team's five medics. As Colonel Sidenberg later reported, the lack of equipment restricted Jackson to the role of "a smart aidman." After talking to Cleary at Green Ramp at 0300 on 25 October, Jackson did obtain more supplies than this comment suggests. Even so, they were not everything that he wanted. Almost as worrisome as the shortage of materiel was the absence of any defined medical mission for the operation. Jackson deployed without any details on the medical mission.[81]

Ranger logistics, similar to ranger tactical operations, were characterized by professionalism and displays of personal initiative. Major Hensler, for example, without any guidance about the 2d Battalion's mission, brought more supplies with the battalion when it deployed to Hunter Army Airfield than it needed, but in so doing he offset the shortage of ranger supplies at the Anniston Army Depot. The 260th Quartermaster Battalion-Rear, first under Major Gibbons and then Colonel Bila, operated in the same spirit. One observer likened its efforts readying the 1st Battalion for departure to the movements of a fine Swiss watch—"intricate, regular, precise." The actions of Colonel Childs, the director of plans and training at Fort Stewart; Captain Hoffman, the ranger coordinator at Hunter Army Airfield; the Victory Brigade from Fort Stewart; and the officers and men in battalion-rear when Colonel Taylor and his planners were at Fort Bragg were also worthy of note.[82]

The only real problem in the loading process occurred with the confusion over time on target between General Mall and Colonel Taylor. The mix-up stemmed from an error on Mall's execution checklist that recorded Grenada

[80] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, plus Oland with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, and with Nolan, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH.

[81] Intervs, Wade with Sidenberg, 14 Dec 1983 (quoted words), and Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Diary, Jackson, 24 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH. At the end of this entry Jackson wrote, "Maj Cleary gave invaluable aid."

[82] Interv, author with Semmens, 14 Aug 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

time as Zulu minus 2 instead of minus 3. It was the kind of minor mistake that sometimes occurs in the course of frequent mission and time changes of the sort that dogged the Grenada operation. Although such discrepancies can cause grave problems during military operations, in this instance no long-lasting problems resulted. Instead, the confusion provided yet another opportunity for the rangers, Hunter Army Airfield ground support personnel, and Military Airlift Command aircrews to demonstrate their highly developed resourcefulness.

The 82d Airborne Division's record over the same time period was somewhat mixed. Once again, senior leaders failed to give medical questions the close attention they deserved. At the N+2 briefing General Trobaugh and his staff addressed the problem of detainees and refugees for the first time in a substantive fashion. Aside from the injunction to Major Archer to look into food shortages once the division arrived on the island, however, Trobaugh and his staff framed the issues as legal and civil affairs subjects rather than as logistical ones. The exclusion of the civil affairs officer and the staff judge advocate from pre-alert planning meant that their concerns had not surfaced earlier and that these officers had not had any opportunity to interact with the division logisticians. Of course, Trobaugh anticipated that an air line of communications back to the continental United States would give him a great deal of logistical flexibility. His optimism rested on the assumption that the airflow from Pope Air Force Base to the Point Salines airfield would suffer no major disruptions. Time constraints and the exclusion of many staff principals meant that no one had examined the logistical consequences of either a reduction or complete stoppage of flights into Point Salines for any length of time. Adequate supplies for any considerable number of detainees or refugees, to say nothing of sustained military operations, depended on the plan surviving its contact with Grenadian realities.

# 5

# The Force Sorties

## N+3:30 to Liftoff

☆ ☆ ☆

Preparations to deploy the division assault command post and the brigade task force proceeded at high speed following the N+2 briefing. Logisticians focused on executing the division's readiness standing operating procedures. Meanwhile, several of the division's specialized elements—aviation, signal, and especially medical—faced additional challenges because of their unique equipment and missions.

### 82d Airborne Division, N+3:30 to N+8

Thirty minutes after the meeting about the makeup of the assault command post, at 0030 on 25 October, the commander of the 82d Support Command, Col. William F. Daly Jr., gave his N+3:30 briefing on the loading plan. The briefing constituted the second major logistical milestone in the notification sequence. Representatives of the units directly involved in the loading process attended: the 2d Brigade executive officer, Lt. Col. William J. Ely Jr., and the S–4, Maj. James F. Whittaker; the Division Ready Force-9 commander, Lt. Col. Ralph E. Newman of the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, and the S–3, Maj. John A. Hamilton; the commander of the 182d Materiel Management Center, Maj. William M. Causey Jr., and six of his principal staff officers; and officers from the deploying battalions. The assistant division commander for support, Brig. Gen. James D. Smith; the division G–4, Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree II; and liaison officers from XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters and 1st Support Command also participated. According to one participant, it was "the best attended" division support command briefing in three years.[1]

Colonel Daly explained that the loading would be completed in ten hours rather than the normal eighteen and outlined the changes needed to achieve that objective. Deploying fewer antiarmor weapons and their ammunition helped. Based on the amount and type of supplies and equipment specified in

[1] Intervs, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, and with Daly, 31 Jul 1986; Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983; Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983 (quoted words); Bishop with J. A. Hamilton, 16 Nov 1983; and Briefing, Cole, 15 Jul 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Documents in the official file contain conflicting information on the 182d's designation. Usage in this work conforms to official guidance found in TOE 29–53H3, 15 Jun 1973, chg. 19, TOE files, CMH.

the service support annex of the operations order, he directed modifications in the number and size of Division Ready Force-9 work details. Some required more people; others were unnecessary. He also announced that, because of security considerations, Division Ready Force-9 would not be on the division support command's radio net used to coordinate the loading process. The force would establish its own radio net. Daly reviewed general problems that had developed in previous exercises, designating the equipment supply issue point and the marshaling area for vehicles.[2]

Although the N-sequence appeared to be operating smoothly, Colonel Daly remained concerned after the briefing ended. The abbreviated nature of the sequence, the length of time required to transport heavy and bulky pieces of equipment from warehouses to the departure airfield, and the large quantity of supplies that had to make the same journey required everything to work almost flawlessly for the loading to remain on schedule. Fortunately, some of this heavy equipment was already loaded on pallets and rigged for airdrop, which markedly reduced preparation time. For the next several hours, the division support commander had to pay close attention to all of the work details.[3]

When a unit assumed Division Ready Brigade status, it submitted a list of standard-issue items that it needed. Concurrent with Colonel Daly's briefing, as prescribed in the 82d's readiness procedures, property book personnel from the 182d Materiel Management Center began to collect this critical equipment, primarily from Division Ready Force-9. Colonel Newman and all the officers and men of the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, proved very cooperative, and the operation went "very, very smoothly." Several of the deploying units requested exotic chemical and biological warfare gear; however, knowing this contingency did not require such gear, the center commander, Major Causey, dissuaded them.[4]

Also at 0030 on 25 October the 2d Brigade commander Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr., his staff, and the men of the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, began their movement to the personnel holding area located in a series of World War II–era barracks on a hill near the Pope Air Force Base gate adjacent to Green Ramp. Surrounded by concertina wire and guarded by a detail from Division Ready Force-9, the area provided a secure location for units to receive classified briefings and to work out plans at the company level. The battalion commander, Lt. Col. Jack L. Hamilton, his staff, and Company A, commanded by Capt. Charles H. Jacoby Jr., moved by motor convoy to the area first, followed by Company B, commanded by Capt. Michael F. Ritz. Capt. Mark D. Rocke's newly designated Company C, which had to come from the 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry's barracks, arrived somewhat later.[5]

At this point the leading elements of the division were only thirty minutes ahead of the normal eighteen-hour loading sequence *(Diagram 3)*. The 82d

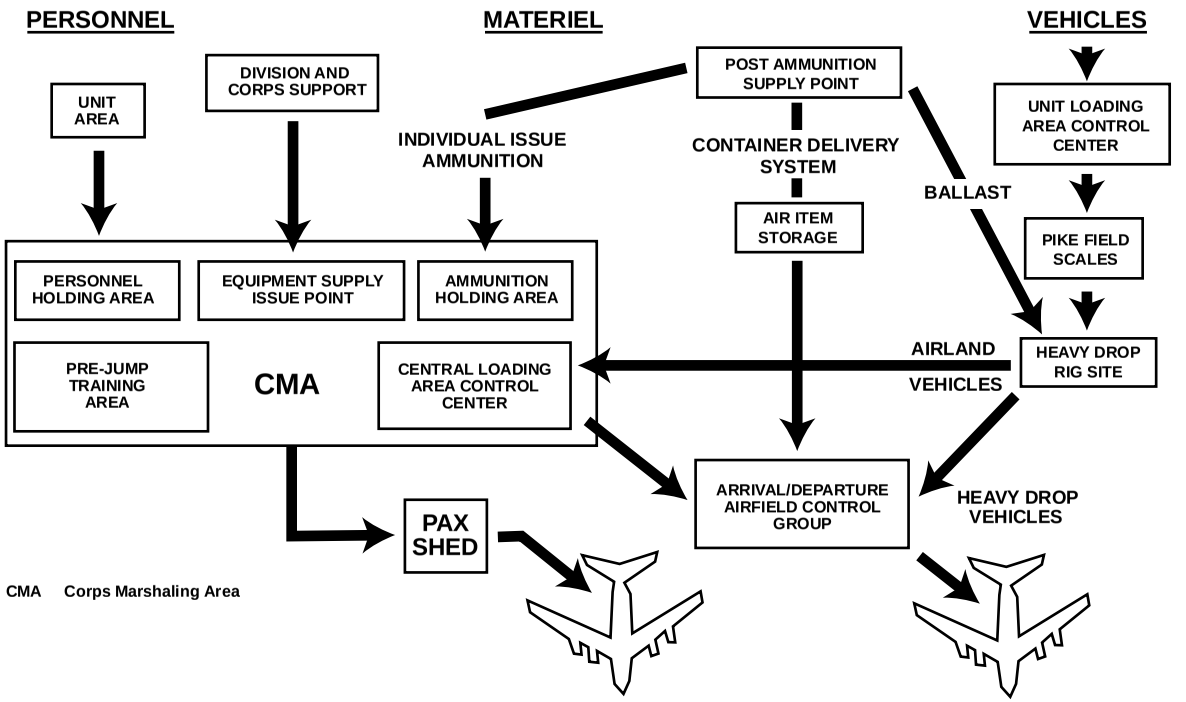
[2] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and Bishop with J. A. Hamilton, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[3] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[4] Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[5] Intervs, Burdett with Keene, [Nov 1983], Bishop with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983, and Wells with Farbes, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## Diagram 3—82d Airborne Division Loading Sequence




*Source*: 82d Airborne Division, *Readiness Standing Operating Procedures: Planning and Preparation* (Fort Bragg, N.C.: 82d Airborne Division, 1995), p. 1-6.



**Colonel Silvasy**



**Colonel Hamilton**

Airborne Division commander, Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh, calculated that the task force could make an N+10 departure in part by cutting out much of the planning time for low-level units, particularly those attached to the brigade for this operation. Not all subordinate unit planning could be finessed, however. The 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, still confronted an extraordinarily important tactical issue: Would it parachute into the objective or would it debark from C–141s after landing?[6]

The battalion commander, Colonel Hamilton, anticipated that the division would follow its readiness standing operating procedures and therefore had his battalion prepare for an airdrop. He was anxious for the 182d Materiel Management Center to distribute contingency items and to issue ammunition to soldiers as quickly as possible. Then he could proceed with pre-jump training, the next stage in the readiness sequence: The men, using C–130 mockups equipped with static lines, would practice boarding aircraft, actions in flight, exiting the aircraft under the direction of a jumpmaster, and finally parachute-landing falls—that is, how to hit the ground without breaking any bones. At 0300, N+6, Hamilton issued his battalion operations order. He was ready for his men to draw their equipment and ammunition.[7]

[6] Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[7] Ibid. See also Intervs, Wells with Farbes, 9 Nov 1983, and with Barajas, 10 Nov 1983; Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983; and author with Reardon, 4 Apr 2007. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

In addition to the shortage of trucks, several factors conspired to slow this portion of the loading sequence more than either Colonel Hamilton or Major Causey had anticipated. The first of these was the extreme secrecy under which the division made its preparations while cloaking them with a facade of normalcy. When Causey moved to the central loading area control center, where his men would distribute contingency items to the departing battalions, he found it filled with vehicles and equipment from one of the XVIII Airborne Corps' signal battalions that had just returned from Joint Exercise Bold Eagle. Not knowing of the impending operation, the battalion had as normal simply locked its vehicles and departed with the keys. Not until 0200 on 25 October, N+5, did Causey with Hamilton's assistance finish clearing the area.[8]

Then there was the simple fact that moving ammunition and equipment took time—and some of that materiel had to come from XVIII Airborne Corps. Because the corps began its N-sequence two hours after the division, coordination between elements of the two organizations proved difficult. The first contingency items, C-rations, arrived at 0200, and others soon followed. Flak jackets, especially valuable if the troops had to do any fighting in a built-up area, such as St. George's, were, however, slow to appear. Aware that time was running out, Hamilton had decided to proceed without them when they finally arrived.[9]

Major Causey's executive officer exercised direct control over the equipment supply issue point and the individual issue ammunition point. The officers and senior noncommissioned officers manning these stations came from the 182d Materiel Management Center and Division Ready Force-9. Each battalion in Colonel Daly's 82d Support Command provided a detail of approximately ten soldiers. Division Ready Force-9 supplied working parties to unload the trucks bringing the equipment, supplies, and ammunition to the central loading area control center.[10]

Colonel Daly's decision to remove Colonel Newman's Division Ready Force-9 from the division support command's radio net was a source of confusion within the loading battalion. The outload net, as logisticians referred to it, furnished secure communications for all the major elements involved in the division's loading—the heavy drop rig site; the ammunition supply point; the 182d Materiel Management Center; and Provisional Movement Control Center, which served as the net control center. The links it provided gave logisticians great flexibility, allowing Daly, for example, to move around the post to handle crises while remaining in contact with all aspects of the loading operation. Without it, Newman could not easily contact his far-flung work details because he had just given up most of his radios to fill gaps in the deploying battalions' equipment. Newman's communications-electronics officer eventually established a net; however, because of equipment shortages, it did not

[8] Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[9] Ibid.; Jack L. Hamilton, "Operation Urgent Fury," Student Paper, p. 11.

[10] Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and Burdett with Morris, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Paratroopers and equipment stand by for deployment, waiting in a light utility vehicle on the tarmac and loading a truck aboard a C–141**



become secure until the night of 25 October, too late to assist the loading of the 2d Brigade. Moreover, the net only included elements of the battalion. Newman and his staff, for example, could not use it to talk to the Movement Control Center and so continued to experience great difficulty in providing timely assistance to Daly's command.[11]

Soon after the division issued the alert, personnel from its support command began painting signs designating issue points for specific types of equipment and supplies—C-rations, poncho liners, atropine, canteens, bug spray, flak jackets, jungle boots, and jungle uniforms, among other items. All these articles arrived in time except the jungle boots and uniforms, a circumstance that forced most 2d Brigade troopers to deploy in standard-issue battle dress uniforms (or, in military parlance, BDU) and field boots rather than tropical-weight clothing.[12]

The division's operations order had assumed that the XVIII Airborne Corps would provide jungle fatigues. The request for these items had produced a minor crisis for corps logisticians: The corps maintained only enough such uniforms and boots at Fort Bragg to outfit one ranger battalion, but for Urgent Fury two ranger battalions were deploying. The shortage, moreover, was not confined to the post; it was system-wide. The Army was in the process of replacing the Vietnam-era cotton uniforms with new ones made from synthetic fiber. The 82d Airborne Division had received the polyester upgrades, which became the official duty uniform. The Rangers, however, retained the old apparel for the moment.[13]

This situation had arisen because the Department of the Army had elected to spread the expense of purchasing the new uniforms over several fiscal years. The uniforms came in four variants for different environments—temperate, desert, tropical, and arctic. With the Army focused on deterring Soviet aggression in Western Europe, it chose to procure the medium-weight woodland-pattern battle dress uniforms first. It had gambled that the 82d would not have to conduct a contingency operation in either cold or hot climates during the transition to the new clothing. Grenada meant that the department had lost the wager because no tropical outfits were in stock as of October 1983, and the corps' 1st Support Command could not order what did not exist. What remained to be seen was what price the troops would have to pay.[14]

As soon as Colonel Daly realized that the corps could not provide the articles requested, he sent details to scour the division warehouses. They discovered enough of the old design boots to supply the organizations that deployed

[11] Interv, Burdett with Morris, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Interv), CMH.

[12] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-26, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[13] Interv, Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Opn Order 15–83, 82d Abn Div, [24 Oct 1983], an. F; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-26. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[14] Karl E. Cocke et al., comps., *Department of the Army Historical Summary, Fiscal Year 1982*, p. 93; Intervs, author with McElroy, 30 Apr 1984, and with C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

after the 2d Brigade. They also turned up a limited number of jungle fatigues. Meanwhile, the corps G–4, Col. Corless W. Mitchell, requested Vietnam-era jungle uniforms from the Army's national depot supply system. He eventually secured over six thousand and shipped them to the Caribbean, but they arrived on Grenada well into the operation.[15]

By N+6, 0300 hours on 25 October, Colonel Hamilton's battalion had filed into the equipment supply issue point. The area was dimly lit, almost eerie in a lightly misting rain, and very crowded. Colonel Daly's support command had dropped any pretense of property accountability; no one signed hand receipts for the equipment. It was barely possible to maintain accountability in a full eighteen-hour sequence and clearly impractical in a ten-hour one. The personnel of the issue point worked at top speed; their objective was to move Hamilton's men through as quickly as possible. Initially, the 182d Materiel Management Center maintained reasonable control of the process despite the lack of paperwork; however, as it proceeded and the pace did not slacken, Major Causey had to depend on the deploying units to make certain that all their men received the necessary supplies and equipment. It was, said Causey, "organized chaos," but Hamilton's battalion drew its equipment and moved out on time.[16]

As soon as the unit had what it needed, it moved to the individual issue ammunition point. There it encountered a new set of difficulties that reflected larger problems in the logistical system. Colonel Silvasy's request for a double load had greatly slowed the response of the 8th Ordnance Company at the post's ammunition supply point because now the unit had to provide seven CONEXs of ammunition to supply the battalion and its attachments. Unloading the containers was slow because the small size of the individual issue point made it very difficult to maneuver the forklifts needed to hoist the CONEXs off the trailers on which they arrived. Just getting them on the ground and opened took forty-five minutes. Later, Major Causey accelerated this process by dispensing entirely with CONEXs and moving ammunition by pallet load.[17]

The 182d Materiel Management Center had worked out a system for the issue of individual ammunition by giving each soldier a card that listed by type and amount the ammunition he was supposed to receive. With so many troops in such a restricted area and with so many more pushing up behind them, this procedure proved unworkable. In the end, Major Causey's personnel had to issue the ammunition as fast as possible to make certain that the next unit received its load on schedule.[18]

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[15] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-26, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. See also Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983; Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983], with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983; and author with C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[16] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[17] Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[18] Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Even as the men of Colonel Hamilton's rear company under Captain Rocke were drawing the last of their ammunition, the next battalion arrived. Lt. Col. John W. Raines' 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, had moved to the personnel holding area at N+5, 0200. Its leading element, Capt. Danny W. Davis' Company A entered the equipment supply issue point at N+8, 0500. Causey's troopers hardly had time to draw a deep breath before they were once again plunged into organized chaos.[19]

Overall, Hamilton's and Raines' battalions received a double load of M16 ammunition and approximately a load and a half of M60 machine gun ammunition. The precise amount issued to each company varied, however, according to the sequence in which the different companies of the two organizations arrived at the issue point and the stocks immediately available at that time. Companies A and C of the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, for example, received generous amounts of M16 ammunition—240 rounds each. On the other hand, Captain Ritz' Company B happened to reach the area immediately after Company A but before the arrival of more CONEXs, and the riflemen received 210 M16 rounds apiece. In Raines' battalion, Claymore mines and .45-caliber ammunition became the critical items. When the lead unit, Company A, passed through the issue point, no Claymores were available. By the time the last element, the Combat Support Company, arrived, 82d Support Command personnel had refurbished the Claymore supply, but no .45-caliber rounds were available. One of the unit's privates gave the company commander, Capt. Ben F. Clawson, exactly half of the shells that he had drawn—1 round. Captain Clawson was concerned, for he had seventeen men armed only with .45s in his antitank platoon. Fortunately, he bumped into the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III. Informed of the situation, Major Cleary located enough .45-caliber ammunition to give Clawson's men their basic load in a plane-side issue just before takeoff.[20]

Major Causey had anticipated problems at the individual issue ammunition point and thus assigned his senior noncommissioned officer there. Although Causey's responsibilities encompassed the entire post, he spent all his time during this portion of the loading process troubleshooting between the equipment supply issue point and the individual issue ammunition point. Some of the problems he encountered were the result of simple misunderstandings. A number of senior noncommissioned officers in the deploying battalions, for example, objected to the amount of M16 ammunition they had received. Their basic load in Vietnam had been 500 rounds. Now they were getting less, and it was called a double load. Causey had to explain that they were in fact receiving a true double load. If he gave them as much ammunition as they wanted, he observed, he would not have any left for follow-on units.[21]

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[19] Ibid.; Interv, Burdett with D. Davis, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[20] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986; Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983; Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983; Wells with Capetillo, 17 Nov 1983; and Burdett with Clawson, [Nov 1983], with D. Davis, [Nov 1983], and with Pederson, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[21] Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

General Trobaugh had decided not to issue grenades at the individual issue ammunition point because of safety concerns during the flight to Grenada. Instead, the company commanders received boxes of grenades that they stored in their follow-on vehicles. Distribution to the troops would occur after they reached the island. The sole exception was Captain Ritz. The supply of grenades was exhausted at the ammunition point when Ritz's Company B passed through, so he and his men received none.[22]

Given conditions at the individual issue ammunition point—dim light, milling crowds, and the rapid pace—not every officer in the deploying battalions found a division support command representative to whom he could explain his problems. As a result, some remained unresolved. In addition, lack of a systematic method for distributing information in the central loading area control center about how the loading was proceeding proved unsettling for senior officers passing through the area. The commander of Company C, 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, Capt. James M. Morris IV, who oversaw Division Ready Force-9 details in the area, quickly recognized the problem: Junior and noncommissioned officers were having difficulty completing their assigned missions because they were constantly having to stop and answer questions from senior officers. To free his men to perform their assigned tasks with minimal distractions, Captain Morris spent several hours acting as an unofficial briefer.[23]

Once the troops received their basic load, they moved back to where they had dropped their rucksacks and A-bags. Unit commanders then had to decide what the men were going to pack in their rucksacks. Some decisions were easy. Because the men were going to a warm climate, they could leave behind cold weather clothing and sleeping bags. Based on the type of opposing force they would face, they would not need C-pods, chemical protective overgarments with rubber boots. Into this extra space the men thrust ammunition and food. Some companies requested only two C-rations per trooper; others asked for four, a two-day supply. The troops ended up removing the rations from their cardboard containers, discarding the boxes and some of the accessories, and fitting the cans into any available space.[24]

Items not placed in the rucksack, such as bed rolls and sundries, went into the A-bag. Work parties loaded the A-bags by company onto standard Air Force 463L aluminum pallets, which the riggers then lashed, netted, and labeled as to unit and contents. As soon as he could, Major Causey dispatched the pallets to the appropriate marshaling area at Pope Air Force Base for shipment aboard follow-on aircraft.[25]

Soldiers could carry some equipment on their persons. Besides one two-quart and two one-quart canteens of water, almost every trooper carried a light antitank weapon (LAW) and some men had two or three. They had to

[22] Ibid.; Interv Burdett with Pederson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[23] Intervs, Burdett with D. Davis, [Nov 1983], and with Morris, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[24] Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[25] Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Paratroopers with General Wickham prior to their deployment and with their gear ready to board an aircraft for Grenada**



remember at this point, however, that an airdrop might be an option. They could not afford to weigh themselves down too much or make themselves so bulky that they could not fit into a parachute harness. Flak jackets presented a particular problem: They were bulky and took up excessive space in the rucksacks, but if worn they made it difficult to strap on the harness.[26]

In the two battalions of the 2d Brigade preparing to depart, personal equipment and supplies hardly exhausted a soldier's load. Because the companies had so few vehicles accompanying them, the men had to carry company equipment: mortars, aiming stakes and circles for mortars, plotting boards, wire reels, and telephones. Then the battalion commanders formed their commands into chalks, aircraft-size loads, a maximum of 126 men per C–141 in case General Trobaugh decided on an airdrop. It was easier to prepare for an airdrop option and then shift to an airland configuration than to do the opposite. Anticipating the possibility of a parachute assault, Colonel Hamilton cross-loaded his battalion—that is, he divided his companies and placed elements from each on every aircraft. Cross-loading, part of the division's readiness standing operating procedures for an airdrop, ensured that the loss of a single plane to enemy fire would not mean the destruction of an entire unit or the loss of numerous key leaders. Finally, division support command officers inspected each chalk. They looked for too much weight or bulky items that would put excessive strain on parachute harnesses, and almost everyone had to shed some items to pass inspection.[27]

At 0500 on 25 October, N+8, Colonel Hamilton's battalion left the holding area and marched through the mist to Green Ramp. Encumbered by heavy loads, both officers and enlisted men moved with considerable effort. Normally, during an exercise, the 82d Support Command provided trucks to ferry the troops to the departure airfield. In the past, lack of motor transport had sometimes produced loud complaints from the troops. This time, with all trucks committed to other tasks, the troops marched in silence.[28]

## Aviation Task Force

Maj. William J. Elder's Company B, 82d Aviation Battalion, followed the same general procedures as the other units but with a few significant modifications. The personnel holding area, as it stood in 1983, lacked sufficient space to accommodate an aviation unit in addition to the 2d Brigade. Indeed, the area was hard pressed to service simultaneously even two infantry battalions. As a result, Major Elder used his company's hangar at Pope Air Force Base as a personnel holding area. Unit supplies came directly to the area from the division and corps warehouses. Members of the battalion's logistical section then

[26] Ibid.; Intervs, GWG with Jacoby, [Nov 1983], and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[27] Intervs, Pirnie, MacGarrigle, and author with J. L. Hamilton, 3 Jun 1985, and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[28] Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983; Wells with Barajas, 10 Nov 1983; Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983; and McMichael with Schmidtke, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

separated individual issue supplies and ammunition. It was a huge job for a small group of men. The battalion S–4, Capt. Jimmie M. Rabon, recalled that fatigue gave the passing hours a dreamlike quality: "I remember laying down on the ramp out there at Pope, on this concrete ramp, and sleeping. It felt like I had slept forever, and I had really only slept for ten minutes. A guy came along and kicked me. . . . And I would get up, and I would kick [Sgt. Eric] Rodwell, and he would kick [Sgt. William] Labor. And we would just kind of get up and . . . start loading supplies on the pallets again." Only after they completed this task could the 82d Support Command move the materiel to the central loading area control center for distribution to the troops. The excess went to Green Ramp for shipment in follow-on aircraft.[29]

Only one minor problem marred the company's otherwise flawless loading. Its UH–60s needed door gunners. In contrast to customary practice in Vietnam, the Army no longer included door gunners on the tables of organization and equipment for aviation units. To fill the vacancies, the battalion S–1, Capt. Ronald A. Putnam, requested and received a draft of machine gunners from division headquarters. Because aviators usually carried a .38-caliber pistol (versus the .45-caliber Colt automatic) as their regulation sidearm, Captain Rabon was totally surprised when the door gunners appeared with the .45s that were standard in their parent units. He had no suitable ammunition to give them, and he learned of the discrepancy too close to departure to obtain any from the division support command. The door gunners had to draw their ammunition after they arrived on Grenada.[30]

While Captain Rabon supervised the preparation of pallets of equipment and supplies, aircrews operating under the direction of Company A and Company B air movement officers, CWO2 William A. Rudd and 1st Lt. Scott A. Stangle, disassembled the Black Hawks for shipment via Air Force C–5As to Barbados. It was a laborious and time-consuming task. Despite the feverish intensity with which they worked, the crews did not complete breaking down the helicopters until approximately 1000 on 25 October, N+13.[31]

By this point, two medical evacuation crews from the 57th Medical Detachment had joined Major Elder's men. The 57th, an XVIII Airborne Corps air ambulance unit commanded by Maj. Arthur W. Hapner, was also equipped with UH–60s. At 0100 on 25 October the unit received an alert to prepare for a mission, and by 0900 that same day it had completed its preparations. As requested by the division, Major Hapner sent two pilots, CWO2 Robert L. Beaty and CWO3 William C. Garmond, and their aircraft to Company B's hangar at Pope Air Force Base. Before they left, Hapner told them that the division would provide them with communications and maintenance support. On this assurance, Beaty and Garmond left their unit area without any radios only to discover on arrival that no one knew anything about providing support

[29] Intervs, Baribeau with Eyster, 9 Nov 1983, and author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[30] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[31] Intervs, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, and author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Crew of the 57th Medical Detachment in Grenada**

to the 57th Medical Detachment. The next six hours proved difficult, but by working at the pilot-to-pilot level Beaty and Garmond obtained the supplies and equipment they needed. By then Elder had received official notification that the two pilots would accompany his task force to Grenada. Sometime later a third helicopter and crew joined them from the 57th.[32]

## Communications Preparations

Although the communications-electronics officers of the 2d and 3d Battalions, 325th Infantry, 1st Lt. Andrew P. Costa and 1st Lt. Carl Prantl Jr., respectively, had a head start in attaching Vinson encryption equipment to unit radios, they had not completed their preparations by the time the division's assistant G–3 for operations, Maj. Thomas D. Smith, called the division alert. Lieutenant Costa had all of his Vinsons mounted, but two were not working properly. Aside from trips to brigade and battalion headquarters for meetings, he spent the first few hours of the N-sequence getting these radios ready.[33]

[32] Arthur W. Hapner, "'Dustoff' in Grenada," pp. 62–64, 66; Interv, Wade with Beaty and Garmond, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[33] Intervs, Parker with Costa, [Nov 1983], and Prantl, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Lieutenant Prantl, by contrast, had the good fortune to draw equipment that needed no adjustment. As a result, he began work that Lieutenant Costa had to defer—preparing secure nets and training radio operators. First, Prantl went to the 2d Brigade signal officer, Maj. Timothy L. Hull, to obtain the brigade's cryptological variable so that the 3d Battalion headquarters could connect to the brigade's secure net. To do this, he manually keyed the variable into some of the battalion's radios. Next, he manually created and entered a second variable into the battalion's radios, a precise and lengthy task completed only after the battalion vehicles had moved to the central loading area control center. Fortunately, Prantl and his platoon sergeant had received training on the Vinson, but there was no time for them to train the radiomen. All they could say was: "Turn that knob on. It makes it work." The radiomen did as instructed, and every radio worked. They could "talk secure." Prantl's only comment was: "We got lucky."[34]

Lieutenant Costa had received some training on the Vinson months before but had not looked at the equipment since then. In the S–3 section he found a sergeant who had previously used Vinson equipment and, with his help, was able to train the radio operators. When they ran into difficulties keying in the variables, a sergeant from the 82d Signal Battalion, acting as a troubleshooter, helped them through their difficulties. Nonetheless, they had only completed keying in the variables on some of the vehicle-mounted radios at 0600, N+9, when the Air Force loaded the trucks and jeeps aboard a C–141.[35]

As soon as the alert notice came, the commander of the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, Lt. Col. Duane E. Williams, told his communications-electronics officer to put Vinsons on every radio in sight. The commander of the 82d Aviation Battalion, Lt. Col. Robert N. Seigle, had much the same reaction. He directed his communications section to put secure devices on all the helicopters deploying with Major Elder. These preparations took time, leaving communications-electronics officers in those organizations with too little time to establish secure nets and train radio operators.[36]

Not everyone who needed a secure radio received one. 1st Lt. David B. Lemauk's 2d Platoon, 82d Military Police Company, for example, had no way to communicate securely. The military police could only tie into the administrative/logistical net that the division established after arrival on Grenada.[37]

Sometimes, lack of secure devices reflected a difference of opinion between the officers and men deploying and the writers of their units' tables of organization and equipment. The 2d Brigade's senior fire support noncommissioned officer, Sfc. Thomas Steele, spent the first hour of the N-sequence borrowing radios, AN/PRC–77s, from Battery A, which was not deploying, because

[34] Intervs, Parker with Prantl, [Nov 1983] (quoted words), and author with Reardon, 9 Nov 2004, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[35] Interv, Parker with Costa, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[36] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, and Baribeau with Eyster, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[37] Interv, McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Using the AN/PRC–77 field radio during URGENT FURY**



Steele was certain that the brigade fire support element needed more radios than authorized. He could not obtain Vinsons for all of them. The radio he carried to the island lacked a secure device, which meant that he could not talk directly to Colonel Williams, who had one. This was inconvenient, but the battalion had Vinson-equipped AN/PRC–77s covering the most critical communications links in the fire support net when it deployed to Grenada.[38]

## Medical Planning

In contrast to the other specialties, medical preparations lagged. After the N+2 briefing, the commander of the 307th Medical Battalion, Lt. Col. Edward B. Wilson, returned to his headquarters. Soon thereafter, the operations officer from the corps surgeon's office, Maj. Andrew D. Beckey, arrived to assist the division's medical planning effort. From that point "the planning escalated." Shortly after midnight, N+3, Colonel Wilson went to the quarters of the corps surgeon, Col. James H. Rumbaugh, where he found the 44th Medical Brigade commander, Col. Jack R. Wilson II, and his S–3, Maj. Jack R. Rodin Jr., along with Colonel Rumbaugh. Sitting around the kitchen table, the four men planned the Army's medical effort on Grenada. They had no official maps of the island, but Rumbaugh, who was an avid reader of *National Geographic*, remembered seeing an article on the Grenadines. He located it among his back issues and pulled out a map that proved quite accurate.[39]

At this stage Edward Wilson assumed that Alpha Echelon of the 307th's Company C would deploy with the rest of Forward Area Support Team II. After some discussion of what medical elements the division should dispatch to Grenada, Rumbaugh and Jack Wilson concentrated on determining just what portion of the 44th's surgical hospital should go to the island to support the division's medical effort. The results remained preliminary because none of the participants could answer some very fundamental questions. Was this, for example, a real operation? Rumbaugh tended to think it was, but some of the others were more skeptical. What number of U.S. casualties was probable? No one knew, in part, because none of the medical planners knew how much of the division would deploy. What medical staff at higher headquarters was planning medical operations? No one knew because no one was certain which higher headquarters was directing the operation. The meeting broke up with much accomplished but with considerable ambiguity about how much remained to be done.[40]

One key medical officer, the division surgeon, Lt. Col. Barry S. Sidenberg, did not attend even though he had the responsibility for the 82d's medical planning. After his failure to make any impression on General Trobaugh or Colonel Silvasy following the N+2 briefing, Colonel Sidenberg thought:

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[38] Interv, McMichael with Steele, Glass, Stewart, and Henson, 5 Apr 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[39] Intervs, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987 (quoted words), with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov 1987, and with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[40] Intervs, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov 1987, and with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

"Okay, fine. They've said what they're going to take. Okay, it's accomplished. That's it." Because one brigade was involved and thus only one medical company, he judged that the operation involved no division-level medical issues and for the moment withdrew from the action. Sidenberg, like Rumbaugh and the two Wilsons, was new to his position. Unlike them, however, he had spent his entire career with Special Forces and had scant familiarity with large units. "I'm still learning this new animal," he would later remark. As a result, Edward Wilson, who enjoyed a strong background in this area, had to explain to him both the structure of a medical battalion and its capabilities. In the end, Sidenberg decided to defer to his medical battalion commander.[41]

## Decision To Airdrop

Around 0400 on 25 October, N+7, the first C–141s designated to carry the division began arriving at Pope Air Force Base. The division G–3 section had requested airlift support as it normally did through XVIII Airborne Corps. U.S. Atlantic Command's Joint Operations Center had validated it and passed it onto Military Airlift Command. In fact, Atlantic Command had directed Military Airlift Command to honor all the division's requests for aircraft and to inform it later. The initial request for aircraft fell under this blanket approval. XVIII Airborne Corps informed the division transportation officer, Maj. Frederick C. Perkins, that once the airflow started Twenty-first Air Force would rotate the same aircraft between Fort Bragg and Grenada as long as the division needed them. This arrangement freed Major Perkins to concentrate on follow-on transportation requirements. He had no need to become heavily involved in requesting support for the initial deployment because the airframes required to transport the force would arrive and depart automatically.[42]

The arrival of the C–141s meant a very different thing for General Trobaugh. He had to decide whether to follow Atlantic Command's operations order and airland or to immediately reconfigure the task force in preparation for a possible airdrop. At 2300 on 24 October Atlantic Command had tentatively approved an airdrop option but had notified only Military Airlift Command of this decision. By the time the C–141s began arriving at Pope, however, Atlantic Command had rescinded its earlier approval and had instructed Military Airlift Command to assemble aircraft configured for airlanding.[43]

Uninformed of these developments but concerned about the original order, XVIII Airborne Corps commander Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull stopped at division headquarters to confer with General Trobaugh. Very insistent on the

[41] Intervs, Wade with Sidenberg, 14 Dec 1983 (quoted words), and Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[42] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. A, p. II-A-7, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Draft Rpt, DCSOPS, DA, [1984], sub: Grenada Lessons Learned Urgent Fury, tab M, Hist files (PDocs/DA/DCSOPS), CMH; Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, pp. III-19 to III-20, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH; Interv, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[43] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Dean C. Kallander and James K. Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 57, 61, 138.

need to get combat power onto the ground quickly, General Mackmull wanted the division to jump in and then airland its supplies and equipment. Trobaugh directed the assistant G–3 for operations, Major Smith, to telephone Atlantic Command. Smith talked with a Navy captain in Atlantic Command's Joint Operations Center about modifying the order with to read *airdrop/airland*, but was not successful. Unfamiliar with ground operations, the captain simply did not understand the significance of what Smith was trying to convey.[44]

When Smith learned that the C–141s were arriving with no static lines rigged, he awakened General Trobaugh, who was catching a quick nap on his office sofa. Trobaugh decided to disregard the Atlantic Command order and directed the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, the brigade command post, and the division assault command post to prepare for in-flight rigging. These arrangements ensured that they could jump onto the airfield if the tactical situation dictated it. This order did not affect supplies and equipment belonging to those organizations. Their materiel was scheduled to arrive on later aircraft. To prepare it for an airdrop would have meant sending all the materiel accumulated at the central marshaling area and Green Ramp back to the heavy drop rig site, already surrounded by vehicles with loads awaiting preparation for shipment by air. By including only troops in his airdrop order, Trobaugh avoided both the creation of a monumental traffic jam and a significant delay in the division's deployment.[45]

To convert General Trobaugh's order into action, division headquarters had to communicate its requirement to the Air Force, but the Air Force crews selected for the operation had parked their aircraft, locked them, and departed to base operations. No one could prepare the aircraft for airdrop until someone located the crews and unlocked the planes. Trobaugh called the commander of the Twenty-first Air Force's 317th Tactical Airlift Wing, Col. Frank E. Wills, at Pope Air Force Base. Wills agreed to prepare the planes for airdrop and did so despite a subsequent Atlantic Command message reconfirming the decision to airland rather than airdrop.[46]

General Trobaugh next needed to alert his own command to the change. He called his division support commander, Colonel Daly, who happened to be at Green Ramp at that time. "Bill, I'm going to get you to issue me parachutes. We're going to go in possibly parachute assault." Colonel Daly's response was heartfelt: "Holy Lord, boss. That's one Hell of a change."[47]

The N-sequence presumed that certain events would take place in a specific order. In a normal eighteen-hour progression, the division commander

[44] Intervs, Pirnie, MacGarrigle, and author with Akers, [1985]; Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[45] Intervs, Pirnie, MacGarrigle, and author with Akers, [1985]; Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. The 82d's chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., made some particularly pertinent observations about this decision. See Interv, Frasché with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983, in ibid.

[46] Interv, Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 138.

[47] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986 (quotations), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Air Force personnel study an air crew status board**

would announce his airdrop decision no later than his N+2 briefing. This time frame gave Colonel Daly's support command personnel sufficient opportunity to assemble and issue all the equipment—main parachutes, reserve parachutes, load-bearing harness, kit bags, lowering lines, and so forth, collectively known as air items. These air items would be needed if heavily armed men had to parachute out of aircraft and into battle. It was now seven hours after notification in an abbreviated loading sequence in which the first C–141 was scheduled to take off in only three hours. General Trobaugh's decision to prepare for airdrop at this point ran a real risk of disrupting other parts of the loading process. These circumstances explain the note of surprise and emotion in Daly's initial reaction. But then Daly said that he would do it, and he did.[48]

When General Trobaugh made his decision, the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, had not yet arrived at Green Ramp. Virtually everyone there was already fully involved in some critical aspect of the loading. The uncommitted included a chaplain, a chaplain's assistant, a few drivers, some miscellaneous personnel, and, of course, Colonel Daly himself. They immediately began loading bomb carts with parachutes, reserves, kit bags, and other items for issue to the troops in flight and then covered everything with plastic. It was still raining. When the 2d Battalion arrived, the troops did not have individual air items that they would have normally already received, such as lowering lines used to hang a trooper's rucksack under his reserve chute. Daly had to send back for them.[49]

[48] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Interv), CMH.
[49] Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Interv), CMH.

He also sent back for help, but his 82d Support Command was already fully committed. As news of what was happening at Green Ramp filtered through the post, individuals not involved in the loading arrived to assist, including students attending the advanced airborne school. Once dismissed from class, they reported to Green Ramp and went to work rigging M47 Dragons, a wire-guided man-portable antitank missile system. Late intelligence about what Colonel Daly termed "a whole lot of armored vehicles down on the island" caused General Trobaugh to direct Daly's command to issue a large number of these weapons to the brigade task force at the last minute. Unfortunately, the lack of time did not permit Colonel Daly to bring forward life preservers for the troops. If a jump occurred, any paratrooper who landed in the water would lack a flotation device.[50]

The decision to prepare for in-flight rigging settled one major uncertainty for the division, but others remained. Where was it going? Was the task force flying directly to Grenada in C–141s or was it going first to Barbados, transferring into C–130s, and then flying to Grenada? If there was opposition to the operation, would the Air Force risk the speedier but larger and more expensive C–141s over the drop zone or would it insist that the division use the more maneuverable C–130s? The C–130s, with a smaller payload, could drop all their passengers and equipment in one pass, but the larger C–141s would have to make multiple passes over any drop zone the size of the Point Salines airfield. When Major Smith had called Norfolk for General Trobaugh, he had raised the question of destination, but the Navy captain could not tell him where Atlantic Command wanted the division to go. No one at Norfolk knew anything more about the load-bearing surface of the runway than they had at the commanders conference on 24 October. The attempt to insert special operations forces into the Point Salines Peninsula—the reason that the commander of Atlantic Command, Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, had proposed delaying the operation until 0500—had again failed. Whether C–141s could even land at Salines was yet to be determined.[51]

One way that General Trobaugh could cope with the uncertainties was to ensure that he had sufficient force available no matter what he encountered. The division, of course, had not alerted the 3d Brigade, its Division Ready Brigade-2, when it called in the 2d Brigade. Nevertheless, key 3d Brigade officers learned what was happening to their sister brigade over the next few hours. As a result, no one in the 3d Brigade command group was really surprised when Trobaugh ordered their unit to begin its N-sequence at 0400 on 25 October, seven hours after the original alert. For the present, he had no

[50] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Tng Cir 23–24, Dragon Medium Antitank Assault Weapon System M47, Aug 1974, pp. 3–8, MDC files, CMH.

[51] Interv, Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 89. For performance characteristics of the two aircraft, see Gordon Swanborough and Peter M. Bowers, *United States Military Aircraft Since 1909*, pp. 383–89, 399–400. On the key differences between the C–130 and the C–141, see E-mail, Flint to author, 20 Dec 2005, sub: Grenada Follow-up, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

intention of bringing the brigade into the operation, but he wanted it ready to deploy if the need arose. Once again, duty sergeants pulled out rosters and began telephoning unit members. The whole alert process started anew.[52]

## Corps Liaison

While General Trobaugh weighed the relative advantages and disadvantages of a parachute assault, General Mackmull directed his staff and the corps' 1st Support Command to assist the division and anticipate what he thought would happen once the operation started. He believed that events would force Atlantic Command's Admiral McDonald to reinsert XVIII Airborne Corps into the chain of command and that once the fighting ended the corps would have to provide personnel for a U.S. forces headquarters on Grenada. In the meantime, Mackmull directed that both corps headquarters and 1st Support Command provide liaison officers to accompany the division onto the island. They would enable Fort Bragg to anticipate the division's logistical requests during combat and at the same time assist Trobaugh in designing a headquarters and mix of logistical elements to further U.S. objectives during the post-conflict phase.[53]

The corps G–4, Colonel Mitchell, sent three liaison officers to the central loading area control center, where they contacted logistical officers in the division assault command post. The most junior liaison officer, Capt. Henry R. Fore, was airborne qualified. When Trobaugh decided to prepare for a possible airdrop, Captain Fore volunteered to accompany the lead elements. The other officers decided to fly in later. Fore thus found himself on the first aircraft out of Pope Air Force Base, the only corps liaison officer in the assault force.[54]

Col. William J. Richardson Jr.'s 1st Support Command also sent a liaison team to the division, headed by deputy commander Col. Robert C. Barrett Jr. Around 0530 on 25 October, the same time that the rangers jumped at Point Salines, Colonel Richardson called Colonel Barrett aside at the command's planning session to inform him that he would be in the advance element of corps headquarters. Richardson wanted Barrett to go because he was airborne qualified. After collecting his personal equipment at his quarters, Barrett met with his driver and a sergeant and drove to the central loading area control center. The three men, a jeep, and a trailer constituted the nucleus of what would become 1st Support Command–Forward I, the headquarters on Grenada. At the loading area Barrett discovered that, except for Captain Fore, the advanced echelon of corps headquarters had been pushed back in the airflow. Because Richardson wanted his deputy to get down to Grenada as quickly as possible,

[52] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983; and McMichael with McFarren, 17 Nov 1983, and with Lang, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. N-hour times given in this work refer to the division's initial alert on 24 October rather than the 3d Brigade's alert on 25 October.

[53] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and author with Baker-Kimmel, 18 Jul 1986, and with Fore, 3 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[54] Interv, author with Fore, 3 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

he made arrangements for Barrett to join Major Elder's task force from the 82d Aviation Battalion at the corps arrival-departure area, Yellow Ramp, and fly with Elder to Barbados.[55]

## Green Ramp Operations

Supplies began accumulating at Green Ramp well before any units arrived. Shortly after 0130, N+4:30, the executive officer of Company A, 407th Supply and Service Battalion, 2d Lt. Anita L. Baker-Kimmel, roared out of the heavy drop rig site with the first load of artillery ammunition for Green Ramp. Delayed only slightly by the trailer brakes catching on fire, which she extinguished, Lieutenant Baker-Kimmel dropped her large trailer outside the gate and went back for another. The reduced notification time required that the drivers leave their trailers and immediately return for other cargo, not waiting until the Green Ramp personnel unloaded the original delivery. By the time Colonel Hamilton's battalion arrived, a number of ammunition trailers had accumulated outside the gate.[56]

Up until this point, the entire loading process had been focused on moving a specified number of combat-equipped and -supplied airborne troops to Green Ramp, where they would board C–141s. Men, equipment, and supplies approached the ramp by a narrow, two-lane asphalt road that paralleled Pope Air Force Base's perimeter, delineated by a cyclone fence topped by barbed wire. A narrow gate and guard post marked the precise spot where men or materiel left Bragg and entered Pope, passing from Army to Air Force control. Just beyond the gate were scales, where representatives of an Air Force airlift control element and an Army arrival-departure airfield control group from 7th Transportation Group weighed each chalk of men and equipment to make certain that it did not exceed an aircraft's allowable cargo load. U.S. Army Forces Command normally attached the 7th to 1st Support Command during exercises and operations. Some hundred meters to the left, down a gradual slope and beyond yet another cyclone fence, was the operations building, a one-story metal structure that served as the headquarters for the Air Force airlift control element, the Army arrival-departure airfield control group, and the 1st Support Command's 330th Transportation Center.[57]

Normally the center, working with the Air Force, regulated the flow of all Army units to the area of operations. It maintained records of the manifests of each aircraft and tracked the position of the flight until it arrived at its objective. If an aircraft aborted, went down, or had to divert, the center possessed

[55] Interv, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Chronology and Briefing, Barrett, 9 Sep 1986, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[56] Intervs, author with Baker-Kimmel, 18 Jul 1986, and GWG with Baine, Hernandez, and Kellogg, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[57] Author's observations at Fort Bragg (1986 and 1989) and discussions with Army officers; Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

the information needed to replace its cargo. When the N-sequence began, most of the center's personnel, including its commander, Maj. David L. Boggs, were in Florida supporting Exercise BOLD EAGLE. Admiral McDonald's decision to remove XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command had the effect of taking the 330th Transportation Center out of the picture. Its personnel withdrew from Green Ramp early on the morning of the twenty-fifth.[58]

Of course, the 82d Support Command also maintained records about aircraft cargoes, although usually not as complete as those kept by the 330th Transportation Center. In an effort to meet the goal of "wheels up" in ten hours, Colonel Daly's soldiers had dispensed with much of their paperwork. The effect of Admiral McDonald's decisions to require the division to be prepared to deploy in ten hours and to remove XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters from the chain of command was thus to destroy, even before the operation began, the Army's system of double-entry bookkeeping to manage the flow of men, supplies, and equipment to Grenada.[59]

Complicating matters further, Maj. Samuel S. Vitucci's Provisional Movement Control Center that reported to Daly's executive officer, Lt. Col. Ronald F. Kelly, was tiny compared to the 330th Transportation Center. The Movement Control Center was located in the personnel holding area, from where Colonel Kelly and Major Vitucci could easily direct ground movement of Army units and cargoes to Green Ramp but not readily coordinate with the Air Force on air movement to Grenada. By 0500, N+8, as Colonel Hamilton's battalion marched toward Green Ramp, the center had largely completed its work with the 2d Brigade and was just starting on the 3d. As long as everything happened exactly as planned and chalks formed at the personnel holding area did not require subsequent modification at either the scales or the plane, the Movement Control Center could handle the increased responsibilities Admiral McDonald's order required. This assumed, however, that Kelly, Vitucci, and their subordinates realized that they had such duties, but no one had informed them of their expanded mission or that the 330th had left Green Ramp. For the moment, as the first elements of the 2d Brigade reached the scales, all went well, but Movement Control Center personnel were not working face to face with their Air Force counterparts. In a fast-moving operation the need to communicate by telephone rather than in person created a potential for confusion and misunderstanding.[60]

When Colonel Hamilton arrived at Green Ramp, he learned that his battalion would prepare for an airdrop after all. This meant that he would take ten to fifteen fewer men per aircraft. The troops boarded the airplanes as normal,

[58] Intervs, Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983; McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984; and author with McElroy, 30 Apr 1984. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[59] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983; Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983]; McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984; and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[60] Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, plus Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], and with Vitucci, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

carrying their main and reserve parachutes, and some last-minute shuffling of chalks occurred. General Trobaugh decided to take most of the key members of the division command group on the first aircraft with him. To make room for them, all the members of Companies B and C shifted to other craft. One platoon from Company A and the company command group, including its commander, Captain Jacoby, accompanied Trobaugh. Colonel Hamilton had initially intended to ride in the same aircraft; however, when Colonel Silvasy learned of Trobaugh's decision, he directed otherwise to mitigate the chance of losing his division commander and the commander of his lead battalion at the same time. Hamilton and the men forming his battalion tactical operations center thus boarded the second aircraft.[61]

Shifting the command group had one other unintended consequence. During the loading process some of the 2d Brigade's fire support element personnel got lost in the dark and boarded the wrong aircraft, a mistake that prevented work on the fire support plans while the task force was en route to Grenada.[62]

Problems proliferated as the departure time neared. The division, for example, had requested a Marine team from the 2d Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company, but had indicated that it wanted a "light package," that is, the normal complement of detachments but with equipment and vehicles reduced to a minimum. The marines interpreted the message to mean that the division wanted less than a full complement of detachments, each at full strength. They thus sent elements to support the two battalions but none for the brigade or division headquarters. In the case of the 2d Battalion, this meant that its detachment, led by Capt. Peter Velzeboer, appeared with all three of its vehicles, more than the battalion load planners had provided for, shortly before boarding. As a result, the battalion staff had to cut some vehicles from the airflow at the last moment to accommodate the late arrivals. One of the vehicles bumped was Company B's jeep and trailer, which, of course, included the unit's mortars. The second detachment, intended for the 3d Battalion, arrived later still, after Colonel Raines' men had departed for Grenada. These developments would prove much more important than they seemed at the time.[63]

Sometime that night the 3d Brigade commander, Col. James T. Scott, came forward to Green Ramp to receive any last-minute instructions from General

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[61] Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Wells with Farbes, 9 Nov 1983; and GWG with Jacoby, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[62] Interv, McMichael with Steele, Glass, Stewart, and Henson, 5 Apr 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[63] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, LANTCOM, 6 Feb 1984, encl. III, p. III-4, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 3-11, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. See also Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983; McMichael with Steele, Glass, Stewart, and Henson, 5 Apr 1984, and with Schmidtke, [Nov 1983]; Bishop with Baine, 10 Nov 1983; and Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Velzeboer deployed out of Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, with only two hours' notice and no briefing on the operation. See Hamilton, "Operation Urgent Fury," Student Paper, p. 12.



**Paratroopers board a C–141 for deployment to Grenada**



Trobaugh. He found Trobaugh and the other senior division officers huddled around a tactical satellite radio in the operations building at Green Ramp listening to the transmissions of both Joint Task Force 120 and Joint Task Force 123. They heard the latter's commander, Maj. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes, decide to make an aerial reconnaissance of the Point Salines airfield, so they knew that the attempt to introduce a special operations team onto the peninsula had failed. They also learned of the rangers' decision to make a parachute assault. Once General Trobaugh transferred to a C–141, he continued to monitor the unfolding operation by tactical satellite radio. The marines got ashore in the face of minimal opposition, but the rangers landed in the face of heavy antiaircraft fire. The Grenadians even repulsed some of the special operations forces. The fragmentary radio messages suggested that the issue on the ground was in doubt. During these moments Trobaugh suffered agonies of indecision: Should he order the brigade to rig for airdrop while still on the ground and possibly delay take off? Finally, he decided to continue with the current plan—rig for airdrop while airborne. So long as he made the decision 2½ hours out from Grenada, the troops would have the time they needed to prepare for a parachute assault.[64]



**General Scholtes**

Impatient to get the division launched, General Mackmull was also at Green Ramp. When the rangers had to jump, he turned to General Trobaugh and said: "Hell, go ahead and get ready to jump that other battalion in also." The division commander decided to follow his corps commander's advice. Trobaugh's decision caused another burst of frantic activity. The division support command and the volunteers who had helped the 2d Battalion load parachutes and bring forward individual air items performed the same services for the 3d Battalion.[65]

Colonel Raines was at Green Ramp and his men were on the tarmac preparing to board their aircraft when he learned that his battalion would have to prepare for possible airdrop. Because he had organized all his chalks for airlanding, Raines immediately had to decide which people to leave behind

[64] Intervs, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983; Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and with Baine, 10 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[65] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

and whether to divide his companies and his tactical operations center among several aircraft. After talking to the assistant division commander for support, General Smith, he opted not to cross-load as normal during an airdrop because it would slow the battalion's departure.[66]

By the time the news about Grenada filtered down to the companies, word of mouth had transmogrified it into: "The rangers are in trouble, and there's armor on the island." The loading, confused already because of the last-minute changes, became even more so as company officers hastily attempted to increase their antiarmor capability and repair any deficiencies in the ammunition distributed at the individual issue ammunition point. One company commander obtained five Dragons. Because he did not have the time to rig them for airdrop, he simply told his men to carry them by hand. His men had just finished loading two when he was ordered not to take them. Thus he left the other three at Green Ramp.[67]

In another instance a company commander obtained a case of fragmentation grenades. Given the new information, and in contravention of General Trobaugh's orders, he decided to distribute them to his men before they boarded their planes. He was in the process of doing so when Colonel Daly appeared and told him to stop. A heated argument ensued that attracted the attention of the brigade executive officer, Colonel Ely. Ely backed Daly and collected the grenades. Some of the troopers, however, had already boarded their aircraft and carried grenades with them to Grenada.[68]

The battalion commanders also had to make adjustments after the division commander decided on a possible airdrop option. For example, Colonel Raines went to each of the aircraft carrying his unit and gave a case of grenades to the senior officer aboard, who was to distribute them to the troops just before they exited the planes. Both battalion commanders attempted to get jump-rigged Dragons onto their aircraft.[69]

Before leaving the central loading area control center, the 2d Brigade's fire support personnel learned that armor was on Grenada. At Colonel Williams' direction, the fire support noncommissioned officer, Sergeant Steele, unsuccessfully attempted to obtain some white phosphorous rounds. He was able to secure a few more armor piercing rounds for the brigade at the last minute with the help of the officers on the division artillery staff. The limited time before departure meant that the division support command could only partially satisfy these requests.[70]

Slowed by the need to prepare for an airdrop, the troopers of the 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, boarded twelve Air Force C–141s at Green

[66] Interv, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[67] Interv, Burdett with D. Davis, [Nov 1983] (quoted words), and with Pederson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[68] Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and Burdett with Pederson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[69] Interv, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and with Keene, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[70] Interv, McMichael with Steele, Glass, Stewart, and Henson, 5 Apr 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Ramp somewhat after N+10. Then a long wait ensued for the order to launch. Aboard the lead aircraft General Trobaugh contemplated the situation. "It appeared to me that [planning to have two brigades] was a pretty wise move. . . . There's no point in getting in a fair fight if you don't have to. If you can make it unfair in your favor, you probably ought to do that because it's less expensive."[71]

Meanwhile, General Mackmull watched the scene with barely contained impatience. He knew that General Scholtes had wanted the division task force to land immediately behind Joint Task Force 123 and that Scholtes had met more resistance than he expected. Mackmull considered calling Admiral McDonald directly but then decided against it, realizing McDonald had more than enough to keep him busy with a major operation just kicking off. The fact that he was out of the chain of command also made him pause, especially if Atlantic Command had a well-considered reason for its course of action.[72]

Initially, Atlantic Command had planned for the division to arrive at Grenada four hours after the ranger battalions went in (N+12), but then it changed the concept. Under the new scenario, the division would depart Fort Bragg four hours after the first landings and arrive on the island approximately eight hours (N+16) after the rangers jumped. The first design permitted the division to reinforce fairly quickly the airhead seized by the rangers, while the second envisioned that the brigade task force would act as a ready reserve at Bragg until departure to begin occupation duties. By 1000 (N+13) almost five hours had passed since the opening of operations. The order to launch finally came, and the first C–141 lifted off at 1007. Six others soon followed. After a pause caused by Colonel Wills' attempt to find airdrop qualified flight crews, the remaining four aircraft departed. The twelfth plane left Pope at 1303.[73]

The loading and dispatch to Grenada of the 82d Airborne Division's 2d Brigade Task Force provided a major test of the division's readiness standing operating procedures and its underlying philosophy: meticulous and detailed planning, endless repetition in training, and decentralized execution. During

[71] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Sources disagree on the number of aircraft involved. The most contemporary document (Msg, Mackmull to Cavazos, 25 2043Z October 1983, sub: Urgent Fury, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH) reports twelve; the 2d Brigade commander (Briefing, Silvasy, 8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH) indicates thirteen; the lead battalion commander (Interv, Bishop with Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH) states fourteen; and finally Briefing Slide, 82d Abn Div, n.d., records a total of nineteen, which may include chalk loads subsequently cut from the flow by General Trobaugh.

[72] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, LANTCOM to ARLANT et al., 24 1956Z Oct 1983, sub: Urgent Fury Opn Order, chg. 1, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH. The division's mission remained to deploy "on order."

[73] Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, pp. 1–2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. The Air Force gives the takeoff time as one minute later. See Msg, TAC Opn to LANTCOM, 19 2306Z Nov 1983, sub: Urgent Fury AAR, Hist files (PDocs/DAF/TAC), CMH.

the loading phase General Trobaugh, Colonel Daly, and the logisticians under their command demonstrated that this procedure was not simply a rigid lockstep routine but a supple instrument that could be adapted to the operational needs of the moment. This flexibility was possible because all the members of the division and the supporting elements from XVIII Airborne Corps and the Fort Bragg installation were so well drilled in the normal procedures. Improvisation with a logistical team less well prepared might have produced total chaos.

Based on the need to maintain operational security, Atlantic Command's direction to restrict the alert time to ten rather than eighteen hours and General Trobaugh's last-minute determination to rig for airdrop made the departure anything but routine. Time pressures, facilities inadequate for the tempo required, security considerations, supply shortages, and the glitches that attend all human endeavors contributed to make the effort less than perfect. Still, it was very impressive.

Security considerations affected the division's performance more during the loading than was normal during an exercise. Colonel Daly's decision, for example, to omit the Division Ready Force-9 from the division outload net provided perhaps a marginal gain in security but at the cost of considerably degrading his ability to efficiently coordinate the battalion's activities. The major factor in preventing his 82d Support Command from meeting the ten-hour deadline was General Trobaugh's decision toward the end of the ten-hour sequence that the men of the task force should prepare for an airdrop.

Given General Trobaugh's knowledge of the situation on Grenada at the time he made his determination, preparing for an airdrop option was the only sensible thing to do. He showed considerable moral courage by countermanding the order of his direct superior, Admiral McDonald. Even so, Trobaugh waited far too late in the N-sequence to make the move. The last flurry of confusion at Green Ramp as the 2d and 3d Battalions, 325th Infantry, struggled to prepare for an airdrop came as a direct consequence of his timing. Colonel Daly and the logisticians under him were able to complete this task successfully only with a great deal of volunteer help. That General Trobaugh made the correct decision speaks to his grasp of the tactical situation, but his timing revealed his lack of prior experience with airborne units. He understood the operational implications of his order but not its ramifications for the loading process and consequently the need for an earlier resolution. An officer with more airborne experience might have recognized both.

The decision to prepare for an airdrop did not, however, delay the time at which the task force actually deployed, because Colonel Silvasy's men were ready to go before Atlantic Command dispatched the execution order. Atlantic Command's delay ensured that the battalions could not conduct any extensive advance on 25 October beyond whatever airhead line the ranger battalions had already seized. The 2d Brigade would arrive on Grenada with only a few hours of daylight left. General Trobaugh interpreted the rules of engagement, designed to minimize casualties among Grenadian civilians, as precluding any extensive nighttime ground operations.



**Colonel Cusick talks with General Wickham, followed by Generals Smith and Mackmull, during the paratroopers' deployment.**

The question of whether to prepare for an airdrop and the timing of that decision became issues because Atlantic Command stipulated that the division would land and then debark. As in the decision to remove XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command, Atlantic Command thoughtlessly substituted at the last minute a new arrangement for a long-standing and much-practiced procedure without really understanding the consequences of its action, and it demonstrated an unfortunate tendency to overcentralize decisionmaking on issues better left to subordinate commands. Once more this predominately naval headquarters proved that it was ill-prepared to direct the operations of an airborne division.

Down at the working level in the logistical units, the loading appeared a genuine success. The assessment of the 407th Supply and Service Battalion commander, Lt. Col. John J. Cusick, reflected this perspective. He later observed that for him the real meaning of Urgent Fury was epitomized in a scene repeated with variations many times on the night of 24–25 October. At "0 dark hundred hours" an officer had some important supplies that, according to the readiness standing operating procedures, had to go to Green Ramp almost immediately. Out of the night lurched a tractor and trailer with a tired, somewhat frightened nineteen-year-old in the cab. Once the cargo was loaded, the officer was torn between the thought that this kid could not possibly accomplish such an important mission on his own and the knowledge that he or she was a well-trained soldier. (Youngsters of both sexes had the duty that night.)

To cover his nervousness, the officer might quiz the driver about the cargo's destination. A few answers revealed that "the kid" knew the way. Then he or she roared off and delivered the materiel on time and in the right place. Many such kids demonstrated that they were men and women that night.[74]

At 1007 on 25 October, as the aircraft carrying General Trobaugh lifted off from the Pope Air Force Base runway, this sense of triumph, of hard work well and properly done, probably represented the dominant mood among the men and women involved in the logistical operation. This assessment was in many respects justified, particularly given the demanding circumstances surrounding the loading. However, those same circumstances meant that a number of difficulties, so small at the moment as to be almost invisible to anyone other than someone directly affected, had the potential of becoming major problems under the right conditions.

First, based on the information that General Trobaugh had at hand, the likelihood that the two battalions might have to jump into a "hot" landing zone on Grenada was real. Because Colonel Hamilton had organized his chalks with an airdrop in mind, his battalion was prepared for such an assault. On the other hand, Colonel Raines, possibly lulled by his orders to airland and by the fact that his would be the fourth infantry battalion to arrive at Point Salines (after the two ranger battalions and Hamilton's unit), had organized his chalks to move as entire units. When Trobaugh's order came to prepare to parachute in, Raines lacked the time to cross-load his companies. Unlike Hamilton, he thus faced the real possibility that he might lose an entire company if the Grenadians or the Cubans shot down one of the aircraft carrying his men.

Equally important, the lateness of General Trobaugh's order meant that Colonel Daly's command could not in the brief time available provide individual flotation devices to the members of the two battalions. This lack of water wings meant that Trobaugh, unless faced with a major tactical emergency, could consider landing his command only in the conventional manner. The possibility of mass casualties due to drowning if the jumpers fell into the water was simply too great. The absence of flotation devices thus negated from the very beginning General Mackmull's suggestion to airdrop the troops and airland the equipment to speed the buildup.

The speed of the loading and the failure of the division and corps to coordinate their notification sequences caused some units to receive ample supplies and equipment while others obtained less than what they needed. Most notable in this respect was Captain Ritz's Company B, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry. It deployed without either grenades or mortars. The removal of the corps from the chain of command meant that the 330th Transportation Center was not present to record the makeup of each chalk. At the same time, the need for speed caused the 82d Support Command to dispense with its recordkeeping function altogether. The shortfalls during the issue of supplies and equipment and adjustments to chalks during the loading process meant that some units

[74] Interv, author with Cusick, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

were accumulating deficiencies, invisible to everyone except the men directly affected. Furthermore, when a higher headquarters bumped a company's supplies and equipment off of follow-on aircraft, even the commander of the affected unit may not have understood what had happened. In short, the division support command and by extension the division leadership had lost visibility of what was going to the area of operations in any detailed way before the first aircraft lifted off.

In and of itself, this lack of visibility did not have to produce major problems. Colonel Daly and his subordinates had just demonstrated their ability to improvise creatively, and this skill based on deep experience had not deserted them. But Daly had been operating in a communications-rich environment. The outload net had allowed him to range the post throughout the loading process, identify problems, and provide solutions on the spot. But as the 82d's aircraft left the runway they passed into a twilight zone where messages were sparse, fragmented, and often undeliverable. General Trobaugh and his men had entered Atlantic Command's zone of operations, where no communications plan was in effect and where logistical problems could metastasize out of control without anyone able to implement a timely solution.

# 6

# Area of Operations

## 25–26 October 1983

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Grantley Adams International Airport on Barbados, only 275 kilometers from the Point Salines Peninsula on Grenada, provided a staging area for selected special operations forces. From there, they were to move by helicopter against several sensitive targets. These objectives included Richmond Hill Prison to rescue political prisoners, the broadcast studio and transmitter of Radio Free Grenada to prevent the regime from calling for popular resistance to the landings, the headquarters of the People's Revolutionary Army at Fort Rupert to disrupt command and control, and the governor general's residence to protect Sir Paul Scoon and his family.[1]

The airlift commander for Operation Urgent Fury, Brig. Gen. Robert B. Patterson, left Pope Air Force Base on a C–5A at 2208 on 24 October en route to Barbados. On board he met the Task Force 160 commander, Col. Terrence M. Henry, whose Army aviation element built largely around the 160th Aviation Battalion would be supporting the special operations forces in Maj. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes' Joint Task Force (JTF) 123. Colonel Henry was concerned about the time. He insisted that the task force would be arriving late on Barbados. General Patterson realized that Henry was following the old schedule of events and told him that U.S. Atlantic Command had slipped the hour for beginning the assault from 0400 to 0500. Even so, Henry worried aloud whether his aviators could launch the attack successfully. He definitely did not want to fly against Grenadian antiaircraft defenses during daylight when the Grenadians could see to shoot.[2]

Colonel Henry's apprehensions proved prescient. The effort to unload the helicopters, to prepare them for flight, and to arm their weapons consumed more time than anticipated. Task Force 160 aviators had assumed that they would be ready for flight within an hour of landing, but rebuilding the partially disassembled aircraft took much longer. The confusion that always accompanies the establishment of an intermediate staging base with no support elements in place only added to the problem. Because planners had deliberately sacrificed forklifts and logistical

[1] Robert N. Seigle, "Special Operations in Grenada," Student Paper, pp. 8–9; Richard Sandza, "Death Waits in the Dark," p. 24.

[2] Interv, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Task Force 160 also had some assets from the 158th Aviation Battalion.

support personnel in the hope of achieving tactical surprise, the helicopter crews had to manhandle pallets of equipment and supplies off the aircraft on their own. The 0500 time for the assault left a leeway of only twelve minutes before first light. It was not nearly enough. Rebuilding and then test-flying the aircraft extended well beyond their planned time to launch the force. The helicopters finally took off at 0530, half an hour after the Americans were supposed to be over their objectives on Grenada and starting their attacks. By then, it was light enough for Grenadian antiaircraft gunners to identify and track targets.[3]

During these preparations General Patterson could offer limited assistance. He had brought only a combat control team and twelve maintenance men with him on the first flight, and they had their hands full simply servicing Air Force aircraft. As Task Force 160 helicopters disappeared over the horizon, Patterson followed the progress of JTF 123's assault over the long-distance satellite radio in the combat control team's van. It soon became clear that the other prong of General Scholtes' attack force, the rangers, was also having difficulties *(Chart 9)*.[4]

## Initial Assaults

En route to the drop zone, the rangers received additional information about the Point Salines airfield: The Cubans had placed obstacles on the runway. Based on this intelligence, sometime between 2200 and 2300 on 24 October, the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, commander, Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor Jr., decided that his entire unit would have to airdrop. Only his lead element, Company A under Capt. John P. Abizaid, was rigged for airdrop. Flying thirty minutes ahead of the rest of the force in two aircraft, the company had the mission to clear the airfield.

It was one thing for Colonel Taylor to make the decision and another for his men to execute it. Only his and the two MC–130s carrying Captain Abizaid's company had hatch-mounted radios that allowed the passengers of the different aircraft to speak directly to one another. Taylor had a limited ability to communicate with the rangers aboard the other aircraft. On them, messages had to pass through the pilots, often with a crew chief acting as a relay between the cockpit and the rangers in the cargo compartment. This procedure lengthened the time to disseminate information and increased the potential for misunderstanding. Nevertheless, Taylor had made the decision early enough for everyone to have time to prepare for the parachute assault.[5]

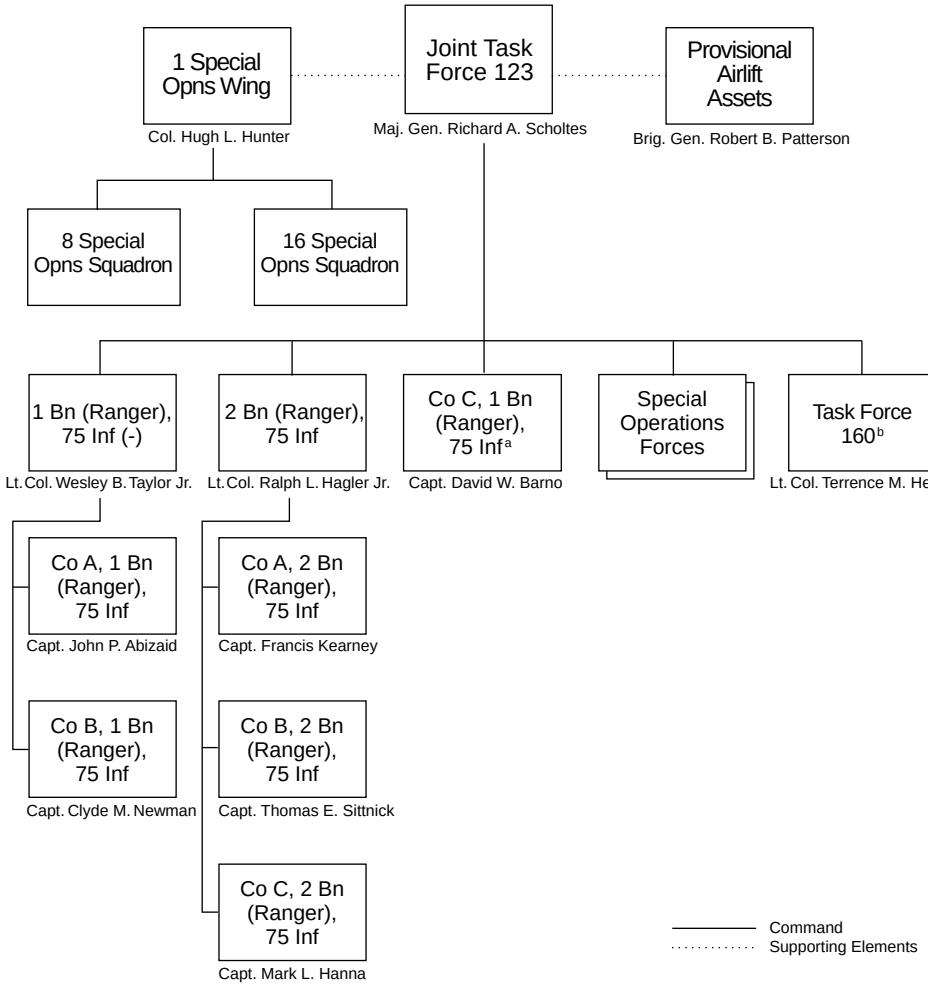
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[3] Ibid.; Seigle, "Special Operations," Student Paper, pp. 8–9.

[4] Interv, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Seigle, "Special Operations," Student Paper, pp. 8–9; Mark Adkin, *Urgent Fury*, p. 183 (departure time source). Prime Minister Tom Adams had just arrived at the airport and snapped a photograph of the helicopters as they flew toward Grenada.

[5] Intervs, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983; MacGarrigle with Abizaid, 15 Dec 1983; and Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Co A, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 7 Nov 1983, External Portion, pp. 1–5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Command and Control section of Draft Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1984], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, pp. IV-B-3 to IV-B-4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH, which has different verbiage than found in the final 1985 report.

**Chart 9—Organization of Joint Task Force 123, 25 October 1983**




[a] Joint Task Force Reserve
[b] Drawn largely from the 160th Aviation Battalion but reinforced with assets from the 158th Aviation Battalion.
*Source*: Adapted from Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 78.

At 0425, 25 October, he sent a second message that confirmed the battalion airdrop based on the latest intelligence; however, on at least three planes, this message was garbled. Hearing *airland* rather than *airdrop*, the rangers on these aircraft began to derig. Because Colonel Taylor and Captain Abizaid could talk without intermediaries, Company A remained prepared to jump. As the lead MC–130 carrying Abizaid and his men went on final approach, however, its inertial navigation system and radar went out. Without these systems, the pilot needed to see the horizon to be able to make the drop. First light was still some minutes away, and the pilot had to abort. Flying in a command-and-control aircraft, General Scholtes did not want to leave one planeload of rangers alone



**Rangers arrive in Grenada, making their parachute assault on the morning of 25 October and then their foot advance**



on the ground without support and ordered the second aircraft to abort also. The two planes circled back and went to the rear of aircraft number 4, the last aircraft carrying members of the 1st Battalion, for a second attempt.[6]

The third MC–130 arrived over the drop zone at 0530, and the first rangers—Colonel Taylor, his primary tactical operations center, and some Company B soldiers—jumped in the face of moderate antiaircraft fire that rapidly grew in intensity *(see Map 4)*. The battalion S–3, Maj. John J. Maher III, was one of the last rangers to exit the plane. Looking down at his feet "like every good airborne trooper," Major Maher saw tracers below his toes. "When I checked my canopy, . . . tracers [were] above my canopy and . . . through my suspension lines." Looking back at the MC–130, he saw "tracer fire in front of it, over it, beyond it, under it, and behind it." The aircraft made a hard right turn and dove for the ocean surface, leveling off considerably below an altitude of 100 feet (30.5 meters), and departed the area. It escaped damage. On the ridgeline, just north of the field, Maher could see antiaircraft guns firing from seven to ten positions. Miraculously, neither he nor any other ranger was injured in the jump.[7]

General Scholtes had prepared for just such an eventuality. He had three Air Force AC–130 Spectre gunships, each armed with a 105-mm. howitzer and multiple smaller caliber weapons, loitering in the area ready to suppress antiaircraft positions. One soon silenced an antiaircraft gun. Meanwhile, Colonel Taylor, the members of his primary tactical operations center, and a few Company B rangers found themselves on the ground amid a great number of agitated Cubans and Grenadians.[8]

The center was designed to be low profile, with no tents to erect. It consisted of nothing more elaborate than some small maps, suitable for reading while spread over a knee, some lightweight radios packed in rucksacks, and a few radio operators plus Colonel Taylor and key members of the battalion staff. The Headquarters Company commander, Capt. John M. Mitchell, who had accompanied Taylor on the third aircraft, quickly set up the center in a little fold of ground out of the direct line of Grenadian fire. The defenders made his task easier by directing all their rounds at the airplanes overhead rather than at the rangers already on the ground.[9]

Almost simultaneously with the ranger attack, a marine rifle company, Company E, 2d Battalion, 8th Marines, successfully landed by helicopter

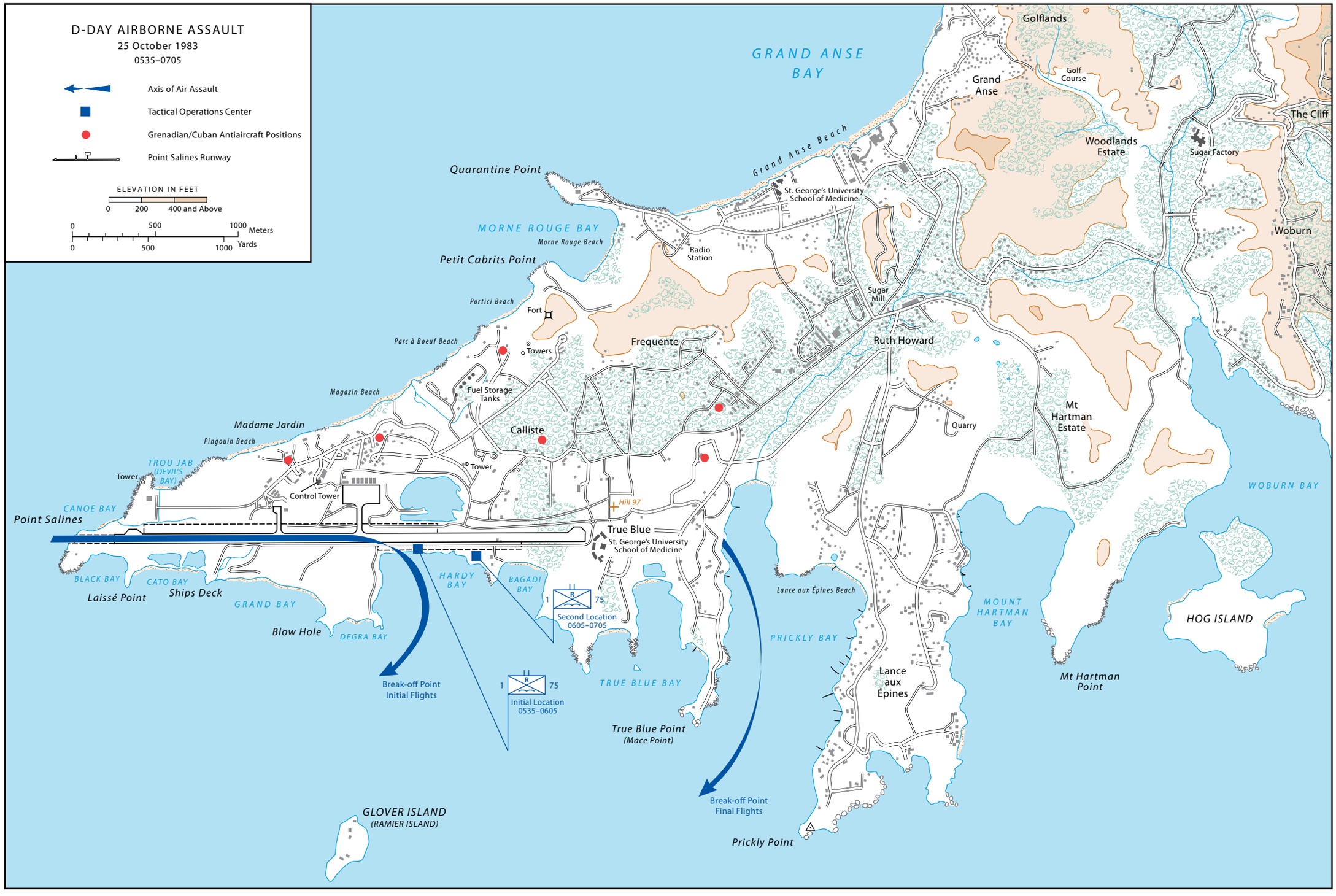
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[6] Intervs, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and with Nix, 2 Nov 1983; MacGarrigle with Abizaid, 15 Dec 1983; Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[7] Intervs, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, plus Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, Roper to Cdr, 507th TACW, 17 Nov 1983, sub: Grenada Report w/encl Major Roper's Narrative, Hist files (PDocs/DAF/TAC), CMH. For the pilots' perspectives, see Dean C. Kallander and James K. Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 37–46.

[8] Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, Roper to Cdr, 507th TACW, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DAF/TAC), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 37–46.

[9] Interv, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, and Tel Interv, author with Mitchell, 10 Jul 2006, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.


D-DAY AIRBORNE ASSAULT
25 October 1983
0535–0705
Axis of Air Assault
Tactical Operations Center
Grenadian/Cuban Antiaircraft Positions
Point Salines Runway
ELEVATION IN FEET
0
200
400 and Above
0
500
1000
Meters
0
500
1000
Yards
GRAND ANSE BAY
Golflands
Grand Anse
Golf Course
The Cliff
Woodlands Estate
Sugar Factory
Grand Anse Beach
Quarantine Point
St. George's University School of Medicine
MORNE ROUGE BAY
Morne Rouge Beach
Radio Station
Petit Cabrits Point
Portici Beach
Fort
Sugar Mill
Woburn
Parc à Boeuf Beach
Towers
Frequente
Ruth Howard
Magazin Beach
Fuel Storage Tanks
Madame Jardin
Pingouin Beach
Calliste
Quarry
Mt Hartman Estate
TROU JAB (DEVIL'S BAY)
Tower
Tower
Control Tower
Hill 97
WOBURN BAY
CANOE BAY
Point Salines
True Blue
St. George's University School of Medicine
BLACK BAY
CATO BAY
Laissé Point
Ships Deck
HARDY BAY
BAGADI BAY
Lance aux Épines Beach
MOUNT HARTMAN BAY
HOG ISLAND
GRAND BAY
Blow Hole
DEGRA BAY
1
R
75
Second Location
0605–0705
PRICKLY BAY
Lance aux Épines
Mt Hartman Point
Break-off Point
Initial Flights
1
R
75
Initial Location
0535–0605
TRUE BLUE BAY
True Blue Point
(Mace Point)
Break-off Point
Final Flights
GLOVER ISLAND
(RAMIER ISLAND)
Prickly Point

**Map 4**






**Marines arrive in Grenada, off-loading from a CH–53 helicopter at Pearls Airport and later driving by a town wall with graffiti welcoming the Americans as liberators**

south of Pearls Airport on the east coast of Grenada and began pushing overland toward the airport. Grenadian antiaircraft guns fired only a few erratic bursts before Marine Cobra gunships silenced them. At 0630 Company F, 2d Battalion, 8th Marines, captured the nearby town of Grenville in an unopposed helicopter assault. Forty-five minutes later Company E secured the airstrip. Grenadian soldiers guarding the complex fired a few rounds from their automatic weapons and fled. The only immediate danger faced by the marines was the high-spirited enthusiasm of the local inhabitants who welcomed the Americans as liberators.[10]

The helicopter assault by the special operations forces in the St. George's area, well after dawn, provoked the most effective opposition. The pilots of the two UH–60s dispatched to rescue Governor General Scoon and his family could not locate the official residence from the air. Pulling away under heavy fire, they landed on the USS *Guam* to refuel. They then made a second attempt. This time they succeeded, and a rescue party rappelled to the ground. The helicopters then withdrew. The plan was to await the appearance of friendly ground forces, but a Grenadian attack force arrived first. The assault team had no weapons capable of stopping armored personnel carriers. The Americans had excellent radios but not the correct frequencies and settings to contact General Scholtes, who remained overhead in a command-and-control aircraft. (Someone had changed all the frequencies, call signs, and manual settings for secure transmission as a security measure but neglected to inform some of the ground teams.) Finding a telephone inside the residence, one of the team members used a credit card to call his wife at Fort Bragg. He told her who to contact at the post to request air support. That support, when it arrived, was devastatingly effective. A combination of Marine attack helicopters, Navy A–7 Corsair II attack aircraft, and Air Force Spectre gunships kept the Grenadians at bay throughout the day and into the night. The need to relieve the force, however, meant that the JTF 120 commander, V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III, continued to press his ground commanders for rapid action.[11]

Other attacks were even less successful. Special operations forces succeeded in capturing a radio studio north of St. George's, but the assumption that control of the location would take Radio Free Grenada off the air proved mistaken—the station possessed an alternate studio for local broadcasts. When the Grenadians counterattacked, the Americans found themselves as defenseless against light armored vehicles as their counterparts defending Scoon. Like them, the men at the studio were unable to contact anyone with their radio, which meant that they were without air support. As a result, they had to disengage hastily and retreat before the Grenadians overran their position. They spent the rest of the day playing hide-and-seek with the Grenadian army in the jungle. That evening they swam out to sea and after hours in the water made

[10] Ronald H. Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada, 1983*, p. 7.

[11] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, [JTF 120], n.d., Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation Urgent Fury*, pp. 114–18, 120; MFR, author, 28 Oct 2008, sub: DIA Conference on Operation Urgent Fury (Invasion of Grenada), 28 October 2008, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.



**Grenadians search for casualties in a severely damaged mental hospital, accidently hit by a bomb during the air attacks.**



contact with one of the destroyers in the naval task force supporting the invasion, the USS *Caron*, which took them aboard.[12]

Antiaircraft fire drove off the helicopter assaults at Richmond Hill Prison and Fort Rupert, damaging every helicopter in Colonel Henry's Task Force 160, most of them severely. Two crashed. One pilot, Capt. Keith J. Lucas, died in the wreck of his UH–60 Black Hawk. In addition, the Grenadians shot down two Marine Cobras that attempted to suppress antiaircraft fire from Fort Frederick. Three of the four aviators aboard these aircraft were also killed.[13]

About noon Admiral Metcalf accepted a proposal from his Army adviser, Maj. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr., to use the marines to conduct an amphibious assault north of St. George's as a means of relieving pressure on the special operations forces. Communications difficulties between ship and shore prevented the battalion landing team commander, Lt. Col. Ray L. Smith, from learning of the mission until 1500. The process of planning the operation and moving the ships into position then delayed the effort until 1830. In the interim, in what General Schwarzkopf considered "one of the decisive moves of the battle," Metcalf directed naval aircraft to attack Fort Frederick, which by then appeared to be the Grenadian command-and-control center. The air attacks certainly shook the defenders (and also severely damaged a nearby mental hospital); however, because the leaders of the Revolutionary Military Council were apparently out of contact with their units throughout the fighting, the degree to which the bombing and strafing disrupted the coordination of the defenders is debatable. Rather, the attack was one of a series of hard knocks that the Americans delivered on the twenty-fifth. Even when repulsed, the special operations teams had exacted a heavy price. The cumulative effect of these blows was such that the defense became progressively less cohesive as the day wore on.[14]

## Point Salines Airhead

After a shaky start on the morning of 25 October, the ranger attack at Point Salines quickly built up momentum. The Cubans had cluttered the airstrip with bulldozers, wire, and other objects. Because the Grenadians and Cubans manning the antiaircraft positions ignored the rangers on the ground, Colonel Taylor was able to organize two-man teams to clear the obstacles. The rangers had brought cables to jump-start the equipment but discovered that the construction workers had thoughtfully left the keys in most of the ignitions. As the 1st Battalion's senior Air Force forward air controller, Maj. James

[12] Adkin, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 181–83, provides the fullest account of this action. For corrections to Adkin's account, see MFR, author, 28 Oct 2008, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

[13] Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada*, pp. 10–12, provides a vivid account of the loss of the Marine helicopters.

[14] Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada*, pp. 7–9; Interv, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Adkin, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 166, 245, 293. Adkin, who interviewed the defenders after the battle, is the source of the Revolutionary Military Council's conduct during the battle.

E. Roper, sprinted across the runway toward the assembly point for Taylor's tactical operations center, he noted a ranger already driving a steamroller off the runway.[15]

The battalion S–3, Major Maher, had landed the farthest from the rally point, in fact, dangerously near the Cubans. Nevertheless, he raced to the southeast verge of the runway without drawing fire. As soon as he arrived, Colonel Taylor put him in charge of the clearing operation. Taylor then walked to the tactical operations center and radioed General Scholtes.

At that moment the fourth transport, a C–130, appeared overhead and provoked a storm of antiaircraft fire. Maher estimated that the fusillade was twice as intense as the one his own aircraft had endured. Despite the opposition, the pilot flew slow and level. By 0552 all but seven of his passengers had succeeded in exiting the aircraft while it was over the drop zone. The newcomers were rangers from Capt. Clyde M. Newman's Company B. Again, no one was injured during the jump and the aircraft, maneuvering wildly, sped off without damage. Aircraft five through seven aborted their approaches because of heavy enemy fire and because not all the rangers had had time to rerig.[16]

As the Grenadians threw up their barrage, Maher ordered his runway teams to drop their tools and take the antiaircraft guns under fire. The Americans' small-arms fire failed to suppress the defenders, but the shots alerted them to the presence of the rangers on the airstrip. The Grenadians and Cubans responded with their first effective fire of the day. Major Roper, in turn, contacted the AC–130 gunship overhead and requested that it eliminate the antiaircraft positions. With an intensive hail of gunfire, the Spectre did just that, making it possible to resume the airdrop. Grenadian and Cuban small-arms fire, however, remained a problem for the troops on the ground.[17]

Starting at 0625, Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler Jr.'s 2d Battalion and the remainder of the 1st Battalion successfully parachuted into the drop zone. By 0730 the 2d Platoon of Captain Abizaid's Company A, 1st Battalion, had secured the True Blue Campus at the east end of the runway, and a platoon of Captain Newman's Company B, 1st Battalion, had cleared the airport terminal complex. Company B also captured the Cuban construction camp, taking some two hundred prisoners. Meanwhile, Colonel Hagler had sent one company to clear the heights north of the airfield, where it captured an additional twenty-two Cubans. A second company had moved northwest to link up with Newman's

[15] Interv, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, Roper to Cdr, 507th TACW, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DAF/TAC), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[16] Interv, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, Roper to Cdr, 507th TACW, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DAF/TAC), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[17] Interv, Bishop with Maher, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, Roper to Cdr, 507th TACW, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DAF/TAC), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

men at the terminal. Hagler, the senior officer on the ground, reported the Point Salines airfield secured at 0735 *(see Map 5)*.[18]

While these operations were continuing, the 1st and 3d Platoons of Captain Abizaid's company and Company B of the 2d Battalion, assisted by two engineers from the 307th Engineer Battalion, Sgt. Charles E. Spain and Spec. William R. Richardson, concentrated on clearing the airfield. In addition to the debris, the Cubans had driven steel reinforcing rods in rows about 15 meters apart along the entire length of the runway. Sergeant Spain and Specialist Richardson drove eight asphalt rollers off the runway, and then a ranger used one of them to flatten the rods. All attempts, however, to airdrop the 618th Engineer Company's bulldozer failed. After circling fruitlessly for more than thirty minutes, the C–130 carrying it diverted to Barbados. By this time, General Scholtes knew that the Cuban construction equipment was both plentiful and operable, so the Air Force made no further attempts to deliver the bulldozer. Military Airlift Command pilots flew it back to Fort Bragg. The bulldozer rigged for low-altitude extraction suffered the same fate.[19]

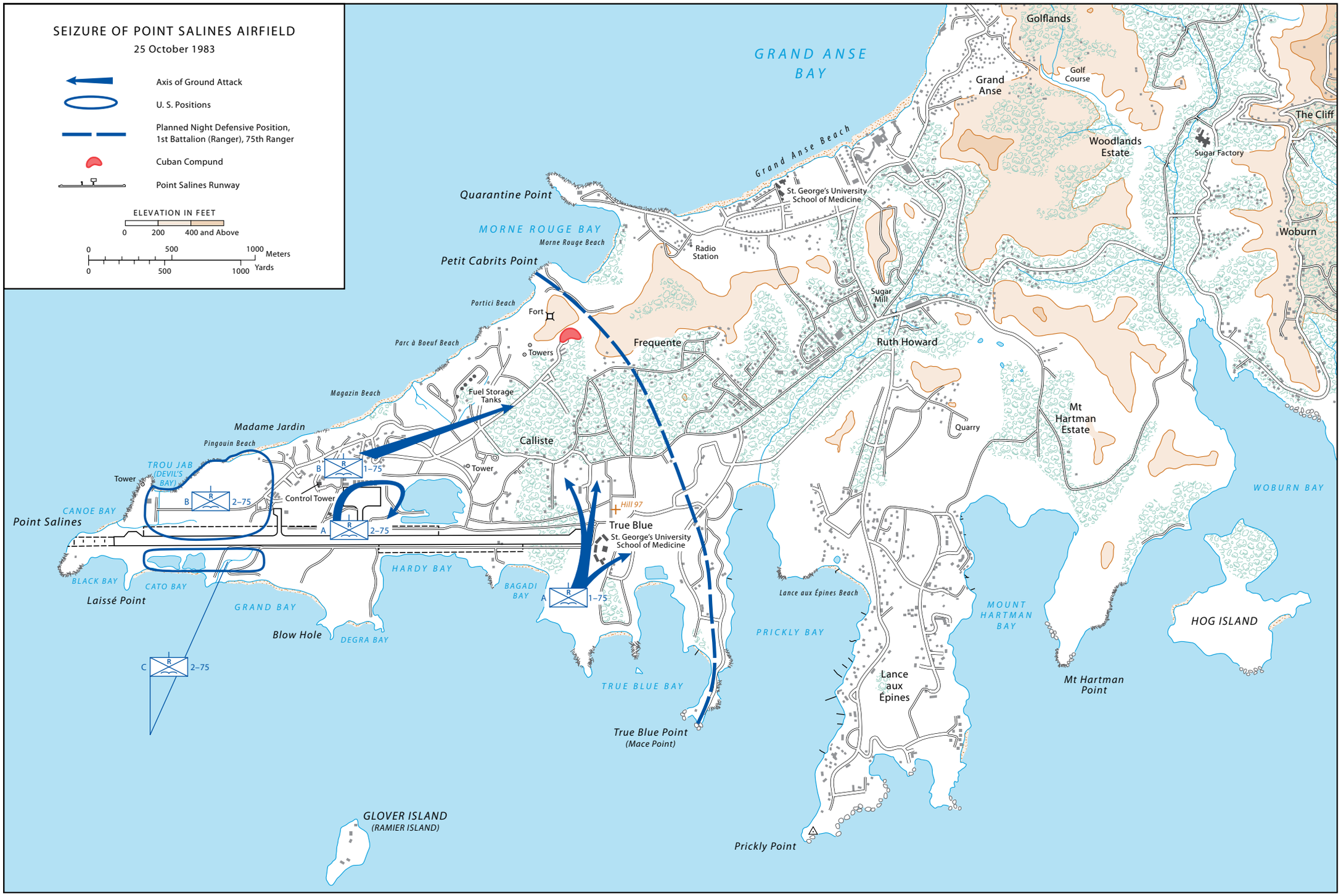
By 0700 the rangers, with the assistance of Sergeant Spain and Specialist Richardson, had the eastern end of the runway sufficiently clear to allow C–130s to land. Aircraft were stacked up over Point Salines waiting for authorization. Lacking a list of priorities from General Scholtes, the commander of the three-member Air Force combat control team that had parachuted in with the rangers, M. Sgt. Robert L. Kelly, simply directed the plane at the bottom of the holding pattern to land. The first C–130 touched down at 0736, carrying the standard Joint Special Operations Command medical package. The medical team's arrival disappointed the rangers who had wanted their gunjeeps to land as quickly as possible.[20]

While clearing operations continued to prepare the runway for C–141s, Hill 97 north of the True Blue Campus remained in enemy hands. From there, enemy snipers could fire onto the east end of the runway. About 0730 Captain Abizaid assembled his company to take the hill. A white pickup truck drove down the hill and onto the runway. The rangers stopped it with fire. Two shaken but unhurt People's Revolutionary Army soldiers emerged. Making a routine delivery to the field, they had not heard that there was a war on. They reported that many Cubans were on the hill. Abizaid began his assault, but the effort proved slow going despite effective close air support from two Marine Cobras. At 0840 he saw S. Sgt. Manous F. Boles Jr., a member of the runway clearing team, driving a Cuban bulldozer along the edge of the runway. Stopping the

[18] Prelim AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983; AAR, ibid., 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-2. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH. See also Interv, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, Roper to Cdr, 507th TACW, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DAF/TAC), CMH.

[19] Intervs, Wells with Spain, 17 Nov 1983; Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983; and MacGarrigle with Abizaid, 15 Dec 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. C, p. C-18, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[20] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. E, p. E-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.


SEIZURE OF POINT SALINES AIRFIELD
25 October 1983
Axis of Ground Attack
U. S. Positions
Planned Night Defensive Position, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Ranger
Cuban Compound
Point Salines Runway
ELEVATION IN FEET
0 200 400 and Above
0 500 1000 Meters
0 500 1000 Yards
GRAND ANSE BAY
Golflands
Golf Course
Grand Anse
Grand Anse Beach
The Cliff
Woodlands Estate
Sugar Factory
Quarantine Point
St. George's University School of Medicine
MORNE ROUGE BAY
Morne Rouge Beach
Woburn
Radio Station
Petit Cabrits Point
Sugar Mill
Portici Beach
Fort
Parc à Boeuf Beach
Towers
Frequente
Ruth Howard
Magazin Beach
Fuel Storage Tanks
Madame Jardin
Pingouin Beach
Calliste
Quarry
Mt Hartman Estate
TROU JAB (DEVIL'S BAY)
Tower
1–75
Tower
WOBURN BAY
Control Tower
Hill 97
CANOE BAY
Point Salines
2–75
True Blue
St. George's University School of Medicine
HARDY BAY
BAGADI BAY
BLACK BAY
CATO BAY
Laissé Point
GRAND BAY
Blow Hole
DEGRA BAY
Lance aux Épines Beach
PRICKLY BAY
MOUNT HARTMAN BAY
HOG ISLAND
TRUE BLUE BAY
Lance aux Épines
Mt Hartman Point
True Blue Point
(Mace Point)
Prickly Point
GLOVER ISLAND
(RAMIER ISLAND)

**Map 5**

sergeant, Abizaid directed Boles to raise the machine's blade to protect himself from small-arms fire and to drive it up the hill. Using the bulldozer as cover, a squad from the 3d Platoon followed and secured the height.[21]

The rangers' vehicles—motorcycles and gunjeeps—arrived during the course of the morning. One gunjeep drove off the back of a C–130 and headed east per plan to establish an outpost 200 meters beyond the True Blue Campus. The college was located in a hollow that was not indicated on ranger maps. As a result, the five rangers in the jeep passed the buildings without seeing them. The team went some distance toward the village of Ruth Howard before the men realized their mistake. Turning back, they started to retrace their journey when a Grenadian army patrol ambushed them. Four rangers died in the vicious firefight. One badly wounded survivor, Pvt. Timothy Romick, staggered into American lines an hour later carrying a Soviet light machine gun.[22]

By midmorning the rangers had seized all the hills that commanded the airstrip. Colonel Taylor placed Company A a short distance east of the True Blue Campus. One of its platoons had pushed north to make contact with the Cuban survivors of the fight for Hill 97. The survivors, who had taken refuge in a Cuban army compound located in a valley north of the village of Calliste, had mortars that could have brought the airfield under fire. Taylor decided against requesting an air strike on the compound because civilians might be present. Instead, using a captured antiaircraft gun to good advantage from their commanding hilltop position, the rangers compelled the Cubans to remain under cover. At one point the defenders came into the open to fire their mortars, but the rangers quickly drove them back into the buildings. They did not repeat the effort. Shortly after 1400 Company B elements replaced Company A's platoon. Nearly an hour later the company commander, Captain Newman, assisted by Spanish-speaking Cpl. Jose Filguieras, persuaded 150 Cubans in the compound to surrender. Approximately 80 diehards continued to hold out, but they posed little threat from then on. The rangers had seized the airfield and neutralized the Cubans at a cost of 5 killed, 4 of whom died in the ambush of the gunjeep.[23]

The unexpected intensity of the Cuban and Grenadian resistance meant that the buildup at Point Salines proceeded more slowly than Army and Air Force planners had anticipated. The Air Force had estimated that it would move Joint Task Force 123 into Salines in three hours and four minutes. Instead, it took six hours and fifty-two minutes. The rear element of the task force, Capt. David W. Barno's Company C, 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, still

[21] Ibid., an. A, p. A-3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1Bn75Inf), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Abizaid, 1 Nov 1983, and Frasché with J. Watson, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[22] Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 109–10.

[23] Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and Wells with C. Newman, 2 Nov 1983, and with Cayton, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 110. See also the draft narrative by Charles R. Bishop and E. Kathleen O'Brien, "FORSCOM/ARLANT Participation in Operation URGENT FURY, Grenada, 1983," pp. 138–39, Hist files (PDocs/DraftMs), CMH, which contains a wealth of tactical detail not found in the final published version.



**Rangers in action, preparing to fire mortars and guarding Cuban detainees**





**Military policemen in action, escorting Cuban detainees and standing guard at a holding facility**



attached to the special operations forces, landed and took position at the far western end of the runway at about 0800. There Army aviators assembled diminutive AH–6 Little Bird gunships flown in by C–130s. General Scholtes landed and established his headquarters in one of the terminal buildings. The minimal logistical support suitable for a raiding force also arrived, and the task force's logistical support element began unloading C–130s in front of the terminal.[24]

Shortly after he parachuted into the airhead, the 2d Battalion's S–4, Capt. Jose G. Ventura Jr., began collecting prisoners and interrogating them. Because a state of war did not exist, they were officially detainees. The Cubans reported that on 21 October the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces headquarters in Havana had ordered them to fight to the death. Two days later a garbled transmission indicating that they were only to fire if fired on apparently countermanded that directive. Captain Ventura asked the obvious question: "If those were your orders, why did you fire?" "Well," they replied, "we have our problems too. We've got these guys who are gung ho . . . , who want to kill Americans. And we couldn't control them. They were running out and shooting." Ventura remained responsible for the detainees until 1200, when he turned them over to members of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force under Brig. Rudyard Lewis of Barbados.[25]

During Urgent Fury preparations the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), General John W. Vessey Jr., had recognized that the 300-man Peacekeeping Force's lack of military training meant that it should not be committed to combat. He still believed, however, that it would be useful in a politico-military role in St. George's and for guarding detainees. With these objectives in mind, Admiral Metcalf on 24 October contacted the JCS liaison with the Caribbean contingent, Marine Maj. Gen. George B. Crist. Metcalf wanted General Crist to meet with Brigadier Lewis to arrange for his command's movement either to Pearls or to St. George's once combat ended. On the twenty-fifth, with JTF 123's attack on St. George's in trouble and the assault on Point Salines meeting unexpectedly stiff resistance, the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force constituted JTF 120's only immediately available ground reserve. Metcalf decided to commit the Peacekeeping Force to Point Salines, and Crist accompanied it.[26]

When the lead elements of the force arrived at Salines at 1115 on 25 October, Colonel Hagler was initially shocked to see troops in Cuban-style uniforms disembarking from an Air Force C–130. Stifling an impulse to open fire, he soon learned from Crist the identity of the reinforcements and their mission. By 1200 about 100 men from the force had arrived and assumed

[24] Intervs, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984; Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983; and Wells with Clemons, 2 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[25] Interv, Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[26] Interv, Cole with Crist, 16 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, pp. 42–43; Pirnie, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 110.



**Members of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force**

responsibility for some 50 Cuban and Grenadian detainees and some 150 Grenadian civilians who had been driven out of their homes by the fighting. Appropriating many of the Cuban trucks that the rangers had cleared from the runway, the peacekeepers moved the detainees and refugees from the terminal toward the western end of the field.[27]

Captain Ventura's first thought after relinquishing the detainees was to obtain a share of the captured vehicles for the 2d Battalion. Some of the members of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force, he noted, were quite adept at jump-starting trucks. One of them helped him start a number of vehicles that he wanted—two water trucks full of potable water and a big Soviet dump truck that could be used for hauling supplies. Ventura also found a large gasoline truck, but it stubbornly refused to start. He had drivers from the battalion bring their vehicles to the truck and refueled them using buckets. He then reported to General Scholtes' command post to arrange for resupply. The staff officer with whom he spoke told him not to worry about any shortages because the rangers would return to the United States the next day. While Ventura had taken care of the water and fuel problems, he had no rations to give the men. As he exited the headquarters, however, he "found" an unguarded pallet of rations, loaded it in the back of his new dump truck, and drove it back to the 2d Battalion area.[28]

Captain Ventura's counterpart in the 1st Battalion, Capt. Stanley B. Clemons, did much the same thing, but slightly later. Captain Clemons helped operate and provide security for the battalion's alternate tactical operations center until midafternoon. Once released, he immediately went in search of vehicles to equip the battalion's train. Eventually he located two trucks, one of which contained spare batteries, water, and rations. He then drove to Hill 97, removed the body of the ranger killed during the assault, and provided for the return of the remains home. Finally, he went forward to the companies to check on their status.[29]

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[27] Cole, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 42–43; Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 110; Interv, Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[28] Interv, Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[29] Interv, Wells with Clemons, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Similarly to Ventura, Clemons discovered that General Scholtes' headquarters was disinclined to order resupply for the rangers because of their anticipated return to the United States. This concerned Clemons more than Ventura because the 1st Battalion faced a more acute ammunition resupply problem than the 2d. Both Companies A and B of the 1st had done considerable firing in the initial assault, and, through some misunderstanding, the Air Force had failed to deliver two of Company A's gunjeeps and their attendant stores. The problem eased at 1600, when General Scholtes released Company C to the battalion's control. The unit retained the bulk ammunition that it had carried with it from Fort Stewart. This allowed Clemons and a sergeant to break down the company's munitions pallet and distribute the rounds evenly among the three companies. There was even enough to hold a portion in reserve at the battalion's ammunition supply point.[30]

As the logisticians sorted out the supply situation, the ranger medical teams dealt with the injured. Eight members of the 1st Battalion were wounded the first day. They received their initial treatment in the field from their company medics, often under fire. The medics provided basic first aid, started intravenous fluids as quickly as possible, and then evacuated the men to the battalion aid station in a jeep or flatbed truck. As planned, the 1st Battalion surgeon, Capt. James A. Pfaff, established an aid station in the medical school buildings at True Blue. Captain Pfaff and the other two members of his medical team stabilized the casualties before evacuation. Those requiring immediate surgery went to the *Guam*.[31]

Pfaff and his team, assisted by some of the medical students, established a triage station in the school cafeteria. They created a heliport on an outdoor basketball court by bending down the hoops so that a UH–60 could land. When they needed a helicopter evacuation, Pfaff had only to radio the *Guam* to summon a Black Hawk.[32]

Almost immediately, the captain and his medics confronted a potential supply problem. They had brought two medical chests with them, but they could find only one after the Air Force landed the battalion's supplies. This posed a problem not so much with the quantity of supplies available but with the types. The medical team had not cross-loaded the chests. The one they received contained dressings; the missing one held drugs. Fortunately, the stocks the team's members carried with them and the few supplies available on campus sufficed to care for the eight wounded rangers. That morning, however, Pfaff realized for the first time that he might have more than just Americans to treat. His physician's assistant, CWO2 William Donovan, escorted a group

[30] Ibid.; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[31] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st AES, 14 Feb 1984, p. 2, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/MAC), CMH; ibid., Surg, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, and with Donovan, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[32] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Surg, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, and with Donovan, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**UH–60 Black Hawk air ambulance during URGENT FURY**

of Grenadian refugees carrying four badly wounded Grenadian militiamen to the aid station. Because Atlantic Command's policy on medical evacuation envisioned only transporting wounded Americans, Pfaff decided to care for the Grenadians onsite. He also saw this as a learning situation for the medical students, who were all in their first year. Donovan organized them into shifts of ten and rotated them through the aid station. Pfaff showed them some of the wounds and the kinds of physiology involved and then discussed treatment. In turn, the students proved tremendously eager to help. They shifted beds, hung intravenous fluid bags and tubing, and ripped up sheets for bandages. For the moment, conditions were still relaxed at the aid station, but the four wounded Grenadians were but the first of many non-American casualties to arrive.[33]

Neither Captain Pfaff nor the Navy surgeons on the *Guam* had a clear understanding of evacuation procedures after casualties reached the ship because Atlantic Command had failed to disseminate a detailed medical evacuation plan. The surgeons on the *Guam* assumed that they would retain the most critically injured until they recovered. In the absence of any formal guidance, Pfaff put the more lightly wounded patients aboard C–141s that flew to Charleston Air Force Base, South Carolina, the home station of the aircrews.

[33] Intervs, Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, with Clemons, 2 Nov 1983, and with Donovan, 2 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

There the Air Force transferred them to the naval hospital at the Charleston Naval Air Station.[34]

The airlift commander, General Patterson, flew from Barbados to Grenada late in the morning to inspect the airfield. Arriving at Point Salines at 1130, he discovered four steamrollers parked too close to each other on opposite sides of the runway. Because C–130s would have insufficient clearance for their wings and C–141s would be unable to land, Patterson directed one of the Army engineers to clear the area. The surface of the runway itself posed no problems for C–141s. The Cubans had paved the first 1,524 meters from west to east with up to five layers of asphalt. Beginning at the 1,524-meter mark where the fill for the causeway over Hardy Bay began, the Cubans had used tarmacadam, a mixture of gravel and oil. Military Airlift Command engineers tested the last 914 meters after the rangers removed the construction debris and pronounced it fit. Even so, the taxi area in front of the terminal was still clogged with equipment, materiel, and trash. Until the engineers cleared this apron, the number of aircraft, whether C–130s or C–141s, that the Air Force would allow on the ground at one time remained at exactly one. This was the number established by Patterson based on the recommendation of the Air Force combat control team commander, Sergeant Kelly. With that decided, Patterson opened the field for C–141 traffic at 1200.[35]

## The Division Arrives

Shortly after he landed at Point Salines on the morning of 25 October, General Scholtes had to decide whether the 2d Battalion should attempt to complete its second mission: the seizure of Calivigny Barracks. Having experienced problems at St. George's and facing tougher resistance at Point Salines than expected, he told Colonel Hagler to forego the Calivigny mission and to continue clearing houses and providing security for the airfield. Scholtes would hand over the defense of the airfield to the 82d Airborne Division when it arrived. At this point, the airhead perimeter resembled a shallow *S*, with Colonel Taylor's battalion manning the front line and Colonel Hagler's men systematically searching rear areas. The last aircraft carrying JTF 123 elements touched down at 1322. Shortly thereafter, at 1400, the first aircraft containing units of the 82d arrived. Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh and his command post were on board.[36]

As he left Pope Air Force Base, General Trobaugh knew that he would have to make a decision to rig for airdrop 2½ hours before the division

[34] Intervs, Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, and author with A. F. Meyer, 16 Jun 2000, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 87–88.

[35] Intervs, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 57–58; Combat Service Support section of Draft Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1984], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, p. IV-G-9, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

[36] Intervs, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, and Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

arrived in the airhead. To make an informed decision, he needed to monitor the situation on Grenada while en route, but communications proved difficult. He had a satellite radio and a hatch-mounted antenna aboard the lead aircraft that permitted him to monitor JTF 123 message traffic in the area of operations and to talk directly with General Scholtes when the need arose. Once bolted into place, the antenna was not adjustable. Intermittently throughout the flight, when the aircraft changed direction, the antenna lost its fix on the satellite and Trobaugh lost communications. Trobaugh thus knew bits and pieces of what was happening on the island, but he did not enjoy a continuous flow of information. At 1120 the satellite antenna was sufficiently aligned for him to radio Scholtes for the latest situation report. Scholtes reported ranger casualties, "lots of Cubans," and the airfield clear enough that the division could land. As to whether it should remained a question mark.[37]

The case for airdrop was simple and persuasive: mass. It would allow the division to quickly insert a great deal of combat power into the area of operations. Without further delay, the 82d could then concentrate on landing its heavy equipment and supplies. The rapid logistical buildup that resulted would facilitate a speedy attack out of the airhead. By contrast, landing the entire task force in a normal manner would take much longer.[38]

The case against an airdrop was more diffuse but also persuasive. From what General Trobaugh and his principal staff officers could determine from the much interrupted flow of communications, there was no combat emergency on Grenada. They knew that the drop zone was very small and that a great deal of water was nearby. They also knew through radio traffic that one of the rangers had landed in the water during the initial airdrop. While 82d Support Command personnel had succeeded in getting sufficient parachutes aboard every aircraft before the division left Fort Bragg, they had not had time to provide flotation devices. A single unexpected crosswind could turn a routine jump into a major disaster, and Trobaugh realized that his superiors neither expected nor wanted a large number of Cuban and Grenadian casualties let alone American. Well aware that the rules of engagement stressed the importance of limiting enemy and civilian casualties and that unexpectedly large numbers of casualties could adversely affect U.S. public opinion, Trobaugh asked his G–3, Lt. Col. Frank H. Akers Jr., what he recommended. "If we can land," said Colonel Akers, "we want to land. We can get everybody there. It will take us longer, but we'll get everybody there." Trobaugh decided to airland.[39]

Captain Abizaid, whose company was defending the east end of the runway and the True Blue Campus, first realized that a new unit was entering his area when a C–141 taxied to a halt at the end of the runway and a major

[37] Intervs, Frasché with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983, and with Akers, 22 Nov 1983 (quoted words), plus Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[38] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[39] Intervs, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

general emerged. It was Trobaugh. The rangers were still receiving scattered sniper fire. Abizaid was concerned at first that his men in Vietnam-era camouflage uniforms and the airborne troopers in medium-weight battle dress uniforms might mistake one another for the enemy and fall into a firefight, but no snipers fired during the early stages of the linkup, allowing everyone to learn one another's identity. Abizaid quickly informed Trobaugh of the situation on his front and escorted him and his staff to Colonel Taylor, who briefed the general on the disposition of the entire 1st Battalion. Colonel Hagler happened to be in the area, so Trobaugh also learned about conditions along the whole perimeter. After meeting with Hagler, he and his staff rode in a captured vehicle to General Scholtes' headquarters for a formal briefing on the operation.[40]

Surprised at the intensity of the resistance, Scholtes was no longer certain about the accuracy of his intelligence on the size and disposition of enemy forces. When Trobaugh asked "what he had hold of," he replied that "he really wasn't too sure." He was preoccupied with the fate of his isolated units in the St. George's area and his relative inability to do anything to help them. Task Force 160 had suffered extensive battle damage and had only two UH–60s capable of extended flight. Scholtes was very impressed by the professionalism of the antiaircraft defenders of the Grenadian capital. He favorably compared the Grenadians to the North Vietnamese. The latter had always scattered upon the approach of helicopters; the Grenadians had concentrated and massed their fires.[41]

The fragmented radio traffic Trobaugh and his staff had monitored on the trip down poorly prepared him for the situation at Point Salines or the extent of JTF 123's reverses in the St. George's area. In one transmission Scholtes had declared that the airfield was secure, leading the division commander to believe the rangers had completed the occupation of the entire peninsula as planned. At this juncture, the rangers had secured only the first line of hills around the airfield and had one company positioned further forward to monitor the Cuban compound near Calliste. Contrary to what Trobaugh had assumed, Scholtes had one nearly full-strength battalion and a second of only three half-strength companies. Planning to use Task Force 160 for aviation support until his own helicopters arrived, Trobaugh discovered that the unit was no longer able to conduct combat operations. All the division's planning, moreover, anticipated that the airfield would accommodate five aircraft on the ground at any one time, but existing conditions permitted only one, a circumstance that would profoundly affect the rate at which Trobaugh could build up his own task force. As Trobaugh listened to Scholtes' presentation,

[40] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, and with Abizaid, 1 Nov 1983, plus Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[41] Only 82d Airborne Division participants have recorded accounts of this meeting. See Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983 (quoted words); Frasché with Akers, [Dec 1983], and with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983; and Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

**Paratroopers arrive in Grenada, assembling near the Point Salines runway, carrying their gear to the marshaling area, preparing to go on patrol, and bivouacking at a beach near the airfield**









the situation at 1500 on 25 October was hardly calculated to put Trobaugh in a positive frame of mind. He now concentrated on getting his men on the island as quickly as possible.[42]

Scholtes imparted some additional information that was stunning in both its implications and in the uncertainties that it introduced for the ground force commander. In seizing the True Blue Campus the rangers had not rescued all the medical students. Almost immediately after the rangers reached the college at the end of the runway, the students there had told them of a second campus, in fact, the main campus at Grand Anse, a village on the west coast of the island just 3 kilometers south of St. George's and 900 meters northeast of Frequente. This complex housed an even larger group of Americans than True Blue.[43]

Trobaugh was definitely unprepared for what Scholtes next proposed. The JTF 123 commander was quite prepared to turn the Point Salines airhead over to Trobaugh, but he wanted to remain on the island and finish the battle of St. George's, where his team at the governor general's residence was still pinned down. Trobaugh expected to take command of all Army forces upon his arrival. To him this looked like a wholly unnecessary complication in an already complex chain of command. His reaction was emphatic: "If you special f—kers get out of the way, we'll win this war."[44]

After the meeting broke up, General Crist guided Colonel Akers to the proposed site of General Trobaugh's headquarters—a large mansion atop a high hill. Akers inspected the location. The house was ideal in the sense that it provided a roomy and comfortable working space for the staff but unsatisfactory in other respects. Given the shallow depth of the U.S. position, however, it was very exposed to the front lines. Its distance from the airfield also meant that the effort to provide security for both the airfield and the headquarters might prove a problem. The alternative was to set up in the terminal complex not too far from General Scholtes. This made particular sense because, while Trobaugh was senior to Scholtes, the two were to operate as equals and to coordinate their efforts as long as Scholtes remained on the island. Proximity would make cooperation easier. On Akers' recommendation, Trobaugh adopted the airport option.[45]

Meanwhile, the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, continued to arrive. The companies were cross-loaded, but each of the first three aircraft contained the nucleus of one unit. Capt. Charles H. Jacoby Jr. and his Company A were aboard Chalk 1 with General Trobaugh and his principal staff; Capt. Mark E. Rocke and his redesignated Company C, along with battalion commander Lt.

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[42] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[43] Intervs, Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, and Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[44] Only 82d Airborne Division participants have recorded accounts of this meeting. See Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov and [Dec] 1983, and with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983; and Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985] (quoted words). All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH

[45] Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov and [Dec] 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Col. Jack L. Hamilton and his primary tactical operations center, on Chalk 2; and Capt. Michael F. Ritz with Company B and brigade commander Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr., on Chalk 3. Although Captain Jacoby had only twenty members of his own company on the first aircraft, he used them immediately to reinforce the rangers north of the True Blue Campus. Colonel Hamilton coordinated with his close friend, Colonel Taylor, before attempting a relief in place of the rangers. Colonel Silvasy made it his job to establish assembly areas and put someone in charge of each to tell new arrivals where their companies had gone. This continued until all seven aircraft carrying members of the battalion had landed. With Jacoby already committed north of the airstrip, Hamilton sent his Company C south of the airstrip to backstop the ranger positions around True Blue.[46]

Captain Rocke's Company C was not fully in position at 1530, when three BTR60s attacked. The armored personnel carriers sped down the road that led toward the True Blue Campus directly into the defenses of Captain Abizaid's Company A, 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry. The attackers—members of the Grenadian Army's Motorized Infantry Company—sprayed the landscape with fire, forcing Rocke to redeploy most of his men to a reverse slope. With Grenadian rounds hitting all around them, the infantrymen could not return fire without hitting Abizaid's men. The fire momentarily disrupted both Colonel Hagler's tactical operations center and the 2d Battalion's aid station. Rangers and the few airborne troopers with a field of fire leveled their weapons and responded in kind. A hail of light antitank missiles and 90-mm. recoilless rifle rounds sailed toward the BTRs. Faced with this intense fire, the first two vehicles collided and their occupants fled, leaving two dead behind. The third armored personnel carrier immediately reversed course and sped away from Abizaid's men but not out of sight of an Air Force Spectre circling overhead. It destroyed the vehicle within minutes of the attack. While that ended the armor threat, Abizaid's men remained in contact with Grenadian infantry until nightfall. For a time it appeared as if the Grenadians were attempting to maneuver seaward around Abizaid's flank, but Rocke deployed his company to a blocking position and disposed of the threat.[47]

Within the preceding 4½ hours General Trobaugh had made two operational decisions—to airland rather than to airdrop and to locate the division assault command post in the airport terminal—that had tremendous logistical consequences. Now he made a third. As the Grenadian attack fell apart, he contacted the *Guam* and spoke to Admiral Metcalf's military adviser, General Schwarzkopf. Trobaugh told Schwarzkopf that he needed reinforcements. Schwarzkopf responded that Trobaugh had two battalions of the 82d on hand. This was more than ample force for the mission. Undeterred by this advice and knowing that Schwarzkopf had no command authority over him, Trobaugh contacted Fort Bragg by satellite radio: "Send me battalions until I tell you to

[46] Intervs, GWG with Jacoby, [Nov 1983], and Bishop with Hamilton, 16 Nov 1983, plus Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[47] Intervs, Bishop with Abizaid, 1 Nov 1983, with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983, and with Hensler, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

stop." This order for immediate reinforcements coupled with unanticipated airflow problems meant that in effect he truncated the 2d Brigade Task Force, which would not receive all the attached elements and supplies called for in Colonel Silvasy's plan.[48]

## General Trobaugh Takes Charge

As the afternoon of 25 October wore on, General Trobaugh needed to set up his headquarters and to secure a resolution of the command situation in southern Grenada from higher authorities. Would the special operations forces, rangers, and JTF 123 headquarters remain on the island as General Scholtes wanted or would they depart as the original plan had specified?

The division staff sorted itself out and began its work at Port Salines almost effortlessly, the product of many training exercises. By the time Trobaugh's chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., was established inside the terminal, most of the members of the division assault command post had linked up with the advance party that had arrived on the first plane. They assembled south of the runway and then moved across to the terminal. Trobaugh took Colonel Boylan aside and told him that, in addition to his duties as chief of staff, he would act as the assistant division commander for support in the area of operations. Boylan was to focus on the buildup of forces, leaving Trobaugh free to concentrate on tactical operations. It was a decision that defined their respective roles throughout the period of combat.[49]

The building that housed Trobaugh's command post was hardly the terminal its name implied. It was, quite simply, the shell of what would, some day, be a terminal. It had concrete walls and floors and a roof. Otherwise, the interior was entirely unfinished, a work site with tools and building materials scattered all about and with construction ladders providing the only access to the second floor. Several inches of concrete dust on the floor contributed to the general unpleasantness. Noise from taxiing aircraft reverberated off the unfinished walls. When an aircraft moved down the main runway, normal conversation became impossible. The site had no lights, water, or latrines. The staff worked on boards placed atop saw horses. The work area was overcrowded and "extremely chaotic with just ourselves [there]." Moreover, no one walked outside more than absolutely necessary during the first twenty-four hours because of the danger of drawing fire, both enemy and friendly.[50]

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[48] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 25 Oct 1983, 1530, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH. For amplification, see Intervs, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], and Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[49] Intervs, McMichael with Ryneska, 18 Nov 1983; Frasché with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983; Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983]; Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983]; and Pirnie with Schwarzkopf, 1 Nov 1985. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[50] Intervs, Frasché with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983, and with Akers, [Dec 1983]; Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983] (quoted words); Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983]; and McMichael with Schieman, 5 Apr 1984. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, p. 2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. On conditions at the terminal, see Briefing, Frank, 8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

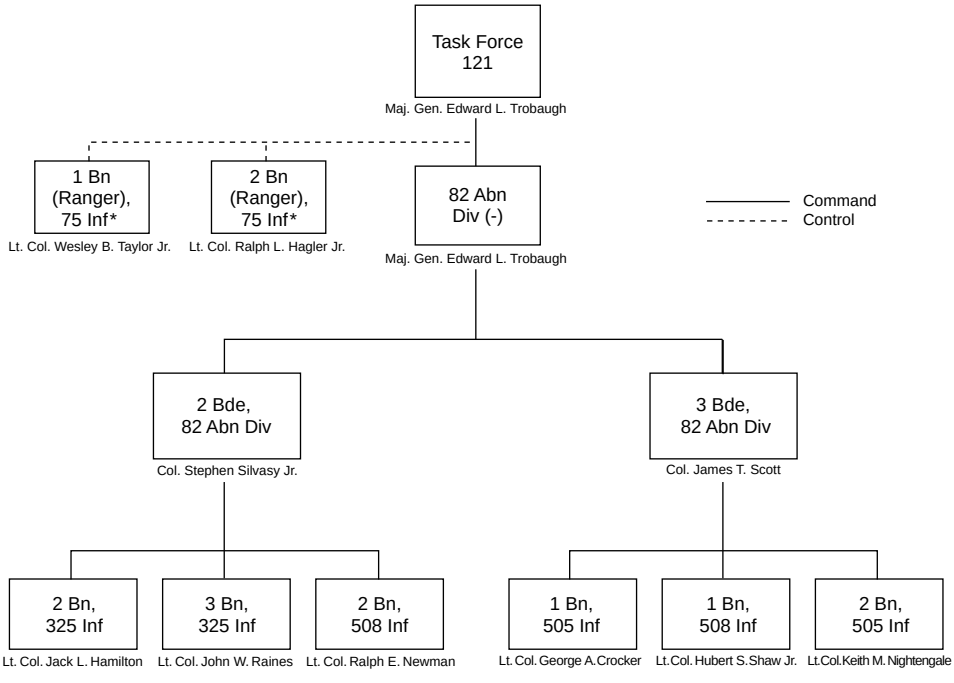


**Reinforcing the division assault command post at Point Salines**

During the night Admiral Metcalf resolved the dispute over whether General Scholtes and his special operations forces would remain on the island in favor of adhering to the original plan. General Trobaugh, however, wanted to retain the two ranger battalions as part of Task Force 121 after the rest of Joint Task Force 123 departed *(see Chart 10)*. The decision to airland meant that his division had to build up slowly, increasing his concern about the security of the airfield. The situation seemed manageable so long as the 82d's battalions remained in place at or near the field, but would change once they began moving off the peninsula. He still needed a force at hand capable of defending the field, the terminus of his line of supply back to the United States. Normally, the 82d Support Command, charged by doctrine with rear area protection, would have performed this role. However, except for Forward Area Support Team II's Alpha Echelon, the support command remained at Fort Bragg, and the echelon's thirty-five men would be hard pressed to keep the airfield operating, let alone defend it. The rangers were the only readily available force capable of performing that mission.[51]

[51] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Frasché with Akers, [Dec 1983]; Pirnie with Smith, 3 Apr 1985, and author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

**Chart 10—Organization of Task Force 121, 25 October–2 November 1983**




*Chopped from JTF 123 to TF 121 evening of 25 October 1983; departed 28–29 October 1983.
*Source*: Adapted from Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, p. 79

For his part, General Scholtes did not agree. Once Admiral Metcalf decided to withdraw Joint Task Force 123, Scholtes believed that he had a moral obligation to bring the rangers out with him. They had done everything that he had asked of them, he insisted, and they were not equipped, supplied, or manned for sustained operations. He told Trobaugh that he intended to fight the issue through channels, and he did, but again Metcalf agreed with Trobaugh. The 82d assumed operational control of the ranger battalions.[52]

It was fortunate that Admiral Metcalf allowed General Trobaugh to keep the rangers. Trobaugh knew that he had a fight on his hands, and he wanted infantry. As far as he was concerned, the troops could not arrive fast enough, and during the evening and night of 25 October they arrived very slowly. The last element of Colonel Hamilton's 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, landed on the airstrip at 1637. Approximately twenty minutes later, after circling Point Salines for three hours, the aircraft carrying the first element of Lt. Col. John W. Raines' 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, touched down. Its passengers

[52] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Frasché with Akers, [Dec 1983]; and Pirnie with Smith, 3 Apr 1985. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

included the battalion commander, key members of his staff, and Company A. (Colonel Raines had not divided each of his companies among several aircraft as Hamilton had done.) The planes immediately following, carrying the remainder of the 3d Battalion, diverted to the intermediate staging base on Barbados because they were low on fuel. There the other companies and attached units had to transfer to C–130s.[53]

### Intermediate Staging Base on Barbados

On 25 October the airlift commander, General Patterson, had decided to suspend C–141 operations into Point Salines during the hours of darkness and to depend solely on the smaller C–130s instead. His decision was based on several factors. First, the Air Force had only low-intensity lights available to illuminate the airfield. Second, rubble still littered the surrounding area, making for a very unforgiving landing zone. Third, C–130 pilots, unlike C–141 pilots, were trained to land at night using low-intensity lighting. For Colonel Raines' battalion, the decision had two major ramifications. Aircraft loads on C–130s were smaller; one aircraft would not hold a single company. As a result, the entire loading process was longer. The last elements of the battalion did not close at Point Salines until 0236 on 26 October.[54]

Having anticipated that his battalion task force might have to divert to Barbados and shift to C–130s, Colonel Raines had trained air movement officers with him. The XVIII Airborne Corps, which maintained a school for air movement officers using its own funds and personnel, typically assigned young Army lieutenants to the school, where they learned how to work with the Air Force personnel to load aircraft. The corps' investment paid off the night of 25–26 October. When each C–141 load became two C–130 loads, the air movement officers in cooperation with Air Force load masters had to ensure that at least those units smaller than a company, certainly a squad but hopefully a platoon, maintained their unit integrity and that all the members loaded on the same aircraft. The air movement officers also had to supervise the breakdown of pallets of supplies and equipment so that what the men needed to function in combat accompanied each planeload of airborne infantry. Often the C–130s designated to carry one C–141 serial were not positioned side by side on the same ramp; sometimes they were more than a quarter of a mile apart. Coupled with the darkness and disarray, the shifting and hauling made for an interesting evening for the 3d Battalion. For sure, no one got any sleep. Still, the unit transited Barbados with no more confusion than what normally

[53] Interv, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 25 Oct 1983, 1637, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[54] Msg, McDonald to JCS, 26 0127Z Oct 1983, sub: Urgent Fury Situation Report, Team Chief Top Secret file, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH; Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 25 Oct 1983, 1637, 1652, and 26 Oct 1983, 0246, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. On the Military Airlift Command's perspective, see Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 117.

accompanied transfers between different-size aircraft in a strange place on a dark night.[55]

The relative efficiency with which Colonel Raines' battalion transited through Barbados reflected not only the standard of training in the battalion but also the speed with which General Patterson and his airmen had established a working intermediate staging base there. At 0900 local time on 25 October some twenty members from the 317th Tactical Air Wing's 317th Airlift Control Element, led by M. Sgt. James J. Morrow, landed at Grantley Adams.[56]

Airlift control elements were provisional Air Force organizations established "to provide operational control and support" to air units and air personnel at aviation facilities during not only planned and no-notice exercises but also contingency operations. They directed the loading and unloading of aircraft; coordinated the ground movement of aircraft with combat control teams at military installations and improvised landing fields or with air traffic controllers at civilian airports, such as Grantley Adams; supplemented support facilities at airfields (if any existed); established liaison with arriving aircrew and airborne units; and, working closely with a combat control team, provided movement control of ground vehicles and units at an airfield. Four hours after Sergeant Morrow and his men stepped onto the tarmac at Grantley Adams, the 317th Airlift Control Element's "self-contained miniature command post" and its commander, Maj. Raymond E. A. Longo, landed. By 1415 local time, well before the arrival of Raines' battalion, the 317th began to supervise the unloading of aircraft.[57]

The personnel who did the actual physical labor of loading and unloading aircraft came from the 317th Tactical Air Wing's 3d Mobile Aerial Port Squadron at Pope Air Force Base. On 25 October a twelve-member contingent from the 3d arrived. By the end of the day the men had unloaded and assembled their equipment—one 25,000-pound tactical air cargo loader, usually referred to as a K-loader, that was capable of being used in uneven terrain; one 10,000-pound all-terrain forklift, also useable on rough surfaces; and one 10,000-pound standard forklift, designed to operate on parking ramps and shop floors.[58]

A crucial piece of equipment in the 317th's repertoire was the K-loader, a truck with the cab placed on one side. Often seen at civilian as well as military airports, it featured a large bed with rollers that could be raised or lowered to accept up to three of the Air Force's standard 463L aluminum pallets from a forklift. The rollers allowed ground crews, using muscle power alone, to shove the cargo aboard C–130s or C–141s without any further resort to materiel-handling equipment.[59]

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[55] Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and author with Reardon, 18 Sep 2006, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[56] Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 120–22.

[57] Ibid., p. 122 (second quoted words); FM 55–9, Unit Air Movement Planning, Aug 1981, p. B-1 (first quoted words), Archives files, CMH. See also E-mail, Goff to Hukill, 14 Jun 2010, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

[58] Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 120–21.

[59] FM 55–9, Aug 1981, pp. 5-2 (quoted words) and 5-3; April 2005, app. F, fig. F-8. Both in Archives files, CMH. Unlike the 1981 edition, the 2005 version includes line drawings and descriptions of materiel-handling equipment.



**A typical K-loader, here shown loading equipment aboard a C–5A during an exercise**

Aircraft equipped with roller and locking systems on their cargo floors, K-loaders, and pallets designed with slots to fit into the locking devices were all components of the Air Force's 463L Cargo System. The system maximized the speed and efficiency with which ground crews could handle air cargo, and the members from the 3d Mobile Aerial Port Squadron set about doing just that. No matter how quickly they worked, however, the aircraft kept coming.[60]

For Air Force maintenance personnel on Barbados, many of the diverted aircraft arriving at Grantley Adams to take on fuel turned their first day into a foot race. For example, the noncommissioned officer in charge of the initial Air Force maintenance team at Grantley Adams soon sported a mass of blisters on his feet. He had no ground transportation and had spent the entire day running up and down the flight line servicing aircraft. During daylight hours General Patterson's ground crew simply refueled the aircraft, which then resumed their positions at the top of the queue in the holding pattern over Point Salines. These side trips to Barbados, while naturally frustrating to the air crews and the passengers involved, provided one very positive benefit: Patterson, who was monitoring the radio traffic from Grenada, could add items in short supply on the island to the cargoes of the aircraft as they refueled.[61]

[60] FM 55–9, Aug 1981, p. 5-2, Archives files, CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 120–21; Interv, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[61] Interv, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

During the afternoon of 25 October, for example, he received a message that the force at Point Salines was running short of water. Working through the U.S. Embassy at Bridgetown, his contracting officer obtained 10,000 gallons of water, and the embassy arranged for the local fire department to fill all available receptacles. The embassy also purchased 438 5-gallon plastic water bottles locally, but Patterson's staff found that they were contaminated with sulfuric acid. Nevertheless, the purchase of other containers ensured that every C–130 that departed Barbados for Grenada that afternoon and evening carried water as an additional load. The next day Patterson's pilots flew several water buffalos—400-gallon metal water tanks on trailers—into the Point Salines airhead, but the troops soon discovered that the water was undrinkable because of mold. Finally, on 27 October, the Air Force delivered the first mold-free water buffalo.[62]

The 317th Airlift Control Element's arrival on Barbados on the morning of 25 October had marked just the first step in a rapid buildup of Air Force personnel and equipment at Grantley Adams. That General Patterson was able to handle the water problem so expeditiously was yet another indication of how quickly the Air Force had developed a base structure on the island. Indeed, by the evening he had built up the Air Force contingent to over 800 personnel, and his staff had even arranged bus transportation and lodging so that pilots could obtain adequate rest in their off hours. Nor did he overlook his blister-footed mechanics. Within days he gathered 68 mechanics at the airport simply to service airplanes. Any problems that arose on Barbados were simply the natural consequence of creating a large organization in virtually a day. The contrast with the Army could not, however, have been more striking: At 2400 the number of Army personnel assigned to the island was just one—the liaison officer attached to Patterson's headquarters, Maj. Richard C. Anshus.[63]

General Patterson's purview extended, of course, beyond Grantley Adams to include all the bases involved in the airlift operation. To meet his needs, Military Airlift Command on 25 October dispatched additional airlift control elements to Pope Air Force Base, Roosevelt Roads Naval Air Station (Puerto Rico), and Hunter Army Air Field to strengthen existing capacities at those locations. It also deployed a small airlift control element to Point Salines but without any materiel-handling equipment, such as it sent to Barbados. Apparently, the constricted size of the Point Salines airhead made Military Airlift Command wary of committing any materiel-handling equipment there, where it might be damaged in ground combat.[64]

## Point Salines Airfield Operations

The combat power that General Trobaugh envisioned bringing into Grenada depended on efficient airfield operations at Point Salines. On 25

[62] Ibid.; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 115–16. See also TM 9–500, Trailer, Tank: Water, 1½-Ton, 2-Wheel, 400 Gal., M107, M107A1, and M107A2, 11 Sep 1962, MDC files, CMH.

[63] Interv, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 120–21.

[64] Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 121.

October two Army officers played critical roles in preparing that terminus to receive men and materiel—division engineer Lt. Col. Lawrence L. Izzo, and Forward Area Support Team II coordinator Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III. Of the two, Colonel Izzo reached Point Salines first aboard Chalk 6 immediately after the Grenadian counterattack. He had deployed strictly as a staff officer—not in his capacity as the 307th Engineer Battalion commander—taking only one assistant. The only other engineers en route were the two platoons of the battalion's Company B, which were normally attached to the 2d and 3d Battalions, 325th Infantry, during deployments, plus the company commander, who would function as the brigade engineer, and a small command post.[65]

Colonel Izzo had wanted to be on the scene so that he could determine exactly what engineer assets would be needed to support the operation and advise General Trobaugh as to what reinforcements to call forward. Izzo brought no vehicles or radios. Engineer equipment and supplies consisted of what he and the assistant division engineer, Maj. Donald M. Tomasik, could carry in their rucksacks.[66]

They reported to the assault command post upon arrival, and then Colonel Izzo set out on foot to survey all 2,743 meters of the airfield's runway. He also examined the construction equipment that the rangers had shoved to the side of the airfield. The quantity and variety of what he saw—"several dozers, several loaders, a couple of cranes, a backhoe"—convinced him that he needed additional personnel rather than heavy equipment. The hike took some little time, but he could report to General Trobaugh that the airfield could support extended C–141 operations and that the runway had suffered no damage during its seizure by the rangers and was immediately usable.[67]

As Colonel Izzo saw it, his most important mission was to provide security for the division assault command post. The truck bombing of the Marine barracks in Lebanon was very much on his mind, and at the side of the runway the remains of the Grenadian army truck destroyed by the rangers in the morning emphasized just how shallow the lodgment at Point Salines really was. A few strategically placed satchel charges could destroy not only the command post but also the runway and halt the buildup of men and supplies proceeding even as Izzo made his survey. He did not waste any time before acting on this analysis. When he saw two rangers driving bulldozers, he immediately put them to work cutting trenches across the roads leading to the command post. Those excavations would ensure that no truck bomber would enjoy an unimpeded approach to the operation's nerve center. The rangers finished their task, well into the night, and Izzo had them park the bulldozers on the access roads as added protection.[68]

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[65] Interv, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[66] Ibid.; Interv, McMichael with Tomasik, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Lawrence L. Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support During Operation Urgent Fury," pp. 24–28.

[67] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 25 Oct 1983, 1528, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983 (quoted words), and with Tomasik, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support," pp. 24–28.

[68] Interv, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 83; Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support," p. 26.

Colonel Izzo was not alone in his assessment of the seriousness of the threat. That night the division staff, armed with M16s, manned a series of outposts surrounding the terminal. It was totally dark, and the positions were under intermittent sniper fire. Everyone was edgy. They still had peacetime reflexes; they were not yet used to being shot at. One member of the staff recalled walking down the runway and hearing snipers firing. He did not know where they were, and, suddenly, he realized he was running. So was everyone else. The troops debarking from aircraft came down the ramps at a run, trying to reach cover as quickly as possible. They, too, were very nervous during their first hours on the island, ready to shoot anything that moved. It was a tribute to their discipline that they did not.[69]

At the time he made his initial survey, Colonel Izzo realized that if he had had a larger staff, more vehicles, and better communications, he could have inventoried the captured equipment and issued it to arriving units on an equitable basis. A solution even more in line with existing responsibilities within the division, he mused, would have been to give the task to Major Cleary or his representative because the 82d Support Command managed ground transportation. The only problem with this scenario was that Cleary and his advance elements—the Alpha Echelon of Forward Area Support Team II—had yet to arrive, and like the division engineer he did not have such a task as part of his mission.[70]

Izzo's lack of assets and Cleary's placement in the airflow were the result of the division planners' failure to think through the implications of seizing an airfield. The staff officers assumed that the division would bring its own vehicles with it, as it always had before. They did not envision a situation in which a constrained airflow might force the 82d to make do with whatever equipment the troops found at hand on the ground. In October 1983 the division's field standing operating procedures treated captured enemy equipment as an asset for intelligence officers to exploit rather than as something for soldiers to use to complete their mission. In the absence of any directions on the matter, the division's units, like the two ranger battalions and the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force before them, took whatever vehicles they could find—and start—on a first-come basis.[71]

Colonel Izzo saw the problem clearly and realized what the solution entailed. Implementing it, however, was beyond his resources, so he turned to something he could do: locate drinkable water. He had no real worry about this issue; Point Salines was a construction site and he had no doubt that there

[69] Intervs, Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983]; McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983]; and Wells with D'Arbonne, 9 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, p. 2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[70] Interv, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[71] Ibid.; Intervs, McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 3-8 and 4-21, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; ibid., XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. C, p. II-C-11, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

were ample supplies. By now it was after dark, and he still had no vehicle. He started out on foot for another survey of the area but soon encountered the recently arrived Major Cleary, who had a jeep. Cleary offered him a ride. He was also surveying the field.[72]

Major Cleary may have arrived at Point Salines much later than Izzo, but he counted himself lucky to be there at all. His aircraft had taken off well after the C–141s carrying General Trobaugh and the infantry battalions. With only one plane allowed on the field at a time, however, the transports had stacked up over Point Salines in a slowly rotating giant funnel with the earliest arrivals circling at lower altitudes and later arrivals at higher altitudes. Cleary's craft had been at the very top. Slowly the plane had descended. Ahead of it in the traffic pattern, pilots had begun to report that they were running low on fuel. The Air Force air traffic controller then ordered them to divert to alternate air bases in the Caribbean.[73]

Cleary's C–141 had been next in line to land when the crew chief delivered news about a firefight at the east end of the runway. The Air Force controller had advised them to divert to Barbados. Cleary had pushed his way to the cockpit to explain how absolutely essential the 6,000-pound rough-terrain forklift on board was, stating: "You cannot divert this aircraft. If you do, this operation will come to a screeching halt." In response the pilot declared: "Don't worry, sir. I'll get you there." And he did, coolly flying into what he thought was ground combat. Fortunately, by the time he had landed, the airfield was not receiving fire.[74]

When Major Cleary got off the aircraft at the east end of the runway, it was dark enough to see tracers in the sky but light enough to make out objects on the ground. He quickly located the two battalion commanders from the 2d Brigade to check on the tactical situation. They were easy to find: Colonel Hamilton had established his command post just north of where Cleary debarked, while Colonel Raines had established his just to the south. They indicated the location of their lines and described the day's action *(see Map 6)*.

Major Cleary also conferred with the logisticians who had deployed with the battalions, 1st Lt. Mark J. Eshelman with the 2d Battalion and 1st Lt. Samuel P. Perkins with the 3d. They needed grenades, water, and certain types of additional ammunition. Remembering his year in Vietnam, Cleary had stacked ten cases of grenades in the back of his jeep before he left Fort Bragg and was able to provide the grenades immediately. He also described for them the conditions under which resupply would have to occur. Knowing that it was going to take some time to build up a logistical base and that at least initially he did not have enough men to oversee all the supply points, he emphasized that the units had to share the available resources. No battalion was to stockpile more than a single day's worth of supplies. They were in this fight together, he told them, and they had to act that way. In addition, Cleary told them that

[72] Intervs, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, and author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[73] Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[74] Ibid.

given his lack of manpower, he could not transport supplies to the battalion areas. The battalions would have to pick up their supplies with their own vehicles. That night Lieutenants Eshelman and Perkins organized the vehicles operated by their respective units, referred to as the battalion trains, and stationed them at the edge of the runway, ready to pick up stores and cart them back to their organizations.[75]

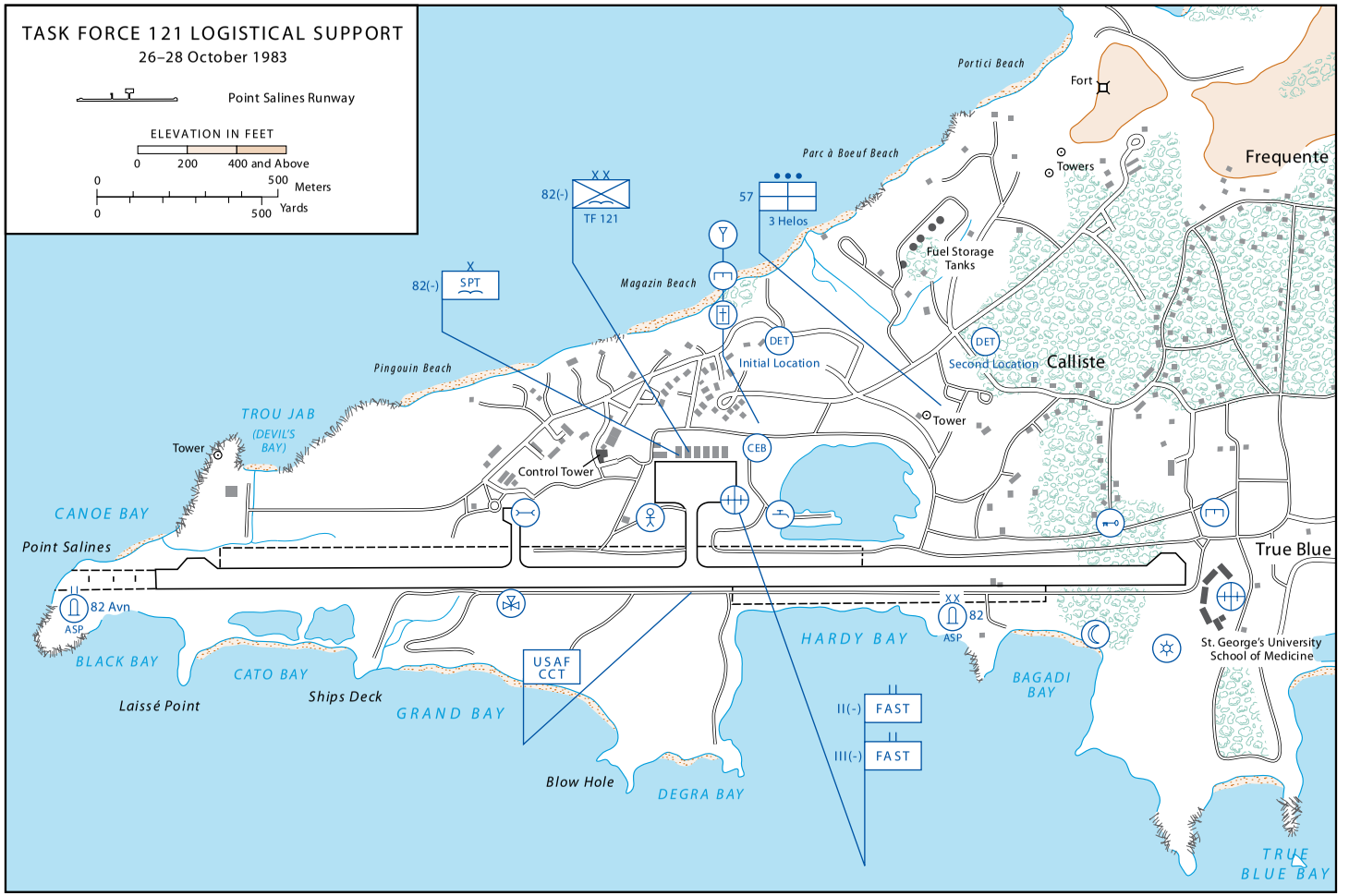
Major Cleary sought out the brigade headquarters and reported his presence and what he had been doing. He told Colonel Silvasy that he intended to establish his coordination cell in the general vicinity of the terminal, close but not too close to the division assault command post. Then he started his jeep and drove toward the terminal. He soon discovered just what he wanted—a small temporary building, "a shack," standing just off the north side of the runway at the entrance to the apron in front of the terminal. Looking inside, Cleary saw "a plumber's heaven." It was full of various lengths of pipe, elbows, and plumbing tools. He and his small command-and-control group cleared a space for their operations. The shack gave them a good view of the entire runway. It was also close enough to the assault command post to provide him with easy access to the tactical satellite radio there but far enough away to ensure that division concerns would not distract from logistical operations.[76]

One of Cleary's first tasks was to organize the airfield, which he had to do without benefit of any preplanning and on the basis of one moonlit jeep trip down the length of the runway. The fact that he had one 6,000-pound forklift to unload aircraft determined his plans to a great extent. He did not want to have to move pallets of supplies any great distance from the unloading point. The farther the forklift had to carry pallets, the greater the likelihood that it would break down. In an airlift in which all supplies had to be handled by one forklift with no backup, one breakdown would be one too many *(Map 7)*.

The design of the runway determined how Cleary planned to unload supplies. It was very narrow. Only at the ends was it wide enough for C–141s to turn around. The prevailing winds dictated that most landings would be from west to east, so the east end was where most C–141s would turn around. That would be the natural unloading point. The C–141 could begin its takeoff roll from there, avoiding unnecessary taxiing and thus conserving fuel. Moreover, a large area of fairly flat but debris-strewn ground abutted the field's east end, providing space for supply dumps (or, in Army parlance, supply points). Cleary arranged to position most classes of supply there, as close to the edge of the asphalt as he dared. To save his forklift, he initially sought to unload both C–130s and C–141s at that location, an arrangement to which the commander of the 317th Tactical Air Wing's 317th Combat Control Team, Air Force Capt. Stephen R. Scott, agreed. Captain Scott and his five men had

[75] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul and 7 Aug 1986; Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983; Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983; and Wells with Withers, 10 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[76] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986 (quoted words), and with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Map 3 [Point Salines], in Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.


TASK FORCE 121 LOGISTICAL SUPPORT
26–28 October 1983
Point Salines Runway
ELEVATION IN FEET
0
200
400 and Above
0
500
Meters
0
500
Yards
Portici Beach
Fort
Frequente
Towers
Parc à Boeuf Beach
82(-)
TF 121
57
3 Helos
Fuel Storage Tanks
82(-)
SPT
Magazin Beach
DET
Initial Location
DET
Second Location
Calliste
Pingouin Beach
TROU JAB
(DEVIL'S BAY)
Tower
Tower
Control Tower
CEB
CANOE BAY
Point Salines
True Blue
82 Avn
ASP
82
ASP
HARDY BAY
St. George's University School of Medicine
BLACK BAY
CATO BAY
Laissé Point
Ships Deck
USAF CCT
GRAND BAY
BAGADI BAY
II(-)
FAST
III(-)
FAST
Blow Hole
DEGRA BAY
TRUE BLUE BAY

**Map 7**

taken over air traffic control responsibilities from Sergeant Kelly and his two men. To maximize the controllers' ability to see incoming aircraft, Scott had positioned them atop the partially completed forty-foot control tower near the shell of the terminal.[77]

When Major Cleary had stepped off the C–141 that had brought him to Grenada, he had found an ad hoc arrival-departure airfield control group, the name the Army gave to ground personnel who unloaded and loaded aircraft, waiting to assist Alpha Echelon remove its supplies and equipment. The ground crew consisted of artillerymen from the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, assigned to support the infantry of the 2d Brigade in this operation. Their commander, Lt. Col. Duane E. Williams, had preceded Cleary into the airhead. None of the howitzers or other equipment belonging to Colonel Williams' battalion had yet arrived. Williams had a theory, based on hard experience in repeated exercises, that the easiest way to prevent his materiel from going astray was to have his own men unload each of the airplanes. He detailed some of them to put his theory to the test and placed his S–3, Maj. Paul V. Passaro, in charge.

Major Cleary knew Major Passaro from previous exercises and was quite comfortable on arrival to have most of the Alpha Echelon members, no matter what their specialty, join Passaro's so-called box handlers—the more inelegant but also more graphic way of describing their function. Cleary planned to concentrate his manpower in this fashion only until the rest of Team II arrived—at most, he hoped, a few hours. But the fact that he did so demonstrated his appreciation of the crucial role these men played in airfield operations. Unless they quickly emptied an aircraft and moved its cargo off the runway, landing operations would stop until they did so, materially affecting the division's ability to rapidly build up combat power. Physically, box-handling was a demanding task. The men had to break down pallets and distribute loads among various supply points.[78]

Major Passaro continued to direct the unloading on the runway because Major Cleary had not brought an extra officer with him. The Alpha Echelon members barely had time to sort themselves out and Cleary to identify supply point locations when the next C–141—a resupply aircraft, known colloquially as a log bird, loaded with food, ammunition, and other consumables—landed. The 6,000-pound rough-terrain forklift immediately proved its worth by moving the pallets off the runway. Without it, the arrival-departure airfield control group and the aircrew would have been forced to shove everything onto the runway and then break down the cargo and hand-carry it piece by piece to the side of the asphalt. Soon, the turnaround area would have become so clogged with supplies that it would have been unusable by aircraft.[79]

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[77] Interv, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul and 7 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *URGENT FURY*, pp. 116–17, 120.

[78] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, and Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kenneth C. Sever, "Units and Missions—The 782d Maintenance Battalion (in Grenada)," p. 5; Kallander and Matthews, *URGENT FURY*, p. 116.

[79] Sever, "Units and Missions," p. 5; Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

For a few brief hours, Alpha Echelon enjoyed this substantial reinforcement of artillerymen. Then the 1st Battalion began receiving enough howitzers and other equipment to actually form firing batteries. At that point, one of Cleary's senior noncommissioned officers replaced Passaro, the artillerymen departed, and the logisticians were on their own.[80]

Major Cleary established two major supply points at the east end of the runway—one for ammunition (Class V) and the other for rations (Class I). The food, being inert, posed no particular problem. The location of the ammunition point, however, as Cleary well knew, represented at best a bad compromise. On the one hand, the danger that an explosion or fire might set off the entire dump argued for the supply point to be established at a considerable distance from the field so that aircraft would not be damaged; on the other hand, the need to keep the forklift in good condition dictated that it be placed directly beside the asphalt. Finding a slight depression a short distance south of the runway on a spit of land separating Hardy and Bagadi Bays, he had the arrival-departure airfield control group stack the munitions there. The site was still too close for safety's sake but also too far away from the perspective of forklift maintenance. Cleary viewed both an explosion and a breakdown as catastrophes, each capable of shutting down the airflow, but he regarded the breakdown as much more probable and acted accordingly in balancing the risks. At least the dip in the ground ensured that in the event of an explosion most of the force would be dissipated into the atmosphere. He had to admit, however, that a combination of the shock wave, flaming debris, and exploding rounds would probably destroy any aircraft at the east end of the runway.

A second safety problem was also associated with the site, but in this case Cleary had no alternative and hence no decision to make. Because corps had responsibility for establishing and operating ammunition supply points and divisions lacked the manpower to do so, Cleary had to make do with the people he had: one sergeant to man the ammunition supply point. About all he could hope to do was to consolidate all the ammunition in one place. The sergeant alone could not sort out the ammunition by type as both doctrine and safety required. Cleary's directions were clear and succinct: Point all the rockets out to sea. That way, if they exploded, they would not hit the runway. For the first two days of the operation, the precaution hardly mattered because the battalions drew ammunition about as quickly as it arrived.[81]

Given all that had transpired, Major Cleary had yet to reconnoiter the west end of the runway when the first resupply aircraft landed. Shortly afterward, however, as he set out to do so, he saw Colonel Izzo and volunteered to help him locate sources of potable water. The new agenda required a tour of the entire field. Almost immediately the two came across one of the medical students, who had watched the entire operation from the top of his dormitory and told them all that he had seen. He also informed them that most Grenadian houses

[80] Interv, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[81] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul and 7 Aug 1986, with Farris, 14 Apr 1989, and with Cusick, 24 Jan 1989, plus Wade with C. Watson, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

on the peninsula depended on large cisterns located under them for drinking water. Izzo and Cleary could not be certain how potable the water was; but they agreed that they could pump the cisterns dry if necessary and that the troops could then use halazone tablets to ensure the water's purity. Further investigation of the construction area revealed a large section of concrete culvert pipe standing on end with its lower portion cemented shut. In its side was a spigot. This was how the construction workers got their water on the job site.[82]

During the tour Colonel Izzo pointed out where he would like to locate his battalion's water purifiers when they arrived. He was bringing in erdlators, used to purify freshwater, but he could also call for a reverse-osmosis water purification unit, used to purify saltwater, if one was needed. Major Cleary, in turn, selected locations for an aviation refueling point for Army helicopters and for the division's medical clearing station. Both needed to be close to the airfield. At an airfield with a limit of one aircraft on the ground at a time, he did not want either to load patients or unload fuel from aircraft sitting on the runway, but his reconnaissance revealed no alternatives. He chose an area directly south of the runway opposite the terminal for the clearing station. It was a large flat piece of ground free of vegetation, though not of debris, that would allow medical evacuation helicopters to land easily. He intended to establish the fuel point slightly to the west of the clearing station, where a short asphalt ramp perpendicular to the runway extended to the south. It was not large enough for an aircraft to pull completely off the runway, but one could do so partially. Because he could not entirely discount the possibility of a successful Cuban or Grenadian mortar attack, he had to keep in mind what might happen if one of the Air Force bladder birds exploded and burned. The less burning aircraft wreckage on the main runway, the better.[83]

Directly opposite this short ramp, a much longer ramp ran to a small hangar on the north side of the runway. Although capable of accommodating an entire bladder bird, the longer ramp was so covered with stones and other debris that Cleary missed it. In the moonlight, it looked the same as the surrounding terrain.[84]

The C–141 carrying the Class III Platoon, Company A, 407th Supply and Service Battalion, under 2d Lt. Eric P. Katz landed at Point Salines at 2330 on 25 October. The first person that Lieutenant Katz saw after he left the airplane was Major Cleary. He helped Katz and his men unload their aircraft, which included ammunition for the infantry battalions. For the moment, Katz and his men reinforced the Forward Area Support Team II defensive perimeter.[85]

Cleary received one more reinforcement and a major responsibility that night. At the same time that Katz arrived, another team from Company A of the 407th brought in equipment to refuel ground vehicles. Still later, Cleary

[82] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, and McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[83] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul and 7 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[84] Ibid.; Interv, author with Katz, 6 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[85] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul and 6 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also marginal notation on Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

learned that the rangers were going to be attached to the division. He immediately sought out both Colonels Taylor and Hagler, identified himself, and gave them the location of his headquarters. He also talked to their S–4s. He told them that he considered any units under the division's temporary control to be as much a part of the 82d as the units normally assigned to it. He would treat them all the same.

Shortly afterward, he had an opportunity to demonstrate that he meant what he said. About 0400 the S–4 of the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, Captain Clemons, went down to the main terminal and took some cases of rations "borrowed" from the Joint Special Operations Command. He also found a 400-gallon water trailer that had just arrived and that he thought belonged to his battalion. Later he learned that the trailer belonged to the 82d Airborne Division. Clemons immediately went to Cleary to explain what had happened, but Cleary told him not to worry. He believed in treating any unit attached to the division the same as a unit assigned to it permanently, and he knew Clemons' battalion needed the water. Because of Cleary's approach, the handoff of the rangers from the Joint Special Operations Command to the 82d Airborne Division occurred without any logistical friction. The only problems the rangers encountered involved resupply for special weapons, such as 90-mm. recoilless rifles, that were not normally part of the division's inventory, and for items, such as Vinson batteries, for which there was a shortage throughout the Army.[86]

As the division continued its buildup, Major Cleary found himself sharing the ground adjacent to the runway with even more combat units. General Trobaugh continued to be concerned about the security at the east end of the runway and the possibility of another Grenadian attack breaking through. One armored personnel carrier loose on the runway could cause a tremendous amount of damage in a very short time. As a result, when the howitzers of the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, began to arrive, Trobaugh directed the commander, Colonel Williams, to position at least one battery at the east end of the runway, ready to provide direct fire support to the infantry there.[87]

At that time, Colonel Silvasy requested that Colonel Williams position at least one battery so that it could hit the Cuban compound north of the field. After surveying the terrain, Williams concluded that the airhead was too shallow to put the battery where Silvasy wanted. That left him with only one option. He placed both batteries together (initially each had three guns) north of the runway and east of the terminal complex. From there he could provide indirect fire support for Colonel Hamilton's battalion opposite the compound without firing across the runway, which would halt all landings and takeoffs.[88]

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[86] Intervs, Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983; author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, and with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986; Wells with Clemons, 2 Nov 1983 (quoted word); and Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[87] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, and McMichael with Halley, 15 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[88] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, and McMichael with Halley, 15 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## Evacuees, Detainees, and Refugees

The 2d Brigade's S–1, Capt. Gregory M. D'Arbonne, arrived in the airhead on the evening of 25 October. Responsible for overseeing the evacuation of American and foreign nationals, he proceeded directly to the True Blue Campus. There he discovered that the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, had security well in hand. Earlier, the students had briefly experienced danger during the Grenadian counterattack, but the battalion physician's assistant, CWO2 Donovan, who was a Vietnam veteran, had kept everyone calm. The slight depression in which the school rested, however, had allowed most of the rounds aimed at the airfield to pass unimpeded directly overhead. Subsequently, Donovan, battalion surgeon Captain Pfaff, and battalion chaplain Capt. Don B. Brown had talked to the students and requested that they gather at a single point in the school. Their efforts had essentially completed the first phase of D'Arbonne's assignment.[89]

When Captain D'Arbonne arrived there, he met with the four members of the student council and laid out the requirements for evacuation. He needed a list of all students by name, he told them, and also their passports to verify that they were Americans, Grenadians, or other foreign nationals. While D'Arbonne could offer seats on aircraft to any third-country nationals as well as Americans who desired to leave, no Grenadians would be evacuated. Space would be limited, he counseled, and the evacuees could take only one small bag with them. He added that he expected to begin processing passengers at 0600 the next morning so that he could put them aboard an early morning flight.[90]

Captain D'Arbonne's next stop was the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry. He contacted a physician and the military police platoon leader, 1st Lt. David B. Lemauk, who was accompanying the battalion, and brought them back to the school. While the doctor examined the Cuban and Grenadian wounded, Lieutenant Lemauk assessed the security situation and how to best handle the students in the morning. He and D'Arbonne had worked together in the 2d Brigade emergency deployment readiness exercise the week before that had featured hostage rescue, so both felt very comfortable with the preparations. Then Lemauk brought up two squads of his platoon to provide security, relieving Company A, 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, of that mission.[91]

In taking responsibility for the students, Lieutenant Lemauk also inherited some fifty detainees and several refugees who had gathered at True Blue for safety. Since its arrival on the 82d's first three aircraft, Lemauk's platoon had been removing civilians from houses near the front lines both because of the proximity to danger and because none of the Americans knew who

[89] Intervs, Wells with D'Arbonne, 9 Nov 1983, and with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jump/Loading Manifest, Aircraft 3, Hist files (Papers/Mitchell), CMH.

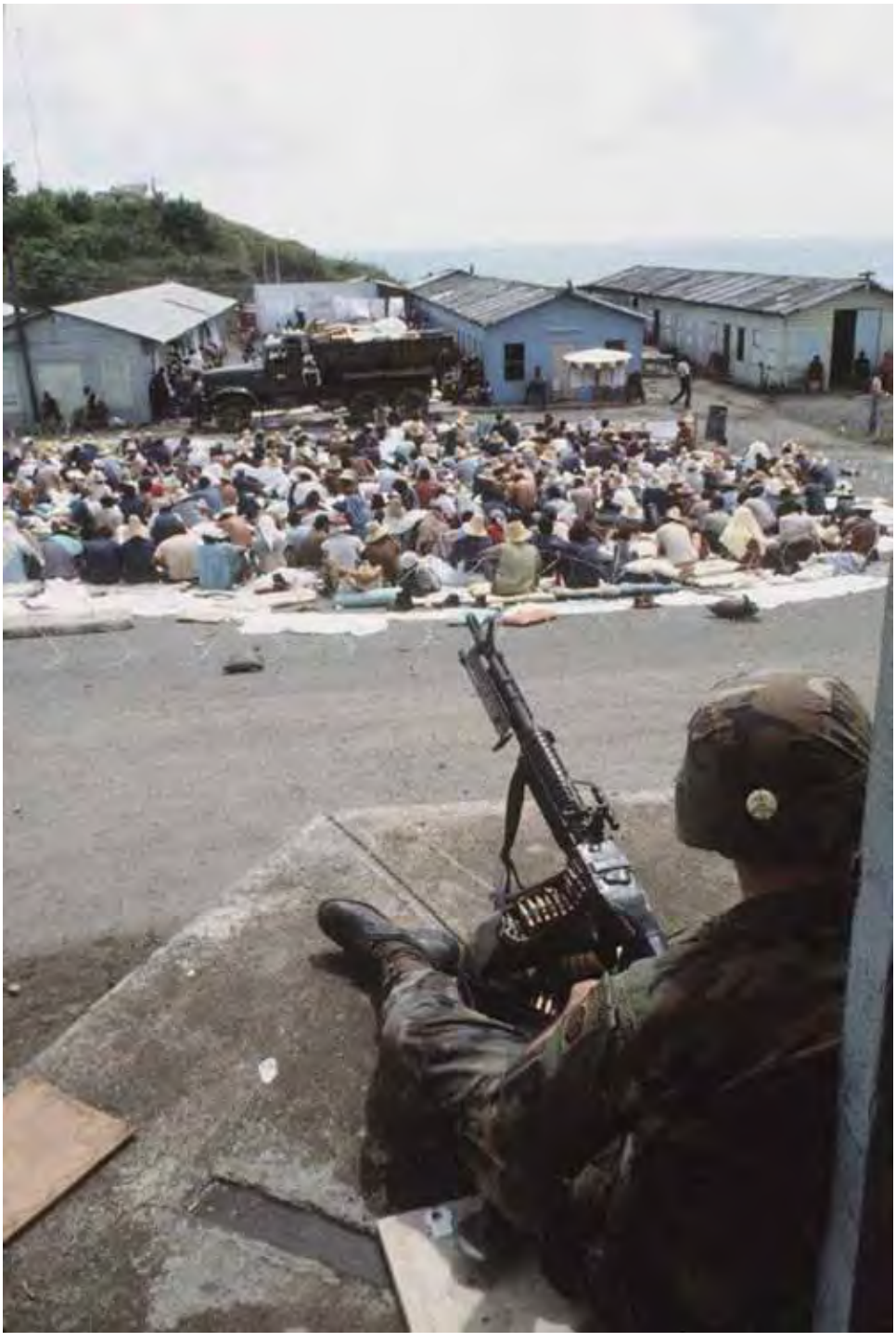
[90] Intervs, Wells with D'Abronne, 9 Nov 1983, and with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, plus Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[91] Intervs, Wells with D'Abronne, 9 Nov 1983, and McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.




**Sign prepared by American students at True Blue Campus;** *below,* **Student evacuees learn details of their impending repatriation.**





**A paratrooper guards a group of Cuban detainees.**



**Refugees undergo a search as a division patrol approaches;** *below,* **Major Archer talks with members of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force.**



was friendly and who was not. Lemauk assembled everyone at a house out of the line of fire on a ridge overlooking the school. Moving the Cubans and Grenadians at True Blue to that site as a temporary stopgap was easy.[92]

Lieutenant Lemauk's dealings with refugees and detainees represented only one small piece of a much larger problem for the 82d. The number of refugees in the airhead increased rapidly during the late afternoon and evening of 25 October as Colonel Hamilton's men moved civilians out of the danger area around the Cuban compound. That same afternoon the division chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, dispatched the 82d's G–5, Maj. William D. Archer, to establish initial contact with the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force commander, Brigadier Lewis. Major Archer discovered that Lewis' chief concern was not refugees but detainees. The brigadier needed to find a better location for the captured Cubans than the grassy verge beside the runway, especially if the runway became a target of enemy fire, as seemed likely. Boylan and Archer discussed the situation after Archer returned, and Boylan concluded that the best available location was the Cuban workers camp on one of the hills overlooking the airport terminal. Moving the Cubans to the new location became one of his top priorities on 26 October.[93]

By the end of the first day of combat, senior officers on the division staff realized that the 82d faced a detainee and refugee problem of some magnitude. For the moment, however, it appeared manageable with the resources available to General Trobaugh.

## Medical Reinforcements

The first notable medical reinforcement for the rangers was in the form of the surgical suite from the Joint Special Operations Command medical augmentation package. Consisting of a team of doctors and nurses and the equipment and supplies necessary to set up operating and recovery rooms, it provided a sophisticated ability to treat trauma cases. Earlier in the week, the team had assembled at Fort Bragg and drawn its previously prepared medical chests with great efficiency. Coordination with the Air Force at Pope Air Force Base was much more ad hoc, an approach deemed necessary because of the stringent security surrounding any actions involving the Joint Special Operations Command. A senior Army medical officer had approached the 1st Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron commander, Air Force Lt. Col. A. Felix Meyer III, on 24 October to request an aircraft to transport the surgical team to an undisclosed objective. Colonel Meyer was perplexed by the out-of-channels request. It was not the way the Air Force operated. He attempted to explain the proper procedure to his Army counterpart. Before the day ended, however, Meyer had not only discovered that this was the way things happened in the shadowy world of special operations but also had found himself and a small Air Force team aboard the very same aircraft with the members of the augmentation package.

[92] Intervs, Wells with D'Abronne, 9 Nov 1983, and McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[93] Interv, Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Meyer was to serve as the joint medical regulating officer for the entire operation, but he still did not know specifically where he was going.[94]

The aircraft flew to Grantley Adams, where the surgical team quickly set up to receive patients, but none came. Colonel Meyer reported his contingent's arrival to the airlift commander, General Patterson. He set up a medical control element and had two C–141 hospital aircraft standing by to evacuate patients out of the area of operations. Lacking guidance from Atlantic Command, he planned to move casualties in the C–130s from Grenada to Barbados; transfer them to C–141s; fly them to Charleston Air Force Base, South Carolina; and then take them by ambulance to the hospital at Charleston Naval Air Station. Because no medical holding facilities were available at Grantley Adams, Meyer had to have one of the C–141s on the ground at all times ready to receive patients. In effect, one aircraft became a hospital ward containing postoperative patients until its companion returned to take up that duty.[95]

As with all special operations units, the surgical team enjoyed excellent communications. Team members monitored their radios and knew there were casualties on Grenada. Its commander eventually decided that if the patients were not going to come to the doctors, the doctors would go to them. On the afternoon of 25 October the team flew to Grenada, landing shortly after General Trobaugh.[96]

One of the surgeons, Col. James B. Peake, was helping unload medical supplies from the rear ramp of the C–130 when the Grenadian armored personnel carriers began their attack. Suddenly, machine gun rounds were hitting the runway, and a mortar shell exploded thirteen meters from one of the wingtips of the aircraft. The Air Force pilot, Maj. Dale Stevens of the 39th Tactical Airlift Squadron, immediately began taxiing away from the fighting with the ramp still down. Thinking that the pilot had gone into a takeoff roll, Colonel Peake frantically threw medical supplies off the plane and then leaped to the ground. Major Stevens, however, paused at midfield to load wounded before taking off. Meanwhile, surgical team members hastily commandeered a vehicle and pursued the plane. They collected both Peake and the supplies, which were scattered along the verge of the runway, and then joined the ranger surgeons and the medical students at the True Blue Campus.[97]

The arrival of the Joint Special Operations Command surgical team constituted a major addition to the medical support available on the island. Because of the secrecy surrounding the command, it is unclear whether any of the senior medical personnel in either the XVIII Airborne Corps or the 82d Airborne Division at Fort Bragg knew that the unit was on the ground.

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[94] Intervs, author with A. F. Meyer, 16 Jun 2000, and with Peake, 27 Apr 2004, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[95] Intervs, author with A. F. Meyer, 16 Jun 2000, and with Peake, 27 Apr 2004, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Draft AAR, [Opn Urgent Fury], JCS, [1984], sec. 10, pp. 31–33, Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. E., app. 1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[96] Interv, author with Peake, 27 Apr 2004, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[97] Ibid; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 86–87.

The division also began to get some of its own medical assets on the island. The 2d Brigade surgeon, Capt. Colin S. McKenzie, and some medics were able to land at Point Salines on 25 October. The 82d's advance medical team, consisting of division orthopedic surgeon Lt. Col. Joseph P. Jackson Jr. and five medics from the 307th Medical Battalion, provided additional medical reinforcements. The team landed at Point Salines around 2200. Jackson spent about two hours looking for brigade headquarters, without success, in hopes of learning the brigade's concept of operations for 26 October. Eventually, he found the Forward Area Support Team II headquarters. The coordinator, Major Cleary, let him set up a mini-aid station to one side of the support team headquarters, which was located in a "filthy plumbing storage shed," as Jackson noted, without lights or water. The site had three advantages: cover (the advanced medical element did not even have a tent), a radio, and vehicles. By 0600 on the twenty-sixth Jackson was ready to receive patients. Neither he nor Cleary was aware of the ranger aid station at the True Blue Campus.[98]

Throughout 25 October and the early hours of the twenty-sixth Grenadian and Cuban casualties arrived at the ranger aid station. By dawn the total number of patients had grown to fifty or sixty, of whom no more than five or six were Grenadian civilians. The most seriously injured suffered from chest wounds, abdominal wounds, head wounds, and traumatic amputations. The battalion surgeon, Captain Pfaff, took over one of the student dormitories as a holding area for ambulatory and stable patients. The intermingling of Cubans, some only slightly wounded, with students—in other words, potential hostage takers with potential hostages—made both the rangers and Lieutenant Lemauk of the security detail uneasy. Pfaff, however, considered the situation manageable, and his view prevailed.[99]

Even before the number of wounded peaked, officers at the division assault command post had become concerned about the situation. Major Archer, the division's G–5, had noted the growing number of wounded Cubans when he visited True Blue on 25 October. When he returned to General Trobaugh's headquarters, he suggested using Cuban medical personnel, about whom he had learned earlier when he visited the detainee holding area to inspect the Cubans and Grenadians. The chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, approved the idea, and the division staff judge advocate, Lt. Col. Quinton W. Richardson, who had spent most of his time trying to segregate peaceable Cubans from those captured with arms in hand, coordinated the action with the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force.[100]

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[98] Diary (quoted words), Jackson, 26 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH; Interv, Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[99] Intervs, Wells with Donovan, 2 Nov 1983, and with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, plus McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[100] Intervs, Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983; Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983]; and Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, pp. 2–3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; ibid., Surg, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, n.d, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

Captain Pfaff first learned about the plan when Major Archer brought in nine Cubans whom he introduced as medical personnel. Pfaff decided not to use them because of the security problem they posed. Furthermore, he could not be certain that they were who they claimed to be. In Pfaff's view, lack of medications rather than lack of personnel constituted his real problem.[101]



**Assisting a wounded Cuban national**

Despite Colonel Jackson's arrival, by dawn of 26 October the Army's medical capabilities on the island were about to drop precipitously because the medical augmentation package was to return to the United States with General Scholtes. Before departure, Colonel Peake, the senior surgeon in the trauma element, transferred medical supplies to Jackson. Under the circumstances, it was the best that he could do. Jackson tried to convince the senior Joint Special Operations Command medical officer, Lt. Col. Carmelito Arkangel Jr., to stay until more of the division's medical support arrived, but Scholtes' order left the officer with no discretion.[102]

Apparently no one at Fort Bragg protested the medical team's removal from Grenada, possibly because few knew it was there. Of more importance, General Trobaugh did nothing about it, either because he had no idea it was on the island or because he had no one readily at hand who might advise him on the problem or even recognize that one existed. His senior medical advisers were still back at Fort Bragg, and Colonel Jackson was totally focused on patient care. The supplies that Colonel Peake left behind were only a stopgap, but that was the best that anyone could do.[103]

Before the surgical team left, one of its members mentioned that the 1st Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron had two C–141s on strip alert on Barbados, something of which the doctors in the 82d had been unaware. They had deployed without any knowledge of plans for the medical chain of

[101] Intervs, Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, and Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[102] Intervs, author with Peake, 27 Apr 2004, and with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986, plus Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Diary, Jackson, 26 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH.

[103] Interv, author with Peake, 27 Apr 2004, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

evacuation other than the fact that they could send severely wounded patients to the *Guam*, so this was welcome news.[104]

The withdrawal of the special operations forces, in effect, precipitated the first aeromedical evacuation on 26 October. As General Scholtes prepared to depart without alerting Colonel Meyer, who was overseeing patient evacuation, he insisted that operational security required wounded members of his command to go to Womack Army Hospital at Fort Bragg. Scholtes was concerned that the wounded might say something under anesthesia that would reveal special operations tactics, techniques, or procedures, so he wanted them treated by medical staff he knew and trusted. Due to his intervention, the first flight proceeded to Pope Air Force Base rather than Charleston, South Carolina. The question involved issues of more than academic interest. Because Atlantic Command had not included Womack in its preparations, the hospital was not ready to treat the gravely wounded men when they arrived. In addition, the staff had absolutely no advance warning. The doctors learned about their new patients when they came through the door. Ultimately, the patients had to be transferred to another facility to receive the level of care they required.[105]

On the whole, U.S. operations on 25 October were very successful. Not only had land- and sea-based aircraft isolated Grenada, preventing any Cuban reinforcement, but the marines' seizure of Pearls Airport coupled with the rangers' capture of Point Salines airfield ensured a steady buildup of U.S. combat power. Most of the special operations missions failed for two reasons: They were conducted in daylight rather than at night as originally planned, and the Grenadians offered unexpectedly stout resistance. The most important of these missions, at least politically—the rescue of the governor general—counted as a partial success. Because the special operations forces remained surrounded at the governor general's residence, the handoff of command from General Scholtes to General Trobaugh proved a little more ragged than expected. Even with that friction, Trobaugh was fully in control and prepared to execute the campaign plan by dawn on 26 October.

The logistical side of the equation was mixed, but still on the whole successful. The advance echelon of the 2d Brigade's Forward Area Support Team II with its priceless 6,000-pound rough-terrain forklift had arrived, and Major Cleary had organized Army logistical operations at the airfield after dark. His feat highlighted the importance of having in charge well-trained, experienced logistical officers who could improvise on the spot. It was also a testament to the education and training that the Army required all officers to have before they could command forward area support teams. Meanwhile, Colonel Izzo

[104] Ibid.; Interv, Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[105] Draft AAR, [Opn Urgent Fury], JCS, [1984], sec. 10, pp. 31–33, Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st AES, 14 Feb 1984, pp. 1–11, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/MAC), CMH. See also Intervs, author with Peake, 27 Apr 2004, and with A. F. Meyer, 16 Jun 2000, plus Yates with Scholtes, 4 Mar 1999, and Briefing, A. F. Meyer, [1984], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

had determined that the runway at Point Salines could bear heavy traffic and had located the primary source of available potable water onsite. It would be difficult to overstate the importance of Cleary's and Izzo's actions to the overall success of Army operations on Grenada.

Even so, two important logistical failures occurred on 25 October and in the early morning of the following day: the breakdown in the control of the flow of patients from the combat area to fixed treatment facilities in the rear, and the inability to retain the surgical suite from the Joint Special Operations Command medical augmentation package until comparable medical assets arrived from the XVIII Airborne Corps. In each instance, several factors were involved. Atlantic Command failed to produce a well-defined chain of medical evacuation. It then neglected to disseminate the principles its medical staff had developed to guide evacuations to all the units involved. Complicating matters further, in 1983 U.S. special operations forces were accustomed to working independently of conventional forces. They thus did as they always did and evacuated their patients as if no conventional forces were involved.

The same mindset, which included placing the highest possible value on operational security, contributed to the premature withdrawal of the surgical suite. The failure of General Trobaugh to protest suggests that he did not realize the capacity that he was losing. In this case, operational security obscured what was happening not only from America's enemies but also from the commander of Task Force 121. The circumstance might not have arisen, however, if Atlantic Command had not developed and the Joint Chiefs of Staff approved an overly complicated chain of command. Instead of sending General Trobaugh to replace General Scholtes while combat operations were ongoing, Atlantic Command should have left Scholtes on Grenada with the authority to call on the XVIII Airborne Corps for reinforcements as needed. In this scenario, General Trobaugh and his staff would have come to the island to run the occupation only after hostilities ceased. That, at least, was General Vessey's critique of the operation—an oversight for which he accepted full responsibility.[106]

[106] Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO.

# 7

# Division-Rear Support

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The departure of the first two battalions of Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr.'s 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, to Grenada did not end the problems that Col. William F. Daly Jr.'s 82d Support Command faced at Fort Bragg. In many ways, it simply marked their beginning. At the time, however, this was not the perception of senior leaders at the post. To them, the operation appeared to be progressing smoothly. In fact, communications problems, particularly in the opening stages of the intervention, resulted in events at Fort Bragg and events on Grenada occurring in two different spheres with seemingly little interrelationship.

Efforts in the United States to sustain Operation Urgent Fury logistically fell into three major phases. First were the attempts of the 82d Airborne Division-Rear at Fort Bragg to control the movement of supplies and units to Grenada. Equally important, but less visible, were exertions by the XVIII Airborne Corps to facilitate and guide the division's work. Finally, a disparate collection of logistical activities facilitated the overall success of the mission. They included the provision of supplies and equipment by the Army's major depots in the continental United States, resupply efforts for the ranger battalions originating from Hunter Army Airfield, and, ultimately, the transfer of control of the airflow from the division to the corps. The success of all these logistical activities rested on a happy resolution of the first phase, where success depended heavily on the intelligence, professional skills, and energy that the officers and enlisted personnel of division-rear brought to their assignments.

## Division Control and Security

When the C–141 carrying Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh departed Pope Air Force Base on 25 October, command of the 82d's elements remaining at Fort Bragg devolved upon the assistant division commander for support, Brig. Gen. James D. Smith. General Smith operated out of the division headquarters building, which housed both the division emergency operations center and the AN/URC–101 tactical satellite radio that linked him and his staff to General Trobaugh's assault command post on Grenada. Because he was able to talk many times during the day to both Trobaugh and his chief of staff, Col.



**General Smith**



**Colonel Boylan**

Peter J. Boylan Jr., Smith thought he had a good idea of what the troops on the island needed. Conversely, he was able to keep both Trobaugh and Boylan closely informed on the status of deploying units, particularly when the 3d Brigade prepared to move to the island. These assumptions were based on two further beliefs: that the division was operating in the context of the Caribbean operations contingency plan developed by Admiral Wesley L. McDonald's U.S. Atlantic Command, and that Smith's experience during previous emergency deployment exercises was an adequate guide to what was happening beyond Fort Bragg. Yet on the first day, unbeknownst to Smith, airflow problems were making a shambles of his presuppositions.[1]

The normal Army routine during an operation contributed to General Smith's sense that he knew everything he needed to know. He attended two formal briefings on Grenada that his staff conducted each day, one in the morning and the other in the evening. The briefings became forums to discuss problems and possible courses of action. Then Smith made the necessary command decisions. During the early stages of URGENT FURY he often participated in as many as two additional meetings with selected staff members, which provided venues for focusing on critical and time-sensitive issues.[2]

[1] Intervs, author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, and Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[2] Intervs, author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, and F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

General Smith also sat in on a daily briefing on Grenada at the XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters. At that time he shared his concerns with the corps commander, Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull, who in his opinion was "very supportive" of the division. General Mackmull's attitude encouraged Smith to be very frank about problems, operational as well as logistical. According to Smith, the range of issues included alerting follow-on forces, aircraft requirements, and the "unknowns" that might impinge on the type and amount of logistical support required.[3]

Smith spent the remainder of his time in the division area. He tried to visit Green Ramp at least once every day. He also made it a point to brief each battalion commander on the current tactical situation on the island before his unit deployed to Grenada. When Smith was away from division headquarters, he carried a handheld radio that he could use to contact his Air Force counterpart at Pope Air Force Base should any problem suddenly arise.[4]

Security was one of General Smith's first concerns. Although Fort Bragg contained some of "the most strategically important units" in the United States armed forces, it was an open post. "Reporters, enemy agents, and curiosity seekers," to use General Mackmull's expressive phrase, had almost complete access, which made maintaining operational security during any deployment extremely difficult. On 25 October family members of some of the troopers demonstrated just how little control the division exercised over its own area. Many wives drove to the personnel holding area and called across to their husbands, who, contrary to regulations, answered back. Soon after Mackmull had assumed command of the corps in August 1981, he had pressed to have Fort Bragg converted into a closed post. The Department of the Army, disagreeing, withdrew the funds that Mackmull had set aside for automobile decals, denied additional personnel needed to administer such a program, and reduced the number of military police at the post. Because of the recent bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut (bodies were still being recovered on the twenty-fifth), Smith was particularly sensitive to a terrorist attack. In his view, the division was most vulnerable at its headquarters that housed irreplaceable communications nets. Although Fayetteville was certainly not Beirut, he knew that one truck bomb could seriously disrupt the operation.[5]

Smith based his subsequent actions on the magnitude of the possible damage rather than the likelihood of the threat. He knew that vehicles could approach the headquarters in two ways—via a narrow winding lane behind the headquarters building or through the front drive that opened on the post's main street only a short distance from a public highway. A normal military police post, provided for in the division's readiness standing operating

[3] Interv, author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[4] Ibid.; Intervs, author with Strock, 30 May 1986, and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[5] Msg (quoted words), Mackmull to Cavazos and Wickham, 5 0520Z Jan 1984, sub: Personal Assessment of the Grenada Campaign, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, GWG with Bruning, [Nov 1983], and author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

procedures, stood at the far end of the lane. The headquarters guard would have ample time to react before any intruder approaching from that direction could pose a threat to the security of the building. The main entrance was quite a different matter. Smith directed the divisional armored battalion, the 4th Battalion, 68th Armor, to station three M551 Sheridans there, positioning them so that any driver approaching the headquarters had to slow to follow a zigzag route. He posted a machine gun team to cover the area and told the sergeant in charge that, while he did not want deliverymen or nervous spouses shot, he also did not want truck bombs coming through the front door. The sergeant was to use his judgment, and Smith would support him. To avoid incidents, Smith circulated information about these arrangements throughout the entire division. As a result, for the next few days members of the division approached headquarters only when necessary.[6]

## Managing the Airflow

Following the arrival of the initial C–141s at Pope Air Force Base, Military Airlift Command notified XVIII Airborne Corps that the corps would have to request additional aircraft without clarifying what procedure it should follow. Because XVIII Airborne Corps was not in the chain of command for Urgent Fury, this message caused some confusion. Around 1130 on 25 October someone from the Installation Transportation Office called the division transportation officer, Maj. Frederick C. Perkins, and passed along the information.[7]

During peacetime the division used two procedures for requesting aircraft—one for joint Air Force tactical training missions and a second for special assignment air missions. The first provided for Air Force–funded training missions involving the two services; the second, for Army-funded training missions. The division G–3 for air requested the first type through corps, which was how the division had obtained the initial twelve aircraft that carried General Trobaugh and the 2d Brigade Task Force to Grenada. The second type required the division transportation officer to initiate the request and send it to the Installation Transportation Office, which in turn contacted Military Airlift Command. In the absence of specific guidance, the Installation Transportation Office wanted Major Perkins to follow the special assignment air missions request format.[8]

In making its assessment of what Military Airlift Command desired, the personnel at the Installation Transportation Office demonstrated considerable knowledge of the system. The special assignment air missions format delivered very real advantages for the most efficient use of a finite number of airframes, requiring the customer to specify what needed to be moved—"personnel, vehicles, equipment, supplies" by quantity, type, weight, volume, and required arrival time of each aircraft at the destination airfield. Using this information, Military Airlift Command could plan backwards to develop requirements for the number and type of aircraft needed. Any other system

[6] Interv, author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[7] Interv, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-18, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[8] Interv, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

would result in aircraft being underloaded and delayed excessively at departure airfields.[9]

While well adapted for efficient peacetime operations, these procedures suffered from only one flaw in Major Perkins' view—they were too cumbersome to work effectively under wartime conditions. Perkins realized this truth even as he took the first call from the Installation Transportation Office. Special assignment air missions required much paperwork and a long lead time. Perkins' three-man office had no time even if it could cope with the paperwork. At that moment 82d Support Command personnel were building pallets at Green Ramp. Under special assignment air missions rules, these would have to be disassembled, documented, and reassembled prior to submitting a request for additional aircraft. Marshaling these arguments as he drove to the Installation Transportation Office, Perkins delivered his assessment of the situation to the office head, Marcelle Truelove: Special assignment air missions were simply impossible under existing conditions.[10]

After considerable discussion of the intricacies of the problem, Truelove decided that she would give Major Perkins a block of special assignment air missions Atlantic Command had already allocated to XVIII Airborne Corps. From then on, whenever Perkins needed more, he could request blocks of twenty-six missions from the Installation Transportation Office. This sounded workable to Perkins. He asked for the first block and said that he would need another twenty or thirty missions just to get going. Then he could start forecasting. While Truelove and her staff worked on obtaining the next block, Perkins returned to his office at division headquarters.[11]

About two hours later, 1330 on 25 October, General Mackmull decided to remove the Installation Transportation Office from the airlift request process. This was because the office reported to him as post commander, but he was no longer in the chain of command and had no authority to dictate the composition of the airflow. His decision had a practical as well as a legal component. Aside from General Mackmull and his principal staff officers, very few people in the corps headquarters, let alone the Installation Transportation Office, knew much about the operation. They needed in-depth knowledge of the scheme of maneuver to act as anything more than a rubber stamp for the division. Moreover, by this time the ranger battalions had also completed their deployment to Grenada. Mackmull envisioned that most of the aircraft flying to the island would carry personnel, equipment, and supplies belonging to the 82d Airborne Division, which would then be the logical organization to control this movement. The effect of General Mackmull's decision was to remove one layer of administrative overhead from the airlift request process.[12]

Someone at the Installation Transportation Office called Major Perkins and informed him of the new arrangements. Henceforth, he would have to

[9] Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation URGENT FURY Assessment, p. X-15, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

[10] Interv, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.; Interv, author with F. Perkins, 4 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

request and plan for the loading of all flights that left Pope Air Force Base for Grenada. Perkins replied, "Hey, fine, I don't care. Whatever I have to do to get the division moving and going down there." Perkins' words belied his mood, which was one of elation. He and other division logisticians considered Mackmull's decision a vote of confidence. Moreover, they regarded themselves as the best protectors of the division's interests. Believing that their job was to give the division commander exactly what he wanted when he wanted it, they did not intend to "force" units, equipment, or supplies on him that he neither needed nor desired. From that moment on, Perkins' office took all requests from corps and 1st Support Command units for air movement to the area of operations, prioritized them in accord with the commander's guidance, and determined the proper sequence to fly cargoes to Grenada. Then it notified the units that they were booked and the time at which they should arrive at Green Ramp.[13]

When Major Perkins took over responsibility for ordering airlift for Fort Bragg, he sought guidance on the procedure for making requests. "There was much confusion," noted division G–4 Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree, "at XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters and the Installation Transportation Office as to who ordered and who validated aircraft." Perkins contacted Military Airlift Command to determine if it had sufficient airlift available, called Atlantic Command to seek validation of his request, and then notified Military Airlift Command when he had it. Later, after the initial deployments to Grenada, the office dealt directly with the Military Airlift Command's Airlift Control Center for validation and, still later, once more with Atlantic Command. As Crabtree commented, the shifts "created confusion and increased the potential for delayed airflow."[14]

While Major Perkins exercised control over cargoes leaving Fort Bragg, other installations sought to ship men, equipment, and supplies to the island without reference to division logisticians. In 1983 joint doctrine provided guidance to major commands on the steps necessary to validate aircraft requests. Because Atlantic Command had no one on its staff with the requisite training to validate and prioritize airlift requests, it played no role in the process at first. Various headquarters contacted Military Airlift Command directly about obtaining transportation to Grenada. It, in turn, contacted Atlantic Command, which directed Military Airlift Command to consider all requests valid no matter what agency requested the aircraft. The 82d Airborne Division became just one among many competing agencies and Pope Air Force Base just one point of origin among many. By doctrine, Atlantic Command should have determined the date, destination, and arrival time of each aircraft load to ensure that the most critical items arrived first. When it gave a blanket validation to all requests, it abdicated this responsibility and any control over the

[13] Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul (quoted words) and 4 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[14] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-18 (quoted words), Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

airflow. Because no other command had authority to establish priorities, no one ensured that the airflow supported General Trobaugh's scheme of maneuver. Military Airlift Command established the sequence of aircraft in the flow on the basis of the time at which it received individual requests rather than on the contents of the aircraft. Aircraft and their cargoes thus entered the airflow without the knowledge of either General Smith and his subordinates at Fort Bragg or General Trobaugh and his staff at Point Salines.[15]

The Joint Deployment System, a computer program belonging to the Joint Deployment Agency located at MacDill Air Force Base, was available to any logistician with a computer and access to the agency's mainframe. On the surface, it appeared to offer a solution to the aircraft validation problem and provide a means for Atlantic Command's director of logistics to maintain oversight of the airflow. Unfortunately, the system's state of development in the fall of 1983 precluded its use in Urgent Fury. Originally intended to aid in the movement of the entire U.S. Army to Belgium and Germany in the event of a conventional conflict in central Europe, the computer program required a deliberate planning cycle and was not flexible enough to aid in a quick-reaction operation such as Urgent Fury. Even if the Joint Deployment Agency had adapted it for such contingencies, Atlantic Command's J–4 could not have used the program because he lacked secure communications links.[16]

## Green Ramp Congestion

Once the twelfth aircraft in the initial flight departed, C–141s carrying men, equipment, and supplies for the 2d Brigade continued to leave Green Ramp at Pope Air Force Base for twenty-one hours. However, during this time the base could only dispatch twelve aircraft on direct flights to Grenada, an average of one aircraft every hour and forty-five minutes. Problems at Point Salines—the low capacity of the partially finished airfield and a Grenadian counterattack around 1530 on 25 October that closed the runway for a time—rather than lack of aircraft or crews at Pope Air Force Base accounted for the slowness of the airflow. The Air Force loaded many more aircraft than actually departed during this period. The excess planes loaded with troops remained parked on the tarmac at Green Ramp.[17]

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[15] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, LANTCOM, 6 Feb 1984, encl. III, pp. V-4 and V-5, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; Rpt, [DCSOPS, DA], 1985, sub: Lessons Learned Grenada: U.S. Army Lessons Learned from Operation Urgent Fury, p. IV-f-9, Hist files (PDocs/DA/DCSOPS), CMH; Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, pp. III-19 to III-20B, X-15 to X-17, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-18, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[16] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, LANTCOM, 6 Feb 1984, encl. III, p. V-2, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; Intervs, author with Mickelson, 23 Sep 1986, and with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[17] Msg, Mackmull to CINCARLANT DCSOPS and DCSLOG, 28 1155[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Urgent Fury Airflow, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH. Airflow messages must be used with caution. The aircraft numbers and takeoff times seem to be accurate, but the cargoes itemized—projected rather than actual load—are suspect. The

While the troops waited aboard C–141s, their round-out supplies and equipment, including all the division, brigade, battalion, and company vehicles, remained at Green Ramp. Only after the troops departed could the Air Force free up sufficient ramp space to load this materiel. During the delay a number of unanticipated problems surfaced. One was *bumping*, a term that referred to the practice of placing units or individuals scheduled for late or even no deployment ahead of units or individuals slated for earlier departure. Sometimes bumped units or individuals would simply move further back in the line of chalks waiting to deploy. In other instances, they might not deploy at all.

Most legitimate bumping occurred when the staff in the assault command post shifted priorities based on the situation on Grenada. Upon arrival at Point Salines, for example, the 82d assumed custody of an unexpectedly large number of Cuban detainees whom the rangers had captured around the airfield. General Trobaugh radioed back to request the immediate deployment of a full-size Spanish-speaking interrogation team to question them. The original plans for rounding out Task Force 121 called for the interrogation team to deploy later in the airflow. Now it went earlier. This was the kind of adjustment that occurred in every airborne operation. Veteran airborne officers considered it normal.[18]

During URGENT FURY, however, other kinds of bumping also occurred. With General Smith and his key subordinates unaware that the 1st Support Command's 330th Transportation Center was missing from the Green Ramp operations area, the division relied on training to maintain control. In the center's absence, Smith initially lacked any means to supervise the order of the 82d's chalks between the time when they passed the scales at the entrance to Green Ramp and the time when they actually boarded their aircraft. The constant repetition of emergency deployment readiness exercises had ensured, however, that division personnel knew their respective responsibilities. Even so, as the operation progressed, this system tended to break down due to a number of factors: The slow movement of aircraft to the island made everyone frustrated and anxious to board the next departing C–141; officers, at times correctly, considered the specialties provided by their own units crucial to the overall success of the operation; individuals seeking to enhance their careers inevitably pushed to secure space on the next plane "smoking south"; and, finally, units from outside the division and even civilians began appearing on Green Ramp with movement orders signed by "higher authorities"—everyone from the president on down—authorizing immediate transportation to Grenada. These newcomers, of course, were unfamiliar with the division's

accuracy of cargo descriptions improved when XVIII Airborne Corps G–4 became responsible for tracking major equipment items that left Pope Air Force Base sometime on 26 October. See Interv, author with Bishop, Jul 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D., p. I-D-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[18] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

procedures but were adamant about the overriding importance of their own missions.[19]

A few officers pulled rank to displace chalks ahead of them commanded by their juniors. On the afternoon of 25 October, for example, someone attempted to bump the Class III Platoon from Company A, 407th Supply and Service Battalion, commanded by 2d Lt. Eric P. Katz. The platoon had the very important task of refueling the 82d Aviation Battalion once it arrived on the island. Fortunately, the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III, although ahead of Lieutenant Katz in the chalk order, had yet to depart and was able to get the platoon reinserted in its proper place.[20]

The commander of the 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry, or Division Ready Force-3, Lt. Col. Bobby R. Hurst, and his staff continued to play a major role in load planning once the 2d Brigade staff departed. Essentially, they manned the 2d Brigade cell of the Provisional Movement Control Center located in the personnel holding area. While the 2d Brigade was loading, Colonel Hurst had sent his S–3, Maj. Richard T. Keene, to make certain that everyone remained in the correct chalk order and found the correct aircraft. To this limited extent, Hurst had assumed by default the movement control functions normally exercised by the 330th Transportation Center. Working out of the operations building at Green Ramp but with most of his staff in the personnel holding area, he lacked the manpower to ensure the same level of close supervision as performed by the 330th's transportation specialists. As members of a line battalion, he and his staff also did not possess the wealth of experience and detailed knowledge of loading aircraft and working with the Air Force that the corps transportation specialists had. Among the senior members of the division remaining at Fort Bragg, however, Hurst alone seems to have realized that the 330th Transportation Center was missing from Green Ramp. His and his officers' initiative and hard work kept the system moving during the first critical day.[21]

Despite Colonel Hurst's intervention, perhaps the most important flaw in command and control procedures at Fort Bragg on 25 October was the lack of an Army officer recognized by all to be the single point of contact with the Air Force for Green Ramp operations. Such a representative needed to maintain continuous communications with both the 82d's emergency operations and movement control centers. In short, to quote one of the participants, the effort lacked a "honcho [for] that whole Green Ramp thing."[22]

Major Cleary could solve Lieutenant Katz's problem because he was still at the airfield when it surfaced. As URGENT FURY progressed and senior officers from the division departed for Grenada, more junior officers assumed

[19] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983; Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983; Wade with Vitucci, [Nov 1983], and with Rhodes, [Nov 1983]; author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986 (quoted words), and with Strock, 30 May 1986; and McMichael with Baggett, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[20] Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul and 4 Aug 1986, and with Baker-Kimmel and Katz, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[21] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and with Mason, [Nov 1983], plus Burdett with Keene, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[22] Interv, Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

positions of authority in division-rear. "At times," noted one, "it seemed as if the only officers left in the division were General Smith and a lot of captains." They lacked the insight into the operation possessed by their seniors because General Trobaugh had excluded most of the younger officers from the planning. Although they were well grounded in their branch specialties and well aware of what their units needed to operate, they lacked broad experience. Often, they equated the success of the division with the success of their own commands and set out with great energy to ensure that their units succeeded. While various individuals often solved problems, their actions on the whole contributed to a certain formlessness in Green Ramp operations.[23]

The lack of a clearly defined and well-understood channel of communications to call forward additional supplies, equipment, and support units and to establish priorities among them exacerbated the bumping problem. At Point Salines, for example, General Trobaugh often dealt directly with his principal staff officers about critical items of resupply. At the end of these meetings these officers frequently took the initiative and contacted division-rear without coordinating with either the division G–3, Lt. Col. Frank H. Akers Jr., or the G–4 representative, Capt. James A. Rosebrock. They followed no uniformity in how they addressed these messages. Many went directly to the rear elements of their own battalions; others went to the division emergency operations center; still others went to the Division Ready Force-3 commander, Colonel Hurst, or to the 82d Support Command executive officer, Col. Ronald F. Kelly, who was operating out of Maj. Samuel S. Vitucci's Provisional Movement Control Center. Initially, no one in division-rear realized what was happening. Committed to supporting the division commander (all these requests used General Trobaugh's name), division-rear officers simply reacted as they had been trained to and used all their guile and rank to move resupply packages to the head of the line at Green Ramp.[24]

The failure by division-rear leaders to recognize the problem was understandable. By the time the first twelve aircraft left, many of the senior officers had been awake over thirty consecutive hours. With Trobaugh's departure, General Smith immediately addressed the issue of sleep deprivation and decreed that the division would operate on twelve-hour shifts. As the 182d Materiel Management Center commander, Maj. William M. Causey Jr., observed, division-rear leaders had to ensure rest for themselves and their men if they were to sustain the troops on Grenada over the long term. The transition to the new schedule was anything but easy. Leaders who drew the first shift faced a total of forty-two hours without sleep. Even those who drew the first twelve hours of rest often obtained less sleep than their men. Major Causey, for one, got just two hours of sleep during the night of 25–26 October. Others

[23] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983; Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983; Wade with Vitucci, [Nov 1983]; and author with Anderson, 9 May 1986, with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, with Harding, 24 Jun 1986 (quoted words), with Ramey, 6 and 18 Jun 1986, and with Strock, 30 May 1986. All in Historians files, CMH.

[24] Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

obtained more or less, depending on the number of officers and noncommissioned officers available as a backup for them in their specialties. Many, like Smith, slept on a cot at their duty station. Given the high tempo of activity, it is at least questionable how much real rest they obtained.[25]

Congestion at Green Ramp became a problem as the operation progressed and contributed to the bumping phenomenon by making the chalk order ambiguous. Military Airlift Command gave General Smith a twenty-minute turnaround time as a planning factor for unloading aircraft at Salines. He used it to determine the rate at which the division moved units and equipment to Green Ramp. According to this schedule, sixty-three aircraft should have left Pope between 1400 on 25 October and 1100 on 26 October instead of the twelve that actually took off. The result was that units built up at Green Ramp much more quickly than they could depart for Grenada.[26]

Military Airlift Command, of course, knew a great deal about the airflow and conditions at Point Salines because air intelligence officers at Pope debriefed returning aircrews. Air Force officers, however, did not pass this information on to their Army counterparts in division-rear. Conversely, division-rear officers passed little information to the Air Force. While General Smith dealt directly with his counterpart at Pope Air Force Base, it was on a problem-by-problem basis. The fault lay not with individuals but with the system, specifically inadequate doctrine and an absence of appropriate organization. Pope Air Force Base and Fort Bragg lacked a joint intelligence center to fuse intelligence from Air Force and Army sources into a single product for use by commanders. Doctrine did not prescribe such an organization at a departure airfield. General Smith's lack of knowledge of what was happening in the airflow, information that such a center could easily have provided, contributed to the retention of Army units awaiting transport at Green Ramp for excessively long periods of time.[27]

The even greater congestion outside the gate leading to Green Ramp was another exacerbating factor. On the night of 25 October the division chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, radioed back from Grenada that the division needed immediate resupply of such essentials as food, water, gasoline, ammunition, and communications equipment. The division's readiness standing operating procedures and the deployment plan, however, did not provide for any resupply aircraft until after the 2d Brigade Task Force completed its movement to the area of operations. The division G–4, Colonel Crabtree, had planned to send two resupply aircraft daily once the 2d Brigade closed at Point Salines, one less than Colonel Boylan wanted. Coordinating with 82d Support Command

[25] On the need for division-rear leaders to rest, see Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Intervs, author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, and with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, in ibid.

[26] Interv, author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[27] Ibid. For the type of information available in Air Force channels, see Msgs, MAC Intel Center, Scott AFB, to DIA, 26 1800Z, 27 2130Z, and 27 2142Z Oct 1983, Grenada Msg file, and MAC Intel Center, Scott AFB, to DIA, 26 1530Z Oct 1983, ODO Significant Events file. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH.

logisticians, Crabtree had worked out the amount and type of supplies to dispatch. He balanced his knowledge of what supplies and equipment the 2d Brigade had taken and not taken against what he anticipated the brigade would consume rapidly. As a result, except for some of the communications gear, he did not have to make any drastic changes in the mix of supplies that the support command had prepared. He only had to augment it by one chalk. Even so, at the time Boylan alerted Crabtree to the needs of the troops on Grenada, these resupply packages had yet to reach the airfield. They were still outside the gate waiting to cross the scales.[28]

Crabtree went to Green Ramp to expedite matters, but he had a difficult time threading his way onto the air base. Men, supplies, and equipment flowed into a single major road and then all traffic funneled to the right. There, everyone and everything had to pass over the scales in aircraft-size loads. With only one set of scales, the amount of congestion was "almost impossible" to sort through. While design of the approaches to the gate played a major role in the crush, the speed with which 82d Support Command personnel worked—a product of the shortening of the readiness cycle from eighteen to ten hours—significantly contributed to the problem. Some drivers had dropped their trailers at the first open space and then departed in their cabs to pick up new loads. Other drivers had removed the webbing from their loads before leaving, which meant trailers could not be moved without their cargoes shifting and had to be unloaded where they sat. Trailers were so tightly packed that forklifts could not maneuver among them, rendering their cargoes temporarily inaccessible. Further complicating matters, supplies and equipment for the departing units were intermingled with follow-on supplies. Thus, it took considerable time and effort to assemble resupply chalks and move them across the scales.[29]

Leaving others to bring the chalks forward, Colonel Crabtree went directly to Air Force operations so that he could explain the division's requirement. The Air Force officers on duty located three empty aircraft for him and were particularly helpful in getting the airlift control element "to pull together about eight or nine workers, two K-loaders" (the trucks with adjustable beds used to load and unload aircraft), "and two forklifts." Once the resupply packages arrived, Crabtree could load his aircraft.[30]

In October 1983 the procedure for controlling chalks once they crossed over the scales consisted of two stages. The corps arrival-departure airfield control group, acting under the direction of the 330th Transportation Center (which by this time had withdrawn from Green Ramp), moved the chalk in proper sequence to the edge of the apron, where the Air Force airlift control element guided the chalk to its aircraft and loaded it sometimes with the

[28] Draft AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d.; AAR, ibid., 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-20. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. See also Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[29] Draft AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[30] Ibid. (quoted words); Jim Adams, "Larger Loader Improves Base Deployment Mission," *Hilltop Times*, 10 Feb 2000.

assistance of Army personnel. Colonel Crabtree's experience on Tuesday night suggested that the system was "cumbersome [and] . . . not conducive to even flow."[31]

Another difficulty soon surfaced. A noncommissioned officer assigned to accompany one of the loads handed Colonel Crabtree a computerized load list based on the allowable aircraft load—the amount of cargo and the number of passengers by volume and weight—calculated by the Air Force airlift control element for this flight. It was much less than Crabtree thought he could put aboard a C–141. He took the soldier and all the supplies, now stored in the K-loaders and two Gamma Goats, and moved them to the front of the line of chalks. There, Crabtree found the senior Air Force loadmaster and told him what he wanted. The loadmaster looked at the loads and asked if he could do some readjusting. Crabtree replied in the affirmative, and the loadmaster said that he could do it with no problem. When the first log bird departed around 1700 on 25 October, Crabtree was certain that it had a full load of what the division needed most on the island—ammunition, rations, and water.

Initially, division-rear logisticians assumed that once the airlift control element loaded an aircraft at Pope Air Force Base the plane would arrive at Point Salines in a reasonable amount of time. Events established that this expectation was too optimistic. Because of the congested airflow, aircraft sat on the ground at Pope for up to seven hours before departing. Unfortunately, with so many planes at the air base, division logisticians found it nearly impossible to track an individual chalk.

Once aircraft finally took off, the problem only got worse. The initial slow turnaround time of the planes at Point Salines meant that many resorted to circling until they could land. Some ran low on fuel and had to divert to either Grantley Adams International Airport on Barbados or Roosevelt Roads Naval Air Station on Puerto Rico. Once an aircraft flew out of the airspace controlled by Pope Air Force Base, which extended in a radius of some 160 kilometers from the base, the plane came under the direction of the Military Airlift Command's Airlift Control Center on Barbados, which reported to the airlift commander, Brig. Gen. Robert B. Patterson. Because personnel at Green Ramp could not communicate directly with the Airlift Control Center, no one could track diversions. Once an aircraft left the Point Salines airspace, it might, after refueling at Grantley Adams or Roosevelt Roads, either return to the holding pattern above Salines or unload its cargo and passengers at the refueling point for subsequent shipment to Grenada aboard a C–130. The original C–141 could then return to the United States for another load.

To further complicate matters, the Army lacked a direct communications link between its facilities at Green Ramp and the arrival airfield at Point Salines. This situation compromised Colonel Hurst's and, later, Colonel Kelly's ability to pass information about cargoes to Major Cleary and, conversely, for Cleary to keep them informed about what was actually arriving and when. Kelly had

[31] For this and the following three paragraphs, see Draft AAR (quoted words), Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, author with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Grantley Adams International Airport on Barbados;** *below,* **Roosevelt Roads Naval Air Station on Puerto Rico**



to telephone the division emergency operations center on a secure line; duty officers there then forwarded his message via satellite radio to the division assault command post; and finally a runner hand-carried a written copy to Cleary at his converted tool shed on the edge of the Point Salines runway. This circuitous arrangement was not only very cumbersome but also poorly controlled, providing multiple opportunities to distort the information. As a result, participants used the procedure as infrequently as possible, which meant that no one in either division-rear at Fort Bragg or division-forward at Point Salines could predict what the airflow would bring. Every aircraft load that landed at Point Salines was, in effect, a surprise package.[32]



**General Patterson**

The size of those surprise packages also changed over time, and the change itself was a surprise. Initially, Military Airlift Command established a maximum aircraft allowable load of 50,000 pounds for C–141s. This enabled each plane to fly to Grenada to unload and take on new cargo and then to fly to Barbados to refuel before returning to the United States, all the while maintaining a sufficient fuel reserve to meet unexpected contingencies. When JP–4 reserves at Grantley Adams began running low on 27 October, the Air Force contracted for a tanker to bring in more. The ship broke down en route and had to be towed. Several days later the vessel finally reached port. Separating seawater from the fuel proved a greater problem than anticipated, further delaying a return to normal operations.[33]

In the interim, the Air Force reduced the maximum aircraft allowable load to 35,000 pounds. This permitted a C–141 to land at Point Salines and return directly to the United States without refueling. The decision was unavoidable given the circumstances; however, in the confusion of the moment, Military Airlift Command did not inform either division-forward or division-rear. Division logisticians on

[32] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-19; Draft AAR, ibid., G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. See also Intervs, author with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989; Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983; and author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul and 7 Aug 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[33] Draft Hist, MAC, [1985], ch. 4, pp. 1–2, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/MAC), CMH; Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation URGENT FURY Assessment, pp. X-6 to X-7, X-19 to X-21, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH; Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Grenada realized what had happened only after a succession of aircraft with light loads landed at Point Salines. Reduction of maximum allowable aircraft loads had a profound impact on the division's rate of resupply and reinforcement.[34]

Although the Air Force restocked JP–4 supplies at Grantley Adams, General Patterson could not immediately increase the maximum allowable aircraft load. His inability to respond quickly reflected a condition that had developed while stocks were low. The ramps had become so clogged with aircraft and supplies that the airport had reached its saturation point. Clearing Grantley Adams depended on increasing the number of aircraft the Air Force allowed on the ground at Point Salines, which was exactly one C–141 as of 25 October and thereafter for several days. Unfortunately, due to a variety of reasons, most notably because the 82d Airborne Division would not permit the ramp to be cleared in front of the main terminal, the Air Force was not able to increase the capacity at Point Salines until 2 November, and Grantley Adams remained congested beyond that date.[35]

## Yellow Ramp Activities

As division-rear grappled with the confusion at Green Ramp, Military Airlift Command prepared to fly six C–5As to Barbados from Yellow Ramp at Pope Air Force Base. Yellow Ramp was the corps departure area located some distance from Green Ramp. The passengers included an arrival-departure airfield control group from Capt. Harley C. Barr II's 403d Transportation Company, 7th Transportation Battalion; Col. Robert C. Barrett Jr.'s advance party from the 1st Support Command; and Maj. William J. Elder Jr.'s Task Force B from the 82d Aviation Battalion with two medical evacuation helicopters from the 57th Medical Detachment attached.[36]

Of these disparate elements, the aviators experienced the most difficulty making arrangements to depart. Once Major Elder's men had broken down their helicopters at Green Ramp, they moved them by truck to Yellow Ramp where the C–5As were expected. In the confusion of the moment, however, someone forgot to notify the 57th's two pilots, CWO2 Robert L. Beaty and CWO3 William C. Garmond, of the move. The 57th's maintenance officer finally located Task Force B and secured transportation to take the stranded pilots and their helicopters to Yellow Ramp. After a three-hour interval, Beaty and Garmond rejoined Elder's task force. Although the 82d Aviation Battalion did not issue a written operations order, the pilots received a detailed briefing on the deployment plan. By 1200 on 25 October the task force and its attached element were in chalk order and ready to load. The only things lacking were C–5As.[37]

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[34] Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, pp. X-19 to X-21, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH; Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[35] Interv, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[36] Msg, Mackmull to Cavazos, 26 0742[Z] Oct 1983, sub: COSCOM CSS Units Committed to Urgent Fury, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[37] Intervs, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983; GWG with Elder and McWilliams, 14 Dec 1983; author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986; and Wade with Beaty and Garmond, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.




**Green Ramp and Yellow Ramp at Pope Air Force Base**

The first of the six C–5As did not arrive at Pope Air Force Base until approximately 1800 on 25 October. By then, transport aircraft from all over the country were lining the base's ramps. Each was surrounded by knots of men and equipment. The situation that greeted the C–5A crews when they reported to the operations building appeared even more confused. The pilots requested their loads, but Air Force operations told them that the Army was not ready. The aircrews departed for supper, but when they returned they found that nothing had changed. Air Force operations thought that the 82d Aviation Battalion personnel were still disassembling their helicopters. Clearly

communications had broken down somewhere between the battalion and the Air Force.[38]

One C–5A departed Yellow Ramp as early as 2124 on 25 October carrying Captain Barr and his arrival-departure airfield control group that would assist with unloading the battalion at Barbados. Three of the passengers aboard the flight, however, had nothing to do with the deployment of the 82d Aviation Battalion and everything to do with the 1st Support Command's control of Yellow Ramp. The commander of the 1st Support Command, Col. William J. Richardson Jr., had despaired of getting Colonel Barrett's advance team from Green Ramp to Grenada in a timely fashion given the torpid nature of the airflow to the island. Colonel Richardson, however, calculated that Barrett could fly from Yellow Ramp to Barbados, hitch a ride on a C–130 to Point Salines, and arrive on Grenada more quickly than if he waited for a direct flight from Green Ramp. Consequently, he arranged for Barrett, his sergeant, and his driver to ride with Barr.[39]

The first C–5A carrying elements of Major Elder's command, however, did not depart until almost three hours later, 0019 on 26 October, while the last one carrying helicopters left at 0900 that same day. Although the original aviation plan called for Task Force B's maintenance personnel to fly by C–141 directly to Grenada, the presence of an additional C–5A and the slow movement of C–141s out of Green Ramp led the aviation battalion's rear commander, Maj. George S. Eyster IV, to send some of them and their vehicles on the sixth C–5A. It took off at 1149 on 26 October.[40]

## 3d Brigade Deploys

First light on 25 October revealed a problem to Major Causey and the men and women manning the supply lines at the equipment supply issue point and the individual issue ammunition point: litter. Pieces of packing material and discarded boxes covered the entire area as though the place had been the site of a gigantic beer bash the night before. Between the personnel holding area and Green Ramp, 82d Support Command soldiers found evidence that some 2d Brigade members had considered a double load of ammunition too heavy. The debris they had left behind along the road consisted primarily of discarded munitions. One dumpster was also full of a wide assortment of live rounds. While ordnance specialists collected the ammunition, Causey put fatigue parties to work clearing the area in anticipation of more customers. He did not have long to wait.[41]

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[38] Interv, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Seigle talked to the aircrew shortly after they arrived in Barbados to find out the reason for the delay.

[39] Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[40] Msg, Mackmull to CINCARLANT DCSOPS and DCSLOG, 28 1155[Z] Oct 1983, Win Telecon Msgs (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; Interv, Baribeau with Eyster, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Eyster does not comment about the incident other than to mention the difficulty of deploying maintenance personnel and equipment from Green Ramp. The Military Airlift Command history of the operation does not treat this episode.

[41] Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and author with Baker-Kimmel and Katz, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## Division-Rear Support

The 3d Brigade had completed its assembly by 0700 on 25 October. At this time the commander, Col. James T. Scott, met with his battalion commanders to brief them on Urgent Fury. He opined that the brigade had a less than 50-50 chance of participating in the operation but told them that he would know more after the division's advance elements were on the ground. Colonel Scott had spoken too quickly. General Trobaugh and the first infantrymen from the 2d Brigade reached Point Salines at 1405. At 1530, almost simultaneous with the attack by Grenadian armored personnel carriers, Trobaugh radioed General Smith his open-ended request for reinforcements. Smith had no doubt as to Trobaugh's meaning. Trobaugh wanted the 3d Brigade as soon as possible.[42]

Almost six hours later, at 2120, General Trobaugh sent a more formal request for reinforcements to the Joint Task Force 120 commander, V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III, specifying another brigade headquarters and four additional infantry battalions. Admiral Metcalf radioed back that "at the present time no additional forces are authorized" but promised further information in the morning. Later that night Trobaugh decided that he needed all of Company D, 82d Aviation Battalion, and an additional platoon of UH–60s. While evidence that he radioed this requirement back to Fort Bragg is lacking, Trobaugh seems to have included it when he passed his concept of operations to Metcalf at 2345.[43]

Admiral Metcalf forwarded the request for reinforcements to Admiral McDonald, who in turn sent it to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In the early morning hours of 26 October Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger approved the deployment of an additional brigade task force of two airborne infantry battalions to commence at 1100 the same day. At 0817 the U.S. Army, Atlantic, commander, General Richard E. Cavazos, informed General Mackmull that he was to deploy the force. Ten minutes after the deployment began, McDonald notified U.S. Readiness Command that Secretary Weinberger had amended his earlier order to read four airborne infantry battalions. The secretary also gave some specific guidance as to the sequence of deployment, requesting "that Cobra gunships and Black Hawk helicopters be afforded a high priority in the loading schedule."[44]

These decisions lay behind an N-sequence for the 3d Brigade that lasted more than twenty-four hours. In the early afternoon of 25 October Colonel Scott met once more with his commanders and indicated that the brigade, organized as a task force, was going to move to the corps marshaling area.

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[42] Intervs, McMichael with McFarren, 17 Nov 1983; Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983; and author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 25 Oct 1983, 1405–1655, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[43] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 25 Oct 1983, 1955–2335 (quoted words), 2345, and 26 Oct 1983, 0025, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[44] Ibid.; Msgs, USCINCLANT to RHCLUAAA/CINCMAC, 26 0846Z Oct 1983, and USCINCLANT to USCINCRED, 26 1510Z Oct 1983 (quoted words), ODO Significant Events file, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH. While the order in McDonald's 1510Z message states "the Secretary of Defense directs," the evidence suggests that General Vessey may have made this decision in the name of the secretary.

Lt. Col. George A. Crocker's 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry, would go first, followed by the Lt. Col. Hubert S. Shaw Jr.'s 1st Battalion, 508th Infantry. Lt. Col. Keith M. Nightengale's 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, would bring up the rear. Because Colonel Nightengale had contributed the round-out company for Colonel Hamilton's battalion, he had only two rather than the normal three rifle companies in his unit. Colonel Scott also announced that the 1st Battalion, 319th Field Artillery, the unit habitually associated with the brigade, would deploy by half batteries just as the 2d Brigade's artillery battalion had done. The battalion commander, Lt. Col. Freddy E. McFarren, first learned of this deployment scheme at the meeting.[45]

Colonel Scott planned for Colonel Crocker's battalion to lift off at 2400 on 25 October and for the remainder of the brigade to depart by 1000 on 26 October. Colonel McFarren, who had just returned from Green Ramp, however, was skeptical of the deployment schedule. He suspected that the Air Force did not have enough aircraft on hand to support this schedule. He was right. The 3d Brigade's departure time was changed three or four times in the next few hours. The brigade command post and Crocker's battalion finally moved to the personnel holding area about 1900.[46]

The 3d Brigade's move to Green Ramp constituted for the soldiers manning and replenishing the supply points yet another wave of troops needing to draw contingency items. After the 2d Brigade's two battalions had departed, the intensity of the effort at the supply points declined markedly albeit briefly until the 3d Brigade arrived. The slowing pace reflected in part the growing fatigue of the 82d Support Command personnel, most of whom had begun twelve-hour shifts around midday on 25 October while some had remained on duty from the night before. They eventually had to work in the rain and cold for over forty-eight hours before being relieved. In one respect the weather aided the operation; everyone had to keep active just to stay warm. Fortunately, despite their exhaustion, no one collapsed.[47]

The actual loading followed the same pattern as the 2d Brigade's deployment but without the terrible time pressures that had confronted Colonel Silvasy and his men. As a consequence, the 3d Brigade's S–1, 1st Lt. Michael A. Rizzo, was able to prepare a by-name roster of the members of the brigade who actually boarded the aircraft. Vinson gear was no problem for the unit either. The brigade had converted to the new equipment prior to the operation, so the unit avoided scenes of frantic last-minute secure radio instruction in the personnel holding area. Colonel Scott even managed to have hot food served to the troops before they departed.[48]

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[45] Intervs, Bishop with Nightengale, 16 Nov 1983, and McMichael with McFarren, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[46] Intervs, McMichael with McFarren, 17 Nov 1983, and Wade with Rizzo, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[47] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and with Vitucci, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[48] Intervs, Wade with Rizzo, [Nov 1983], and Hicks with Pitts, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Unlike the 2d Brigade, moreover, at least some of the men of the 3d Brigade were able to draw jungle uniforms and boots once they reached the equipment supply point. No 81-mm. mortar ammunition was available, however. One battalion commander elected to take his mortars anyway in the hope that he would receive ammunition after he arrived on the island; the other two left theirs behind. The individual issue ammunition point once again ran short of .45-caliber ammunition. In a few instances, the 82d Support Command had to issue fewer bullets plane-side at Green Ramp than the men who carried .45s desired. Otherwise, the equipment and ammunition issue proceeded without incident. Colonel Scott decided not to try to bring A-bags, and the men packed all their issue into rucksacks, which weighed between seventy and eighty pounds when they finished loading them. The lead C–141, carrying Colonel Scott, his S–4, Capt. Joseph Pitts Jr., and Colonel Crocker, left Green Ramp promptly at 1100 on 26 October.[49]

Not until 2100, when General Smith received an informational copy of General Trobaugh's message to Admiral Metcalf calling for a brigade headquarters and four infantry battalions, did General Smith know definitely that Trobaugh wanted more than simply the 3d Brigade deployed. Trobaugh's 1530 "send me battalions" message, however, had a certain open-ended quality about it that led some officers to consider what battalions the division could send after the 3d Brigade departed. Aside from Colonel Scott's command, four infantry battalions remained on post: the 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry, from the 2d Brigade, and the three battalions of the 1st Brigade—the 1st and 2d Battalions, 504th Infantry, and the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry. Before his departure General Trobaugh had decided that the 1st of the 325th would not participate in the Grenada operation because of its upcoming mission in the Sinai. He also requested that the Department of the Army rescind orders for the 1st Brigade headquarters and the 1st of the 504th to participate in a North Atlantic Treaty Organization exercise in early November, but as of 2120 on 25 October it had not announced a decision. Meanwhile, U.S. Army Forces Command had scheduled the 2d of the 504th for Arctic training in Alaska beginning in mid-November. That left only Col. Ralph E. Newman's 2d of the 508th, which was acting as the loading battalion.[50]

The 1st Brigade commander, Col. Henry H. Shelton, became concerned as soon as General Trobaugh indicated that he required reinforcements. Colonel Shelton talked to General Smith about the situation and began to monitor events closely. Three considerations figured into any decision to change the order in which the 1st Brigade's battalions would deploy. Colonel Newman's men had just done much of the heavy manual labor required in an emergency deployment readiness exercise; they were physically spent; and, equally

[49] Intervs, Hicks with Pitts, [Nov 1983], and with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, plus Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[50] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985] (quoted words), and Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Shelton as a brigadier general**

important, they had given up weapons and equipment to fill deficiencies in the deploying battalions. Naturally, Shelton preferred to send a fresh battalion supplied at or close to the levels prescribed by its table of organization and equipment. Regarding the progression of unit preparedness established by the division-ready system essential to the 82d's sense of professionalism and esprit de corps, he strongly believed that deploying Newman's battalion next rather than as the last in the sequence might shatter the morale of the units bypassed and set a terrible precedent.[51]

By the night of 25 October, with the division still waiting for the Department of the Army to respond, Colonel Shelton reluctantly decided that he could wait no longer. He thus shifted Colonel Newman's battalion to Division Ready Force-7 status and redesignated the 1st Battalion, 504th Infantry, as the outloading battalion. Once General Trobaugh's request for four additional battalions arrived, however, General Smith reassigned the mission to the 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry, Colonel Hurst's unit. This had a domino effect on Shelton's battalions: Newman's battalion became Division Ready Force-6; the 2d Battalion, 504th Infantry, Division Ready Force-7; and the 1st Battalion, 504th Infantry, Division Ready Force-8, without ever having performed the mission.[52]

Around 2200 on 25 October an officer in the 1st Brigade's S–3 section telephoned Colonel Newman, explained the situation, and asked if his battalion could deploy if the division had to send a sixth battalion. Newman did not hesitate. "You bet I can. We are the ones that ought to go." The officer was quick to emphasize that the discussion was for planning purposes only, but Newman nonetheless called his company commanders together to give them a warning order. That night they put together a list of their minimum mission-essential equipment and identified their equipment deficiencies. Newman told his commanders that troops not committed at that moment to supporting the loading of the task force should pack their rucksacks.[53]

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[51] Interv, author with Shelton, 18 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[52] Ibid.; Msg, HQDA to Cavazos, 28 1745[Z] Oct 1983, sub: CRISEX 83, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[53] Intervs, Bishop with R. Newman, 16 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and with J. A. Hamilton, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

At 0700 on 26 October Colonel Newman received another call from brigade headquarters directing him to execute the handoff of the outloading mission to the 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry. He still had work details scattered all over the post, but by 0900 Colonel Hurst's men had relieved them. Newman immediately went to Green Ramp to talk to Colonel Scott, but current news was difficult to obtain. As Newman later reported, "We were to the point that . . . they would ask the crews [of aircraft returning from Grenada], 'Hey, what is going on on the ground? Any action going on down there now?'" All information in division-rear came from the emergency operations center duty officers who monitored radio traffic. Scott told Newman what little he knew. Cuban resistance was stronger than expected. Newman's battalion would be attached to the 3d Brigade. "I don't have any idea what your mission is going to be down there," Scott said, "but when you get on the ground I will have a guide to meet your aircraft." Newman told Scott that he would be in his battalion's lead aircraft. At this point, he had no idea whether his force would deploy as a body or in "bits and pieces."[54]

Newman's unit, the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, was unusual compared to most other U.S. Army battalions in October 1983 because almost all of its officers but one had worked together for over a year. The one exception was the commander of Company B who had joined in the fall of 1983. All the others knew both their jobs and one another. Consequently, they could accomplish the mission with a minimum of supervision and no friction.

They also had willing workers. The men's morale shot up once they learned they were going to Grenada. As a result, within seven hours of General Smith's alert, the battalion had assembled; moved to the personnel holding area; and drawn its equipment, supplies, and ammunition. Even if the troops were very professional, however, they were also very tired. Colonel Newman also knew from his recent visit to Green Ramp that conditions there were such that his unit could not deploy anytime soon. What his men needed most of all was a good night's rest. He convinced Smith to allow the battalion, now fully armed and equipped, to return to its barracks.[55]

The next morning the men, now rested, moved to Green Ramp. There the deployment went smoothly. The battalion assistant S–3 for air, 1st Lt. James R. Lunsford, a veteran of many air movements, knew all the Army and Air Force transportation personnel at Green Ramp on a first-name basis. He succeeded in getting six aircraft scheduled for the battalion so that it could move as a unit. Even so, Colonel Newman had to leave all his vehicles behind, and he received no assurances as to whether or when any of them, with their loads of ammunition, radios, and supplies, would deploy. He only knew that his rear detachment would forward them in accord with a priority vehicle list he had drafted before he departed. He was, nevertheless, very fortunate because his entire battalion actually deployed as a group. In contrast, some elements of Colonel Shaw's and Colonel Nightengale's battalions were still at Green Ramp

[54] Interv, Bishop with R. Newman, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[55] Ibid.; Interv, Wells with Quinones, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

when the last of Newman's men left. Both of these units were supposed to precede the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, but the congestion of the airflow and competing priorities fragmented them even before they left Pope Air Force Base.[56]

The problems at Green Ramp were not restricted to the Army. The constant arrival and departure of aircraft, the taxiing of planes from one position on the ramp to another, and the entry of new Army units to the area produced confusion in Air Force loading procedures as well. Capt. James M. Morris IV's Company C, 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, for example, had a not untypical experience when it attempted to board a C–141 on 27 October. An airlift control element guide led the unit's 139 men past a long line of C–141s. Captain Morris was concentrating so hard on making certain that no aircraft taxied into his men that he only belatedly realized that the aircraft around him were C–130s, not C–141s. He called to the airman, "Hey, pal, what [tail] number are you looking for?" The airman told him. Morris queried further: "A C–141?" When the airman responded in the affirmative, Morris pointed out that only C–130s were in the vicinity. "Oh, yeah," said the airman, "that's right."[57]

The company countermarched to a row of C–141s. The airman led the troops to the third aircraft, which was so well camouflaged that Captain Morris could not read the tail number. He prepared to board his men, only to discover that the aircraft was full of people. The airman tried to call the airlift control element headquarters, but his handheld radio refused to work. "Of course," remembered Morris, by this time "my troops are looking at me like I don't know which end is up." Morris told them to sit down and instructed the airman to return to the airlift control element's operations office to find out which aircraft the company was supposed to board.[58]

Eventually the airman returned. "[It] is just like I said. It was the one that we were headed out to the first time." So Captain Morris and his company retraced their steps yet again. They passed beyond the C–130 parking area and began to turn into the tarmac to reach their designated aircraft. A C–141 taxied into the gap through which Morris intended to march his men. They circled the obstacle. Another C–141 taxied into the company's approach route. Only on the third attempt did the unit reach its goal, but the aircraft was already fully loaded. Morris had his men sit down while he collected himself. All around units were boarding whatever empty aircraft they could find. He found a partially loaded aircraft and convinced the crew, after some negotiations, to load his entire company. The new passengers exceeded the seating capacity, and Morris ended up standing. The effort was worth it, however, because the aircraft soon took off for Grenada. The loading system had broken down, but initiative and hard work at the small-unit and aircrew level kept reinforcements flowing to the Caribbean.[59]

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[56] Intervs, Bishop with R. Newman, 16 Nov 1983, and with J. A. Hamilton, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[57] Interv, Burdett with Morris, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

## Green Ramp Solutions

The 82d Support Command personnel's speed, intensity, and focus on myriad deployment tasks meant that neither Colonel Daly nor his executive officer, Colonel Kelly, became aware of the 330th Transportation Center's departure from Green Ramp until early Wednesday morning, 26 October. Upon learning this information, Kelly went forward and relieved Colonel Hurst of the movement control responsibility. Kelly found a very difficult situation: "Everybody that thought they were somebody felt that they were next and that was a major problem." In effect, they wanted precedence over what General Trobaugh had ordered to go to Grenada.[60]

Colonel Kelly's first concern was to transfer the Provisional Movement Control Center from the personnel holding area to Green Ramp, where little if any room was available. After "a slight turf dispute," Kelly took over a lounge belonging to the corps arrival-departure airfield control group. A small cubical, admirably suited to accommodate the coffee breaks for which it was designed, the room had to be wired for telephones. It took Kelly two days to get the communications gear he needed in place. By 29 October he had commercial telephones and Vinson-equipped radios giving him not only dedicated secure channels to General Smith's office and the G–3 and G–4 sections at division headquarters but also access to the common-user secure net, the Worldwide Military Command and Control System. He eventually acquired a facsimile machine. Because the division assault command post at Point Salines obtained similar equipment on the same day, Kelly now could fax to Major Cleary messages that gave the departure time, tail number, number of passengers, and cargo of each aircraft as it took off. General Smith offered to move the AN/URC–101 tactical satellite radio from division headquarters to the Provisional Movement Control Center, but Kelly demurred. Limited space was a real consideration, and the facsimile machine was all that he needed.[61]

Brilliant improvisation though it was, all this took days, and in the interim Colonel Kelly had only limited means to exercise effective control at Green Ramp. He was the single point of contact for the loading process that the Army so desperately required, but, because the arrangements were ad hoc, it took time for him to establish effective working relationships with the busy men and women at the departure airfield. He became an effective single point of contact only when everyone recognized his role and began to deal with him accordingly.[62]

The arrival of Colonel Scott and the 3d Brigade at Green Ramp put additional pressure on command and control in the area. When Scott appeared, much of the round-out supplies and equipment for the 2d Brigade had yet to depart.

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[60] Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[61] Ibid. (quoted words); Intervs, Wade with Vitucci, [Nov 1983], and with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[62] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-13, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Colonel Scott** *(right)* **and Colonel Halley** *(left)* **discussing operational details with Colonel Boylan** *(center)*

The change in priority—from the combat support and combat service support elements of the 2d Brigade Task Force to the four infantry battalions of the 3d Brigade—meant that loads that had already crossed the scales onto Green Ramp had to be completely altered, some as many as three times in one hour.[63]

Aside from the additional labor involved, the changes produced two unfortunate results. First, up to this time division logisticians may have lacked a precise count of every item they sent; however, because they were following a scenario often exercised using largely prepackaged equipment and supplies, they could accurately estimate the amounts shipped in each class of supply. The confusion and strain that resulted from substituting new 3d Brigade chalks for those of the 2d Brigade—some already aboard planes—became so great that the 82d Support Command personnel lost track of what was at Green Ramp.[64]

The second difficulty centered on the Automated Airframe Load Planning System, which proved too slow and too imprecise to handle the task at hand. The Provisional Movement Control Center load planners contacted Military Airlift Command representatives, who loaned them the software program called Deployable Mobility Execution System that produced load plans and manifests using actual weights and dimensions. The program could not generate an estimate of the number of aircraft needed to lift specified forces and

[63] Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[64] Ibid.; Intervs, Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983], and Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

their accompanying equipment—for this the load planners continued to rely on the Automated Airframe Load Planning System—but it did aid immensely in planning the loads of individual aircraft.[65]

When Colonel Crabtree went to Green Ramp on the night of 25 October, the resupply packages that he found outside the entrance to the ramp were examples of what logisticians referred to as push packages. A logistician in the rear area sent forward supplies he expected the troops would require in the area of operations. For certain kinds of consumables such as water and food, historical data combined with knowledge of the terrain, the climate, and the number of deployed troops to permit an accurate projection of consumption rates per day. Other commodities, such as ammunition, required the monitoring of operational message traffic to determine usage. Logisticians assumed that almost all resupply would be of the push sort early in an airborne operation. Only when a forward headquarters expanded, communications improved, and logistical elements built up in the area of operations would resupply shift to a demand system, where the unit involved requested the kinds and amounts of supplies and equipment it needed.

Resupply problems—both the composition of push packages and the necessity to replenish quickly stocks at Fort Bragg—dominated Colonel Daly's thinking on the night of 25–26 October. He spent most of the night in the 182d Materiel Management Center at the personnel holding area. In the course of discussing the supply situation with Major Causey, Daly asked him to arrange a meeting with all the key logisticians or their representatives for the next morning.[66]

The logisticians gathered at 1100 on 26 October in the division G–4's office. In addition to Colonels Daly and Crabtree and Major Causey, participants included the corps G–4, Colonel Mitchell; a liaison officer from the U.S. Army Materiel Development and Readiness Command, Lt. Col. Richard G. Kurtz; and an officer from 1st Support Command representing Colonel Richardson. The group discussed the amount of materiel in each class of supply forwarded to the area of operations, how current and future operations would affect demand, and what they would have to do to keep pace. Just as the meeting broke up, Daly and Crabtree learned that General Trobaugh had ordered them to deploy to Grenada as soon as possible.[67]

Neither officer had anticipated that he might join the assault command post. The division's field standing operating procedures assumed that both the G–4 and the division support commander would remain in division-rear. Trobaugh's message suggested that he had realized that at least part of the 82d's logistical problems came from his end of the airflow.[68]

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[65] LL, DALO-PLO, 5 Jan 1984, sub: Use of Deployable Mobility Execution System, filed with Interv, author with Mickelson, 23 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[66] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[67] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

[68] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Of the two, Crabtree had the easier task than Daly. He and several G–4 section members caught an aircraft at Green Ramp and arrived on Grenada the same day. In addition to his responsibilities as division transportation officer, Major Perkins assumed Crabtree's duties at Fort Bragg. Daly, for his part, deciding that to be effective he would need a small staff, took some time to assemble the requisite officers and equipment. He appropriated not only Major Causey's executive officer, Capt. Gary L. Pasquale, to be dual-hatted as his executive officer and as the division materiel center-forward commander but also some of Causey's key assistants (including one specializing in petroleum, oils, and lubricants) and four noncommissioned officers. From his staff, Daly brought his assistant S–3, Capt. Raymond V. Mason; his S–1; and his communications-electronics officer. Colonel Kelly succeeded Daly to oversee the 82d Support Command-Rear. To allow Kelly to concentrate on Green Ramp, which Daly now regarded as the number one logistical problem in division-rear, Daly told Causey that he was to act as the primary logistician for interaction with the Army's wholesale supply system. Although he coordinated closely with Kelly during the next two weeks, Causey operated with a good deal of autonomy.[69]

## RESUPPLY AND REINFORCEMENT

Shortly after the aircraft carrying Colonel Scott and the 3d Brigade advance elements departed, the airflow mysteriously stopped. Lacking a direct communications link with Grenada at this time, Colonel Kelly had no way of finding out what had happened. He just knew that aircraft were stacking up at Pope Air Force Base while units backed up at Green Ramp. In fact, the Air Force had closed the airfield at Point Salines when General Trobaugh launched an airmobile operation to rescue medical students at Grand Anse. For the movement control officer, an already difficult situation became worse when various outside agencies—among them the White House, the State Department, and the Central Intelligence Agency—pressed to send certain very important people to Grenada immediately. It appeared to Kelly that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was the only government agency not attempting to put people aboard an airplane bound for Grenada. Eventually, the Air Force opened the Point Salines airfield again and flow of flights resumed. Even so, the delay kept Colonel Daly and his staff from boarding an outbound aircraft until 27 October.[70]

Remaining continuously at Green Ramp during this period, eating and sleeping at odd moments, Colonel Kelly attempted to anticipate what items the troops in the area of operations would consume most rapidly and to rig pallets of those supplies. He placed one or more of these pallets in whatever odd space was left once an aircraft was loaded. Water, an important item on the first resupply aircraft that Colonel Crabtree loaded on the evening of 25 October,

[69] Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, plus author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with F. Perkins, 14 Jul and 4 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

[70] Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

continued to be a primary concern. It went south in 5-gallon cans and in 50- and 500-gallon collapsible rubberized bladders. At Kelly's direction, 82d Support Command personnel also handed 5-gallon cans to departing troopers in the 3d Brigade for them to carry to the island.[71]



**Colonel Raines**

The demand for drinking water on the Point Salines Peninsula became so great that the 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, S–4, 1st Lt. Randall L. McClure, was able to load his battalion's vehicles on aircraft headed south despite Trobaugh's decision to cut off the movement of the 2d Brigade round-out equipment and supplies. Because his battalion commander, Lt. Col. John W. Raines, had directed him to load the unit's vehicles and trailers with water, Lieutenant McClure used a combination of his own guile, forcefulness, previous outloading experience, and history of good relations with the Army and Air Force personnel at Green Ramp plus widespread knowledge of the shortage to ensure that essentially all his battalion's transport arrived on the island. He even got the marines and vehicles from the 2d Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company assigned to support his unit shipped south when they arrived at Green Ramp. The 3d of the 325th thus became the only infantry battalion in the operation that received virtually all of its vehicles and the supplies they contained.[72]

Priorities at Green Ramp could and did shift with dramatic speed. On the evening of 26 October division-forward radioed General Smith to stop sending artillery. Colonel Kelly had aircraft loaded and ready to take off filled with 105-mm. howitzers. He had to pull them out of line, unload the guns, and load something else in their place. This was the third major reconfiguration of aircraft loads in two days. An hour later Major Cleary radioed back from Grenada (using the AN/URC–101 in the division assault command post) that the division needed additional ammunition, particularly 105-mm. shells, in anticipation of a three-battalion push north the following day. Kelly was surprised, for the message traffic monitored by emergency operations center duty officers did not suggest that the division was expending sufficient artillery

[71] Ibid.; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], pp. 8–9, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[72] Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

shells to require resupply. Consequently, while Kelly had ample amounts of other types of munitions available, he had to order the desired mix of illumination, antitank, and high-explosive rounds from the ammunition supply point.[73]

The change caused a series of modifications down the line. The 8th Ordnance Company at the ammunition supply point had to break down prepared pallets and build and net new ones to match the order before the resupply package could move to Green Ramp. In the meantime, two empty aircraft that air operations had dispatched to Green Ramp had to wait a considerable amount of time before the ammunition arrived. Then air operations had to hold up two aircraft ready to depart so that the two aircraft with the shells could take off. Incidents such as this convinced Military Airlift Command officers that the 82d Airborne Division had little idea of how to make the most efficient use of its airlift.

The demand for a large number of shells on the night of 25–26 October clearly indicated that General Trobaugh believed that his task force had some heavy fighting ahead of it. In addition to Colonels Crabtree and Daly, Trobaugh also ordered his artillery commander, Col. Fred W. Halley, to fly south with his staff, a further indication of the division commander's assessment of what lay ahead—a combined arms battle for the capital of St. George's. Colonel Halley encountered the same difficulties that Daly did with the airflow. In fact, Daly, having at last secured space for himself and his staff aboard a C–141, offered to give Halley and his men a ride. They departed for Grenada together.[74]

In the midst of efforts to get the ammunition resupply sorted out, several commercial trucks forced their way onto Green Ramp. The drivers began unloading cases of soda pop for immediate shipment, they said, to the troops on Grenada. A high-ranking officer had contacted the manufacturer, who had donated the beverage. Colonel Kelly intervened personally and directed his people to stack the soda to the side. He shipped a case at a time on a space-available basis once air movement resumed, but only after each aircraft had received its planned load.[75]

Colonel Kelly followed much the same procedure when ration supplement sundry packs, consisting of personal hygiene items, began arriving on 28 October. The troops had carried very few of these articles with them when they left for Grenada. Instead, the division G–4, Colonel Crabtree, had requested them shortly after the division's arrival on Grenada. Capt. Richard F. Rachmeler in the corps G–4 section attempted unsuccessfully to obtain the packs from the Defense Personnel Support Center, which required sixty to

[73] For this and the following paragraph, see Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983]; Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983; author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul and 7 Aug 1986; Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, and with Causey, 16 Nov 1983; and McMichael with Baggett, [Nov 1983], and with McFarren, 17 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[74] Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[75] Ibid. For more of the descriptive details, see Interv, author with McElroy, 30 Apr 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

ninety days advance notice to procure, assemble, and distribute them. Captain Rachmeler also learned that, according to policy, only units in combat for at least thirty days were eligible for these amenities. Blocked in official channels, General Mackmull made funds available for the wives' associations on post to purchase the articles at the Fort Bragg commissary. The women went to work at 1145 on 28 October and by 1630 had packed one hundred boxes, each containing amenities for fifty men. 82d Support Command personnel then collected the boxes. Despite Kelly's reluctance to handle the sundry packs while conditions at Green Ramp remained confused, he overcame his distaste and succeeded in sending ninety boxes into the area of operations the next day.[76]

The soda pop and the sundry packs were concrete evidence of how much people in the United States wanted to help the troops on Grenada. Neither one was a bad idea, even though hot soda on a tropical island was hardly the best of morale boosters. The somewhat exaggerated reaction of 82d Support Command personnel to the appearance of these morale items reflected their fatigue and the strain under which they worked rather than the difficulty of moving either soda or sundry packs to the area of operations. On the other hand, the fact that people tried to force these items through the bottleneck at Green Ramp indicated how little anyone not actually present at the ramp knew of conditions there. This was not surprising. Until the very end of the operation, information about the logistical situation remained difficult to obtain. The dearth of reports reflected the logisticians' lack of participation in the early planning for Urgent Fury. They had to react constantly to crises, and as a result they were almost always one crisis behind.

There were, of course, some exceptions. Colonel Kelly, for one, suspected that the 2d Brigade would need a communications repair shelter early in the operation. He attempted to deploy one with a crew of technicians but ran into objections from the division-rear staff. General Trobaugh's need in their view was for infantry, not a maintenance shed. Kelly fought the issue "tooth and nail" but lost out until 27 October, when division-forward began demanding more AN/PRC–77 radios. Those in the area of operations were going out of commission at an alarming rate. Although Kelly did send additional radios, he solved the real problem by forwarding the repair shelter. When it arrived, the technicians quickly reduced the backlog of inoperable radios.[77]

As the operation became less hectic, Kelly began attending the evening briefings for the corps and division commanders. In describing the loads that he was sending to Grenada during the next twenty-four hours, he learned quickly that he needed to choose his words very carefully. If he said, "military police," for example, he usually found himself in a long, involved explanation on why that particular chalk was necessary. If he said, "guards for the prisoners of war," no one raised any objections. Kelly also discovered that he had to worry about the

[76] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and author with McElroy, 30 Nov 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D, I-D-1 and I-D-7, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; ibid., 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-27, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[77] Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

reactions of headquarters higher than XVIII Airborne Corps. As the operation proceeded, for example, public health became a concern for the soldiers, detainees, and refugees in the restricted area at Point Salines. In response, the colonel inserted a decontamination squad from the 21st Chemical Company equipped with a portable shower into the line at Green Ramp. Everyone on the corps and division staffs at Fort Bragg understood the rationale, and no one raised any objections when he noted the squad's imminent departure at the evening briefing. As normal, XVIII Airborne Corps sent a synopsis of the briefing to Forces Command and an information copy to Atlantic Command. Atlantic Command immediately objected, but by then departure times had improved, and the decontamination squad had already left.[78]

The arrival on Grenada of Colonel Barrett's advance party from the 1st Support Command had an immediate and positive impact on logistical support. Soon after Barrett stepped off the C–130 that carried his team from Barbados, he began identifying deficiencies. Using the AN/URC–101 in the assault command post, he radioed his observations back to Colonel Richardson at Fort Bragg. This information allowed Richardson to forecast some of the logistical requirements in the area of operations and act accordingly. Barrett discovered one problem almost immediately. The division needed an explosive ordnance disposal team. Forces Command had already anticipated this requirement and directed the commander of the 542d Ordnance Detachment located at Fort Dix, New Jersey, Maj. Alan L. Borchers, to prepare to deploy both his unit and the 48th Ordnance Detachment from Fort Jackson, Mississippi. General Cavazos attached them to the 1st Support Command for the duration of the operation.[79]

The two detachments arrived at Green Ramp, ready to deploy at 1300 on 26 October. It was, as Colonel Richardson noted, an impressively speedy response, but then the detachments got caught up in the congestion there. To get some explosives experts to the island, Colonel Kelly had to divide the group. An advance party led by Major Borchers, consisting of a two-man control element and one three-man response team deployed on 29 October. The remaining personnel followed on 2 November.[80]

Even before Colonel Barrett deployed to Grenada, Colonel Richardson had anticipated that the 2d Brigade Task Force would need graves registration support at an early stage. He alerted the corps graves registration team at 0715 on 25 October and attached it to 82d Support Command's 407th Supply and Service Battalion. The team arrived at Green Ramp at 1500 the same day, and there it sat for over forty-eight hours. With the corps out of the chain of command, 1st Support Command could not force this or any other unit on the

[78] Ibid.

[79] Interv, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, Cavazos to Richardson, 27 0037Z Oct 1983, sub: Command Relationship of EOD Element, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; Chart, URGENT FURY Airflow, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[80] Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and with Borchers, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chart, URGENT FURY Airflow, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

division. After he took over at Green Ramp, Colonel Kelly put as many body bags and forms for the disposition of remains as he could on aircraft that had extra room. In so doing, he acted entirely on his own initiative and without any knowledge of Richardson's action, but Kelly was an experienced logistician and knew they would be needed.[81]

In the waters off Grenada, Admiral Metcalf reached the same conclusion as Colonel Richardson and directed the 82d Airborne Division to provide a graves registration unit. Informed by the division assault command post that such units belonged to the XVIII Airborne Corps, Metcalf on 26 October sent the request to Atlantic Command, the same day that Colonel Barrett confirmed the need to 1st Support Command.[82]

Metcalf's request finally worked its way through the chain of command to the XVIII Airborne Corps on 27 October. Wondering what the holdup was, Metcalf queried Atlantic Command early the same day on the status of the Army graves registration unit. As a consequence, pressure from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to send the team on the next aircraft came at almost the same time as authorization to move it. Air traffic out of Pope Air Force Base was in a glacial phase at that point. Colonel Kelly rushed the unit's personnel and equipment to the head of the line at Green Ramp, stopped a C–141 as it taxied toward its takeoff position, and put the team members and their materiel aboard. The C–141 took off at precisely 2038 on 27 October. No one in the airlift control element protested these somewhat irregular proceedings. It was war, and the Air Force was trying to do everything the Army wanted within reason.[83]

The bottleneck at Green Ramp frustrated more than just 82d Support Command personnel. An officer from the 35th Signal Brigade, an XVIII Airborne Corps unit, became so upset about waiting that he approached the airlift control element and convinced the Air Force officers in charge that his unit had the highest priority and should depart on the next aircraft, which it did. Colonel Kelly and his team learned of what had happened only after the plane left. In effect, the corps unit had commandeered (some division logisticians said "hijacked") part of General Trobaugh's airflow. In fact, given the communications tangle afflicting the airflow, the anonymous Signal Corps officer involved may have been correct in concluding that what the division needed most were the high-powered radios with teletype capability that his unit possessed. He had absolutely no authority, however, to do what he did. If other officers had done the same, the result would have been chaos.[84]

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[81] Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chart, Urgent Fury Airflow, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[82] Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, plus author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[83] Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chart, Urgent Fury Airflow, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[84] Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986; Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983; and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983 (quoted word). All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## REVERSE-OSMOSIS WATER PURIFICATION UNITS

On 26 October the 82d's division engineer, Lt. Col. Lawrence L. Izzo, became concerned about the quantity of bacteria-free drinking water available to U.S. forces at Point Salines and spoke to General Trobaugh about the situation. Colonel Izzo recommended that the division bring forward two reverse-osmosis water purification units (ROWPU) and two erdlators. When the general agreed and told him to do it, he radioed the orders to the 307th Engineer Battalion-Rear. The battalion S–3, Maj. Carl A. Strock, was handling resupply requests. The erdlators, used to purify freshwater, proved no problem; they were part of the unit's normal equipment. At Green Ramp, Colonel Kelly expedited the shipment. He was well aware of the water crisis on the island.[85]

The reverse-osmosis water purification units, used to desalinize and decontaminate seawater, were another matter. One, belonging to the 1st Support Command, was near at hand. The water purification detachment had just returned from Egypt, and its equipment needed repair before it could deploy. No one in the detachment, however, mentioned the equipment's condition to Major Strock. Strock personally shepherded the detachment through the loading process. Meanwhile, the 307th's S–4, Capt. Gregory A. Harding, spent most of the night guiding the very bulky and hard-to-maneuver machines through all the clutter to the scales at Green Ramp. In all, it took the engineers approximately twenty-four hours to prepare the personnel and equipment for deployment.[86]

Colonel Kelly and his subordinates were surprised when the first reverse-osmosis water purification unit arrived at Green Ramp, because a request had never gone through operational channels and they knew immediately that the ten-man detachment and its equipment would fill an entire C–141. They had heard the phrases "General Trobaugh wants . . ." and "a number one priority" many times since the operation began, and they greeted Major Strock's incantation of this formula with cynical incredulity: "Oh, sure he does. A ROWPU!" Strock stood his ground and refused to budge. By force of personality and by taking advantage of the good relations he had developed with the transportation officers during earlier readiness deployment exercises, he eventually forced the water purification detachment to the head of the chalk line. The unit deployed to Grenada on 27 October, a day on which the airflow was at its sluggish worst.[87]

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[85] Lawrence L. Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support During Operation Urgent Fury," p. 26; Interv, author with Strock, 30 May 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-22, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[86] Intervs, author with Strock, 30 May 1986, and with Harding, 24 Jun 1986, plus McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-22, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support," p. 26.

[87] Intervs, author with Izzo and Strock, Aug 1986; author with Strock, 30 May 1986 (quoted words); and McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support," p. 26; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-22, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.



**Reverse-osmosis water purification unit;** *below,* **A typical erdlator**



The departure of the water purification unit constituted a last straw for Colonel Kelly. He announced that in the future he would not honor any request from the area of operations for units or major items of equipment that had not passed through the normal chain of command and that General Smith had not personally assigned a priority. When Smith strongly supported Kelly and news of the change percolated from the rear detachments forward to the area of operations, the officers involved in making the requests modified their behavior. In this manner, Kelly brought the division's pull logistical system under control.[88]

The appearance at Green Ramp of the second reverse-osmosis water purification unit, which came from outside the corps, did not create comparable consternation or impact on logistical operations. Once beyond the scales, however, the personnel and equipment lingered on the edge of the tarmac a very long time, awaiting transportation to Grenada. By then, Major Strock had departed for the island, and no one of equivalent rank and experience remained in the 307th Engineer Battalion's rear detachment to press the case for the unit's speedy departure. At the same time, the freshwater situation on the island had improved since Colonel Izzo's initial request, so less urgency existed for the unit's expedited movement.[89]

## Hunter Army Airfield

The ranger coordinator at Hunter Army Airfield, Capt. Lawrence W. Hoffman II, was one of many people seeking to send supplies to Grenada, but he had little success in this endeavor. Working out of the Joint Special Operations Command communications center established at Hunter Army Airfield, Captain Hoffman had to refer all questions requiring a decision to the command's headquarters at Fort Bragg. At the same time, before they flew south, the ranger battalion S–4s, Capt. Stanley B. Clemons of the 1st and Capt. Jose G. Ventura Jr. of the 2d, had arranged for their units to receive two resupply aircraft eighteen to twenty-four hours after the beginning of the operation. Instead, the Joint Special Operations Command, anticipating the early withdrawal of the battalions, canceled these aircraft on 25 October.[90]

Captain Hoffman knew that the rangers needed ammunition, food, and water, both because he monitored their message traffic in the communications center and because the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, rear detachment commander at Hunter, Capt. John M. Bednarek, had direct communications with the battalion commander, Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor Jr., on Grenada. Hoffman did not become too worried because Joint Special Operations Command

[88] Intervs, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, and Wade with Vitucci, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Draft AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, G–4, 82d Abn Div, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[89] Intervs, author with Strock, 30 May 1986, and with Harding, 24 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-22, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH

[90] Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, and with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

had notified him that an aircraft out of Puerto Rico would provide what was needed. Yet neither Taylor nor his 2d Battalion counterpart, Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler Jr., was informed of the change. Then the scheduled aircraft from Puerto Rico was canceled without notice to anyone. The battalion commanders did not report its nonarrival because they did not expect it, while the logisticians at Hunter Army Airfield, hearing nothing further, assumed that it had landed at Point Salines. The next resupply for the rangers remained as planned for 27 October.[91]

Aside from some equipment peculiar to Rangers, such as 60-mm. mortars, the resupply became unnecessary on the evening of 25 October. Admiral Metcalf directed General Trobaugh to assume control of the 1st and 2d Battalions, 75th Infantry. From then on, the 82d Airborne Division assumed responsibility for their support. Hoffman and other ranger logisticians soon learned of this command shift, but they were unable to confirm the new logistical arrangements and remained concerned. Troubled about the rate of consumption in his unit as reflected in the Grenada message traffic monitored at Hunter, one of the 2d Battalion's assistant S–4s who had remained behind, Capt. Robert C. Morris Jr., convinced Captain Hoffman to speed up the resupply by several hours. As a result, the aircraft arrived at Point Salines at 0310 on 27 October before the beginning of that day's operations. From a practical standpoint, given the 82d's problems with the airflow, the arrival of the supplies provided a margin of safety for the rangers that they had not possessed earlier.[92]

The 82d Airborne Division's readiness standing operating procedures sought to control the movement of men and materiel from barracks and warehouse to plane-side by providing a well-scripted scenario that put the various parts of the organization through a set sequence of actions, with each step taking an estimated period of time. When the division attempted to speed up the process during Urgent Fury, however, some activities in the sequence proved more capable of acceleration than others. The profusion of loaded trailers outside the gate at Green Ramp bore mute testimony to the fact that moving materiel from various holding areas, warehouses, and the heavy drop rig site was easier than unloading and organizing it into chalk order. The problems that resulted were hardly the fault of the 82d Support Command personnel who loaded those trailers or of the drivers who brought them. They were doing their jobs. The issue was lack of coordination—a senior officer provided with sufficient communications and suitable staff capable of monitoring the parking area and of modulating the flow of vehicles to Green Ramp. Colonel Daly had the authority and ability to do this. That he did not suggests that

[91] Interv, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, and Tel Interv, author with Bednarek, 18 Jul 2006, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. D, apps. 4 and 5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[92] Intervs, Bishop with Hoffman, 30 Oct 1983, with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, and with Sheets and Ferguson, 2 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. D, app. 5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

the problem had never materialized in the 82d's many emergency deployment readiness exercises, at least to this degree, and that the division's logisticians expected a certain measure of congestion as a matter of course until the airflow gained momentum.

Even if Colonel Daly had posted a subordinate in the parking area to monitor the situation continuously, that officer could have had an impact only on the volume of traffic, not on the movement of specific loads. Indeed, the rain, the darkness in which the initial movement to Green Ramp occurred, and the heightened security meant that any officer posted there would have had only a limited view of what was happening. To coordinate the movement to Green Ramp, Daly would have had to monitor continuously all loads from their points of origin to the specific aircraft identified by tail number that would carry materiel to Grenada. The Army had taken its first tentative steps in that direction, but the equipment was still in its infancy. The Army had introduced bar codes as a means of providing inventory control in one of its commissaries during fiscal year 1981, but the technology was dependent on mainframe computers and restricted to fixed locations. No one, moreover, had made the leap of imagination required to use bar coding to control major items of supply and equipment in transit. The memory-rich Internet-linked personal computers that would make such a solution possible were at least fifteen years in the future. Given the tools available to control the movement of men and supplies to Green Ramp, how division-rear could have managed that movement any better than it did is difficult to see.[93]

General Trobaugh's decision to call up the 3d Brigade and General Smith's interpretation of that order to mean that the unit would deploy before the 2d Brigade had received all of its supporting elements and supplies increased the confusion at Green Ramp. While Smith undoubtedly understood Trobaugh's intent, his decision to exercise no judgment in the matter severely handicapped the 2d Brigade. Lacking some of its attached units and most of its vehicles, the unit was unable to develop the enhanced combat power that the task force configuration should have given it. At the same time, the elements left at Green Ramp contributed to the congestion, confusion, and frustration there.

Neither Smith nor Trobaugh, moreover, had understood what was happening to the airflow between takeoff at Pope Air Force Base and landing at Point Salines. They only knew that the movement of men and supplies forward was very slow. Because the reasons for the delay remained mysterious, the possibility existed that the airflow might resume at the planned rate just as mysteriously. None of the senior Army officers at Fort Bragg with logistical responsibilities—Smith, Crabtree, or Daly—realized that 2d Brigade elements were scattered: some on Grenada, others on Puerto Rico, and still others on Barbados. In fairness, however, their failure to grasp the situation may be explained by the fact that a joint intelligence center was not established at the departure airfield. Without such an organization to fuse intelligence, senior

[93] Karl E. Cocke et al., comps., *Department of the Army Historical Summary, Fiscal Year 1981*, p. 139.

Army officers at Fort Bragg lacked the means to find out what was happening either in the airflow or at the arrival airfield on Grenada. This information shortfall contributed to the crush of men and equipment at Green Ramp, a problem that only became worse with the decision to dispatch the 3d Brigade before the 2d Brigade had completed its deployment. In the end, that decision and the manner in which General Smith executed it caused the Army logisticians at the ramp to lose track, even in general terms, of what had gone to Grenada. In that moment, they lost intellectual control of the airflow.

Furthermore, General Mackmull made two decisions that adversely affected the division's ability to manage the airflow. He pulled the 330th Transportation Center out of Green Ramp and removed the Installation Transportation Office from the airflow requisition process. These decisions came as a direct consequence of Atlantic Command's order removing XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command, but Mackmull appears never to have considered giving the division operational control of the two units for the duration of the intervention. The Installation Transportation Office handed off its responsibilities to the Provisional Movement Control Center in a professional manner, but the 330th Transportation Center did nothing of the sort, perhaps because its senior leaders were absent on an exercise. As a result, the division unknowingly took risks that it never should have incurred, but Colonel Hurst and the division's transportation specialists in the Provisional Movement Control Center rose to the occasion.

As the 3d Brigade began to deploy, General Trobaugh concluded that he wanted his senior staff and commanders with him in the airhead. The timing proved unfortunate in terms of the sequence of events in division-rear. Just as major problems started to surface at Fort Bragg, the most senior and experienced logisticians were distracted by the need to secure transport and, in Colonel Daly's case, to organize a staff to deploy forward.

Once General Trobaugh and his staff reached Grenada, they needlessly complicated the task force's operations by establishing multiple channels of communications between division-forward and division-rear. Trobaugh apparently used his chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, much like an assistant division commander from the beginning of the operation, which meant that Boylan was distracted from coordinating the staff at Point Salines. (The Department of the Army, in fact, promoted Boylan to brigadier general and officially assigned him to the position of assistant division commander while he was still on the island.) In the end, it required a lieutenant colonel at Fort Bragg with a great deal of moral courage to solve the problem. Colonel Kelly insisted in the face of orders from his division commander that cargo requests should go through proper command channels. His action was absolutely necessary to restore a measure of control over Green Ramp operations.

While the 82d Airborne Division-Rear grappled with the airflow problems, it received no assistance from Atlantic Command. Admittedly, Admiral McDonald and his staff were neither trained nor equipped to conduct major ground operations. If time constraints had permitted, the Joint Chiefs of Staff could have augmented the admiral's staff with the needed expertise, but

the rush to stage Urgent Fury meant that his headquarters lacked the tools and insight he needed to exercise effective control. Atlantic Command's decision that the act of asking for air transportation to the island would automatically validate the request represented not the exercise of command but its abdication.

Even so, whatever the appearances, the operations of the 82d Airborne Division-Rear must be judged a success. In the absence of positive control, mid-level and junior officers made estimates of the situation and then exercised initiative. Colonel Hurst took over the movement control function when he discovered that the 330th Transportation Center was missing from Green Ramp, and Colonel Kelly succeeded Hurst when he became aware of the situation. Major Perkins and his assistants kept the aircraft coming. At the battalion level, Major Strock and Captain Harding moved essential equipment, the reverse-osmosis water purification unit, to the head of the chalk line and then loaded it aboard an aircraft at a time when the airflow to the island was at its worst. Similarly, Lieutenant McClure ensured that his battalion received its vehicles with all the equipment and supplies they carried, and Captain Morris got his men aboard an aircraft despite the confusion on the field. The sum total of all these decisions was highly positive.

# 8

# Area of Operations

## 26–27 October 1983

☆ ☆ ☆

The situation in the St. George's area shifted dramatically in favor of the United States and its eastern Caribbean allies on 26 October. Unknown to the U.S. commanders, the special operations forces surrounded at the radio station north of the capital had escaped through the Grenadian lines during the afternoon of 25 October and successfully hid in the jungle from their pursuers. Eventually the Americans swam out to sea, where the destroyer USS *Caron* rescued them late that night. Even better, Company G, 2d Battalion, 8th Marines, commanded by Capt. Robert K. Dobson Jr., had conducted an amphibious assault at Grand Mal Bay without opposition shortly after 1830 on the twenty-fifth, securing a shallow beachhead. Reacting to reports that strong forces, possibly Cuban, were establishing a defensive line north of St. George's, the battalion landing team commander, Lt. Col. Ray L. Smith, ordered Company F to reinforce Company G. The unit began arriving by helicopter around 0400, 26 October, but an extremely small landing zone meant that the buildup proceeded slowly. While the lead elements of Company F were still in the air, Colonel Smith decided to attack south under the cover of darkness. As the only force at hand, Captain Dobson drew the assignment. Leaving a platoon north of the landing zone to block any enemy counterthrust from that direction, the captain mounted the remainder of his company in amphibious tractors and headed toward St. George's. Three M60 main battle tanks led his task force. Smith instructed Company F to follow as soon as it assembled.[1]

The M60s had no ammunition for their main guns. Their 105-mm. shells remained aboard the ships in the Amphibious Squadron Four, known as Task Force 124 in the Grenada operation, stored underneath other equipment and supplies. The task force commander, Navy Capt. Carl R. Erie, had declined to move the cargo piled on top of the shells. Despite this handicap, the armor proved decisive because the Grenadians north of St. George's had no way of

[1] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, [JTF 121], n.d., Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; Ronald H. Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada, 1983*, pp. 9–12; MFR, author, 28 Oct 2008, sub: DIA Conference on Operation Urgent Fury (Invasion of Grenada), 28 Oct 2008, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.



**Marines take charge, patrolling the town of St. George's and standing guard over captured members of the People's Revolutionary Army**



knowing about the lack of 105-mm. rounds. When they saw the tanks, they fired a few shots and fled. Their panic and defeatism soon spread to the capital itself. As British journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy reported from inside the city, soldiers "who had been fighting throughout the previous day and night started to throw away their uniforms and do their best to melt into the civilian population in what clothes they could find." In this, they copied their leaders, who also decamped as quickly as they could. Captain Dobson captured Fort Frederick, which during the battle had replaced Fort Rupert as the command-and-control center of the Grenadian leadership, without resistance. Then he and his men advanced to the governor general's residence, where they relieved the special operations forces at 0710. Less than two hours later Governor General Sir Paul Scoon and his wife arrived safely aboard the USS *Guam* and met with the Joint Task Force (JTF) 120 commander, V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III. The marines spent the remainder of the day consolidating their position in St. George's.[2]

## General Trobaugh's Plan

Even as the Joint Special Operations Command prepared to depart, the 82d Airborne Division and Task Force 121 commander, Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh, was contemplating his next step. His instructions to his assistant division fire support coordinator, Lt. Col. John J. Ryneska, on the evening of 25 October embodied his long-range estimate of the situation. He turned to the colonel and said: "Ryneska, you keep bringing in 105 ammunition until you can't bring in any more, until I tell you to stop. Start bringing it in because on Day One we're going to fight. We're going to stay here to fight for a couple of weeks. And we're going to shoot thousands of rounds of 105. . . ." Using the assault command post's tactical satellite radio, Captain Ryneska immediately contacted division artillery-rear at Fort Bragg to pass this information along. At that moment no artillery tubes had yet arrived in the airhead. The first 105-mm. howitzer landed at Point Salines around 0100 on 26 October.[3]

General Trobaugh's overriding concern that evening was to secure the Grand Anse Campus of the St. George's University School of Medicine and rescue the students. The rangers, of course, had learned of the presence of that site on the twenty-fifth as soon as they secured the True Blue Campus and spoke to the students. Trobaugh benefited from a good deal of information that the rangers had collected. The senior ranger in the airhead, 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, commander Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler Jr., immediately began assembling as much intelligence as possible about the students and the location of Grenadian forces in the surrounding area. In this he was aided by both

[2] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, [JTF 121], n.d., Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada*, p. 12; Hugh O'Shaughnessy, *Grenada*, p. 24 (quoted words); Grenada Summary, encl. to Memo, Hamby for Frasché, 25 Jun 1983, sub: Visit to 22d Marine Amphibious Unit (MAU), Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH; Briefing, Frank, 8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[3] Intervs, McMichael with Ryneska, 18 Nov 1983 (quoted words), and Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Moving out to participate in the Grand Anse rescue mission;** *below,* **Entrance to the Grand Anse Campus**






**Views of the campus following the rescue mission**



the Americans at True Blue Campus and by the island's commercial telephone system, which was still working. He was able to telephone the Americans at Grand Anse and talk to them. During the night he sent a long-range patrol that penetrated almost to the outskirts of the campus. The essence of all the information gathered indicated that the Grenadians were manning positions facing south. They were not prepared for an attack from the sea.[4]

At the moment General Trobaugh had no way to rescue the students, because Grand Anse was well within Grenadian lines. Col. Terrence M. Henry's Task Force 160 was immobilized by battle damage, and the division's own helicopters, although eagerly anticipated, had yet to arrive. The Grenadians appeared to have ignored the Grand Anse Campus to that point. He could only hope that they would continue to do so.[5]

Meeting with his commanders at 0630 on the twenty-sixth, Trobaugh announced that he intended to make a limited attack that day to consolidate his hold on the airfield and to build up forces inside the airhead. In the process he planned to gain all the first-day objectives assigned to Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor Jr.'s 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry. Then, on the twenty-seventh, he would make his major push out of the peninsula. The general hoped that the delay between the two steps would demoralize the defenders. He wanted them to have an entire day to watch aircraft landing continuously and to know that they could do nothing to stop them or the combat power that their arrival represented.[6]

In line with Trobaugh's plan, 2d Brigade commander Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr. instructed Lt. Col. John W. Raines' 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, to make a limited attack directly east of the True Blue Campus. Meanwhile, Lt. Col. Jack L. Hamilton's 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, would pivot on Colonel Raines' left flank until it established a continuous line across the peninsula. Colonel Hamilton, in turn, planned for his left flank unit, Company B under Capt. Michael F. Ritz, to move north of Calliste and seize the compound harboring the Cuban holdouts. Capt. Charles H. Jacoby's Company A would attack toward the village of Frequente, with Capt. Mark D. Rocke's Company C following in reserve. Captain Rocke's company would reinforce the hinge between the other units if the Grenadians attempted a counterattack.[7]

## Point Salines Combat and Support, 26 October

Colonel Silvasy planned for the 2d Brigade's attack to jump off at 0630 on 26 October. Action began, however, considerably earlier. Shortly before dawn a firefight broke out between elements of Captain Ritz' Company B and the

[4] Interv, Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[5] Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[6] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 25 Oct 1983, 1955, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. See also Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; Frasché with Akers, [Dec 1983]; Pirnie with T. Smith, 3 Apr 1985; and author with Taylor, 4 Dec 1986; plus Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[7] Map Overlay, 2d Bn, 325th Inf, 25 Oct 1983, 2200, sub: Plan of Attack for 260630, Hist files (PDocs/Graphics), CMH; Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Cubans in the compound. It quickly spread to include one of the neighboring units, Captain Jacoby's Company A. Both sides threw a large volume of small-arms fire at one another with little result *(see Map 8)*.[8]

On Colonel Hamilton's left flank, a firefight of more serious import occurred. Captain Ritz led an officers' patrol on the northwestern flank of the Cuban position, the direction in which he intended to attack. Cubans manning an outpost ambushed the patrol, killing Ritz in their first burst of fire and severely wounding Sgt. Terry Guinn. The company first sergeant temporarily assumed command because he believed that all of the platoon leaders had accompanied the patrol and no one had yet returned. He thus directed Sgt. Rodolfo Capetillo to take the 3d Platoon in the direction of the firing. A Vietnam veteran, Sergeant Capetillo advanced very cautiously up a hill on the company front. The platoon soon came upon two deserted recoilless rifle positions. Numerous AK47s and much ammunition were scattered on the ground. Capetillo detached his 1st Squad, led by Sgt. Gary L. Epps, to guard the area.[9]

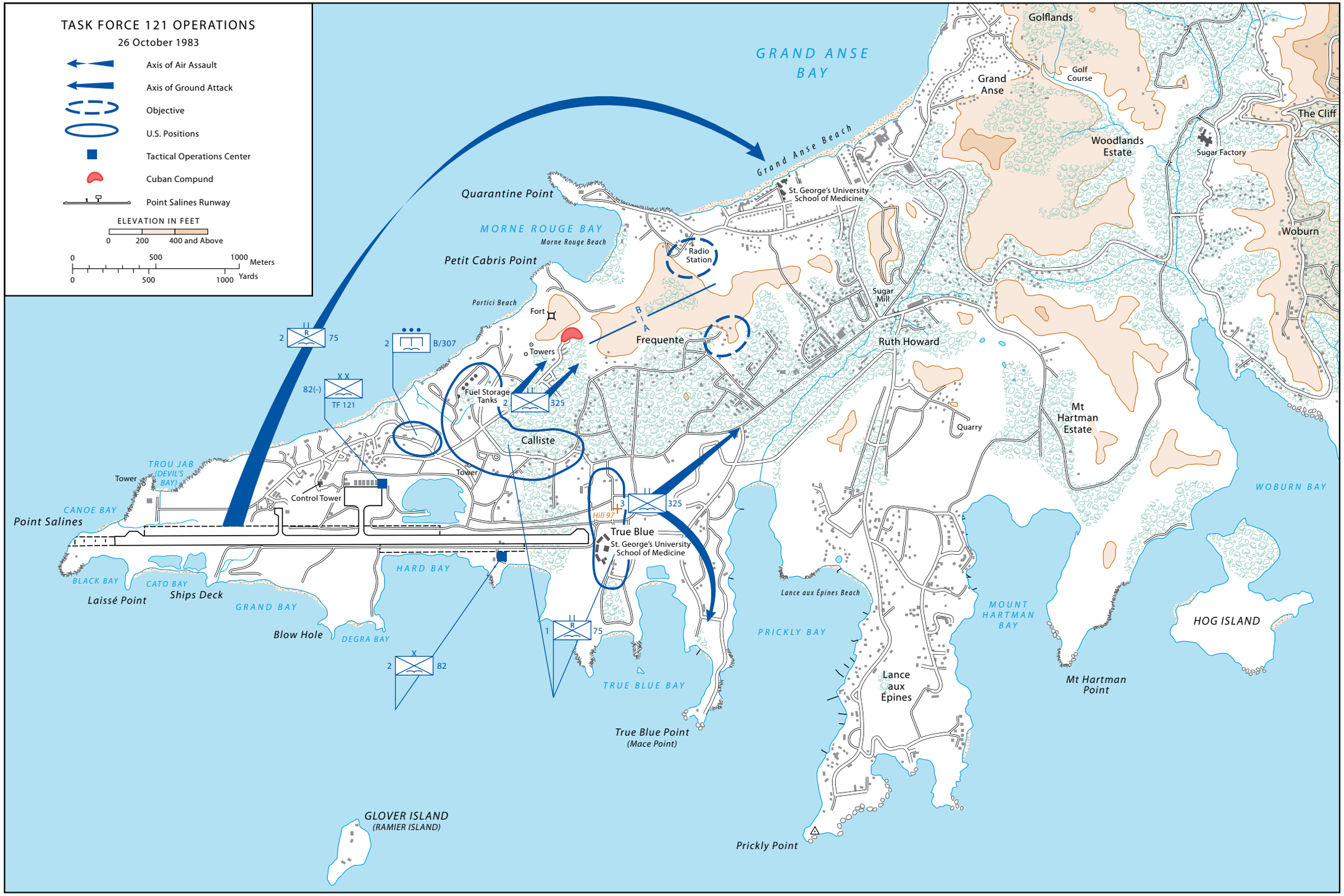
Capetillo did not like his position at all. His platoon had only limited supplies of M16 ammunition and no mortars. The artillery back at the airfield was not yet ready to lend support. Moreover, Company B was the one company that had failed to receive hand grenades at Green Ramp. The platoon had managed to acquire some of the grenades that the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III, had brought into the area of operations, but this amounted to only one grenade per man. Convinced that someone was waiting in ambush somewhere on the seemingly deserted hill, Capetillo fell back on a technique that he had used successfully in Vietnam. "I figured, rather than getting anybody killed, I was going to do a little bit of reconnaissance by fire." He brought one of his rifle grenadiers up and had him fire an M203 grenade about twenty meters to the front. Capetillo continued to advance using basic infantry tactics—one squad moving and one in overwatch with the grenadier firing each time before a squad moved. The platoon was close to the top of the hill when the third rifle grenade finally flushed the ambush. The Cubans opened fire prematurely, and Capetillo immediately went on the attack. The 3d Platoon captured the hilltop but continued to receive a high volume of Cuban fire. By then the men had used almost all their grenades. When M16 ammunition also began to run low, Capetillo had to tell his men not to fire unless they actually saw a target. Fortuitously, one soldier exploring the enemy position found several boxes of Soviet hand grenades. Uncertain about the fuzing, Capetillo had everyone stand back while he tossed the first grenade down the hill. After a four-second delay, it exploded. "I told them . . . they were good to go." The Americans started pitching Soviet grenades toward the Cubans and, almost immediately, the Cuban fire slackened. In the face of this grenade barrage, the Cubans obviously were not going to retake the hill.[10]

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[8] Interv, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[9] Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, plus Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and Wells with Capetillo, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[10] Interv, Wells with Capetillo, 17 Nov 1983, covering this and the next paragraph.


TASK FORCE 121 OPERATIONS
26 October 1983
Axis of Air Assault
Axis of Ground Attack
Objective
U.S. Positions
Tactical Operations Center
Cuban Compound
Point Salines Runway
ELEVATION IN FEET
0 200 400 and Above
0 500 1000 Meters
0 500 1000 Yards
GRAND ANSE BAY
Golflands
Grand Anse
Golf Course
The Cliff
Grand Anse Beach
Woodlands Estate
Sugar Factory
Quarantine Point
St. George's University School of Medicine
MORNE ROUGE BAY
Morne Rouge Beach
Woburn
Petit Cabris Point
Radio Station
Sugar Mill
Portici Beach
Fort
Towers
Frequente
Ruth Howard
2 B/307
2 II R 75
XX 82(-) TF 121
Fuel Storage Tanks
2 II 325
Calliste
Quarry
Mt Hartman Estate
TROU JAB (DEVIL'S BAY)
Tower
Control Tower
Tower
WOBURN BAY
CANOE BAY
Point Salines
Hill 97
3 II 325
True Blue
St. George's University School of Medicine
BLACK BAY
CATO BAY
Laissé Point
Ships Deck
HARD BAY
GRAND BAY
Lance aux Épines Beach
MOUNT HARTMAN BAY
HOG ISLAND
Blow Hole
DEGRA BAY
1 R 75
PRICKLY BAY
2 X 82
TRUE BLUE BAY
Lance aux Épines
Mt Hartman Point
True Blue Point
(Mace Point)
GLOVER ISLAND
(RAMIER ISLAND)
Prickly Point

**Map 8**



**Soviet hand grenades and shells;** *below,* **Soviet recoilless rifles and ammunition**



One of Sergeant Capetillo's men was wounded during the firefight. Someone also found Sergeant Guinn at the first ambush site. He had a sucking chest wound from an AK47 round that had penetrated one of his lungs. The Cubans had stripped him of his flak jacket and left him to bleed to death. As a medic worked on the wounded, Capetillo received orders to withdraw. His battalion commander, Colonel Hamilton, had obtained a strike by naval air on the compound. Because the 3d Platoon was too close to the target area, it needed to pull back before the aircraft arrived. Despite some halfhearted efforts by the Cubans to interfere, Capetillo successfully broke contact and fell back on the 1st Squad. There he found that the squad leader, Sergeant Epps, had attempted to fire one of the captured Soviet recoilless rifles. The round had exploded prematurely, killing Epps and wounding five squad members. Capetillo had to send back for help to handle the casualties. By the time he and his men and the wounded reached the main company position, the Cubans in the compound had already surrendered. The 3d Platoon's fight for the hill at Calliste proved to be the most intense close combat for any element of the 82d Airborne Division during Urgent Fury. If it revealed the real supply problems that the accelerated deployment schedule at Fort Bragg posed, it also showed how a shrewd and experienced combat veteran could overcome those limitations.

The successful Cuban ambush of Captain Ritz's patrol had disrupted Colonel Hamilton's plan of attack. As the time approached for the 0630 attack, and with still no word from Ritz, Hamilton had ordered his assistant S–3, Capt. Michael C. Okita, to take command of Company B. The colonel then called for artillery fire and Navy fighter-bomber strikes on the Cuban compound. Both were on target, but the compound was sizable. Most of the Cuban fire appeared to be coming from a relatively undamaged portion of the installation. One building in that area still flew a large Cuban flag. Hamilton asked the Marine officer in charge of the detachment from the 2d Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company supporting the 2d Battalion to direct Navy A–7s to target the building. The first strafing runs were exactly on the mark. All Cuban small-arms fire ceased immediately, and white flags blossomed from every window. For perhaps fifteen minutes nothing more happened, but then figures began appearing with their arms raised. Hamilton sent his reconnaissance platoon down into the valley to collect the prisoners.[11]

As the unit moved toward the compound, Colonel Hamilton saw three men attempting to work their way to a draw in the rear of the buildings. He had Captain Jacoby's machine guns fire a burst down the draw to dissuade them. The gunfire caused the Cubans in the compound to dive for cover. Only after some coaxing did they hesitantly reappear, but then the three figures started edging for the draw once more. Another burst of fire produced the same reaction by both groups of Cubans. After the third iteration of these

[11] Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and with Okita, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, S–3, 2d Bn, 325th Inf, 26 Oct 1983, 0520–0845, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

events, Hamilton decided that it was more important to secure the main body of Cubans. When the three men started once again for the draw, Jacoby's men held their fire. One of the three was the commander of Cuban forces on the island, Col. Pedro Comas Tortoló, who was attempting to save sensitive communications gear and code books. He and his secret materials ultimately reached sanctuary in the Soviet embassy. By 0835 Hamilton's battalion had secured the compound.[12]

In the aftermath of the morning's action, Colonel Hamilton decided to revise his concept of maneuver. Detaching his engineer platoon to guard the compound, he sent Company B up a finger of land on the left toward the site of Radio Free Grenada, which had gone off the air following an AC–130 attack the previous afternoon. Meanwhile, Company A advanced up the draw behind the compound in pursuit of the three fleeing Cubans. With the terrain causing his two companies to move on slightly divergent lines, Hamilton brought Company C out of reserve to attack up the center toward Frequente.[13]

Company A passed east of the Cuban compound and climbed a hill, almost immediately suffering five heat casualties. Captain Jacoby evacuated them without difficulty to the battalion aid station that was setting up just below him in the Cuban compound. Recognizing, however, that he might have a problem if his company had any more casualties once it advanced further into the bush, he instructed his men to remove their flak jackets and tie them to their rucksacks. Company A suffered no further heat casualties and made no further contact with the enemy before setting up a perimeter defense shortly before sunset.[14]

Responding to Colonel Hamilton's orders, Captain Rocke moved his Company C in attack formation toward Frequente. Earlier in the day the battalion S–3, Maj. William E. Baine, had taken Rocke to a height and had showed him his route. Consequently, Rocke had no difficulty navigating across country even though the village remained hidden behind a ridge. Once he reached a point at which he could see the village, however, he had a surprise: Beside it stood a large complex surrounded by chain-link fence topped with barbed wire. Half of the area contained a large vehicle park, the other half a large number of warehouses. Rocke and his men advanced cautiously, carefully searching each building. After the one sentry on duty promptly surrendered, they found enough weaponry inside the compound to equip six infantry battalions.[15]

Colonel Hamilton established his command post on a hill overlooking Frequente, while Captain Rocke deployed his company to a ridge east of the warehouses. Hamilton joined him, and the two surveyed the terrain to their front. Suddenly, they heard a burst of fire. Down in the valley before them,

[12] Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and author with Farris, 14 Apr 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, S–3, 2d Bn, 325th Inf, 26 Oct 1983, 0845, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[13] Interv, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[14] Interv, GWG with Jacoby, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[15] Interv, Bishop with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

on a road parallel to their position, they could see the five gunjeeps of the battalion's reconnaissance platoon that Hamilton had sent ahead to scout. Oblivious to the presence of Rocke's company, Cubans had ambushed the patrol, allowing the first two gunjeeps in the column to pass and then opening fire on the last three. The lead vehicles immediately did a U-turn and sped back to the ambush site, machine guns blasting. Almost simultaneously, Rocke's company opened fire with every weapon that it could bring to bear, sending a curtain of fire onto the Cubans. Following U.S. rules of engagement designed to limit civilian casualties by requiring battalion commanders to approve the use of mortars, artillery, and airstrikes, Rocke turned to Hamilton and asked permission to use his two mortars. When Hamilton gave his assent, the first of twenty-nine mortar rounds sped on its way to the Cuban position. Given this almost instantaneous American response and establishment of fire superiority, it is difficult to say who felt more victimized by the ambush. The Cubans broke contact and withdrew, leaving four dead on the field. The Americans sustained no casualties.[16]

Captain Okita's Company B was the last to jump off. It took two hours to reassemble the company's equipment, left behind during the combat, and to bring in the dead and wounded. The assistant battalion S–4, 1st Lt. Mark J. Eshelman, established a water point inside the Cuban compound at Calliste, and Okita made certain that everyone both drank their fill and replenished their canteens before the company jumped off. The unit then moved toward the radio station through vegetation so dense that the men had to hack trails to move. Okita could see little more than a foot in any direction and had to maneuver his platoons by radio. Although the straight line distance to the radio station was only 1,100 meters, the terrain consisted of a series of steep ridges that resembled nothing so much as the back of an old-fashioned washboard. The battalion's Cmd. Sgt. Maj. Catalino Barajas, a Vietnam veteran a few weeks short of his forty-seventh birthday, accompanied Okita. Barajas found the going "rough," but he still set an example of toughness for the twenty-year-olds in the company.[17]

Tension ran high within the unit, with everyone expecting a tough fight at the radio station, but what they encountered was another kind of enemy. That morning, most of the troops had seen the bodies of men killed in combat for the first time. In addition, the air hung motionless and heavy with humidity in the dense vegetation; the polyester battle dress uniform the men wore did not breathe, and their flak vests added another twenty pounds to their loads, already heavy because of their rucksacks. The company suffered some thirty heat casualties and covered the ground so slowly that it did not reach the vicinity of the radio station until 1500. When Colonel Hamilton learned about the heat casualties, he ordered everyone in the battalion to

[16] Intervs, Pirnie, MacGarrigle, and author with J. L. Hamilton, 3 Jun 1985, plus Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, and with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[17] Intervs, Bishop with Okita, 16 Nov 1983, and Wells with Barajas, 10 Nov 1983 (quoted word), Hist files (Intervs), CMH. For a slightly different approach to this issue, see James M. Dubik and Terrence D. Fullerton, "Soldier Overloading in Grenada," pp. 38–47.



**Paratroopers scan the terrain from a vantage point in Grenada.**

take off their flak vests. The unit suffered no more heat casualties during the operation.[18]

At about 1600 Okita's company approached the radio station, only to discover that the defenders had withdrawn. But the day held one further surprise for Company B, because at 1605, as the men consolidated their position at the radio station, the low ground to their front suddenly erupted with artillery fire. Once the barrage lifted, they had a spectacular view from their ridgetop position of the rescue of the Grand Anse students by the 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, and the 22d Marine Amphibious Unit's Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 261.[19]

The students had posed a delicate tactical problem for General Trobaugh. If he pushed overland, his advance might force the defenders back into the campus area, where a firefight might kill the very people he had come to save. He concluded that he needed to make a heliborne assault behind the Grenadians, but his task force still had no helicopters. To expedite their arrival, his aviation officer, Lt. Col. Robert N. Seigle, flew to Grantley Adams International Airport on Barbados early on the morning of 26 October. Colonel Seigle hoped to discover what had happened to his 82d Aviation Battalion's Task

[18] Intervs, Bishop with Okita, 16 Nov 1983, and with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, plus Wells with Barajas, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[19] Interv, Bishop with Okita, 16 Nov 1983, and Wells with Barajas, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Paratroopers, with their weapons and a field radio, move down a dirt road on patrol.**

Force B and to hasten its movement into Point Salines. His report, when it came, was not heartening. He had anticipated that Maj. William J. Elder Jr.'s task force would leave Pope Air Force Base at 1200 on 25 October; instead, it had left twelve hours later at 2400. Given conditions at Grantley Adams, the task force could not possibly arrive until 27 October. Then, compounding Trobaugh's dilemma, at 1100 on 26 October the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) directed Trobaugh to rescue the students that day.[20]

Even before he received this assignment, with both his battalions committed and no elements of the 3d Brigade as yet in the airhead, General Trobaugh had decided to assign the mission to Colonel Hagler's ranger battalion. The task was, after all, a raid, the kind of mission at which Rangers excelled, and Hagler understood the terrain. While he prepared for an overland approach, if necessary, Trobaugh talked by radio to the senior Army adviser to Admiral Metcalf, Maj. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr. General Schwarzkopf, who could look out a porthole aboard the *Guam* and see Marine helicopters on the flight deck, suggested using them as the lift force. When Trobaugh proved agreeable, Schwarzkopf raised the issue with Admiral Metcalf, who liked the idea. The admiral chaired a planning meeting attended by himself, Schwarzkopf, Trobaugh, 22d Marine Amphibious Unit commander Col. James P. Faulkner, and a few staff officers who would

[20] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

work out the details. With that done, Hagler and the Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 261 commander, Lt. Col. Grenville R. Amos, prepared a detailed plan for the assault. Colonel Hamilton and his battalion, for their part, learned almost nothing of these developments and did not even know that students were nearby. Trobaugh was using Hamilton's assault to distract the Grenadians and keep them facing southwest, away from the real line of attack.[21]

The rescue operation kicked off at 1615, 26 October, following the artillery preparation and air strikes by Navy A–7s and an Air Force AC–130 Spectre that were designed to isolate the campus from defending Grenadian forces. Then the helicopters went in. From their ridgetop vantage point, Captain Okita and his men witnessed an almost textbook perfect rescue operation. While two ranger companies secured a perimeter, one company led 233 evacuees from the school's main administration building to the waiting helicopters. The Grenadian defenders, with their defenses facing south toward Hamilton's battalion, mustered only a brief and scattered resistance before fleeing. One ranger was slightly wounded, and the helicopters were hit by rifle fire in a few nonvital locations. The most serious problem arose when one CH–46 helicopter clipped a palm tree while landing on the extremely small beach and crashed at the surf's edge. The remaining helicopters lacked sufficient space for everyone, and eleven rangers had to stay behind. After dark they took a rubber raft from the helicopter and paddled out to sea, where the *Caron* picked them up.[22]

In contrast to the experiences of both Hamilton's and Hagler's battalions, Raines' 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, spent a less eventful day. After a stressful and sleepless night getting onto the island, the battalion needed such an interlude. Raines' men assumed responsibility for guarding the approaches to the Grand Anse Campus and the adjacent eastern end of the runway from Capt. John P. Abizaid's Company A, 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, which went into reserve. On division order, Raines then advanced east to the first ridgeline to protect the evacuation of the students from the True Blue Campus. One sniper opposed the advance. After fruitlessly trying to talk the man into surrendering, the Americans killed him and moved on. From the new position a platoon from the battalion's Company A engaged a Grenadian BTR60 at long range without result. Otherwise the day passed without incident. By sunset the 82d Airborne Division held the line across the Point Salines Peninsula that the initial plan had assigned to Colonel Taylor's ranger battalion as its first day's objective.[23]

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[21] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 26 Oct 1983, 1000 (item 75), Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Prelim AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, and with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, plus Pirnie, MacGarrigle, and author with J. L. Hamilton, 3 Jun 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[22] Interv, Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. For an excellent discussion of the operational issues involved, see Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation URGENT FURY*, pp. 139–45.

[23] Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and with Pederson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## Intermediate Staging Base on Barbados

While the airlift commander, Brig. Gen. Robert B. Patterson, built up the Air Force component at the intermediate staging base on Barbados, the only remaining unit from XVIII Airborne Corps' plan for a complementary Army component landed at Grantley Adams in the early morning hours of 26 October. The arrival-departure airfield control group from Capt. Harley C. Barr II's 403d Transportation Company, 7th Transportation Battalion, alighted from the same C–5A as Col. Robert C. Barrett Jr.'s advance party of 1st Support Command. To Colonel Barrett's experienced eye, operations on Barbados were about what they should be under the circumstances: "It looked about as reasonably well organized as you can expect for a place where you're just landing and building up." Barrett, his sergeant, and his driver soon departed, but Captain Barr and the airfield control group remained behind to help unload helicopters. It was well that they did. When the first Black Hawks of Task Force B arrived at Grantley Adams before dawn on 26 October, Major Elder had expected to find elements of the 82d Support Command already on the island and an intermediate staging base in operation. But no Army officers were present other than Elder's task force members; Barr; the Army liaison officer on General Patterson's staff, Maj. Richard C. Anshus; and the transient Colonel Barrett, who was waiting for a C–130 ride to the Point Salines airfield. The Army organization needed to ensure the orderly transfer of men and materiel between aircraft had yet to be established.[24]

Preparing helicopters to fly after they had arrived as cargo in an Air Force transport plane was a complex and laborious business. The helicopters had been tied down in the cargo compartment of the aircraft. Then, following standard procedure, the loaders back at Fort Bragg had stacked pallets of supplies and equipment and secured some of the company's trucks around the helicopters. Personnel from the airlift control element used forklifts to offload the pallets, while members of the task force used a winch and brute strength to move the helicopters down ramps to the tarmac, hand guiding them the entire distance.[25]

Once the fuselages reached the ground, Army aviators faced three particularly difficult tasks to prepare them for flight: They had to unfold the main rotor blades, unfold the rear rotor, and refit the stabilators. Unfolding the main rotor blades alone took seven or eight men because each blade weighed over 300 pounds and was over 25 feet long. Five or six men lifted a rotor blade and placed one end into a bracket in the rotor head while two men sat on the head and guided the blade into the bracket, "banging on it" until it was lined up and then inserting a pin to hold it in place. The aircrews had to repeat the operation four times for each UH–60.

[24] Robert N. Seigle, "Looking Back at Urgent Fury," pp. 22, 24; Interv (quoted words), author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, Mackmull to Cavazos et al, 28 1155Z Oct 1983, sub: Urgent Fury Airflow, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[25] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

After all three tasks were complete, a crew member had to attach various kinds of hardware. This required only one man and a screwdriver for each machine, but it took time. Then the crews topped off the Black Hawks' gas tanks—they had arrived three-quarters full—and made a test flight around the field. Once the helicopters landed and refueled, they were ready to fly to Grenada.[26]

The 82d Aviation Battalion's S–4, Capt. Jimmie M. Rabon, had accompanied Major Elder's task force. Captain Rabon and Company B's first sergeant, Sgt. Jimmie Dew, set up locations for the pallets and trucks and obtained a count of all the men. Then Rabon and the only S–4 section member with him, Sgt. Eric Rodwell, responded to the task force's logistical needs. Rabon contacted the Shell Oil Company representative at Grantley Adams to refuel the helicopters with JP–4, and, because the temperature was high and the men were thirsty, also located a water buffalo and towed it to the battalion area. While Rabon was thus engaged, Sergeant Dew discovered that the Air Force had inadvertently left a pallet containing the battalion's C-rations at Pope Air Force Base. In response, Rabon managed to secure from Air Force stocks on Barbados some meals ready to eat, which were the new field ration that had not yet reached Fort Bragg. They were thus something of a treat for the soldiers. Rabon also obtained from Air Force sources additional ammunition for the battalion. Lacking forklifts, he and a working party had to manhandle the ammunition aboard the helicopters, which lengthened the time needed to prepare them for the flight to Grenada.[27]

Refueling ground vehicles was a particularly time-consuming task. Because fuel expands at higher altitude, the division's air standing operating procedures involved filling the tanks of any vehicles it took on long flights to only about 40-percent capacity. The members of the 82d Aviation Battalion, uncertain whether any gasoline awaited them on Grenada, wanted to take the maximum amount of fuel with them, and the short hop at a low altitude from Barbados to Grenada permitted filling the tanks to about 80 percent. The Shell Oil Company jobber at Grantley Adams, however, lacked an electric pump, so the soldiers had to hand pump gasoline and diesel fuel out of 55-gallon drums.[28]

Refueling time for fixed-wing aircraft was much shorter and less arduous because Grantley Adams had very modern equipment for the process. Shell, however, was unequipped to handle the sudden rush of aircraft that came with the operation. Three or four Shell employees worked around the clock to refuel the arriving aircraft. Even so, at least thirty always seemed to be in line.[29]

As Captain Rabon performed these tasks, conditions on the airfield became increasingly chaotic. Similar to the Shell jobbers, the civilian airport authorities

[26] Ibid. (quoted words); Interv, Wade with Beaty and Garmond, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[27] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also David Wood, "Troops' Thirst for Water Drains Supply Resources," *Army Times*, 11 Aug 2003, which contains a good description of a water buffalo.

[28] Intervs, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, and with Reardon, 18 Sep 2006, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[29] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

found themselves overwhelmed by the sudden and unexpected surge of aircraft landing at Grantley Adams. Perhaps even more important, the Army lacked a command-and-control element on Grenada to coordinate with General Patterson and the airport authorities. Rabon's commander, Colonel Seigle, had arrived on Barbados early on 26 October to discover "a virtual labyrinth of confusion. Black Hawks folded for loading and their deployment kits and parts were interspersed with C–130s all over the ramp. . . . About every thirty minutes someone would run up to a worn-out crew chief who was attempting to reinstall his tail stabilator and tell him that all the Black Hawks had to move so a C–130 could get out for Grenada." Attached to the rear rotor pylon, the stabilator was a fixed articulated horizontal surface fourteen-feet wide and four-feet deep at center that was intended to keep forward flight stable. Part of the tail feathers, as pilots describe the aft end of the fuselage, it was not difficult to mount, but it did require a few minutes of time. So did the other items of equipment the crew chiefs needed to reconnect. The need to clear a taxiway for Air Force transports forced the entire task force to shift its location four times. Crews had to move individual helicopters on innumerable other occasions.[30]

With all 82d Support Command elements absent, Colonel Seigle used his own initiative and appointed Rabon, a promotable captain, to be commander of Army Forces, Barbados, with the mission both of off-loading C–5As and of "pushing troops, support vehicles, and aircraft to Grenada." Working with the airlift control element, Rabon arranged for Air Force C–130s to fly the task force's ground crews, supplies, and equipment to Barbados. He would not, however, accompany it to Grenada. Responding to General Trobaugh's call for more aircraft, elements of four units were preparing for departure and deployment through Barbados: Maj. Elton S. Sledge Jr.'s Company A, 82d Aviation Battalion; Capt. Bernardo C. Negrete's Company D; CWO George R. Morrison's command-and-control section from Company C; and a support platoon from Capt. Leonard J. Rodowick's Company F. Rabon would have to remain on Barbados to shepherd these elements to Grenada.[31]

Major Elder's men finished rebuilding their UH–60s just before dusk on 26 October. With General Trobaugh's approval, Elder decided not to hustle the bone weary men to Grenada immediately. They lay down in their sleeping bags just off the edge of the runway to take a few hours of fitful rest punctuated by the sound of jet aircraft landing and taking off.[32]

### Processing Americans and Third-Country Nationals

As planned, the 2d Brigade S–1, Capt. Gregory M. D'Arbonne, started processing the students at 0600 on 26 October at the True Blue Campus.

[30] Seigle, "Looking Back at Urgent Fury," p. 24 (quotation); Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; E-mail, Maxham to author, 13 Sep 2006, sub: Black Hawk Question, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

[31] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Seigle, "Looking Back at Urgent Fury," p. 24 (quoted words).

[32] Intervs, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, plus Wade with Beaty and Garmond, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Arthur W. Hapner, "'Dustoff' in Grenada," pp. 62–64, 66.

Everything went smoothly. He put them in the school cafeteria and had them walk two at a time to a room at the other end of the facility, where he and the physician's assistant from the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, CWO2 William Donovan, searched them for drugs and other contraband. Captain D'Arbonne then assembled the students in an auditorium to explain the evacuation process. He did not know what the port of entry would be; he thought possibly Pope Air Force Base. He had packed forms releasing the United States government of any liability for damage to their property, but those papers were still in his A-bag back at Green Ramp. As a substitute, he read the waiver aloud and asked if anyone disagreed. When no one did, he collected everyone's name, social security number, and passport number. Four of the students were Iranians. Three had entry visas to the United States; the fourth did not. After securing clearance from the State Department, D'Arbonne permitted him to accompany his compatriots.[33]

With the paperwork required for evacuation complete, Captain D'Arbonne kept the students in the school auditorium until they could leave. Outside the war was going on, "bombs and explosions and machine gun fire." He made certain the shutters were closed to minimize the danger of flying glass if a shell exploded nearby. He was surprised at how few students there were. From television reports he had envisioned perhaps 1,000. Excluding Grenadian nationals, however, only 140 were residing at the True Blue Campus. At 1000 General Trobaugh came down to assess the situation and told D'Arbonne to put the students on the next aircraft going north. The captain put 71 on the first and 69 on a second.[34]

Almost all these students had been in their first semester at the St. George's University School of Medicine. They were the least acculturated to Grenadian society of any of their peers, and most were shocked by the events that brought about their flight to the mainland. Their work assisting the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, surgeon, Capt. James A. Pfaff, with the wounded made them feel that they had contributed to their own rescue and to the success of the operation. The first to be rescued, they had considerable energy and were not shy about expressing themselves. All these factors combined to create an emotional homecoming when the first C–141 landed at Charleston Air Force Base at 1719 on 26 October. Before meeting the press, the students asked for a moment of silence in honor of the rangers who had died saving them. The students were outspoken in their praise of the Army. They noted the care that the troops had taken not to shoot civilians and how many Grenadians would have lost their lives without such fire discipline. The most important event, however, at least as far as the American people were concerned, was not what the students said but what one of them did. As he came down the steps from the aircraft, he fell to his knees and kissed the tarmac. That moment, captured in a

[33] Interv, Wells with D'Arbonne, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[34] Ibid. (quoted words); Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 77, 80. The Air Force provided the statistics on the number of students on each flights.

**Processing and repatriating student evacuees from Grenada to the United States**












LCOME
HOME!

photograph distributed by the Associated Press, built a firewall of public support around the administration's Grenada policies.[35]

After dark, about the time the second C–141 with students from the True Blue Campus touched down at Charleston Air Force Base, a group of 233 students from the Grand Anse Campus and their rescuers—the rangers of Colonel Hagler's 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry—arrived at Point Salines aboard Marine helicopters. It was a dramatic scene. The aircraft, landing lights flashing when they had not been shot out, disgorged their excited passengers while the rangers of Colonel Taylor's 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, cheered. The evacuees congregated on the south side of the runway opposite the terminal complex, where a State Department representative and the division staff judge advocate, Lt. Col. Quinton W. Richardson, attempted to process them. With no electricity and thus no lights, the preparation of the manifests for the group became an exasperating experience for all involved.[36]

As the paperwork progressed, Colonel Richardson faced another daunting task: persuading the 317th Tactical Airlift Wing's 317th Combat Control Team to taxi C–141s from the east end of the runway after unloading their cargoes to the midpoint in the runway, where the students would board. The aircraft then had to taxi to the west end, where the tarmac was wide enough for the planes to turn around. Because prevailing winds dictated east to west takeoffs, the aircraft had to taxi all the way back to the east end of the runway and turn around again before they could take off. The control team was concerned about the amount of fuel the planes would waste in all this taxiing. For his part, Richardson was certain that one or more of the students would be injured, possibly seriously, if they attempted to walk to the C–141s along the rubble-strewn verge of the runway in the half-light conditions provided by the Air Force's emergency runway lights. In the end his arguments prevailed.[37]

Once the first aircraft reached midfield, one more bureaucratic hurdle remained before any of the students could depart. An Air Force officer insisted that the Army frisk each passenger, but Colonel Richardson considered this requirement superfluous as the students had arrived with only the clothes on their backs. Again he prevailed, and the students boarded the C–141 without being searched. The first flight departed about 2100 on 26 October.[38]

## Processing Detainees and Refugees

On the morning of 26 October, around the same time that Captain D'Arbonne started processing the first group of evacuees, Brig. Rudyard Lewis' Caribbean Peacekeeping Force began moving civilian refugees, Cuban construction workers and soldiers, and People's Revolutionary Army members to the Cuban

[35] Memo, Hrinak for Motley, 31 Oct 1983, sub: Grenada Evacuation—The Charleston Perspective, in GWG, 1983, Accession no. 353–96–0002, DoS. See Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 80–81, for the administration's concerns about the students.

[36] Interv, Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 85, give arrival times of flights at Charleston.

[37] Interv, Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[38] Ibid.

Workers Camp overlooking the terminal. The detainees went into the camp, located at the top of a hill, while the refugees clustered in and around houses on the slopes. The JCS liaison officer with the Caribbean contingent, Marine Maj. Gen. George B. Crist, met with General Trobaugh that day and briefed him on the detainee situation. General Crist emphasized that the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force was responsible for the mission, that the force reported to him, that he reported directly to Admiral Metcalf, and that the Navy would provide whatever support was needed. Circumstances soon changed, however, when supplies that Crist had anticipated did not arrive. The general immediately turned to Major Cleary's Forward Area Support Team II and demanded food and water. Although somewhat breathless at the suddenness of the requirement that had dropped on him, Cleary was able, just barely, to fill it. The 82d Airborne Division thereafter provided supplies for the detainees and refugees, a situation that continued for the remainder of the operation.[39]

General Trobaugh realized, as he remarked on 26 October to his staff, that the detainees and refugees involved "sticky administrative problems," but he lacked the command authority, the manpower, and the logistical assets to bring about any fundamental changes in the near term. Army officers could advise members of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force about proper procedures for running detainee camps, and the division could supply food and water, but these efforts could amount to no more than holding actions until the 82d finished deploying its combat units. If the command group was preoccupied with combat operations, it nonetheless assigned two officers—the division staff judge advocate, Colonel Richardson, and the division G–5, Maj. William D. Archer—to work on the detainee and refugee problems in addition to their other duties. Both had arrived without any assistants or vehicles, so coordination and consultation depended upon how fast they could walk between the division assault command post and the headquarters of Brigadier Lewis. In addition, General Trobaugh dispatched a squad from the 2d Platoon, 82d Military Police Company, to assist the Peacekeeping Force in managing the detainee camp.[40]

General Trobaugh became aware of how sticky the issue could be during his first night in the airhead. The American officers who worked with the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force generally gave high marks to the soldiers from Jamaica and Barbados, but much of the force consisted of policemen who had suddenly and unexpectedly found themselves in a war zone. A number were hardly enthusiastic about the duty, and their attitude affected their performance. While the policemen-turned-soldiers were quite adept in their dealings with the civilian refugees, the handling of detainees was something that fell outside both their training and experience. Lack of concertina wire to cordon off the detainees contributed to the problem. During the night of 25–26

[39] Ibid.; Intervs, Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983]; author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986; Wells with D'Arbonne, 9 Nov 1983; and Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[40] Interv (quoted words), Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, pp. 2–3, 5, 7, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

October some of the Peacekeeping Force guards at the detainee camp stacked their rifles and went to sleep, and later a number of Cubans escaped with some of the weapons. The rangers and Hamilton's battalion recaptured a few of the escapees before morning.[41]

Questions of responsibility and techniques of managing the detainees, however, were of much less importance than supplying basic human needs—food, water, shade, and latrines. Neither the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force nor the 82d Airborne Division possessed the resources needed to improve immediately conditions at the camp, which were not good. The camp had a kitchen and limited supplies of food and water. It also had electrical wiring and could be illuminated at night once maintenance personnel restored the electrical generators to service. Despite these advantages, the facilities were miserably inadequate. Suitable for a maximum of three hundred people, they soon became badly overcrowded with double that number of occupants. Because of this, many of the detainees remained out of doors both day and night. Sanitary facilities were also "negligible." Forced by overcrowding to squat on a hard concrete surface, some Cuban detainees defecated in their pants.[42]

Both Colonel Richardson and Major Archer visited the compound on the morning of 26 October. They saw the need for an entirely new detainee camp, but they also realized that at the moment the division faced two unanswerable questions—where could it put such a facility, and where could it obtain the resources to build one? The airhead was too shallow at that time, and the division was having some difficulty providing logistical support to its own combat units. The supply situation eased somewhat when more resources arrived later in the day, but distribution still remained a problem. The engineers were able to establish a water point on the twenty-sixth, but its effect was limited because of a severe shortage of water trailers. No more would arrive for two days.[43]

On 26 October the refugee population grew until its size almost equaled the number of detainees. By the end of the second day some five hundred Grenadians were present, with more arriving by the hour. It became increasingly difficult for a few nervous Caribbean Peacekeeping Force guards to keep the detainees separated from them. The American advance had produced the influx. As the infantrymen swept the countryside in pursuit of the Cubans and the Grenadian fighters, they sent the peaceful inhabitants of the peninsula to the rear to keep them out of harm's way. The civilians arrived in groups, usually under the escort of one or two infantrymen. One officer remembered "this

[41] Intervs, Wade with Lombardo, [Nov 1983], and with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 25 Oct 1983, 1855, Hist files (PDocs/DA), CMH.

[42] Intervs, Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983] (quoted word); author with Baker-Kimmel, 18 Jul 1986; Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983]; and McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[43] Intervs, Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], and with Lombardo, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 27 Oct 1983, 1520, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.



**Concertina wire;** *below,* **Cuban detainees inside a containment area**





**Cuban detainees under guard while awaiting repatriation;** *below,* **Food supplies for Grenadian refugees**



huge number of refugees just coming out of the woods . . . , twenty, thirty, forty people at a time." When he asked them why they had come, most did not know. They said "a man" had told them where to go. Once they reached the airfield, they would sit in clusters along the side of the runway watching the aircraft land and the troops and supplies disembarking. Either Colonel Richardson or Major Archer would arrange with Major Cleary for transportation to the improvised refugee camp next to the detainee compound. The transportation was something of a problem. For want of anything better, it meant riding in the back of one of the Soviet dump trucks. Their designers had never intended them to carry people; the cargo compartments had "tremendously huge" sides that the Grenadians had to climb over. But they did it, men, women, and children.[44]

Nightfall brought the promise of improvement. Late on 26 October the Disaster Assistance Relief Team from U.S. Forces, Caribbean, arrived. Experienced in dealing with displaced civilian populations, it set up near Major Archer and arranged for the shipment of a pallet of supplies for the refugees. At approximately the same time, Company A, 96th Civil Affairs Battalion, consisting of four officers and three enlisted men, reached Point Salines and began to work with the refugees. The company commander was energetic and a hard worker, but he lacked assets. Although he was able to obtain food and water for the refugees, he could get, for the moment, little else.[45]

## Processing Casualties

When General Trobaugh visited the students on the morning of 26 October, he told the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, surgeon, Captain Pfaff, that the division planned to turn wounded Cubans and Grenadians over to the Cuban medical team, which would work out of the detainee camp. In response to a query from Pfaff about evacuating badly wounded Cubans and Grenadians who needed more sophisticated care than available on the island, Trobaugh said that division policy was to evacuate any Cuban or Grenadian so designated by the Cuban doctors.[46]

That afternoon the division G–5, Major Archer, arrived at True Blue with a convoy of Soviet dump trucks and moved the wounded to the Cuban camp. Captain Pfaff and his medical team then relocated to the vicinity of the 1st Battalion's command post south of the runway. At about that time, the team

[44] Intervs, Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983] (quoted words), and Wade with Lombardo, [Nov 1983], and with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, pp. 2–3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[45] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, p. 4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[46] Intervs, Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, and Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, p. 3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; ibid., Surg, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, n.d., Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

recovered its missing medical chest, which the Air Force had given to the 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, by mistake. To that point the 2d Battalion had incurred no serious casualties.[47]

The situation for the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, however, was a different matter. Its fight at Calliste had produced the 82d Airborne Division's first serious casualties in Urgent Fury. One of the most grievously wounded, Sergeant Guinn, reached the 82d's aid station on 26 October. The scene made a vivid impression on Major Cleary:

> I had a young man lying in front of me on a packing crate. He had been shot through the lungs. The medic and the doctor were working on him hard, trying to keep him from dying. He had a sucking chest wound. I had a Navy ship right off the shore. I could see the ship. [It] had a MEDEVAC [medical evacuation] bird on it. . . . The only radio the Navy would turn on that we could communicate with them on was a high frequency. . . . Now we had one high frequency radio with us in the division and that was at division headquarters. It was not working very well. It took me a half an hour to get through to that ship to get that MEDEVAC chopper in.

Cleary had a frequency-modulated radio, and the *Guam* had ten of them on board. He sent a major to the *Guam* to ask the Navy to turn them on. He returned and told Cleary that the Navy had refused; it was not the way they operated. Actually, the major had misunderstood the situation. The *Guam*'s radios had older model encryption devices and could not mesh with the Vinsons used in the 82d. "Men who were dying and needed help" had to pay the price for the decision at U.S. Atlantic Command not to prepare a communications plan for the operation.[48]

At 1200 the first element of Alpha Echelon, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion, arrived. It consisted of the company executive officer, 1st Lt. Douglas S. Phelps, and the staff, equipment, and supplies for an admission and disposition section and one ward. Lieutenant Phelps set up south of the runway, about midway between the control tower and the terminal, at a point selected by Major Cleary that would easily accommodate medical evacuation helicopters. Phelps found some heat casualties awaiting him there. They looked terrible, but all were receiving intravenous fluids and wanted to return to their units. As soon as his men erected a tent, he shooed them inside to get them out of the sun.[49]

Lieutenant Phelps was surprised that Alpha Echelon's other contingent, which had departed Pope Air Force Base earlier, still had not arrived on Grenada. All attempts to contact the C–141 had failed, making it seem as if the plane and its contents had vanished into the Urgent Fury information

[47] Intervs, GWG with Kane, [Nov 1983]; Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983]; and Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[48] Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[49] Interv, Dwight Oland with D. Phelps, 2 Mar 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH.



**307th Medical Battalion prepares to treat Grenadian refugees.**

void. The disappearance stunned Phelps, because the passengers and cargo aboard that aircraft represented a much greater medical capacity than his own party: an operating room, all necessary support equipment including a light set and generator, and a surgical team led by Lt. Col. Richard A. Hall.[50]

The 82d's advance medical team, consisting of the division orthopedic surgeon, Lt. Col. Joseph P. Jackson Jr., and five medics, relocated from Major Cleary's headquarters and joined Company C about 1430. Other than the brigade surgeon, Colonel Jackson was the only doctor with the division in the airhead. He had last slept some fifty plus hours earlier and had been stabilizing patients almost continuously for the past eight hours. He looked and was exhausted, but he was also calm and decisive. When Lieutenant Phelps told him about the missing operating room and asked what they were going to do, Jackson said firmly that they were going to do the best they could with what they had. This notwithstanding, the surgeon also stressed that Phelps' first priority was to locate the missing contingent. Eventually, coordinating with Major Cleary, he did. Colonel Hall's aircraft had run low on fuel while in the holding pattern over Point Salines and had diverted to Barbados, but no one knew when the group might catch a flight to Grenada.[51]

Even with Lieutenant Phelps' reinforcements, what Colonel Jackson had to deal with was primarily a list of deficiencies. During the twenty-sixth he and the medics had used almost all the consumables—for example, blood, fluids, sutures,

[50] Interv, Oland with D. Phelps, 2 Mar 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[51] Ibid.



**Wounded paratroopers awaiting evacuation;** *below,* **Medical care by a member of the 1st Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron**



and dressings—that they had brought with them. The C–141 that carried the operating room had included those types of supplies on its manifest. Phelps' plane had not. Jackson collected materiel donated by Captain Pfaff. Then, because the needs of the Cuban doctors were great, he shared his small horde with them. After Colonel Hamilton's battalion captured the Cuban compound near Calliste, the Cubans drew heavily on the medical supplies stored there.[52]

In theory, the presence of the 1st Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron's two C–141s on strip alert on Barbados would reduce the amount of time required to arrange the evacuation of critically wounded personnel to modern trauma wards in Puerto Rico or the United States. To make use of these assets, Colonel Jackson had only to radio the squadron on Barbados. The efficacy of this arrangement, however, depended upon effective communications between Point Salines and Barbados, which as far as the medical community was concerned did not exist on 26 October. To remedy the situation, the squadron commander, Lt. Col. A. Felix Meyer III, attempted to monitor message traffic, but his effort floundered upon operational security measures that kept him from receiving the wide range of high-level messages he needed. Colonel Meyer sought to arrange the receipt of copies of relevant messages transmitted to the Defense Attaché Office at the Bridgetown Embassy on Barbados. By the time the information reached the embassy, however, some of the messages were eighteen hours old. In the end, Meyer was reduced to depending upon rumors about casualties in scheduling evacuation flights into Grenada.[53]

## Engineer Operations

Early on the morning of 26 October the division engineer, Lt. Col. Lawrence L. Izzo, located the elements of Company B, 307th Engineer Battalion, that had accompanied the 2d Brigade into the Port Salines airhead. Colonel Izzo took one certified equipment operator and two other soldiers who professed to have some knowledge of how to handle machinery back with him to the division assault command post and released the rangers he had used the previous night. He had a number of critical tasks for the three men. They would have to secure the command post by building barriers; to dig in the ammunition supply point and the fuel point; to clear a dozen or so pieces of equipment away from the periphery of the runway, thus creating a staging area for helicopter operations; and to build latrines. With the memory of the Beirut bombing still fresh, Izzo gave first priority to building a truck-proof barricade on the ramp in front of the terminal. The engineers had only to move the precast concrete slabs that already existed on the ramp and pile them neatly in continuous stacks to form a crude but effective obstacle. Initially, they had to depend upon the 6,000-pound forklift from the arrival-departure airfield control group to

[52] Diary, Jackson, 26 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMHJ; Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH. See also Intervs, Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985; Hicks with Ashley and D. Phelps, [Nov 1983]; and Oland with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[53] Briefing, A. F. Meyer, [1984], Hist files (Interv), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st AES, 14 Feb 1984, p. 6, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/MAC), CMH.

stack the slabs, and they could use the machine only in the intervals when it was not unloading aircraft. Once maintenance specialists from the forward area support team repaired some of the captured front-end loaders, the engineers used them as well. Employment of the captured bulldozers, however, was out of the question because their tracks would cause extensive damage to the surface of the taxiway.[54]

Construction of the barricade also provided a secondary benefit, namely, clearing at least a portion of the ramp that was a necessary prerequisite for C–130 operations. Yet Major Cleary and the commander of the 317th Combat Control Team, Air Force Capt. Stephen R. Scott, remained impatient. They realized that motor vehicles could still approach General Trobaugh's headquarters, albeit gingerly and with many turns, whereas C–130s could not use the ramp as long as the barricade was in place. Once the engineers finished, they focused on clearing construction equipment and debris from the ramp. The work, nevertheless, continued very slowly due to equipment shortages and the plethora of other missions.[55]

The effort to supply clean water was also a priority for the engineers. The first of four erdlators capable of purifying freshwater arrived that day. Colonel Izzo also began pumping out the cisterns of the houses around the airfield. At the same time he requested two reverse-osmosis water purification units capable of desalinating seawater. Further exploring the airfield complex, he and his assistant, Maj. Donald M. Tomasik, eventually located a tank in the fuel farm near the airport on which the Cubans had been conducting a percolation test to check for leaks. Upon testing, the water inside proved to be pure.[56]

The erdlators and the percolation tank plus the water that Colonel Izzo had discovered the night before, the 5,000-gallons in 5-gallon containers that the 82d Support Command executive officer, Lt. Col. Ronald F. Kelly, shipped from Green Ramp each day, and the water that General Patterson supplied from Barbados provided all that the troops in the airhead needed. As with the detainees, the problem became distribution. Normally, units would bring their water buffalos to water points in division-rear. Because General Trobaugh had ordered the 3d Brigade's deployment before the 2d Brigade received its vehicles, however, none of the battalions had their buffalos. In their absence, battalion S–4s improvised, refilling 5-gallon cans and any other available receptacle and hauling them forward in captured trucks.[57]

The mid-deployment alterations in the 2d Brigade's task force configuration also had an impact on the engineers' ability to perform their mission. All

[54] Interv, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Lawrence L. Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support During Operation Urgent Fury," p. 26.

[55] Interv, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support," p. 26.

[56] Intervs, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983; McMichael with Tomasik, 18 Nov 1983; author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-22 to 4-23, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[57] Interv, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Interv), CMH; Izzo, "Divisional Engineer Support," p. 26; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-22 to 4-23, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

their own vehicles, as well as their hand tools and gloves, were still at Green Ramp. About the only tools most had with them were pocket knives. Again, the engineers improvised with what they found at the airfield. Even so, because the particular tools they needed were not always immediately available, the simplest tasks were often extremely difficult. For example, in building latrines, Colonel Izzo drew upon his Vietnam experience and ordered his men to cut off the tops of 50-gallon drums. Solid waste could be burned in the cans. Without the proper tools, however, cutting the tops off the drums was a protracted assignment. By comparison, the lack of gloves appeared at first to be only a minor inconvenience, but it soon proved otherwise. With the men having to work with their bare hands in the germ-rich semitropical environment around the airfield, every cut and abrasion quickly became infected. Even without infections, just picking up a metal tool heated by a semitropical sun could cause considerable pain. The work slowed as a consequence.[58]

At first light on 26 October Major Cleary indicated the general area where he wanted to set up the fuel point, leaving the exact location to the discretion of 2d Lt. Eric P. Katz, whose Class III Platoon specialized in aviation fuel operations. Lieutenant Katz and his two noncommissioned officers marked off the amount of space that they would need and then requested engineer assistance through Cleary. Given the other engineer missions, it took some time before a lieutenant and an equipment operator arrived with a bulldozer. They dug in the platoon's two 10,000-gallon bladders, and at the same time built berms that in case of an accident would keep jet fuel from flooding over the runway. A pair of concrete posts left by the construction workers still posed a hazard for helicopters, so Lieutenant Katz requested a forklift to knock them down. Demand was high, and Katz had to wait until almost sunset before an engineer and forklift arrived to demolish the posts. In the interim, the platoon members cut the tall grass in the area to make the ground more suitable for a helicopter landing zone.[59]

The delay in obtaining forklift support did not mean any cessation of labor for Lieutenant Katz and his men. They worked around the clock. The men had to clear their area of all debris that might be sucked into jet engines. They did it by hand. In addition, Katz set up and maintained a full perimeter defense, and the men kept themselves camouflaged and out of sight except when preparing the fuel point for operation.[60]

Excluding the wait for the forklifts, total elapsed time from when the engineers first broke ground to completion was five or six hours. "If we had not practiced the previous two times in September and October," concluded Lieutenant Katz, "it would have taken a long time." Normally, he could not run a test on the system until the arrival of the first Air Force bladder bird. The platoon, following standard procedure, had not brought any fuel with it. However, with the assistance of the G–4 representative at Point Salines, Capt.

[58] Interv, McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[59] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul and 6 Aug 1986, and McMichael with Izzo, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[60] Interv, author with Katz, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

James A. Rosebrock, Katz secured two partially full 500-gallon blivots of jet fuel from Joint Special Operations Command. He could not use the fuel until he had his own equipment set up, because the command had already shipped its pumps back to the United States. The two blivots, however, allowed him to test his fuel system before the bladder bird arrived.[61]

Based on the estimated amount of time needed to establish the aviation fuel point, Major Cleary had submitted a request for a delivery of fuel before leaving Fort Bragg. However, at 0400 on 27 October, when Major Elder's Task Force B arrived from Barbados with fuel tanks on its helicopters approaching empty, the first bladder bird had yet to arrive from Roosevelt Roads Naval Air Station, Puerto Rico, where the Air Force had stationed the tankers on standby alert.[62]

## Point Salines Airhead, 26 October

The men of the arrival-departure airfield control group worked under fire on the morning of 26 October as rounds from the fight at the Cuban compound passed over their heads. Occasionally, they also came under sniper fire, but the snipers did not shoot straight. No member of the arrival-departure team was wounded, but it took a while for the men to affect indifference to the experience.[63]

The Forward Area Support Team II headquarters was, noted Major Cleary, "a gathering point for everybody and anybody" at the Point Salines airfield. As a result, it became an information center for logisticians. Cleary, on his own initiative, attempted to keep the infantry and ranger battalions, as well as the supporting units, informed about what supplies were arriving in the airhead.He assigned an enlisted man to work continuously at the unloading site to monitor what was coming in and to report back to him. By keeping the brigade and battalion S–4s posted, Cleary ensured that they could send someone to pick up what they needed. Many came to his office not only for information about where the classes of supply were located but also for transportation. He had a few vehicles under his control and very shortly found himself running a taxi service.[64]

Some officers, enlisted men, and civilians who arrived in the airhead could be very demanding. On 26 October, for example, Military Airlift Command deployed a team to install and maintain a visual approach slope indicator and portable lights—systems designed to permit safe takeoffs and landings during darkness or inclement weather. The Air Force officer commanding the team announced their arrival to Major Cleary with some abruptness: "We're here.

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[61] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul (quoted words) and 6 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[62] Intervs, Baribeau with Elder, 9 Nov 1983, and with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, plus author with Katz, 6 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Seigle, "Looking Back at Urgent Fury," p. 24.

[63] Kenneth C. Sever, "Units and Missions—The 782d Maintenance Battalion (in Grenada)," p. 5.

[64] Interv, Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 117, 120.

We were told that you'd provide us with vehicles, transportation, food, shelter, everything." Cleary did it, but only with difficulty.[65]

Unlike their counterparts at corps headquarters, General Trobaugh and his staff officers lacked experience in dealing with the pressures an army forces headquarters encountered during a contingency operation. Various offices and agencies lobbied higher headquarters to deploy specialized units whose activities would contribute little or nothing to winning the battle at hand but whose presence might greatly promote the larger purpose of winning the Cold War. On 26 October Trobaugh anticipated further resistance and wanted more infantry and a sufficient logistical base to sustain an offensive. The specialized units interfered with the deployment of the reinforcing infantry battalions. Equally important, those that arrived without any field equipment also cut into the ability of Forward Area Support Team II to support the division. The division staff was extremely unhappy about this and conveyed its displeasure to the arriving units. In one case the division chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., met an aircraft carrying an intelligence task force from the XVIII Airborne Corps' 525th Military Intelligence Group commanded by Maj. Lawrence J. Kimmel. Expecting to find infantry aboard, Colonel Boylan was very disappointed. Major Kimmel had orders directly from the National Command Authority (meaning that either the president or the secretary of defense had signed them) to collect information on the island, and his men were outfitted for field service. Boylan told Kimmel quite bluntly that he would have preferred them back at Fort Bragg.[66]

The reinforcements that Colonel Boylan had so anxiously anticipated were en route. The first C–141, somewhat command heavy, departed Pope Air Force Base at 1010 on 26 October. Aboard were the commander of the 3d Brigade, Col. James T. Scott; the commander of his lead formation, Lt. Col. George A. Crocker of the 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry; the officers and men of their respective primary tactical operations centers; and one rifle company, Company A, 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry. On arrival over the Point Salines airfield their C–141 seemed to circle interminably. Captain Scott's 317th Combat Control Team had closed the runway to load Task Force 160 helicopters, and some sort of difficulty had developed with one of them. The crew chief aboard the C–141 informed Colonels Scott and Crocker of these circumstances and that their aircraft would soon have to divert to Barbados for fuel. Furthermore, he said, the airfield was about to be closed because of an operation—the Grand Anse rescue mission.[67]

As with the 2d Brigade the day before, the 3d Brigade had no capability for in-flight communications. Colonel Scott hobbled up to the cockpit—he had one foot in a cast because of a recent jump injury—and asked the pilot

[65] Interv, Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[66] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983; Frasché with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983; and author with Baker-Kimmel, 18 Jul 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Msg, Metcalf to McDonald, 26 1720Z Oct 1983, ODO SitRpts, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH.

[67] Interv, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; George A. Crocker, "Grenada Remembered—A Perspective," Student Paper, p. 10.

to put him in contact with the Air Force combat control team on the ground. Using the cockpit radio, he identified himself and told the control team that he had to land. The control team commander, Captain Scott, checked with the division assault command post, and shortly thereafter Colonel Scott's plane landed. Then Captain Scott closed the Point Salines airfield for the Grand Anse operation, and the long string of C–141s carrying the rest of the brigade had to divert to Barbados. Because these airfields soon filled up, some of the aircraft had to return to Pope Air Force Base. The result was a very disrupted and confused buildup for the 3d Brigade. By 2400 on 26 October Colonel Scott had only one half of Colonel Crocker's battalion in the airhead. A campaigner, nonetheless, he told General Trobaugh that he would accept a mission for that battalion the next day.[68]

The shipment of Task Force 160 helicopters back to the United States was not the only impediment to the arrival of C–141s at Point Salines on the twenty-sixth. General Patterson suspended air operations during the Grand Anse operation in part because Marine helicopters were landing and taking off next to the runway. Once again, aircraft in the landing pattern circled until they ran low on fuel and then diverted to alternate landing sites, their destinations unknown to anyone at either Fort Bragg or Point Salines.[69]

In the intervals when the airfield was open, moreover, more than just infantry was arriving. During the daylight hours of 26 October Battery B, 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, assembled some six howitzers; Battery C of the same battalion received two additional tubes, giving it a total of five. In the end, the arrival of these pieces overtaxed the available area north of the runway suitable for gun positions. One battery had to move south of the runway and, consequently, actually fired over the runway in the artillery preparation for the Grand Anse operation, a circumstance that contributed to the decision to close the field to aircraft. That night "bits and pieces" of the 1st Battalion, 319th Field Artillery, began to land at Point Salines, joining the elements of the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, already there. The 319th's commander, Lt. Col. Freddy E. McFarren, also arrived at about 0200 on 27 October. What confronted McFarren and his 320th counterpart, Lt. Col. Duane E. Williams, was in Williams' graphic phrase "a potential zoo." Neither officer had all his command-and-control elements. So with the approval of General Trobaugh, Colonels McFarren and Williams rigged a "bastardized artillery task force." They called the ad hoc organization the Force Artillery Command, reporting directly to the division commander rather than to the brigade task force commanders. As the senior officer, Williams took charge. The artillery task force eventually controlled sixteen howitzers.[70]

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[68] Interv, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 27 Oct 1983, 0850, and 28 Oct 1983, 1440, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[69] Interv, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[70] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983] (quoted words), and McMichael with McFarren, 17 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Crocker, "Grenada Remembered," Student Paper, p. 12.



**Artillerymen load and fire their howitzers during URGENT FURY**



Ammunition stocks, although slowly increasing, remained low for any prolonged action. The two batteries involved in the attack on the Cuban compound near Calliste on the morning of 26 October had 128 shells available per howitzer. Of these, 75 were high explosive and the remainder, illumination rounds intended for anticipated nighttime attacks that never occurred. In the Calliste operation the gunners expended 50 high-explosive shells per tube. Logisticians managed to increase the ammunition stockpile to 225 high-explosive rounds per tube by the time of the late-afternoon attack on Grand Anse, during which the gunners fired 100 rounds per tube. By the end of the day supplies had built up to 200 rounds per tube, but the officers in the division fire support element remained concerned about the low level of stocks if serious trouble occurred.[71]

The major problem at the arrival airfield from General Trobaugh's perspective was the slow rate at which the division could mass its resources: both men and materiel. The major cause was the limitation of only one aircraft on the ground at any time. The solution, as the corps and division logisticians saw it during the planning process, was to clear the ramp in front of the terminal so that additional aircraft could park there. In accord with this plan, Colonel Izzo had begun clearing the ramp on the morning of 26 October. Colonel Boylan halted the effort, however, because of the noise involved. The whine generated by idling C–130s reverberated through the shell of the terminal, threatening to drown out the division staff's fragile communications links with the outside world.[72]

Another complication arose because both ranger battalions had bivouacked south of the runway after they went into reserve, while Colonel Scott on orders from General Trobaugh had established his headquarters south of the eastern end of the runway. The units, but especially the brigade headquarters, generated heavy vehicular traffic. Oblivious to the dangers of crossing an active runway, many Army drivers followed the Euclidian rule that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. In response, Air Force combat control team members sped up and down the sides of the runway mounted on three-wheel mopeds attempting, often without success, to deter them. Several C–141s also had to abort their takeoff rolls, and others that were landing had to break off approaches and circle. Luckily, no accidents occurred, but the situation hardly increased interservice amity.[73]

If some airflow problems were self-inflicted, others lay beyond the division's ability to control. When Air Force technicians first set up the visual approach

[71] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983; McMichael with Schieman, 5 Apr 1984; author with Cleary, 15 Jul 1986; and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[72] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983; Frasché with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983; Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983]; McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984; and author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also LL[draft], GWG, sub: Impact of Force Structure on Provision of Combat Service Support to Committed Army Forces, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH; E-mail, Keaney to author, 11 Mar 2005, sub: C–130s and Grenada, Hist files (PDocs/Misc), CMH.

[73] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 120.

slope indicator on 26 October, for example, the equipment failed to work. They then rewired it, but the lights proved too bright, blinding pilots on final approach. General Patterson, nevertheless, decided to risk night operations with C–141s because by dusk the area around the airfield was much clearer of debris than it had been the previous evening. At 1700, as the takeoffs and landings proceeded, an Air Force surveillance aircraft detected an antiaircraft battery east of the airfield. Unaware that these guns had been captured by the rangers on the first day, Patterson immediately halted air operations into Point Salines. Communications between the services was so poor at the time that Major Cleary learned something had happened only when the aircraft stopped arriving. It then took time to discover why the airflow had halted and the personal intervention of General Trobaugh to get it started again. The next plane landed at 0405 on 27 October, after an eleven-hour interval.[74]

On the evening of the twenty-sixth the body of an American killed in action arrived at Major Cleary's headquarters. Alpha Echelon lacked a graves registration specialist. So, in fact, did the entire forward area support team until augmented by corps. Cleary, an infantry officer with a secondary specialization in transportation, and everyone else in Alpha Echelon were hazy about how to handle the remains, but help came from a corps G–4 officer, Capt. Henry R. Fore, who had flown down on the same C–141 with Cleary. Because there appeared to be little call for his services as a liaison officer to the division, Captain Fore had volunteered to help unload aircraft. He also was a quartermaster officer, a branch that included graves registration. While that was not his particular specialization, he was very familiar with the procedures involved and offered to handle the identification and evacuation of deceased personnel.[75]

Major Cleary designated a small shed close to his headquarters as the collection point for all remains that reached the airfield. As required by Army doctrine, the combat units brought their dead to the collection point. There, Captain Fore checked the dog tags and identification cards of the deceased. If a unit had not filled out the appropriate forms, he did so and ensured that they accompanied each body. He then contacted the Air Force combat control team and shipped the remains on the first available aircraft returning to the United States without passengers. He noted the aircraft's tail number and then radioed division-rear to expect the shipment.[76]

This system broke down at least once. Before the 2d Brigade S–1, Captain D'Arbonne, learned about the collection point, he personally brought the remains of an airborne trooper to the airfield and loaded it aboard an aircraft.

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[74] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 27 Oct 1983, 0215 and 0420, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Msg, Metcalf to McDonald, 27 0825Z Oct 1983, sub: URGENT FURY Situation Report, ODO SitRpts, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH; Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[75] Tel Interv, author with Fore, 3 Sep 1986, Hist files (Interv), CMH; "Graves Detail Has Grim Task," *Fayetteville Observer*, 24 Nov 1983.

[76] Tel Interv, author with Fore, 3 Sep 1986, Hist files (Interv), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 4-5 to 4-6, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; AR 638–30, Deceased Personnel: Graves Registration Organization and Functions in Support of Major Military Operations, 1980.

Because D'Arbonne had provided the proper paperwork, the body entered the normal mortuary channels for burial when it reached Fort Bragg. The event nevertheless underscored the coordination problems that a lack of logistics planning could produce.[77]

On 26 October sleep began to be a problem for the thirty-five members of Forward Area Support Team II's Alpha Echelon, most of whom had had their last real rest forty-eight hours before. As long as they were on their feet and moving, the men were all right, but once a trooper stopped and sat down he would pass out from exhaustion. The two forklift operators worked without relief for the first seventy-two hours in the airhead. Worried about accidents, Major Cleary tried to give other members of the unloading detail brief rest periods, but he was so short of men that he could never find anyone to relieve the sergeant at the ammunition point. Eventually, the sergeant became so fatigued that Cleary told him to take a break. After first showing the operator of the 6,000-pound rough-terrain forklift where to position the pallets of ammunition, the sergeant curled up and went to sleep beside a stack of ammunition. Cleary was in exactly the same situation himself. The bare bones manning of forward area support teams did not provide for an executive officer, and Cleary's Alpha Echelon was even smaller. Somehow, he stayed awake. Later, he could not remember exactly when he finally got an opportunity to sleep, simply indicating "Thursday or Friday" (27 or 28 October). When additional logisticians finally arrived, Alpha Echelon members were completely burned out.[78]

## Division G–4 Oversight, 26–27 October

The division G–4, Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree II, and selected members of his section arrived in the airhead around 2300 on 26 October. After reporting to the division assault command post, Colonel Crabtree set out to tour the airfield. When not engaged with the latest crisis, the division-forward G–4 representative, Captain Rosebrock, had spent considerable time before Crabtree arrived just trying to find out where things were located. Making his reconnaissances on foot because he had no vehicle, he had collected the necessary information but had yet to prepare a map showing the location of the various classes of supply and other logistical facilities. Crabtree, stepping in, had one prepared for distribution to battalion and brigade staffs. He did not stand on ceremony or wait for instructions. He saw quite clearly that the division needed to improve its logistical efforts and detailed the men he had brought to the island to Major Cleary, who continued to oversee Army logistical operations in the airhead. Crabtree also assigned one of his officers, Capt. Carl Johnson, to take charge of unloading aircraft and designated a food service specialist to run the heretofore unmanned rations supply point. Turning to the ammunition supply point, he sent two sergeants to assist the one already there.[79]

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[77] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 4-5 to 4-6, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[78] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14 (quoted words) and 15 Jul 1986, and Wade with Cleary, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[79] Interv, author with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Acting as a logistics troubleshooter, Colonel Crabtree then concentrated on solving major problems that required individual attention. As a result, dawn of 27 October found him on Barbados, searching stocks there for medical supplies that were running short in the Point Salines airhead. Although he found none, the brief trip to Grantley Adams illustrated the informal and very direct way he dealt with logistical concerns over the next few days.[80]

The arrival of Colonel Crabtree's section provided little physical relief for Forward Area Support Team II's Alpha Echelon. Crabtree did not have enough men with him to allow Major Cleary to establish real shifts so that the logisticians could sleep. The new arrivals did, however, inject some additional strength and enthusiasm into Alpha Echelon's efforts, the sort of psychological reinforcement the members of the group needed if they were to hang on until real relief arrived. As the next day began, neither Crabtree nor Cleary knew when that would happen.[81]

By midnight on 26 October the military situation on Grenada had greatly improved, but General Trobaugh's plan for a rapid breakout from the airhead on the twenty-seventh had fallen apart because of the disruption of the airflow into Point Salines. Trobaugh had two complete maneuver battalions from the 2d Brigade but only half a battalion from the 3d, the equivalent of a reinforced company. He could break out of the airhead but without the strength he had anticipated.

In general, airflow problems at Point Salines reflected the absence of XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command and the lack of good communications between the airhead and Fort Bragg. Nevertheless, three decisions by General Trobaugh and his staff greatly complicated matters on the twenty-sixth. First, Trobaugh's decision to airland rather than airdrop meant that many more aircraft would have to land before the division completed its movement to Grenada. Second, Colonel Boylan's order not to clear the ramp in front of the terminal limited the total number of aircraft the Air Force would permit on the ground at Point Salines. Third, Trobaugh's determination to insert the 3d Brigade into the airflow before the 2d Brigade had completed its deployment meant that Forward Area Support Team II remained skeletal.

General Trobaugh clearly understood that his decision to airland rather than to airdrop would have implications for logistics, but he made the judgment that operational considerations should take precedence. The other decisions—not clearing the ramp in front of the terminal and giving the 3d Brigade precedence over the 2d—were not nearly as well-thought through. Instead of increasing the operational tempo, they thwarted URGENT FURY's immediate objective: the rapid buildup of U.S. combat power in the airhead. In part, this reflects the failure to produce and to brief fully a logistical plan before the operation began, but in part it also illustrates the low valuation the command

[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.; Interv, Wade with Cleary, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

group placed on its G–4 staff. Indeed, the division-forward G–4 representative, Captain Rosebrock, was so junior in rank that Trobaugh or Boylan appear never even to have consulted him in any meaningful way. Colonel Crabtree's arrival late on the twenty-sixth brought a logistical officer of stature and experience to the scene and produced a chance for change, but the opportunity never developed. Crabtree assumed the role of logistics troubleshooter, a job that meant he was out of the headquarters more often than not when decisions were under discussion.

Despite these problems, logistical operations continued. The division was fortunate that Major Cleary and his men were still able to unload aircraft, for by midnight on the twenty-sixth Cleary had gone more than sixty hours without sleep. The major, for his part, was too focused on his own tasks to realize that lack of coordination with the Air Force combat control team posed real difficulties for his operations. He dealt with problems on a case-by-case basis and was too tired to pay any attention to the bigger picture. In essence, he and the division had stumbled into a real gap in joint doctrine—the need for a forward area support team headquarters and a combat control team either to locate their headquarters side-by-side or, if not practical, to establish a dedicated communications link for coordination. Instead, he and his Air Force counterpart operated in virtually separate spheres with little communication between them. The closure of the airfield on the night of 26–27 October might well have happened even if Cleary and the combat control team commander, Captain Scott, had functioned as one, but Trobaugh could certainly have gotten the airflow started again much sooner if they had.

# 9

# Corps Support

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While the commander of the XVIII Airborne Corps, Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull, was not in the formal chain of command, he remained officially (as well as unofficially) involved because of his role "as executive agent for administrative and logistical support for U.S. Army forces employed in Operation Urgent Fury." General Mackmull was the single point of contact for U.S. Atlantic Command to request Army support and coordinated the response. To do so efficiently, XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters needed to be able to monitor the flow of information being sent to and originating from Atlantic Command. Only in this way could Mackmull's staff follow the operation and thereby anticipate and act upon the administrative and logistical requirements of Army forces on Grenada. Atlantic Command, however, did not automatically include the corps headquarters as a recipient of information copies of its message traffic. Mackmull had to appeal personally to the commander of Atlantic Command, Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, to gain access to this information for the corps. The corps' logistical sustainment of Army units during the intervention thus paralleled and complemented the efforts of the 82d Airborne Division-Rear.[1]

## Managing the Airflow

XVIII Airborne Corps had activated its emergency operations center around 2200 on 23 October, some thirty-two hours before the first landings on Grenada. As General Mackmull recalled, "I had intelligence people and operations people on every radio keeping logs so that we could get ahead of the power curve." The headquarters was thus able to monitor the in-theater communications of the task force commanders during the initial deployment phase. This enabled corps personnel to alert units, put them into marshaling areas, seal them off, and outfit them even before the 82d Airborne Division commander, Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh, officially called for them. They

[1] Jnl, G–3, XVIII Abn Corps, 23 2200 Oct 1983, Corps EOC Duty Off, EOC Recs, Opn UF, Entry 228, UD–06W, RG 338, NARA–CP; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. C, pp. I-C-6 (quoted words) and I-C-10, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

could forecast the division's needs so well because, in addition to having excellent communications, Mackmull was very experienced. "I am so familiar with these exercises and these kinds of operations, because I've done them for seven straight years right here at Fort Bragg. I can tell you what is going to happen next."[2]

At Mackmull's direction, the XVIII Airborne Corps' 35th Signal Brigade established a "tactical field secure telephone system" on post. This network allowed members of the general's staff to talk directly to their division-rear counterparts—the corps G–1 to the division G–1, the corps G–2 to the division G–2, and so forth. Mackmull and his staff could also talk in secure mode to the airfield at Point Salines and the Directorate of Industrial Operations at Fort Bragg. This was a vast improvement over the peacetime norm, when they had only one secure telephone in the entire headquarters.[3]

General Mackmull could only use this communications equipment to anticipate and suggest what units should deploy to Grenada and when and in what order they should go. He could not direct. On only two occasions did he step beyond this boundary. When the Joint Chiefs of Staff early in the operation ordered Mackmull to deploy a Spanish-speaking interrogation team to the island, he dutifully sent one to Green Ramp. Coincidentally, the arrival of such a team requested around the same time by General Trobaugh appeared to division-rear as merely an exceptionally quick reaction by the corps. The second occurrence concerned the intermediate staging base on Barbados. Fully aware that he had no authority there, Mackmull nevertheless decided not only to dispatch a colonel and a small command element but also to announce the move after the fact to see if anyone higher up objected. Shortly thereafter, on 31 October, the 507th Transportation Group commander, Col. James D. Starling, and a few staff officers departed for Barbados. Everyone welcomed the order and system the colonel brought to the Army side of Barbados operations. Colonel Starling and his team became known as 1st Support Command-Forward II. Starling remained with his authority intact until the Army discontinued its activities on the island in November.[4]

XVIII Airborne Corps was not the only Army headquarters in the continental United States to enjoy the advantages of modern communications and the ability to monitor message traffic during URGENT FURY. U.S. Army Forces Command and the Department of the Army did likewise. The staffs at these headquarters required XVIII Airborne Corps to respond to queries about the tactical situation and other developments generated by the "great

[2] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. C, pp. I-C-7, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Interv (quoted words), Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[3] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[4] Ibid.; Interv, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983; McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984; and Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Msgs, Cdr, XVIII Abn Corps (Maj Nielson) to ARREDOP S1 (Capt Otto), 26 1022[Z] Oct 1983, sub: IPW Teams, and Richardson to Cavazos, 31 1483[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Update of 1st COSCOM Support to URGENT FURY, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

number of conversations overheard by higher headquarters." Because XVIII Airborne Corps was not in the chain of command, its initial ability to answer these queries was no greater than that of the officers posing them. Still, General Mackmull wanted the questions handled in-house. He saw that the corps could serve as a giant "blocking dummy" for the division, absorbing all distractions. This would allow General Trobaugh to concentrate on the ground battle and the division-rear commander, Brig. Gen. James D. Smith, to focus on his support mission at Fort Bragg. As a consequence, Mackmull permitted, besides himself, only his corps G–3, Col. James H. Johnson Jr., to contact the division-forward staff on Grenada. Mackmull and Johnson talked with Trobaugh and his staff to find out what was going on, what they needed most, and what their informal reaction was to various proposals. To handle queries from higher headquarters, Mackmull expanded the role of his headquarters so that it could monitor unobtrusively the actions of the division. On 26 October, for example, Johnson directed the corps G–4, Col. Corless W. Mitchell, to station an officer at Green Ramp to keep a record of airflow data.[5]



**Colonel Johnson**

Relations between corps and division at the highest level was one thing, but relations between the two organizations at the action officer level was something altogether different. Because the corps was not in the chain of command, it could not maintain its customary relationship with the 82d. Instead, the staffs and subordinate units of each had to work out a new basis of dealing with one another while reacting to events in a high-pressure operation requiring almost instantaneous responses. Despite underlying friction, the newly improvised arrangements worked rather well.

The nadir of the new arrangements undoubtedly came when one element of the 35th Signal Brigade deployed from Green Ramp prematurely and out of turn. The incident provoked hard feelings within the division. It also reflected disquiet within the corps. Some officers at corps level did not understand why General Mackmull had taken the 330th Transportation Center out of Green

[5] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. C, pp. I-C-1 and I-C-7 (first quoted words), Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Interv (second quoted words), Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Ramp or why XVIII Airborne Corps had failed to establish unit movement priorities; lacking knowledge of actual events, they ascribed the general's actions to lack of confidence in their professional abilities. Other officers, who knew the circumstances and understood the reasons for Mackmull's decision, were no less critical of the way in which the division managed the airflow and faulted not the individuals involved but the system in which they were attempting to work.[6]

Within this group one of the most frustrated officers was the commander of the 1st Support Command, Col. William J. Richardson Jr., an even older hand at airborne operations than General Mackmull. Experience gave him a good idea of the sequence in which support units needed to be introduced into the area of operations. The bottleneck at Green Ramp, or more precisely, the difficulty of flying C–141s with men, equipment, and supplies directly from Pope Air Force Base to the Point Salines airfield, thwarted him just as it did everyone else.[7]

While division-rear had established progressively tighter control of the movement of cargoes out of Green Ramp, Colonel Richardson noted that division staff officers had paid little attention to what entered Grenada through Barbados. Until this juncture, because of congestion at the Point Salines airfield, transshipments through Grantley Adams International Airport on Barbados consisted of the various task forces of the 82d Aviation Battalion and cargoes of diverted C–141s. Thereafter, C–130s at Grantley Adams flew men, equipment, and supplies from Barbados to Grenada. Richardson had already succeeded in getting the 1st Support Command advance party under Col. Robert C. Barrett Jr. to the airhead by flying first to Barbados and then to Grenada on a C–130.

Colonel Richardson began shipping combat service support units from the 1st Support Command to Barbados via the corps departure area at Pope Air Force Base known as Yellow Ramp. They could then deploy to Grenada aboard C–130s on a space-available basis. If the division discovered that it needed one of the corps units, it would be located close at hand and ready for immediate movement to Grenada. Richardson used this method of introducing support units, supplies, and equipment into the island as long as the direct airflow from Pope Air Force Base to Grenada remained congested. Because of the confusion, division-forward and division-rear never discovered what he was doing.

At the same time, the flow of units from Barbados was not as completely outside divisional control as Colonel Richardson had thought, largely due to the efforts of the Army liaison officer attached to Brig. Gen. Robert B. Patterson's airlift headquarters, Maj. Richard C. Anshus. Once Army units and supplies began building up on Barbados, Major Anshus flew daily to Point Salines with a list of what was waiting for transshipment to Grenada.

[6] For the prickly nature of relations between division and corps, see Intervs, Bishop with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and Wade with Zakszeski, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[7] For this and the following two paragraphs, see Intervs, Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Patterson listens intently to Lewis and an unidentified naval officer.**

Based on guidance from General Trobaugh's staff, the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III, recorded the assigned priority. Cargoes shipped through Barbados thus passed to divisional control fairly quickly. Richardson and any other officer who depended upon monitored message traffic for knowledge of actions in the area of operations remained ignorant of these arrangements because, given the poor communications between Army elements on Grenada and Barbados, Cleary and Anshus conducted all of their business face to face.[8]

Although the confusion and animosity brought on by the shift in command arrangements threatened to spark incidents serious enough to impede Army command and control, the friction never reached such levels. This speaks to the professional competence and attitude of all the officers involved and especially to the example of professional conduct set by General Mackmull, General Smith, and Brig. Gen. Jack D. Farris Jr. As deputy corps commander, General Farris was often the person who conveyed Mackmull's "suggestions" about the airflow to Smith and the division staff. While Farris was often forceful in arguing the corps' point of view, he never forgot that the commander on the ground, General Trobaugh, "called the shots" and that Smith spoke for

[8] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

him. Smith on the other hand looked to corps for assistance and advice, but he always remembered that Trobaugh set the priorities. While Smith could be and was very tough about defending the division commander's prerogatives, he did so in a manner that did no damage to relations with corps. Ultimately, it was Mackmull, the corps commander, who exerted the greatest influence by his conduct. In October 1983 he was a very experienced officer approaching the end of a distinguished career when Fate offered him the opportunity to which all professional soldiers aspire—high command in war. And then Fate just as capriciously relegated him to an observer status. He wasted no time in recriminations but did everything in his power—and sometimes, strictly speaking, beyond his power—to assist Trobaugh in making the operation a success. He also insisted that his officers do the same, and the vast majority did.[9]

## Augmenting the Division

XVIII Airborne Corps did many things that contributed to the success of Army operations on Grenada. One of the most important was the preparation of an augmentation package to give the division-forward staff sufficient manpower to function as the U.S. Forces, Grenada, headquarters once combat ended. General Mackmull and Colonel Richardson took care that the package was sufficiently robust to assume the mission once General Trobaugh and his headquarters returned to the United States. While Atlantic Command did not have such a mission in mind for XVIII Airborne Corps, Mackmull believed that the course of events would create it. On 24 October he accordingly alerted his own headquarters to prepare to deploy to Grenada. He also directed Richardson to begin planning for combat service support units to accompany the headquarters when it did so. To obtain the necessary communications support, Mackmull had to order signal units already at Fort Stewart in support of Joint Exercise Quick Thrust to return to Fort Bragg. Otherwise, the corps elements went through the same routine as other units preparing for deployment.[10]

Two days later General Richard E. Cavazos, in his role as commander of U.S. Army, Atlantic, validated the wisdom of General Mackmull's decision. He directed Mackmull to prepare a plan to augment General Trobaugh's headquarters by using XVIII Airborne Corps staff members to establish Combined Forces, Grenada, headquarters referred to in the Atlantic Command operations order. Combined Forces, Grenada, whose American members would function simultaneously as U.S. Forces, Grenada, headquarters, would "accomplish the Grenada mission after hostilities cease[d]" and would include all necessary combat service support units. While the combined headquarters

[9] Almost everyone who served in division-rear offered comments about one or more of these three officers and their impact on Urgent Fury. In particular, see Intervs, Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983; Burdett with J. Smith, [Nov 1983]; author with J. Smith, 4 Sep 1986 (quoted words), with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986; Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983; and Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[10] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

would control and, when necessary, support the armed forces of the eastern Caribbean nations participating in Urgent Fury, the U.S. headquarters would control American forces only.[11]

General Cavazos envisioned three phases. Phase I would involve the deployment of additional support units to conduct peacekeeping operations. Phase II would consist of the withdrawal of some combat formations of the 82d Airborne Division, the retention of support elements introduced during Phase I and the arrival of a command-and-control "element" from XVIII Airborne Corps. Phase III, if necessary, would occur after all units from the 82d Airborne Division and XVIII Airborne Corps had withdrawn and would consist of a peacekeeping force "tailored specifically for the mission." Good fortune had nothing to do with the fact that Generals Cavazos and Mackmull were in such close agreement, for they were merely following the often exercised Concept Plan 2360 for small island operations in the Caribbean. Diplomatic considerations precluded the establishment of the combined headquarters, but most of the mission and all logistical responsibilities fell to the U.S. Forces headquarters.[12]



**General Cavazos**

Events the next day, 27 October, confirmed the wisdom of General Cavazos' and General Mackmull's preparations. The Joint Task Force (JTF) 120 commander, V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III, pointed out to Admiral McDonald that the administrative and logistical burden on the tactical commander would increase drastically as Urgent Fury proceeded. In a separate message to Mackmull, he asked that XVIII Airborne Corps prepare to establish the Combined Forces, Grenada, headquarters contemplated in Atlantic Command's operations order. Because Mackmull was out of the chain of command, he lacked the necessary authority to act and so informed Metcalf. The corps commander knew, however, that he would receive such a directive from Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger just as soon as the admiral submitted his request through proper channels. Further information about the composition of such a headquarters and supporting units came that day. The

[11] Original message to XVIII Airborne Corps may have been oral, summarized in Msg, USCINCARLANT to USCINCLANT (Attn: LNO Singer), 27 1851[Z] Oct 1983, WIN Telecon Msgs, (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[12] Ibid.

Forces Command liaison officer at Atlantic Command, Maj. James C. Singer, warned that Admiral McDonald wanted to re-embark the Marines and send them to Lebanon as quickly as possible. "We need to plan," said Major Singer, "how we will replace the support" provided by Joint Task Force 120.[13]

Originally General Mackmull had thought that the entire corps, including the 101st Airborne Division, might have to go to Grenada, but toward the end of the first day he perceived that fighting was diminishing and concluded that it would not need to deploy. In addition, the Joint Chiefs of Staff indicated to Admiral McDonald that more headquarters on the island were undesirable. They were concerned that the American public might misinterpret the establishment of a separate Combined Forces, Grenada, headquarters to mean that the United States intended to create a long-term occupation force. In a conference call sometime after Major Singer's message of 27 October, McDonald, Cavazos, and Mackmull thus agreed that the Grenada occupation would not be a corps operation. A lower-ranking general would suffice to take the headquarters element to the island and would replace General Trobaugh upon his departure. Mackmull turned to his deputy, General Farris, and said, "Well, alright Jack, you can go." Mackmull gave Farris a blank check as far as the structuring of the headquarters was concerned but stipulated: "Keep it reasonable."[14]

Planners attempted to scale back the original XVIII Airborne Corps combat service support package, but it nonetheless came under criticism because it seemed too large for the mission assigned to it. In part, the excess reflected the original planning assumption that the package would have to support the entire corps, but it also derived from a paucity of good information about facilities and conditions on the island and uncertainty about the nature of future Army operations there. For a time, indeed, a sustained counterinsurgency campaign appeared a genuine possibility.[15]

Complicating matters further, officers in XVIII Airborne Corps, like their counterparts in the 82d Airborne Division, saw participation in the Grenada operation as a means of enhancing their prospects for promotion. This reinforced a tendency to dispatch more troops than needed, especially headquarters larger than the situation required. General Mackmull and his principal

[13] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, CJTF 120 to USCINCLANT, 27 0927Z Oct 1983, sub: Cuban Citizens on Grenada, ODO Significant Events file, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH, in which Metcalf also emphasized the problem. See also Msg (quoted words), USCINCARLANT LNO (Maj Singer) to USCINCARLANT, 27 1253[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Upcoming Events, WIN Telecon Msgs, (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[14] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and author with Farris, 14 Apr 1989 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, Mackmull to McDonald (Attn: Maj Singer), 27 2028[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Combined Forces Grenada HQ, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[15] Briefing, Barrett, 9 Sep 1986, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH; Msgs, Cavazos to Mackmull, 28 1306[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Combined Forces Grenada HQ, and 28 1549[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Deployment of HQ Augmentation Support Package, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

subordinates were fully aware of all the temptations to which professionals were subject and tried hard to tie force structure decisions closely to the mission requirements. The 20th Engineer Brigade, for example, planned to send a reinforced engineer company, Company C, 548th Engineer Battalion, to the island. The unit's commander, Capt. Roderick A. Chisholm, learned that brigade planners intended to send a large engineer headquarters element as well but considered this organization excessive because only a single company was involved. He went to the corps engineer and brigade commander, Col. Daniel R. Schroeder, to protest. Colonel Schroeder heard him out and then observed, with the wit that made him popular with junior officers, that it sounded like "an overreaction force" to him. When the assistant corps engineer, Lt. Col. Andrew M. Perkins Jr., flew to the island on 29 October, Schroeder ensured that he took only modest-sized engineer section with him.[16]

The dispatch of an engineer task force of appropriate size did little to save corps engineers from after-the-fact criticism. It was not so much the number of men involved that gave rise to this sniping as the amount of equipment that they brought. As Captain Chisholm and his men prepared to depart by C–141, the airflow to Grenada was still materially restricted by the low ramp capacity at the Point Salines airfield. To solve this problem, Generals Mackmull and Farris planned to build an entirely new ramp at the east end of the runway. The prospect of this major construction project caused the 548th Engineer Battalion to ship by sea Company C's heavy earth-movers, whose weight and bulk prohibited air movement. By the time the cargo reached St. George's, division and corps logisticians working with Air Force ground personnel had greatly improved airfield operations. At the same time, the failure of an insurgency to develop meant that the number of aircraft landing at the airfield was much less than earlier anticipated and that neither the new ramp nor Company C's equipment was needed. The company returned its equipment to Fort Bragg without even unloading it.[17]

The episode illustrated the difficulties that the logistical support planners at Fort Bragg confronted while grappling with partial information and changing requirements. If Colonel Schroeder had been able to send a liaison officer to Grenada early in the operation as Colonel Richardson did, he might have learned sooner about the availability of engineer equipment on the island. Unlike Richardson, however, Schroeder did not control a ramp at Pope Air Force Base and had no way to slip a party into the airhead. Even with an engineer liaison officer on the ground, he could hardly have anticipated such a dramatic improvement in airfield operations. The best that he and his staff officers could do was take a rational, dispassionate approach to each problem as it developed and hope for the best. Their responses were carefully calculated, but the end result sometimes left them dissatisfied. Such was the nature of quick-reaction contingency operations.

[16] Intervs, author with Ruehe, 26 Jul 1986 (quoted words), with Chisholm, 15 Jul 1986, and with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[17] Intervs, author with Chisholm, 15 Jul 1986, and with Schroeder, 2 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

At 1046 on 28 October General Cavazos confirmed that Atlantic Command planned to designate General Trobaugh as commander of Combined Forces, Grenada, as soon as Urgent Fury was officially terminated, at which point the Marines would resume their journey to Lebanon. XVIII Airborne Corps would provide Trobaugh's headquarters with additional support "in the functional areas of administration, logistics, and communications" and would send General Farris to serve as Trobaugh's deputy. In a subsequent message the same day, Cavazos warned General Mackmull that he would have to deploy this augmentation package no later than 0001 on 31 October so that Trobaugh could provide the necessary support for the forces under his command. That evening the corps received the movement order signed by Secretary of Defense Weinberger that Cavazos had anticipated.[18]

Initially, the members of the corps reinforcement element attempted to use the same marshaling area the 82d was using, but this caused some confusion. XVIII Airborne Corps then reverted to its own readiness standing operating procedures, which called for corps units to assemble at Fort Bragg in a field at the corner of Armistead and Letterman Streets. General Farris and the advance elements of his headquarters departed Pope Air Force Base on 29 October. By the thirty-first the headquarters portion of the augmentation package had arrived on Grenada. Corps units followed as fast as the airflow allowed and the need for their services on the island demanded. Captain Chisholm's engineer task force, as a result, did not leave Pope Air Force Base until 5 November.[19]

## Augmenting Army Communications

General Trobaugh had landed on Grenada with the bare minimum of communications equipment required to direct Army operations on the island. Consequently, one of XVIII Airborne Corps' foremost efforts during Urgent Fury and the subsequent peacekeeping phase was to enhance the ability of General Trobaugh and later General Farris and their staffs to communicate with the headquarters of other services and with Army logistical support elements in the United States. XVIII Airborne Corps had performed exactly the same function in exercises of Concept Plan 2360, but for Urgent Fury General Mackmull was not in the chain of command and could not order communications equipment into the area of operations.[20]

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[18] Msgs, Cavazos to Mackmull, 28 1446[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Command of Combined Forces Grenada; 28 1549[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Deployment of HQ Augmentation Support Package (quoted words); and 28 2328[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Deployment Order Augmentation Package Urgent Fury. All in WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH. See also AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], pp. 4–5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[19] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], p. 5, and sec. I, an. A, pp. I-A-1 and I-A-5, an. B, p. I-B-1, an. C, p. I-C-1, an. E, p. I-E-1, and sec. II, an. C, p. II-C-4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Interv, Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[20] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], pp. 5, 7–9, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

## Corps Support

The 82d Airborne Division's standard light-communications package to support its assault command post consisted entirely of voice radios rather than the more bulky equipment needed to send and receive secure teletype or facsimile messages. This was standard practice, successfully used in innumerable exercises. In those exercises, however, XVIII Airborne Corps had always been present to provide hard-copy capabilities. The corps' absence during Urgent Fury produced a real communications void, because the Navy and the Air Force relied much more heavily on teletype and facsimile messages than did the Army. The division had planned to bring its own hard-copy equipment to the airhead on 26 October, but the constricted nature of the airflow and General Trobaugh's decision to bring in more infantry battalions preempted it. The same day the Joint Communications Support Element from MacDill Air Force Base deployed a joint airborne command-and-control package configured for ground operations, but the equipment failed to function with any degree of reliability once at Point Salines. Eventually, General Trobaugh succeeded in borrowing facsimile equipment. On 26 October he began to send handwritten messages to Fort Bragg over the single channel tactical satellite net. As soon as the messages arrived, corps emergency operations center personnel typed them into proper format and retransmitted them to the addressees.[21]

Corps teletype messages addressed to Task Force 121 at Point Salines went by courier utilizing C–141s from Green Ramp. At the outset of Urgent Fury all national-level intelligence went to General Trobaugh via this manner. However, lack of a system at Green Ramp for identifying and establishing priorities for critical couriers meant that in many cases division-rear either cut couriers or shifted them further back in the airflow. In much the same way, couriers from Fort Bragg maintained contact between Joint Task Force 120, only twelve kilometers offshore, and Task Force 121. Satellite access was so difficult that direct voice radio communications was virtually nonexistent. Admiral Metcalf remained unaware for a time that General Trobaugh had only voice radios. As a result, many early hard-copy messages went from Joint Task Force 120 to Atlantic Command, then to Fort Bragg, and finally (by courier) to Task Force 121 at Point Salines. Later, Metcalf sent couriers directly to Trobaugh.[22]

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[21] Ibid., plus sec. 1, an. B, p. I-B-12, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 3-15 to 3-16, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. See also Interv, Parker with Hull, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, [DCSOPS, DA], 1985, sub: Lessons Learned Grenada: U.S. Army Lessons Learned from Operation Urgent Fury, p. IV-e-6, Hist files (PDocs/DA/DCSOPS), CMH; Msg, 82d Abn Div LNO (Maj Watson) to Mackmull, Smith, and Richardson, 28 0210[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Teletype Capability to the 82d Abn Div, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; MFR, Gibson, 5 Mar 1984, sub: Grenada Lessons Learned 28 Feb 1984 Visit to Fort Bragg, N.C., and Notes, [unsigned], sub: Corps Communications-Electronics, 28 Feb 1984, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

[22] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. 1, an. B, pp. I-B-9 and I-B-12, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; ibid., 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 3-15 to 3-16, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Airflow problems severely restricted the size of the communications support that XVIII Airborne Corps could provide. The initial planning guidance to the 35th Signal Brigade commander, Col. John D. Wakelin, was to prepare to support XVIII Airborne Corps-Forward, the 1st Support Command-Forward (soon to be redesignated as Forward I), the two airfields, and the American embassy to be established after the completion of combat operations. Using this guidance, on 25 October the brigade prepared to send thirty-seven C–141s to Grenada, fully loaded with men and equipment. The next day division-rear provided new guidance, and brigade planners did the detailed and time-consuming work to reconfigure the package to fit into seventeen aircraft. On 27 October the planners learned they had only seven aircraft. The following day the number fell to five: The brigade was to send a signal element designed to support only corps-forward. At the same time the brigade received so little information about conditions on Grenada that it was impossible to adequately plan or control communications support. As a consequence, Colonel Wakelin planned for a large communications package leaving all ancillary equipment and supplies at Fort Bragg. Not until the U.S. Forces, Grenada, signal officer, Maj. William H. Bell II, arrived with General Farris on 29 October did the brigade planners begin to receive the breadth and depth of information they needed.[23]

Like the other participants in the operation, members of the 35th Signal Brigade were very frustrated by the glacial movement of their chalks through Green Ramp. The low point came when someone in authority bumped them in favor of an aircraft load of Astroturf for the U.S. Forces, Grenada, headquarters at the Grenada Beach Hotel. The first plane carrying elements of the 35th Signal Brigade, built around Capt. Martin E. Mendoza's Company B, 50th Signal Battalion, landed at Point Salines on 29 October, the same day as Major Bell; the fifth, on the thirty-first. Using their standard equipment and AN/TSC–85A and –93A multichannel tactical satellite radios provided by the Joint Communications Support Element, Mendoza's men supplied General Trobaugh with limited but reliable hard-copy capability as early as 30 October and much more sophisticated multichannel communications by 1 November. In addition, a tactical automatic switching system became operational that same day and linked the U.S. Forces, Grenada, commander; the two brigades at Point Salines; and Fort Bragg. Although inadequate during the opening days of URGENT FURY, external communications had improved considerably as combat ended.[24]

XVIII Airborne Corps provided crucial support to the division in a number of other communications areas. At the beginning of URGENT FURY the

[23] Interv, Parker with Mendoza, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. D, p. II-D-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[24] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. D, pp. II-D-1 and II-D-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Rpt, [DCSOPS, DA], 1985, sub: Lessons Learned Grenada . . . , p. IV-e-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/DCSOPS), CMH; Interv, Parker with Bell, 24 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

division headquarters at Fort Bragg had only one secure telephone line. The 35th Signal Brigade almost immediately installed a secure multichannel radio system between corps and division headquarters. The installation communications-electronics office also made arrangements with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company for a special secure line from Fort Bragg to Atlantic Command. The normal lead time for establishing such a leased circuit was ninety days. The installation communications office, however, fortuitously discovered a four-wire secure circuit that had been recently disconnected but was not yet removed. As a result, the telephone company made the connection in eight days. As more of its units deployed, XVIII Airborne Corps discovered that AN/URC–101 radios needed for satellite communications were not available on post or in Army supply channels. The corps thus purchased the sets directly from the manufacturer.[25]

Finally, realizing the equipment from the Joint Communications Support Element was unlikely to remain available to XVIII Airborne Corps for as long as needed, General Mackmull began early to search for replacement hardware. On 24 October personnel of the Corps Automation Management Office flew to the headquarters of the National Security Agency to investigate the interface between the Compass computer, an early portable desktop machine manufactured by the Grid Systems Corporation of Mountain View, California, and the AN/URC–101 tactical satellite terminal, a crucial element in the transmission of hardcopy data using satellites. Anticipating Mackmull's authorization to procure Compass computers by one day (the computers and their software cost over $10,000 apiece), the Corps Automation Management Office on the twenty-sixth ordered parts to construct AN/URC–101 interface boxes. At first, failure to receive all parts with the initial order, faulty construction of computer cables, and serious problems in meshing the interface box with cryptographic equipment attached to the radio, delayed the deployment of the Compasses to Grenada. With the assistance of communications specialists from XVIII Airborne Corps, Joint Special Operations Command, and the National Security Agency, however, the automation office overcame all difficulties. By 20 November, less than a month after the office began investigating the Compass, the computers were online on Grenada, well before it became necessary to replace the equipment provided by the Joint Communications Support Element.[26]

## Airflow Requirements Shift

The division staff on Grenada had little knowledge of the airflow problems, reacting only to the resulting confusion. Necessary supplies and reinforcements, intermingled with low-priority equipment and units, arrived at

[25] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. D, p. II-D-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[26] Ibid., sec. I, an. M, pp. I-M-1 to I-M-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Richard A. Shafer, "Riding the Success of Hot Product, Osborne Computer Is Going Public," *Wall Street Journal*, 19 Jan 1983.

Point Salines very slowly and on an apparently random basis. At first, General Trobaugh gave his undivided attention to the tactical direction of Army forces on the island. About the fourth day of the operation, however, the condition of Cuban and Grenadian detainees in the Point Salines airhead reached crisis proportions. Since 25 October, their numbers and the number of civilians displaced by the fighting had grown rapidly. Pre-operation planning had never considered the question of how to house and sustain detainees and refugees. The omission reflected the compressed time for planning, the limited participation by logisticians, and the optimistic assumption by Atlantic Command that U.S. forces would meet only token resistance.[27]

Army doctrine assigned responsibility for detainees to the corps. Organizationally, the military police needed to control them and the intelligence personnel required to interrogate them belonged to corps, as did much of the materiel to construct a prisoner of war compound. None of these resources were in the airflow on 25 October, however, and the corps itself had no role to play at that point in the operation. When General Trobaugh stepped off his aircraft at Point Salines, he discovered that he and his division had assumed that role by default and were responsible for over 500 Cuban and Grenadian detainees and several hundred refugees. By late on 27 October these groups had grown to 1,100 and 1,300 respectively.[28]

Given the administration's desire to avoid major complications with either Cuba or the Soviet Union over Grenada, the Department of State was particularly sensitive about the Cuban detainees and pushed for their early repatriation. In contrast, the Department of Defense wanted to extract as much military information from them as possible before sending them home. In this context of interdepartmental disagreement, the State Department on 27 October arranged for the International Committee of the Red Cross to oversee the detainees' return. In the process of preparing for the Red Cross representatives' arrival, local State Department officials discovered less-than-satisfactory conditions in the detainee camp. The State Department brought great pressure to bear to have the situation rectified immediately.[29]

State's concerns burst upon a division-forward staff totally preoccupied with winning the campaign. At Green Ramp the executive officer of the 82d Support Command, Lt. Col. Ronald F. Kelly, learned of the problem firsthand from General Trobaugh who called and gave him a list of the materiel required: 800 rolls of concertina wire, 100 general-purpose medical tents, 5 sets

[27] For the view of the airflow from the division assault command post, see Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and Frasché with Akers, 22 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[28] On detainees, see Interv, Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, McDonald to JCS, 27 0946Z Oct 1983, sub: Cuban Citizens on Grenada, ODO Significant Events file, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH; and Msg, AmEmb, Bridgetown, to SecState, 27 1352Z Oct 1983, sub: Emergency Assistance, Msg files, DoS.

[29] Msg, Royer to HQ FORSCOM EOC, 26 2230[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Deployment of MP Company, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; Msgs, SecState to U.S. Mission, Geneva, 27 2238Z Oct 1983, sub: Grenada, ICRC Access to Prisoners, and 27 2333Z Oct 1983, sub: Grenada, Request for ICRC Assistance in Repatriation of Cuban Dead and Wounded, ODO Significant Events file, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH.




**Cuban nationals on their way home to Cuba, finalizing paperwork under the scrutiny of a Red Cross representative and boarding an Air Cubana plane under guard of Air Force security police**



of lights, and 5 generators. Trobaugh wanted to see the lights and generators "first thing off the next airplane that lands." Given the problems in the airflow, literal obedience of the order would have required the immediate diversion of all aircraft in the air to airfields other than Point Salines, the halting of all transshipment of supplies through Barbados, and the closing of operations at Green Ramp. Instead, Colonel Kelly interpreted the order to mean that General Trobaugh wanted the materiel as quickly as possible.[30]



**Mackmull in Grenada**

Colonel Kelly personally went to the airlift control element at Green Ramp and after no little discussion secured an agreement to put the lights and generators into the airflow. At the same time, personnel from the 182d Materiel Management Center made a series of "midnight raids" on unit supply rooms, taking whatever equipment they needed to fill the order and passing out hand receipts in exchange. The division had used large amounts of concertina wire to secure sensitive areas at Fort Bragg. With none immediately available, Kelly shipped ten reels of light gauge wire to Grenada and secured concertina from the U.S. Army Materiel Development and Readiness Command. To make certain that the lights and generators actually reached Grenada, Kelly arranged that they would go out on an aircraft carrying General Mackmull to the island for a firsthand view of the situation. As Kelly suspected, no one dared to divert the corps commander's aircraft to Barbados.[31]

## SEA LINE OF COMMUNICATIONS

Concern about the sluggishness of the airflow led General Smith, at the behest of Col. William F. Daly Jr. of the 82d Support Command, to request on 27 October that XVIII Airborne Corps, still the Army point of contact for logistical support, consider opening a sea line of communications to the island. Colonel Daly's 1st Support Command counterpart, Colonel

[30] Interv, Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[31] Ibid.

Richardson, had already anticipated the need. He envisioned landing supplies and equipment over the beach—logistics over the shore—and off-loading captured enemy equipment the same way. He knew that on 26 October the 82d Airborne Division's 2d Brigade had captured a large warehouse complex filled with Soviet materiel, including munitions. Uncertain about the stability of the munitions, Richardson planned to avoid densely populated areas on Grenada while moving them to U.S. ports.[32]

Although Army Maj. Gen. Harold I. Small's Military Traffic Management Command knew as early as 20 October that Atlantic Command was preparing for the possible evacuation of American citizens from Grenada, it had no official role until the twenty-sixth when it received a copy of the URGENT FURY operations order and alerted its Eastern Area Command to prepare to support possible redeployments and resupply efforts. Two days later, to assist planning for surface movement to the island, it provided Forces Command (and, ultimately, 1st Support Command) with a detailed description of port characteristics and capabilities on Grenada.[33]

While Colonel Richardson still favored loading a ship anchored offshore to avoid the hazard of accidental explosions, the 28 October message led him to give more serious consideration to use of the island's port. That same day he requested a team from the 7th Transportation Group to assist his staff in planning for port operations. A terminal service group reporting directly to Forces Command, the 7th Transportation Group normally assisted 1st Support Command in contingency operations. Because XVIII Airborne Corps was not in the chain of command, however, the Forces Command message alerting the 7th for possible deployment to Grenada did not attach it to 1st Support Command as usual. Anticipating that command relationships would soon change, Richardson telephoned the responsible staff officer and vigorously protested the "oversight," as he termed it. Although Forces Command acceded and attached the transportation group to the 1st Support Command, the latter was still outside the URGENT FURY chain of command. The move, however, increased Richardson's ability to "force" units onto the island using ships in addition to aircraft.[34]

At the same time Colonel Richardson wanted a roll-on/roll-off ship, a vessel whose design would facilitate both discharging and loading cargo over a beach. Lack of shallow draft watercraft off Grenada for use as lighters eventually precluded the beach option and the planners reverted to unloading the ship conventionally at dockside. On 30 October General Mackmull

[32] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I an. D, pp. I-D-1 to I-D-3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Intervs, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], and Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[33] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, MTMC, 30 Jan 1984, p. 8, Hist files (PDocs/DA/MTMC), CMH; Msg, Small to Trans Div, DCSLOG, FORSCOM, 28 1745[Z] Oct 1983, sub: Port Capability—Grenada, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[34] Intervs, Oland with W. Richardson, 3 Mar 1988, and McElroy with W. Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also USATC PO 150–2, 31 Oct 1983, OrgHist files, CMH.

formally requested a vessel from Military Traffic Management Command. Planning went ahead for using a roll-on/roll-off ship to carry equipment for the 20th Engineer Brigade, the 110th Quartermaster Company from Hunter Army Airfield, the 35th Signal Brigade, the 7th Transportation Group, the 1st Support Command, and a few miscellaneous units from Fort Bragg. At the same time, staffers at General Small's headquarters identified the Military Sealift Command's *American Eagle* as the likely candidate for this mission. With the ship identified, Richardson's planners turned their attention to preparations to handling the captured equipment and munitions. They had very little information about the availability of lumber on Grenada and so included a large shipment for dunnage and banding of captured ammunition.[35]

Military Transport Management Command required units selected for deployment to provide basic movement data to permit "determination of vessel requirements, planning for proper cargo stowage, and efficient port operation." Normally, units transmitted information of that sort in a standardized format via a computer network, but the short advance notice precluded the procedure. General Small and his staff were prepared to respond to requests over secure telephone, but often the information that came by that means was either incomplete or incorrect. Once units actually arrived at the Sunny Point Military Ocean Terminal, near Wilmington, North Carolina, these data deficiencies added markedly to the actual loading time. Fortunately, logisticians were not required to combat load the vessel, which would have involved arranging equipment and supplies for easy access in the sequence required for the mission, and they could position the cargo to make maximum use of the space. Space, however, was hardly a consideration. The *American Eagle* was so large that the equipment dispatched took only 25 percent of its cargo space. The real savings as far as this movement was concerned was in the loading time. Combat loading would have further delayed the *American Eagle*'s sailing time because it would have required much more detailed planning than a conventional loading scheme.[36]

General Small and his staff worked with such efficiency that they caused unexpected problems for the deployment. The *American Eagle* arrived at Sunny Point on 1 November, within four days from the time that XVIII Airborne Corps identified the need for it. To expedite loading, Military Traffic Management Command required deploying units to have their equipment and supplies at Sunny Point by 31 October. Some units, such as Captain Chisholm's Company C, 548th Engineer Battalion, could use trucks available at Fort Bragg for the task, but the movement was so hurried that vehicle inspection was perfunctory

[35] Interv, Hicks with Hunter, [Nov 1983], and with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], plus McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D, pp. I-D-1 to I-D-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[36] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, MTMC, 30 Jan 1984, pp. 3–4 (quoted words), Hist files (PDocs/DA/MTMC), CMH; ibid., XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D, p. I-D-13, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Interv, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



***American Eagle***

at best. Two of the trucks moving Chisholm's equipment broke down en route. Other units needed commercial trucks to move their equipment, most notably four large cranes at Fort Eustis that belonged to the 7th Transportation Group. Working around the clock, Marcelle Truelove and her staff in the Installation Transportation Office at Fort Bragg made the necessary arrangements in time.[37]

The Eastern Area Command exercised control over the flow of cargo to the ports. Normal procedure required the Eastern Area port commander to issue a port call message and then to coordinate directly with the deploying unit or its installation transportation office. A port call message providing general guidance was issued, but many unit commanders, given the time constraints under which they operated, set their own arrival time with virtually no coordination with the Eastern Area port commander. Others, who tried to coordinate but discovered that they could not meet their movement schedules, reached Sunny Point up to six hours late. The result was that both convoys and commercial trucks appeared at all times of the day and night with little or no advance notice. The influx overwhelmed Sunny Point and its bare-bones facilities, which consisted mostly of parking lots and ship berths.[38]

The units arrived with little or no knowledge of the facilities and services available at the port. Even though their units had made no arrangements in advance, convoy drivers expected to obtain food and billets before they returned home. In the absence of advance notice and given the number of arriving convoys, Sunny Point could provide neither. Units also assumed that it would

[37] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, MTMC, 30 Jan 1984, pp. 3–4 (quoted words), Hist files (PDocs/DA/MTMC), CMH; ibid., XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D, p. I-D-13, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Intervs, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], and author with Chisholm, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[38] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, MTMC, 30 Jan 1984, pp. 3–4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/MTMC), CMH; RCmts, Reardon, May 2005, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

have port cranes available at all hours for the reassembly of equipment, again without prior coordination. Meanwhile, Sunny Point had an ample supply of gasoline on hand to refuel arriving convoys, but Fort Bragg, unaware of this, sent a gasoline tanker to the port. It refueled the trucks. In the same way, the Sunny Point provost marshal as a matter of standard procedure posted guards to protect arriving convoys, but several units brought guards of their own and were reluctant at first to dispense with them when requested.[39]

Notwithstanding these problems, all of the units involved met very close deadlines and succeeded in loading their equipment so that the ship could sail on time. The cost was confusion, tired drivers sleeping in the cabs of their trucks, some missed meals, and the need to load the ship by the seat-of-the-pants at dockside without reference to loading plans. The result offended professional sensibilities and would have been dangerous if resistance on Grenada had been more vigorous and prolonged, but it met mission requirements. The *American Eagle* departed port on 3 November and arrived four days later.[40]

Although Military Airlift Command began flying selected captured equipment to Pope Air Force Base for inspection by technical intelligence teams beginning on 29 October, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) perceived that it would be necessary to move the bulk of the captured materiel by sea. On 30 October, following a conference between JCS chairman General John W. Vessey, Admiral Metcalf, and General Trobaugh aboard the USS *Guam*, General Vessey ordered the SS *Dolly Thurman* to sail for St. George's to load the Soviet equipment and supplies. The conferees were unaware of Colonel Richardson's arrangements for the *American Eagle*.[41]

That night the 7th Transportation Group was surprised to receive a message directing it to "provide the necessary terminal services to facilitate retrograde of captured materiel" on the *Dolly Thurman*, due to arrive at St. George's on 1 November. The news also took the 1st Support Command staff at Fort Bragg unawares. Colonel Richardson had planned to have elements of Maj. William J. Neff's 24th Transportation Battalion, consisting of the 368th and 567th Transportation Companies with attachments from other organizations, sail with their equipment aboard the *American Eagle*. Instead, Forces Command directed the members of the battalion to fly out of Langley Air Force Base to meet the *Dolly Thurman*. They departed 2 November.[42]

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[39] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, MTMC, 30 Jan 1984, pp. 3–4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/MTMC), CMH.

[40] Ibid., plus 8–9, Hist files (PDocs/DA/MTMC), CMH; Interv, author with Chisholm, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[41] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D, pp. I-D-1 to I-D-2, I-D-13, and I-D-15, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[42] Ibid., sec. I, an. D, p. I-D-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; USATC PO 150–2 (quoted words), 31 Oct 1983, OrgHist files, CMH; Msg Extract, CINCLANT, 01 1848Z [Nov 1983], in Misc Master Scenario Events List (Logistics Structure—Movement), Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH. See also Msgs, Mackmull to Cavazos, 29 2323Z Oct 1983, sub: Captured Enemy Equipment, and 30 2307Z Oct 1983, sub: URGENT FURY Troop List Request; Msg, Cavazos to McDonald, 30 0617Z Oct 1983, sub: Deployment Planning—Urgent Fury. All in WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

Forces Command's deputy chief of staff for logistics, Maj. Gen. Vincent M. Russo, visited Fort Bragg on 1 November to provide guidance for XVIII Airborne Corps logisticians and to obtain an in-depth picture of the logistical situation. While there, General Russo learned for the first time about the *Dolly Thurman*. Convinced that the ship represented excess capacity, he attempted to cancel its visit to Grenada by working through channels but without success. Instead, Admiral McDonald considered canceling the *American Eagle*. After holding her in the Port of Wilmington for an extra day, he allowed her to sail.[43]

## Medical Dilemmas

As with communications, medical reinforcement and resupply posed significant dilemmas for the 82d Airborne Division. The absence of a well-defined medical command structure in the area of operations exacerbated the problems. Underlying some of the resulting controversy was an unresolved issue of what type of officer was best fitted to command a medical unit in combat. One school of opinion held that the leader must always be a Medical Corps officer, the senior physician available, who had rarely, if ever, served with the unit previously. Most doctors assigned to medical units in peacetime had only a paper association with these organizations, and their continuing responsibilities as practicing physicians at Army hospitals usually overrode any training requirement. The opposing viewpoint was that the officer who led and trained a unit in peacetime, normally a Medical Service Corps officer, should command. Medical Service Corps officers were logisticians, not medical doctors. The first perspective assumed that the best guarantee of good clinical practice in the field was to put a doctor intimately familiar with such issues in charge. The second argued that a unit was most likely to succeed if it functioned in war as it trained in peace.[44]

Between 1000 and 1600 on 25 October doctors, nurses, and medical technicians from Fort Bragg's Womack Army Hospital reported to augment the 307th Medical Battalion for field service, received a mission briefing, and prepared to deploy. Their inclusion into any medical organization getting ready to go to war was difficult, not just because of the issues of command. They were suddenly called to embed themselves in tactical units with which they had no real previous experience and whose equipment and supplies were fixed by tables of organization and equipment that had changed little since the Vietnam conflict. Because these professional fillers had state-of-the-art apparatus at Army hospitals, they quite naturally wanted to use only those things with which they were familiar. A Medical Service Corps officer who refused to honor their requests risked causing them a good deal of frustration at the very beginning of an operation. However, anyone who did attempt to change out his inventory

[43] Msg Extract, JCS, 02 1200Z [Nov 1983], in Misc Master Scenario Events List (Logistics Structure—Movement), Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH; Interv, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D, p. I-D-3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[44] Interv, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

had to divert considerable effort away from unit deployment preparations and, in the end, usually only duplicated existing medical capabilities.[45]

The 82d Airborne Division normally contained an institutional remedy to the dilemma of having to rapidly integrate professional fillers into the 307th Medical Battalion, namely, division orthopedic surgeon Lt. Col. Joseph P. Jackson Jr. Unlike his peers, Colonel Jackson had participated in division field exercises and senior officers trusted him. At the same time, he had the credentials and the experience to assuage the doubts of the medical professionals just reporting in. He should have been available to provide guidance for them. However, because of the restrictions on airflow and the need to get at least some treatment capability into the area of operations in addition to the battalion aid stations, Jackson was already at Green Ramp by the time medical personnel began reporting to the battalion. At 2100 on 25 October he flew to Grenada.[46]

On reporting in, the doctors found Medical Service Corps officers in charge at both the battalion and company level, with Lt. Col. Edward B. Wilson in command of the 307th Medical Battalion and Capt. Vincent M. Ashley of its Company C assigned to support the 2d Brigade on Grenada. In accordance with existing Army regulations, the division surgeon, Lt. Col. Barry S. Sidenberg, believed that as the senior board-certified Medical Corps officer he would assume command of the battalion once war began. Colonel Sidenberg, however, was new to the division and something of an unknown as far as General Trobaugh and his chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., were concerned. They believed that existing regulations gave them a measure of discretion and decided to exercise it. They did not want to relieve Colonel Wilson from command of the battalion, particularly in the midst of a deployment that placed a premium on his skills as a logistician. They also clearly believed that their discretion applied to the company level as well. They knew even less about the doctors reporting as fillers in the company than they did about Sidenberg. As a result, Trobaugh made no provision in his orders to the 307th for the relief of Medical Service Corps officers by Medical Corps officers. Captain Ashley considered himself, quite correctly, in command of the company until formally relieved. The doctors assumed, however, that once the company deployed the senior physician automatically assumed command of the unit. In the rush to prepare to deploy, these conflicting interpretations of where command lay remained submerged.[47]

By 1600 on 25 October the Alpha Echelon of Company C was at Green Ramp. Alpha Echelon, commanded by company executive officer 1st Lt. Douglas S. Phelps, was the smallest portion of the company capable of providing complete patient care. It consisted of three ambulances, a cargo Gamma Goat, and three trailers that together carried an admissions/dispositions tent,

[45] Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH; Intervs, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, and Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[46] Interv, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[47] Ibid.; Intervs, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], and author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Gamma Goat ambulances**

where the doctors performed the initial triage; an operating room; a twenty-bed ward; and X-ray and laboratory facilities. Even with two M718 field litter ambulances substituted for the larger Gamma Goat ambulances, this was a bulky package. Given the problems at Green Ramp, an air movement control officer bumped the medics. Lieutenant Phelps protested to the officer, who told him that the *Guam* would provide all of the needed medical support. As out-loading proceeded, Phelps became increasingly concerned and confronted a series of officers senior in rank to him about the implications of leaving medical support behind. Eventually a lieutenant colonel threw Phelps out of his office when Phelps asked him if he wanted people dying for lack of treatment. None of these encounters appeared very fruitful. Their chief result was an increasingly frustrated Medical Service Corps lieutenant.[48]

At 0300 on 26 October, about the time Colonel Kelly took charge of the Army side of Green Ramp operations, Lieutenant Phelps deployed with two vehicles, carrying the admissions/dispositions tent and one ward. Two hours later a third vehicle, carrying the operating room, also left. The 3d Brigade's deployment bumped the fourth vehicle before it could board an aircraft. It carried X-ray equipment, a surgical light set (another light set

[48] Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH; Intervs, Oland with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, and with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, plus Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

had already departed in one of the earlier vehicles), tent poles, and various medications.[49]

Faced with inadequate transportation to move the remainder of the company, Company C's commander, Captain Ashley, reconfigured the load on the fourth vehicle, removing not only the light set but also some medical supplies not duplicated in the cargoes on the first three vehicles to make room for materiel from vehicles remaining behind. Part of the problem that he faced in reconfiguring Alpha Echelon's fourth vehicle arose from an attempt by the 307th Medical Battalion to cross-load vehicles in conformity with division policy. Each vehicle contained part of the supplies needed by the other functions; thus, supplies for the operating room were on all four vehicles. On the positive side, this meant that Lieutenant Phelps would have some laboratory equipment when his three vehicles arrived, even though the X-ray was not en route. On the negative side, neither the vehicle carrying the admissions/dispositions tent nor the one conveying the operating room had all requisite supplies. Some were on the bumped vehicle. Because all the battalion's deployment plans presupposed that the Alpha Echelon of the lead medical company would deploy intact, no one had a precise record of what supplies were on which vehicle.[50]

The cross-loading policy and the lack of record keeping immensely complicated the resupply problem for the battalion S–4, Capt. John R. Chambers, and the acting division medical supply noncommissioned officer, Sgt. Floyd M. Runyon. The battalion's planned resupply, its push packages, also assumed that the entire Alpha Echelon would deploy. With part of this contingent cut from the flow, circumstances appeared to demand that battalion-rear would have to depend upon detailed requests from medical personnel in the area of operations for resupply rather than upon push packages. The vagaries in the airflow, the multiple channels of communications between division-forward and division-rear, and the bottleneck at Green Ramp, however, conspired to ensure that battalion-rear treated repeated requests for the same thing as multiple requests: As Colonel Wilson noted, "Certain requirements were filled three or four times, while others were filled once."[51]

The cross-loading problem resulted from the division's failure to require that the medical battalion exercise loading procedures in peacetime. Because the officers had no practical knowledge of Green Ramp operations, they had little idea of how to manipulate the system to their own advantage. The battalion might at least have attached one or two medics carrying duffel bags full of supplies to each aircraft load of troops, as Colonel Daly noted in retrospect, but through lack of experience, no one in the battalion thought of even this

[49] Interv, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH.

[50] Intervs, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], and Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[51] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-9 (quoted words), Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, and with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, plus author with Nolan, 22 Nov 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.




**A typical 463L pallet, here shown being transported by a 15,000-pound forklift**

partial solution at the time. During Urgent Fury the 307th Medical Battalion S–3, Capt. David L. Nolan, discovered that while he could not easily move a medical platoon (ten men and a Gamma Goat full of supplies) into the flow at Green Ramp, he could dispatch a 463L resupply pallet with a Gamma Goat's load of supplies and equipment accompanied by five men. If he had thought of this solution sooner, then Company C's Alpha Echelon could have moved out of Green Ramp much earlier than it did. It would have arrived on Grenada without some of its ambulances—the only major drawback.[52]

The successful movement of resupply pallets was also an art requiring experience. With 82d Support Command personnel unable to attach invoices to pallets because of the pressure of events, responsibility for marking each pallet to make it easily identifiable fell on a battalion's rear echelon. A simple red cross sufficed for the medical battalion. For best results, however, the unit also needed to send one or more officers or enlisted men to accompany the package.[53]

The first attempt at resupply reflected the battalion's level of experience. When an urgent message requisitioning additional supplies and equipment arrived from Colonel Jackson, one member of the battalion escorted the unmarked pallet through Green Ramp to the designated aircraft. He told the Air Force loadmaster

[52] Intervs, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[53] Interv, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

its contents, saw it loaded aboard, and returned to the battalion-rear area. The pallet became lost in the resupply system for days. One such mistake sufficed to produce much more careful identification and supervision of resupply packages by battalion-rear. It was the only medical pallet lost during the operation—once again the result of training deferred by the Department of the Army.[54]

The medical battalion's lack of training in the loading process not only affected the internal operations of the battalion in the field but also had an impact upon the actions of the division command group and the line battalions. Some bulky medical packages were critical and had to go forward without delay. One of Captain Ashley's primary concerns after Alpha Echelon deployed, for example, was to get whole blood, needed for transfusions, down to the island. Whole blood, however, requires refrigeration. Ashley could not get anyone to give him the airspace he needed and suffered repeated rebuffs when he pressed his claims. The *Guam*, he was told, would take care of everything. Passages of arms between Medical Service Corps and Medical Corps officers and combat arms officers at Green Ramp inevitably came to a similar conclusion. When one senior medical officer attempted to force a Gamma Goat loaded with medical supplies into the chalk order, a senior combined arms officer told him: "Get the hell out of my way before I run over you." The incident accurately encapsulated relationships at Green Ramp. In contrast senior commanders, like the members of the battalion, showed a learning curve once they became aware a problem existed.[55]

As early as Wednesday morning, 26 October, both Colonels Wilson and Sidenberg were concerned about how much medical support had made it to Grenada. They knew that Colonel Jackson was there but could not be certain about what equipment and supplies had arrived. Wilson planned to send either his executive officer or his operations officer to the island to report on the situation, but Sidenberg suggested that this was a task more appropriate for him as division surgeon. He then went to division-rear headquarters and convinced General Smith that he should deploy. Sidenberg flew out of Pope Air Force Base late the next day, 27 October.[56]

Colonel Wilson's initial unease was caused by the absence of information. Later he learned more, and his concern increased. He had assumed that Company C would deploy on schedule, so once Lieutenant Phelps and his men were locked up at Green Ramp, he had turned his attention to other problems. It was only late on 26 October that he learned that Company C was still at Green Ramp. He located the division support commander, Colonel Daly, and told him that the division had to get more medical capacity into Grenada. While Daly carried this message to division headquarters, Wilson bumped into the corps surgeon, Col. James H. Rumbaugh, and repeated the news.[57]

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Intervs, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov and 23 Dec 1987, and Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983] (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[56] Interv, Wade with Sidenberg, 14 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH.

[57] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Based on what he had heard at the daily corps briefing on the operation, Colonel Rumbaugh was already disturbed about the medical situation on the island. One officer had spoken about the Navy proceeding on to Lebanon as soon as hostilities ceased. Knowing how dependent the ground forces were on the *Guam*, Rumbaugh asked whether the ship would remain on station after the rest of the fleet departed. The officer giving the briefing did not know. Rumbaugh also picked up something that shook his confidence in all the medical information he had received to date. Briefers had always described the *Guam* (which was, in fact, a helicopter carrier) as a hospital ship, but in this briefing an officer noted that the Army had provided whole blood to the vessel when her supply ran low. Rumbaugh knew that if the *Guam* was a hospital ship, or even if it was a vessel with substantial medical capacity, it would not have run low on whole blood so early in the operation.[58]

Now thoroughly alarmed, Colonel Rumbaugh went directly to General Mackmull. The corps surgeon told the corps commander that if the weather turned sour, the *Guam* went off station, casualties went up, or any number of other variables changed over which the Army had no control, a medical "embarrassment" might occur on the island. Mackmull, who was extraordinarily busy, appeared not to react, but he rose and left his office almost immediately. On his way out, he saw Colonel Wilson and asked him how the medical situation was. "Not worth a damn, medically," replied the colonel. Mackmull went directly to division-rear headquarters. He told General Smith that the division had to get more medical capability onto the island.[59]

As a result of Colonel Daly's report and General Mackmull's intervention, General Smith at 0100 on 27 October agreed to give higher priority to medical elements. A sluggish airflow that day rather than a deliberate decision limited the amount of medical elements that could deploy south, but the final portion of Alpha Echelon flew out at 2330. The following day the remainder of Company C moved to Green Ramp and left Pope Air Force Base at 0600 on 29 October. That same day Company A, 307th Medical Battalion, which the division had alerted to support the 3d Brigade, moved to Green Ramp and deployed in its entirety between 2000 and 2200. As the company moved forward, its Medical Service Corps commander, Capt. Stephen S. Bradley, noted that most of Forward Area Support Team II, less all its medical elements, was still in the corps holding area waiting to deploy.[60]

Concern about division-level assets within the area of operations was not restricted solely to the division. On 27 October, the same evening that Colonel Sidenberg deployed, the Department of the Army queried the 82d about how much of its organic medical support was on the island. Attempts to contact Sidenberg by radio to obtain his assessment failed. Colonel Wilson decided to send his S–3, Captain Nolan, to Grenada after all. Nolan was to

[58] Interv, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[59] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and Oland with Rumbaugh, 23 Dec 1987 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[60] Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH; Interv, Wade with Bradley, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

provide him with an estimate of the medical situation so that the battalion commander could make appropriate decisions on what else needed to deploy. On the twenty-eighth Nolan left for Grenada, where he discovered that a personality clash between Sidenberg and Jackson was hampering medical operations. When Wilson received Nolan's report he decided to deploy and left for Grenada on the twenty-ninth.[61]

While Company C slowly deployed, Colonels Wilson and Rumbaugh attempted to clarify how much medical support the Navy could provide from ships off Grenada. After telephoning Atlantic Command, whose surgeon, R. Adm. James A. Zimbel, was in Beirut dealing with the medical crisis there, Rumbaugh learned that Admiral McDonald intended to redirect the *Guam* to the Mediterranean. The officer with whom Rumbaugh spoke did not know whether McDonald planned to replace the *Guam* but filled him in on her medical capacity—one operating room, one ward with twelve beds, one board-certified surgeon, and one partially trained surgeon. Hearing this news, Colonel Wilson also became very concerned. He suspected that General Trobaugh's decisions about the medical portion of the operation were based on totally erroneous information. To try to clarify the question of the *Guam*'s replacement before he departed Fort Bragg, Wilson contacted both the Office of The Surgeon General in Washington, D.C., and one of Forces Command's liaison officers at Norfolk but gleaned nothing definitive.[62]

At the same time that Colonel Wilson and division medical personnel sought to ensure continuity of care for wounded soldiers in the short term, Colonel Rumbaugh and his officers at corps level grappled for a long-range solution. The outline of the desired outcome was clear: The Army needed to move medical assets to Grenada comparable to those of a real hospital ship. On this, General Mackmull and Colonels Richardson and Rumbaugh had agreed from the start of URGENT FURY. In practice, it meant moving some portion of the 44th Medical Brigade's 5th Surgical Hospital from Fort Bragg to the island, but as the operation evolved so did the estimate of what elements of the 5th needed to deploy.[63]

The 44th Medical Brigade commander, Col. Jack R. Wilson II, had attended a 1st Support Command briefing at 1000 on 25 October that gave him the mission to provide medical support for a two-brigade operation of up to seven battalions. Based on this guidance, the brigade staff had initially planned to move a portion of the brigade headquarters, the entire 5th Surgical Hospital, and other "major medical functions" to the island. Colonel Wilson had passed the appropriate taskings along to the units involved, and they had begun palletizing equipment and supplies and processing the deploying personnel.[64]

On 26 October 1st Support Command had revised the 44th's mission to medical support of a four- to five-battalion operation. Two days later the

[61] Interv, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[62] Ibid.; Interv, Oland with Wilson, 6 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Rumbaugh), CMH.

[63] Interv, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[64] Ibid.; Chronology (quoted words), Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH.



**Compound of Medical Task Force 5 in Grenada**

mission changed again to "minimum essential" medical support built around a nucleus from the 5th Surgical Hospital with attachments from the 44th's other elements. Consequently, the units involved had to reconfigure their supplies and equipment, tearing down the old pallet loads and building new ones. In the process the number of corps medical personnel deploying dropped from 350 to 156. The 5th took the full range of its capabilities, but each was downsized to take into account the relatively small force it would be supporting.[65]

The 5th Surgical Hospital commander, Lt. Col. Joseph J. Costanzo Jr., led the reinforcement, designated as Medical Task Force 5. By 2000 on 28 October Colonel Costanzo had assembled it in the corps marshaling area. Twenty-five hours later he moved personnel, equipment, and supplies to Green Ramp and began the loading process aboard C–5As. At 0400 on 30 October two of those aircraft departed carrying three UH–60 Black Hawks, equipment belonging to the 5th Surgical Hospital, and 56 members of Task Force 5. The Air Force canceled a third C–5A flight because none of the equipment remaining at Green Ramp was outsized. The 100 members of the task force still present changed their load plans for movement by C–141 and then unloaded and rearranged the

[65] Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH.

equipment and supplies once more. They departed late that same day. General Mackmull's and Colonel Rumbaugh's enhanced medical capability was finally en route to Grenada five days after Urgent Fury began.[66]

## Supply System Management

The airflow to Grenada—and particularly Green Ramp operations—gripped the attention of most senior officers in the corps and division-rear. The airflow by no means, however, encompassed all the important logistical support activities at Fort Bragg. Division-rear had to learn how to make use of the Army's national depot supply system in the continental United States. At the same time that supplies and equipment were flowing out of Fort Bragg to Grenada and Barbados, similar items were moving to the post from Army depots. In his role as commander of 1st Support Command, Colonel Richardson believed that some parts of the national depot system were initially slow to react to Urgent Fury. Conversely, in the 82d Support Command the officer who dealt directly with these national agencies on a day-to-day basis, Maj. William M. Causey Jr. of the 182d Materiel Management Center, concluded that everyone in the system wanted to be very responsive to the division's requirements.[67]

Effective management of the flow of supplies in an operation of the size and complexity of Urgent Fury required the exchange of liaison officers at several levels. Paul Brown of the Materiel Development and Readiness Command's liaison office at Fort Bragg, for example, put in fifteen- and sixteen-hour days at the 182d Materiel Management Center to cut through red tape and to get supplies and equipment routed to the post. Once the national centers activated their crisis action systems, their respective logistical staffs, both uniformed and civilian, devoted comparable effort to the task. More than half the supplies shipped to Grenada originated at the New Cumberland Army Depot near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The depot activated its quick-reaction force of employees who worked around the clock filling high-priority orders for same day shipment. Tobyhanna Army Depot at Tobyhanna, Pennsylvania, provided communications equipment. U.S. Army Depot System Command consolidated all materiel bound for Grenada at Letterkenny Army Depot in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, before forwarding it to the island. In a short time, Major Causey discovered that he could submit a requisition at 0100 on a weekend and know that the materiel he had requested would be en route to the affected unit by 0300.[68]

To facilitate information sharing with the 182d Materiel Management Center on the supply status of 1st Support Command units and to mitigate

[66] Ibid.; Interv, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Rumbaugh), CMH.

[67] Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[68] Intervs, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, and Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; "Depot Supports Grenada Force," p. 40.








**New Cumberland, Tobyhanna, and Letterkenny Army Depots**

problems, Colonel Richardson assigned a liaison officer to Major Causey's organization. Causey found that officers in corps-level units were very helpful and always responsive, possessing more than enough expertise to answer his queries. His problem, he later recalled, was that he often lacked sufficient experience with the national depot system to know exactly what questions to ask. He wished the officers in the corps support command had felt free to offer unsolicited advice. He attributed their reticence to the removal of the corps from the chain of command. Staff officers and subordinate commanders were uncomfortable with the unfamiliar command relationships and hesitated to overstep the bounds of permissible behavior.[69]

Certain difficulties, moreover, involved both the entire wholesale system and specific items of supply. Systemic problems centered on the assignment of a JCS project code and a Department of Defense activity address code to deploying units. The units used project codes to track costs associated with individual exercises, but the numbers also permitted respective national inventory control points to identify materiel and supplies required to support a particular operation. Joint planning doctrine did not mandate the assignment of a JCS project code during the planning phase; however, shortly after URGENT FURY began, the Joint Staff J–3, Lt. Gen. Richard L. Prillaman, realized that one was needed. At his request, the Joint Materiel and Priority Board assigned one, but the normal dissemination time precluded its immediate use. Initially, Major Causey's 182d Materiel Management Center used a high-priority requisition, an 01 code, as a substitute to ensure that the Army depots met the division's needs promptly. Causey independently requested a project code through Materiel Development and Readiness Command channels on 25 October. As soon as he received it the next day, he began using it to request both low- and high-priority items. This confused some inventory control personnel who had become accustomed to seeing the 01 code on all Grenada-related items. After a considerable number of telephone calls to Causey's organization, all parties resolved their difficulties.[70]

Lack of a project code for the operation meant that supporting commands had to replace any equipment or supplies they furnished for URGENT FURY by using their own appropriated funds rather than money earmarked for the operation. This consideration apparently played a role in the several days' hesitation by the XVIII Airborne Corps staff to provide jungle fatigues and jungle boots to the division out of corps contingency stocks. The same problem even more clearly affected the Navy's relations with the Army. On D-day,

[69] Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[70] Interv, Wade with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, [DCSOPS, DA], 1985, sub: Lessons Learned Grenada . . . , p. IV–b–4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/DCSOPS), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D, p. I-D-8, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps); ibid., 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-1, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. Forces Command independently requested a project code on 26 October. See Msg, Cdr, FORSCOM (Lt Col Deitz), to AOC, HQDA (Attn: Maj Hamner), 26 2214Z Oct 1983, sub: Logistics Information, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

when Admiral Metcalf received a message apparently from Department of the Navy headquarters, Washington, D.C., directing him not to refuel Army helicopters until someone decided who would pay, the JTF 120 commander growled "that's the most ridiculous goddammed thing I have ever heard in my life" and ignored it. Joint Task Force 120 continued to refuel the aircraft.[71]

The concomitant failure to assign address codes to units deploying to the Point Salines airhead compounded the inconvenience and confusion. The codes indicated where materiel and supplies should be shipped. The director of logistics on the Atlantic Command staff should have requested an activity address code for the units involved in the operation prior to D-day but failed to do so. The oversight had two unfortunate effects: It introduced an element of uncertainty about the intended destination of supplies, and it made supporting commands hesitant to provide materiel for the operation.[72]

Lack of the address code meant that the item managers had only the 82d Airborne Division's and the ranger battalions' old continental United States address codes. If a requested item was in stock, the item manager directed the depot to ship it to the requesting unit's old address at Fort Lewis, Fort Stewart, or Fort Bragg rather than to Grenada. Once supplies and equipment arrived at Fort Bragg, the 182d Materiel Management Center had to determine whether they were for the two brigades on Grenada, the battalion and support elements that remained at Fort Bragg, or a battalion that deployed to Spain for a North Atlantic Treaty Organization exercise in the middle of URGENT FURY. Major Causey and his men could usually arrive at the correct decision, but the lack of proper address codes made it harder to keep track of where materiel was in the line of communications that ran from stateside Army depots to Grenada.[73]

Shortages of individual items also posed some special problems for Major Causey. Some of these stemmed from the inadequate size of the division's Class II/IV Warehouse. The building, which stocked clothing, individual equipment, tents, tool kits, and administrative and housekeeping stores (collectively, Class II supplies) and construction materials (or Class IV supplies), had space for only sixty-six of the seventy-six items required for a contingency operation. Body bags were the most pressing necessity among the ten missing items. While they arrived at Fort Bragg within twelve hours of the 182d Materiel Management Center placing an order, this timely response hardly compensated for the failure to have them immediately available on post.[74]

Problems posed by the lack of BA–5590 batteries were of an altogether different origin—a supply shortage throughout the Army. The Department of Defense had only recently funded the batteries, which powered the Vinson secure devices for the AN/URC–101 and AN/PRC–3 (satellite) radios. Although

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[71] Interv, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH, in which the general recalled the admiral's pointed comment.

[72] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. A, p. II-A-4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[73] Ibid.

[74] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-31, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

their lithium base gave these batteries a longer life in the field than normal batteries, their high rate of usage on Grenada produced an average battery life of only twenty-four hours. As a consequence, the operation almost immediately consumed all stocks available to the Army. At the same time, manufacturing problems delayed the production of new ones.[75]

At Fort Bragg, members of the Directorate of Industrial Operations' Materiel Management Unit worked to solve the battery problem for the division in close cooperation with the item managers. The personnel at the post called in emergency requisitions and continually monitored the progress of the batteries through follow-up calls. Because this took time, the corps G–4, Colonel Mitchell, bridged the gap by sending members of his section into Fayetteville to purchase rechargeable batteries and chargers at local hardware stores. Through a combination of such extraordinary measures, the 82d's radios stayed on the air.[76]

## Green Ramp Hand-off

A general exodus of senior officers to Grenada occurred as Operation Urgent Fury progressed. In part, the movement reflected a genuine need for experienced people to cope with problems on the island, although professional ambition undoubtedly played a role as well. So many Signal Corps officers departed, for example, that the 82d Support Command data chief eventually became the senior person in that specialty remaining at Fort Bragg. As a result, he assumed signal officer responsibilities for division-rear.[77]

Both division and 82d Support Command logisticians were particularly stretched between managing the airflow from Fort Bragg to Point Salines and the best use of the materiel on Grenada. When ground transportation management on the island threatened to become a major problem, General Trobaugh directed the division transportation officer, Maj. Frederick C. Perkins, to take charge. He departed for the Port Salines airfield on Saturday, 29 October, and left behind two young transportation officers to order aircraft. With radio communications improving, they had no difficulty in contacting Major Perkins when difficulties arose. While Perkins was satisfied with the arrangement, one of the seasoned transportation officers with the 1st Support Command nonetheless detected a marked fall-off in the division's efficiency in ordering aircraft. Perkins, he observed, was a very capable and efficient officer who understood both the Army and the Air Force sides of the system and could use his knowledge to get what he wanted. His replacements were bright and hardworking but new. They had to learn the airlift request system as they went along.[78]

The 82d Support Command experienced exactly the same process. Almost all of its senior officers deployed to Grenada, creating a severe imbalance

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.; Interv, author with C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[77] Intervs, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[78] Intervs, author with F. Perkins, 14 Jul 1986, and Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

between the leaders and the led. By 29 October its executive officer, Colonel Kelly, had charge of three-fourths of the organization's personnel at Fort Bragg. Meanwhile, on Grenada his boss, Colonel Daly, suffered from a severe shortage of so-called box handlers, the enlisted men and women required in an operation of this scope to do the necessary physical and clerical work. Kelly began deploying as many as possible, filling whatever space that remained in each cargo-loaded aircraft. His success in doing this meant that as the operation proceeded 82d Support Command-Rear had not only a lack of senior leaders but also a diminishing capability for box-handling.[79]

On 30 October, the day after Major Perkins' departure for Grenada, the 1st Support Command's 330th Transportation Center commander, Maj. David L. Boggs, returned from Joint Exercise BOLD EAGLE in Florida. The next day Colonel Richardson proposed to General Mackmull that his 1st Support Command assume control of air movement to Grenada. The corps commander demurred because the existing chain of command could not support it.[80]

During the next week, however, the situation changed. Operation URGENT FURY officially ended, and General Trobaugh became commander of U.S. Forces, Grenada. On 2 November Major Boggs began working very closely with Colonel Kelly at Green Ramp, the first step in the transfer of movement responsibility to the 330th Transportation Center. Two days later, when Trobaugh assumed command, the 330th officially replaced the 82d Support Command at Green Ramp. Without a simultaneous assumption by XVIII Airborne Corps of airflow management, this change meant that the division G–4 rear at Fort Bragg continued to set priorities for air movement based upon General Trobaugh's instructions. As a corps unit, however, the 330th looked to corps for instruction and was under no obligation to follow this guidance. At the same time, the corps had no legal authority to provide any direction to the 330th on this issue. The tangled lines of authority represented a most unsatisfactory situation.[81]

On 5 November a number of the principal logisticians at Fort Bragg gathered to discuss the issue. Colonel Kelly was very much in favor of putting the corps in charge of the airflow. He simply lacked the officers and men for his command to perform the mission adequately. The G–4 rear representative was the only person in attendance who questioned the wisdom of the hand-off, doubting whether the corps support command would prove as responsive as the division support command to the 82d's needs. Eventually, the 1st Support Command representative convinced the G–4 staffer that the division would continue to receive a priority commensurate with its combat operations.[82]

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[79] Intervs, Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, and with Rhodes [Nov 1983], plus Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[80] Intervs, Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983; Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983; and McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[81] Intervs, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], and with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[82] Intervs, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, and with Causey, 16 Nov 1983, plus Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR,

That afternoon XVIII Airborne Corps notified all commands of the impending change, and at 0001 the next morning it officially replaced the division as the manager of the airflow. Only then could the corps G–4, Colonel Mitchell, begin to set transportation priorities based on guidance from General Mackmull and to transmit them to Major Boggs at Green Ramp. 82d Support Command personnel continued to assist at Green Ramp for two more days. They manned the equipment supply issue point and the individual issue ammunition point for even longer.[83]

It took some time for everyone to become accustomed to the new arrangements. The rear detachments of the 82d Airborne Division were perplexed for a day or two about the proper channels through which to submit airlift requirements. The division ground liaison officer at Pope Air Force Base, who became the acting corps ground liaison officer in the absence of Colonel Anshus, who was on Barbados, did not start working directly with Major Boggs until 7 November. Even then, he persisted in using division channels until long after everyone else in the division had adjusted. It took Atlantic Command, for its part, until 13 or 14 November to adapt to the new circumstances.[84]

Major Boggs' first big task was to order aircraft for the return of the 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, and the assault command post from Grenada on 4 November. Shortly after Boggs placed the order, a Military Airlift Command officer called back: "Listen, forty aircraft are already ordered. Twenty-six have already been used. We are not going to lay on these missions." In this manner Boggs first learned that division transportation officers, as well as certain corps G–3 and G–4 officers, were continuing to order aircraft directly from the Air Force. The problem was resolved only after the transfer of the airflow management to corps and a reiteration of the proper aircraft ordering procedures to the corps staff.[85]

The Joint Chiefs of Staff had announced the termination of combat operations with the formal end of Operation URGENT FURY on 2 November. Atlantic Command closed its emergency operations center. Simultaneously, Military Airlift Command shifted to standard peacetime procedures, designated special assignment airlift missions, and required submission of requests—a four-page form for each mission—up to seventy-two hours in advance. Whether because XVIII Airborne Corps was distracted by the problems associated with assuming responsibility for the airflow or because Military Airlift Command

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Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. 1, an. D, p. I-D-3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Msgs, Cavazos to HQDA and LANTCOM, 7 0252Z Nov 1983, sub: Logistics Situation Summary, and Mitchell to Russo, 6 1954Z Nov 1983, sub: Log Update URGENT FURY, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[83] Interv, Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Memo, Boggs for Richardson, encl. to Ltr, Lindsay to Vuono, [Apr 1984], sub: Opn URGENT FURY LL, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH; Msg, Mitchell to Russo, 6 1954Z Nov 1983, sub: Log Update URGENT FURY, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[84] Interv, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Memo, G–3 (Air), XVIII Abn Corps, for G–3, XVIII Abn Corps, 17 Apr 1984, encl. to Ltr, Lindsay to Vuono, [Apr 1984], sub: Opn URGENT FURY LL, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

[85] Interv, Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

expected corps to anticipate its reversion to peacetime rules, the move caught corps transportation officers by surprise. As a result, the airlift request process became bogged down over a period of two or three days. Once the 330th Transportation Center had the airlift requests moving again, Major Boggs and other corps logisticians found the new system too inflexible. It was impossible for them to forecast airlift requirements more than twenty-four hours in advance, much less seventy-two hours. On 12 November, for example, Atlantic Command decided that it wanted to move more military police to Grenada the next day. Boggs needed five C–141s to carry them and their equipment, but Military Airlift Command could not provide the aircraft until 14 November.[86]

On 7 November, with the redeployment of the 2d Brigade completed, Major Boggs directed his unit to make an inventory of everything at Green Ramp, something Colonel Kelly had never been able to do because of the intensity of the operation. Personnel from Boggs' 330th Transportation Center completed the inventory and cleaned up the ramp in just two days. Their most difficult task was to differentiate between supplies and equipment needed by units on the island engaged in peacekeeping tasks and those items that division elements had returned from Grenada. They had found articles earlier cut from the airflow shoved to the side of the ramp, as well as five pallets of the division's A-bags that they then returned to unit areas. Over the next thirty-six hours the ramp filled with cargo again, and on Friday, 11 November, Boggs cleared it once more. This set the rhythm of Green Ramp operations until mid-December, when the last combat troops left the island.[87]

Although the airflow became more like a normal peacetime resupply mission, some problems persisted. Military Airlift Command continued to refuse to land C–5As at Point Salines, which meant 1st Support Command had to rely upon the smaller and somewhat slower C–141s. With the end of combat, the Air Force also permitted only daylight landings and takeoffs at Salines, restricting the times of the day at which corps could plan on moving supplies and equipment out of Green Ramp. Units on Grenada still occasionally had difficulty obtaining their supplies and equipment, but this arose from problematic communications on the island rather than complications at Pope Air Force Base and Fort Bragg. By the end of the second week of November, the airflow took on the efficiency that XVIII Airborne Corps logisticians expected of all their operations.[88]

General Cavazos' determination to make the XVIII Airborne Corps the Army executive agent for administration and logistics during Urgent Fury

[86] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. A, p. II-A-7, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Intervs, Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, and with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[87] Intervs, Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, and with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[88] Intervs, Wade with Boggs, 15 Nov 1983, and with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

was one of the critical decisions for the success of Army logistics during the operation. It provided the rationale for General Mackmull to convince Admiral McDonald to allow XVIII Airborne Corps to monitor Grenada message traffic. This, in turn, gave Mackmull, his staff, and his principal subordinates the ability to work effectively behind the scenes to facilitate the flow of troops, equipment, and supplies into Grenada. The corps' role extended from responding to calls from higher headquarters for information—thereby freeing the division to concentrate on fighting the battle—to actually sending individuals and units to Barbados. One of Mackmull's most important early contributions was to resolve Admiral Metcalf's misjudgment that General Trobaugh could receive hard-copy message traffic when, in fact, Trobaugh lacked that capability. Mackmull's improvised solution, which involved sending couriers aboard the C–141s flying to the island, may have been a throwback to an earlier century, but it was considerably better than no communications at all. His subsequent purchase of off-the-shelf Compass computers emphasized his understanding of the importance of maintaining high-quality communications during the transition period between full-scale combat and peace. Throughout, he showed an ability to pick out critical elements and to act decisively.

One postfactum criticism was that the corps sent too large a package of support elements to the island after combat ended. Given, however, the concern about a postintervention insurgency—an almost axiomatic assumption for officers bloodied in Vietnam—and the dearth of any knowledge about Grenadian society or politics, the forces and the heavy engineering equipment dispatched appear both rational and prudent. At worst, the decisions resulted in a lowering of efficiency—much of the equipment was not used—but General Mackmull and his subordinates were far more concerned about military effectiveness. On that scale, they had nothing for which to apologize.

General Mackmull even unwittingly aided the logistical effort when the aircraft that carried him to Grenada also carried the materiel for the detainee camp—yet another example of Colonel Kelly's mastery of the airflow. This episode also represented one of General Trobaugh's comparatively few interventions in logistics. The discrepancy in behavior between the two generals reflects where each officer was located and the tasks that he had to perform. At Fort Bragg, Mackmull enjoyed an operational-level perspective on the Grenada campaign. He knew what the ground commander needed and the rough sequence in which he would need things. Mackmull also had a good idea of what assets were available from other commands and from the Army supply chain and how soon they would become available. He understood concerns at the Pentagon about inserting specialized units onto the island and often knew why the president and the secretary of defense needed something done. Such insights permitted him to affect the outcome of Urgent Fury positively by balancing these competing concerns and by encouraging the division-rear commander, General Smith, to forward the highest-priority items first. In contrast, Trobaugh was located at Point Salines and had to focus intensively on ground combat operations. What happened on Grenada and the waters immediately

surrounding the island were his primary and at times only concern. From this perspective, he intervened in logistics only when a crisis threatened to disrupt operations on the island. His place in the formal chain of command might suggest otherwise, but circumstances forced him to concentrate on tactical-level issues.

Given his position in the chain of command, General Smith was the dutiful assistant, making certain that the commander in the field received what he wanted. In part because of his subordination to General Trobaugh, in part because of his focus on the technical aspects of his job (exactly what he was supposed to do), and in part because XVIII Airborne Corps was shielding him from higher headquarters' concerns, Smith did not have the same perspective that General Mackmull had. In addition, because he was a fairly new brigadier general, he lacked Mackmull's depth and breadth of experience and tended to follow Mackmull's suggestions.

Throughout the intervention, General Mackmull set the highest possible standards of conduct: focusing on the success of the mission and laying aside any personal feelings about how he had been treated. The spirit of professionalism and goodwill that defined his relations with Generals Smith and Farris, as well as their relations with him and one another, set the best possible example for their subordinates. Their command relationships were a major contributing factor to the success of logistical efforts at Fort Bragg. General Cavazos' characterization of the XVIII Airborne Corps—". . . an extraordinary achievement in light of command-and-control arrangements"—applies equally to the 82d Airborne Division-Rear.[89]

The provision of medical support constitutes the one exception to this generalization, and even there General Mackmull played an indispensable role in dispatching Medical Task Force 5. Overall, whether in the planning, loading, or sustaining phase, medical units were often ignored and their efforts to move to Grenada were sometimes amateurish. While it is true that the failure of the Department of the Army to budget sufficient funds to allow the units' members to practice loading and deploying played a major role in this outcome, both the senior commanders and the Army's medical community must accept a measure of responsibility as well. The failure not only to anticipate that medical vehicles and supplies might be bumped at Green Ramp but also to maintain adequate records of what supplies were on the vehicles points to a mindset in medical units that loading procedures were a pro forma unpleasantness, a bureaucratic hurdle to be endured. Somehow, medical commanders missed the import of their readiness training, namely, that loading an airborne division for combat was a dynamic process essential to the success of a mission and that officers and men had to be prepared in advance to accommodate whatever changes would inevitably occur.

[89] Msg, Cavazos to Wickham, 23 2100Z Nov 1983, sub: Lessons Learned, Grenada files, CmdHO, TRADOC. In this back-channel message the commander of U.S. Army Forces Command gives the Army chief of staff his personal assessment on how URGENT FURY was conducted.

No one attempted to bridge the training gap because no one recognized the important issue involved. In part, this reflected how long it had been since the division had actually conducted a real contingency operation. The result was a failure of imagination in the months and years before Urgent Fury on the part of both senior operational and medical commanders.

Overall, officers in the operational chain too often failed to realize the key role that medical units played in Urgent Fury. Here was a campaign whose success depended upon the maintenance of public support. The effort to keep casualties low among both the troops and friendly civilians represented a sine qua non in this action, but even those officers who understood this point had difficulty in grasping the logical corollary that followed: Medical units capable of providing a wide range of services needed to deploy early. Years of exercises where adequate medical support was a given, prejudice against logisticians, and the press of events conspired to veil this truth early in the operation. Without Colonel Rumbaugh's impassioned advocacy, Colonel Edward Wilson's blunt honesty, and General Mackmull's grasp of the overall picture, proper Army medical support might never have deployed. Even so, it arrived far later than it should have.[90]

On the whole, the support the 82d Airborne Division received from the Army's national depot supply system was first rate. Certainly, a great many mainly anonymous people, military and civilian, worked very hard to make it so. The problems that surfaced concerned primarily processes and procedures. The existing joint planning guidance did not require staff officers to make requests for or assign project and address codes to an operation before it started. The cost of this oversight was a slower response time than expected; in some cases, additional work for the 182d Materiel Management Center; and confusion, on occasion, about where to send specific items. Major Causey and his assistants were able to overcome these difficulties. Because Atlantic Command had removed XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command, they had to learn on the job how to deal with national-level logistical agencies, but they became more proficient at their tasks as the operation progressed.

Finally, the hand-off of control of the airflow from the division to the corps was very well executed. Although the timing of Military Airlift Command's revision to peacetime rules unfortunately complicated the transition back to corps control, Major Boggs and his assistants handled the changeover as well as could be expected given the heavily bureaucratized nature of the Air Force's peacetime airlift request system.

[90] For simulated casualties pre-Grenada, see RCmts, Reardon, May 2005, Hist files (Drafts), CMH.

# 10

# Area of Operations

## 27 October 1983

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As the third day of military operations on Grenada began on 27 October, the Army's logistical effort showed small but real improvements. On Barbados the Air Force had established a robust intermediate staging base, while ad hoc Army actions had provided a framework to manage the transshipment of Army units and equipment to the Point Salines airfield. The scattered nature of the resistance on Grenada during the previous day held the promise that combat might continue to be light and place minimal stress on the logistical system. At Point Salines cargo-handling was a vulnerable point in the air line of communications, but some amelioration of conditions had occurred during the last twenty-four hours. The lack of Army medical personnel, equipment, and supplies remained a potential problem. Still, the lessening of Cuban and Grenadian resistance suggested that this weakness might be a theoretical rather than an actual difficulty. At the same time, coordination and communications across service lines continued to be problematic.

### Intermediate Staging Base on Barbados

Nowhere was the improvement in the Army's logistical effort more noticeable than on Barbados. At 0300, on 27 October, the first echelon of seven troop-lift helicopters of Maj. William J. Elder's Task Force B, formed around a nucleus from his Company B, 82d Aviation Battalion, departed Grantley Adams International Airport for the Point Salines airfield. The remainder of the aircraft in the task force left approximately an hour later. Sgt. Jimmie Dew remained at Grantley Adams in command of the task force's support element, which eventually made its way to Point Salines aboard fourteen Air Force C–141s.[1]

As Major Elder's contingent departed, additional Army aviation elements arrived on Barbados. Capt. Bernardo C. Negrete's Company D, 82d Aviation Battalion, equipped with AH–1 Cobra attack helicopters, reached Grantley Adams on the afternoon of 27 October, and that night Maj. Elton S. Sledge Jr.'s Company A, outfitted with UH–60 Black Hawks similar to Company B,

[1] Intervs, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, and Wade with Beaty and Garmond, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Arthur W. Hapner, "'Dustoff' in Grenada," pp. 62–64, 66.

followed. That same day elements of the 1st Squadron, 17th Cavalry, also landed at Grantley Adams: the squadron commander, Lt. Col. William J. Miller; the squadron assault command post; and the first echelon of Maj. Timothy R. Lynch's Troop B, consisting primarily of AH–1 Cobra gunships and OH–58 observation helicopters. As the new units appeared, they required the same services that Capt. Jimmie M. Rabon, the acting commander of Army Forces, Barbados, had provided for Elder's task force. Normally serving as the 82d Aviation Battalion S–4, Captain Rabon had no dedicated communications and only Sgt. Eric Rodwell from his section as an assistant, but the fact that someone was coordinating with the Air Force and the airport authorities, who were rapidly adapting to the new situation, produced impressive results. Where it had taken Task Force B an entire day to rebuild its helicopters on the twenty-sixth, it took Company D less than an afternoon. The difference lay not in the units, both were equally well trained, but in the fact that Captain Negrete's unit could rebuild its helicopters without the need to move them constantly to other locations to make way for incoming aircraft.[2]

Captain Rabon had more than just Army aviation units to concern him. Aircraft diverted from the holding pattern, to say nothing of those dispatched from Pope Air Force Base, landed constantly at Grantley Adams. Many unloaded their passengers and cargo for transshipment to Grenada. As Rabon noted, "It was no particular unit. It was sort of a hodgepodge of people." The captain set up a personnel holding area. Along with his assistant, Sergeant Rodwell, and the arrival-departure airfield control group commander, Capt. Harley C. Barr II, Rabon would find personnel "wandering around" with no one in charge. The three determined the units involved, identified the ranking officer or noncommissioned officer, designated a location at which all members of the unit were to assemble, and recorded this information. When they found other members of the unit, they thus could direct them to the appropriate location.[3]

The 317th Tactical Airlift Wing's 317th Airlift Control Element at Grantley Adams filled the gap created by Captain Rabon's lack of communications. Whenever an Army unit wanted supplies that were not on hand, Rabon would walk to the control element's air-conditioned van. An airman would teletype the captain's requests to Pope Air Force Base, which redirected them to the corps emergency operations center. The center in turn passed them through Army channels to the battalion-rear of the requesting unit. Moving through so many hands, messages could become garbled. For example, Rabon requested two vehicles and drivers for shipment to the aviation battalion on Grenada. One vehicle, two drivers, and the battalion mess team with its three vehicles arrived at Point Salines in due course. This, as Rabon observed, was all right except for the fact that the mess team did not bring any food, and no local supplies were immediately available.[4]

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[2] Intervs, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, and GWG with Miller, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[3] Intervs, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986 (quoted words), and McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[4] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Information passed much less easily from Fort Bragg to Barbados. Captain Rabon learned the time of arrival of some companies only when the doors of the aircraft transporting them opened and their members walked out. Communications with Point Salines were even more difficult. The 317th Airlift Control Element had a voice radio link with the division assault command post, but Rabon picked up only bits and pieces of information. He knew that water was in short supply, and, based upon his experience, he assumed that ammunition and repair parts would also be critical items. He and Rodwell, as a result, tried to get extra amounts of these commodities on every aircraft departing for Grenada.[5]

Unknown to Captain Rabon, one other channel of communications existed between Grantley Adams and Fort Bragg. One of the Army aviators passing through Barbados used his telephone credit card at a pay telephone in the terminal to call Fort Bragg. He notified his battalion-rear that his unit had arrived. When the division-rear commander, Brig. Gen. James D. Smith, learned of the call, he directed that someone on Barbados stay on the line constantly to keep the circuit open. Because the connection was insecure, conversations had to be guarded and elliptical, but it allowed division-rear to monitor the movement of units through Grantley Adams. Constantly on the move, Rabon simply did not learn of the existence of this link prior to his departure for Grenada.[6]

Close Army–Air Force cooperation extended beyond just communications. A scheduled Air Cubana flight was due at Grantley Adams Wednesday afternoon, 27 October. The airlift commander, Brig. Gen. Robert B. Patterson, could not overlook the possibility that the aircraft might contain unscheduled passengers, such as a Cuban commando team. Rather than run the risk, he requested the Grantley Adams tower to divert the aircraft to another field. The Cuban pilot, however, paid no attention to these instructions. General Patterson directed Captain Rabon to get the Cobras ready "to kill Cubans." Rabon contacted Company D's commander, Captain Negrete, who launched two fully armed Cobra gunships. They hovered in defilade waiting for the Cuban aircraft to land. In the end, the Cuban pilot circled the island once and then departed. The upshot of the episode was that Company D left Barbados for Grenada much later on the twenty-seventh than originally planned.[7]

Sometime during the night of 27–28 October a major from XVIII Airborne Corps arrived on Barbados. Captain Rabon briefed him on the situation at Grantley Adams, introduced him to the key members of the Army arrival-departure airfield control group and the Air Force airlift control element, and showed him the location of the personnel and equipment areas. Then, shortly after midnight, Rabon and Rodwell drove a small truck belonging to 82d Aviation Battalion's S–4 section up the ramp of a C–130 and departed for Point Salines.[8]

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid. (quoted words); Interv, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[8] Interv, author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

## Point Salines Airhead, Morning

In contrast to the events unfolding on Barbados, airfield operations at Point Salines on the morning of 27 October appeared little changed from the evening before. The piecemeal deployment of combat units continued much to the chagrin of the 82d's senior leaders. Elements of the lead battalion of Col. James T. Scott's 3d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, Lt. Col. George A. Crocker's 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry, continued to arrive well into the morning in no particular order. The entire battalion did finally reach the island, but the late arrivals had to join the unit at the front because Colonel Scott had already committed it to the division's advance out of the Point Salines Peninsula. By then, Lt. Col. Hubert S. Shaw Jr. and his 1st Battalion, 508th Infantry, headquarters group had arrived, but the battalion itself was far from complete. It had elements in transit from locations scattered across the Caribbean and eastern United States, wherever their aircraft had flown when General Patterson closed the airfield during the Grand Anse operation.[9]

The arrival before first light of Major Elder's Task Force B from the 82d Aviation Battalion at least provided the division with the ability to move its infantry by air if necessary. With the fuel tanks on the task force's UH–60 Black Hawks running low, however, Elder's first job was to refuel his helicopters. The Class III Platoon, commanded by 2d Lt. Eric P. Katz, was responsible for dispensing jet fuel but had none to give. Although the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III, had requested JP–4 for the helicopters before leaving Fort Bragg, the Air Force bladder bird carrying it had yet to arrive. The request had apparently been delayed in channels somewhere back in the United States.[10]

If Lieutenant Katz did not have the needed JP–4, another source was readily available—the Navy. The 82d Aviation Battalion commander, Lt. Col. Robert N. Seigle, was familiar with the refueling procedures that special forces aviators followed when working with the Navy and outlined them to Major Elder. Elder immediately sent his weary flyers to the USS *Guam* to fill empty fuel blivots they had carried with them to Grenada, but the men found that their hoses and nozzles were not compatible with Navy equipment. In the end, the Navy topped off the Army helicopters aboard ship, but this meant that the aircraft had to fly out to the *Guam* one at a time. Elder worked out a schedule so that all the craft in his force received fuel.[11]

The task force rallied on the south side of the western end of the runway in the only feasible location for helicopter operations close to the airfield. With the helicopters about to start operations, Colonel Seigle talked with the

[9] Intervs, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, and Bishop with R. Newman, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div, 27 Oct 1983, 0850, 1440, 1818, 2025, 2300, and 28 Oct 1983, 0055, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[10] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul and 6 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[11] Intervs, Baribeau with Elder, 9 Nov 1983, and with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Robert N. Seigle, "Looking Back at Urgent Fury," p. 24.

commander of the 317th Tactical Airlift Wing's 317th Combat Control Team at Point Salines, Air Force Capt. Stephen R. Scott. The Army aviators did not as yet have the control team's frequencies and call signs, but Seigle assured Captain Scott that "until we can get some more permanent rules about which way we'll approach this place and how you guys are going to fly your patterns and all that sort of stuff, count on the fact that my guys will just stay clear."[12]

This informal agreement held. No Air Force C–141s and C–130s or Marine and Navy CH–53s and CH–46s were endangered by Army aircraft. Colonel Seigle attributed this ability to operate with safety in violation of standard airport operating procedures to the type of training Army pilots received. Because of their need to operate from field locations during the Army's numerous field exercises, they became accustomed to "fly[ing] their helicopter[s] without someone telling them which way to go." Navy, Marine, and Air Force pilots, on the other hand, had been trained to make approaches, landings, and takeoffs only after someone they recognized as a competent authority "absolutely cleared" them to do so. Although operational necessity dictated these relaxed procedures, it was, Seigle admitted, "an unbelievably hairy operation" that he never wanted to repeat.[13]

Operational necessity also required the combat control team to set aside another safety rule that mandated a halt to aircraft landings while rotors turned at the edge of a runway. Its enforcement would have effectively curtailed all C–141 and C–130 operations at the airfield, which was the case when a bladder bird landed to fill Lieutenant Katz's fuel point. Unable to move entirely off the landing strip, the C–130 blocked the airfield at its midpoint. As a result, both C–130 and C–141 operations were impossible for a time.[14]

While Lieutenant Katz was still at Fort Bragg, Major Cleary had taken him aside to tell him that on Grenada he would need connectors that fit all the different sizes of valves that a fuel-carrying aircraft might have. Cleary had requested that bladder birds make all fuel resupply deliveries, but he warned Katz that he must not anticipate that all the fuel would come from bladder birds. If there was no other way to get it, he might have to pump some fuel out of a C–130's own fuel tanks, leaving just enough for it to take off and fly to its destination. In this procedure, known as wet wing defueling, Class III Platoon personnel connected a hose to the aircraft's wing tank and pumped. Katz and other platoon members knew only the theory; they had never practiced the technique. Accounting procedures initiated in the 1970s required the Department of the Army to pay the Air Force for the use of its aircraft and crews during training exercises involving the two services. This had discouraged the Army from training with the Air Force, except when there was no

[12] Intervs, Baribeau with Elder, 9 Nov 1983, and with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[13] Dean C. Kallander and James K. Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 120; Interv, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[14] Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 120; Intervs, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, and author with Katz, 6 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Off-loading fuel from a C–130**

other way to obtain an essential skill. Wet wing defueling in the view of the Department of the Army did not qualify.[15]

The failure of the bladder bird to arrive led Lieutenant Katz to attempt a wet wing defueling. It took almost two hours because the platoon had to rely on gravity flow to empty the tanks rather than auxiliary pumps that had not yet arrived from Fort Bragg. After this experience, the arrival of the first Air Force bladder bird on the twenty-seventh generated feelings of relief. Emptying the bladder went better than Katz had dared to hope. The Air Force crew was very helpful. Even so, the conversion of theoretical knowledge to practical experience inevitably involved a learning curve. Katz's men took up to thirty minutes to remove the standard load of 5,900 gallons of JP–4 from a C–130 during their initial attempts; however, they had reduced their time to ten minutes or less by the end of URGENT FURY.[16]

The fact that airfield operations had to be temporarily suspended convinced the Air Force combat control team commander, Captain Scott, that the Class III aviation fuel point was improperly located. Scott insisted that Lieutenant Katz move to a small ramp on the north side of the runway,

[15] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[16] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul 1986, with McElroy, 30 Apr 1984, with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, plus Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation URGENT FURY Assessment, pp. X-46 to X-47, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

where a bladder bird could unload its JP–4 without shutting down the airport. Katz was appalled by the idea, realizing that he would have to drain all the fuel out of his system, dismantle it, haul it to the new site, schedule the engineers again to dig in the fuel bags and build a new berm, and then reassemble the system. Because this process would take a substantial amount of time, during which Army helicopters on the island would have only the support the Navy could provide, Katz appealed to Major Cleary and found support. Both Cleary and Katz appreciated all the deficiencies of the site, but a move of the type Scott envisioned was hardly practical at the height of active combat.[17]

Initially, the reordering procedure for bladder bird flights was quite cumbersome and time consuming. When the fuel point needed additional JP–4, Lieutenant Katz called Major Cleary on the radio and told him, in a prearranged code, that he needed so many "drinks" before dinner and so many after. A "drink" stood for a flight. The Class III Platoon also reported on fuel levels in the 10,000-gallon fuel bag to the Forward Area Support Team II headquarters every hour or two so that Cleary might initiate a call for more based on a combination of his knowledge of usage statistics and the division's plans for future operations. Usually, he requested another refueling mission whenever the fuel level dropped below the 4,000-gallon mark.[18]

It was after Major Cleary passed on Lieutenant Katz's messages that things became complicated. Cleary contacted the division-forward G–4, Capt. James A. Rosebrock, who, as soon as he could, used the command satellite radio. To radio the division G–4 section at Fort Bragg, Captain Rosebrock usually had to stand in line at the division assault command post for a considerable time and wait his turn. Division-rear, in turn, passed the request on to U.S. Atlantic Command in Norfolk, which referred the application to the Air Force. Response time varied, sometimes running from six to eight hours, long enough for the fuel point at Point Salines to run dry. Then, when a flight did arrive, the combat control team sometimes tried to land other planes ahead of it, because a bladder bird's arrival would halt air operations. Often Katz's platoon defueled aircraft at night, when the airflow was a little slower and the Air Force was more willing to countenance temporary suspension of landings. Some relief came after the division G–4, Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree, arrived at Point Salines. On 27 October Colonel Crabtree began transmitting requests directly to General Patterson's Airlift Control Center on Barbados, alleviating many of the procedural difficulties.[19]

Only a few accidents were associated with bladder bird operations. The most serious occurred when a valve on one of the aircraft ruptured and spewed

[17] Interv, author with Katz, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[18] Ibid. (quoted words); Interv, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[19] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

JP–4 all over one of the men. No fire broke out, but the C–130 had to depart with most of its fuel still on board. Because the 82d Military Police Company had confiscated the airfield's fire engine to use as a gunjeep, Major Cleary kept a bulldozer at the fuel point at all times. He planned to let any fire burn itself out and then to shove the wreckage off the field.[20]

Efforts to refuel the division's helicopters also complicated airfield operations. Class III Platoon personnel lacked the equipment to service them while their engines were running. As a substitute, a helicopter would fly in with a 500-gallon blivot that Katz and his men would then fill. The entire process took only fifteen minutes, during which time Captain Scott as a safety measure halted all landings and takeoffs at Point Salines. As soon as the bag was full, the helicopter would fly to an arming and refueling site located some distance away so that fueling could proceed without further impeding airfield operations. It was hardly a perfect system, but it was the best anyone could do under the circumstances.[21]

In the midst of these fuel-focused activities on the morning of the twenty-seventh, Major Cleary's headquarters assumed the important additional role of functioning as the communications center for aeromedical evacuation requests. Once the first two helicopters of the 57th Medical Detachment arrived with Major Elder, the two pilots set up separate operations close to Cleary's plumbers shack. Because they lacked radios other than those in their UH–60s, Cleary had a land line laid from his headquarters to the detachment. The Forward Area Support Team II call sign became the 57th's call sign as well. The new role was not part of the team's mission; however, it was, like so many other tasks during the early days of URGENT FURY, a job that needed to be done and Cleary's team did it.[22]

Sometime on 26 or 27 October a problem with maps began to surface that became acute for Major Cleary once he started acting as a communications center for aeromedical evacuations. The Army, the Air Force, and the special operations forces were using maps with grid coordinates 00 on the lower left-hand corner; the Navy and Marine Corps, maps with grid coordinates that started at 22 on the lower left-hand corner. Once he realized what was going on, Cleary developed a master map that contained both sets of coordinates. He then discovered reinforcements arriving with maps using a third series of coordinates. As he later remembered, "It created quite a problem for us."[23]

Having three map grids in use also magnified difficulties for the 82d Airborne Division commander, Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh. Part of the

[20] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, and with Katz, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[21] Intervs, author with Katz, 18 Jul and 6 Aug 1986, and Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. The average length of time for closing the airfield is in Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation URGENT FURY Assessment , p. X-21, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

[22] Interv, Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[23] Ibid.



**Using maps to locate key areas on the island**

problem was simply determining where units were. Ambiguity about location increased the possibility of friendly fire incidents and, on the whole, contributed to the division's slow advance.[24]

## Combat and Support

The capture of the Frequente warehouse complex on 26 October had allowed several units of the 82d Airborne Division to solve their transportation needs. Lt. Col. Jack L. Hamilton's 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, which was initially in actual possession of the facility's vehicles, benefited the most by augmenting its battalion train with sixteen Soviet dump trucks. The battalion's amateur shade-tree mechanics had hot-wired the trucks in a manner that kept their batteries from recharging. As a result, the battalion left a line of stalled dump trucks in its wake over the next several days.[25]

Lt. Col. John W. Raines' 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, also drew on the Frequente vehicle park for transportation. Colonel Raines' S–4, Capt. Randall L. McClure, no sooner arrived at Point Salines early on 27 October than he began trying to augment his battalion train with captured vehicles. The 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, had received more of its own vehicles than any of

[24] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. G, p. I-G-2 to I-G-7, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[25] Interv, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

the other battalions in the airhead, but the total was still considerably less than the number needed. Captain McClure had a 2½-ton truck to haul supplies from the airhead to the battalion supply point, but each company needed either a Gamma Goat or a civilian truck to haul the men's rucksacks, ammunition, and so forth. The mortar platoons also needed their own vehicles. As a latecomer, McClure had relatively less luck than the logisticians who had proceeded him, but what he discovered proved ultimately sufficient. He had brought a first-class mechanic with him to Point Salines and had sent the soldier on to Frequente. The man's hot-wiring skills kept the battalion's commandeered vehicles in service for the rest of the time that the 3d Battalion remained on Grenada. McClure also located a Soviet-built sedan and two luggage carts of the kind used around airports to carry his unit's mortar tubes.[26]

As soon as the 3d Brigade's S–4, Capt. Joseph Pitts Jr., heard about Frequente, he also sent two maintenance warrant officers, all the brigade mechanics, and a reinforced squad of infantry to the area. The force traveled in two abandoned Soviet dump trucks that brigade members had found near the airhead. The maintenance team secured four more small Soviet trucks, two "scout type vehicles," and an ambulance for the brigade. Because this was obviously inadequate, the 2d Brigade commander, Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr., later transferred more captured vehicles to the 3d Brigade's control. Even so, as mixed as the unit's train ultimately became, it could not match the variety of the 2d Brigade's equipment. One of its vehicles, driven by the senior logistician with the brigade, 1st Lt. Steven R. Jensen, was a somewhat dilapidated Soviet dump truck with one forward gear and no reverse. The sight of this conveyance proved particularly memorable for all who came upon it.[27]

Other units also took advantage of the vehicular windfall. By the time Colonel Silvasy brought the division chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., to inspect the complex early on the morning of the twenty-seventh, the entire vehicle park was empty except for one Soviet armored personnel carrier and one dump truck. Even then, a soldier was transferring the battery from the personnel carrier to the dump truck so that he could get the truck started.[28]

If the capture of Frequente meant more transportation for the logisticians with the line units, it had a different meaning for their commanders. Colonel Hamilton, for one, concluded from the event that combat was virtually over on the island. The amount of weaponry seized and the failure of General Hudson Austin's government to remove it, he reasoned, suggested that the Grenadians had no plans for a protracted guerrilla campaign.[29]

The situation looked much different from the perspective of the division assault command post. The persistent resistance at the Cuban compound on the morning of 26 October in the face of overwhelming force seemed to indicate that the Cubans and Grenadians might mount a stout, if ultimately futile, defense of various heavily fortified points throughout the island. If that

[26] Interv, Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[27] Interv, Wells with Whittaker, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[28] Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.
[29] Interv, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Paratroopers riding in a seized Soviet dump truck**

occurred, it could exact a heavy toll from the attackers. Given this analysis, the training camp at Calivigny, the Cuban Embassy, Richmond Hill Prison, and Fort Rupert looked to present particularly difficult tactical problems for a commander under pressure to keep his losses low.[30]

For most of 26 October, moreover, the division had had very little knowledge of what the marines were doing. General Trobaugh and his staff, for example, did not learn of the capture of Fort Frederick until 1922 on the twenty-sixth. This lack of information and a tendency to be more heavily influenced by events in the division's sector than by those on the rest of the island drove Trobaugh's plan for the third day. Under it, Colonel Silvasy's 2d Brigade would attack toward St. George's with Colonel Hamilton's battalion on the left and Colonel Raines' battalion on the right. Hamilton's objective would be the Ross Point Hotel, just south of St. George's, where Canadian citizens appeared to be—at least in the opinion of their government—in some danger of becoming hostages of the Grenadian army; in the process he was to seal off but not to attack the Cuban Embassy. Raines would sweep into St. George's from the south, while Hamilton distracted any remaining defenders with his more direct approach. Meanwhile, Colonel Scott's 3d Brigade would attack along the south coast to expand the airhead.[31]

[30] Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[31] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 26 Oct 1983, 1525–2355, and 27 Oct 1983, 0028–0200, Hist files (PDocs/DA), CMH; Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, plus Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Even in his planning for the breakout, General Trobaugh continued to emphasize a careful, controlled advance. He knew that his men had been trained to maximize not minimize fire. By having units advance deliberately, he could sweep areas thoroughly for enemy fighters and weapons caches while lessening the possibility of friendly fire incidents and the killing or wounding of innocent civilians. He intended to do all that he could to inhibit if not to totally prevent the development of an insurgency against a democratic Grenadian government after U.S. forces departed.[32]

A controlled advance also minimized the possibility that Army and Marine units would mistakenly fire on one another as they moved to link up. To further reduce this risk, General Trobaugh proposed to exchange liaison officers, radio frequencies, and call signs with the 22d Marine Amphibious Unit commander, Col. James P. Faulkner. Colonel Faulkner refused. He said such coordination was unnecessary because Army and Marine units were working in separate, well-defined sectors. Of course, Trobaugh's point was that the sectors were adjacent and the boundary was clearer to staff officers looking at maps than to troops looking at terrain in the field. Rebuffed, the general had to rely upon the good judgment of his officers and the fire discipline of his troops to prevent tragedies.[33]

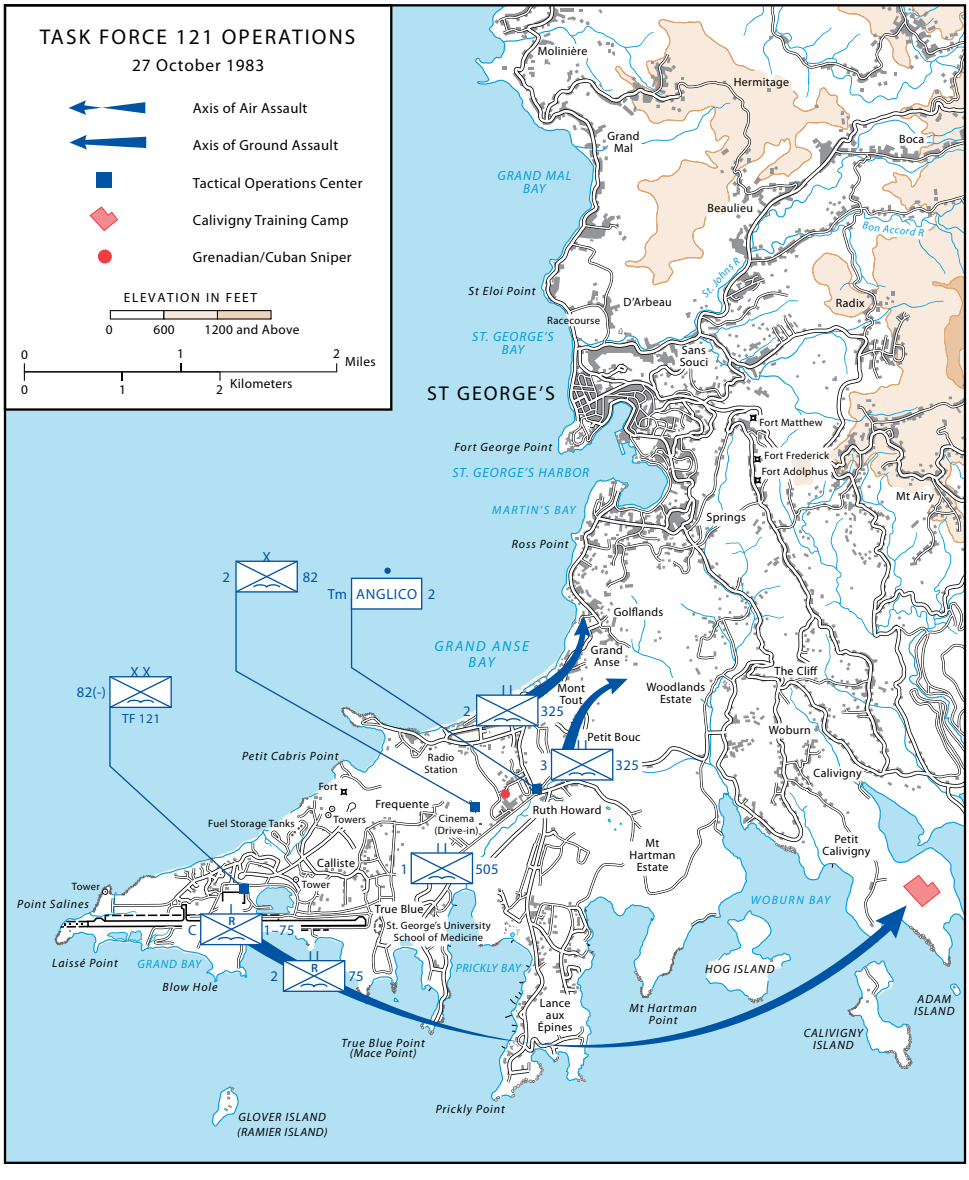
Colonel Hamilton's 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, advanced into the Grand Anse Beach area at 0630 on 27 October *(Map 9)*. The infantrymen found discarded People's Revolutionary Army uniforms and weapons scattered throughout the area. Hamilton had expected to meet resistance at a police barracks north of the Grand Anse Campus of St. George's University School of Medicine, but the place was deserted. In the end, aside from occasional sniping, the battalion encountered no opposition. Capt. Mark D. Rocke's Company C, however, did discover approximately twenty American students in the area whom the rangers had not located the day before. Captain Rocke sent them down the road to Colonel Raines' 3d Battalion under escort. Hamilton then positioned all three of his companies in line for the push on St. George's, which in the process would liberate the Ross Point Hotel, and waited for the 3d Battalion to reach its jump-off point and tie in on his right. This proved to be such a time-consuming process that the newly appointed Joint Task Force (JTF) 120 deputy commander, Maj. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr., ultimately turned the Ross Point Hotel mission over to the marines.[34]

Following in the wake of the combat troops, the 2d Battalion aid station set up at Grand Anse, close to the shore. Several hours later the corpsmen manning the station were startled when the marines conducted an air assault on Grand Anse. Anticipating possible resistance, the marines charged off their helicopters with their weapons at the ready. It was, reflected an ambulance driver at the aid station, Spec. Denis Deszo, a very dangerous moment. Fortunately, the Marine fire discipline held until Specialist Deszo and his buddies could

[32] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[33] Interv, Frasché with Akers, [Dec 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[34] Intervs, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983, and with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.




**Map 9**

identify themselves as Americans. The marines, Deszo later recalled, "were not happy with the news." Good small-unit training helped avert a potential tragedy, but the incident might never have occurred if the marines had exchanged liaison officers with the Army.[35]

[35] Captions to Deszo photographs nos. 98 (quoted words) and 99, and E-mail, Hendricks to author, 3 Mar 2010, sub: Material from Denis Deszo, Hist files (Papers/Deszo), CMH; Interv, Oland with Deszo, 3 Mar 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Deszo and "Pfc. [Kevin] Remington



**Paratroopers preparing to board a helicopter and moving out on a mission**



The bulk of Colonel Hamilton's support troops remained at the Cuban compound. They gave the morning over to burying ten Cuban dead from the fighting of the previous day and to moving the battalion's vehicles to Frequente. The shift to Frequente allowed the engineer platoon to provide security for both the vehicles and other captured supplies and equipment. Setting up an overwatch position on a hill north of the compound, the unit at about 1600 came under fire from several snipers in nearby houses. The Americans returned fire, sparking a firefight that lasted until sunset. Just as twilight turned to night a badly frightened Grenadian man entered the unit's position, reporting that several civilians had been caught in the crossfire and that Cubans had used his and his neighbors' homes for cover. The engineers sent a patrol back with him and escorted twenty-eight civilians, eight of them wounded, to safety. As a result, Hamilton's support elements had seen more action on 27 October than his line companies.[36]

On Colonel Hamilton's right flank, Colonel Raines could not identify any enemy presence to his front. Although his orders said attack, he viewed his maneuver as "movement to contact." Wary of potential ambushes, he intended to feel his way forward, locate the enemy, and then attack. As soon as he turned over his position to the lead battalion of the 3d Brigade, Colonel Crocker's 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry, Raines began moving north toward St. George's along the True Blue–Grand Anse road. He expected any resistance to occur near a sugar mill in the village of Ruth Howard, some 1,300 meters in front of his old position. While the battalion was moving through a densely populated area some 300 meters short of Ruth Howard near an old brewery, civilians suddenly streamed out of their houses and gave the most joyous welcome that any American troops had received since the liberation of Western Europe in World War II. Everyone was laughing and talking, caught up in the excitement of the moment, when snipers opened fire. Immediately, crowd control became Raines' number one priority. He did not have a megaphone (he had unsuccessfully tried to requisition one before he left Fort Bragg), so it was only with great effort that he and his men were able to herd the civilians back into their houses and out of harm's way. It took still more time for troopers to work their way into position to fire on the snipers. Then, one light antitank rocket launched in the general direction of the snipers proved sufficient to silence the opposition.[37]

About 400 meters northeast of Ruth Howard the road followed by the battalion turned due north toward Grand Anse Beach, the same location already occupied by Colonel Hamilton's battalion. As per order, Colonel Raines paused and reoriented his advance due east toward Mont Tout and Petit

. . . found a 35-mm. Russian camera at 'Little Havana' after the fighting stopped. We were able to scrounge up some film and take pics of the remaining operation." See E-mail, Deszo to Hendricks, 5 May 2009, sub: Grenada Memories in Deszo Papers, Hist files (Papers/Deszo), CMH.

[36] Jnl, S–3, 2d Bn, 325th Inf, 27 Oct 1983, 1535, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, Wells with Withers, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[37] Interv, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Bouc, large foothills of the mountainous interior. About this time the students that Hamilton's battalion had discovered walked into Raines' position. Preoccupied with getting the advance under way, Raines told them that they needed only to follow the road back to the airfield. It was all under American control. He instructed them to walk in the center of the road so that they would be completely visible. They should be prepared to raise their hands if necessary to show their pacific intent. Having delivered these informal but sufficient directions, Raines turned back to the task at hand.[38]

The movement east over Mont Tout and Petit Bouc placed the battalion in the roughest terrain that the division had yet to experience. The area had no roads, and only one unimproved track that did not permit access to wheeled vehicles. Raines did not expect much resistance. The citizens reported that a People's Revolutionary Army unit had arrived to defend the area, but the soldiers had decamped after spending a day listening to aircraft arriving at Point Salines. Before leaving, however, they had commandeered clothing from the local civilians at gunpoint and discarded their own uniforms.[39]

Colonel Raines and his battalion headed out on foot. Raines took an Air Force air controller with him and, if necessary, had an Air Force Spectre on call overhead. The battalion moved in the direction of high ground beyond the sugar mill toward a locality known as Woodlands Estate, about 2,200 meters east of Ruth Howard, where The Cliff was the dominant terrain feature. From atop this height, a force could not only control egress to Calivigny Peninsula, site of the training camp that Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler's ranger battalion had held off from attacking the first day, but also dominate a good all-weather road that would provide the avenue for Raines' push toward the capital. Only a few snipers contested the advance.[40]

Control of the battalion proved something of a problem in the close terrain. Once the unit passed over the second ridgeline from the Grand Anse road, Colonel Raines had only intermittent radio contact with his companies. The radiomen had short whip antennas attached to their radios for movement through the heavy bush; however, the terrain dictated long whips for communications. During the advance the battalion had to take five- to ten-minute halts so that the radiomen could attach the long whips, make radio contact, and then reattach the short whips. Given his mission, Raines sacrificed continuous communications for speed. (The solution was a telescopic antenna that would permit easy changes in antenna height, but equipment of this type was not standard issue in 1983.) The decision came at a price. Raines' left-flank company for a time became intermingled with Hamilton's right-flank company. As elements of the two battalions maneuvered through the dense vegetation, they drew fire. Afterwards no one could be certain whether the Grenadians and Cubans had blocked their path or whether the two units had

[38] Ibid.; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, [JTF 120], n.d., Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH.

[39] Interv, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[40] Ibid.



**Calivigny training camp**

fired on one another. The enemy's defense, if it was that, only momentarily stalled the advance.[41]

Once in the bush, the members of Raines' battalion soon discovered what the other airborne battalions had learned during the operation, namely, that their two-quart canteens could not tolerate the bouncing involved in moving across country in rough terrain. They split at the seams. When one burst, it immediately depleted a soldier's water reserves by half. As a result, the entire 2d Brigade had to ration its water.[42]

Before moving across country, Colonel Raines had instructed Capt. Ben F. Clawson to use his Combat Support Company at Ruth Howard to provide security for the battalion's vehicles, which the battalion's S–4, Captain McClure, was moving up from the airfield. A Marine detachment from the 2d Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company was also there, its members sitting in a jeep at the Ruth Howard crossroads. The detachment, which had joined the

[41] Ibid.; Intervs, Burdett with D. Davis, [Nov 1983]; Bishop with Rocke, 19 Nov 1983; and Parker with Prantl, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[42] Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983]; Wells with Whittaker, 10 Nov 1983; Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983; and Hicks with Pitts, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 0510, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

battalion only on 26 October, had no direct radio link to the battalion commander even when the short whip antennas allowed Raines to talk to Captain Clawson. Because of miscommunication between the division and the Marine Corps before anyone left Fort Bragg, none of the Marine detachments usually assigned at brigade or division headquarters had yet arrived on Grenada. Lacking these higher-echelon elements to vet fire support requests, the Marine team with the 3d Battalion was at that moment entirely on its own, free of all effective oversight and control.[43]

Suddenly the village began receiving automatic weapons fire from both the east and the west—areas already cleared by the battalion. More fire followed from the south. Captain Clawson thought it was friendly fire in response to the initial fusillade. As he tried to stop the fire from the south and his men replied to the other bursts, the marines pinpointed the source of some of the hostile fire.[44]

With Colonel Raines out of contact and Captain Clawson preoccupied, the team leader exercised initiative and called in an A–7, a carrier-based Vietnam-era light attack plane that in 1983 was still the Navy's aircraft of choice for providing close air support. The jet made three perfect dry runs over the target, but on the fourth, the strafing pass, it deviated slightly and hit a prominent white house rather than its target. The team immediately halted the action.[45]

The large white house, unknown to the marines, contained the headquarters of the 2d Brigade. Colonel Silvasy's 2d Brigade staff had spent the first two days on the island under trees and beside walls like the rest of the infantry. Brigade staff officers had written orders at night by flashlight under ponchos using the top of their Kevlar helmets as their work area. Consequently, it was a relief for them on the twenty-seventh when, with the airhead expanding, Silvasy had established his command post in a house near the front, where he liked his headquarters to be. The euphoria lasted until exactly 1645 when, in the middle of a tropical rainstorm, the rounds from the A–7 slammed into the building's roof. Suddenly sixteen staff members needed medical attention, three of them very badly. Two of these, Sgts. Harry A. Shaw and Sean P. Luketina, had lost both their legs. Although no medics were with the headquarters and no medical evacuation helicopters were immediately available, the injured received immediate care because the 82d Airborne Division required all members of its maneuver units to take first aid training. Reacting at once, the uninjured and slightly injured members of the staff kept the seriously wounded alive until the professionals arrived.[46]

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[43] Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and with Clawson, [Nov 1983], plus Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[44] Interv, Burdett with Clawson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[45] Ibid.; Intervs, Burdett with Raines, [Nov 1983], and Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[46] Intervs, Burdett with Clawson, [Nov 1983]; McMichael with Steele, Glass, Stewart, and Henson, 5 Apr 1984; and Wells with Farbes, 9 Nov 1983; plus Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, [JTF 120], n.d., Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH; List, sub: Personnel Injured in 27 Oct 83 Strafing Incident, Grenada, encl. to Ltr, Cavazos to McDonald, 28 Mar 1984, sub: Joint Investigation

To the south in the 3d Brigade sector of the airhead, Colonel Crocker watched the A–7 circle and wondered who was controlling it and why it was so close to the American sector. Although the division's plan had called for his 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry, to attack east along the south coast at 0600, the colonel had had to wait until Raines' battalion cleared his front. His lead company as a result had not begun its advance until 1100. His objective was to expand the airhead perimeter to the east an additional four kilometers. His scheme of maneuver was "a series of company bounds" in which one company would move forward while the adjacent one remained stationary, ready to engage immediately any opposition that developed while its neighbor was in motion. The narrowness of his sector, however, had hampered the maneuver, and the densely populated area had made house clearing a time-consuming experience. About 1600 one of his companies received heavy automatic rifle fire from a house to its front. Crocker attempted to bring the Spectre against the target only to learn that the rangers' foray against the People's Revolutionary Army training center on Calivigny Peninsula had priority. Snipers continued to harass his advance the remainder of the afternoon and had to be cleared by infantry action. Relief came only in the form of a tropical rainstorm at the end of a hot, dusty, and in many ways frustrating day.[47]

The launch of an air assault against the suspected Grenadian antiaircraft school near Egmont on Calivigny Peninsula had not been a part of General Trobaugh's initial concept of operations for 27 October. During the morning, however, Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) chairman General John W. Vessey had radioed the general directly to express his dissatisfaction with the division's slow rate of advance out of the Point Salines Peninsula. Then at noon Joint Task Force 120 received "a JCS-directed mission" from Atlantic Command to "seize and secure Calivigny Mil[itary] B[arrac]ks and Naval Facility before dark." Ashore at Point Salines when the message arrived, the JTF 120 commander, V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III, and his deputy, General Schwarzkopf, were surprised by the order. Everything was going smoothly, and they knew that Trobaugh planned to clear the peninsula the next day. Admiral Metcalf attempted to question the order, but Atlantic Command only reiterated it. When he learned of it, General Trobaugh also protested through channels—with the same result.[48]

The general then faced a dilemma. He had only three full airborne battalions in the airhead, the two battalions from the 2d Brigade and Colonel Crocker's battalion from the 3d, and they were committed to the breakout from

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of A–7 Strafing on 27 Oct 1983, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/LANTCOM), CMH. Sergeant Luketina of Company A, 82d Signal Battalion, succumbed to his wounds on 30 June 1984 in the Veterans Administration Hospital, Fayetteville, N.C. See Tom Burgess, "Target Confusion Blamed in Air Attack," *Army Times,* 23 Jul 1984.

[47] Crocker, "Grenada Remembered," pp. 13 (quoted words), 14–15.

[48] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 27 Oct 1983, 1220, Hist files (PDocs/DA), CMH, which gives the order as received by the division verbatim. See also Intervs, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, plus GWG with Schwarzkopf, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; and Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO. For the most careful elucidation of the genesis of the order, see Ronald H. Cole, *Operation Urgent Fury*, p. 66.

the peninsula. Because of the diversion of most of the 3d Brigade on the twenty-sixth, he had as yet received only fragments of the 3d's other two battalions. The remainder of that force was still en route. Given the rate at which Crocker's men were advancing, the likelihood that the 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry, could reach the objective in the time allotted appeared very slim. The overland route, moreover, appeared questionable. Intelligence reported that the "r[oa]d into area has ambush emplacements." Unlike the situation on 26 October, however, Trobaugh did have the helicopters of Major Elder's Task Force B available. He also had the rangers near at hand. Although he had already relinquished operational control of them to the 1st Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg and aircraft assigned to take them home were already en route to Point Salines, the force remained in the airhead for the time being. Reasoning that the senior Ranger, Colonel Hagler, was very familiar with the target because his staff had planned a Calivigny mission on D-day and that the only way to take the objective in time was to employ his battalion in a helicopter assault, Trobaugh requested and once more received operational control of the rangers.[49]

One difficulty was immediately apparent: Major Elder had no gunships to escort his troop-lift helicopters. Standard operating procedure called for the gunships to use suppressing fire to keep any defenders pinned down between the time artillery fire or close air support was lifted and the moment troop-lift helicopters touched down in the landing zone. The absence of gunships meant that the untrained UH–60 door gunners would have to provide close-in fire support. Against any considerable opposition, a pilot's only hope would be to fly as close to the ground as possible at maximum speed and then to set down abruptly in the landing zone. That required precision flying, but because of everything that had happened to the aviators during their deployment from the United States, precision flying was almost unattainable. They were simply too tired.[50]

The same could have been said of Colonel Hagler's 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, which had conducted two assaults in as many days. Preparing for its supposed imminent return to the United States, moreover, the battalion S–4, Capt. Jose G. Ventura, had begun turning ammunition and other supplies over to the Forward Area Support Team II. Orders, however, were orders, and Hagler and his staff immediately began planning the operation in conjunction with Major Elder's pilots, the artillery task force, and the 3d Brigade. General Trobaugh selected the 3d Brigade commander, Colonel Scott, a former ranger battalion commander known to Hagler and his men, to direct the assault. Trobaugh also reinforced the battalion with Company C from the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry. The remainder of that unit would reinforce Hagler once his men had set up a perimeter.[51]

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[49] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 26 Oct 1983, 1525 (quoted words), and 27 Oct 1983, 1315, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[50] Intervs, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983; Baribeau with Elder, 9 Nov 1983; author with Rabon, 27 Jun 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[51] Intervs, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983; Wells with Voyles, 1 Nov 1983; and Bishop with Ventura, 1 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**A Soviet ZU–23–2 in place above St. George's harbor**

Everyone was concerned about the amount of opposition that the assault force might meet. The most recent intelligence (admittedly from D-day and therefore somewhat suspect) estimated that the Grenadians had from four to six Soviet two-barreled towed ZSU–23–2 or four-barreled self-propelled ZSU–23–4 antiaircraft guns on the peninsula. These were the same type of guns that had given the 160th Aviation Battalion so much trouble over St. George's on the twenty-fifth. A battalion of Grenadians, 300 to 400 Cubans, and 60 Soviets rounded out the suspected defenders. Naturally, this force list made everyone a little chary of the operation. When a member of the division informally requested gunship support from the marines, for example, they declined to do so. Army officers suspected that some degree of service parochialism was at play. The 22d Marine Amphibious Unit commander, Colonel Faulkner, however, had already lost several helicopters, and Grenadian fire had damaged many of those that had participated in the Grand Anse rescue. Under pressure from the Joint Chiefs of Staff to depart as quickly as possible, Faulkner already was focused on his next assignment—Lebanon—and the need to keep his force intact for the challenges it would face there.[52]

[52] Intervs, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, and Bishop with Scott, [Nov 1983], and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, which is quite revealing on his satisfaction with keeping aviation support within the division. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

The assault planning was rushed, with no time to rehearse. The rangers had about fifteen minutes to coordinate with the helicopter pilots before boarding. Furthermore, preparatory fire from the division artillery was ragged. The first round landed squarely on the target; the others, either close to the target or in the surrounding ocean. It was a difficult target to begin with because of two intervening peninsulas and two islands, but the artillerymen in the effort to deploy as light as possible had also left essential fire control equipment behind. A strong wind, blowing in from the ocean deflected rounds to the left. From the artillery position it appeared that most rounds were on target, whereas in fact many overshot the camp. Even more to the point, the artillery had planned a zone sweep of the entire area. At the last minute a ranger fire control officer, who had not participated in planning the fires, replaced the brigade fire support officer who had. He envisioned something different. The result was communication without understanding and increasing frustration both in the air and on the ground.[53]

Aloft in a command-and-control helicopter with Colonels Seigle and Hagler, Colonel Scott witnessed the inadequate preparation first hand and ordered the air assault delayed for fifteen minutes. Hagler had brought with him an air and naval gunfire liaison officer, a Marine reservist, to direct naval gunfire to finish the job; however, each time the reservist had a ship ready to fire, it failed to do so, to the intense frustration of everyone aboard the helicopter. No one realized that Admiral Metcalf, a surface warfare officer who distrusted the ability of a Marine reservist to accurately direct a naval bombardment, had intervened each time and ordered a check fire. Apparently, Metcalf suffered no qualms about the reservist's ability to direct naval air support. When the Marine vectored A–7s on the target, their bombing was quite accurate. As a result, by the time the jets finished working over the camp, all the structures there were burning.[54]

As the helicopters carrying the rangers lifted off from Point Salines, an observer looking in the direction of Barbados would have seen tiny black dots on the far distant horizon. They were the AH–1 Cobra attack helicopters of Captain Negrete's Company D, 82d Aviation Battalion, arriving just too late courtesy of the Cuban airliner to participate in the assault.[55]

Major Elder's pilots approached the target area at high speed to avoid antiaircraft fire, skimming over the surface of the sea and then up the headland that marked the southern tip of the peninsula. At the top of the abrupt slope, the pilots discovered for the first time that the camp and their landing zone were much closer to the end of the peninsula than their briefing had led them to believe. The helicopters had to flare up to lose airspeed much more rapidly than the aviators had planned. With their noses pointed at a high angle, almost motionless as they

[53] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Halley, 15 Nov 1983; Bishop with Scott, [Nov 1983]; and McMichael with McFarren, 17 Nov 83, and with Ryneska, 18 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[54] Bishop with Scott, [Nov 1983]; Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983; and GWG with Elder and McWilliams, 14 Dec 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. In 1983 all air and naval gunfire liaison officers came from the Marine Corps Reserve.

[55] Interv, Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

completed the maneuver, the helicopters became almost perfect targets for anyone on the ground with an automatic weapon. At the same time, their passengers, including the door gunners, had to struggle simply to stay aboard.[56]

The pilots' difficulty in orienting themselves stemmed at least in part from flaws in the division's maps. Back at Fort Bragg, the XVIII Airborne Corps' 63d Engineer Company had had to make black-and-white reproductions quickly from a multicolor original. The cartographers concentrated on landforms, and in that respect their reproduction was quite good. The coastline, however, was another matter; at some points it was very distinct and at others, indetectable. The Calivigny Peninsula was one of the places on the maps where the coastline had not reproduced well.[57]

In the event, the helicopters faced little opposition and no ZSU–23s. At most, a caretaker Grenadian force of squad strength opposed the landing. Ammunition stores cooking off in the fires started by the air and artillery preparation probably accounted for most of the rounds, although the untrained door gunners, once they regained their footing, also may have contributed friendly fire to the mix of hazards. The three lead Black Hawks began to receive ground fire as they touched down. While at an altitude of about fifteen feet, the third ship in line was hit in the tail boom and immediately lost all hydraulics. Lurching to the right, it meshed main rotors with helicopter number two. Both crashed. Aircraft number four maneuvered to avoid this shambles and unknowingly landed in a ditch. Its main rotor struck its tail boom, severing it, but this early UH–60 model had no indicator on the control panel to tell the pilot that anything was wrong. Once his passengers debarked, he took off. Without the tail boom, his helicopter, rather than his main rotor, spun, and the machine crashed into the confused wreckage of ships two and three. It all happened in a matter of seconds.[58]

The UH–60's sturdy construction ensured that the rangers who remained within their Black Hawks suffered no major injuries. Many, however, had begun jumping out even before their ships touched down, as they had been trained to do in an opposed landing. The result was a bloody shambles of crushed bodies and traumatic amputations as rotors cut a swath through the men. Three rangers were killed outright and five severely wounded, including one who lost both legs to a rotor blade. Others sustained wounds as well but remained with their battalion at

[56] Ibid.; Intervs, Wells with Voyles, 1 Nov 1983; Bishop with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983; Bishop with Scott, [Nov 1983]; GWG with Elder and McWilliams, 14 Dec 1983; plus Briefing, Seigle, Miller, Elder, Lynch, and Negrete, 10 Feb 1984. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Map, 63d Cartographic Co, XVIII Abn Corps, sub: Grenada, Hist files (Graphics/Maps), CMH.

[57] Map, 63d Cartographic Co, XVIII Abn Corps, sub: Grenada, Hist files (Graphics/Maps), CMH; Intervs, Bishop with Scott, [Nov 1983], and Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[58] Briefing, Seigle, Miller, Elder, Lynch, and Negrete, 10 Feb 1984; plus Intervs, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983; Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983; GWG with Elder and McWilliams, 14 Dec 1983, and with Sinibaldi, 14 Dec 1983; Bishop with Hensler, 1 Nov 1983, and with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983; and Wells with Hanna, 1 Nov 1983, and with Voyles, 1 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. For the Hagler interview, two transcriptions exist: one by Neal R. Gross Associates, which omits most of the Calivigny action, and one by the 44th Military History Detachment, which is preferable.



**UH–60s in flight and on the ground at Point Salines;** *below,* **Damaged UH–60s**







**Marines during and after a mission, looking out from an opening in the wall and displaying seized portraits of Communist leaders**

Calivigny. The second lift of four Black Hawks did not attempt to land. Taking ground fire, the aircraft hovered at a height of eight feet or more as the rangers jumped to the ground. The survivors systematically cleared the compound and then observed some individuals, no more than ten or twelve, withdrawing to the north. The rangers came under small-arms fire from ridges in that direction. The air controller accompanying the rangers called in the Spectre, which along with naval fighter-bombers suppressed the fire. After evacuating the severely wounded and the dead on troop-lift helicopters, Colonel Hagler's men established a perimeter and remained through the night. They had no further contact.[59]

In contrast, Marine operations on 27 October continued to meet little opposition. The most violent encounter occurred during the night of 26–27 October, when a Grenadian armored personnel carrier drove into a marine patrol in the streets of St. George's. Both sides were surprised, but the marines reacted more quickly, disabling the vehicle. The next day the Battalion Landing Team 2/8 commander, Lt. Col. Ray L. Smith, prepared to assault Richmond Hill Prison, but two American journalists who had slipped into the city walked

[59] Briefing, Seigle, Miller, Elder, Lynch, Negrete, 10 Feb 1984; plus Intervs, Bishop with Scott, [ Nov 1983], and with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983; Baribeau with Seigle, 9 Nov 1983; GWG with Elder and McWilliams, 14 Dec 1983, and with Sinibaldi, 14 Dec 1983; and Wells with Hanna, 1 Nov 1983, and with Voyles, 1 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

into his lines and reported the place abandoned. Colonel Smith quickly occupied it. Smith's second objective was a deserted antiaircraft site. The name for it on his map, Fort Lucas, rather exaggerated its importance. The third, Fort Adolphus, proved on close inspection to be the Venezuelan Embassy. At the end of the day Smith's unit received the Ross Point Hotel mission, and the colonel promptly dispatched a company to that location.[60]

### Port Salines Airhead, Afternoon/Evening

As the division prepared to launch the air assault on Calivigny, Captain Scott's 317th Combat Control Team closed the airfield at Point Salines to air operations just as it had on the previous day. Lt. Col. Duane E. Williams' artillery task force had batteries both north and south of the runway, but because the target was to the east, they fired parallel to the runway rather than across it. The Air Force controller on duty assumed, however, that the batteries were firing across the runway as during the Grand Anse operation and halted air traffic. Because the controller did not know how long the Calivigny attack might last, the decision set off a chain reaction all the way back to Pope Air Force Base. Takeoffs there stopped and aircraft en route diverted to other fields. The aircraft circling Point Salines, meanwhile, stayed in the air until their dwindling fuel levels forced them to divert to Barbados or Roosevelt Roads. Only after helicopters evacuated the seriously wounded to the *Guam* did C–141 and C–130 landings and takeoffs resume at Point Salines.[61]

This time the division learned about the stoppage of the airflow and the reason behind it rather quickly. One of the aircraft that had enough fuel to continue circling throughout the closure included among its passengers Col. William F. Daly Jr. and his 82d Support Command staff. As soon as the last medical evacuation helicopter departed, Colonel Daly's C–141 landed, and he made it his personal business to find out exactly what had happened.[62]

Colonel Daly discovered that a young airman third class in the 317th Combat Control Team had "used his best judgment" and had shut down the airflow on his own responsibility. (It should be noted that the Air Force controllers had gotten no more sleep at this point than Major Cleary and his men.) Daly made it quite clear to Captain Scott that neither the Army nor the Air Force could allow this kind of a situation to arise again. Before anyone shut off the airflow completely, Scott should at least consult with an Army representative. Daly arranged for the division signal battalion to lay a land line between the 317th and Forward Area Support Team II headquarters to facilitate such coordination. The line also allowed Major Cleary to pass on to the control team information about which cargoes General Trobaugh considered to have the highest priority. As a result, the control team was able to land

[60] Ronald H. Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada, 1983*, p. 16.

[61] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[62] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, and with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

aircraft from the stack overhead on the basis of need on the ground rather than time of arrival in the air space.[63]

The land line and Cleary's use of it represented only a partial solution to the overall problem. To effectively control the airflow, division logisticians needed to monitor the movement of all troops, supplies, and equipment from the moment they left Pope Air Force Base until they arrived at Point Salines. Such knowledge, referred to as visibility, would have permitted the division commander to influence not only what landed first at Salines but also what was loaded first at Pope. Cleary, however, could not do so because the designers of the forward area support team concept had not built that capability into the organization. Specifically, he needed a dedicated satellite radio to communicate directly with Green Ramp to find out what was aboard each aircraft, identified by tail number, and its time of departure. He also required enough staff officers to monitor flight patterns, noting any diversions while en route. Yet Cleary's table of organization and equipment authorized neither the radio nor additional officers. Still, the new arrangements provided the most positive control to date of the airflow into the airhead and as such constituted a great step forward. They also represented the most that Daly and Cleary could accomplish with the men and equipment then available.[64]

Somewhat ironically, the closure of the airfield due to artillery fire had an immediate adverse effect upon the buildup of the 82d's artillery. During the night of 26–27 October members of the division fire support element became increasingly concerned about a potential shortage of artillery ammunition. Their disquiet culminated in a request from Major Cleary via the tactical satellite radio for an emergency resupply during the morning of 27 October. The shells were en route even as the rangers prepared for the Calivigny operation, but the closure of the Point Salines airfield had delayed their arrival.[65]

The division artillery commander, Col. Fred N. Halley, was on the same aircraft as Colonel Daly. He assumed command of the artillery task force on Grenada, and Colonel Williams reverted to his normal role as commander of the 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery. One additional howitzer arrived after Colonel Halley, bringing the total number of tubes on the island to seventeen. Very shortly thereafter, Halley directed his executive officer at Fort Bragg, Lt. Col. David L. Baggett, to hold off on shipping any more howitzers to the airhead. It was clear by then to both General Trobaugh and Halley that organized resistance by conventional forces had all but ended on the island. The amount of sniping, however, suggested to them that a protracted campaign against guerrillas remained a distinct possibility. Given this prospect, they wanted to build up artillery ammunition stocks for the howitzers on hand, which the

[63] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986 (quoted words), and with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[64] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[65] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983; McMichael with Schieman, 5 Apr 1984; author with Cleary, 15 Jul 1986; and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Grand Anse and Calivigny operations had depleted. The first increment, some 2,000 rounds in response to Major Cleary's emergency resupply request, came in shortly after the airfield opened following the rangers' attack and less than eight hours after the initial message.[66]

While arrival airfield operations gradually became more efficient during the afternoon, evening, and night of 27 October, the improvements brought few immediate benefits for the 3d Brigade, whose problems with the airflow continued. Although Colonel Shaw and his 1st Battalion, 508th Infantry, staff had arrived during the morning, the closure of the Point Salines airfield for the Calivigny operation had scattered both his men and those of Lt. Col. Keith M. Nightengale's 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, across the Caribbean. Once the airflow resumed, pieces of each unit landed but in no discernable order. Neither force was complete by the end of the twenty-seventh.[67]

Just when the Air Force ground support units began arriving at Point Salines is a subject of some dispute between Air Force and Army accounts. The airlift control element dispatched on 25 October may have landed at the airfield on 26 October, although the debate over the request for JP–4 for the division's helicopters suggests that this date is too early. At least one piece of materiel-handling equipment reached there on the twenty-sixth, when late in the day the Air Force apparently had begun limited aerial port operations. Air Force historians recorded that one 10,000-pound all terrain forklift, one 10,000-pound standard forklift, and one 25,000-pound tactical air cargo loader—and by implication the twelve airmen who operated them from the 3d Mobile Aerial Port Squadron—were on the ground by the end of 27 October. An Army lessons learned team, however, concluded that the airlift control element at Point Salines did not begin functioning effectively until some sixty hours after the beginning of URGENT FURY, which would be the evening or later on 28 October. This discrepancy was of more than academic interest to Major Cleary and the weary soldiers of his arrival-departure airfield control group who continued to labor around the clock.[68]

Whenever the airlift control element did land (not necessarily at the same time as the materiel-handling equipment), the Air Force lieutenant colonel in charge set up his command module next to Major Cleary's shack and then proceeded to ignore him. The materiel-handling equipment, when it arrived,

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[66] Intervs, Danner and McMichael with Williams and Passaro, 17 Nov 1983, and with Halley, 15 Nov 1983; McMichael with Schieman, 5 Apr 1984; author with Cleary, 15 Jul 86, and with Cusick, 24 Jan 1989; and Hicks with Kelly, 18 Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[67] Intervs, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, and Bishop with R. Newman, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 27 Oct 1983, 0850, 1440, 1818, 2103, 2300, and 28 Oct 1983, 0055, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[68] Kallander and Matthews, URGENT FURY, p. 121, provide a table showing the types and number of materiel-handling equipment at Point Salines by date but combine the figures for 26 and 27 October. See also Intervs, Wade with Cleary, 19 Nov 1983, and author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 4-14, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1984], sub: Operation URGENT FURY Assessment, p. X-9, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH, Kenneth C. Sever, "Units and Missions—The 782d Maintenance Battalion (in Grenada)," pp. 3–6.

was in bad repair. The K-loader came down the ramp awash in hydraulic fluid, and the airmen simply put it back aboard for return to its home base. Each forklift was so large that even when disassembled it took up the entire cargo capacity of a C–141 and then required more than four hours to reassemble. In addition, both forklifts apparently required further repair. The Army lessons learned team declared that 10,000-pound forklifts were so mechanically unreliable that they should not be deployed in future contingency operations.[69]

In the interim, the Air Force officer decided to unload cargo from C–130s opposite the terminal once his equipment was operational rather than reinforcing Major Cleary's men. This new location represented the point at which these aircraft would normally end their landing roll, but takeoffs almost always went east to west because of the prevailing winds. To turn around, the C–130s still needed to taxi to the wider east end of the runway, where Cleary had his unloading point, and thus did not realize any fuel savings. Nevertheless, the Air Force officer announced that his men would unload "Ranger airplanes" as opposed to the 82d's, even though this distinction between C–130s and C–141s had ceased to have any meaning after 25 October. He sent members of his team to locate Army units and determine what supplies they needed in "catch-as-catch-can" fashion, without coordinating his efforts with Cleary who had already collected considerable information on this subject. "The patched-up system," reported the Army lessons learned team, "was not particularly well coordinated or efficient."[70]

## Processing Casualties

With the arrival of the first element of Alpha Echelon, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion, midday on 26 October, Army medical organization began to take shape on Grenada. In the absence of anyone from the division surgeon's office, Alpha Echelon's commander and company executive officer, 1st Lt. Douglas S. Phelps, had to assume responsibility for overseeing the ordering, collecting, and distribution of medical supplies and for coordinating the movement of casualties through the medical evacuation system. The senior Army medical officer in the area of operations, division orthopedic surgeon Lt. Col. Joseph P. Jackson Jr., also gave Lieutenant Phelps the task of "scrounging" more medical supplies locally and of coordinating problems with brigade and division headquarters. Because Phelps was very junior in rank and no one at either headquarters knew him, he had a difficult time getting a hearing for medical issues amid all the other concerns with which the staffs were contending.[71]

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[69] Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1984], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, p. X-31, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH. Kallander and Matthews, Urgent Fury, pp. 121–22, do not identify the lieutenant colonel.

[70] Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1984], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, p. X-9 (quotations), Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

[71] Intervs, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983] (quoted word), and Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Diary, Jackson, 27 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH.

The evacuation of casualties proved the easiest task to perform, largely because the Air Force officer responsible for the process, 1st Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron commander Lt. Col. A. Felix Meyer III, hitched a ride on a C–130 from Barbados to Point Salines on 27 October. Thoroughly frustrated by his communications problems on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, Colonel Meyer had decided that the only way to deal with the situation was to meet face-to-face with his counterparts in the Army and the Navy.[72]

After the first patients had arrived at the naval hospital at the Charleston Naval Air Station on the twenty-fifth, Atlantic Command had ordered Colonel Meyer to route future casualties to Roosevelt Roads Naval Station in Puerto Rico. Because the new hospital was only two hours flight-time away, Meyer had decided it made sense to shift his two C–141s to Roosevelt Roads while he remained on Barbados. To facilitate this change, he had requested and, on the twenty-seventh, received an air-transportable clinic that provided a holding facility for any casualties who might arrive at Grantley Adams. Meyer briefed Lieutenant Phelps on both the current evacuation system and the new arrangements that would take effect later on the twenty-seventh.[73]

Alpha Echelon's operating room, after almost a 24-hour diversion to Barbados, arrived at 0400 on 27 October. With it came Lt. Col. Richard A. Hall, a general surgeon; Maj. Karl S. Snyder, a family practice specialist; Capt. Horace K. Webster, a nurse-anesthetist; and other personnel. The 3d Brigade surgeon, Capt. Arthur H. Legate, who landed during the night, agreed with Colonel Jackson that it made sense to pool the division's slender medical resources within the airhead and thus joined the medical personnel supporting the 2d Brigade. Once the division received the Calivigny mission, the chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, convinced the two ranger battalion surgeons to join Jackson's medical team.[74]

The operating room had arrived with its surgical lights but without its generator. Somehow, during the nighttime transfer on Barbados to C–130s, Colonel Hall's contingent had left the generator behind as well as poles for the tent to house the operating room and soda lime for the anesthesia machine. Lieutenant Phelps had included in his group a mechanic who had brought several heavy-duty batteries with him. Using two of them he was able to coax one of the captured Soviet generators to life. Suddenly, the operating room had electrical power. While the mechanic worked on the generator, Phelps sent one of his men out to cut down a tree. The trooper then shaped poles to the desired length to erect the tent. Very quickly, the operating room had shelter. Meanwhile, Colonel Jackson dealt with the lack of soda lime by sending Captain Webster to the *Guam* to beg some from the Navy, as well as by giving Major Cleary a list of high-priority supplies that needed to be requested from

[72] Interv, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st AES, 14 Feb 1984, pp. 6–7, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/MAC), CMH.

[73] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st AES, 14 Feb 1984, pp. 2–3, Hist files (PDocs/U&SCmds/MAC), CMH; Interv, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[74] Intervs, Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, and Wells with Pfaff, 3 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Diary, Jackson, 27 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH.

Fort Bragg. The success of all these initiatives allowed the Army doctors to begin practicing medicine the way they had been trained.[75]

The 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, surgeon, Capt. Robert E. Kane, and the 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, physician's assistant, CWO2 William Donovan, rode in the second wave of the ranger assault on Calivigny. The rotor blades that caused so much damage had scarcely stopped turning when the two arrived. The battalion medics were already hard at work saving survivors, but the planning for the operation had been so rushed that no one had thought to include a representative of the 57th Medical Detachment. Normally, for a battalion-size air assault, the detachment commander, Maj. Arthur W. Hapner, would have had a Black Hawk loitering in the vicinity ready to evacuate casualties immediately but the nearest one was on the ground at Point Salines. As soon as the rangers requested aeromedical evacuation, the Black Hawk departed for the peninsula, taking five minutes to reach the scene. Upon arrival, however, the pilot did not land because the wounded were already being loaded on two UH–60s and because the scattered wreckage made it unsafe to land anywhere else. While perfectly capable of flying the wounded to the 307th Medical Battalion's aid station, these troop-lift helicopters did not have trained medical personnel aboard to treat them en route. Moreover, their use in such a role, when added to the three wrecked UH–60s, seriously detracted from the ability of the 2d Battalion commander, Colonel Hagler, to rapidly reinforce his men on the peninsula. Their ready availability and the needs of the moment, nevertheless, overrode all other considerations.[76]



**A marine holding a folded litter**

The 57th Medical Detachment pilots did not have to wait long for another aeromedical evacuation request. The strafing of the 2d Brigade's tactical operations center brought two helicopters in response through a blinding rainstorm. The survivors from the brigade staff ripped doors from their hinges and used

[75] Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH; Diary, Jackson, 27 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH; Intervs, Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, and Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[76] Intervs, Wade with Beaty and Garmond, [Nov 1983], and Wells with Hanna, 1 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**An aid station and a hospital tent**



them as stretchers to carry the wounded down a hill to the waiting aircraft. The number requiring evacuation proved more than the first radio message estimated. As a result, the wounded had to be packed so tightly on the helicopters that the aidmen could not move about to provide treatment during the flight.[77]

Colonel Jackson was very unhappy about the failure of the remainder of Alpha Echelon to arrive, to say nothing of the remainder of Company C. He told General Trobaugh exactly what he thought about the medical conditions and the division commander's responsibility for them. Trobaugh appreciated this plain speaking. Later that same night the division surgeon, Lt. Col. Barry S. Sidenberg, arrived and immediately attempted to assume command of the 307th Medical Battalion as doctrine prescribed. "This created a morale problem," noted Jackson in his diary, among the medical personnel. Colonel Boylan, speaking for Trobaugh, confirmed that Lt. Col. Edward B. Wilson, still at Fort Bragg, remained in command of the battalion and announced that Jackson commanded the forward element on Grenada. Sidenberg was on the island in his capacity as division surgeon to advise the command group as to what further medical units the division needed. Despite or perhaps because of this decision, relations between the two surgeons remained tense.[78]

## Processing Americans and Third-Country Nationals

On 27 and 28 October the 82d Airborne Division's staff judge advocate, Lt. Col. Quinton W. Richardson, and two young captains from Fort Bragg continued to work with the Department of State representative on evacuating Americans and third-country nationals. The division assisted the process considerably by moving the collection point to the True Blue Campus of the St. George's University School of Medicine, which was located near the eastern end of the runway. This simplified the Air Force's problem of picking up evacuees, for now C–141s would no longer waste fuel in taxiing to the center of the field before returning to the east end to begin their takeoff roll.[79]

The procedure Colonel Richardson followed was very similar to the one employed on the preceding days. He and his assistants recorded the names of the evacuees, moved them up the steep hill from the medical school to the edge of the runway, and then put them aboard aircraft as soon as they unloaded their cargo. The colonel was under constant pressure from the infantrymen who escorted the evacuees to assume total responsibility for the processing so that they could return to their units. He resisted because he needed the extra manpower the infantrymen represented to augment his small team. In the end, using the means he had at hand, he and his associates helped evacuate 595 American students from the island without any complications.[80]

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[77] Interv, Wade with Beaty and Garmond, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[78] Chronology, 44th Med Bde, Hist files (Papers/Rumbaugh), CMH; Diary, Jackson, 27 Oct 1983 (quoted words), Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH; Intervs, Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, and Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[79] Intervs, Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[80] Ibid.; Interv, Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing Slides, 82d Abn Div, Hist files (Papers/GWG), CMH.




**Civilians stand in line to board helicopters**

## Processing Detainees and Refugees

The problems that first surfaced at the detainee camp on the night of 25–26 October continued through the twenty-seventh. The division G–5, Maj. William D. Archer, spent much of the night of 26–27 October tracking down a roll of concertina wire in the airhead and then transporting it to the camp. Major Archer had anticipated that the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force would use it to cordon off the camp to prevent escapes, yet he discovered the roll undisturbed, exactly where he had left it, when he returned during daylight on the twenty-seventh. The leader of the 2d Platoon, 82d Military Police Company, stationed at the Cuban detainee camp, 1st Lt. David B. Lemauk, was very frustrated. Lieutenant Lemauk wanted to follow his training and compile a list of the names of all the detainees and separate the construction workers from the fighters, but he could only make recommendations. The officers of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force made the final decisions. Colonel Richardson took this particular issue up with the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force liaison officer, a captain in the Jamaica Defence Force, on 27 October. Military intelligence teams were currently arriving, he told the captain, and could assist in these tasks. The stoppage of the airflow, however, delayed those teams until the following day.[81]

Many problems arose simply because the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force was not trained in military police duties. As Colonel Richardson observed,

[81] Intervs, Burdett with Q. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Views of a detention compound for Cuban detainees**





**Members of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force**

American infantry would have faced the same problems. In the end, the Peacekeeping Force transferred to internal security duties for which its members were more suited—the mission that the JCS representative, Marine Corps Maj. Gen. George B. Crist, had always envisioned for them. The first indication of the impending change came on 27 October when, at the request of Governor General Sir Paul Scoon, the Barbados Defence Force platoon assumed responsibility for protecting his official residence. This action signaled the imminent departure of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force for police duties in St. George's, a prospect that helped minimize controversies with the Americans.[82]

Major Archer also worked to improve conditions for the refugees. On the twenty-seventh, with the area around the detainee camp overflowing with civilians displaced from their homes, Archer established a second facility for them at the True Blue Campus. The new location possessed two advantages: It stood beside the principal road into the peninsula, and the buildings rested in a hollow. Grenadians watching C–130s and C–141s landing were out of sight of any nervous paratroopers disembarking from those aircraft. Archer wanted no shooting of innocents. Eventually, the refugee population in the two camps numbered some 1,300.[83]

The growth in the number of refugees quickly made the provision of food an important priority for the U.S. command. Colonel Richardson

[82] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, pp. 2–3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, McMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[83] Interv, Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Refugees in a camp near the Point Salines airfield**

and Major Archer discovered the solution independently of one another on the twenty-seventh. That morning Richardson visited the Cuban camp once again and met with a number of Cuban construction workers. Concerned about conditions, they volunteered to do any labor necessary to improve the camp and also reported the presence of large quantities of food at the Frequente warehouse complex. Richardson immediately passed this information to the division chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, who directed the 82d's G–4, Colonel Crabtree, to organize a motor convoy. The division G–3, Lt. Col. Frank H. Akers Jr., arranged a gunjeep escort. Given the importance of the issue, Boylan personally led the convoy to the complex and located the food—enough to feed 1,000 people for several weeks. The Americans loaded what supplies they could carry and returned to the camp. Richardson later arranged for the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force to return with Cuban workers for additional supplies.[84]

Major Archer also stumbled across the food stocks at Frequente. In his case, he was investigating what kind of transportation assets the division would need to move captured arms and ammunition from Frequente and the Cuban compound at Calliste to the airfield. Unaware of Boylan's and Richardson's earlier visit, he arrived in the afternoon and discovered both the food stores

[84] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, pp. 4–5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

and some generators, which he prized almost as much as the food because they would allow him to restore power at True Blue. He did not think that the labor to move these items would be a problem. The members of the 96th Civil Affairs Battalion had struck up a good relationship with the refugees, and he knew that he had most of the Grenadian work force for the airport scattered between the two camps. He was in the midst of these calculations when a burst of automatic weapons fire forced him to take cover. He spent the remainder of the afternoon pinned down in the firefight between Cuban stragglers and the engineer platoon protecting the warehouse complex. Archer and his work party did not make it back to Frequente until the next day. In the interim, the first of the Disaster Assistance Relief Team's pallets arrived and helped tide over the refugees at True Blue.[85]

Major Archer was able to solve one additional nutritional problem. On the twenty-seventh he discovered that the milk of many of the nursing mothers among the refugees, whether in reaction to the stress or to the change in their diets, was drying up. He talked to Colonel Crabtree, who put in a rush order to Green Ramp for a pallet of baby formula. It arrived within twenty-four hours.[86]

## Maintenance Issues

With only a few vehicles in the 2d Brigade Task Force, maintenance had been of little concern to Major Cleary. Before departing Green Ramp, Cleary and the Company C, 782d Maintenance Battalion, commander, Capt. Brent M. Boyles, had divided the ten men in the unit's Alpha Echelon into three teams of three men each under Sgt. Sammie L. Harris. Once the teams arrived, Cleary and Captain Boyles kept Sergeant Harris and three men to serve as a contact maintenance team to provide minimal repair services. The other six men helped unload aircraft. Once the Air Force began aerial port operations, Cleary used the maintenance men to act as litterbearers for the Alpha Echelon of Company C, 307th Medical Battalion, until that medical unit obtained additional personnel from Fort Bragg. Harris had a maintenance truck loaded with tools and, he believed, enough spare parts to last until the rest of his company reached the island. Cleary had anticipated that communications would be crucial to the success of the operation and that the task force would take close to its full complement of radios. As a result, he and Boyles had ensured that the appropriate specialists were included in the Alpha Echelon and that they took a larger than normal amount of communications-electronics repair parts.[87]

In an effort to maximize the number of combat troops they could load on C–141s, however, many line units did not bring their own maintenance sections. As a result, Sergeant Harris and the three men concentrated on routine preventive care and adjustment of vehicles and equipment—the level of maintenance

[85] Interv, Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[86] Ibid.; Interv, author with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[87] Sever, "Units and Missions," p. 5; Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

usually performed by the using organizations—as well as welding repairs. They also conducted what was known as direct exchanges, that is, trading broken pieces of equipment for similar unbroken ones. Harris and his men then made the necessary repairs on each item and then exchanged it for another damaged article of the same type. Given this approach, the using unit had no need to go without equipment even when its original issue materiel was in the shop.[88]

If the three three-man teams devoted their full time to maintenance, they still were too small to provide onsite repair for the entire range of equipment carried by the 2d Brigade. The planners at the 782d Maintenance Battalion had anticipated this problem. Sergeant Harris took a surplus of hard-to-repair parts with him to Grenada, making it possible for him to set aside any broken items turned in by units until the arrival of more maintenance specialists. Keeping the battalion-rear members at Fort Bragg informed of the number and type of articles awaiting repair, he depended upon them to push the kinds of operable parts that he needed down to Grenada. The battalion commander, Lt. Col. Kenneth C. Sever, and his men were old hands at dealing with a congested airflow. They could always find space for one or two more things that Harris needed in the odd truck, trailer, or pallet before it was loaded on an airplane. In this manner Harris maintained his surplus—his so-called float—and continued exchanging operable for broken parts until more mechanics arrived. Only then did Harris assign someone to repair the difficult-to-mend components.[89]

In some instances direct exchanges were not possible, so a unit had to forego the use of a piece of equipment while Sergeant Harris and his teams repaired the broken part. Often, moreover, the soldier who turned in an item could not wait for completion of the work but had to return to his organization as quickly as possible. To deal with these cases, Harris developed a handwritten log to maintain property accountability and ensure that the correct unit received its property after repair. When direct exchange was not possible for an item, he also gave a written receipt, redeemable when a representative of the using unit returned for the equipment. Large pieces of equipment always required one of these receipts because they presented repair problems beyond the capabilities of the advance team. Harris sent them back to Fort Bragg on the return flights of the log birds.[90]

Colonel Sever resisted moving his operations to Grenada and used the existing shops and repair facilities at Fort Bragg for as long as possible. The 782d's maintenance area contained most of the tools and test equipment he needed, and, if not, such "back-up systems" as the Post Materiel Maintenance Directorate and the Directorate of Industrial Operations were on the installation. As Sever had anticipated, the fort possessed much more materiel-handling equipment than the division could succeed in moving into the area of

[88] Sever, "Units and Missions," p. 5; Intervs, author with Cleary, 14–15 Jul 1986, and with Boyles, 2 Mar 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; TM 20–205, Dictionary of United States Army Terms, 1944, s.v. "organizational maintenance."

[89] Kenneth C. Sever, "Grenada Revisited/Lessons Learned," p. 43.

[90] Ibid.; Interv, author with Cremisio, 16 Aug 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Motor pool containing seized vehicles**

operations. It was thus easier to move damaged equipment between and within repair shops at Bragg than at Point Salines. The logistical pipeline to the post, moreover, was already full of repair parts. With superior communications facilities available, Sever could contact U.S. Army Materiel Development and Readiness Command depots in the United States much more easily than from the area of operations. Perhaps most important of all, he was not required to break up his repair teams to post perimeter guards. His men could function as they had trained, without any concern about noise attracting enemy fire and with no need to maintain light discipline after dark. They could work under peacetime rather than wartime conditions at Fort Bragg with all that that implied in terms of greater effectiveness and efficiency.[91]

On Grenada, Sergeant Harris and his men at first spent much of their time trying to start captured vehicles. The Cubans or Grenadians had disabled a few; the rangers, those that they had attempted to hot-wire. Still others had been damaged during the firefight around the airfield or later in incidents of vandalism by excited U.S. troops. The capture of the Frequente warehouse on 26 October provided a valuable source of repair parts for the Soviet vehicles. Although the manuals were in Russian rather than Spanish or English, the Americans had little difficulty in figuring out how to restore the vehicles to reasonable service. The accomplishment permitted a substantial savings in space on inbound aircraft because it was unnecessary to ship comparable equipment from Fort Bragg. Just before the captured vehicles left

[91] Ibid.

the maintenance compound, Harris' men added one last touch. They spray painted USA on all sides of each vehicle, including the roof, to avoid the danger of friendly fire.[92]

Ground operations on the third day of combat saw frontline troops advancing against only light and scattered resistance. The terrain and climate posed a greater check than the Grenadians and the Cubans. The logistical lessons of 27 October were the same as the previous days: the fragility of the two-quart canteen, the oppressiveness of the standard battle dress uniform in a tropical climate, and the need to limit the activity of troops to prevent heat stroke. Some support units, engaging small groups of stragglers in firefights, experienced more combat than the line units. Their ability to defend themselves attested to the Army's wisdom in preparing them to fight the rear battle. The frequency of these skirmishes and the numerous sniping incidents indicated that despite the 82d's best efforts the heavy vegetation and broken terrain permitted individuals and small units to escape even the most diligent of searches. These searches, however, were very effective in uncovering hidden arms caches and removing the basis for any prolonged resistance. The slow tempo of the advance ensured that ad hoc resupply efforts from the airfield to the maneuver battalions sufficed. General Trobaugh was quite content with this gradual pace, although General Schwarzkopf emphatically was not. Trobaugh expected resistance to evaporate naturally as the defenders realized how hopeless their situation was.[93]

Although an observer standing at Point Salines on 27 October 1983 might have seen little difference between arrival airfield operations on that day and those of the two preceding days, in fact, the Army was beginning to impose a measure of order on a heretofore disorderly buildup. Army operations on Barbados became both more effective and efficient when a single officer—Captain Rabon—received the authority to control units in transit there. This ad hoc arrangement, however, could not fully substitute for a well planned and systematically developed intermediate staging base. The lack of any security forces during the emergency caused by the arrival of the Cuban airliner, for example, required Captain Negrete to delay the deployment of his attack helicopter company to Grenada, which meant that the rangers lost their last chance for gunship support during the Calivigny assault.

The belated but effective coordination that Colonel Daly secured between the Air Force combat control team and the Army forward area support team on the twenty-seventh promised even greater benefits than those derived from the Barbados arrangements. It provided the division with a way of avoiding unnecessary shutdowns of the airfield and consequent scrambling of the airflow, while also giving General Trobaugh his first truly effective, if still partial, control over the arrival sequence of men and equipment at Point Salines.

[92] Sever, "Units and Missions," pp. 5–6; idem, "Grenada Revisited," pp. 42–46.
[93] Interv, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

On the debit side, the newly arrived division G–4, Colonel Crabtree, did little to press the issue of clearing the ramp in front of the division assault command post, the single most important impediment to the airflow within the 82d's control. Instead, from the moment he landed, Crabtree had to deal with a succession of logistical problems that required immediate attention. None of them, however, matched the importance of increasing the number of aircraft allowed on the ground at one time, which not only delayed the arrival of the reinforcing maneuver battalions but also seriously retarded the arrival of any support elements to relieve Major Cleary and his team. These profoundly fatigued soldiers continued to man the division's supply points.

Because of the mass casualties generated by the strafing of the 2d Brigade's tactical operations center and the Calivigny assault, 27 October was also a day of great challenge for the medical components of all the services involved in the operation. The physicians, nurses, medics, and support staff rose to the occasion. Colonel Meyer through his own initiative had pieced together an effective medical evacuation system and also broadcast its existence through face-to-face meetings with the commanders of all the units that would need it. Lack of equipment and personnel may have meant that Colonel Jackson and his associates could only practice "Civil War medicine," as Jackson put it. Even so, given the recovery rate of the wounded, it was a very high order of Civil War medicine indeed. The arrival of medical reinforcements on the twenty-seventh added to the effect, giving Army doctors and nurses for the first time an ability to provide a higher standard of treatment. In the same way, limited treatment facilities may have restricted the number of patients the *Guam* could handle, but the Navy doctors there used those facilities to the maximum. Overall, working together, the medical representatives of the three services demonstrated that highly trained and motivated experts using good judgment and initiative could produce positive results even when administrative arrangements slipped and management oversight failed.[94]

[94] Diary, Jackson, 27 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH.

# 11

# A Period of Transition

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The lack of any sustained combat on 27 October suggested that the Grenadians and Cubans had largely abandoned their attempt to defend Grenada by conventional means. The situation was evident even to Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh and his staff, semi-isolated in the division assault command post at the Point Salines. The possibility of an unconventional defense, utilizing guerrillas, loomed as a distinct possibility to General Trobaugh and his senior and mid-level officers, all of whom were veterans of the Vietnam war. The 82d Airborne Division's emphasis thus shifted from combat operations to pacification. Although in common usage in the military at the time of Grenada, the term *pacification* had no official definition. Its meaning was nevertheless clear to all who used it: the use of military force and other measures to defeat an armed insurgency.[1]

If the counterinsurgency measures proved successful, Army officers envisioned that American efforts would shift to peacekeeping. Also lacking official sanction in 1983, the word *peacekeeping* meant the use of troops to maintain an existing peace and forestall the development of an armed insurgency. U.S. and Caribbean troops on Grenada would prevent a delayed resort to guerrilla warfare by maintaining civil order until the new Grenadian government could assume full responsibility for its own internal security.[2]

Concurrently, President Ronald W. Reagan and his advisers were initiating a series of endeavors, both civilian and military, to assist the new government in reestablishing democratic institutions, the rule of law, a free-market economy, and the institutions needed to maintain order. Collectively, albeit in very mild form, these measures represented *nation building*, although no one used the term that was political poison in the United States because of its

[1] On the lack of an official definition, see JCS Pub 1, DoD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 1979; AR 310–25, Dictionary of United States Army Terms, 1975; and JCS Pub 1–02, DoD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 1989.

[2] By the 1990s this definition came to be associated with the term *peace enforcement*. On the lack of an official definition, see JCS Pub 1, DoD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 1979; AR 310–25, Dictionary of United States Army Terms, 1975; and JCS Pub 1–02, DoD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, 1989. On the changing definition, see Gordon W. Rudd, *Humanitarian Intervention*, p. 246.

association with the failed American intervention in Vietnam. The administration adroitly abandoned the term but used the concept. For the Army, nation building implied a mission to train security forces. This undertaking could occur parallel to both pacification and peacekeeping. Ultimately, once combat troops withdrew, it would become the sole Army mission until the trainers themselves departed.[3]

This four-stage progression of mission had enormous implications for Army logisticians. Each phase required not only different types and quantities of equipment and supplies but also the deployment of those logistical organizations best fitted to provide the requisite support. The logistical process went from a time-imperative, often chaotic, sometimes creative effort utilizing a high density of men and machines to a low-density, routinized, highly bureaucratized affair, possibly more efficient but hopefully no less effective in its different political and military context than what had gone before.

## Intermediate Staging Base on Barbados

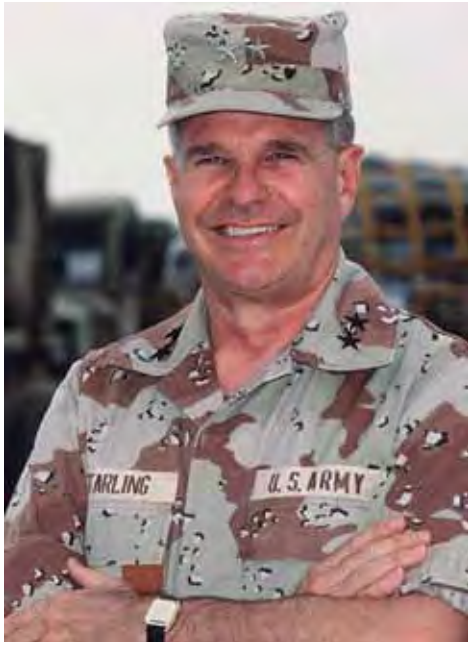
On 28 October 1983 Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull's nominee to command the Army portion of the intermediate staging base on Barbados, the 507th Transportation Group commander, Col. James D. Starling, arrived at Grantley Adams International Airport. Colonel Starling and a small staff element, known collectively as 1st Support Command-Forward II, found "a little bit to unscramble" when they arrived. C–141s low on fuel were constantly leaving the holding pattern over the Point Salines airfield and diverting to Grantley Adams. Meanwhile, at Fort Bragg the commander of 1st Support Command, Col. William J. Richardson Jr., was increasing the number of corps assets he was attempting to force through Barbados into Grenada. The units and equipment that he sent represented a projection—an assessment of the future needs of the operation based on his long experience. His knowledge carried considerable weight with Starling. Back at Fort Bragg, Colonel Richardson was Starling's boss.[4]

Conflicting information on available resources and future needs further complicated matters. The Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III, and the corps liaison officer on the airlift commander's staff on Barbados, Maj. Richard C. Anshus, kept Colonel Starling informed of the 82d's priorities. Although the colonel had the benefit of extremely valuable liaison trips that Major Anshus made to Grenada each day, the mix of

[3] In the 1990s political scientists began to distinguish between the word *nation building*—the gathering together of disparate groups throughout a country to create a sense of common identity, purpose, and destiny—and the word *state building*—"the set of actions undertaken by national and/or international actors to establish, reform, and strengthen state institutions where these have been seriously eroded or missing." The actions of the Reagan administration more clearly fall within the sphere of state building, but in 1983 no one in the U.S. government, least of all the members of the U.S. Army, made such a distinction. For an informative discussion of the two concepts, see Verna Fritz and Alina Rocha Menocal, *Understanding State-Building from an Political Economy Perspective*, pp. 13 (quotation), 14–15.

[4] Intervs, Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983 (quoted words), and McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

forces on the island changed so often that the information on the troops and their needs Anshus obtained was often little more than an intelligent estimate. Meanwhile, members of the Air Force airlift control element on Grenada conducted informal surveys of Army units to determine what they needed. They passed the results to their counterparts on Barbados, who in turn forwarded the details to the commander of the arrival-departure airfield control group at Grantley Adams, Army Capt. Harley C. Barr II. Captain Barr then informed Starling, who had final responsibility for determining the quantity of supplies and equipment to ship to the island. Fortunately, as Colonel Richardson put it, Starling was "a strong man."[5]




**Starling as a major general**

Captain Barr's information proved the most useful to Colonel Starling in establishing priorities because it was the most timely. On 28 October, however, Richardson pulled Barr out of the loop. Without knowing exactly how much cargo-handling capacity existed at the Point Salines airfield but suspecting that it might not be sufficient, the colonel directed the captain to take a platoon to Grenada to reinforce Forward Area Support Team II's efforts there. Colonel Richardson had built up a large arrival-departure airfield control group on Barbados and was confident that he could make that move without negative impact on operations at Grantley Adams.[6]

At the same time, Colonel Starling was having to deal with the same episodic communications that had plagued his nominal predecessor as Army Forces, Barbados, commander, Capt. Jimmie M. Rabon. XVIII Airborne Corps' 35th Signal Brigade sent two radio operators and their equipment to the intermediate staging base. The only frequency available to them, however, was the same one used on Grenada by the division assault command post to contact Fort Bragg. The division's heavy traffic virtually precluded the signalmen on Barbados from entering the net. Even when they established communications with Fort Bragg, division-rear had to forward any messages to Colonel Richardson's 1st Support Command headquarters by courier, liaison officer,

[5] Intervs, McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984 (quoted words), and Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[6] Intervs, McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, and Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

or telephone. This proved very time-consuming and frustrating. Because U.S. Atlantic Command had cut XVIII Airborne Corps from the Grenada operation, Starling and Richardson could not speak directly to one another.[7]

Colonel Starling also had to contend with units supposedly in transit to Grenada but which remained on hold on Barbados for more than one day because of the congested airflow into Point Salines. When he arrived, for example, the 82d Aviation Battalion had completed its deployment through Barbados, but the task force from Lt. Col. William J. Miller's 1st Squadron, 17th Cavalry, was still on the island. Its AH–1s and OH–58s were ready to move, but its aviators were still rebuilding the unit's UH–60s, which had arrived on the last of the four C–5As that carried the squadron from Pope Air Force Base. Crowding on the ground at Point Salines kept Colonel Miller and his men on Barbados until 28 October. They then began deploying to Pearls Airport, even though it was still in the Marine Corps sector on that date. The last of Miller's twenty-six helicopters departed Barbados only on 30 October.[8]

The need for an intermediate staging base shrank as the focus of military operations on Grenada shifted from combat to pacification and then to peacekeeping. The Air Force, as a result, began to reduce its forces at Grantley Adams on 8 November, when Brig. Gen. Robert B. Patterson relinquished his duties as airlift commander to Air Force Col. Rolland F. Clarkson and returned to the United States. Colonel Starling remained in command of Army elements on Barbados only one day longer. Returning to Fort Bragg on 9 November, Starling left behind a ten-man contact team.[9]

## Point Salines Airfield and Pearls Airport

The movement of forces from Pope Air Force Base to the Point Salines airfield showed marked improvement by 28 October. The increased cooperation that the commander of the 82d Support Command, Col. William F. Daly Jr., had arranged on the twenty-seventh with Air Force Capt. Stephen R. Scott's 317th Combat Control Team at the airfield was a major reason. Army personnel at Green Ramp on Pope Air Force Base could alert Major Cleary via the division's single tactical satellite radio link that a high-priority cargo was on the way, identifying it by aircraft tail number. The movement of Lt. Col. Ralph E. Newman's 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, illustrated the efficiency that the division's new ability to influence landing priorities injected into the airflow. The unit's rear-echelon left Pope Air Force Base at 0043 on 28 October and arrived at Point Salines at 1000 the same day.[10]

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[7] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. A, p. II-A-11, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[8] Interv, Hicks with W. Miller, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[9] Dean C. Kallander and James K. Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. xvi; Interv, Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[10] Intervs, Bishop with R. Newman, 16 Nov 1983, and author with Cleary, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 0055, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

Colonel Daly's achievement, nonetheless, was limited because the communications link with Fort Bragg remained uncertain. Over the preceding three days, moreover, aircraft low on fuel had diverted from the holding pattern above Point Salines to other airfields scattered throughout the Caribbean and the southeastern United States. By the twenty-eighth many were returning and were once again competing to land at Point Salines. None of their departure fields, however, had a communications link with the 82d. Major Cleary's and General Trobaugh's headquarters, as a result, had no idea what was aboard these aircraft and could not establish landing priorities for them. Their cargoes were all surprises.[11]

The troopers caught up in this process endured a much more grueling journey to Grenada than their counterparts in Colonel Newman's battalion. Both Lt. Col. Hubert S. Shaw Jr.'s 1st Battalion, 508th Infantry, and Lt. Col. Keith M. Nightengale's 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, had departed Pope on the twenty-sixth, but the unexpected closings of Point Salines on successive days had twice scattered them to airfields across the region and in the United States. While both battalions deployed a day before Newman's unit, their final elements dribbled in after Newman's men. The aircraft carrying the last contingent of Colonel Nightengale's battalion—the final unit to arrive—landed at 1109 on the twenty-eighth. Only then did General Trobaugh have the six complete airborne infantry battalions that he had requested on the twenty-fifth.[12]

General Trobaugh gave Colonel Daly his mission on 28 October. Daly was to become "mayor," to use Trobaugh's term, of Point Salines. The general wanted the colonel to control the space around the airfield and to determine where late-arriving combat service support units would set up. Daly's job description, in Daly's view, also included "every conceivable responsibility a small city mayor might encounter, and a few he could never imagine," such as police functions, security control, refugee processing, vehicle registration, labor management, and dealing with foreign embassies in addition to building and land management.[13]

At the same time, General Trobaugh gave Colonel Daly the rear-area protection mission on Grenada and attached a platoon of the 3d Battalion, 4th Air Defense Artillery, to the 82d Support Command. The platoon was the first of several combat units that performed this duty under Daly's direction. Although the job appeared widely divergent from Daly's other tasks, it was intimately related to them because the location of units had a great deal to do with the establishment of an integrated defense.[14]

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[11] Interv, author with Cleary, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[12] Intervs, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, and Bishop with R. Newman, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 27 Oct 1983, 0850, 1440, 1818, 2025, 2103, 2300, and 28 Oct 1983, 0055, 1335, 1606, 1925, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[13] William F. Daly and Raymond V. Mason, "The Quartermaster Corps in Grenada," p. 6 (quoted words); Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 29 Oct 1983, 0846, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[14] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Daly and Mason, "Quartermaster Corps in Grenada," p. 6; Jnl, G–3, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 29 Oct 1983, 0846, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

Colonel Daly located his headquarters in a loading dock and maintenance bay on the west end of the terminal complex. Although the site was close to the Forward Area Support Team II headquarters, he tried very hard to avoid usurping the authority of its coordinator, Major Cleary. As Daly conceived it, his task was to work for the division commander on division logistics. He would set broad guidelines, while Cleary and, when Forward Area Support Team III arrived, its coordinator, Maj. Christopher O. Watson, would be the operators who ran the day-to-day support effort. Only if they had problems were they to come to him for help. Otherwise he gave them their heads. Given Daly's other responsibilities, this was the only way the system could have worked efficiently.[15]

Daly had to personally intervene in the airflow only once. After consulting with the artillery task force commander, Col. Fred N. Halley, who indicated that he had received much more 105-mm. ammunition than he had any prospect of using, Daly radioed Fort Bragg and shut off all further artillery resupply unless specifically requested. Learning that a soon-to-depart C–141 had just loaded artillery ammunition, he directed the 82d Support Command executive officer and rear detachment commander at Fort Bragg, Lt. Col. Ronald F. Kelly, to unload the aircraft.[16]

The establishment of Air Force aerial port operations at midfield allowed Major Cleary to return some of the men of his ad hoc arrival-departure airfield control group to their parent units. By 2400 on 28 October the 3d Mobile Aerial Port Squadron had assembled two 10,000-pound all-terrain forklifts and three 25,000-pound tactical air cargo loaders at Point Salines. Cleary stationed one of his enlisted men at the Air Force's unloading point. Like his counterpart at the Army unloading point, the soldier was to monitor and report on cargoes as they arrived so that the major could pass the information to the battalion S–4s, who would actually draw any needed supplies.[17]

This influx of Air Force personnel and equipment also produced the only serious friction between Army and Air Force elements during the entire operation. The moment, recalled Major Cleary, was "the only time I ever ran into [the attitude] that 'well, I can't do that, or we're not supposed to do that because regulations say this.'" Specifically, an Air Force lieutenant colonel cited doctrine at some length to prove to Cleary that a forward area support team, designed to support a brigade, had no business being at a main theater-level arrival airfield for strategic air. Cleary knew that, but he was trying to deal with the existing situation. No corps units were available to do the job his team was doing. Cleary and the Air Force officer parted, with the lieutenant colonel observing that Cleary's "puny little shack" would blow away in a good wind.[18]

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[15] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, URGENT FURY, p. 121.

[18] Intervs, Wade with Cleary, [Nov 1983], and author with Cleary, 14 (quoted words) and 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Shortly thereafter, a C–130 revving its engines in preparation for takeoff positioned itself so that Cleary's command post received the full benefit of the back blast from its engines. To the men inside the temporary metal building the noise and vibration were almost indescribable, to say nothing of the need to avoid falling plumbing fixtures. The first (and only) such incident of the campaign, it seemed to last forever—a moment frozen in time. As Cleary dodged pipes, he surmised that his earlier conversation with the Air Force lieutenant colonel might have had something to do with his predicament. As soon as the C–130 took off and he disentangled himself from the fixtures, he went in search of Colonel Daly to complain. Daly ultimately sat both officers down and preached the virtues of interservice harmony and cooperation. After the incident, everything went smoothly at the arrival airfield between the Army and the Air Force.[19]

Major Watson and the main body of Forward Area Support Team III also arrived at Point Salines on 28 October. The division-rear commander, Brig. Gen. James D. Smith, had initially intended to dispatch Col. James T. Scott's 3d Brigade in the same manner as he had Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr.'s 2d Brigade, with combat elements in the lead. That the airhead had become much deeper and more secure, however, permitted some deviation from this initial plan. Watson was able to introduce some elements of his Forward Area Support Team III into the airflow simultaneously with infantry battalions. Because he had helped Major Cleary plan the composition of Forward Area Support Team II's Alpha Echelon, he knew what critical pieces to deploy first to satisfy deficiencies in the airhead. Once on Grenada, Watson even colocated his headquarters in Cleary's plumbers shack.[20]

To cap a wonderful day from the perspective of Army logisticians, the first of the division's water buffalos arrived on Grenada on 28 October. Its presence immediately alleviated the water distribution problems in the Point Salines airhead.[21]

Ramp clearing remained an issue. Because of noise, the division chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., had directed that work cease in front of the terminal. Consequently, the 82d's engineers assessed the possibility of extending the size of the turnaround area at the eastern end of the runway in hopes of creating parking space for more than one aircraft; however, after examining the condition of the ground, they concluded that only a major construction effort would suffice and dropped the idea. Then, largely at the urging of the division G–4, Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree II, ramp clearing resumed on the weekend of 29–30 October. Enough space became finally available on 2 November, when the newly arrived combat control team from the 437th Tactical Airlift Wing raised the limit on the number of aircraft on the ground to four: one C–141 at the eastern end of the runway and three C–130s on the ramp. Because the

[19] Intervs, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, and with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, plus Wade with Cleary, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[20] Interv, Wade with C. Watson, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[21] Interv, Hinckley with Patterson, 29 Feb 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, p. 116.



**A typical water buffalo**

division's truck-proof barricade remained in place on the ramp, the number of aircraft allowed was still fewer than the calculations of the corps and division logisticians during the initial planning. Until the ramp was completely cleared, the airflow remained constricted.[22]

As soon as the 82d assumed responsibility for the entire island on 31 October, Major Watson established a forward support base at Pearls Airport, with personnel largely drawn from his team, and left a three-man rear detachment at Point Salines to forward the 3d Brigade's supplies. Pearls was a much smaller field with correspondingly less area in which to establish supply points, so Watson made arrangements for the Air Force to fly a C–130 into the airport every other day with supplies for the 3d Brigade. Because utility helicopters were by then available, he was able to support the infantry battalions running motorized patrols by delivering sling loads of supplies to agreed-upon landing zones at agreed-upon times. To ensure the return of the sling and cargo net for use with the next supply request, a support team member always accompanied the helicopter crew.[23]

The combination of rough terrain and bad roads led Major Watson to establish a ground vehicle refueling point at Pearls so that 3d Brigade members did not have to drive all the way back to Point Salines. A lack of pumps and nozzles in the support team's table of organization and equipment nonetheless meant that the best he could do was position a 500-gallon blivot of gasoline

[22] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989, plus McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. This combat control team rotated in on 28 October to replace Captain Scott's men.

[23] Interv, Wade with C. Watson, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

in the back of an Army truck and let gravity work its magic. This was inefficient because gravity would not drain the entire bag. As a result, for refilling, Watson had to send partially full blivots back to Point Salines, where Team III's only set of pumps and nozzles were located.[24]

Rear-area protection at Point Salines became a major responsibility for the 82d Support Command after 28 October. The command's assistant S–3 for plans and operations, Capt. Raymond V. Mason, focused on this mission, freeing Colonel Daly to concentrate on logistics. The airfield still received sniper fire daily, but in much less volume than before. The problem of rear-area defense became much less worrisome at 1213 on 2 November, when General Trobaugh placed the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, under the division support commander's operational control. The move allowed the unit to take over most of the rear-area defense mission so that logistical units at the airfield could concentrate on their primary missions. This brought one additional complication, however. Trobaugh's staff still assigned combat missions to the battalion using the support command as an intermediate headquarters. Because Daly had once commanded an infantry battalion, he did not find this arrangement awkward. Captain Mason and the other support command staff members, however, found dealing with rules of engagement and other operational issues something of a challenge.[25]

The situation soon became even more unorthodox. Intelligence reports indicated that some Cuban and Grenadian soldiers had taken refuge on several deserted islands off the south shore of Grenada. If armed, they posed a threat to aircraft landing at Point Salines. In response, General Trobaugh directed the 82d Support Command to "conduct airmobile operations" to check out the rumor. Colonel Newman's battalion ran a series of air assaults and confirmed that indeed the islands were uninhabited.[26]

No sooner had the 82d Support Command taken on the rear-area protection mission than General Trobaugh also assigned it to prepare for redeployment to Fort Bragg. In response, Colonel Daly decided to bring a nucleus from the Provisional Movement Control Center to the Point Salines airfield to plan the effort. The movement control group's presence greatly simplified the preparations for the impending return of the 2d Brigade Task Force to Fort Bragg.[27]

## Final Operations and Departures

On 28 October Colonel Silvasy's 2d Brigade completed the maneuver that it had begun the previous day—the advance on St. George's. The same day General Trobaugh emphasized that he was more interested in a careful search of

[24] Ibid.

[25] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing Slides, Daly, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

[26] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and Hicks with Mason, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing Slides (quoted words), 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

[27] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

the countryside to discover and recover all enemy arms caches than in a speedy advance. While the People's Revolutionary Army was disorganized and in flight, he wanted to eliminate all possibility of guerrilla warfare. Following resupply, Lt. Col. Jack L. Hamilton's 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, advanced to the Ross Point Hotel, arriving at 0730. The infantrymen were as surprised to find the marines of Lt. Col. Ray L. Smith's Battalion Landing Team 2/8 already in possession of the site as the marines were to find the infantrymen approaching. Aided by the lack of any opposition, the inability of the soldiers and the marines to communicate did not produce a friendly fire incident. Colonel Hamilton's men found a significant cache of small arms not far from the hotel.[28]

In contrast to the 2d Battalion, the line companies of Lt. Col. John W. Raines' 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, received no resupply. The lack of a trail between Point Salines and the battalion's position near The Cliff that was passable by wheeled vehicles prevented replenishment. Water in particular was limited. This situation revealed once more the discrepancy between how Grenada's terrain looked on the maps available to the division and the configuration of the ground actually experienced by the infantrymen. Colonel Raines remedied the problem by sending a company to sweep the road to St. George's. This move would permit the battalion S–4, 1st Lt. Randall L. McClure, to bring supplies forward through the capital. Lieutenant McClure had to make arrangements personally to move everything through sectors controlled by the 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, and the Battalion Landing Team 2/8. Lacking a Vinson device on his radio and unable to get anyone to respond to him when he called Colonel Hamilton's battalion and Colonel Smith's landing team in the clear, he ended up performing the coordination in person. In the end, his experiment in resupply through the objective occurred without incident except for some sniping. Over the next two days McClure's battalion train came under further fire a number of times, but in each instance the snipers "were bad shots."[29]

Colonel Scott's 3d Brigade moved out more slowly than the 2d on 28 October. At 0814 Lt. Col. George A. Crocker's 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry, the brigade's only complete unit at the beginning of the day, started a sweep of the Lance aux Épines Peninsula to investigate whether any Americans were living there and to prevent any Grenadian soldiers from seizing them as hostages. Colonel Crocker soon discovered that the intelligence was not exaggerated, for his men found some 202 students plus other non-Grenadians who needed evacuation. Among them was an elderly British couple who, uncertain about the proper dress for an evacuation, appeared in "formal attire and jewels." The UH–60s of the 82d Aviation Battalion flew the evacuees to the True Blue Campus to avoid sniper fire en route. From there they boarded C–141s for movement to the United States.[30]

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[28] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 0510–1000, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, Bishop with J. L. Hamilton, 10 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[29] Interv (quoted words), Frasché with McClure, 16 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jnl, 2d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 0510–1000, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[30] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 0814–1000, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; George A. Crocker, "Grenada Remembered—A Perspective," Student Paper, p. 17 (quoted words).

Immediately upon arrival, Colonel Newman's 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, took charge of airport security by relieving Colonel Shaw's 1st Battalion, 508th Infantry. At this time, General Trobaugh detached Newman's men from the 3d Brigade and assigned them to the 2d. Shaw's battalion jumped off at 1208, with the objective of clearing the Hartman Estates on the peninsula due east of Lance aux Épines. Colonel Nightengale's 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, moved out behind Shaw's men for Petit Calivigny, where Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler Jr.'s reinforced 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, had come to grief the previous day. Two of Shaw's companies ran into snipers at approximately 1600. After an inconclusive firefight of about an hour that resulted in the wounding of a single Grenadian soldier, the Grenadians broke contact.[31]

As the 82d continued its slow advance, issues concerning the size, composition, and length of stay of any U.S. forces remaining on the island began to come to a head. The Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), concerned about the global posture of U.S. forces, sought to return the division to Fort Bragg as quickly as possible. They were also anxious that the 22d Marine Amphibious Unit resume its interrupted journey to the Mediterranean and relieve the marines stationed at Beirut as soon as possible. In contrast, General Trobaugh, enduring daily sniping incidents at the Point Salines airfield and still anticipating a possible protracted guerrilla resistance, hesitated to assume responsibility for the entire island with the forces he had at hand and thus radioed the corps commander, General Mackmull, that he would need an additional brigade. With headquarters and one battalion of the 1st Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, on an exercise in Spain and the 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry, still committed to go to the Sinai in January 1984, Mackmull decided he had no choice but to put a brigade of the 101st Airborne Division on alert for possible deployment to Grenada.[32]

Up to this point poor communications had partially insulated General Trobaugh from the pressure to move out using motor patrols and to occupy quickly all towns and villages in the Army sector. The Joint Task Force (JTF) 120 deputy commander, Maj. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr., with the superior communications facilities of the USS *Guam* at his disposal, realized that the Joint Chiefs of Staff did not favor the slow step-by-step advance adopted by General Trobaugh; however, he was unable to persuade Trobaugh to change his concept of maneuver. *Persuade* is the operative word in this situation: Neither the 22d Marine Amphibious Unit commander, Col. James P. Faulkner, nor Trobaugh interpreted Schwarzkopf's appointment by JTF 120 commander V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III as changing their relationship to the general. Indeed, Schwarzkopf was junior to Trobaugh in date of rank. In contrast, Schwarzkopf believed

[31] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 1014, 1109, 1245, 1600, 1652, 1700, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[32] Intervs, Bishop with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, and with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, plus author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Daly commented on the sniping incidents.

that as deputy commander he became in effect the single ground force commander that the operation had heretofore lacked, a view with which Admiral Metcalf concurred.[33]

Through 28 October, General Schwarzkopf had twice significantly altered the conduct of the campaign—the amphibious landing at Grand Mal and the use of Marine helicopters in the Grand Anse rescue. Beyond that, however, he found himself frustrated. He saw how things might be done better but had no ability to make the necessary changes. Only the Navy took his position as JTF 120 deputy commander seriously. When, for example, Admiral Metcalf had to leave the *Guam* for a few hours to attend a conference ashore, Schwarzkopf, sometime commander of the 24th Infantry Division, directed naval forces off Grenada. It was a strange sort of war.[34]

On the Calivigny Peninsula the rangers spent an uneventful night with an AC–130 flying cover overhead. At 1000 on 28 October Admiral Metcalf notified General Trobaugh that Colonel Hagler's 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, and Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor Jr.'s 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, were to return to the United States as soon as possible. To that end, General Trobaugh began withdrawing the rangers from the peninsula by helicopter shortly after 1400. No enemy contact occurred throughout the maneuver.[35]

The next four hours were very hectic at the Point Salines airfield. Upon arrival, the two ranger battalion commanders received a briefing on the loading sequence, while their S–4s transferred supplies and ammunition to Forward Area Support Team II. Both battalions marshaled at the east end of the runway in chalk loads that included their vehicles and equipment. Colonel Hagler and his 2d Battalion boarded first, with the lead C–141 departing around 1830. From then on, C–141s arrived at approximately one-hour intervals until all the rangers had left. With Colonel Taylor aboard, the final aircraft took off at 0329 on 29 October.[36]

Waiting for them at Fort Stewart, Georgia, was Army Chief of Staff General John A. Wickham Jr., an infantryman who had commanded an airmobile battalion in Vietnam in 1967. General Wickham shook hands with each of the rangers in both battalions on their arrival. The units then formed up and moved indoors for formal debriefings. Only after that did the members of the 1st Battalion fall out and receive the special welcome provided by

[33] Intervs, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], and Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[34] Intervs, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983, and with Trobaugh, 30 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Richard M. Butler, "Command Structuring Amphibious Forces," Student Paper, p. 6.

[35] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-5; Prelim AAR, ibid., 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH.

[36] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-5; Prelim AAR, ibid., 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH. See also Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, plus author with Bishop, Jul 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.




**Welcoming home the Rangers at Hunter Army Airfield;** *below,* **Pfc. Timothy G. Romick of Company A, 1st Battalion, 75th Infantry, receives a Purple Heart from General Wickham for wounds received in action in Grenada.**



wives and loved ones on such occasions. The men of the 2d Battalion had to wait until the next day for that ultimate accolade in their homecoming at Fort Lewis, Washington.[37]

## A New Phase

By the end of 28 October General Trobaugh recognized that the campaign had moved into a new phase—pacification. Throughout the preceding twenty-four hours increasing volumes of information indicated that the regime of General Hudson Austin had totally collapsed. Local people were not only enthusiastically greeting U.S. troops when they arrived but also volunteering the location of arms caches and possible hiding places of Cubans and members of the Grenadian army. The enemy appeared preoccupied not with resisting but with safely surrendering. Conditions, in the phrase of Trobaugh's chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, had "changed dramatically." Trobaugh was now convinced that the 82d's two brigades already on the island would suffice once the marines withdrew. He would not need a brigade from the 101st, and Boylan radioed General Mackmull to that effect.[38]

Reflecting his new estimate of the situation for the twenty-ninth, General Trobaugh directed Colonels Silvasy and Scott to refrain from evacuating civilians from their homes unless they were in "imminent danger" or actually interfering with military movements. Grenada, he emphasized, was a friendly nation. All public and private property was to be left unmolested or, if military necessity required it, the United States would provide compensation for its use. Through the next day the infantrymen continued to search houses, but on the following day Trobaugh limited searches to only suspicious dwellings. Eventually, the infantrymen needed probable cause to make a search.[39]

On 29 October the 2d Brigade continued to search the area around St. George's, while the 3d Brigade pushed along the east coast. General Trobaugh organized the division's first long-range motorized patrol under Colonel Newman. Designated as Task Force Newman, it consisted of elements of the 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry, and the 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry. Two AH–1 Cobra gunships flew overhead cover for the task force. In the two-day reconnaissance of the northern area of the division's sector, Newman's men seized eleven truckloads of arms and munitions. By this time the marines had captured most of the leading figures of the Grenadian government and military who were still in the vicinity of the capital. On the same day that Newman's force returned to the division perimeter, the

[37] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 1st Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983, an. A, p. A-5; Prelim AAR, ibid., 2d Bn, 75th Inf, 14 Nov 1983. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/1SOC), CMH. See also Intervs, Bishop with Taylor, 2 Nov 1983, and with Hagler, 30 Oct 1983, plus author with Bishop, Jul 1984, and with Lally, 4 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; William G. Bell, *Commanding Generals and Chiefs of Staff, 1775–1983*, p. 156.

[38] Msg, Boylan to EOC, XVIII Abn Corps (Attn: Col Johnson), 30 0757Z Oct [1983], EOC Recs, Opn UF, Entry 228, UD–06W, RG 338, NARA–CP.

[39] Jnl (quoted words), 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 2230 and 2239, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Searching for weapons while on patrol**





**Task Force Newman moving out in gunjeeps and civilian dump trucks**



3d Brigade arrested the last important fugitive, General Austin, and two of his body guards.[40]

Arriving early on the morning of 29 October at the Point Salines airfield, the JCS chairman, General John W. Vessey, met with Admiral Metcalf, General Trobaugh, and Colonel Faulkner. After each officer presented what General Vessey later opined as a good account of what he was doing, the chairman issued his instructions. Concerned that the marines needed to redeploy to Lebanon, he wanted the commanders to "move on" and "get the thing cleaned up." Intelligence suggested that the People's Revolutionary Army might attempt a last stand at Carriacou, a small inhabited island thirty kilometers north of the main island. Vessey wanted it taken quickly. He also made it clear to Trobaugh his intention to send the 82d Airborne Division and its commander home as soon as possible. Then, after a whirlwind tour of the detainee camp, the Cuban compound, and the Frequente warehouse, Vessey departed for Washington.[41]

On 30 October the marines captured Sauteurs on the north shore of the main island, the last important town as yet unoccupied by U.S. forces. The next day they began returning to their ships as the 82d's battalions moved by truck and helicopter to occupy all parts of Grenada. Admiral Metcalf had planned to use the division to seize Carriacou, but General Trobaugh expressed reservations. Because the Marine teams from the 2d Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company attached to the division had not succeeded in obtaining gunfire support from the fleet during the Calivigny assault, Trobaugh distrusted their ability to do so in case of an emergency on the small island, which was out of range of division artillery on Grenada. The aviators in the division, moreover, had been shaken by the experience of Maj. William J. Elder Jr.'s Task Force B at Calivigny and did not want to execute the mission unless they had artillery on call. No one appears to have considered emplacing 105-mm. howitzers on the small, uninhabited islands off Carriacou. Given these circumstances, Trobaugh asked Metcalf to let the marines take the island, and they did so in a combined amphibious/air assault at 0530 on 1 November.[42]

Reports of People's Revolutionary Army strength on the island proved grossly exaggerated. The garrison, consisting of one platoon, had already taken the precaution of changing into civilian clothes. As a result, upon arrival, the marines found the welcome on Carriacou even warmer than on the main island. This was not surprising. Carriacouans had long had a sense of their own separate identity and had long been dissatisfied with rule from St. George's, whether by the colonial government or by its successors. Fishing and smuggling, the chief occupations of the island's inhabitants for centuries, had infused the general population with entrepreneurial values, attitudes that on the main island existed only within the middle class. An "airshow" atmosphere soon prevailed. One group of

[40] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, Frasché with Scott, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[41] Intervs, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987 (quoted words), Archives files, JHO; Interv, Danner, Frasché, and Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[42] Ronald H. Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada, 1983*, pp. 17–18; Interv, Hicks with W. Miller, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

marines gave citizens guided tours of helicopters. Another group composed of marines and sailors kicked off a pick-up soccer game with some of the locals.[43]

At 0700 on 2 November Company B, 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, landed on the island to relieve the marines. Unfortunately, the company made an air assault rather than an administrative flight. When the troops sprinted from their helicopters with their M16s at the ready, only good fire discipline of individual soldiers prevented a tragedy. The episode highlighted once again the lack of communications between the Army and the Marine Corps.[44]

With the fleet about to depart for the Mediterranean, Admiral Metcalf reported to the commander of Atlantic Command, Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, that hostilities had ceased as of 1500 on 2 November. The next day at 1000 Metcalf dissolved Joint Task Force 120. Shortly thereafter, General Trobaugh assumed responsibility for military operations as commander of U.S. Forces, Grenada, and began moving the 2d Brigade to Point Salines for return to the United States. He slated Colonel Newman's 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry, to depart with the 2d Brigade Task Force.[45]

As a result, on 3 November the battalions and attached elements of the 2d Brigade Task Force turned in their equipment, tool sets, administrative and housekeeping supplies, and ammunition and went through customs. Because many of the men had requisitioned civilian vehicles for movement throughout the island, the division support commander, Colonel Daly, had established a "civilian car reclamation point." He assembled all vehicles weighing less than 2,000 pounds to facilitate their return to the rightful owners. That evening the artillery units flew home to Fort Bragg. On the fourth, between 0600 and 1200, the division assault command post, the brigade tactical operations center, and the three infantry battalions and remaining elements departed. The men took with them only those items of military equipment not needed by the 3d Brigade. Many of the 2d's vehicles, gun jeeps, and radios stayed behind.[46]

Waiting to greet the troopers in the rain at Fort Bragg was Secretary of the Army John O. Marsh Jr., a former infantry officer who had participated in the occupation of Germany at the end of World War II. Like General Wickham, Secretary Marsh shook hands with each man as he left the aircraft. In similar fashion to the rangers, the units then conducted formal debriefings followed by a tumultuous welcome from family and friends.[47]

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[43] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 3, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Briefing, Frank, 8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada*, pp. 23–24, 25 (quoted word).

[44] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 2 Nov 1983, 0515; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, p. 3. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH. See also Spector, *U.S. Marines in Grenada*, p. 18.

[45] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 3–4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

[46] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing Slides (quoted words), 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

[47] Interv, author with Lally, 4 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Nick Hefner, "Division Paratroopers Begin Returning Home," *Paraglide*, 10 Nov 1983; William G. Bell, *Secretaries of War and Secretaries of the Army*, pp. 158–59.



**Paratroopers boarding a C–141 to return to the United States**





**Paratroopers deplaning in the United States;** *below,* **Marsh greeting the paratroopers upon their return**



## A Period of Transition

### Evolving Policies in Washington

As combat wound down, policy considerations defined by senior officials in Washington replaced purely military considerations as the primary drivers of operations on Grenada. President Reagan's approach from the beginning of the crisis had been to isolate the island to give other powers, specifically the Soviet Union and Cuba, no opportunity to intervene either militarily or diplomatically. When the Cubans did become involved, the Reagan administration worked to arrange a cease fire between Cuban and American forces as quickly as possible. This attempt failed, in part because the Cuban government had only intermittent contact with its forces after the rangers landed. The U.S. government then shifted its focus to hastening the departure of any Soviets and Cubans on Grenada but in such a manner that their governments could have no legitimate grounds for complaint. The administration wanted to avoid any incidents that would obscure the conditions that had prompted the intervention by the United States and the eastern Caribbean nations in the first place. In short, the motivation of the president and his closest advisers was to win not only a military victory on Grenada but also the worldwide propaganda war with the Soviets and their allies.[48]

It followed that humanitarian and policy concerns as well as legal requirements dictated that the U.S. military should show only the most correct behavior toward Soviet and Cuban diplomatic personnel. When the Cuban government demanded the prompt repatriation of all Cuban dead and wounded, the Reagan administration readily agreed. Indeed, it went so far as to request that the International Committee of the Red Cross inspect the Cuban detainee camp on Grenada and assured the Cubans that the U.S. military was affording all detainees the full range of rights guaranteed by the Geneva Convention. At the same time, however, the administration insisted that no able-bodied detainees would be returned as long as the Cuban military continued to resist. The Americans took this position because U.S. intelligence had overestimated the number of Cubans on the island by a factor of more than two and mistakenly believed that Cubans comprised the majority of the remaining defenders.[49]

With their full attention on military operations, the 82d's forward elements learned of the new priorities through a series of directions devoid of

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[48] Ltr, Eagleburger to Editor, *Washington Times*, 2 Jan 1984, quoted in full in Msg, Shultz to U.S. Interest Sec, Havana, 28 1828Z Jan 1984, sub: Notice to Cuba of U.S. Action in Grenada, 84 State 027630; Msgs, Shultz to U.S. Int Sec, Havana, 26 1505Z Oct 1983, sub: Arrangements for Cuban Withdrawal, 83 State 305441, and idem to AmEmb, Madrid, 26 2202Z Oct 1983, sub: ibid., 83 State 305476. All in Msg files, DoS.

[49] Msg, Shultz to U.S. Interest Sec, Havana, 26 1505Z Oct 1983, 83 State 305441; idem to AmEmb, Moscow, 26 1608Z Oct 1983, sub: Evacuation of Soviet Personnel from Grenada, 83 State 305761; idem to U.S. Mission, Geneva, and AmEmb, Bridgetown, 27 2238Z Oct 1983, sub: ICRC Access to Prisoners, 83 State 307298; idem to U.S. Interest Sec, Havana, 28 0039Z Oct 1983, sub: Evacuation of Cuban Casualties, 83 State 306862; idem to AmEmb, Bridgetown, SecDef, and JCS, 28 21246Z Oct 1983, sub: Guidance in Case of Approach by Cuban Representatives in Grenada Regarding Repatriation, 83 State 308520; and idem to U.S. Interest Sec, Havana, 29 2157Z Oct 1983, sub: Evacuation of Cuban Casualties, 83 State 309822. All in Msg files, DoS.

explanation. Lacking any knowledge of larger policy concerns, the division's senior leaders reacted with incredulity before duly executing these orders. General Trobaugh and his division-forward staff suddenly discovered, for example, that certain specialties, especially medical, engineer, military police, and graves registration, had assumed a much higher priority than they had ever assigned them. Indeed, as far as the Joint Chiefs of Staff were concerned, moving such units to the island had the highest possible priority.[50]

## Soviet and Cuban Embassy Personnel

By 1 November the Joint Chiefs of Staff had instructed Admiral Metcalf to post guards at both the Soviet Embassy and the Cuban Embassy. In the wake of the intervention, the Department of State had temporarily established an American embassy on Grenada. The department directed the new U.S. envoy, Ambassador Charles A. Gillespie, to tell his Soviet and Cuban counterparts that their personnel had to remain in their respective compounds. Two embassy officials might go outside to purchase food, but only under military escort.[51]

General Trobaugh and his staff approached the mission of mounting guards at the embassies with a good deal of caution. They were convinced that on 25 October an antiaircraft gun mounted on the Soviet Embassy roof had shot down the Marine Cobra gunship. They also suspected that some Cuban fighters had taken refuge in the two compounds and believed that some of those soldiers were sneaking out to waylay individual Americans and then darting back to their sanctuaries.[52]

An incident on 27 October about one mile south of St. George's, near the Soviet Embassy, only deepened their mistrust. On that day an infantryman from Company B, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, Spec. Brent Taylor, was guarding a road when he was attacked by three enemy soldiers of undetermined nationality. Through good luck, good equipment, and hard fighting Taylor survived to tell his tale, and General Trobaugh and his advisers became ever more vigilant about the potential threat inside the Soviet and Cuban compounds.[53]

One good result came out of this episode. Early in the action, Specialist Taylor took an AK47 round in his Kevlar helmet, knocking it and his glasses off. Much later, after a three-hour firefight in which he was twice wounded, he retrieved his helmet and discovered that the slug had remained lodged in the Kevlar. The helmet had saved his life. Once this story made the rounds, the new Kevlar helmets became very popular with the troops.[54]

The embassy issue did not take long to resolve. Governor General Sir Paul Scoon had already indicated his intent to break relations with the governments in question. Immersed in forming a provisional administration and

[50] Interv, Frasché with Boylan, 21 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[51] Msg, Shultz to U.S. Interest Sec, Havana, 1 1431Z Nov 1983, sub: Status of Cuban Embassy in Grenada, 83 State 311160, Msg files, DoS.

[52] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[53] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[54] Jason Brady, "Ordeal: Helmet Saves Soldier's Life," *Fayetteville Observer*, 28 Nov 1983; Interv, author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Guarding the Cuban Embassy**

weeding ardent supporters of the previous regime from the Grenadian Civil Service, he delayed making a formal announcement until 1 November. Then he insisted that Soviet and Cuban embassy personnel and all other nationals from the Soviet bloc should depart as soon as possible. Suspecting that the Soviets and Cubans had played a role in Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's removal from office and assassination, Scoon would have liked for them to depart within twenty-four hours. This goal, however, proved too ambitious. In Washington, the president's National Security Adviser Robert C. McFarlane insisted that all non-Soviet citizens who had taken refuge in the Soviet Embassy should surrender themselves to military authorities. He argued that none of the Cuban fighters in the Soviet compound, among whom was their erstwhile commander Col. Pedro Comas Tortoló, enjoyed any diplomatic status or right of refuge. To expedite the departure of the Soviets, the State Department did not press the point, but the Cubans nevertheless demanded that their entire embassy staff remain on Grenada until the United States returned all the detainees and the bodies of the dead. Scoon, however, was adamant. He allowed the Cubans to leave one lower-ranking diplomat, one driver, and one secretary on the island until the repatriation was complete. The rest of the mission had to go.[55]

[55] Memo, McFarlane for Motley, 3 Nov 1983; Msg, Shultz to All Diplomatic and Consular Posts, 2 1121Z Nov 1983, sub: Grenada Situation Report no. 26, 83 State 312736. Both in Msg files, DoS. On Scoon's suspicions, see Msg, Gillespie to SecState, 8 1635Z Nov 1983, sub: Repatriation of Cubans, 83 Grenada 0051, Msg files, DoS.

On 3 November a small column of vehicles led by a gunjeep from the 82d Airborne Division wended its way down a road to Point Salines. Behind it drove a large black Mercedes limousine bearing Soviet Ambassador Gennady Sazhenev, followed by leased buses carrying the embassy staff, families, and refuge seekers. Army trucks carrying the party's baggage brought up the rear. The column stopped in front of the little trailer that served as the tactical operations center of the 82d Support Command, which was the unit responsible for loading the group aboard three Navy C–9 transport aircraft. The plan negotiated by the State Department called for the Navy to fly the Soviets and their allies to Merida, Mexico, where they would transfer to Soviet or Cuban aircraft.[56]

What Ambassador Sazhenev did not know as he emerged from his limousine was that the Reagan administration had devised a slight variant to the plan. Colonel Daly, in charge of preflight boarding, explained the procedure to the ambassador and the members of his party. They would have to enter a nearby construction shed and report to various stations, manned by 82d Support Command personnel, first to be photographed, then to be fingerprinted, and then to be searched for weapons. Daly did not explain that an individual at another station would discreetly observe each person's visage and compare the features to a photo array of known Soviet intelligence agents in the Caribbean. Lastly, support command personnel would carefully search all baggage. Once this process was completed, Sazhenev and his party could depart.[57]

The ambassador had one word for this plan: "Nyet!" For emphasis, he shook his diplomatic credentials in Colonel Daly's face. Daly stated the American position: The Soviets had forfeited their diplomatic status by the activities they had countenanced in and around their embassy grounds. An impasse developed. The ambassador and everyone else in his party waited on the road in the hot Caribbean sun. Night fell. As 82d Support Command personnel unloaded the trucks, they "accidently" dropped one suspicious looking wooden crate. It burst open, spilling a variety of weapons on the ground. The ambassador remained unfazed and unrepentant, but the disclosure made Daly (and behind him the U.S. government) even more determined to prevail.[58]

Colonel Daly kept General Trobaugh and through him Ambassador Gillespie, who was in constant communications with the State Department by satellite telephone, fully informed of developments. Meanwhile, the 82d Support Command chaplain, Maj. Peter Telencio, a Russian Orthodox priest who spoke fluent Russian, circulated among the knots of Soviets apparently meditating. He kept Daly apprised of the tenor of discussions among the Soviets. Eventually, he overheard the Soviet deputy ambassador suggest to Sazhenev

[56] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 3–4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Loren Jenkins, "U.S. Troops Search Diplomats Leaving Grenada," *Washington Post*, 5 Nov 1983.

[57] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Jenkins, "U.S. Troops Search Diplomats," *Washington Post*, 5 Nov 1983.

[58] Interv, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.




**Guarding officials from the Soviet Embassy**

that perhaps he ought to bend a little. The State Department reaction to this news was to keep the pressure on. Finally, Sazhenev conceded all the American conditions, and support command personnel confiscated a large collection of weapons. Even the embassy typewriters contained small concealed pistols. The Americans also found the weapon that they believed had shot down the Marine Cobra. When Colonel Tortoló and the Cuban contingent arrived in Havana to a heroes' welcome presided over by Premier Fidel Castro, they had no weapons to brandish for the benefit of the world's television cameras. Castro could only proclaim "a moral victory" on Grenada sans props.[59]

By then Colonel Daly had flown to Fort Bragg with General Trobaugh's headquarters staff. Trobaugh wanted Daly to concentrate on returning the division to a high state of readiness. Meanwhile, the Forward Area Support Team III coordinator, Major Watson, oversaw the evacuation of the Cuban Embassy, less the small contingent that Governor General Scoon had agreed to tolerate. The Cubans left in stages between 7 and 10 November. Watson simply followed Daly's precedent. The Cubans realized what was coming. They made a pro forma protest and then submitted to search.[60]

[59] Ibid.; Interv, author with Boyles, 2 Mar 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, Ferch to SecState, 5 2105Z Nov 1983, sub: Cuba Media Highlights, 5 Nov 1983, 83 Havana 06926, Msg files, DoS.

[60] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and Wade with C. Watson, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Msgs, Shultz to All Diplomatic and Consular Posts, 8 1059Z Nov 1983, sub: Grenada SitRep no. 38, 83 State 319068; Gillespie to SecState, 7 2100Z Nov

## Refugees and Detainees

General Trobaugh and his advisers were well aware that the refugees and detainees might pose problems for the division. Of the two groups, the refugees clearly represented the greater danger to the long-term success of the mission. The last thing that the division commander wanted to do was to alienate Grenadian public opinion by mishandling them. Thus, when Trobaugh announced the beginning of the pacification phase of operations on 28 October, he directed the division to return all refugees to their homes and enjoined both brigades to assist them. The next day, aided by the military police, the division G–5, Maj. William D. Archer, succeeded in emptying both refugee camps with only a few minor problems. Although Army civil affairs teams continued to work with the Grenadians, U.S. civilian agencies increasingly provided supplies to support the locals, relieving Army logisticians of this responsibility. By 31 October the U.S. Agency for International Development had shipped between six and seven tons of foodstuffs as well as other supplies to the island.[61]

For the detainees, 28 October was also a key date. On that day control of their compound passed from the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force to the 118th Military Police Company, an XVIII Airborne Corps unit attached to the division. Not until then did anyone compile a by-name list of the detainees. Learning that a number of innocent foreign nationals had been swept up by mistake, the military police released them immediately.[62]

Possibly as early as 28 October, General Trobaugh also recognized that camp facilities were inadequate for the number of detainees and requested construction materials for a new compound. The material, however, did not arrive in time to avert a deluge of criticism. Almost every senior officer who landed on the island inspected the detainee camp and found conditions wanting. Each reported his findings to the division and subsequently thought that his influence had been decisive in bringing about a favorable resolution. Of these, the officer with the best claim to focusing the attention of Trobaugh and his staff on the question was undoubtedly General Vessey. He told Trobaugh to get the detainees out of the sun and to get the camp "policed up."[63]

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1983, sub: Departure of Women and Children in the Cuban Embassy, 83 Grenada 0039; idem, 8 1220Z Nov 1983, sub: Repatriation of Cubans, 83 Grenada 0040; idem, 8 1621Z Nov 1983, sub: ibid., 83 Grenada 0048; idem, 8 1635Z Nov 1983, sub: ibid., 83 Grenada 0051; and Ferch to SecState, 8 0800Z Nov 1983, sub: ibid., 83 Havana 07000. All in Msg files, DoS.

[61] Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 2230 and 2239, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg, Shultz to All Diplomatic and Consular Posts, 2 0622Z Nov 1983, sub: Further Grenada Talking Points, 83 State 312329, Msg files, DoS.

[62] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Staff JA, 82d Abn Div, 9 Nov 1983, p. 6, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Interv, MacMichael with Lemauk, Webb, and Gyurisko, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[63] Intervs, author with Perkins, 9 and 23 Jun 1986, and Wade with Archer, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987 (quoted words), Archives files, JHO; Jnl, 82d Abn Div Assault CP, 28 Oct 1983, 2230 and 2239, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH.

The International Committee of the Red Cross also played a role. Shortly after the corps surgeon, Col. James H. Rumbaugh, arrived at Point Salines on 29 October, he learned that two Red Cross representatives, Georges Heumann and Gerard Peytrignet, were preparing to go back to Geneva via Cuba to denounce the United States. In accordance with the Geneva Convention, it was their responsibility to make certain that the Americans were treating detainees humanely. Heumann and Peytrignet had attempted unsuccessfully for two days to gain access to the detainees, but the division-forward staff had been "too busy" to talk to them. Colonel Rumbaugh and the division orthopedic surgeon, Lt. Col. Joseph P. Jackson Jr., intervened and personally escorted one Red Cross representative to the detainee camp on 1 November. He was inclined to criticize the medical treatment the Cubans were receiving until he inspected the operating room of Company C, 307th Medical Battalion. When he saw how U.S. casualties were treated and learned that the Cubans had better housing than the U.S. casualties, he ceased to complain about the Cuban situation.[64]

The division G–3, Lt. Col. Frank H. Akers Jr., selected the site for a new camp, a level area approximately 150 to 200 meters wide and 300 meters long near the fuel storage tanks. To the north the area adjoined the ocean and to the south the portion of Hardy Bay that was north of the causeway. The 307th Engineer Battalion drew the mission of constructing the camp. On 1 November the commander, Lt. Col. Lawrence L. Izzo, the battalion S–3, Maj. Carl A. Strock, and an assistant S–3, Capt. John L. Ramey, met with a military police captain to find out exactly what the military police wanted. Then Captain Ramey, the military police officer, and the engineer noncommissioned officer in charge of the construction site prepared a detailed design. Actual construction began the next day. Ramey had nine or ten Spanish-speaking noncommissioned officers and about 100 Cuban construction workers. The U.S. troops, who removed all their weapons, worked side by side with the Cubans under the overwatch of a military police gunjeep posted on a nearby hill. (This caused some comment from the Americans because if the gunjeep had needed to open fire there would have been no way to separate them from the Cubans.)[65]

The camp required lights for night security. The engineers hoped to use scavenged spotlights from the Frequente warehouses and a Soviet generator ("big as a car"), but they could not get the generator to start. Eventually, they had to use a generator belonging to the battalion that Izzo had hoped to save for night construction around the airfield. Running water was also a problem until Ramey placed an 800-gallon tank on top of the hill occupied by the military police gunjeep and ran a pipe from there into the camp. The most difficult construction problem, however, was explaining to workers who spoke no English how to erect forty U.S. Army general-purpose medium tents. That,

[64] Intervs, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov 1987 (quoted words), and Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[65] Intervs, author with Strock, 30 May 1986, and with Ramey, 6 and 18 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Colonel Izzo confirmed the details of Captain Ramey's account in a conversation at Fort Leavenworth in August 1986.

remembered Captain Ramey, "was a real trick." The new camp opened for occupancy on 3 November, but the Cuban detainees had little time to enjoy their new facilities. Repatriation started the next day, when the first one hundred Cubans boarded Air Force C–130s to fly to Barbados for transfer to an Air Cubana aircraft, and ended on the ninth.[66]

## Graves Registration

Colonel Richardson's 1st Support Command had provided a graves registration team for Urgent Fury; however, as with many other units, airflow problems delayed its deployment. The six-man team, led by M. Sgt. Michael Ortego, an eighteen-year Army veteran, finally arrived at Point Salines at 0500 on 28 October. The State Department wanted the unit deployed as quickly as possible to recover and return the Cuban dead to Cuba. The team also located and made provision for burial of the Grenadian dead. The corps liaison officer who had been handling graves registration up to this point, Capt. Henry R. Fore, coordinated the team's activities on the island until its withdrawal in December.[67]

General Trobaugh estimated that forty-two Cubans had been killed in combat, but the Cuban government could confirm that only twenty-five of its citizens were missing. It insisted that its forensic experts would positively identify any remains before they were shipped to Cuba. Governor General Scoon demurred, for he wanted no more Cubans introduced into Grenada whatever the rationale. As a compromise, the government of Barbados allowed the Cubans to conduct forensic examinations on its soil. A Red Cross representative was always present to ensure that no one mutilated the dead and that they received proper respect. Often a Cuban embassy official also attended the exhumations; however, because his presence frightened off all potential Grenadian workers, the graves registration team members had to do the requisite labor themselves.[68]

Recovery of the bodies was a slow and laborious process. In some instances combat units had hastily buried the enemy dead and had failed to adequately mark the graves; in others they were never buried, and animals

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[66] Intervs, author with Strock, 30 May 1986, and with Ramey, 6 (quoted words) and 18 Jun 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Colonel Izzo confirmed the details of Captain Ramey's account in a conversation at Fort Leavenworth in August 1986. See also Kallander and Matthews, *Urgent Fury*, pp. 93–94.

[67] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 4-5 to 4-6, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Msg, Ferch to SecState, 28 2135Z Oct 1983, sub: Evacuation of Cuban Casualties, 83 Havana 6735, Msg files, DoS; "Graves Detail Has Grim Task," *Fayetteville Observer*, 24 Nov 1984; Steve Moore, "Corps Soldier Takes Initiative in Return of Cuban Remains," *Paraglide*, 24 Nov 1984; Tel Interv, author with Fore, 3 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[68] Tel Interv, author with Fore, 3 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. On the presence of the Red Cross observer, see Craig Nesbit, "Sgt. Rivero's Job Gruesome But Necessary," *Fayetteville Times*, 1 Dec 1983. For the agreement concerning removal of the Cuban dead, see Msgs, Shultz to All Diplomatic and Consular Posts, 2 0104Z Nov 1983, sub: Grenada SitRep as of 1800 Hrs 1 Nov 83, 83 State 312282, and Swaebe to SecState, 1 1710Z Nov 1983, sub: ICRC and Grenada, 83 Geneva 9950, Msg files, DoS.

and a tropical climate had done their hasty work. On 29 October, for example, Admiral Metcalf told the press that U.S. forces had just discovered a field "full of bodies" but given their state of decomposition no one was anxious to go out among them and count them. Anxious or not, Captain Fore and his team recovered them and sent those tentatively identified as Cubans to Point Salines, where Forward Area Support Team II and the Air Force airlift control element loaded them on Air Force transports bound for Barbados. There the Cubans identified twenty-five bodies as Cuban and returned the remainder to Grenada.[69]

One of the factors slowing recovery of the enemy dead was a rumor that the Cubans had booby-trapped the bodies. In fact, they had not, but one incident early in the recovery of the remains apparently sparked the rumor. The graves registration team found the body of a Grenadian officer on the Point Salines Road just beyond the True Blue Campus. He had apparently died in action in the attack on the twenty-fifth. Captain Fore judged the remains so badly decomposed that cremation in place represented the only safe method of disposal. After taking down all the information that might aid in a subsequent identification, Captain Fore ordered the team to douse the body with gasoline and set it alight. Given the possibility that rounds of live ammunition might be on the corpse, Fore was careful to move everyone well away from the fire to the far side of their ambulance. He was not expecting, however, what happened next: The body exploded. Later Fore hypothesized that the officer had been killed in the act of throwing a hand grenade, with the pin already pulled. As the fire consumed the body, the weight of the body on the depressed lever gradually diminished and eventfully the grenade exploded. The resulting rumor did have the salutary benefit of inhibiting souvenir hunters bent on stripping the Cuban and Grenadian dead.[70]

The island was also awash in rumors about the number of casualties from the coup. The State Department was interested in doing everything possible to strengthen the case for the intervention and so wanted rumors of mass graves investigated. Captain Fore and his team received the task. Their most important exhumation, however, involved body fragments from five individuals buried in a pit in a garbage dump. Three of the bodies were definitely male. The Department of Defense dispatched an Armed Forces Institute of Pathology team to the island to examine the remains amid speculation that Fore had located the grave of Prime Minister Bishop. The team could not make a positive identification on any of the remains, but personal effects in the pit suggested that one of the bodies was that of Fitzroy Bain, who had died with Bishop on 19 October. None of the long bones recovered were consistent with someone of Bishop's stature. That

[69] Tel Interv, author with Fore, 3 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. On Metcalf's remarks, see Loren Jenkins, "Reporters Still Trying To Come Up With Definitive Toll from U.S. Mission," *Washington Post*, 12 Nov 1983.

[70] Tel Interv, author with Fore, 3 Sep 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Nesbit, "Sgt. Rivero's Job Gruesome," 1 Dec 1983, recounts the rumor.

was as precise a conclusion as the forensic science of the period would permit.[71]

## Transition to Corps Control

On 29 October the advance element of the XVIII Airborne Corps-Forward command post headed by the deputy corps commander, Brig. Gen. Jack B. Farris, arrived at Point Salines in response to General Trobaugh's request for an augmentation of his assault command post. On the thirtieth, following his conference that day with General Vessey, General Trobaugh told General Farris that the chairman had instructed him to return to the United States as soon as possible and that, upon his departure, command of U.S. Forces, Grenada, would devolve to Farris. Until then, Trobaugh wanted Farris, temporarily designated as his deputy, to handle civil-military relations, which were much more important now that the campaign had entered the pacification phase. Farris would work directly with Ambassador Gillespie, attend all the country team meetings, and coordinate U.S. activities with those of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force, which reported directly to the governor general. Although in Farris' opinion "there really wasn't enough work for two . . . generals," he did not want to lose his feel for the environment by returning home and then coming back in four or five days. Given his duties, he decided to locate his headquarters in close proximity to the U.S. Embassy and the Agency for International Development. Trobaugh's headquarters remained at Point Salines.[72]

The assault command post of the 82d Airborne Division and the 2d Brigade began redeploying to the United States at 0300 on 4 November. To accommodate the visit of a congressional delegation, General Trobaugh remained behind temporarily and began transferring various command responsibilities to key subordinates. He continued to concentrate on tactical problems associated with pacification, while General Farris took over the peacekeeping and nation-building missions. On 4 November, following the departure of the 2d Brigade, Trobaugh relinquished many of his U.S. Forces, Grenada, responsibilities to Farris and all of his Army Forces, Grenada, responsibilities to the 3d Brigade's Colonel Scott.[73]

The 2d Brigade's return to Fort Bragg meant that Forward Area Support Team III had to add the work of Forward Area Support Team II to its own responsibility of operating an advance base at Pearls Airport. As a result, Major Watson shifted his headquarters and most of his men from Pearls to Point Salines. The 82d Support Command continued to handle the rear-area protection mission until the next day, when it too departed. Colonel Daly had already left for Fort Bragg on 4 November with the division assault command

[71] Rpt, AFIP, 12 Dec 1983, sub: Consultation Report on Identification of Remains, Grenada, West Indies, Hist files (PDocs/DoD/AFIP), CMH.

[72] Interv, Danner, Frasché, and Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[73] Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.



**General Farris**

post. Major Watson picked up the mission.[74]

Given all the shifting, it was perhaps inevitable that services would suffer. On 6 November the 3d Brigade passed responsibility for supporting nondivisional units to Colonel Barrett's 1st Support Command-Forward I, but that unit was not yet in a position to support nondivisional elements. How those organizations remained supplied until subordinate elements of the 1st Support Command could assume responsibility depended upon the initiative of their members. The commander of the advance party from the 525th Military Intelligence Group, Maj. Lawrence J. Kimmel, for example, happened to see his wife, a lieutenant in the 82d Support Command, get off an airplane at Point Salines on 7 November. As soon as possible, Major Kimmel had her cut the divisional patch off her sleeve and loan it to his supply sergeant. She and the sergeant then requisitioned the necessary supplies for the 525th from Forward Area Support Team III.[75]

Colonel Barrett's 1st Support Command-Forward I slowly built up at Point Salines, beginning with the arrival of Lt. Col. Joseph J. Costanzo Jr.'s 5th Surgical Hospital from Col. Jack R. Wilson II's 44th Medical Brigade on 2 November. Shortly thereafter, the 7th Transportation Group's port package reached Grenada, followed by the bulk of Barrett's staff on 7 November and his command's last element—the so-called logistics package—the next day. In each case a quartering party, with the mission of making living arrangements, preceded the main body. "A big scramble" ensued to assist the quartering parties, showing them their locations and getting them settled once the main bodies arrived.[76]

## Medical Support

Initially very sparse, medical elements began to build up on 29 October, when the main and follow-on echelons of Company C, 307th Medical

[74] Intervs, Wade with C. Watson, 18 Nov 1983, and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

[75] Intervs, Wade with C. Watson, 18 Nov 1983, and author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Baker-Kimmel, 18 Jul 1986. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Briefing Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

[76] Chart, Urgent Fury Airflow, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH; Interv (quoted words), Hicks with Barrett, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Battalion, landed at Point Salines. The company commander, Capt. Vincent E. Ashley, arrived with the main body. The XVIII Airborne Corps surgeon, Colonel Rumbaugh, accompanied by his operations officer, a preventive medicine officer, and one noncommissioned officer, also landed at Point Salines to survey the medical situation and to determine long-term medical needs. Rumbaugh's observations would help Colonel Wilson's 44th Medical Brigade to configure its medical package. Early the next day Capt. Steven S. Bradley's Company A, 307th Medical Battalion, reached Point Salines and set up next to Company C.[77]

Soon after his arrival, Captain Ashley disagreed with one of the surgeons assigned as a professional filler as to who was in command of the company. The surgeon put Ashley under "tent arrest." When Major Cleary learned of this, he was shocked that anyone would expect someone who had never served with a unit to relieve an experienced company commander who had trained that organization before it entered combat. Like most officers not in one of the medical branches, he did not realize that doctrine required the senior medical officer to take command of deployed medical units. He sat down with the two officers, urged cooperation for the sake of the mission, and restored Ashley to duty. As far as Cleary was concerned, Ashley was the company commander, a view not necessarily held by everyone in the airhead. Ambiguity in this command relationship continued, but with no further difficulties.[78]

It was in this context, however, that Colonel Daly decided that he needed the 307th Medical Battalion commander, Lt. Col. Edward B. Wilson, at Point Salines. Hearing of the friction back at Fort Bragg, especially the contretemps between division surgeon Lt. Col. Barry S. Sidenberg and division orthopedic surgeon Colonel Jackson over who was in command of division medical assets at Point Salines, Colonel Wilson had reached the same conclusion on his own. Shortly after Wilson's arrival on the island, Colonel Sidenberg returned to Bragg.[79]

Army medical operations improved not only because command relationships became somewhat clearer and more personnel and equipment arrived but also because the medical staff at Atlantic Command headquarters began to influence the medical aspects of URGENT FURY in a serious way. During the first days of preparation the Navy medical officers had been completely shut out of the planning; they received no questions, only orders. Complicating matters further, the Atlantic Command surgeon, R. Adm. James A. Zimbel, had been in Lebanon when the initial assaults began on Grenada. His absence had made it difficult for the medical staff to gain a hearing about medical issues from senior members of the Atlantic Command staff.[80]

Things changed when Admiral Zimbel returned to Norfolk. Zimbel infused the medical effort to support URGENT FURY with energy and a sense

[77] Chronology, 307th Med Bn, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH.

[78] Intervs, Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], and author with Cleary, 14 Jul 1986 (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[79] Intervs, Pirnie with Jackson, 23 May 1985, and Hicks with Ashley and Phelps, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[80] Intervs, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov and 23 Dec 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

of purpose. He strengthened the medical evacuation chain by moving physicians and nurses to the naval hospital at Roosevelt Roads. Then, he settled a problem that had worried Colonel Rumbaugh almost from the beginning of the operation by making certain that the Army would continue to have naval medical facilities offshore once combat officially ended and the fleet departed for the eastern Mediterranean. As a result, the USS *Saipan* relieved the *Guam* on 31 October and stood off Grenada for as long as the Army needed it.[81]

By then, Army medical reinforcements were also en route. On 29 October at General Trobaugh's request, Colonel Richardson began dispatching Medical Task Force 5 (built around the 5th Surgical Hospital) to Barbados. Waiting to deploy since 25 October, the unit's advance element included its commander, Colonel Costanzo; its chief surgeon, Lt. Col. Graham Yelland; its chief nurse, Lt. Col. Patricia Diskin; and ten senior noncommissioned officers. Upon arrival, the group crowded into a small area with only limited facilities at Grantley Adams. The members were not permitted to dig latrines. Fortunately, an airline allowed the nurses to use one of its bathrooms and a shower. "Since we were in limbo about when to deploy," noted Colonel Diskin, "we could only set up some sleeping tents and eat cold C-rations." Meanwhile, Colonels Yelland and Diskin began coordinating with Air Force Lt. Col. A. Felix Meyer III's 1st Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron, which was providing treatment for casualties evacuated from Grenada, and a number of the task force's nurses volunteered to assist the squadron. Most of the task force members, however, held back to be able to move as quickly as possible to Grenada.[82]

Medical Task Force 5 slowly built up as Colonel Richardson found space for additional members on Barbados-bound aircraft, but complications developed. On 30 October some twenty-nine personnel in the fourth echelon departed aboard the wrong aircraft, which flew directly to Grenada rather than to Barbados. Arriving after dark, the group slept on the floor at 1st Support Command-Forward I headquarters. In the morning General Trobaugh's staff discovered that seven female nurses were part of the group. General Trobaugh's policy was not to permit women to enter the area of operations, based on the interpretation by the division staff of the Department of the Army's Combat Exclusion Policy of 1977, amended in 1982, that barred women from entry into direct combat. This was an odd interpretation of the law given that female Army nurses had worked in the forward combat areas from World War II on. An additional practical consideration—lack of space—also played a role. The division support commander, Colonel Daly, reported that the airfield did not

[81] Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. J, pp. I-J-1 to I-J-5, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Intervs, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov and 23 Dec 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[82] Rpt, Diskin, n.d., sub: Notes on Grenada, p. 2 (quoted words); Rpt, Davis, n.d., sub: [Urgent Fury], pp. 3–4; and AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, Nursing Methods Analyst, 5th MASH, 6 Dec 1983, p. 3. All in Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH. See also DF, Cdr, 5th MASH, to Cdr, 44th Med Bde, 28 Oct 1983, sub: Troop Manifest for 1st Echelon (as of 1500 Hrs), Hist files (Papers/Oland), CMH; Interv, McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.





**Members of Medical Task Force 5 on Grenada;** *below,* **Colonel Yelland with two nurses**



**Colonel Diskin in the operating tent;** *below,* **Visiting with the nursing staff of St. George's Hospital**



have any room to position another medical unit. The area around the runway was simply too crowded. As a result, the division sent the seven female nurses to Barbados by helicopter. The male members of the contingent followed that evening.[83]

By then, officers on General Trobaugh's staff were having second thoughts and debating the wisdom of bringing Medical Task Force 5 to Grenada at all. The issue came to a head the next day, 31 October, when Trobaugh visited the medical facility at True Blue. The general arrived when the senior surgeon, Colonel Jackson, was treating a gunshot wound. As with all the other medical professionals, Jackson realized that bad weather could prevent use of the Navy's facilities afloat. Given that circumstance, he told Trobaugh, the 307th Medical Battalion would need the XVIII Airborne Corps' 5th Surgical Hospital as back up. Trobaugh responded, "Send them in, but no females."[84]

That same day the rear echelon of Medical Task Force 5 arrived on Barbados. Based on the information he had received from the Air Force, Colonel Costanzo configured his equipment and personnel for transport by C–130s. Notified that he would take an all-male contingent to Grenada on a larger C–141 departing at 1400, he shuffled his personnel, reconfigured his equipment, and reported to the plane, only to be told after boarding that the task force's departure was postponed. At Fort Bragg Colonel Richardson had discovered that Trobaugh had stripped all the females out of the task force. He went to the corps commander, General Mackmull, and protested vehemently: It made no sense to send the task force to Grenada and leave most of the nurses on Barbados. Mackmull agreed and said he would take care of it. Following his intervention, with the women once again attached and after yet another reconfiguration of equipment, the lead element of the task force finally departed Barbados in the first hour of 2 November aboard a C–130; the rest of the task force deployed to Grenada before dawn of the same day. By then neither space nor gender was any longer an issue.[85]

With most of the fighting ended, Colonel Rumbaugh went into St. George's to check on health conditions. He was appalled by what he observed. Refuse was scattered all over the streets, because units of the 82d Airborne Division had commandeered all the civilian garbage trucks in an

[83] Intervs, McElroy with Richardson and Barrett, 17 Jan 1984, plus author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Mary Ellen Condon-Rall, comp., *Department of the Army Historical Summary, Fiscal Year 1983*, pp. 60–62. On the nurses' experiences, see Rpt, Millie, n.d., sub: [URGENT FURY], pp. 1–2; Rpt, Johnson, n.d., sub: Reflections on Grenadian Experience, pp. 1–3; Rpt, Diskin, n.d., sub: Notes on Grenada, pp. 2–4; Rpt, Davis, n.d., sub: [URGENT FURY], pp. 3–4; and AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, Nursing Methods Analyst, 5th MASH, 6 Dec 1983, p. 3. All in Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.

[84] Chronology, 44th Med Bde, Hist files (Papers/Rumbaugh), CMH; Interv (quoted words), Oland with Rumbaugh, 23 Dec 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Diary, Jackson, 31 Oct 1983, Hist files (Papers/Jackson), CMH.

[85] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, Nursing Methods Analyst, 5th MASH, 6 Dec 1983, p. 3; Rpt, Diskin, n.d., sub: Notes on Grenada, pp. 3–4. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH. See also Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH; Interv, Oland with W. Richardson, 3 Mar 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

overenthusiastic effort to improve their mobility. Rumbaugh believed that cholera might break out if he did not act immediately. On his representation, General Trobaugh's headquarters instructed the units to return the garbage trucks at once.[86]

The issue of potable water also became a major concern, and Colonel Rumbaugh's preventive medicine officer traveled all over the island to test water sources for potability. He found one spring so badly polluted that he suspected deliberate poisoning. His work took him into the general population, where he constantly picked up leads about senior members of the previous government and the location of arms caches. He turned them over to the 82d Airborne Division intelligence for further investigation. He also developed useful medical information on the levels of chlorine in the various municipal water systems, leaks in several sewage treatment systems, and beaches that were contaminated and should be off limits. The information, however, came at a price. He was sniped at on several occasions, with a round at one point just missing his foot.[87]

As part of the survey of long-term medical needs, Colonel Rumbaugh visited the civilian hospital in St. George's. Only one physician but all the nurses had stayed to care for their patients. Badly injured survivors of the coup as well as people wounded during the more recent fighting filled the wards to overflowing; lack of supplies and personnel meant that the staff could provide only minimal care. Rumbaugh had a fully equipped mobile surgical hospital on the island and recognized that from a humanitarian point of view the Army needed to take control of the civilian hospital and reinforce its resident staff. He hesitated, however, because the move was without precedent in his experience. After contacting State Department representatives, he decided to seek permission from the Grenadian Ministry of Health. The minister, a member of the old regime, had fled, but his deputy remained at his post. He regarded Rumbaugh's suggestion as inspired and hastened to provide written authority. Rumbaugh immediately began moving people and equipment into the building; however, once inside, one of the Grenadians mentioned that an arms cache was somewhere in the structure. Rumbaugh immediately pulled the Army medical staff out and requested assistance. In response, a 2d Brigade unit searched the building, located the arms in a tunnel, and placed a guard over them until they could be hauled away. Rumbaugh and his staff resumed their work. Surgeons from Medical Task Force 5 and the division performed eight hours of surgery every day for over two weeks to help alleviate the medical backlog from gunshot and other trauma wounds at the St. George's civilian hospital. Civilian patients requiring more specialized treatment went through the military medical evacuation chain to Puerto Rico and then, if necessary, to the United States.[88]

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[86] Intervs, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov and 23 Dec 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[87] Ibid., 23 Dec 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[88] Chronology, Hist files (Papers/Wilson), CMH; ibid., 44th Med Bde, Hist files (Papers/Rumbaugh), CMH; Intervs, Oland with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov and 23 Dec 1987, plus Wade with Bradley, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

Colonel Rumbaugh sought to ensure that the Grenadians continued to receive medical support after he returned to Fort Bragg. He asked Ambassador Gillespie to solicit medical support for the civilian population by writing a letter to the new U.S. Forces, Grenada, commander, General Farris, who had been promoted to major general upon assuming command. Gillespie had no difficulty composing such a request. Secretary of State George P. Shultz was already on record favoring generous medical assistance to the Grenadian population. Beyond concerns for basic humanity, everyone understood that to maintain local support for the new government the United States had to at least match the Cuban medical outreach to the civilian population. It had been one of the most popular programs fostered by the regime of Maurice Bishop. Gillespie's letter gave Farris the opening to do this. In its wake, Rumbaugh initiated a program of mobile medical clinics that crisscrossed the island treating minor medical problems and referring more serious cases to the hospital at St. George's.[89]

## Removing Captured Equipment

The mass of captured Soviet equipment on Grenada served as a powerful magnet for a variety of U.S. intelligence agencies, both uniformed and civilian. As those organizations competed for control of the materiel, the 82d's G–4, Colonel Crabtree, made and then remade plans for moving it to the mainland. Complicating matters for him, corps and division logisticians on the scene had discovered early in the operation that the island lacked sufficient light craft to load a vessel standing offshore. Worried about the possibility of an accident when moving the equipment and munitions through densely populated areas like St. George's, however, they did not want to use the port's docks. They still hoped to load the cargo off a lightly populated beach, a concept known as over-the-shore logistics.[90]

At Fort Bragg the corps G–4, Col. Corless W. Mitchell, proposed using barges from Barbados as lighters. Although this appeared feasible, the roads between the Grenadian supply complex and either the beach or the port were in terrible shape and needed improvement before the Army could move anything potentially unstable over them. Division logisticians planned for Army engineers to improve the roads. Then U.S. Forces, Grenada, would move the materiel by truck to a beach and use lighters procured from Barbados or elsewhere to load the SS *Dolly Thurman*, the chartered freighter the Joint Chiefs of Staff had dispatched to the island for that purpose. The impending arrival of a congressional delegation led to one amendment: General Vessey directed that the loading cease until after the departure of the VIPs because the quantity

[89] Memo, McKinley for Hill and Stanford, 1 Nov 1983, sub: Aeromedical Evacuation for Civilians on Grenada, Hist files (Papers/Oland), CMH; Chronology, 44th Med Bde, Hist files (Papers/Rumbaugh), CMH; Interv, Oland with Rumbaugh, 23 Dec 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[90] Msg, Cavazos to HQDA, 4 0634Z Nov 1983, sub: Logistics Situation Summary, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; Intervs, author with C. Mitchell, 16 Feb 1989, and with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

of materiel available for them to view would appear more impressive if left undisturbed. This was the approved plan when Crabtree left with the division assault command post on 4 November.[91]

That same day, General Trobaugh received an order to ship by air certain representative arms for displays in New York at the United Nations and in Washington, D.C. This amounted to only a small portion of the total, so the logisticians on Grenada still planned to move the bulk by sea. The corps logisticians at Fort Bragg introduced one change in Crabtree's plan. They would move munitions by helicopter sling load to the docks at St. George's and then use forklifts to load the rounds and any equipment brought by truck onto the *Dolly Thurman*. This meant that the ammunition would travel by air and relieve the engineers from undertaking any extensive road repairs, thus speeding the departure of the captured materiel. In general, the newly named Army Forces commander, Colonel Scott, would be responsible for locating and collecting the materiel; the commander of Task Force 525 (built around the 525th Military Intelligence Group), Col. John F. Stewart, would oversee its classification and inventorying; and the commander of 1st Support Command-Forward I, Colonel Barrett, would be responsible for operating the collection points, preparing the materiel for shipping, and loading it aboard the ship.[92]

Meanwhile, the *American Eagle*, the roll-on/roll-off vessel carrying heavy equipment for the anticipated counterinsurgency campaign, arrived off St. George's. Because the port had a limited capacity and could accommodate only one large vessel at a time, the *Dolly Thurman* steamed into the outer harbor and anchored to allow the *Eagle* to discharge her cargo. The anticipated guerrilla warfare never developed, so much of the equipment on that vessel was unnecessary and returned with her when she sailed for Wilmington. As a consequence, the *Dolly Thurman* did not regain the berth until 13 November.[93]

While the *Dolly Thurman* waited in the outer harbor, the plans to load the captured materiel suddenly became academic. Shortly after the departure of the congressional delegation on 5 November, General Trobaugh received a message from the Joint Chiefs of Staff directing that he move the equipment and munitions by air to Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, to arrive no later than 14 November. The administration desired to put it on public display to emphasize the degree of Soviet involvement on the island. The earlier division of responsibility largely held, but to meet the deadline Trobaugh had to drop the separate classification and inventorying stage. To expedite shipment, the 3d Brigade collected materiel and ammunition at the cache sites and moved it to

[91] Msgs, Cavazos to HQDA, 4 0634Z Nov 1983, and idem to Mackmull, 5 1821Z Nov 1983, sub: Captured Arms Special Shipment Request, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

[92] Msgs, Mitchell to Russo, 6 1954Z Nov 1983, sub: Logistics Update—Urgent Fury, and Cavazos to McDonald, 7 1717Z Nov 1983, sub: Retrograde/Disposition of Captured Foreign Materiel, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; Interv, Wade with Barrett, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[93] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. D, p. I-D-15, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH.



**A warehouse containing Soviet weapons and ammunition**





**Assorted Soviet weapons**



the racetrack north of St. George's, where Colonel Scott held it under guard preparatory to its movement to Point Salines by helicopter. Colonel Barrett received the mission to prepare for shipment one example of each major piece of equipment captured and "all small arms, weapons, uniforms, and other miscellaneous equipment located at Frequente," to inventory and load all materiel and ammunition, and to report the contents and time of departure of each aircraft. Because he had very few 1st Support Command resources at this point, he used every corps unit that he could lay his hands on to do the job. One unit was the 7th Transportation Group, which was attached to the 1st Support Command for the operation. Barrett called upon the 7th's port specialists, who had arrived at Point Salines on 1 November, and put them to work at the Frequente warehouse complex.[94]

The corps engineer, Col. Daniel R. Schroeder, was on Grenada at that time to assess the long-term engineer support U.S. Forces, Grenada, might require. When a corps engineer task force built around Capt. Roderick A. Chisholm's Company C, 548th Engineer Battalion, began to arrive at Point Salines, Colonel Schroeder volunteered its services for palletizing and loading captured ammunition at the airfield. Consequently, Captain Chisholm and the lead task force element arrived at 2330 on 6 November (the final echelon, two hours later) to find themselves pressed into service as instant stevedores. With their assistance, the first C–141 carrying captured munitions departed Point Salines on 8 November. For the next three days the engineers loaded aircraft, catching what little sleep they could on the ground beside the runway. "Everybody," recalled Chisholm, "was pretty tired after that."[95]

The departure of the materiel for the Andrews display still left a substantial residue of equipment at Frequente and munitions as well as arms in other caches that the 3d Brigade was still discovering. For these, Trobaugh could revert to the Crabtree plan as modified by corps logisticians. Once the munitions were collected, inventoried, classified, and packed, UH–60s carried them by slings to the docks at St. George's, while trucks hauled the equipment overland to the port for standard loading. When the *Dolly Thurman* finally sailed on 18 November, the amount of materiel the ship actually carried was considerably less than initially planned due to the shipments by air.[96]

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[94] Msg, JCS to LANTCOM, 6 1955Z Nov 1983, sub: Static Display of Captured Arms and Equipment, and Info Paper (quoted words), AOC, 6 Nov 1983, sub: Display of Captured Items, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH; Msgs, Sills to Barrett, n.d. 1435 local, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH; and Msg, Cdr, U.S. Forces, Grenada (Chewning), to USCINCLANT, 6 1858Z Nov 1983, sub: Arms/Equipment for United Nations in Washington, D.C., Display, WIN Telecon Msg, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH. For the visit of the congressional delegation, see Stokes, "A Grenada Diary," 4–5 Nov 1983, *Congressional Record*, daily ed. (16 Nov 1983): H5581–82.

[95] Msgs, Mackmull to Cavazos, 6 2047z Nov 1983, and 7 2252Z Nov 1983, subs: Engr SitRpts, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. II, an. C, pp. II-C-1 to II-C-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Interv (quoted words), author with Chisholm, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[96] AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, XVIII Abn Corps, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. B, p. I-B-1, and an. D, p. I-D-15, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; Msg, JCS to LANTCOM, 6 1955Z

## A Period of Transition

The various stops and starts and changes of direction involved in shipping the captured materiel to the United States appeared utterly confusing at times to logisticians on Grenada. What happened made sense only in the context of the larger competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and the Reagan administration's commitment to win the public relations war over the meaning of the Grenada intervention. This episode also illustrated a truth that American soldiers have had to relearn in every conflict since the founding of the Republic: For the soldier in the field, national policy is like a force of nature. It can change abruptly, virtually without warning, and be seemingly unrelated to the situation on the ground. Although the planner may rail against the instant conversion of his well-considered schemes to waste paper, and the soldier may curse labor uselessly expended, they both must in the end accommodate themselves to the change and go on with as much good cheer as they can muster—and so they did on Grenada.

## General Farris Takes Command

On 9 November General Trobaugh returned to the United States, leaving General Farris as U.S. Forces, Grenada, commander. The same day Farris directed Colonel Barrett to assume responsibility from Forward Area Support Team III for the protection of the airfield at Point Salines. Barrett had known for several days that his 1st Support Command-Forward I would receive the mission, which was not at all unusual for this type of organization. Corps units, because of their number of personnel and the amount of their equipment, required much more ground than the divisional units they replaced. As a result, the rear-area protection plans and defensive zones worked out by Captain Mason became obsolete with their arrival. Barrett's first move in this situation was to contact his boss at Fort Bragg, Colonel Richardson, to try to obtain a rear-area operations center team. An entity responsible for coordinating rear-area protection, it was particularly valuable because of its large communications capability. Because all units of this type were in the reserve components, Richardson could only send him one if the president proclaimed a national emergency. Faced with making do with units already available, Barrett gave the task of preparing a rear-area defense plan to his provost marshal, Capt. Michael Pearson, and an engineer officer on his staff, Maj. Hubert L. Gibson. The two completed it by the time 1st Support Command-Forward I assumed the airfield defense mission.[97]

Devising that plan was only the first and easiest part of the exercise. Colonel Barrett's next priority was to make certain that the defense itself was

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Nov 1983, and Info Paper, 6 Nov 1983, Hist files (PDocs/DA/AOC), CMH; Msg, Mitchell to Russo, 6 1945Z Nov 1983, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH; Interv, Wade with Rhodes, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Msg Extracts, CINCLANT, 04 0130Z [Nov 1983], and JCS, 05 0034Z [Nov 1983], in Misc Master Scenario Events List (Logistics Structure—Movement), Hist files (PDocs/DoD/JCS), CMH; "Public To See Arms Seized on Grenada," *New York Post*, 9 Nov 1983.

[97] Intervs, author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, and Wade with Barrett, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

prepared. Because division units were pulling units out while corps elements were arriving, a division unit might appear to be manning a sector on a rear-area map when in fact it was deplaning at Fort Bragg. To avoid such complications, Barrett and his staff had to carefully coordinate arrivals and departures. They also had to get everyone on the same communications nets, and this took time. 1st Support Command-Forward I also held daily practice alerts simulating attacks that allowed the staff to identify all kinds of practical complications and problems. U.S. Forces, Grenada, for example, had established a post exchange at the airfield, and a question immediately arose as to what customers were supposed to do when an alert sounded. The 82d Support Command had hired Grenadians to clear the rubble, and a similar question surfaced as to where they were to go. The alert procedure itself required redundancy. Captain Pearson used three methods of alerting people—radio, visual, and siren. Everyone heard or saw one, but no one heard or saw all three.[98]

Experience soon allowed Major Gibson and Captain Pearson to further refine their plan. Some problems they identified came about because U.S. Forces, Grenada, had suddenly established a military airport operating under wartime conditions in the midst of a peaceful civilian community. Units, for example, selected the most defensible terrain when laying out their sectors. In one case, this meant running concertina wire through the middle of a village. Because the place had only one well, this cut half of the residents off from their water supply. The Americans could build a gate, but gates had to be manned twenty-four hours a day. Given 1st Support Command-Forward I's manpower limitations, the overarching reason for not creating another entrance was maintaining good security; fewer points of access provided greater control over who entered the airfield. In this instance, however, the needs of the villagers prevailed. To identify who was and who was not a member of the community, the Americans hired one of the residents to stay by the gate and identify local inhabitants.[99]

The type of fuel used by area residents in their cook stoves—propane—also posed a security problem. Because the Beirut bombing was rumored to have involved a propane truck, to allow such a vehicle inside the airfield perimeter to replenish local supplies caused the military police grave concern. Again the needs of the local inhabitants won out, but Colonel Barrett allowed the truck through the gate only if a householder met it and accompanied it to his home under careful observation by the military police.[100]

Initially Barrett's headquarters found it difficult to handle the rear-area protection mission because it had little communications capability of its own. While one AN/URC-101 radio was available for contacting Fort Bragg, the channels it used were saturated with other traffic. The 35th Signal Brigade planned to provide internal as well as external communications, but it was unable to do so until 10 November. As a consequence, Barrett's staff spent inordinate amounts of

[98] Interv, author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[99] Ibid.; Briefing, Barrett, 9 Sep 1986, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[100] Interv, author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Briefing, Barrett, 9 Sep 1986, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.



**General Ryan accepting a T-shirt upon his arrival at Point Salines**

time coordinating actions, such as the arrival and departure of units and establishing security procedures around the airfield. Such activities detracted from what Barrett identified as his staff's main job: preparing plans for the systematic withdrawal of all corps support command elements to the United States.[101]

Barrett's headquarters was located at the Cuban compound, about 1,300 meters from the terminal. When the colonel became responsible for airport security, he decided to move his headquarters back to the terminal and did so on 10 November. Although absolutely necessary from a tactical and communications standpoint, the new site presented problems. Because general officers arrived continually on Grenada and always via the airport, Colonel Barrett found himself spending much of his own time briefing and escorting them. The commander of the Military Airlift Command, General Thomas M. Ryan Jr., for example, arrived much concerned about the safety of his C–141s. He wanted a briefing on airfield security. U.S. Army Forces Command's deputy chief of staff for logistics, Maj. Gen. Vincent M. Russo, arrived to conduct an inspection. Barrett stayed with him throughout the entire four-hour tour.[102]

[101] LL, sub: Communications, and [MFR], Barrett, 9 Nov 1983, sub: COSCOM Planning, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH; Interv, Wade with Barrett, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[102] Intervs, Hicks with Barrett, [Nov 1983]; Oland with W. Richardson, 3 Mar 1988; and Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Chart, Urgent Fury Airflow, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

Field sanitation was another major issue facing Colonel Barrett. He emphasized improving unit waste disposal when he took control of airfield operations, but the real problem was the accumulation of wastes that had been generated by the masses of soldiers, refugees, and detainees between 25 October and 9 November. Grenada's rural poor followed casual practices of personal waste disposal and too many of the troops followed their example. Visitors to the airfield, as a result, had to watch where they stepped once they left the asphalt surface of the runway if they wanted to avoid human excrement. One officer found feces next to the supply point, where the corps support command stocked food. Although the rations were boxed and sealed to prevent any possibility of contamination, the juxtaposition was disconcerting.[103]

During his brief stay on Grenada, the division surgeon, Colonel Sidenberg, had attempted without success to convince the 82d's command group to devote the resources necessary to remedy the problem. Rather than making field sanitation a matter of command emphasis, the attitude of General Trobaugh and his senior advisers was one of "boys will be boys." Division engineers and some logistical units had built latrines, but these were used only by staffs and units in fixed locations. Usually on the move, infantry battalions had enjoyed no such luxuries. The proper procedure for them was to have the troops dig catholes and cover up the waste, but whether the men followed this procedure depended largely upon command emphasis, which was lacking in some instances. For many troopers personal hygiene, in the expressive phrase of one officer, "zeroed out" in the field, a truth immediately apparent to the visitor who stepped off a C–141 at the eastern end of the runway and inhaled deeply.[104]

The trash normally generated by military units, the mess associated with an active construction site, and the widespread battle damage compounded the poor field sanitation. All of these factors contributed to the magnitude of the clean-up effort required at Point Salines. Early in the operation the 82d Airborne Division's contracting officer began hiring local workers to collect and dispose of garbage and to clean up the airfield, but they were often diverted to such other tasks as clearing land where units arriving in theater planned to set up. Concerns about security, moreover, helped to keep the work force small. All workers had to be checked by military intelligence before 1st Support Command-Forward I hired them. In fact, shortly before Colonel Barrett took over on 9 November, the military police had discovered five New JEWEL members among the workers. These supporters of the Austin regime had sabotaged military equipment at the airfield.[105]

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[103] Intervs, author with Farris, 14 Apr 1989, with Cleary, 7 Aug 1986, and with Baker-Kimmel, 18 Jul 1986, plus Oland with W. Richardson, 3 Mar 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also AAR, Opn URGENT FURY, 44th Med Bde, n.d., an. N, Hist files (Papers/Rumbaugh), CMH; Briefing, Barrett, 9 Sep 1986, Hist files (Papers/Barrett), CMH.

[104] Intervs, author with Boyles, 2 Mar 1989, and with Cleary, 7 Aug 1986; Wade with Barrett, [Nov 1983]; Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983], and with Mason, [Nov 1983]; Oland with W. Richardson, 3 Mar 1988, and with Rumbaugh, 23 Dec 1987; and Burdett with Clawson, [Nov 1983]. All in Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also Charles T. Lanham, "URGENT FURY Grenada," p. 11 (quoted words), printed copy in Hist files (PStudies), CMH.

[105] Interv, Wade with Barrett, [Nov 1983], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

On 11 November an impending visit by the commander of Forces Command, General Richard E. Cavazos, a veteran infantry officer who would know exactly what the rotting excrement around the airfield implied about unit discipline, apparently precipitated what happened next. General Farris, who had been immersed in civil-military concerns in St. George's since his arrival, came to the airfield and was dissatisfied with the conditions. He relieved Colonel Barrett of command and sent him back to Fort Bragg on the next plane.[106]

These two were highly competent officers but with very dissimilar personalities. Farris was an aggressive high-energy individual, very much the prototypical commander; Barrett was highly intelligent, analytical, and detached, the epitome of the staff officer. These differences appear to have weighed heavily with Farris, but to him the issue was quite simple: He had told Barrett to clean up the airfield, and the colonel had not done it during the two days he had held command. Instead, he had offered excuses, mainly about the magnitude of the task and the size of the work force. At Fort Bragg Colonel Richardson was outraged when he learned of Farris' action, believing that Farris had made Barrett a scapegoat for the failings of others. Richardson flew to Grenada to personally protest the relief, but by the time he arrived Barrett's replacement, Colonel Starling, was already on the island.[107]

## The Shift to Peacekeeping

Colonel Starling arrived at Point Salines on 12 November and immediately conferred with General Farris. The general gave him two missions: secure the airfield, and clean up the mess. The first was not an easy one because the units involved had a difficult time subordinating their primary operational missions to a higher headquarters not normally in their chain of command—a common occurrence in base defense and other rear-area operations. Over time Colonel Starling developed a good working relationship with all the people at the airfield. As far as the second mission was concerned, Starling had inherited "a tremendous mess." He developed a two-phase plan to deal with it—hiring more contract workers, and making tenant units responsible for the cleanup of a sector of the airfield and surrounding terrain—and made a specific unit responsible for every portion of the ground inside the defense perimeter.[108]

It took about a week to get these two missions under control. Once accomplished, Colonel Starling turned to what he regarded as his real mission: providing combat service support for all the units on the island. Starling brought in "real experts" from corps who understood logistical operations in Class I (subsistence), Class II (clothing and textiles, individual equipment, organizational tool sets and kits, and administrative and housekeeping supplies and equipment), Class III (petroleum fuels, lubricants, hydraulic and

[106] Intervs, author with Barrett, 18 Jul 1986, and with Farris, 14 Apr 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[107] Interv, Oland with W. Richardson, 3 Mar 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. The description of their personalities is based on the author's personal observations of the two men.

[108] Interv, Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Conditions in the aftermath of URGENT FURY**



insulating oils, and so forth), Class IV (construction materials), and Class V (ammunition).[109]

In the end, at least from the perspective of Forward Area Support Team III, the new people also interjected great amounts of paperwork into logistical operations that had run until then on a wartime basis with a minimum of red tape. The team coordinator, Major Watson, for example, almost got into a fistfight with a Class I officer who refused to issue rations unless Watson presented forms filled out in quadruplicate. All of Watson's forms were back at Fort Bragg, and the troops had eaten his entire stock of rations. Eventually, the 3d Brigade adapted to the new paperwork requirements. 1st Corps Support Command-Forward I assumed responsibility for direct support of divisional units on 23 November, when Forward Area Support Team III deployed back to the United States.[110]

XVIII Airborne Corps continued to support the forces on Grenada using an air line rather than a sea line of communications. In part, the decision was political. President Reagan had promised that the U.S. presence on the island would be of short duration, and General Mackmull was concerned lest the news media misinterpret the establishment of a sea line as a signal for a long-term American commitment.[111]

The air line of communications gave Colonel Starling more flexibility in calling forward supplies, but it cost more and was subject to disruption by weather or by diversions of aircraft to higher-priority missions. XVIII Airborne Corps planned to dispatch two log birds each day to Point Salines, for example, but on some days no aircraft arrived. Army logisticians had built up a sizable logistical base on Grenada by then and could draw upon it when necessary. This and the slow drawdown of Army strength, which kept the costs of an air line of communications bearable, meant that General Farris and Starling did not have to worry about a few days' disruption in the line of supply.[112]

Pacification and nation building were by far the most important U.S. Forces, Grenada, missions during November and December 1983, but 1st Support Command-Forward I played only a minor role. Other agencies—the Agency for International Development and the U.S. Forces, Caribbean, Disaster Assistance Relief Team—provided and distributed supplies for the civilian population, although General Farris gave Colonel Starling the mission of supplying potable water to the hospitals and prisons. Because this was not an anticipated mission, it became an additional duty for the logisticians. Starling had to use his own command's resources, but he did it and still managed to discharge his other responsibilities. 1st Support Command-Forward I's greatest contribution to pacification and nation building was entirely indirect.

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[109] Ibid.

[110] Intervs, Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983, and Wade with C. Watson, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; Brief Slides, 82d DISCOM, Hist files (Papers/Daly), CMH.

[111] Interv, Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[112] Ibid.; Msg, Cavazos to McDonald and HQ DA, 15 2226 Z Nov 1983, sub: Logistics Situation Summary, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

It pumped money into the Grenadian economy by contracting for goods and services from local individuals and businesses.[113]

Contracting also had a direct benefit: It permitted a rapid reduction in the number of combat service support troops. When Colonel Starling arrived, 1st Support Command-Forward I consisted of 928 men and women. By 25 November Starling had reduced that number to 450, and those soldiers were providing direct support to the divisional as well as corps units on the island.[114]

By 18 November General Farris' intelligence officers had accounted by name for all the Cubans assigned to Grenada at the time of the intervention and for all but twenty-five People's Revolutionary Army soldiers. The last sniping incident of the campaign occurred four days later on the twenty-second. By then, Farris was convinced that Grenada was no longer a military problem but a police problem. Even so, the Grenadian police had virtually ceased to exist as a separate professional force during the years in which Maurice Bishop was in power. Reconstituting and training the force became a key determinant in the withdrawal of American ground forces. Until a local constabulary was ready to assume police functions, infantrymen had to man checkpoints and search houses and cars for weapons. These were tasks that made most of the Americans, from commanding general to private, profoundly uneasy because in the United States a real if unstated line divided the military and civilian spheres under all but the most extraordinary conditions. In the context of Grenadian history, however, these were extraordinary conditions, and under the Grenadian constitution the actions were legal.[115]

Governor General Scoon had reestablished the Grenadian government in St. George's on 28 October with a radio address to the nation. From that point on, U.S. forces remained on the island at the invitation of the Grenadian government and hence operated within the framework provided by the Grenadian constitution and laws. So the infantry soldiered on, apologizing for car searches and leaving notes with happy faces scrawled on them to tell absent householders they had conducted a search—and perhaps walked the dog and cleaned up his mess as happened in one instance—while they were out.[116]

As the inability of remnants of the Grenadian army to sustain a guerrilla war became increasingly evident, General Farris reduced his combat

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[113] Intervs, Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983, and Danner, Frasché, and Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; SitRpt no. 23, GWG, 31 Oct 1983, sub: Situation in Grenada as of 1700 EST, GWG files, DoS.

[114] Intervs, Hicks with Starling, Nov 1983, and Danner, Frasché, and Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[115] Intervs, Danner, Frasché, and Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, and author with Farris, 14 Apr 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. See also SitRpt no. 16, GWG, 28 Oct 1983, sub: Situation in Grenada as of 0500 EST; SitRpt no. 18, GWG, 29 Oct 1983, sub: Situation in Grenada as of 0500 EST; and SitRpt no. 20, GWG, 30 Oct 83, sub: Situation in Grenada as of 0500 EST. All in GWG files, DoS.

[116] Intervs, Danner, Frasché, and Bishop with Farris, 18 Nov 1983, and author with Farris, 14 Apr 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. Geoffrey Wagner, *Red Calypso*, pp. 174–85, comments on his personal experiences with U.S. forces.



**Scoon talking to the media as head of the new government**

forces. Colonel Shaw's 1st Battalion, 508th Infantry, departed for Fort Bragg on 12 November. Colonel Scott, his 3d Brigade headquarters, and Colonel Crocker's 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry, left ten days later. The 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry, commander, Colonel Nightengale, succeeded Scott as Army Forces, Grenada, commander. Nightengale's battalion became the last U.S. combat unit on the island. It withdrew on 12 December. Three days later General Farris turned command over to the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force. All remaining U.S. troops, except for a residual training detachment, redeployed to Fort Bragg at that time.[117]

## Nation Building and Peacekeeping

The completion of Operation Urgent Fury and the withdrawal of the last of the 82d Airborne Division's infantry battalions did not end the U.S. Army's involvement with Grenada. By December 1983 one of the Reagan administration's major goals still remained unfulfilled—the establishment of a stable and democratic government on the island, or, in effect, *nation building*, although the term was not used. The Army's mission was to assist the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force in maintaining internal security so that the

[117] AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, XVIII Abn Corp, [Jan 1984], sec. I, an. C, pp. I-C-1 to I-C-2, Hist files (PDocs/DA/XVIIIAbnCorps), CMH; AAR, Opn Urgent Fury, 82d Abn Div, 6 Feb 1984, pp. 3–4, Hist files (PDocs/DA/82AbnDiv), CMH; Msg, Mackmull to Russo, 8 1501Z Nov 1983, sub: Redeployment, WIN Telecon Msgs, Hist files (PDocs/DA/FORSCOM), CMH.

Grenadians could establish democratic institutions. The Joint Chiefs of Staff named the peacekeeping mission Operation Island Breeze.[118]

In the wake of the successful intervention by the United States and its eastern Caribbean allies, Governor General Scoon decided against reconstituting the Grenadian army. The People's Revolutionary Army by its participation in the coup that had overthrown Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and its complicity in his assassination had given military organizations an odious reputation on Grenada. Instead, Scoon proposed that a reorganized and expanded Royal Grenadian Police Force assume the internal security role. Although the police had been able to maintain an identity separate from the regime during the years of New JEWEL control, Scoon nonetheless wanted all supporters of the old regime removed from the force so that they could never become a threat to some future democratically elected government. Because the standards of police conduct under both Bishop and his predecessor, Sir Eric M. Gairy, had been less than satisfactory, Scoon also wanted the force to be thoroughly reorganized and retrained.[119]

The Reagan administration and its allies adopted a two-fold plan in the Caribbean. Expanded to some 350 people, the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force would assume the internal security mission when U.S. combat troops redeployed to the United States. At the same time, British and Barbadian policemen would train the Grenadian police, while a small U.S. Army Special Forces team would create an elite Special Services Unit inside the rejuvenated national force. Organized along military lines, this 80-man paramilitary unit would provide internal security for the island once a democratically elected government came to power and all the foreign troops returned to their homelands.[120]

This plan posed problems. All the Caribbean forces involved were equipped with British weapons, many of them long obsolete, that the United States could not support logistically. Only Jamaica and Barbados, moreover, had contributed trained military forces to the intervention. The remainder of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force consisted of police contingents in various states of readiness, most of which lacked training for the internal security mission that the plan asked them to perform. The Joint Chiefs of Staff proposed to solve the problem by providing modern American weapons, equipment, and training to the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force. The U.S. Army could then sustain the force during peacekeeping operations without difficulty. This solution also involved equipping and training any replacements that the island nations substituted for their original contingents on Grenada.[121]

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[118] "Operation Island Breeze Was Not a Breeze," pp. 20–21.

[119] Msg, Bish to SecState, 31 1731Z Oct 1983, sub: OECS Meeting, 83 Bridgetown 06858; Msgs, Gillespie to SecState, 9 2042Z Nov 1983, sub: Governor General's Speech, 83 Grenada 0076; idem, 10 2230Z Nov 1983, sub: Emergency Powers Regulations, 83 Grenada 0106; and idem, 12 1435Z Nov 1983, sub: Status of Grenada Judicial System, 83 Grenada 0139. All in Msg files, DoS.

[120] "Operation Island Breeze," pp. 20–21; Charles H. Schafer, "Logistics Support of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force," p. 22.

[121] "Operation Island Breeze," pp. 20–21.

The reequipping and training of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force began even before the combat troops left the island. This was necessary in order for the Caribbean contingent to be ready to perform internal security functions by mid-December 1983. Once U.S. combat forces departed and U.S. Forces, Grenada, headquarters dispersed, the Joint Chiefs of Staff gave R. Adm. Ralph R. Hedges' U.S. Forces, Caribbean, responsibility for the supervision of the Caribbean Peacekeeping Force. A group of some 250 military police, communications specialists, and logisticians from XVIII Airborne Corps remained on the island to provide technical assistance. The corps kept them supplied from Fort Bragg.[122]

Logistical support for the Caribbean forces, however, came from a different source. The U.S. Army Depot System Command, with headquarters at Letterkenny Army Depot in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, performed the mission initially. The command shipped supplies, equipment, and spare parts drawn from the Defense Logistics Agency and from Army depots located throughout the United States to Letterkenny, where workers packaged and dispatched the materiel by truck to Dover Air Force Base, Delaware. Air Force transports, usually C–5s or C–141s depending on the cargo and destination, then flew it to airports in either Jamaica, Barbados, or Grenada. The Depot System Command also organized "hand-off teams" and deployed them to the airports. The teams issued the requisite equipment to the peacekeeping contingents. Because many of the smaller islands lacked runways able to accommodate large jet aircraft, the teams reconfigured supplies for transshipment by C–130. This was a physically demanding task, one of "the most difficult" a team faced. The members would then fly to one of the small islands, distribute the materiel, and provide any necessary training the Caribbean forces required.[123]

In total, the teams consisted of some twenty-one specialists drawn from the Letterkenny, Tobyhanna, and New Cumberland Army Depots. Lt. Col. James R. Tally, the director of supply at Letterkenny, led the mission. The issuing depots tested the equipment before they shipped it. Tally's teams tested it again just before issue to ensure that it had not been damaged in transit. The teams also provided training packages so that the island nations could maintain the equipment and request resupply when necessary.[124]

The amounts of materiel involved were substantial. For example, Tobyhanna Army Depot at Tobyhanna, Pennsylvania, specialized in electronic equipment. It shipped some twenty tons of radio-transmitter-receivers, antennas, batteries, and power supplies to the Caribbean. On Grenada, the teams used the People's Revolutionary Army's empty warehouse complex at Frequente to store supplies when they arrived.[125]

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[122] Ibid.; AMCHO, "A Brief History of Army Depots, Part II," Paper, 2000, printed copy in Hist files (SStudies), CMH.

[123] AMCHO, "A Brief History of Army Depots," Paper, printed copy in Hist files (SStudies), CMH; "Operation Island Breeze," pp. 20–21.

[124] "Operation Island Breeze," pp. 20–21.

[125] Schafer, "Logistics Support," p. 22; AMCHO, "A Brief History of Army Depots," Paper, printed copy in Hist files (SStudies), CMH.

Letterkenny ran the operation from November through mid-December, by which time it had completed the initial equipping of the Caribbean forces. Concurrently, it gradually shifted functions to the New Cumberland Army Depot near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which specialized in security assistance support. In mid-December New Cumberland took over the whole job. The Army Quartermaster School at Fort Lee, Virginia, then fielded two technical assistance teams to aid in maintaining U.S. equipment and in providing on-the-job training in U.S. supply procedures. One worked on Grenada. The other, based on Barbados, covered all the other nations involved. The team from Barbados also constructed training facilities on the island of St. Kitts for use by a Special Forces mobile training team.[126]

Complex administrative procedures and unfamiliar supply organizations posed challenges. Army trainers complained about the islanders' overbureaucratized and, hence, slow decisionmaking. Their Caribbean counterparts could have made a similar comment about the at times bewildering complexity of the U.S. arrangements. Patience, flexibility, and a sense of humor helped everyone to cope.[127]

Other problems were more mundane. Climate and geographic conditions, for example, produced greater wear-and-tear on U.S. equipment than Army logisticians expected. Premature brake wear on U.S. vehicles resulted from steep hills, narrow, winding roads, and a complete lack of shoulders and sidewalks, which meant that pedestrians mingled with traffic on most of the islands. Neither this nor any of the other problems was major. The participants solved them all by being tolerant of one another and by making adjustments as experience revealed flaws in initial planning.[128]

The U.S. contingent on Grenada began withdrawing in stages during the spring of 1985. The last sixty soldiers from the XVIII Airborne Corps departed on 11 June 1985 following a ceremony at the newly completed Point Salines International Airport, only recently opened to civilian air traffic. The U.S. Forces, Caribbean, security assistance team, consisting of twenty-five members, remained on the island until 30 September to continue to train the Grenadian police.[129]

By the end of the first week in November 1983 the logistical situation on Grenada was much improved. A corps headquarters element was on the island, soon to assume command of U.S. Forces, Grenada. XVIII Airborne Corps had taken charge of the Army portion of the aerial resupply effort. Forward Area Support Team III, the major logistical unit remaining on the island, was supporting the 82d Airborne Division's 3d Brigade as prescribed

[126] Schafer, "Logistics Support," pp. 22–26; "Depot Supports Grenada Force," p. 40.
[127] Schafer, "Logistics Support," pp. 22–26.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Dwight D. Oland, *Department of the Army Historical Summary, Fiscal Year 1984*, pp. 244–45; "60 Soldiers Leave Grenada; Last of U.S. Invasion Force," *New York Times*, 13 Jun 1985.

by doctrine as units from 1st Support Command arrived to provide direct support to nondivisional units. In effect, as General Mackmull had foreseen, the course of events had compelled Atlantic Command to implement Conceptual Plan 2360 despite its earlier disinclination to do so. That move strengthened the Army's logistical effort.

Although the Army's logistical arrangements designed to support Army trainers and foreign armies appeared both overly complex and arcane to outsiders, the system was familiar to Army logisticians and one in which they worked easily. The training of the Grenadian security forces and those of the other eastern Caribbean nations moved toward a successful conclusion on budget and on time at least in part due to the smooth functioning of the logistical system. Great confusion in supply operations at the beginning thus gave way to an almost textbook, if routine, performance at the end.

# 12

# Grenada in Perspective

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The Grenada intervention sparked numerous inquiries both inside and outside the Army, which in several instances led to major changes in policy. These remained a living legacy of the 1983 campaign, even as the details faded in both public and professional memories. Subsequent events in Panama, Kuwait, Somalia, Haiti, the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq became in their turn seemingly more salient and relevant than Grenada. In addition, the passage of time has provided a larger perspective in which to assess Operation Urgent Fury and the Army's logistical effort.

## Military and Policy Consequences

The return of Army combat units from Grenada to the continental United States precipitated a round of debriefings. These provided the basis for all the organizations involved to prepare after action reports and lessons learned. One of Maj. Gen. Edward L. Trobaugh's finest moments came when he insisted upon a wide-open, far-ranging critique of Operation Urgent Fury within the 82d Airborne Division. As a result, the unit's logistical, communications, and medical problems received detailed examination. In particular, the division thoroughly reviewed its plans and procedures for boarding aircraft and deploying and made revisions to its N-sequence based on its Grenada experiences.[1]

XVIII Airborne Corps and its other subordinate units went through the same process. In addition, the corps commander, Lt. Gen. Jack V. Mackmull, resolved that he would never again permit the kind of confusion that had dogged Urgent Fury to develop in another airflow. He insisted that for any future contingency the XVIII Airborne Corps commander should control the movement of troops and equipment off the installation whether or not he was in the chain of command based upon his authority as post commander. This somewhat strained interpretation of command relationships indicated just how determined corps headquarters had become to avoid repeating the sort of problems the operation on Grenada had entailed.[2]

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[1] Intervs, author with Daly, 31 Jul 1986, and with Cleary, 15 Jul 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[2] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and Oland with W. Richardson, 3 Mar 1988, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

General Mackmull had one other pressing concern: to find out who was responsible for the order sending the rangers into Calivigny on the afternoon of 27 October. In his view the deadline for executing the mission had served no valid military purpose, resulting only in the death and maiming of some great young soldiers. The 82d Airborne Division could have easily secured the peninsula by advancing overland on the twenty-eighth—the very approach that General Trobaugh, given the slow buildup of the 3d Brigade in the Point Salines airhead, had planned to adopt. Over the next several weeks Mackmull pressed his inquiry informally, ultimately to no avail. He could find no evidence that the order had originated with the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) or the Joint Staff. He was also convinced that the commander of U.S. Atlantic Command, Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, had not ordered the attack. His best guess was that an Atlantic Command staff officer, knowing that senior officers were impatient with the tempo of the airborne division's operations, had added the deadline and had inserted the phrase "JCS directs" for emphasis.[3]

Mackmull also strongly supported Trobaugh's scheme of maneuver on Grenada. He believed that it represented a well-thought-out solution to the problems posed by the terrain, the climate, the level of resistance, the state of training in the 82d Airborne Division, the initial lack of wheeled transport in the airhead, and the fragile political support in the United States for the intervention. The lack of support, in particular, meant that Trobaugh had to try to avoid excessive military and civilian casualties on all sides. His slow and systematic advance had the added benefit of allowing the division to uncover numerous caches of Soviet arms and military supplies, many of which would have remained hidden if the force had moved more rapidly. In fact, after the 82d took responsibility for the entire island, it located several caches that the fast-moving motorized patrols of Lt. Col. Ray L. Smith's Battalion Landing Team 2/8 had missed. Trobaugh's concept of operations had thus supported one of the major objectives of the intervention by eliminating the arms and other materiel needed to sustain any future insurrection. The ensuing civil peace had aided in the establishment of a stable democratic government on the island. For Mackmull, the lesson of Grenada was that higher headquarters physically far removed from an area of operations could not direct the tactical fight. They simply could not grasp the realities on the ground no matter how good the communications system. Calivigny was a prime example of what could happen when such a headquarters attempted to micromanage an operation.[4]

JCS Chairman General John W. Vessey had a slightly different view of the meaning of Calivigny. While he had on more than one occasion expressed dissatisfaction with the 82d's sluggish advance in contrast to the free-wheeling Marine motorized columns, he had at no time issued an order requiring the division to seize Calivigny by the evening of the twenty-seventh. In General

[3] Intervs, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, and Hicks with W. Richardson, [Nov 1983] (quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[4] Interv, Bishop with Mackmull, 29 Nov 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Caches of Soviet military supplies**





**Vessey with Trobaugh and Metcalf** *(center background)*

Vessey's view, a commander in receipt of a foolish or out-of-date order had a responsibility to the men under his command to protest that order to the very highest levels if necessary. General Trobaugh had protested the order to his immediate superior, Joint Task Force (JTF) 120 commander V. Adm. Joseph Metcalf III, who was entirely sympathetic, and then to Admiral McDonald at Atlantic Command. Unsuccessful, however, he went no further. Evidence as to whether he had enough time to do so is lacking, but the deadline certainly constrained his freedom of action to pursue the protest.[5]

In Washington, the Joint Staff likewise reviewed its role in Operation URGENT FURY. Given the confusion rife in the Grenada intervention, its members concluded that they needed to integrate logisticians and communications experts much earlier into future contingency preparations.[6]

Responsible for developing doctrine for land warfare, the Department of the Army likewise engaged in a wide-ranging review with the Army Staff, collecting the reports and recommendations prepared by the Army units involved. Army Chief of Staff General John A. Wickham, however, decided to go beyond standard lessons learned and directed the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command to prepare an in-depth report of the operation. To do the data collection and analysis, the commander of the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Lt. Gen. Carl E. Vuono, charged

[5] Ibid.; Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO.
[6] Briefing, White and Wening, 18 Nov 1986, Archives files, JHO.




**Admiral McDonald**

the director of the Combat Studies Institute, Col. Louis D. F. Frasché, with creating an ad hoc team. Designated the Grenada Work Group, the team was "to capture . . . Army lessons learned in terms of doctrine, training, organization, materiel, and leadership." At about the same time, General Richard E. Cavazos at U.S. Army Forces Command ordered Maj. Charles R. Bishop's 44th Military History Detachment to collect documents pertaining to Grenada and to conduct interviews with key participants. Once Colonel Frasché and Major Bishop became aware of one another's activities, they coordinated their work and shared the information they collected.[7]

The result was not only an archive of materials of unparalleled richness and depth that would otherwise have been lost but also, from Colonel Frasché's team, one of the best analyses of a Cold War–era military operation. The team concluded that Grenada validated existing Army doctrine and that difficulties mostly arose when individuals ignored it and tried to operate outside of established practices and procedures. The most disturbing conclusions centered on joint doctrine. Many soldiers did not know that it existed in certain areas, and many of those who did know had misunderstood it. Clearly, this was a subject

[7] Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation Urgent Fury Assessment, p. ix (quoted words); E-mail, Frasché to author, 4 Aug 2010. Both in Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH. See also Charles R. Bishop and E. Kathleen O'Brien, *FORSCOM/ARLANT Participation in Operation* Urgent Fury*—Grenada, 1983,* ed. Jean R. Moenk, FORSCOM Historical Monograph Series (Fort McPherson, Ga.: U.S. Army Forces Command, Military History Office, 1985), pp. i–ii.



**Colonel Frasché**



**Major Bishop**

that offered ample room for improvement in current professional military education programs and unit training.[8]

As the Army sought to refine and improve doctrine and training, the Grenada operation in the wider policy arena served paradoxically as both a model for future military operations and as a cautionary tale necessitating fundamental military reform. In the wake of the intervention, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger concluded that Operation URGENT FURY served as a positive example for the future, while the war in Vietnam and the failed 1980 Iranian hostage rescue effort gave ample evidence of how not to formulate policy. He developed six major tests for determining whether to conduct a military operation. First, vital U.S. national interests had to be at stake. Second, the national administration had to be willing and able to commit sufficient military force to gain U.S. objectives—or, as the secretary succinctly phrased it, "to win." Third, before proceeding, the United States had to have clearly defined political and military objectives and the administration needed to know "precisely" how to achieve those goals. Fourth, the president and the secretary of defense had to continually assess "the size, composition, and disposition of U.S. forces" in the light of national objectives and changing conditions and make adjustments when needed. Fifth, the administration needed

[8] Rpt, GWG, CAC, TRADOC, [1985], sub: Operation URGENT FURY Assessment, pp. ix–x, Hist files (PDocs/DA/CAC), CMH.

to do all that it could to secure support for the operation from Congress and the American people, preferably before it began. Sixth, decisionmakers needed to remember that the commitment of U.S. forces to combat should always be the last rather than the first resort in any crisis. Only if an operation met all these tests should an administration proceed to action.[9]



**Secretary Weinberger**

Given the imprecision of intelligence and decisionmaking in the real world, rigid adherence to these provisions would have ensured that the United States never used military force again. Certainly, the standards set the bar very high for military intervention, which was undoubtedly the secretary's intent given the political climate in which he drafted them. At the same time, the various elements provided a useful mental checklist for presidents, secretaries of state and defense, congressmen, senators, and citizens as they debated whether to order military interventions in the case of presidents, authorize them in the case of Congress, or support them in the instance of citizens.

Taken together, these dicta constituted what the press labeled the Weinberger Doctrine and somewhat later the Powell Doctrine, after another strenuous advocate of moderation in the use of force, General Colin L. Powell. (Powell, in fact, had served as Weinberger's military assistant while the secretary crafted the doctrine.) Whatever the name, this collection of ideas profoundly shaped U.S. national security strategy from 1984 until 2001, when on 11 September terrorists attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.[10]

Ironically, Secretary of State George P. Shultz drew diametrically opposed conclusions from Weinberger. Whereas the secretary of defense believed that President Ronald W. Reagan had exhausted all of his diplomatic options when he ordered the military to intervene, the secretary of state disagreed, maintaining further negotiations were possible on 25 October. Shultz did not criticize the president for premature use of the military option, but asserted that he had acted wisely. The military was much more likely to rescue the students unharmed, as in fact happened, by moving earlier while the students were only

[9] Speech, 28 Nov 1984, reprinted in Caspar W. Weinberger, *Fighting for Peace*, pp. 433–45.
[10] Ibid., pp. 401–03. On Powell, see Karen DeYoung, *Soldier: The Life of Colin Powell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), pp. 140–42.

lightly monitored rather than waiting until force was the only remaining alternative and they were in close confinement. In this way, Grenada also became a precedent for the doctrine of preemption that the administration of President George W. Bush adopted as the basis of U.S. national security strategy in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks.[11]

As an example of military mismanagement, Grenada gave great impetus to efforts to not only reform the Joint Chiefs of Staff but also provide greater authority to unified commanders. The Senate Armed Services Committee staff report on Department of Defense reorganization, known informally as the Locher Report, found that the operation revealed "major deficiencies in the ability of the Services to work jointly when deployed rapidly" and proposed major changes. The resulting Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act, signed by President Reagan on 1 October 1986, strengthened the power of the JCS chairman and unified commanders and attempted to ensure that in future operations senior officers had a joint as opposed to a single-service outlook. As a consequence of this legislation, Grenada exerted an influence on subsequent military operations disproportionate to its size, duration, and immediate results.[12]

Despite superficial appearances to the contrary, Grenada had little impact on Army logistical organization or doctrine. In 1984 the Department of the Army started to reorganize support commands by replacing those functional battalions that supported Operation URGENT FURY—supply and service, maintenance, medical—with mixed battalions containing functional companies. In the changeover, the forward area support teams became redundant and were eliminated. The reorganization addressed the pre-intervention concerns of the critics who found two major flaws in the support teams. They were, it was said, weak in command and control. Moreover, as organized, they compelled the coordinator to try to serve two masters: the division support commander and the brigade commander. Neither problem had surfaced on Grenada. While an expanded headquarters element equipped with a satellite radio with a dedicated channel would have greatly improved Forward Area Support Team II coordinator Maj. Daniel J. Cleary III's ability to affect the flow of men, equipment, and supplies to the island, his difficulty in getting his entire team to Grenada suggests that an enlarged contingent would have simply added to the congestion back at Fort Bragg without improving the situation at Point Salines. The second perceived failing, divided authority, never became an issue. In effect, Major Cleary ran a division-level rather than a brigade-level supply operation and took his orders directly from the division assault command post. Once the commander of the 82d Support Command, Col. William F. Daly Jr., arrived, he gave Cleary a free hand and

[11] George P. Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, pp. 344–45. For the Bush doctrine, see Office of the President, *The National Security Strategy of the United States, September 2002*, pp. 13–16. See also Edgar F. Raines Jr., "Grenada Revisited," pp. 6–20.

[12] United States, Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, *Defense Organization—The Need for Change*, pp. 363–70 (quoted words); *Goldwater–Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986*, Public Law 99–433, 99th Cong., 2d sess. (1 Oct 1986).

intervened only when the major needed the support that the colonel's rank and position provided.[13]

Grenada created one more controversy for the 82d Airborne Division commander, General Trobaugh. The return of all the division's combat units did not mean that all the supplies and equipment shipped to Grenada had come back as well. Large stocks remained on the island, where Colonel Daly's support command was responsible for reconditioning the materiel and returning it to storage. This involved months of backbreaking labor, twelve hours a day, seven days a week. At the same time, the combat troops had slipped back into a normal peacetime mode; the contrast made the situation more onerous for the logisticians. To maintain morale, the 407th Supply and Service Battalion commander, Lt. Col. John J. Cusick, recommended that the division send as many enlisted logisticians as possible on short temporary-duty tours to Grenada, where they would assist corps troops in preparing materiel for shipment back to the United States. More important, from the morale standpoint, they would have an opportunity to see firsthand what Urgent Fury had been about and to experience the overwhelming gratitude of ordinary Grenadians toward Americans. In the end, the soldiers who went to Grenada returned with a new sense of purpose and dedication to completing the mission.[14]

Colonel Cusick's second recommendation was a fairly typical military response to this type of situation: give liberal awards for demanding work. By law, soldiers could not receive overtime pay. In addition, because time was at a premium, General Trobaugh could not give additional time off to the troops as compensation for the long hours. Soldiers, however, could receive public recognition for their sustained effort. When Trobaugh approved the proposal, the presentation of the Army Commendation Medal became a usual method of rewarding the troops. It was an award a commander could bestow for outstanding service in peacetime on his own authority without prior approval by his superiors. Both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* learned about the decorations, however, and ran stories that conflated all awards connected to Grenada with the three days of combat in October. The title of an article by critic Jeffrey Record said it all as far as the press was concerned: "More Medals Than We Had Soldiers." The whole affair became a major public relations problem for the Army.[15]

To Cuba, Grenada was both a humiliation and a foreign policy disaster. Shortly after the public welcome to the Cuban veterans of the campaign, Premier Fidel Castro ordered that the Cuban ambassador to Grenada be stripped of his rank and imprisoned without benefit of trial for his failure to detect the impending coup against Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice

[13] For an early criticism of the forward area support team concept, see Moorad Mooradian, "DISCOM in a 'Come as You Are' War," pp. 41–53. See also TOE 63L5, 1 Apr 1988, chg. 1, and TOE 63L52, 1 Oct 1985, TOE files, CMH.

[14] Interv, author with Cusick, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[15] Ibid.; Jeffrey Record, "More Medals Than We Had Soldiers: Grenada's Decoration Glut Cheapens Honor and Valor," *Washington Post*, 15 Apr 1984; "Grenada and Lebanon Bring a Rush of Medals," *New York Times*, 5 Dec 1983.



**Castro embracing Colonel Tortoló upon his return to Cuba**

Bishop. The commander of Cuban forces on the island, Col. Pedro Cosmas Tortoló, underwent a secret court-martial that reduced him to private for his inability to mount an effective defense. Shipped to Angola, he died there in 1986. The colonel's conviction neatly obscured the fact that Castro's directives to Tortoló made any coherent defense of Point Salines impossible on the day of the invasion.[16]

## A Historical Overview

The Grenada intervention of 1983 was only a minor episode in the great sweep of American military history. At best, combat consisted of a few firefights against opponents who could hardly be rated second or even third class. Lacking popular support, even a sense of legitimacy, the Grenadian government and army were incapable of effectively waging a protracted guerrilla campaign once defeated in conventional battle. And as soon as a substantial number of U.S. ground troops seized a lodgment on the island, the Grenadian and Cuban defeat in conventional battle was assured. From a logistical standpoint, however, the intervention was much more interesting. As a no-plan contingency operation, Urgent Fury suddenly placed substantial stress upon the U.S. Army's supply, maintenance, transportation, and medical systems.

Logistical problems in Urgent Fury started at the top of the chain of command. At the outset President Reagan's insistence on extraordinary secrecy had a chilling effect at all levels and a significant impact on the shape of the Grenada operation. Because of the security restrictions, most commanders excluded their logisticians from the early preparations, with the two ranger battalion commanders being the only notable exceptions. The result was that unexamined assumptions about logistics permeated both joint and Army

[16] Sandra W. Meditz and Dennis M. Hanratty, eds., *Islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean*, pp. 622–34; Joseph B. Treaster, "2 Cubans Involved in Grenada Drop Out of Sight," *New York Times*, 14 May 1984; Colin McSeveny, "Cuba Said to Court-Martial Commander in Grenada," *Washington Post*, 19 Jun 1984; James M. Perry and John J. Fialka, "As Panama Outcome Is Praised, Details Emerge of Bungling During the 1983 Grenada Invasion," *Wall Street Journal*, 15 Jan 1990.

planning. In the same way, the theater commander, Admiral McDonald, cut communications experts out of the planning, effectively crippling the ability of the 82d Airborne Division commander, General Trobaugh, to communicate with both his higher headquarters and his logistical base. Not until Trobaugh and his staff actually arrived on Grenada did they realize that they would have only limited communications with Admiral Metcalf's JTF 120 headquarters, next to none with Colonel Smith's marines, and only episodic interchange with division-rear at Fort Bragg. A similar lack of adequate medical coordination meant that Army planners had a grossly inflated view of the medical assets available in Joint Task Force 120. In the end, seen with the perfect vision of hindsight, the only practical military result of Reagan's insistence on extra security was disruption of the preparations of U.S. forces. Modern systems of command and control are very flexible and allow the concentration of great power, but they are also complex and, on that account, fragile. Even a slight disturbance can produce profound and unexpected consequences.

Although time was pressing, the real problem in preparing the intervention was not the lack of planning time but the lack of quality planning. "An extremely short time period" requires full disclosure and full coordination rather than the opposite. It was the lack of these qualities on multiple levels that was, as one officer observed, "the crux of the problem." Oversensitivity to public opinion combined with strategic events to produce a crippling operational security policy that straitjacketed the planners. Urgent Fury was not unique in this regard. It was a continuing theme in U.S. military interventions during and after the Cold War, although the reasons for the security policies varied from case to case.[17]

For Urgent Fury, the most serious lapse was the intelligence failure to identify that St. George's University School of Medicine had more than one campus and that a large number of Americans lived off campus. Excessive compartmentalization, the president's security crackdown that JCS Chairman General Vessey passed on unmoderated, and compressed planning appear to have severely hampered not only the flow of information within intelligence circles but also the collection of readily available information.

Next to the intelligence failure, Atlantic Command's inability to coordinate planning by all the disparate ground force elements involved in the operation was the most striking flaw in this phase. The compressed planning time was part of the explanation, but only part. The lack of an adequate concept of operations at an early stage indicated that the headquarters was not trained or manned to mount a small but complicated ground force operation in the time allotted. Atlantic Command was geared to transport massive reinforcements and supplies safely across the North Atlantic in the event of a Soviet attack in Central Europe. Despite numerous joint exercises involving situations

[17] RCmts (quoted words), Reardon, August 2004, Hist files (Drafts), CMH; Tel Interv, author with Yates, 25 Jan 2008, Hist files (Intervs), CMH. On security policy and its effects on other operations, see Gary H. Wade, *Rapid Deployment Logistics*, pp. 15–16; Lawrence A. Yates, *Power Pack*, pp. 56–65; Walter Kretchik, Robert F. Baumann, and John T. Fishel, *Invasion, Intervention, "Intervasion,"* pp. 45–48.

analogous to Grenada, it was simply unprepared for the complexities of its task in October 1983. This represented a failure not of individuals but of a system. General Vessey and the Joint Chiefs had to intervene far too often to produce an acceptable operational plan. The delays this entailed meant that Atlantic Command could not provide the planners at lower echelons with guidance they needed until very late in the process. As a result, those officers expended a great deal of time and effort to little effect.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff approved a nighttime raid by a small highly trained force, but the concern over the status of the airfield at Point Salines caused Admiral McDonald to twice slip the time for beginning the operation to scant minutes before daylight. This change in timing contributed greatly to the less-than-total success the special operations forces enjoyed in achieving their first day objectives. Their partial failure on 25 October meant that conventional forces, notably the 82d Airborne Division, would have to carry the operation to success. The shift elevated logistical support from a secondary to a primary area of concern.

Admiral McDonald elected not to use Concept Plan 2360, prepared for small island interventions. Given his judgment that Second Fleet was the only immediately available headquarters capable of controlling the forces involved and that it had never exercised this plan, McDonald's decision may have been unavoidable. From the Army's perspective, however, it was unfortunate because the JCS-approved Atlantic Command plan had dispensed with two important command-and-control features included in the original plan—the designation of one officer to direct all the ground forces no matter what the service, and the selection of the XVIII Airborne Corps commander to head the Army contingent. Lack of a single ground force commander meant that coordination between the Marine Corps and the Army on Grenada was poor, and the severing of the corps headquarters from the chain of command complicated the ability of the 82d Airborne Division both to deploy from Fort Bragg and to communicate with the other services in the area of operations. Furthermore, once the division arrived on the island, the new plan left General Trobaugh overloaded with responsibilities as both Task Force 121 commander and Army Forces, Grenada, commander.

In deleting the corps echelon, General Vessey, the Joint Staff, and Admiral McDonald apparently misunderstood the role of corps headquarters in post-Vietnam Army organization. They appear to have reverted to a World War II–era concept of the corps as an operational headquarters only—one that controlled two or more divisions at the tactical level. Displacing a World War II–type corps headquarters from the Grenada chain of command would have made perfect sense in an operation employing less than a division. The role of the 1983 version of the corps with its robust logistical capabilities and operational level of war responsibilities, however, was far removed from that of its World War II predecessor.

Admiral McDonald's decision to delete the corps from the operation—a shorthand way of describing the underlying bureaucratic reality—had other far-reaching effects. It not only slighted the institutional changes that

had taken place in corps and divisions after the Vietnam war but also overlooked the nature and scope of the responsibilities of the Army Forces commander, which stretched from depots in the United States to the airfield at Point Salines. The geographic sweep of these obligations delineated that officer's role, because by deciding when and in what sequence units and materiel entered the combat zone he dealt with the operational level of war. This was quite different from the sphere and responsibilities of a tactical commander, whose charge involved an airhead a few hundred meters deep centered on the Point Salines airfield; there he sought to mass and then maneuver sufficient men and materiel to defeat the Grenadians and Cubans on the island. In General Mackmull the Army had an officer fitted by both training and experience to act as an Army Forces commander, and at Fort Bragg Mackmull had a suitable command post from which he could guide the buildup of men, equipment, and supplies in the area of operations. Many of the unfortunate events of the campaign stemmed from the exclusion of Mackmull and his command post.[18]

By cutting the corps, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Atlantic Command appeared to validate the arguments of critics who claimed that during the late Cold War the U.S. military command-and-control structure was too bureaucratized. Experience teaches that the best time to devise and test command relationships is in peacetime. In that light, it should be clear that anything that would upset often-exercised and workable command relationships should be the last, not the first, resort in an actual operation. One of the great strengths of the U.S. Navy in the twentieth century derived from its adherence to the maxim that the fleet fights as the fleet trains. General Vessey, the Joint Staff, and Admiral McDonald forgot that this rule applied equally to armies.

Not all the problems that surfaced in the days before the troops landed on Grenada were centered in the upper reaches of the command structure, but senior headquarters did have a major impact on the ability of their subordinates to complete their preparations. In comparison with the two ranger battalions, the 82d Airborne Division, for example, failed to use its planning time efficiently. Its logisticians suffered from a major handicap. With the XVIII Airborne Corps headquarters removed from the chain of command, they had to spend considerable time trying to understand what its replacement—the predominantly naval Atlantic Command—wanted. It was not a question of one group of officers being more intelligent or more professional than the other, but rather the lack of familiarity each had with the other.

In contrast, ranger commanders and their staffs worked directly with the Joint Special Operations Command, a true joint headquarters, and all concerned shared a common language and common assumptions. The rangers could devote their energy and attention to planning rather than to attempting to clarify directives written by individuals unfamiliar with the concepts behind airborne operations and the language that expressed them.

[18] Martin Van Creveld, *Command in War*, provides an introduction to command-and-control issues.

Although their objectives shifted during planning, particularly for Lt. Col. Ralph L. Hagler Jr.'s 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry, that initially was to seize Pearls Airport, the rangers' mission, unlike the airborne's, remained constant: armed entry into the territory of a sovereign country to rescue American citizens. The 82d's staff had to prepare for not only this mission but also its follow-on role as a peacekeeping force. Although General Trobaugh chose to spend much of his planning time on the more difficult but less likely mission of airborne assault, the other possibility exerted an influence on the division's preparations, determining, for example, the mix of high-explosive and illumination rounds artillery officers took to Grenada.

In the same way, if compressed planning time and stringent operational security requirements had only a marginal impact on the quality of planning in the ranger battalions, the two factors degraded the 82d's planning. The strict security, for example, and Trobaugh's own lack of experience in airborne operations induced the general include too few planners in his Saturday afternoon and evening planning sessions at Fort Bragg. Detailed planning only started in the division on Sunday, after General Mackmull personally intervened. In contrast, the two ranger battalions had begun such planning over a day earlier. The 82d Support Command, the key element for detailed logistical planning in the division, became involved only on Sunday afternoon.

Limited time led the division support commander, Colonel Daly, and the division G–4, Lt. Col. Jack D. Crabtree II, to concentrate on those areas that had proven troublesome in previous emergency deployment readiness exercises. In the process they overlooked areas that later became bottlenecks: the confusion about the establishment of an intermediate staging base on Barbados; the failure to make General Trobaugh or his chief of staff, Col. Peter J. Boylan Jr., aware that the airfield layout at Point Salines would determine the rate at which the 2d Brigade Task Force could complete its deployment to Grenada and secure resupply; and the service support annex's omission of any discussion of Trobaugh's increased administrative and supply responsibilities as the Army Forces commander. If Col. William J. Richardson Jr.'s 1st Support Command staff and Trobaugh's division staff could have freely exchanged information or if the planning time had been longer, someone would have almost certainly identified and rectified these problems. In the rush to deploy the task force, however, no one did.

Of these issues, the lack of an arrival airfield plan had the most important impact, because it impinged upon the overall success of the entire logistical effort. A combination of bad luck, shortage of time, and excessive operational security were central to what happened but hardly the only causes. The bad luck came in the form of cloud cover over the Point Salines Peninsula, which led to the lack of recent photographs of the airfield in logistical channels. Given time constraints, waiting for the skies to clear was not possible. Furthermore, airfield planning competed with other equally important issues for staff time. A combination of too much security and too little time kept Colonel Crabtree from discovering that the division G–3, Lt. Col. Frank H.

Akers Jr., had good photographs of the airfield available. Even with the known available resources, however, more might have been accomplished if Crabtree had chosen to devote greater effort to the problem. Older photographs could have provided the dimensions of the field's layout if not the current status of construction. For these details, the division needed onsite human intelligence.

The planning failure carried with it two consequences. First, the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Major Cleary, would have to improvise a layout of airfield operations after he arrived on Grenada. Second, Crabtree would have little opportunity to apprise the command group of the important logistical issues affected by the airfield layout. The design would have a significant impact on one of General Trobaugh's major responsibilities as Army Forces commander, his ability to obtain reinforcements and supplies. Trobaugh's chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, addressed the issue at least obliquely once on the island when he made the decision to keep the ramp in front of the terminal closed to air traffic, but he did so without the benefit of the perspective that a briefing on the subject at Fort Bragg could have provided.

Given the circumstances, the actions of the XVIII Airborne Corps G–4, Col. Corless W. Mitchell, and Colonel Crabtree were entirely understandable. In working closely together on logistical intelligence issues, the two officers did what they had done countless times before on emergency deployment readiness exercises. With the XVIII Airborne Corps out of the chain of command, however, Colonel Mitchell did not have access to all the available sources of intelligence. As with the other Fort Bragg staff officers who knew about the operation, he and Crabtree could only react to events. They lacked the leisure to meditate on how the removal of the corps from the chain of command had changed their own institutional relationship. Admiral McDonald's decision to remove the corps, plus the compressed time available, made some breakdown in the 82d's staff work almost inevitable. The failure to prepare an airfield arrival plan was a by-product of these circumstances.

The different ways in which operational security affected the rangers and the airborne forces during the planning phase of the operation also deserve comment. Reporting directly to their task force commander, the 1st and 2d Battalions, 75th Infantry, possessed the advantages of small size and simplicity. The respective commanders, Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor Jr. and Colonel Hagler, knew all their officers personally, and they did not hesitate to share information with them when they learned of their mission. Contrast their situation with the problems that General Trobaugh faced: He was three or four levels removed from some of the key logistical planners in his division. He could not know and hence trust his officers in the same manner that Taylor and Hagler could and, as a result, did not confide in his officers as the ranger commanders did. Given the circumstances under which it was completed, ranger planning for the operation thus came very close to the textbook model while airborne planning fell well short of the ideal.

The irony of this situation lay in the fact that in 1983 the 82d Airborne Division was a unique organization in the U.S. Army. The division's great strength was its sense of community. Officers serving in the division tended to

return for repeat tours, while key noncommissioned officers might spend an entire career at Fort Bragg. Shared experiences created intense esprit de corps. Division members possessed that sense of unit loyalty and identity long before reformers urged the reintroduction of a regimental system to foster those values in the entire Army. General Trobaugh, however, had no experience in the division before he assumed its command. He had never had the opportunity to know his subordinates in the same manner as an officer who had spent multiple tours at Fort Bragg and who had met some of them on earlier assignments. Such service might have given Trobaugh sufficient trust in his officers to involve them earlier in detailed planning. Lacking previous associations with the unit, he acted like the commander of any other division.

As conceived by the theater commander and his staff and approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the URGENT FURY plan assumed that U.S. forces would meet little or no opposition. Under this best case assumption, Atlantic Command planners allowed the ranger battalions and the airborne brigade to arrive at Point Salines in a leisurely fashion over a long day. They made no attempt to mass combat power or to muster the logistical support that would be required if a fight occurred. Admiral McDonald's order directing the 82d Airborne Division to airland rather than giving its commander the option to airland or airdrop depending on circumstances was entirely consistent with this approach. In the end, Trobaugh quite correctly insisted upon ensuring that the initial brigade task force had an airdrop option, but he made this determination so late in the loading sequence that it was disruptive. His next decision, en route to Grenada, to airland was probably correct, given the need to guard against large numbers of casualties and to ensure the long-term success of the operation. It exacted, however, a heavy operational and logistical price by impeding the ability of the Air Force to build up men and materiel in the airhead quickly.

The lack of an arrival airfield plan began to make itself felt on the night of 25–26 October. Once the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator, Major Cleary, reached Grenada, he had to decide where to place supply points based on a single moonlit ground reconnaissance of the airfield. Daylight revealed that he had not always selected the best sites. As a result, Air Force Capt. Stephen R. Scott's 317th Combat Control Team closed the airfield each time a bladder bird discharged fuel at the aviation fuel point or a C–130 loaded patients from the 307th Medical Battalion for evacuation. Given the problems of the airflow as a whole, however, these were at most marginal difficulties.

In the absence of a briefing on an arrival airfield plan, neither General Trobaugh nor key members of his staff were aware of the importance of clearing the ramp in front of the terminal. Without a clean ramp, the successive combat control teams could not allow more than one aircraft on the ground at a time, a fact that, in turn, seriously compromised the ability of the division to reinforce and resupply itself. Tactical considerations initially led the division G–3, Colonel Akers, to select the airfield terminal as the site for the assault command post, but the situation persisted longer than it should have. The noise generated by idling C–130s led the chief of staff, Colonel Boylan, to halt

the ramp clearing so that the division staff could direct the fight. This decision was probably unavoidable in view of the circumstances. It was nonetheless so important given its impact on the airflow that Trobaugh rather than a colonel should have made it. To make an informed judgment, however, he would have needed a senior logistician to lay out the adverse logistical consequences. But no senior logistician was assigned to his assault command post, which was configured to direct a battle rather than an airflow. The condition of the ramp at Point Salines was the single most disruptive influence on the airflow to Grenada, and it was capable of correction by unilateral Army action—if only someone had thought to make the move.

At this point another fundamental problem in the initial concept of operations arose. General Trobaugh and his staff were understandably distracted by the need to establish the assault command post in the airhead and to pick up the threads of a battle already in progress. This problem existed because the Urgent Fury plan called for Trobaugh's headquarters to replace Maj. Gen. Richard A. Scholtes' Joint Special Operations Command headquarters. Such a changeover made sense only within the context of the initial assumptions—that little or no resistance would occur and that all fighting would be over by the time the 82d Airborne Division arrived. In fairness, Admiral McDonald may not have felt free to change that portion of the plan (even though the assumptions on which it had been based had proven invalid) because the Joint Chiefs of Staff wanted to keep the methods and organization of U.S. counterterrorist units secret and were pressuring him to remove the Joint Special Operations Command and its special units and equipment before the news media arrived. In retrospect, General Vessey considered this the main flaw in the original plan, for it virtually guaranteed a pause in ground force operations while Trobaugh and his staff assumed control of the intervention from Scholtes. From the logistics perspective, the transfer of command was yet another factor that kept key problems—such as the need to clear the ramp—from receiving the attention that they demanded.[19]

General Trobaugh's decision to limit the 2d Brigade Task Force's contribution to purely combat units also seriously affected the ability of Forward Area Support Team II to organize the airfield, thereby ensuring that Alpha Echelon received no immediate reinforcements. At best, the advance elements managed to cope only by clustering supply points along the edge of the airfield in various stages of disarray. Without relief, working twenty-four hours a day, the members became less and less effective. Trobaugh's focus on combat elements also meant that the division's own medical assets were long delayed in arriving and that the division remained heavily dependent upon the Navy for medical support throughout the combat phase of the operation. During Urgent Fury the number of casualties never exceeded the ability of the division assisted by the Navy to treat the wounded, but it did come close.[20]

[19] Interv, Cole with Vessey, 25 Mar 1987, Archives files, JHO.
[20] Interv, author with Crabtree, 24 Jan 1989, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

In all, nineteen American servicemen died (one ten months later), twelve from the Army. The Rangers suffered the bulk of these losses. They had eight killed and sixty-nine wounded. The 82d Airborne Division lost three dead, thirty-six wounded, and twenty-five injuries not related to combat. In addition, one trooper died in a noncombat-related fatal shooting. His loss is not included among the Grenada combat fatalities *(Table 2)*.[21]

**Table 2—Casualties in Operation URGENT FURY**

| | *Army* | *Marine Corps* | *Navy* | *Air Force* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Killed in Action | 12[a] | 3[b] | 4[c] | 0 |
| Wounded in Action | 108 | 15 | 0[d] | 2 |
| Total | 120 | 18 | 4 | 2 |

[a] Sgt. Randy E. Cline, S. Sgt. Gary L. Epps, Spec. Philip S. Grenier, Sgt. Kevin J. Lannon, Capt. Keith J. Lucas, Sgt. Sean P. Luketina (died of wounds, 30 June 1984), Pfc. Marlin R. Maynard, Sgt. Mark A. Rademacher, Capt. Michael F. Ritz, Pfc. Russell L. Robinson, Sgt. Stephen E. Slater, Spec. Mark O. Yamane
[b] Maj. John P. Gigure, 1st Lt. Jeffrey R. Scharver, Capt. Jeb Seagle
[c] MM1 Kenneth Gary Butcher, MM1 Kevin P. Lundberg, HT1 Stephen L. Morris, ENCS Robert R. Schamberger
[d] No reportable wounded in action

*Source*: Statistics supplied by each service's Office of Casualty Affairs, 8 Jun 1988.

Another problem with the airflow arose from the initial lack of coordination between the forward area support team coordinator and members of both the Air Force combat control team and the Air Force airlift control element at Point Salines. Lack of well-defined doctrine about the relationship between Army and Air Force ground units needed to operate an arrival airfield contributed to this situation, but the fact that each group was fully engaged by its service responsibilities clearly played a role. Major Cleary and his small advance party were overwhelmed with work. The stress and fatigue they experienced meant that effective coordination became less likely as the operation progressed. Several Air Force decisions that adversely affected the airflow—for example, the halt to landings at Point Salines for four hours on the night of 25–26 October—might have been modified if good communications had existed between the Army and Air Force components at the airfield. In the end, the arrival of the division support commander, Colonel Daly, an officer who was not only experienced but also rested, made the difference. Discerning the problem as soon as he arrived and possessing the rank and personality to ensure that effective coordination occurred, Daly started an exchange of information that allowed the 82d Airborne Division for the first time to exert effective control over cargoes dispatched from Fort Bragg to Grenada. It was a major turning point for the Army's logistical effort.

[21] Hannah Fischer, Kim Klarman, Mari-Jana Oboroceanu, *American War and Military Operations Casualties*, p. 5; Bruce R. Pirnie, *Operation* URGENT FURY, pp. 160, 170.

At the other end of the airflow, conditions at Green Ramp on Pope Air Force Base were also chaotic. Projected turnaround times for aircraft never matched reality, which led to overcrowding as units awaiting transportation stacked up. A variety of factors were involved: the early removal of corps control elements from the ramp, the failure of Atlantic Command to establish positive control over the airflow, the lack of a means of tracking aircraft in the airflow from departure to destination, the inability of 82d Support Command personnel at Green Ramp to communicate directly with members of forward area support teams at Point Salines, and the absence of a joint intelligence center at the departure airfield. The way the division assault command post operated on Grenada also played a role. General Trobaugh told his staff members which units and equipment to deploy, and they communicated these instructions directly to the rear detachment commanders without anyone else knowing anything until members of the detachments arrived at Green Ramp clamoring for space in the airflow.

The Army's failure to establish an intermediate staging base on Barbados was the final major problem in the airflow. Again, it reflected the consequences of Admiral McDonald's decision to cut XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command. Under normal circumstances, Colonel Richardson's 1st Support Command would have set up an intermediate staging base. It had the manpower, training, and expertise to do so. Removed from the chain of command, however, the corps lacked the authority to direct Richardson to do this. Thus, Colonel Daly's 82d Support Command correctly focused its much more limited resources on getting into Point Salines quickly and with as much force as possible. Nevertheless, on the basis of past exercises, Daly assumed that the corps would do as it always did, create a base if needed. In the rush to deploy, no one recognized that the two organizations were operating from different assumptions.

The lack of a staging base had one further consequence. Combined with the failure of the Air Force at Pope Air Force Base to load and to deploy promptly the first task force from the 82d Aviation Battalion, it significantly delayed that unit's movement to Grenada. The organization's late arrival, the dearth of fuel at the aviation point, the lack of crew rest during the deployment (attributable again to the lack of a staging base on Barbados), and the decision not to include escort gunships contributed to the disaster that befell the aviators and rangers at the Calivigny training camp. In that case, however, the most important component was the order from a higher headquarters to capture the camp by nightfall. Even if all the logistical elements had been in place and had worked perfectly, this intervention in tactical operations by a headquarters far removed from the scene still might have sufficed to produce enough confusion to cause what happened.

Not all Army logistical problems centered on the airflow. A number of units performed below the quality of their personnel primarily because they had not had the opportunity to train in peacetime for a portion of their wartime mission. Had the Class III refueling platoon had an opportunity to practice unloading bladder birds in peacetime, 2d Lt. Eric P. Katz and his men

would not have had to learn entirely on the job. Moreover, if the division had actually deployed the 307th Medical Battalion during peacetime emergency deployment readiness exercises, perhaps more of the battalion's Company C could have worked its way through Green Ramp and onto aircraft sooner—and possibly some of the infantry commanders, however grudgingly, would have conceded their right to be there.

Another problem the medical battalion had to solve was the question of command once it deployed. In theory, the confusion on the issue ended on 21 November 1983, when the Department of the Army issued a follow-on manual to Field Manual 54–2, The Division Support Command and Separate Brigade Support Battalion, which removed any hint that a division commander possessed any discretion as to who commanded his medical battalion in wartime. The new publication, Field Manual 63–2, Combat Service Support Operations—Division, provided that "during combat the medical battalion commander must be a physician." A larger question nonetheless remained. Where was the wisdom when a combat deployment began by replacing the Medical Service Corps officers who had trained units in peacetime with physicians who had little or no previous contact with them? Conceived broadly, this question also highlighted concerns about the command of medical companies, where the same policy prevailed. The XVIII Airborne Corps surgeon, Col. James H. Rumbaugh, tried to address the issue by ensuring that, once the 307th Medical Battalion commander, Lt. Col. Edward B. Wilson, left for his next assignment, a Medical Corps officer replaced him and devoted full time to command of the battalion. This solution, however, was only partial. It did not address the issue of medical company commanders in the 307th. From the perspective of the entire Army, units that would require some time to prepare before commitment to combat would not face the stark dilemma that confronted the 82d Airborne Division on Grenada. There the prospective commanders and unit members would have an opportunity to get to know one another before deploying. Units (such as the 82d) with the mission of deploying on no-notice or short-notice contingency operations or rapidly reinforcing overseas theaters, however, faced a very real predicament under this policy.[22]

Some medical problems transcended any one service. Difficulties in coordinating medical support stemmed from the haste with which Atlantic Command put URGENT FURY together and the failure of the planners to adequately consult the command surgeon. The absence of adequate facilities for Admiral Metcalf's JTF headquarters on the USS *Guam* also played a role. It meant that Metcalf could not bring a complete staff on board. In particular, he lacked a senior surgeon to serve as a single source of contact and coordination for all the service medical elements in the operation. Eventually, Air Force, Army, and Navy doctors on the ground, coupled with intervention by the Atlantic Command surgeon, R. Adm. James A. Zimbel, sorted things out;

[22] Intervs, Oland with Nolan, 10 Nov 1987, and with Rumbaugh, 18 Nov and 23 Dec 1987, Hist files (Intervs), CMH; FM 54–2, The Division Support Command and Separate Brigade Support Battalion, 1969, pp. 8-1 to 8-2; FM 63–2, Combat Service Support Operations—Division, 1983, p. 3-19 (quoted words).

however, if provided with the proper staff organization and oversight, the JTF headquarters could have easily avoided much of the confusion.

If enough things went wrong to make the Grenada campaign worthy of criticism, there is no denying that the operation was also a victory for the United States and its allies. Credit for this result again begins at the top of the chain of command and runs to the very bottom. Once he made his decision, President Reagan did not waiver. Vacillation at the very highest level could well have made success much more problematic. General Vessey, the Joint Chiefs, and Admiral McDonald recognized that given the disparity of forces available, the United States only had to bring overwhelming force to bear to seize the island in a relatively bloodless fashion. The operation that resulted, while certainly flawed, achieved the desired result. Of course, more time for preparation would have allowed the participants to perfect their plans and preparations, but the paucity of available information suggested that the Grenadian government was in considerable disarray—creating not only a period of maximum danger for the students but also one of great opportunity for their rescuers. On 24 October, while attending the commanders conference at Norfolk, McDonald had the occasion to weigh opportunities against risks. His subordinates wanted him to postpone the operation, but he decided to proceed. That resolution left the Cubans and Grenadians insufficient time to organize a sustained and effective defense.

This overall operational success rested upon a considerable logistical achievement that was all the more notable because of the difficulties that the Army had to overcome in pulling it together. How it happened can be summed up under five headings: planning, training, initiative, professionalism, and hard work.

The way that the operation developed demonstrated that the preliminary planning embodied in the Army portion of Concept Plan 2360 was well thought through. By the end of Urgent Fury all major components of that plan were in place and functioning well. What problems there were came not from the plan but from its hesitant, piecemeal, and ad hoc execution by Atlantic Command over the course of the operation.

When logistical units performed the tasks for which they had trained, they accomplished their missions in fine style. The loading of a division assault command post, a brigade headquarters, and two infantry battalions with attachments in a twelve-hour period when the standard was a one battalion task force in eighteen hours was a considerable achievement, one in which Colonel Daly and his subordinates could justifiably take pride. It was matched but not surpassed by the skeleton units at Fort Stewart, which, with many key people in Florida, nevertheless loaded the two ranger battalions at Hunter Army Airfield on schedule. In both cases success validated good training and sound doctrine, particularly the notification sequences at the two posts that had been refined by repeated emergency deployment readiness exercises. The ease with which 82d Support Command elements performed the rear-area protection mission at Point Salines testified to the utility of the field training that, largely at Colonel Daly's initiative, they had regularly received at Fort

Bragg. Daly's impulse to get logistical units out of garrison and into the field had paid off.

One of the most impressive characteristics of the U.S. Army on Grenada was the willingness of officers and men to exercise their own initiative—to go beyond the limits of their orders to ensure the success of the operation. When plans broke down or the unexpected happened, individuals acted. Examples of this ranged in scope from General Trobaugh's decision to insist that the initial brigade have an airdrop capacity to Lieutenant Katz's repeated trips to Pope Air Force Base to ensure that his Class III platoon had the correct hoses and couplings to defuel aircraft. In the same way, Lt. Col. Bobby R. Hurst went to Green Ramp to direct the airflow; Lt. Col. Ronald F. Kelly imposed order on the call-back process; Lt. Col. Robert N. Seigle on his own authority appointed a commander, Army Forces, Barbados; Capt. Jimmie M. Rabon acted on his somewhat dubious charter to bring a measure of efficiency to Army operations on the island; still later, General Mackmull, with no authority whatsoever, sent Col. James D. Starling to assume command of Army Forces, Barbados; and Sgt. Rodolfo Capetillo solved his platoon's supply deficiency by capturing Russian grenades and having his men throw them at the Cubans.

Professionalism in the sense of technical expertise honed by experience was present, of course, throughout the Army resupply and reinforcement effort. The word, however, also can convey a special meaning: the ability to make judgments on the basis of this technical expertise in a detached and entirely rational or clinical manner without regard for personal consequences. This was the stance that General Mackmull adopted and that both his deputy, Maj. Gen. Jack B. Farris Jr., and General Trobaugh's deputy, Brig. Gen. James D. Smith, emulated at Fort Bragg. Given the cross currents of misinformation, unit loyalties, and injured professional pride that flowed from the removal of XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command, a possibility existed that an attitude of pervasive noncooperation would prevail between corps and division. Generals Mackmull, Farris, and Smith never allowed it to happen. No prima donnas reigned at Fort Bragg; the mission prevailed. General Cavazos at Forces Command considered the work of Mackmull and his staff "an extraordinary achievement in light of command and control arrangements."[23]

Finally, everyone involved in the logistics system worked hard. Their labor began after Atlantic Command issued the execution order, when the first items of equipment were pulled from the warehouses, and ended months after the return of the combat troops from Grenada, when the last pieces of equipment, cleaned and repaired, were warehoused. Through it all, no one toiled as hard as Alpha Echelon's 35 members of Forward Area Support Team II; the advance party worked to exhaustion, doing the work of two forward area support teams (or 700-plus personnel) and in the process sustaining more than five infantry battalions plus attachments. The fact that Major Cleary and his men

[23] Msg, Cavazos to Wickham, 23 2100Z Nov 1983, sub: Lessons Learned, Grenada files, CmdHO, TRADOC. In this back-channel message the commander of U.S. Army Forces Command gives the Army chief of staff his personal assessment on how Urgent Fury was conducted.

should never have been placed in this position is beside the point. They were, and they responded in a fashion well beyond expectation. The foundation of the Army's successful logistical effort on Grenada rested on their sweat and the sweat of many thousands of other anonymous soldiers and civilians.[24]

Any overall evaluation of Army logistics on Grenada depends heavily upon the context in which the judgment is cast. Arriving at a realistic assessment of what happened on Grenada is, however, complicated by the lack of studies of operational logistics at comparable levels. Even so, what we know about earlier deployments—from the V Corps' to Santiago, Cuba, in 1898 to the 82d Airborne Division's to the Dominican Republic in 1965—suggests that the problems that surfaced on Grenada were by no means unique to Urgent Fury.[25]

In forming conclusions, three additional factors warrant consideration: Urgent Fury was an airborne operation, a joint operation, and a short-notice contingency operation. Airborne assaults are almost always among the most complex of military operations, being heavily dependent upon both ample time to prepare and good intelligence. A case in point is the 11th Airborne Division's rescue of American civilians at the Los Baños Internment Camp south of Manila in 1945. It is generally considered a model of an airborne raid, but the division's staff had some eighteen days to collect detailed information and to prepare plans before actually committing troops. By contrast, the rangers and marines had four days of planning time for Grenada; the 82d Airborne Division, just three. The intelligence available to the troops was also much sketchier on Grenada. Compared to the 11th Airborne, the troops landing in the Caribbean did not even know the location of all the people they were supposed to rescue, let alone enemy strength, dispositions, or intentions.[26]

Unlike the raid in 1945, the attack on Grenada was a joint operation. It is true that the Army Air Forces was almost a separate service in 1945, but everyone still wore the same Army uniform and ground officers generally outranked by two grades the air officers who coordinated with them. These factors, present in 1945 but not in 1983, assisted smooth cooperation. By and large, however, the Army and the Air Force continued to work well together in the field after the Air Force became an independent service in 1947, with Grenada carrying on that tradition. On the other hand, the Army and Navy did not always work well together. Correspondent and essayist Arthur T. Hadley posited the existence of a fundamental psychological difference between officers of the two services that seems to be rooted in their day-to-day experiences. The

[24] Interv, author with Cleary, 14 July 1986, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[25] For an in-depth treatment of earlier deployments, see Graham A. Cosmas, *An Army for Empire*, pp. 192–201; Stephen D. Coats, *Gathering at the Golden Gate*, pp. 11–138, 217–256; Allan R. Millett, "The General Staff and the Cuban Intervention of 1906," pp. 113–19; James J. Cooke, *The All-Americans at War*, pp. 1–40; George F. Howe, *Northwest Africa*, pp. 32–85; Samuel B. Griffith II, *The Battle for Guadalcanal*, pp. 22–55; Thomas S. Grodecki, "From Powder River to Soyang," Monograph, pp. 1–52; Wade, *Rapid Deployment Logistics*, pp. 1–41; Yates, *Power Pack*, pp. 55–71.

[26] E. M. Flanagan Jr., *The Los Banos Raid*, pp. 45–67, 107–20.

captain of a ship needs only to pass the order to his helmsman, for example, for the vessel and all those aboard to change course 180 degrees. By contrast, the number of messages required for a major Army combat unit to perform a similar maneuver and to coordinate with adjacent forces boggles the imagination. In addition, prior to 1983 Army and Navy officers, because of their very different operating environments, had little interaction; this meant they lacked appreciation for the strengths and weaknesses of each other's service. The good working relationship that developed between Admiral Metcalf and his Army adviser, Maj. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr., demonstrated that such cooperation was possible. Even so, that rapport had to develop after rather than before Urgent Fury began.[27]

Equally important, the 11th Airborne Division planners were all members of one organization, with months of experience working together in combat. Those for Urgent Fury worked for multiple organizations, some having only episodic experience with one another, and none of the officers involved had any recent combat experience. The surprise is not that the Grenada operation failed to meet the gold standard established by the 11th Airborne Division but that it worked as well as it did.

One of the earliest critics of the intervention, William S. Lind, a member of the staff for the Congressional Military Reform Caucus, considered Grenada an example "of the standard JCS approach to military operations, one that turns them into a pie-dividing contest among the services." Resting upon the concept of bureaucratic politics, which can be a valuable tool in analyzing organizational behavior in some situations, Lind's analysis found its way into most critical treatments of Urgent Fury.[28]

The Joint Staff's defense of the Grenada planning suggested that professional considerations rather than bureaucratic turf battles—the changing mission, availabilities and varying capabilities of units, and their times of arrival into the area of operations—drove the makeup of the forces the United States committed to the operation. If the disparity of forces by the end of the fighting was much greater than the situation appeared to warrant, this outcome was hardly an outcome of bureaucratic logrolling. It came as a result of an exaggerated view of enemy capabilities, a less-than-optimum employment of the initial forces committed to the assault, and a JCS decision to get the job done quickly by bringing overwhelming force to bear. Considerable truth underscores this assessment, which relies heavily on a rational actor model of decisionmaking, but it too is incomplete.[29]

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[27] For the psychological perspective, see Arthur T. Hadley, *The Straw Giant*, pp. 68–70. For the doctrinal perspective, see Edgar F. Raines Jr. and David R. Campbell, *The Army and the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, pp. 176–77.

[28] Rpt, Lind to Cong. Mil Reform Caucus, 5 Apr 1984, p. 2 (quoted words), Archives files, JHO. On the role of "bureaucratic politics" as an analytical perspective on military operations and a case study in how to apply such a model, see Graham T. Allison, *The Essence of Decision*, pp. 144–244.

[29] Rpt, Lind to Cong. Mil Reform Caucus, 5 Apr 1984, pp. 1–5; Rick Atkinson, "Study Faults U.S. Military Tactics in Grenada Invasion," *Washington Post*, 6 Apr 1984; Benjamin F. Schemmer, "JCS Reply to Congressional Reform Caucus' Critique of the Grenada Rescue

What the Joint Staff's defense left out was the pressure from the secretary of defense to increase the force based on his reading of the lessons of the failed 1979 hostage rescue mission in Iran, the emotional climate created by the Beirut bombing, and the major revision in the concept of the operation that flowed from Admiral McDonald's changes in the start time. The alterations at Norfolk reflected Atlantic Command's lack of expertise in conducting ground operations. This situation had existed for years. It was the system, rather than the individuals in it, who were at fault. The real culprits for the losses during the first day were those individuals who years earlier had created a single-service headquarters and then called it joint. In that sense, Atlantic Command was an accident waiting to happen if it had to direct a land campaign, and Grenada simply became the occasion for that outcome.

The final major complicating factor was that Urgent Fury was a short-notice contingency operation. Time was an all-consuming concern. The participants had to do everything correctly the first time with virtually no opportunity to fix anything later. That many things were either not or only partially done during the planning process goes without saying. In this effort, moreover, the 82d Airborne Division had to respond to a tighter deployment schedule than it was trained to follow. Its logisticians had to cut what they recognized were important steps—the preparation of invoices for pallets of supplies, the by-name rosters of the men on particular aircraft, and so forth—simply to meet the revised deadlines. While the mistakes that resulted were in many respects unique to the Grenada campaign, errors are almost inevitable in any large, complex military operation in which participants have only partial and inaccurate information about the objective.

If, however, the nature of airborne operations, joint operations, and contingency operations helps explain some of the problems that surfaced in the Army's logistical effort on Grenada, it does not explain all of them. Another array of problems, such as the failure at all levels of command during the planning process to give adequate attention to logistical needs, the failure of the 82d's G–3 and G–4 sections to share aerial photographs of Point Salines, Colonel Boylan's decision not to clear the ramp in front of the terminal quickly, and the inability by both Atlantic Command and the division to identify and deploy appropriate medical assets at the start of the operation represented a systemic flaw in both the U.S. Army's and the larger joint community's approach to war in 1983. Too many senior leaders simply took logistics for granted.

## Institutional Refinements

With the development and acquisition of the first electronic computer, the electrical numerical integrator and computer (or, as it became known to

Invasion," p. 12; "JCS Analysis of the Lind Report," pp. 12–14, 18, 99. Other critics include: Jeffrey Record, "Famous Victory," *Baltimore Sun*, 5 Jun 1984; Edward N. Luttwak, *The Pentagon and the Art of War*, pp. 50–57; Richard A. Gabriel, *Military Incompetence*, pp. 149–86; Mark Adkin, Urgent Fury, pp. 125–44, 340; John Lehman, *Command of the Seas*, pp. 291–305. On rational actor models, see Allison, *Essence of Decision*, pp. 10–38.

history, The ENIAC) at the end of World War II, the Army had begun the transition from an industrial age organization to what would become known eventually as a postmodern institution. This result did not represent the working out of some grand design. A succession of civilian and uniformed leaders made a series of decisions to deal with immediate and practical problems and established a trajectory of change that led where no one in authority suspected in 1945 or even in 1983. The cumulative effect of these changes in 1983 meant, perhaps, a dimly perceived promise but nothing more.[30]

In 1983 two of the major military components of the postmodern era, computers and precision-guided weapons, had arrived but in too primitive a form or in too reduced numbers to yet have a major impact. Computers had begun to streamline logistical processes; however, for the XVIII Airborne Corps and the 82d Airborne Division, computers still signified mainframes, fixed installations, unsecured telephone lines, and computer-time sharing. The military version of the Internet was too rudimentary for planners to exchange information prior to the Grenada intervention, although it was certainly utilized once URGENT FURY began. Precision-guided munitions had arrived on the battlefield in the early 1970s, but they were still the very expensive exception rather than the rule. The troops possessed only a few such munitions—the light antiarmor weapon and the Stinger missile are examples—but in the main their armament was of the unguided variety. Grease pencils, acetate map overlays, compasses, and typewriters also suggested continuity with the past.

At the same time, the Grenada intervention abounded with elite forces, the third major component of postmodern warfare. In the main though, the marines, rangers, airborne, and special operations forces who fought in the eastern Caribbean had achieved their elite status the old-fashioned way through hard, sometimes specialized, training. They lacked the technological edge that their successors of twenty years later enjoyed over their opponents. The one exception to this generalization was the special operations forces' night-vision devices, but these were so little known and understood outside a narrow group of officers and men that Admiral McDonald negated this potentially decisive military advantage by opting for daylight military operations.

In many ways, then, the troops who participated in URGENT FURY had more in common with the soldiers who splashed ashore in Vietnam eighteen years earlier than with their successors who landed in Saudi Arabia for Operation DESERT SHIELD in 1990, only seven years after Grenada. In short, while Army contingency forces had begun to move toward a battlefield in which small elite forces use precision-guided weapons and rely heavily upon computers, in 1983 the change had barely begun.

This larger perspective on institutional change since 1945 reveals just how far the Army had progressed from its industrial roots but does little to illuminate

[30] For the ENIAC story, see Scott McCartney, *ENIAC: The Triumphs and Tragedies of the World's First Computer* (New York: Berkley Books, 2001). Postmodern theorizing became popular a decade later with Alvin Toffler and Heidi Toffler, *War and Anti-War: Survival at the Dawn of the 21st Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), which perhaps had the greatest impact on the Army's leadership.

how the Grenada intervention unfolded—with one important exception from the logistical perspective. Admiral McDonald's decision to execute a daylight invasion transformed the role of Army logisticians. As long as special operations forces constituted the primary attack force, resupply during the combat phase was a minor concern at best. The deployed forces would carry virtually all that they needed with them. Once the special operations forces became just another component in a daytime mission, however, resupply became critical and Army logisticians became central players along with operators in determining the final outcome.

The shorter timeline also highlights other key issues. On the surface, it is ironic that the first major military campaign conducted by the Army after the implementation of its post-Vietnam logistical reforms involved a push resupply system, in which Fort Bragg logisticians dispatched materiel based on estimated rates of expenditure. Reformers had envisioned, instead, a pull resupply system that required deployed units to request what they needed. The push-pull dichotomy, however, was only superficial as far as Grenada was concerned. The writers of the new logistical doctrine had crafted it for the European theater, where well-stocked depots already existed. If the corps warehouses at Fort Bragg were considered an integral part of the operation as the authors of Concept Plan 2360 envisioned, then the new doctrine actually explained much of what happened in Urgent Fury. Resupply came to Fort Bragg via the Army's national depot supply system on a pull basis but then went from Fort Bragg to Point Salines in a push mode. The post-Vietnam Army doctrine for logistical support had always envisioned that this shift would occur during a buildup from a bare base—the minimal logistical support structure needed to sustain operations, defined by the Army as a facility "having a runway, taxiway, and parking areas which are adequate for the deployed force and possess[ing] . . . an adequate source of water that can be made potable." Airborne operations were quintessential bare-base efforts.[31]

Of course, logisticians in the Grenada campaign knew that to send too much of a critical commodity was wasteful but to send too little would have been, in their eyes, criminal. In the absence of accurate up-to-date knowledge of battlefield conditions, the logisticians at Fort Bragg chose to err on the side of waste. At a strategic level, the excess that resulted probably had little or no impact due to the small scale of the operation and its employment of primarily light infantry units. In the end, all that can be said with any certainty, is that if logistical conservation is possible it is nonetheless difficult to achieve without careful consideration and close attention to detail. Moreover, while conservation is desirable, success in military operations must receive a higher priority. Where lives, the success of a campaign, and the nation's reputation are at stake, logistical efficiency must give way to combat effectiveness.

These considerations touch on a larger theme: Can the Army successfully implement a policy of logistical conservation when America remains a consumer-oriented throw-away society? To some extent a nation's army must

[31] AR 310–25, Dictionary of United States Army Terms, 1975, s.v. "bare base."

reflect the culture from which it is derived. Because Grenada was but one event in the history of American military institutions, it can give only bits and pieces of evidence toward an answer. Certainly, Army emphasis on supply and equipment conservation long antedated Urgent Fury, but the retrograde of excess materiel from Point Salines long after the operation ended reinforced the point that more needed to be done. To frame the issue in the larger cultural context suggests that Grenada was simply one stage in an evolutionary process that involves refinement of logistical techniques. There may be no ultimate solutions, only room for continual improvement.

## Operational Logistics

This study began with the query as to how Army logistics influenced the conduct of operations in the Grenada campaign, and, conversely, how the conduct of operations influenced logistics. The greatest impact on operations came from the constricted airflow into Point Salines. This meant that the 82d's battalions arrived much more slowly than anticipated, usually in fragments, and often excessively fatigued. Lt. Col. John W. Raines' battalion, for example, landed intact, but its members were exhausted by the diversion to Barbados and the need to reconfigure loads to transfer to C–130s. By the time the men reached Point Salines early on 26 October, aside from catnaps en route, they had gone about forty-five hours without sleep, and like all new arrivals they were soon enervated by the tropical heat and humidity. These were good reasons for General Trobaugh not to use the unit too aggressively during its first day in the airhead—and he did not do so. His decision also meant that he did not overstress the somewhat sketchy logistical base that Major Cleary had organized around the airfield.

Of course, General Trobaugh's entire concept of operations hinged on psychologically destabilizing his opposition with a demonstration of overwhelming force rather than by physically eliminating the Cuban and Grenadian fighters. The slow advance out of Point Salines that resulted meant that the airflow problems caused no major revisions to Trobaugh's plans. The slow and erratic buildup of his force probably retarded his advance out of the peninsula, but it had other more important consequences. Had Trobaugh been able to sustain only a slightly faster pace, his troops would have been close enough to the Calivigny Peninsula by noon on 27 October to make an overland advance feasible. In this case, he would have had no reason to mount an air assault with its tragic results.

The airflow's influence on the composition of Trobaugh's usable force was greater than its impact on the tempo of operations. With his buildup proceeding so slowly, for example, the general had to retain control of the ranger battalions and use them for special missions when the need arose. This worked to his advantage on 26 October at Grand Anse; rescue missions were a ranger specialty. Because the Rangers also specialized in raids, Trobaugh had a logical reason on the twenty-seventh for selecting the in-theater ranger units over an airborne battalion, even if one had been available, to go into Calivigny. Trobaugh's inability to convince Atlantic Command to rescind the attack order, however, all but ensured the fatal outcome of the mission.

At the time, criticism of Army operations focused on the speed of the division's foot advance as compared to the progress of the marines' motorized patrols. Whatever the case, in landing at Pearls Airport the marines had the good fortune to enter the most antiregime area on the island. In contrast, the rangers and airborne entered in the south where the People's Revolutionary Government had not only concentrated its public works programs and military installations but also resettled landless peasants on land seized from supporters of the previous regime. General Hudson Austin and his associates were not popular with the majority of the population there, but they still had the support of a committed minority. The numerous sniping incidents in the Point Salines area that continued days after the rangers made their assault demonstrated the depth of that local feeling. All else being equal, whether the local inhabitants throw grenades or flowers makes a real difference in operational tempo.

From the Grenadian point of view, the rangers had assaulted a key area—one of their *centers of gravity*, to borrow Carl von Clausewitz's term—essential for their defense of the island. Having no prospect of conducting sustained guerrilla operations, the People's Revolutionary Army had to defend its supply base or suffer complete defeat. This fact alone explained its sharp reaction at Point Salines on 25 October in contrast to its lack of response at Pearls. In the end, the Grenadians sustained their defense in the Salines area longer than in any other portion of the island because the stakes there were so high for them.

General Trobaugh, of course, intended not only to demoralize the enemy but also to ensure that no insurgency could develop once U.S. troops left. A careful step-by-step advance permitted him and his troops to scour the countryside. The many arms caches they uncovered convinced him of the wisdom of his approach. Whether widespread Grenadian revulsion against General Austin and Bernard Coard would have allowed any insurgency to get off the ground will remain unknowable, but the sniping around the division assault command post certainly suggested that individuals were present who were willing to make the attempt if they had the means at hand. Despite the displeasure of his superiors, from which he was partially insulated because of the communications problems associated with the early phases of the operation, Trobaugh persisted in this objective until he succeeded. For all of his problems with the airflow, his conduct of operations once he arrived on the island was well conceived. Colonel Akers, who later became a general, summed up this phase by declaring that Trobaugh was the best tactician with whom he had ever served, high praise indeed from an officer who had once been an aide to the highly regarded General William E. DePuy.[32]

The very success of General Trobaugh's operations had a paradoxical effect by making Colonel Richardson's prudent efforts to put the heavy equipment needed to support a counterinsurgency campaign in place as soon as possible appear wasteful. This, however, was the wisdom of hindsight. What

[32] Interv, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

was wasteful was the decision to dispatch two ships to Grenada, but the only way to prevent this lack of coordination would have been to keep the XVIII Airborne Corps in the chain of command.

The other major operational decision that had a deep impact on the Army's logistical effort was General Trobaugh's call for infantry battalions "until I tell you to stop." By cutting off the support elements of the 2d Brigade's two battalions in the act of deploying, he substantially weakened the combat power of Col. Stephen Silvasy Jr.'s formation. Furthermore, by halting the reinforcement of Forward Area Support Team II's Alpha Echelon, he ensured that he would have adequate logistical support only by the barest of margins and then only through the extraordinary efforts of those few logisticians on the ground. Had Task Force 121 engaged in the intensity of combat that Trobaugh had anticipated, his logisticians would have been overwhelmed.[33]

In a more abstract and theoretical vein, the Grenada experience demonstrated that logistics at the tactical level of war functions in much the same way as it does at the operational level of war. British political scientist Thomas M. Kane, the author of one of the most sophisticated treatments of the interaction of operations and logistics at the theater level, opined that logistics frames operations, establishing what is doable and not doable. Logistics is, to quote Kane directly, "the arbiter of opportunity." One may argue, however, that logistics and operations are different at the tactical level. Because of shorter distances, smaller forces, and a greater compression of time in which to achieve local decisions—and in tactics all combats are local—logistics at that level has none of the solidity that the word *frame* implies. Logistical capacity (and, concomitantly, the combat potential of the supported maneuver forces) can be, and certainly was on Grenada, a very dynamic force that expands or contracts with amazing speed depending or such diverse and apparently mundane decisions as whether to remove or retain in place a concrete barrier at a ramp, to locate an aviation fuel point for Army helicopters immediately adjacent to a runway, or to call for reinforcements at the expense of logistical units. Throughout URGENT FURY the actions of logisticians affected the ability of combat units to perform their mission, such as the failure of the 82d Support Command to supply Company B, 325th Infantry, with sufficient hand grenades prior to its processing through Green Ramp. At the same time, actions viewed as strictly operational, such as General Trobaugh's decision to insert additional maneuver battalions into the airflow ahead of his support units, had a major impact on the quality of logistical support available and, paradoxically, probably lowered the combat potential of the U.S. forces on the ground. These examples serve to illustrate that logistical decisions had operational dimensions and that operational decisions had logistical dimensions. As Clausewitz aptly observed in war, everything affects everything else. To treat either operations or logistics narrowly is to court unexpected and unwelcome consequences. At the very least,

[33] Interv, Pirnie and author with Akers, [1985], Hist files (Intervs), CMH.



**Returning to the United States at the end of combat operations;** *below,* **Ceremony honoring the paratroopers upon their return**



serving soldiers and practicing historians should avoid assuming logistics as a given.[34]

## Military Success, Logistical Excess

As noted earlier, one of the major after-the-fact criticisms of Army logisticians in Operation Urgent Fury was that they oversupplied the force. In fact, the supplies and equipment that the XVIII Airborne Corps and the 82d Airborne Division shipped to Grenada turned out to be in excess of requirements largely because the Coard faction proved unable to mount a sustained insurgency based on geographic, economic, cultural, political, and military factors. The small size of the island made such an option difficult to exercise. In addition, the island did not produce enough food in peacetime to sustain its own population, which made any protracted guerrilla resistance by even a first-class force, which the People's Revolutionary Army was not, problematic at best. When landing on the island, U.S. forces also found a population largely disposed in their favor. A sizeable community of Grenadian expatriates in the United States who were in constant contact with family and friends on the island, to say nothing of the medical students there, ensured that Americans were not some unknown threatening "other" despite over four years of propaganda by the regime of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. The lack of any coveted natural resources, such as oil or natural gas, added to the effect, contributing to a willingness by the locals to ascribe benign objectives to the intervention. The fact that the Grenadians spoke English was likewise a factor because it promoted the mainly harmonious relations between the troops and the islanders by minimizing misunderstandings. Reinforcing everything, Austin's interim government had essentially given up all claim to legitimacy in the opinion of the vast majority of Grenada's citizens by murdering Bishop and his key supporters.

The outcome of conventional military operations also contributed to the result. By winning the opening battles quickly, American soldiers and marines largely destroyed the only prop left to Coard and Austin—the People's Revolutionary Army. Then, General Trobaugh's care in locating and guarding the regime's arms caches removed the physical means that might have allowed any zealots who remained to continue the fight. The prompt establishment of a military presence throughout the island also contributed to this result. Although the 82d Airborne Division's 3d Brigade may have added only marginally to the tactical fight because of its delayed landing, its arrival meant that the occupation forces could be strong everywhere. The troops' presence and generally good behavior toward the inhabitants (sanitary discipline aside) ensured civic peace until Governor General Sir Paul Scoon could organize a successor government.

Only an analyst with a fine-grained and up-to-date knowledge of Grenadian society could have predicted that these elements would combine

[34] Thomas M. Kane, *Military Logistics and Strategic Performance*, pp. 1–14, 171–80. Kane first uses the phrase "the arbiter of opportunity" on page 10 and repeats it many times thereafter. See also Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 158.

in the way that they did to produce peace rather than a prolonged guerrilla war. Even so, given the pre-invasion fulminations of the regime, he or she could not have had a high degree of certitude about any such prediction. Only hindsight permits such knowledge. Thus, the logisticians who had to make decisions about moving forces and equipment to the island had had little choice but to proceed under the common sense assumption that a period of low-intensity combat might follow the fighting of 25–26 October. Their preparations to defeat an insurgency proved unnecessary once conventional operations ended. On Grenada, military effectiveness and military efficiency were at opposite poles, and in war the importance of the first far outweighs the second.

One question lingers: What would have been the impact on Operation Urgent Fury if the Grenadian army had been first class? The conventional phase would probably have lasted longer and produced more casualties—American and Grenadian, both military and civilian. Greater Grenadian proficiency, however, would not have reversed the ultimate outcome, given the overwhelming and readily available military power of the United States and its ability to reinforce its troops on the island virtually at will while denying its opponents the opportunity to do the same. Premier Fidel Castro's judgment on this matter is surely instructive. He chose not to reinforce the defenders when he had a fleeting opportunity to do so with first-class units from the Cuban army.

Certainly, more intense and lengthy conventional operations would have strained the Army's jury-rigged logistical effort, possibly to the point of breakdown. Conversely, in such a circumstance, Army logistics might have received high-level attention and remedial action sooner than it did in the actual event.

The impact of Grenadian professional military expertise on a guerrilla phase might well have been less than in conventional operations. Much would have depended upon the timing with which the Grenadians transitioned from conventional to unconventional operations. The defenders would have wanted to fight conventionally long enough to give the invaders a bloody nose—and thereby encourage their own troops—but to break contact before the Americans employed their crushing firepower. Presuming perfect timing for the sake of argument, what then? The Grenadians would have been able to begin guerrilla operations, but the same factors of a restricted area of operations, lack of local food stocks, and overwhelming opposition by the inhabitants would in all likelihood have enabled a U.S. counterinsurgency campaign to succeed in a matter of weeks. Of course, an analyst might also presume a population supportive of the guerrillas, but such a supposition would presuppose no coup, no assassination of Bishop, and thus no threat to Americans living on the island—factors that sparked the U.S. intervention.

A short, successful American counterinsurgency effort would have affirmed the wisdom of Army logisticians by justifying the supply buildup they actually undertook. Instead of having to suffer ridicule in some quarters, they would

have received praise for their anticipation of the need to support continuing military operations on the island.

Although the basic concept of Urgent Fury—to seize Grenada by a coup de main—was sound, the plans to carry it out and their execution were impaired. All the services suffered because of the president's desire for excessive secrecy and Atlantic Command's consequent failure to allow joint communications planning. For the operators, perhaps the most significant problems were flawed intelligence, particularly on the location of the students, Atlantic Command's failure to mass its forces at the opening of the operation, the delay of the operation until daylight hours, and the requirement to pass control of ground operations from the Joint Special Operations Command to the 82d Airborne Division in the midst of combat. For logisticians, Atlantic Command's removal of XVIII Airborne Corps from the chain of command, the failure—for a variety of reasons—to clear the ramp in front of the terminal at Point Salines expeditiously, and General Trobaugh's order to send the infantry of the 3d Brigade to Grenada before the support elements of the 2d Brigade constituted the major errors. These mistakes were redeemed by sound doctrine, good training, and hard work by junior officers and men. General Schwarzkopf summed up the argument: "Grenada, once again, . . . proved that even though higher headquarters screws it up every way you can possibly screw it up, it's the individual initiative and valor on the part of the small units, the small unit leadership, and the soldiers on the ground that will win for you every time if they are well trained." This was true no less of the logisticians than of the men in the line units. Capt. Steven L. Bradley Jr., the commander of Company A, 307th Medical Battalion, was speaking about the doctors, nurses, medics, and medical service personnel when he observed that most of the good things that happened on Grenada occurred because of the enthusiasm, dedication, and training of individuals. In fact, his observation applies equally to all the Army logisticians involved: "When a mission was perceived, people would go out and do it."[35]

Afterward, the commander of the 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, Colonel Silvasy, mused about the importance of his decision to take the indispensable 6,000-pound forklift with his unit: "Now and again when I see [Major] Cleary I kind of insinuate that he did a good job. Can't be too nice to support guys you know." Silvasy's evaluation applies to more than just the Forward Area Support Team II coordinator. Despite the confusion caused by factors beyond their control, Army logisticians in Operation Urgent Fury "did a good job."[36]

[35] Intervs, Bishop with Schwarzkopf, 21 Nov 1983 (first quoted words), and Wade with Bradley, [Nov 1983] (second quoted words), Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

[36] Briefings, Silvasy, 7–8 Dec 1983, Hist files (Intervs), CMH.

# Bibliography

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The Grenadian revolution was controversial from its inception. The brief tenure of Maurice Bishop as prime minister and the dramatic way his regime came to its end followed almost immediately by the U.S. intervention have inspired authors representing a wide spectrum of views. Fortunately, scholars of more than one ideological persuasion have produced good work, and the serious student can benefit from immersion in all perspectives.

Research for *The Rucksack War: U.S. Army Operational Logistics in Grenada, 1983,* commenced while the Grenada intervention was still in progress, long before the National Archives and Records Administration received any of the captured official records or before individuals donated materials in their possession to research libraries. As a consequence, whenever possible, I copied many original documents because I did not know whether or when they might otherwise become available. These copies, which in some instances are undoubtedly the only surviving record, constitute the disproportionately large documentary evidence identified as Historians files in the custody of the U.S. Army Center of Military History (CMH) in Washington, D.C. Within three to five years after the publication of this volume, the respective Grenada-related materials will be retired to the National Archives' new facility at College Park, Maryland, and incorporated into Record Group 319, Records of the Army Staff.

The intense collection effort began during Operation Urgent Fury in October 1983 with my assignment to the Army Operations Center in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans at the Pentagon. In the end, however, many people contributed to this project. Shortly after the operation ended, CMH historians George L. MacGarrigle and Stephen Harding joined me to work on a comprehensive military history of the intervention. After we completed a partial draft, the chief of military history decided in July 1984 to discontinue this project. My division chief, Lt. Col. Robert Frank, believing that the Center would have to produce a definitive history of the operation, permitted me to continue to collect documents as time allowed. Beginning in the fall of 1984, a uniformed historian at the Center of Military History, Maj. Bruce R. Pirnie, supplemented the materials the team had collected with his own extensive research and then produced the monograph *Operation Urgent*

*Fury: The United States Army in Joint Operations,* an account that concentrated on combat operations. Still later, CMH historian Dwight D. Oland and I began further research on the conflict; he focused on medical support while I addressed logistics generally. In addition, three professional colleagues—Maj. Charles R. Bishop, commander of the 44th Military History Detachment at Fort McPherson, Georgia; Col. Louis D. H. Frasché, a member of the Grenada Work Group at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; and Ronald H. Cole, a senior historian at the Joint History Office—shared many documents and interviews that they and, in the case of Major Bishop and Colonel Frasché, their teams had collected. Various members of the Army Staff, knowing that the Center of Military History had one or more Grenada projects under way, provided Grenada documents from time to time. Finally, four Army officers pursuing graduate studies at Harvard University—Lt. Col. Michael A. Anastasio, Lt. Col. Jerry Edwards, Lt. Col. Gilbert S. Harper, and Lt. Col. Michael Simmons—collected further materials relating to the Grenada intervention and bequeathed their research files to the Center. In short, over time the Historians files burgeoned by accretion. In many instances I was unable to ascertain where the researchers had located some materials. As a result, aside from keeping the Harvard Fellows and Dwight D. Oland Papers as distinct subgroups, I elected to organize the Historians files by agency of origin.

Along the way, of course, I encountered a few setbacks. Perhaps the greatest and most unfortunate surprise was to learn that someone had destroyed all U.S. Atlantic Command and U.S. Atlantic Fleet records from 1946 through the early 1990s as waste paper. Furthermore, after relinquishing command of Atlantic Command and retiring from the Navy in late 1985, Admiral Wesley L. McDonald granted one interview about Grenada but then consistently turned down further interview requests through February 2009, when he died. These two factors made obtaining an Atlantic Command perspective on the operation difficult at best.

This bibliography, supplemented by the more detailed Historians files finding aid, will guide readers and future researchers to the various sources of information that form the basis of my volume. The ensuing sections—Archival Records, Primary Studies, Primary Books, Primary Articles, Secondary Studies, Secondary Books, Secondary Articles—provide full reference details for the sources. In the footnotes, because of space concerns and to reduce duplication, I followed some basic rules of economy and adopted a minimalistic style that reflects essential components of both unpublished and published sources. From the outset I used contractions, acronyms, and initialisms, which are fully explained in the Guide to Abbreviations (the umbrella term *abbreviation* covers all three). Published works listed in the footnotes do not repeat all the details found in the bibliographical entries, but are limited in the initial citation in each chapter to the full name of the author; the complete main title of the book, article, and dissertation/thesis/student paper/memoir, with the latter identified as such to avoid any confusion; and relevant page numbers. Once a document or work is cited in each chapter, subsequent references thereafter are further shortened.

# ARCHIVAL RECORDS

***National Archives And Records Administration (NARA–CP)***
***College Park, Maryland***

**Record Group 242, National Archives Collection of Foreign Records Seized, 1685–1983**, specifically in Entry 338 (UD), contains the microfiche copies of Grenadian documents seized by U.S. Army and Marine Corps units during the October 1983 intervention and organized by the Defense Intelligence Agency (originally accessioned to Record Group 373, Records of the Defense Intelligence Agency). The collection, which consisted of approximately 6,400 microfiches when I examined it, varies qualitatively probably because of the speed with which the copies were made. Some frames are quite good and others are completely illegible. I could not discern any functional organization; apparently DIA personnel had copied the documents as they were located and assigned numbers beginning with 2000 and running through 12650, but with one large numerical gap for material falling within the range from 3500 to 3999. Many microfiche contain more than one document, although some documents can be quite lengthy—running over a hundred pages—in which case the document requires more than one fiche. In the footnotes I used the abbreviation Mf for the word *microfiche*, followed by the number.

Information on captured Grenadian records may also be found below under the section titled *U.S. Army Center of Military History*, subsection *Historians Files: Primary Documents*, letter *H. Captured Grenadian Documents*.

**Record Group 338, Records of U.S. Army Operational, Tactical, and Support Organizations (WWII and Thereafter)**, specifically in Entry 228, UD–06W, contains the Urgent Fury records of the XVIII Airborne Corps, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, including daily journals maintained at the Corps Emergency Operations Center during the Grenada intervention (23 October to 15 December 1983) and secret and below message traffic during the same period.

I used these records while they were still under Army custody at the Washington National Records Center in Suitland, Maryland. The footnotes, however, reflect their subsequent transfer to control of the National Archives and Records Administration and assignment to Record Group 338.

***National Archives and Records Administration (NARA–RRPL)***
***Ronald Reagan Presidential Library***
***Simi Valley, California***

These very comprehensive and well-organized records from the Office of the President contain much that is invaluable for the student of the development of U.S. policy toward Grenada. The following subseries of files proved most useful:

- Office of the Counsel to the President files
- President's Daily Diary (15–28 October and 7 November 1983)
- Records of the National Security Council (RNSC)

- Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS), files
- NSC memoranda
- Country files (Grenada), vols. 1–4
- Crisis Management Center, Grenada files
- Intelligence Directorate, Grenada files
- National Security Decision Directives (NSDD)

- William P. Clark files
- Roger W. Fountaine files (Grenada)
- Donald R. Fortier files (Grenada)
- Christopher M. Lehman files (Grenada)
- Douglas McMinn files
- Edwin Meese III files (Grenada)

***Department of State (DoS)***
***Washington, D.C.***

I located the material listed below in the Classified Reading Room of the Department of State. Incoming and outgoing messages are stored in a classified database, and are relatively easy to retrieve by embassy and date of transmittal. The other files consist of paper records in essentially the state they were in when they were removed from the file cabinets of the officials handling the crisis.

The material is quite valuable, but the Grenada Working Group collection is indispensable for the period October–November 1983. The Collective Action File includes many Grenada documents, while the St. George's University School of Medicine File contains a broader range of materials than the name implies. The accession numbers were assigned when the records were physically moved to the Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, where they remain in the custody of the State Department.

- Messages, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C., October–December 1983
- Messages, U.S. Embassy, Bridgetown, Barbados, 1979–1983
- Messages, U.S. Embassy, Grenada, November–December 1983
- Messages, U.S. Embassy, Kingstown, Jamaica, October–November 1983
- Messages, U.S. Interest Section, Havana, Cuba, October–November 1983
- Messages, U.S. Mission, United Nations, October–November 1983
- Collective Action File, Accession no. 90 D551, #2141
- Grenada Working Group (GWG), 1983, Accession no. 353–96–0002
- St. George's University School of Medicine File, Accession no. 59–97–0323

***U.S. Army Center of Military History (CMH)***
***Fort McNair, D.C.***

In addition to the voluminous Historians files, detailed separately below, I used some of the Center's operational and archival resources contained in the following:

- Archives files, encompassing annual reports and/or annual histories of various Army commands, field manuals, and Army regulations

- General Officer (GenOff) files, consisting primarily of official resumés of service prepared by the Army Public Affairs Office for public distribution
- Vietnam Interview (VNIT) files, including an interview with then Col. Jack V. Mackmull concerning his command of the 1st Aviation Brigade in Vietnam
- Senior Officer Oral History (SrOffOHist) files, containing interviews that were particularly useful in helping the establish the larger context of the post-Vietnam Army
- Organizational History (OrgHist) files, providing information about the organization and history of the units that participated in Urgent Fury
- Table of Organization and Equipment (TOE) files, describing how the U.S. Army units in the operation were organized and equipped
- Unit Historical Data (UHD) cards, identifying the modified TOEs and the home stations of participating units
- Museum Division Collection (MDC) files, containing technical manuals and other official documents relating to material culture

Although the Army had a formal records management system in place during the Grenada intervention, units did not always fully comply with the complex recordskeeping procedures, partly because of the exigencies of an operational environment and because of the absence of trained administrative personnel. The acting chief of the Research and Analysis Division at the Center, Alfred M. Beck, met with the archivist of the Army and helped craft a message to the field reiterating the need to preserve records related to the operation. Although I was granted access to the Army Operations Center while the intervention was ongoing, I was not allowed to photocopy any documents. I was, however, permitted to take notes. My notes were simply handwritten transcriptions of the documents on note cards, because I understood neither the jargon nor the acronyms that the documents contained. I knew that I could easily miss something important if I was less than comprehensive. When my colleagues MacGarrigle and Harding joined the collection effort a few weeks later, they found themselves under the same restrictions, but eventually we were permitted to make a few copies. We soon received an additional assignment, when the deputy chief of staff for operations and plans tasked the Center to prepare an Urgent Fury chronology for inclusion in the Department of the Army's report on Grenada lessons learned. Various Army Staff contacts then began sending us relevant material.

Fortunately, both the 44th Military History Detachment from Fort McPherson, Georgia, and the Grenada Work Group from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, operated under fewer restrictions. The 44th met many of the units as they returned from Grenada and copied all relevant documents; the Grenada Work Group found additional records, which members copied in the course of preparing a lessons learned report for the Army chief of staff. Both organizations shared their records with one another and with me. I supplemented my initial collection effort with trips to Forts Leavenworth, McPherson, Bragg, and Lee in 1984, 1985, and 1988. Further, both Oland and the Harvard fellows

collected additional materials. The result is a large and rich, if not entirely comprehensive, collection of papers related to the Grenada operation.

The organization of the bulk of these materials is described below. In addition, I created separate small categories to cover the following: primary studies, biographies, secondary studies, drafts, and graphics.

## HISTORIANS FILES: PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

In several instances, the files contain earlier drafts of reports as well as the final version. The careful researcher will note that the drafts are sometimes more forthright about problems than the final reports.

### *A. Department of Defense*

Armed Forces Institute of Pathology (AFIP)
- Consultation Report

Office of the Secretary of Defense History Office
- Public Statements of Secretary of Defense, 1983 (Extracts)

  For anyone writing about defense issues, the OSD History Office has these statements in a very useful four-volume collection of primary documents.

U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)

Joint Staff
- Chronology
- Draft Presidential Memorandum (concerning the withdrawal of forces)
- Draft Lessons Learned, Operation URGENT FURY
- Miscellaneous Master Scenario Events List, a large binder containing synopses of messages received by the JCS Message Center and arranged in chronological order within twenty-seven subject areas (Command and Control—Task Organization; Command and Control—Communications Structure/Capabilities; Planning/ Execution Systems; Logistics Structure—Movement; Logistics Structure—Supply, etc.) by date-time groups
- Paper (Response to Lind Report)

Joint History Office (JHO)
- Secretary of Defense testimony, 25 October 1983
- Memorandum for Directors and Heads of Agencies, OJCS, 30 January 1984
- U.S. Atlantic Command Annual Historical Reports, FY 1981–1984 (Extracts)
- XVIII Airborne Corps Chronological Summary of Events
- J–3/OPD Draft Report on URGENT FURY (Extracts)
- Lessons Learned
- NSC System
- Briefing
- AT&T Credit Card Story
- Lind Report

The archives suffered major damage in the attack on the Pentagon of 11 September 2001. Fortunately, I had done extensive research there before that date. In several instances, the originals from which I made copies or took notes did not survive.

### *B. Unified and Specified Commands (U&SCmds)*

Military Airlift Command (MAC)
- After Action Report
- Lessons Learned
- Messages

507th Tactical Air Control Wing
- After Action Report

1st Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron [see also Meyer Papers below]
- After Action Report

Strategic Air Command
- After Action Report

U.S. Atlantic Command (LANTCOM)
- After Action Report Joint Exercise Solid Shield, 1983 (notes only)
- After Action Report/Lessons Learned
- Concept Plan 2360, 30 March 1983
- Chronology
- Operations Orders

Joint Task Force 120
- After Action Report
- Messages
- Situation Reports (notes only)

Commander, U.S. Forces, Grenada
- Messages

U.S. Readiness Command
- After Action Report
- URGENT FURY Implementing Orders and Directives

### *C. Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)*

- Conference on the Grenada Intervention, 2008
- DIA, Lines of Communication on Grenada (Extracts)

### *D. Department of the Army (DA)*

Academy of Health Sciences
- Extract, Subcourse 420, *Medical Support of Army Divisions*, January 1982

Military Postal Service Agency (DoD entity under Army for administrative purposes)
- Lessons Learned

Military Traffic Management Command (MTMC)
- After Action Report
- Chronology

Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence
- Lessons Learned

Office of the Chief of Staff, Army
- Backchannel Messages

Army Studies Group, Office of the Chief of Staff, Army
- Report on 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry, in Urgent Fury

Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans (DCSOPS)
- Chronology
- Grenada Message Traffic, November–December 1983
- Information Papers
- Lessons Learned
- Messages

Army Operations Center (AOC)
- Grenada Message file
- ODO (operations duty officer) Significant Events file
- ODO Situation Reports
- OD (officer of the day) Master file (situation and operational reports)
- Grenada Media Messages
- Grenada Message Retransmittal
- Team Chief Top Secret file
- Significant Events file
- DCSOPS Joint Actions file
- Unidentified Top Secret file
- Grenada—Future Operations file
- Grenada—Miscellaneous Records
- Miscellaneous CRC (Crisis Response Cell) Administrative Records

The above categories reflect the organization of the records when I used them. Aside from a handful of photocopies, only my handwritten transcriptions are available.

U.S. Army Combined Arms Center (CAC)
- Grenada Work Group (GWG) Correspondence
- GWG Drafts (Grenada Chronology/Lessons Learned Report/Executive Summary)

• GWG Comments on Draft Lessons Learned Report
• GWG Final Report
• GWG Team Memorandums for the Record
• Various Lessons Learned
• Various Briefings and Briefing Slides
• U.S. Forces, Grenada, Commander Message

The GWG draft report contains descriptive detail that is particularly valuable, but it should be used only in conjunction with the participants' comments. The GWG final report, although less detailed, is an excellent analysis based on extensive research by experienced officers, many of whom were on the faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. However, the map showing the locations of logistical units must be treated with great caution because it identifies five forward area support teams at the Point Salines airfield. In fact, only two deployed for URGENT FURY.

U.S. Army Forces Command (FORSCOM)
• Backchannel Message
• Lessons Learned
• Messages
• URGENT FURY Implementing Orders and Directives
• WIN (Worldwide Intercomputer Network) Teleconference Messages

U.S. Army Foreign Science and Technology Center
• After Action Report

U.S. Army Infantry School
• Memorandum, sub: Grenada Debriefing

U.S. Army Intelligence and Security Command
• After Action Report

U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center
• After Action Report/Lessons Learned
• Miscellaneous Reports

U.S. Army Materiel Development and Readiness Command
• After Action Report
• Messages

U.S. Army Nurse Corps
• After Action Reports

U.S. Army Troop Support and Materiel Readiness Support Command
• Messages

1st Special Operations Command
- Lessons Learned

4th Psychological Operations Group
- After Action Report

358th Civil Affairs Brigade
- After Action Report

1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry
- After Action Report/Lessons Learned (including S–3 Chronology)
- Surgeon, After Action Report
- Surgeon, Operations Orders

Company A, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry
- After Action Report

Company B, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry
- Operations Order

2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry
- After Action Report

XVIII Airborne Corps
Corps Headquarters
- After Action Report
- Lessons Learned
- Messages

1st Support Command (Corps)
- Messages
- Operations Order
- Personnel Movement Orders. Movement orders written subsequently to document the participation of units in the Grenada intervention, and include not only by-name rosters of individuals but also dates of deployment and theater departure.

82d Airborne Division
Division Headquarters
- After Action Reports (headquarters staff elements and subordinate units)
- G–3 Staff Journals (one with all messages sent and received by the assault command post until 1300 on 28 October; the other with all messages to and from higher headquarters beginning at 1300 on 28 October)
- G–4 After Action Report
- Operations Orders
- Staff Judge Advocate After Action Report

• Extract, *Readiness Standing Operating Procedures*, vol. 1, *Planning and Preparations*, 1995

82d Aviation Battalion
• After Action Report. Unsigned but apparently from the commander of the 82d Aviation Battalion detailing its role in the air assault on the Calivigny Barracks

307th Engineer Battalion
• Staff Journal and Message File

2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division
• After Action Report

2d Battalion, 325th Infantry
• Operations Order
• S–1 Staff Journal
• S–3 Staff Journal
• S–4 Staff Journal

101st Airborne Division
• Message

***E. Department of the Air Force (DAF)***

Department Headquarters
• Draft Paper on Air Force in URGENT FURY
• Execution Checklist (airdrop at Point Salines)
• Lessons Learned
• Miscellaneous Records
• Working Paper (evacuation of diplomats from Grenada)

Tactical Air Command
• After Action Report
• Lessons Learned
• Messages
• Narrative Reports

Twelfth Air Force
• After Action Report

***F. Department of the Navy (DN)***

Office of Program Appraisal
• Lessons Learned

Medical Officer, U.S.S. *Guam*
- After Action Report

U.S. Navy History and Heritage Command (NHHC)
- Memoranda

### *G. Miscellaneous (Misc)*

Topical files consist of e-mail correspondence, some original documents, and excerpts from relevant technical and other publications concerning specialized organizations, military rank, etc. Included are such subjects as U.S. casualties and remains, ANGLICO (Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company), Cuban/Soviet sources, media exclusion, Exercise Exotic Palm, intelligence, and special operations forces. Other files cover equipment and technique, including Air Support, Battle Dress Uniforms, Bladder Birds, BRDM2 Amphibious Scout Car, BTR60 Armored Personnel Carrier, C–130, C–130 Antenna Issue, C–130 vs. C–141, C–141, Commodore, Compass Computers, Erdlator, Flechette Round, Gamma Goat, Green and Yellow Ramps, KY–57 (Vinson), Kevlar Helmet, LAPES (Low Altitude Parachute Extraction System), M47 Dragon, Rucksacks, UH–60 Black Hawk, Water Buffalo, and the WWMCCS (Worldwide Military Command and Control System). Still other folders contain complementary information, such as the Amnesty International Report, 2007.

### *H. Captured Grenadian Documents (CGD)*

Released by the Department of State and the Department of Defense, these photocopies of selected Grenadian documents are usually more legible than the microfiche copies in Record Group 241. The term *Individual Document Released* (IDR) comes from the initial cover memorandum from the two departments. The releases occurred at least four separate times, the last of which was quite large.

IDR I, nos. 000015–000194
IDR II, nos. 100003–100363
IDR III, nos. 100012–103025, plus unnumbered documents
IDR IV, letters A–VV and nos. 00084–123448.

The first release contains most of the documents concerning Grenadian and Soviet agreements; the last three releases came with detailed indices of the documents in each.

Information on Grenadian records may also be found under the section titled *National Archives and Records Administration*, *Record Group 242, National Archives Collection of Foreign Records Seized, 1685–1983*, which contains the microfiche copies of the Grenadian documents seized by U.S. Army and Marine Corps units during the intervention and organized by the Defense Intelligence Agency.

## HISTORIANS FILES: PRESS CONFERENCE TRANSCRIPTS

- Premier Fidel Castro, 26 October 1983
- Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, 28 October 1983
- Caspar Weinberger and General John W. Vessey, 28 October 1983
- Unattributed backgrounder, 25 October 1983, 1200 hours

## HISTORIANS FILES: INDIVIDUAL PAPERS

The individual papers, arranged alphabetically below, consist primarily of copies of materials held by former participants in the Grenada intervention. Other documents collected by the Harvard Fellows during the course of their studies and by Dwight Oland during the course of his related medical research project are included as subgroups.

Abizaid, Capt. John P.
- Air Liaison Officer information
- Chalk 1 personnel manifest
- Maps with planned phase lines
- Operations Order for Company A, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry
- Fire Support Annex
- Situation Report (handwritten, undated)
- Time Schedule/Sequence of Events

Anders, Steve E.
- E-Mail concerning logistics reorganization in the 1960s.

Barrett Jr., Col. Robert C.
- Draft After Action Reports/Lessons Learned
- Chronology
- Diagrams and Tables
- Messages
- Correspondence (XVIII Airborne Corps logistics)
- Briefing Outline, Slides, and Notes

Chisholm, Capt. Roderick
- Organization Chart, Company C Task Force, 548th Engineer Battalion
- Report on the task force's operations on Grenada

Cleary III, Maj. Daniel J.
- Briefing script, [1984]
- Office of the Chief of Public Affairs, *Modular Speech Material* (January 1984)
- Report, Public Affairs Office, 82d Airborne Division, 12 January 1984
- Correspondence

Craig, Ronald (Historian, Military Police School)
- E-mail concerning military police on Grenada
- Overview of the operation

Cusick, Lt. Col. John J.
- Schematic of equipment and supplies earmarked for the 82d's Division Ready Brigade

Daly Jr., Col. William F.
- Briefing Slides on 82d Support Command's actions during Urgent Fury

Deszo, Spec. Denis
- E-mails
- Photographs

Flint, Air Force Capt. Nathan (Air Movements Liaison Officer, XVIII Airborne Corps)
- E-mail in 2005 on contrasting characteristics of the C–141 and the C–130

Griffee, James (Resident Assistant, St. George's University School of Medicine)
- Handwritten account describing his experiences

Hardman, Joseph M.
- Documents
- Correspondence

Hardman, as chief of the College Eligibility Unit, Department of Education, had responsibility for reviewing the status of the St. George's University School of Medicine.

Harvard Fellows Collection
- Deployment of the Assault Follow-on Echelon
- Discriminate Deterrence
- Health Service Support
- Honduran Deployment
- Index of LDS (Leadership Development Study) Proposals
- Initiation and Concept Development for Joint Operational Plans
- Joint and Combined Operations at the Operational Level of War
- Joint and Combined Warfare
- Joint Doctrine Master Plan
- Joint Education
- Joint Task Force Planning and Guidance Process
- JOPES (Joint Operation Planning and Execution System) Logistics Concept
- Logistics for Joint and Combined Operations
- MAGTF (Marine Air-Ground Task Force) 2–88 Playbook
- Marine Corps Command and Staff College Program of Instruction
- Maritime Prepositioning Force
- Plan Development, Plan Review, and Supporting Plans
- Organization and Command Relationships
- Sources of Change in the Future Security Environment

Lt. Col. Michael A. Anastasio, Lt. Col. Jerry Edwards, Lt. Col. Gilbert S. Harper, and Lt. Col. Michael Simmons were fellows at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. For ease of use, I integrated the interviews and articles, both primary and secondary, that the fellows collected with those types of materials collected by the other Grenada researchers. The above-listed categories thus represent only a portion of the fellows' collection. Aside from those materials gathered in the process of writing their own paper, the collection now consists of postintervention doctrinal material, reflecting the impact of Urgent Fury on joint and service thinking, and a series of papers on the subject of educating officers to participate in contingency operations.

Hecht, Ronald (Association Webmaster)
- E-mail concerning name of the rear detachment commander at Fort Stewart for the 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry

Hensler, Maj. Robert M.
- E-mails, 2007–2008, concerning the operation

Hoffman II, Capt. Lawrence W.
- Extensive e-mails concerning the operation
- Copies of contemporary notes made at planning sessions on concept of the operation and logistical support

Jackson Jr., Lt. Col. Joseph P.
- Photocopy of his diary covering the operation

Maxham, R. Steven (Director, U.S. Army Aviation Museum)
- E-mail concerning UH–60 Black Hawk helicopter

Martin, Capt. Herman L.
- E-mail concerning his role in planning for family assistance

Merritt, Roxanne (Director, John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Museum, 2006)
- E-Mail concerning location of various participants in the operation

Mitchell, Capt. John M.
- After Action Report, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry
- Map, showing intended ranger battalions zones of operation, 25 October 1983
- List of key personnel on Aircraft 1, 2, and 3, 25 October 1983
- Jump/Loading Manifest, Aircraft 3
- E-mail correspondence about the operation, 2006.

Nix Jr., Maj. Jack P., et al.
- Joint Briefing Slides

The other briefers were Col. James T. Scott, Lt. Col. Wesley B. Taylor Jr., and Maj. Joseph J. Maher III.

Oland (Dwight D.) Medical Collection
- After Action Reports/Lessons Learned
- Disaster Area Survey Report for Grenada, 4 November 1983
- Field Manuals
- Maps
- Medical Chronologies
- Published Materials and Draft Article
- 44th Medical Brigade S–3 (Lt. Col. Jack Rodin) Files

Perkins Jr., Lt. Col. Andrew M.
- Map (with annotations by Perkins)
- Briefing slides on URGENT FURY

Quirion, Spec. 4 Michael P. (Company C, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry)
- E-mail concerning resupply operations from Hunter Army Airfield

Rumbaugh, Col. James R.
- Time lines for the medical aspects of the operation.
- Map

- List, sub: Professional Officer Backfill
- Chronology of Major Events
- Report, OIC, Disaster Area Survey Team, 8 November 1983

Scholtes, Maj. Gen. Richard A.
- Memo for Senator William S. Cohen, 4 September 1986

Schroeder, Col. Daniel R.
- Correspondence concerning personnel involved in URGENT FURY

Trujillo, Pvt. Stephen
- E-mail concerning 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry

Vessey, General John W.
- Letter to the director of Joint History Office concerning URGENT FURY

Wick, 1st Lt. Gregory J.
- E-mail concerning his role in the operation

Wilson, Lt. Col. Edward B.
- Medical chronology

Wright, Maj. Ann
- Messages
- Notes
- Briefing Slides
- Speech

## HISTORIANS FILES: INTERVIEWS

To capture the events and to clarify aspects of the Grenada intervention, I conducted numerous interviews. Those conducted by my historian colleagues and team members of the 44th Military History Detachment and the Grenada Work Group are also included. Most of the interviews are preserved as transcripts; others, as tapes, notes, and/or memoranda for the record. The interviews listed below provide the name, rank, position(s) and/or role during the operation, and the date(s) interviewed. In addition, the complete transcripts of briefings on the operation are included in the list below. Briefing slides, on the other hand, are included in the personal papers section.

Abizaid, Capt. John P., Commander, Company A, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983, 15 December 1983

Acebes, 1st Sgt. William H., Company C, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983

Aivao, S. Sgt. Reupena, Treatment NCO, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion: 3 May 1988

Akers Jr., Lt. Col. Frank H., G–3, 82d Airborne Division: 22 November 1983, [December 1983], [1985], 12 December 1988

Anderson, Maj. Philip R., Executive Officer, 307th Engineer Battalion: 9 May 1986

Angelicchio, Sfc. Mary, Wardmaster/Platoon Sergeant, 1st Platoon, 36th Medical Company: 4 March 1988

Anglin, M. Sgt. Jerry P., Administrative Supervisor, Army Operations Center: 4 November 1983

Archer, Maj. William D., G–5, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]
Ard, Sgt. Tyrone, Medic, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 29 February 1988
Aricosen, Dr., Surgeon, 22d Marine Amphibious Unit: [1984]
Ashley, Capt. Vincent E., Commander, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion, and 1st Lt. Douglas S. Phelps, Executive Officer, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion: [November 1983]
Baggett, Lt. Col. David, Executive Officer, 82d Airborne Division Artillery: [November 1983]
Baine, Maj. William E., S–3, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 10 November 1983
Baine, Maj. William E., S–3, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry; M. Sgt. Hernandez, Operations NCO, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry; Lt. Col. Jack L. Hamilton, Commander, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry; and Cmd. Sgt. Maj. Catalino Barajas, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 9 November 1983
Baine, Maj. William E., S–3, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry; M. Sgt. Hernandez, Operations NCO, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry; and Sfc. Kellogg, Assistant Operations NCO, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 9 November 1983
Baker-Kimmel, 2d Lt. Anita L., Executive Officer, Company E, 407th Supply and Service Battalion: 18 July 1986
Barajas, Cmd. Sgt. Maj. Catalino, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 10 November 1983
Barno, Capt. David W., Commander, Company C, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 3 November 1983, 20 August 1987
Barrett Jr., Col. Robert C., Deputy Commander, 1st Support Command (Corps), and Commander, 1st Support Command (Corps) (Forward): [November 1983], 18 July 1986
Barton, Sfc. James C., First Sergeant, Company B, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983
Bates Jr., Capt. James M., Commander, Supply and Service Detachment, 407th Supply and Service Battalion: [December 1983]
Beaty, CWO2 Robert L., Air Operations Officer, 57th Medical Battalion (Air Ambulance): 2 March 1988
Beaty, CWO2 Robert L., Air Operations Officer, 57th Medical Battalion (Air Ambulance), and CWO3 William C. Garmond, Rotary Examiner, 57th Medical Battalion (Air Ambulance): [November 1983]
Beck, Lt. Col. Lois, Administration Section, Army Operations Center: 1 November 1983, 3 November 1983
Bednarek, Capt. John M., S–1, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 18 July 2006
Belford, Capt., S-3, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: 10 November 1983, 15 November 1983
Bell II, Maj. William H., Communications-Electronics Officer, XVIII Airborne Corps: 28 February 1984
Bethel, Capt. Darnell J., S–4, 407th Supply and Service Battalion: 18 July 1986
Birdsall, Dale, Command Historian, U.S. Army Materiel and Readiness Command: 30 May 1984

Bishop, Maj. Charles R., Commander, 44th Military History Detachment: July 1984, Fall 1985
Blair, Maj Hal, Executive Officer, 307th Medical Battalion: 1 March 1988
Boggs, Maj. David L., Commander, 330th Transportation Center (Movement Control) (COSCOM): 15 November 1983
Borchers, Maj. Alan L., Commander, 542d Ordnance Detachment (Explosive Ordnance Disposal) (Control Center): [November 1983]
Bowen, 2d Lt. James W., Platoon Leader, 2d Platoon, Company B, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 17 November 1983
Boylan, Brig. Gen. Peter J., Chief of Staff and then Assistant Division Commander (Operations), 82d Airborne Division: 21 November 1983
Boyles, Capt. Brent M., Commander, Company C, 782d Maintenance Battalion: 2 March 1989
Bradley, Capt. Stephen S., Commander, Company A, 307th Medical Battalion: [November 1983]
Brown, Capt., Assistant Chief of Staff for Services, 1st Support Command (Corps), and M. Sgt. Riddle, Assistant Chief of Staff for Field Services, 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983]
Bruning, Capt. Frank J., Chaplain, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat): [November 1983]
Bruno, Maj. Thomas A., Liaison Officer, 82d Airborne Division, to Joint Task Force 120: 7 March 1984
Burghduff, M. Sgt. Gerry, Chief Quartermaster, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion: 1 March 1988
Caldwell, S. Sgt. Frederick, Emergency Medical Treatment Squad, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 1 March 1988
Calhoun, Maj. William L., Executive Officer, Operations and Training Group, Directorate of Operations, Deputy Chief of Staff, Plans and Operations, Air Staff: [March 1984]
Capetillo, Sfc. Rodolfo, 3d Platoon, Company B, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 17 November 1983
Caporiccio, Lt. Col. Richard C., Assistant G–3, Tactical Plans Officer, XVIII Airborne Corps, and liaison officer to U.S. Atlantic Command: 9 November 1983
Carpenter, Cmd. Sgt. Maj. Gary R., 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983
Causey Jr., Maj. William M., Commander, 182d Materiel Management Center: 16 November 1983
Cayton, 1st Sgt. Richard B., Company B, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983
Chewning, Lt. Col. William R., Assistant G–3, Chief of Current Operations, XVIII Airborne Corps: 9 November 1983
Childs, Lt. Col. James R., Director of Plans and Training, Fort Stewart, Georgia: 21 July 2006
Chisholm, Capt. Roderick, Commander, Company C, 548th Engineer Battalion: 15 July 1986

Clawson, Capt. Ben F., Commander, Combat Support Company, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]
Cleary III, Maj. Daniel J., Coordinator, Forward Area Support Team II, 82d Support Command (Division): 19 November 1983, 14 July 1986, 15 July 1986, 7 August 1986
Clemons, Capt. Stanley B., S–4, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983
Cole, Ronald H., Historian, Joint History Office: [1984]
Cole, Capt. Thomas A., Public Affairs Specialist, Office of Public Affairs, 82d Airborne Division: 15 July 1986
Connally, Col. James W., Chief, Western Hemisphere Division, J–5, Joint Staff: 25 June 1984
Costa, 1st Lt. Carlos G., Communications-Electronics Officer, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: [c. November 1983]
Costanzo Jr., Lt. Col. Joseph J., Commander, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 1 March 1988
Crabtree II, Lt. Col. Jack D., G–4, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983], 26 October 1988, 24 January 1989
Cremisio, Capt. Richard D. Cremisio, Commander, Company D, 782d Maintenance Battalion: 16 August 1986
Crist, Maj. Gen. George B., Vice Director, Joint Staff, and Liaison to Caribbean Peacekeeping Force: 16 February 1984
Crocher, Sfc. Roy, Operations/Training NCO, 36th Medical Company: 2 March 1988
Cusick, Lt. Col. John J., Commander, 407th Supply and Service Battalion: 24 January 1989, 22 February 1989
Daly Jr., Col. William F., Commander, 82d Support Command (Division): [November 1983], 31 July 1986, 25 October 1988
D'Arbonne, Capt. Gregory M., S–1, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: 9 November 1983
Darney, Capt. William M., Chief, Adjutant General Section (Forward): [January 1984]
Davis, Capt. Danny W., Commander, Company A, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]
Davis, Maj. Shirley, Nurse, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 3 March 1988
Denman, Sfc. Jesse, NCOIC, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry, Aid Station: 4 March 1988
Dennison Jr., Capt. Ezekiel, Petroleum/Oil/Lubricant and Water Manager, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff (Materiel), 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983]
Dezso, S. Sgt. Dennis, Ambulance Driver/Aidman, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion: 1 March 1988, 2 March 1988
Dietrich, 1st Lt. Max, Executive Officer, Company B, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983
Donovan, CWO2 William, Physician's Assistant, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983

Duke, Sfc. Julian, First Sergeant, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 1 March 1988, 2 March 1988
Eichholz, Lt. Col. William R., Assistant G–2, 82d Airborne Division: 1 December 1983
Eisenbarth, Capt. Henry L., Fire Support Officer, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983
Elder Jr., Maj. William J., Commander, Task Force B, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat): 9 November 1983
Elder Jr., Maj. William J., Commander, Task Force B, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat), and CWO4 Thomas McWilliams, Command Pilot, Chalk 4, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat): 14 December 1983
Eyster IV, Maj. George S., Executive Officer, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat): 9 November 1983
Farbes, Cmd. Sgt. Maj. Willy E., 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: 9 November 1983
Farris Jr., Maj. Gen. Jack B., Deputy Commander, XVIII Airborne Corps, and Commander, U.S. Forces, Grenada: 18 November 1983, February 1984, 14 April 1989
Findlay, Capt. Stephen, Communications-Electronics Officer, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983
Flick, Maj. Claude H., Supply Plans Officer, 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983]
Fore, Capt. Henry R., G–4 (Forward), XVIII Airborne Corps: 27 August 1986, 3 September 1986
Frank, Benis M., Chief, Oral History Branch, Marine Corps History and Museum Division: 8 December 1983
Frasché, Col. Louis D. H., Chief, Grenada Work Group: 15 February 1984
Gibson Jr., Maj. Hubert L., Operations Officer in SOTI Section, 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983]
Glass, 1st Lt. Charles E., Assistant Fire Support Officer, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: 5 April 1984
Gonzales, Lt. Col. Joseph, Plans Officer, Corps Surgeon's Office, XVIII Airborne Corps: 4 March 1988
Green, Sgt. Onnie, Central Medical Supplies, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 29 February 1988
Green, Capt. Steven, Commander, Company C, 407th Supply and Service Battalion: 5 August 1986
Hagler Jr., Lt. Col. Ralph L., Commander, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 30 October 1983
Halley, Col. Fred N., Commander, 82d Airborne Division Artillery: 15 November 1983
Hamilton, Lt. Col. Jack L., Commander, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 10 November 1983, 3 June 1985, 2 September 1985
Hamilton, Maj. John A., S–3, 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry: 16 November 1983
Hanna, Capt. Mark L., Commander, Company C, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983

Hapner, Lt. Col. Arthur Hapner, Commander, 57th Medical Detachment (Air Evacuation): 4 November 1987
Harding, Capt. Gregory A., S–4, 307th Engineer Battalion: 24 June 1986
Hardman, Joseph M., Chief, College Eligibility Unit, U.S. Department of Education: 31 January 1984
Harper, S. Sgt. Larry, Wardmaster, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 1 March 1988
Healy, Lt. Col. Maurice W., Assistant G–3 for Operations, XVIII Airborne Corps: 30 April 1985
Henry, 1st Lt. Kirk, Public Affairs Officer, 82d Airborne Division: 15 July 1986
Hensler, Maj. Robert M., Executive Officer, 2d Battalion, 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983
Hess, Maj. Monte T. S., S–3, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 30 October 1983, 9 November 1983, 10 November 1983
Hevey, S. Sgt. John, NCOIC, Operating Room and Central Medical Supplies, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 29 February 1988
Hoffman II, Capt. Lawrence W., Ranger Coordinator, Fort Stewart, Georgia: 30 October 1983, 21 December 2004
Horton, M. Sgt. Larry, NCOIC, Heavy Drop Rig Site, Company E, 407th Supply and Service Battalion: 15 July 1986
House, Maj. Jonathan M. Historian, U.S. Army Center of Military History: May 1989
Howard, Lt. Col. Billy J., Assistant Chief of Staff for Materiel, 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983]
Hull, Maj. Timothy L., Signal Officer, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]
Hunter, Maj. Mel, Chief, Transportation Planning, 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983]
Hurst, Lt. Col. Bobby Ray, Commander, 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]
Izzo, Lt. Col. Lawrence L., Division Engineer, 82d Airborne Division, and Commander, 307th Engineer Battalion: 14 December 1983
Jackson Jr., Lt. Col. Joseph P., Orthopedic Surgeon, 82d Airborne Division: 23 May 1985
Jacoby Jr., Capt. Charles H., Commander, Company A, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]
Johnson Jr., Col. James H., G–3, XVIII Airborne Corps, and Chief of Staff, 82d Airborne Division: 15 November 1983
Kane, Maj. Robert E., Battalion Surgeon, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: [November 1983], [1988]
Katz, 2d Lt. Eric P., Platoon Leader, Class III Platoon, Company A, 407th Supply and Service Battalion: 18 July 1986, 6 August 1986
Kearney, Capt. Francis, Commander, Company A, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983
Keene, Maj. Richard T., S–3, 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]

Kelly, Lt. Col. Ronald F., Executive Officer, 82d Support Command (Division): 18 November 1983
Kinser, S. Sgt. Frederick, Senior Orthopedic Technician, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 1 March 1988
Klevecz, Maj. Jack, Deputy G–1, 82d Airborne Division, and Capt. Alfred J. Johnson, Division Social Worker, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]
Lally, Col. Michael J., Chief, Crisis Response Cell, Army Operations Center: 4 November 1983
Lambeth, Maj. Carl L., Communications-Electronics Officer, 525th Military Intelligence Group: 29 February 1984
Lang, Capt. Jonathan N., Assistant S–3, Fire Direction Officer, 1st Battalion, 319th Field Artillery: [November 1983]
Lemauk, 1st Lt. David B., Platoon Leader, 2d Platoon, 82d Military Police Company; 1st Lt. Mark S. Webb, Platoon Leader, General Support Platoon, 82d Military Police Company; and 1st Lt. Brice A. Gyurisko, Platoon Leader, 1st Platoon, 82d Military Police Company: [November 1983]
Lombardo, Capt. Samuel R., Provost Marshal Operations Officer, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]
Lopez, Sgt. Dino, Platoon Medic, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion: [1988]
Lowe, Sgt. Donald, Medic, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: [1988]
MacGarrigle, George B., Historian, U.S. Army Center of Military History: [Fall 1984]
Mackmull, Lt. Gen. Jack V., Commander, XVIII Airborne Corps: 29 November 1983, March 1984, 27 October 1988
Maher III, Maj. John J., S–3, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 3 November 1983
Maher III, Maj. John J., S–3, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry, and Air Force Maj. James E. Roper, Air Liaison Officer to 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: [November 1983]
Masden 1st Sgt. Claus M., Company B, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 18 November 1983
Mason, Capt. Raymond V., Assistant S–3, Plans and Operations Officer, 82d Support Command (Division): [November 1983]
McClure, 1st Lt. Randall L., S–4, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 16 November 1983
McDonald, Admiral Wesley L., Commander, U.S. Atlantic Command, and Commander, U.S. Atlantic Fleet: [1988]
McElroy, Maj. William E., Combat Service Support Specialist, Grenada Work Group: 30 April 1984
McFarren, Lt. Col. Freddy E., Commander, 1st Battalion, 319th Field Artillery: 17 November 1983
McIntosh Jr., Capt. Harry L., OIC, Airspace Management Element, 82d Airborne Division: 5 April 1984

McKinney, Capt. Marshall E., Plans Officer, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry, and Liaison Officer to 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry and 82d Airborne Division: 1 November 1983
Measles, Lt. Col. David A., Americas Action Officer, Operations and Plans Division, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Army Staff: 23 February 1984
Mendoza, Capt. Martin E., Commander, Company B, 50th Signal Battalion: [November 1983]
Merritt, Army Lt. Gen. Jack N., Director, Joint Staff: 21 June 1984
Metcalf III, Vice Adm. Joseph, Commander, 2d Fleet, and Commander, Joint Task Force 120: 13 February 1984, [1988]
Meyer III, Air Force Lt. Col. A. Felix, Commander, 1st Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron: [1984], 16 June 2000
Meyer, Air Force Brig. Gen. Richard L., Vice Commander, Twelfth Air Force: 26 February 1984
Mickelson, Col. Roger W., Chief, Operations and Plans Division, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Army Staff: 23 September 1986
Miller, Capt. David L., Assistant S–3, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry, and Liaison Officer to 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 3 November 1983
Miller, Sgt. Robert, Heavy Equipment Operator, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 307th Engineer Battalion: 4 March 1988
Miller, Lt. Col. William J., Commander, 1st Squadron, 17th Cavalry: [November 1983]
Mitchell, Col. Corless W., G–4, XVIII Airborne Corps: 16 February 1989
Mitchell, Capt. John M., Commander, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983, 10 July 2006
Moen, Maj. Denis R., Day Recorder, Army Operations Center: 8 November 1983
Moenk, Jean R., Command Historian, U.S. Army Forces Command: [November 1983].
Moran, 1st Lt. Stephen W., S–1, 313th Military Intelligence Battalion: [November 1983]
Moreau Jr., Vice Adm. Arthur S., Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff: 12 July 1984
Morris IV, Capt. James M., Commander, Company C, 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry: [November 1983]
Nelson, Tony, Analyst, Defense Intelligence Agency: 9 January 1985
Newman, Capt. Clyde M., Commander, Company B, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983
Newman, Lt. Col. Ralph E., Commander, 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry: 16 November 1983
Nightengale, Lt. Col. Keith M., Commander, 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry: 16 November 1983
Nix Jr., Maj. Jack P., Executive Officer, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983

Nolan, Capt. David L., S–3, 307th Medical Battalion: 10 November 1987, 5 February 1988, 18 April 1988, 22 November 1988
O'Brien, Navy Capt. Michael F., Commanding Officer, Attack Squadron 87, USS *Independence*: [1984]
Okita, Capt. Michael C., Assistant S–3, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, and Commander, Company B, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 16 November 1983
Patterson, Air Force Brig. Gen. Robert B., Commander, Airlift Forces: 29 February 1984
Pavlak, Lt. Col. Robert T., Member, Crisis Response Cell, Army Operations Center: 4 November 1983
Peake, Col. James B., Surgeon, Medical Augmentation Package, Joint Special Operations Command: 27 April 2004
Pederson, 1st Lt. William M., Platoon Leader, 3d Platoon, Company A, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]
Perkins Jr., Lt. Col. Andrew M., Assistant Corps Engineer, XVIII Airborne Corps: 9 June 1986, 23 June 1986
Perkins, Maj. Frederick C., Division Transportation Officer, 82d Airborne Division: 14 July 1986, 4 August 1986
Pfaff, Capt. James A., Battalion Surgeon, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 3 November 1983
Phelps, 1st Lt. Douglas S., Executive Officer, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion: 2 March 1988
Phelps, M. Sgt. Terry, Preventive Medicine NCO attached to 96th Civil Affairs Battalion: 4 March 1988
Pitts Jr., Capt. Joseph, S–4, 3d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]
Prantl Jr., 1st Lt. Carl, Communications-Electronics Officer, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]
Prillaman, Army Lt. Gen. Richard L., J–3, Joint Staff: 9 February 1984
Quick, Sgt. Gordon, Bravo Team Leader, 3d Squad, 2d Platoon, Company B, 1st Battalion, 505th Infantry: [June 1998]
Quinones, Cmd. Sgt. Maj. Bernabe, 2d Battalion, 508th Infantry: 18 November 1983
Raat, Lt. Col. Roy E., Night Recorder, Army Operations Center: 7 November 1983
Rabon, Capt. Jimmie M., S–4, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat): 27 June 1986
Raines, Lt. Col. John W., Commander, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]
Ramey, Capt. John L., Assistant S–3, 307th Engineer Battalion: 6 June 1986, 18 June 1986
Ray, Sgt. Virgil, Flight Medic, 57th Medical Detachment (Aerial Evacuation): 2 March 1988
Reardon, Mark J., Historian, U.S. Army Center of Military History (formerly Executive Officer, 3d Battalion, 73d Armor): 9 November 2004, October 2005, 18 September 2006, 4 April 2007

Rhodes, Maj. Danny L., Assistant Chief of Staff (Transportation), 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983]
Richardson, Lt. Col. Quinton W., Staff Judge Advocate, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]
Richardson Jr., Col. William J., Commander, 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983], 3 March 1988
Richardson Jr., Col. William J., Commander, 1st Support Command (Corps), and Col. Robert C. Barrett Jr., Deputy Commander, 1st Support Command (Corps), and Commander, 1st Support Command (Corps) (Forward): 17 January 1984
Rizzo, 1st Lt. Michael A., Assistant S–1, 3d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]
Robertson, CWO3 Michael, Physician Assistant, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 4 March 1988
Rocke, Capt. Mark D., Commander, Company B, 2d Battalion, 505th Infantry (redesignated Company C, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry, for URGENT FURY): 19 November 1983
Rossin, Lawrence G., Aide to Ambassador William J. McNeil, Department of State: 29 March 1985
Royer, Lt. Col. Aaron, Team Chief, Army Operations Center: 4 November 1983
Ruehe, Capt. John H., Engineer Equipment Maintenance Officer, 548th Engineer Battalion: 26–27 July 1986
Rumbaugh, Col. James R., Corps Surgeon, XVIII Airborne Corps: 18 November 1987, 23 December 1987
Ryneska, Lt. Col. John J., Assistant Fire Support Coordinator, 82d Airborne Division: 18 November 1983
Salice Jr., Maj. Henry J., S–2, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 10 November 1983
Schieman, Capt. Kenneth, Assistant Fire Support Officer, 82d Airborne Division: 5 April 1984
Schmidtke, Capt. Brian G., Fire Support Officer, 1st Battalion, 320th Infantry, and Fire Support Officer, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: [November 1983]
Scholtes, Army Maj Gen Richard A., Commander, Joint Special Operations Command: 4 March 1999.
Schroeder, Col. Daniel R., Corps Engineer, XVIII Airborne Corps, and Commander, 20th Engineer Brigade: 2 June 1986
Schrum, Capt. Steven C., S–2, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 3 November 1983
Schwarzkopf Jr., Maj. Gen. H. Norman, Commander, 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized), and Deputy Commander, Joint Task Force 120: 10 November 1983, 21 November 1983, March 1984, 29 October 1985, 1 November 1985, 15 December 1987
Scott, Col. James T., Commander, 3d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division, and Commander, Army Forces, Grenada: [November 1983], 18 November 1983

Seigle, Lt. Col. Robert N., Commander, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat): 3 November 1983, 9 November 1983, 10 February 1984

Seigle, Lt. Col. Robert N., Commander, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat); Lt. Col. William J. Miller, Commander, 1st Squadron, 17th Cavalry; Maj. William J. Elder, Commander, Company B, 82d Aviation Battalion; Maj. Timothy R. Lynch, Commander, Troop B, 1st Squadron, 17th Cavalry; and Capt. Bernard C. Negrete, Commander, Company D, 82d Aviation Battalion: 10 February 1984

Sellers, Sfc. Jimmy R., Platoon Leader, 3d Platoon, Company B, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 17 November 1983

Semmens, Col. Eugene P., Deputy Post Commander, Hunter Army Airfield: 14 August 1987

Sexton, Col. Donald D., Chief, Ground Combat and Munitions Systems Division, Supply, Maintenance, and Transportation Directorate, U.S. Army Materiel Development and Readiness Command: 18 July 1986

Sheets, Lt. Col. Jon R., G–4, 1st Special Operations Command, and Maj. Peter P. Ferguson, Assistant G–4, 1st Special Operations Command: 2 December 1983

Sheffield, Lt. Col. Robert A., Crisis Response Cell, Army Operations Center: 8 November 1983

Shelton, Col. Henry H., Commander, 1st Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: 18 August 1986

Sheon Jr., Maj. Jesse P., Executive Officer, 50th Signal Battalion, and Capt. Leonard Filipkowski, S–3, 50th Signal Battalion: [November 1983]

Sidenberg, Lt. Col. Barry S., Division Surgeon, 82d Airborne Division: 14 December 1983

Silvasy Jr., Col. Stephen, Commander, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: 9 November 1983, 7–8 December 1983, 14 December [1988]

Singer, Maj. James C., Liaison Officer, U.S. Army Forces Command, at U.S. Atlantic Command: 30 November 1983

Sinibaldi, CWO2 Wayne P., Task Force B, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat), and Commander, Chalk 3, 1st Lift, Calivigny Air Assault: 14 December 1983

Sittnick, Capt. Thomas E., Commander, Company B, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983

Skrabak, S. Sgt Richard, Physician Assistant, 36th Medical Company (Clearing): 3 March 1988

Smith, Brig. Gen. James D., Assistant Division Commander (Support), 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983], 4 September 1986, 24 October 1988

Smith, Maj. Thomas D., Assistant G–3, 82d Airborne Division: 3 April 1985

Solan, Gary, Bursar, St. George's University School of Medicine: 18 November 1983

Spain, Sgt. Charles E., Equipment Operator Supervisor, 618th Engineer Company (Light Equipment) (Airborne): 17 November 1983

Starling, Col. James D., Commander, 507th Transportation Group, and Commander, 1st Support Command (Corps) (Forward): [November 1983], 8 November 1988

Steele, Sfc. Thomas, Fire Support NCO, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division; 1st Lt. Charles E. Glass, Assistant Fire Support Officer, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division; Sgt. Samuel Stewart, Fire Support NCO, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry; Capt. Lawrence Henson Jr., Fire Support Officer, 2d Brigade, and then Fire Support Officer, 3d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 5 April 1984

Stewart, Richard W., Chief Historian, U.S. Army Center of Military History: 4 December 2008

Strock, Maj. Carl, S–3, 307th Engineer Battalion: 23 May 1986, 30 May 1986

Stump III, Lt. Col. Frank G., Signal Officer, 82d Airborne Division, and Commander, 82d Signal Battalion: [November 1983]

Sweet, Dana, Analyst, Defense Intelligence Agency: 9 January 1985

Swenie, Capt. Kevin, Executive Officer, 57th Medical Detachment (Air Evacuation): 17 November 1987

Tassi, Gordon R., Member, Joint Actions Mobilization and Control Division, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Army Staff: 4 November 1983

Taylor Jr., Lt. Col. Wesley B., Commander, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 2 November 1983, 4 December 1986

Throckmorton, Lt. Col. Edward R., G–1, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]

Tomasik, Maj. Donald M., Assistant Division Engineer, 82d Airborne Division: 18 November 1983

Train, Admiral Harry D., Commander, U.S. Atlantic Command: 6 September 1996, 12 October 1996

Trobaugh, Maj. Gen. Edward L., Commander, 82d Airborne Division, and Commander, U.S. Forces, Grenada: 30 November 1983, [1988], 7 February 1989

Troxell, Maj. Joseph K., 4th Psychological Operations Group: 17 November 1983

Undedunk, Pvt. Robert S., Medic, 3d Platoon, Company B, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983

Vail, Brig. Gen. Nathan C., Deputy Director, Operations, Readiness, and Mobilization Directorate, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, Army Staff: 9 November 1983

Ventura, Capt. Jose G., S–4, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983

Vessey, General John W., Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff: 25 March 1987

Vitucci, Maj. Samuel S., S–3, 82d Support Command (Division): [November 1983]

Voyles, Cmd. Sgt. Maj. James E., 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983

Ward, Lt. Col. William E., Commander, 530th Supply and Service Battalion: 18 July 1986

Warnock, CWO2 Michael T., 313th Military Intelligence Battalion (Communications–Electronics Warfare and Intelligence): [November 1983]

Watson, Maj. Christopher O., Coordinator, Forward Area Support Team III, 3d Brigade, 82d Support Command (Division): 18 November 1983
Watson, Maj. Jerome A., Assistant G–3, 82d Airborne Division: 22 November 1983
Weaver, M. Sgt. (Acting Sgt. Maj.) Jackie, 5th Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army): 2 March 1988
Weck, Maj. Lonnie E., S–3, 82d Aviation Battalion (Combat): [1983]
Weinberger, Caspar W., Secretary of Defense: 12 January 1988, 20 January 1988, 8 March 1988, 7 April 1988, 21 June 1988
White, Sfc. Larry C., 1st Sergeant, Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 2d Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry: 1 November 1983
Whittaker, Maj. James F., S–4, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division: 10 November 1983
Wick, 1st Lt. Gregory J., Division Fire Support Element, 82d Airborne Division: 5 April 1984
Wigfall, Spec. Michael, Medical Supply Specialist, 32d Medical Depot: 3 March 1988
Williams, Lt. Col. Duane E., Commander, 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery, and Maj. Paul V. Passaro, S–3, 1st Battalion, 320th Field Artillery: 17 November 1983
Williams, Lt. Gen. James A., Director, Defense Intelligence Agency: 14 December 1990.
Williams, S. Sgt. Michael, Utilities Equipment Repair Instructor: 2 March 1988
Wilson, Lt. Col. Edward B., Commander, 307th Medical Battalion: 6 November 1987
Withers III, Capt. George K., S–1, 2d Battalion, 325th Infantry: 10 November 1983
Woloski, Maj. John C., Assistant Signal Officer, 82d Airborne Division: [November 1983]
Woolman, SFC Thomas, Senior Operating Room Technician, Company C, 307th Medical Battalion: 1 March 1988
Zakszeski, Lt. Col. Charles E., Assistant Chief of Staff (Plans), 1st Support Command (Corps): [November 1983]
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# Guide to Abbreviations

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| | |
|---|---|
| AAF | Army Air Forces |
| AAR | after action report |
| Abn | airborne |
| AES | Aeromedical Evacuation Squadron |
| AFB | Air Force Base |
| AFofGrenada | Armed Forces of Grenada |
| AFIP | Armed Forces Institute of Pathology |
| AFSC | Armed Forces Staff College |
| AG | adjutant general |
| AGF | Army Ground Forces |
| AGO | Adjutant General's Office |
| AMC | U.S. Army Material Command, Fort Belvoir, Va. |
| AMCHO | Army Material Command Historical Office |
| AmEmb | American Embassy |
| an. | annex |
| ANGLICO | Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company |
| AnHistRpt | annual historical report |
| AOC | Army Operations Center |
| app. | appendix |
| AR | Army Regulation |
| ASF | Army Service Forces |
| | |
| Bde | brigade |
| BDU(s) | battle dress uniform(s) |
| Bn | battalion |
| Brig. | Brigadier |
| Brig. Gen. | Brigadier General |
| Bull(s) | bulletin(s) |
| | |
| CAC | U.S. Army Combined Arms Center |
| Capt. | Captain |
| Cdr | Commander |

| | |
|---|---|
| CGD | captured Grenadian documents |
| CG(s) | commanding general(s) |
| CGSC | Command and General Staff College |
| ch. | chapter |
| chg. | change |
| CI | counterintelligence |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| CinC | commander in chief |
| Cir | circular |
| CJCS | Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff |
| Cmd | command |
| CmdHO | Command Historian's Office |
| Cmte | committee |
| CMH | U.S. Army Center of Military History, Fort McNair, D.C. |
| Co | company |
| CofS | chief of staff |
| Col. | Colonel |
| Comdt | commandant |
| Conf | conference |
| Cong. | Congress; congressional |
| Corresp | correspondence |
| COSCOM | Support Command (Corps) |
| CP | command post |
| CWO | Chief Warrant Officer |

| | |
|---|---|
| DA | Department of the Army |
| DAF | Department of the Air Force |
| DCSLOG | Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics |
| DCSOPS | Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans |
| Dec. | decimal |
| Dep | deputy |
| Dept(s) | department(s) |
| Det | detachment |
| DF | disposition form |
| DG | director general |
| DIA | Defense Intelligence Agency |
| Dir(s) | directive(s); director(s) |
| DISCOM | Support Command (Division) |
| Div | division |
| DivofPA | Division of Public Affairs |
| DN | Department of Navy |
| DoD | Department of Defense |
| DofOpns | director of operations |
| DoS | Department of State |

| | |
|---|---|
| encl. | enclosure |
| ENCS | Senior Chief Enginemen |
| Engr | engineer |
| EOC | Emergency Operations Center |
| esp. | especially |
| Evac | evacuation |
| fig. | figure |
| FM | field manual; foreign minister; frequency modulated |
| FORSCOM | U.S. Army Forces Command, Fort McPherson, Ga. |
| Fwd | forward |
| G–1 | Personnel |
| G–2 | Intelligence |
| G–3 | Operations |
| G–4 | Logistics |
| G–5 | Civil Affairs |
| GenOff | General Officer files |
| GO | General Orders |
| GS | General Staff |
| GWG | Grenada Working Group; Grenada Work Group |
| Hist | historians; history; historical |
| HMM | Marine Medium Helicopter |
| HT1 | Hull Technician First Class |
| HQ | headquarters |
| IBM | International Business Machine |
| ICRC | International Committee of the Red Cross |
| IDR | individual documents released |
| Inf | infantry |
| Intel | intelligence |
| Interv(s) | interview(s) |
| J–2 | Intelligence |
| J–3 | Operations |
| J–4 | Logistics |
| JA | Judge Advocate |
| JCS | Joint Chiefs of Staff |
| JEWEL | Joint Effort for Welfare, Education, and Liberation |
| JHO | Joint History Office, Washington, D.C. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Jnl | journal |
| JSOC | Joint Special Operations Command, Fort Bragg, N.C. |
| JTF | joint task force |
| LANTCOM | U.S. Atlantic Command, Norfolk, Va. |
| LL | lessons learned |
| LNO | liaison officer |
| Log | logistical; logistics |
| Lt. | Lieutenant |
| Lt. Col. | Lieutenant Colonel |
| Lt. Gen. | Lieutenant General |
| Ltr | letter |
| MAC | Military Airlift Command |
| Maj. | Major |
| Maj. Gen. | Major General |
| MASH | Surgical Hospital (Mobile Army) |
| MAU | Marine Amphibious Unit |
| MC | Medical Corps |
| MDC | Museum Division Collection files |
| Med | medical |
| Memo | memorandum |
| Mf | microfiche |
| MFR | memorandum for the record |
| MHI | U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pa. |
| Mil | military |
| Misc | miscellaneous |
| MM1 | Machinist Mate First Class |
| MMC | Materiel Management Center |
| MoD | Ministry of Defence, Grenada |
| MofFA | Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| MoI | Ministry of Interior, Grenada |
| MoU | memorandum of understanding |
| MP | military police |
| MSC | Medical Service Corps |
| Msg(s) | message(s) |
| MTMC | Military Traffic Management Command |
| MTOE | modified table of organization |
| NARA–CP | National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland |
| NARA–RRPL | ———, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, Calif. |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NCO | noncommissioned officer |

| | |
|---|---|
| NCOIC | noncommissioned officer in charge |
| n.d. | no date |
| NHHC | U.S. Navy History and Heritage Command, Washington, D.C. |
| NICP(s) | National Inventory Control Point(s) |
| NJM | New JEWEL Movement |
| NSC | National Security Council |
| NSDD | National Security Decision Directive |
| OD | officer of the day |
| ODO | operations duty officer |
| OECS | Organization of Eastern Caribbean States |
| OIC | officer in charge |
| Off(s) | officer(s) |
| OofInfo | Office of Information |
| Opn | operation; operations |
| Org | organization |
| OrgHist | Organizational History files |
| OSDHO | Office of the Secretary of Defense History Office, Washington, D.C. |
| PDocs | primary documents |
| PDD | President's Daily Diary |
| Pfc. | Private First Class |
| PM | prime minister |
| PO | Permanent Orders |
| PRA | People's Revolutionary Army |
| Prelim | preliminary |
| PRG | People's Revolutionary Government |
| pt. | part |
| Pub | publication |
| RCmts | reader comments |
| Rec(s) | Record(s) |
| RG | Record Group |
| rev. | revised |
| RNSC | Records of the National Security Council |
| ROAD | Reorganization Objective Army Division |
| RO/RO | roll-on/roll-off ship |
| ROWPU(s) | reverse-osmosis water purification unit(s) |
| Rpt | report |
| S–1 | Personnel |
| S–2 | Intelligence |

| | |
|---|---|
| S–3 | Operations |
| S–4 | Logistics |
| S–5 | Civil Affairs |
| Sec | section; secretary |
| SecDef/Int | Secretary of Defense and Interior |
| SecState | Secretary of State |
| sess. | session |
| Sgt. | Sergeant |
| Sig | Signal |
| SitRpt(s) | situation report(s) |
| SOC | Special Operations Command |
| SOTI | security, operations, training, and intelligence |
| Spec. | Specialist |
| SrOffOHist | Senior Officer Oral History files |
| Sqdn | squadron |
| S. Sgt. | Staff Sergeant |
| SStudies | secondary studies |
| sub(s) | subject(s) |
| Sum | summary |
| Surg | surgeon |
| | |
| TAC | Tactical Air Command |
| TACW | Tactical Air Control Wing |
| TechLib | Technical Library, Fort Lee, Va. |
| Tel | telephone |
| Telecon | teleconference |
| TM | technical manual |
| TOE | table(s) of organization and equipment |
| Tng | training |
| TRADOC | U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, Fort Monroe, Va. |
| Trans | transportation |
| | |
| UHD | Unit Historical Data cards |
| USATC | U.S. Army Transportation Center |
| U&SCmds | unified and specified commands |
| USMC | United States Marine Corps |
| | |
| V. Adm. | Vice Admiral |
| VNIT | Vietnam interview |
| | |
| WIN | Worldwide Intercomputer Network |
| WWMCCS | Worldwide Military Command and Control System |

# Map Symbols

☆ ☆ ☆

## Unit Type

| | |
|---|---|
| Air and Naval Gunfire Liaison Company |   |
| Airborne Infantry Unit |  |
| Ammunition Supply Point |   |
| Aviation Fuel Supply Point |  |
| Clothing Exchange and Bath |   |
| Clothing, Individual Equipment, Tentage, Organizational Tool Sets Supply Point |  |
| Detainee Camp |   |
| Engineer Construction Supply Point |  |
| Engineer Unit |  |
| Forward Area Support Team |   |
| Fuel Supply Point |  |
| Graves Registration Collection Point |  |
| Hospital/aid station |  |
| Joint Task Force |   |
| Maintenance |  |
| Medical Unit |  |
| Personal Demand Supply Point |  |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ranger Unit |  |
| Repair Parts Supply Point |  |
| Subsistence Supply Point |  |
| Air Force Combat Control Team |  |
| Water Point |  |

## UNIT SIZE

| | |
|---|---|
| Division | XX |
| Brigade | X |
| Regiment | III |
| Battalion | II |
| Company | I |
| Platoon/Detachment | ••• |
| Section | •• |
| Squad/Team | • |

## EXAMPLES

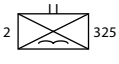
Headquarters, Joint Task Force 123 . . . . . 

Headquarters, 82d Airborne Division (Task Force 121) . . . . . 

Headquarters, 2d Brigade, 82d Airborne Division . . . . . 

Headquarters, 82d Support Command . . . . . 

Coordinating Element, Forward Area Support Team II . . 

2d Battalion, 325th Infantry . . . . . 

Company C, 1st Battalion (Ranger), 75th Infantry . . . . 

57th Medical Detachment . . . . . 

2d Platoon, Company B, 307th Engineer Battalion . . . . 

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