

Bureau was established to administer the party's affairs in September 1973. According to interviews conducted by Thorndike, the party leadership at this time embraced "scientific socialism" as a body of analytical principles and "non-capitalism development" as a strategy for liberation.⁷⁵ In April 1974, the NJM decided to adopt the Leninist concept of the "vanguard party" focussing on the creation of a narrow group of dedicated professional revolutionaries. In 1975, the party officially adopted Marxism-Leninism, losing a number of prominent moderates as a result. Although this decision was not publicized, it was none the less rather widely known, as it was given ample publicity in a newspaper founded by one of the more prominent defectors, George Brizan.

In short, although there was no known direct or indirect Soviet involvement in either the decaying political situation in the country or in the creation and radicalization of the NJM, Soviet principles of socio-economic development had an important influence in the formulation of the NJM's programme⁷⁶, while the Soviet model of party organization was clearly adopted (though never particularly successfully implemented) by the movement.⁷⁷ The NJM saw itself as a Marxist-Leninist party in the Soviet tradition well before the 1979 revolution. If anything, this self-image grew stronger in its aftermath. Ideological borrowing, however, does not imply political influence.

That said, in its attitude towards the outside world, the NJM rather consistently displayed considerable sympathy towards Cuba, Nicaragua, and the socialist camp, and sought rather rapidly to establish relations with these states.⁷⁸ Moreover, the NJM regime consciously risked alienating the United States in pursuing this track of policy.⁷⁹ And, indeed, Grenadian commentary on the

⁷⁵ Thorndike, *op. cit.* (note 71), pp. 48-9.

⁷⁶ For a mature version of this programme, which displays strong influence of Soviet notions of national democratic development in states of socialist orientation, see Maurice Bishop, "Line of March for the Party" (September 1982), as reprinted in Paul Seabury and Walter A. McDougall, eds., *The Grenada Papers* (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1984), pp. 63-6, 74-6.

⁷⁷ For the structure and role of the party in NJM doctrine, see *ibid.*, pp. 63, 73, 79, 81-87.

⁷⁸ Viz. Bishop's comments on Cuba in his speech to the Non-aligned Movement of 6 September, 1979, "Imperialism Is Not Invincible", as reprinted in *Forward Ever*, *op. cit.*, (note 73) p. 94; and his expressions of solidarity with the Sandinista Revolution in *Forward Ever* (13 March 1980), in *ibid.*, p. 112.

⁷⁹ Viz. Maurice Bishop's comments on US Ambassador Ortiz's warning that the US would disapprove of any attempt to open relations with Cuba, in "Imperialism Is Not Invincible", *op. cit.*, (note 73), p. 96.