

meeting sought consciously to assess alternatives to what they perceived to be the deepening dependency of the English Caribbean in the world capitalist economy and the cul-de-sac into which this economic and, consequently, political dependency had drawn their societies. They were strongly influenced in this exercise by theories of non-capitalist development elaborated by Soviet scholars such as Rostislav Ul'yanovsky.<sup>73</sup> In this sense, the Soviet Union may be said to have exercised a basic ideological influence on the NJM, though as Thorndike points out, there was not much ideological rigour evident at the meeting on Rat Island, and certainly no "grand strategy" for the socialization of the Caribbean states.<sup>74</sup> Instead, the approach was eclectic and experimental.

The meeting's participants decided that they should form socialist discussion groups in their home islands. When Maurice Bishop returned to Grenada, he accordingly founded a forum for discussion as a basis for subsequent political organization. This lasted a year, but was superseded by a mass organization devoted to political action rather than theoretical discussion, the Movement for the Advancement of Community Effort (MACE). It merged in turn with a middle class opposition grouping, the St. George's Committee of Concerned Citizens, to form the Movement for Assemblies of the Peoples (MAP). This in turn merged in 1973 with a rural organization, the Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education, and Liberation (JEWEL), to form the New Jewel Movement. The Movement thus drew from a wide range of socio-economic groups opposed to Gairyism. Given this eclectic background, it is not surprising that, although the Movement was radically socialist in orientation, it was not Marxist-Leninist either in terms of organizational structure or worldview.

It was in the context of severe repression by the Gairy Administration that the NJM began to tighten up its organizational structure and to develop a more clearly Marxist body of doctrine. A Political

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<sup>73</sup> Viz. R. Ul'yanovsky, *Socialism and the Newly Independent Countries* (Moscow: Progress, 1974). For the influence of Soviet theories of socio-economic and political development in the Third World on the development of Caribbean Marxism, see Thorndike, *op. cit.* (note 71), pp. 19-24. For a brief discussion by Maurice Bishop of non-capitalist development during the "national democratic stage", see M. Bishop, "We'll Always Choose to Stand Up", in *Forward Ever! Three Years of the Grenadian Revolution: Speeches of Maurice Bishop* (Sydney: Pathfinder, 1982), pp. 35-38. The similarity with the Soviet concept of "national democracy", elaborated in 1960 at the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties, is striking.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, p. 24