

Index

AAPSO. See Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Abdel-Malek, Anour, 17 Abdesselam, Belaïd, 188-189 African National Congress (ANC), 25-26, 120-121, 141, 147, 149-150, 160-161, 337 Cuba and, 153-154 Defiance Campaign, 144 exceptionalism of, 144-147 guerrilla warfare of, 154-155 liberation by, 147-152 PAC conflict with, 148-150 public relations of, 158 on solidarity, 156-160, 161 at Tricontinental Conference, 153-154 Tricontinentalism and, 161-162 on violence, 152-156, 157-158 Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), 5-6, 12, 31-32, 46, 63, 82-83, 179, 265-266, 311, 339 first conference of, 199 Latin American leftist movements and, 63-64, 221-222 militancy of, 216-218 Moshi conference, 180–181, 201–202, 206-207 operation of, 197-198 origination of, 62, 75, 120, 216-218 Sino-Soviet competition and, 196–197, 198-199 Tricontinental Conference on, 218 United States on, 223

```
Afro-Asianism, 163-165, 166,
    178-179
  in Latin America, 49
  Sino-Soviet competition and, 197-205
Algeria, 5-7, 33, 107-108, 163, 199-200,
    340
  anti-imperialism of, 177-185
  Black Panthers in, 186-187
  Cuba relations with, 166-177,
    185-190
  Guevara in, 173-174,
    293-294
  natural resources of, 188-189
  Third Worldism and, 166
  United States relations with, 174-175
Algerian war of independence, 103,
    163-165, 171, 199-200, 255
All African People's Conference, 145-146
Allende, Salvador, 76, 81
Alliance for Progress, 286-287
American War, 126-127, 130, 131. See also
    Vietnam War
analogies, power of, 24-25,
    143-144
ANC. See African National Congress
Angola, 24-25, 67, 94, 134, 153-154,
    163-165, 168-169, 206-207,
    259-260, 304-305, 307-308
  Cuba and, 316-322
  mercenaries in, 316-322
anti-apartheid movement, 141, 145
anti-authoritarians, West German, 88-89,
```



354 Index

Bandung Conference II, 31-32, 182-184, anti-imperialism, 7-8, 195, 196, 226, 196-197, 204-205, 216, 219-220, 252-253, 266 of Algeria, 177-185 223-224, 337-338 Guevara on, 153-154, 287 China on, 202 socialism linked with, 29-30 preparatory conference for, 202-203 of Tricontinentalism, 15-17, 37-38, 77 Soviet Union excluded from, 202-203 Barrientos, Rene, 298, 300-301 Westerner support for, 24-25, 88-89, 267-269 Baath Party, 28-29 Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas Batista, Fulgencio, 279-280 Battle of Dien Bien Phu, 117, 120-121, (LADLA), 44, 51–52 on Black labor, 56 157-158 communist parties and, 51 Bay of Pigs invasion, 61-62, 289-290, 306, dissolution of, 59-60 307-309, 310-311, 323 Bayo, Alberto, 282-283 ideological tendencies of, 48-49 on Indigenous peoples, 56 Belgrade Conference, 177-178 internationalism of, 49-60 Cuba at, 178-179 origins of, 44, 46, 50-52 Ben Barka, Mehdi, 31-32, 63-64, 73, 166, Anti-Imperialist Project, 4-5, 9-12, 16, 3 T T Ben Bella, Ahmed, 63-64, 143-144, global schisms in, 177-185 152-153, 166, 171-173, 177, 203, Tricontinentalism and, 25-32 296-297 apartheid, 141. See also anti-apartheid on colonialism, 163-165 movement coup against, 186-187 in South Africa, 65-66, 67 on Third Worldism, 163 Apartheid Committee, 139, 141 Tito and, 182-183 Berstein, Rusty, 156-157 Arafat, Yasser, 31-32, 94, 97-98, 102-104, Black Americans, 245-247, 106, 169-170 Arbenz Guzmán, Jacobo, 279-282 268-269, 270 Argentina, 298-299 OSPAAAL and, 67 armed struggle, 5-6, 15, 21, 72, 73, Black nationalism, 28-29, 272 Black Panthers, 21 153-154 Cabral on, 255 in Algeria, 186-187 in Cuban revolution, 205-206 Black Power movement, 24-25, 269, Guevara on, 285 270-271 Tricontinentalism on, 80-81, 212-213 black radicalism, 29-30 Asian-African Conference. See Bandung Bolivia, 80-81, 298-299, 301-302 Conference Guevara in, 298-301 Boumédiène, Houari, 33, 171-173, 177, al-Assad, Hafiz, 104 authoritarianism, 29, 89 183-184, 186-187, 203 Bouteflika, Abdelaziz, 171-172, 176-177, Baader-Meinhof Gang, 21, 107-108 183-184 Bandung Conference, 2, 5-6, 8-9, 11, 16, Brandt, Willy, 33-34 19-20, 44, 46, 59-60, 177-178, Brazil, 5-6 Brezhnev, Leonid, 209-210, 301, 338 198-199, 219 on decolonization, 30-31 BRICS group, 36-37 Brussels Congress, 47-48, 52-53, 55-56, DRV at, 119-120 historical accounts of, 9-12, 48 LAI and, 48 on imperialism, 49-50 Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 96-97 solidarity at, 9–10 Tricontinentalism contrasted with, 2-4, Buenos Aires, 58 5-6, 10-12, 62-63 Bundy, McGeorge, 230-231



Index 355

Cabo Verde, 249, 250, 252–253, 256–257 independence of, 273–274	Guevara in, 292–293 India relations with, 202
Cabral, Amílcar, 12, 21, 31–32, 65, 76,	on PLO, 105
184, 245–247, 315–316, 334, 335–336	on racial identity, 181, 182
on armed struggle, 255	on socialism, 195
Cubans and, 261–262, 315–316	at Tricontinental Conference, 208–215,
death of, 273–274	338
foreign policy of, 260	Tricontinentalism supported by, 18–19
as idol, 268–269	Vietnam at war with, 98, 104–105
on imperialism, 267–268	Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 194–195
Marxism of, 247–248, 253	Chinese Revolution, 194–195
on nationalism, 250–251	CIA. See Central Intelligence Agency
Pan-Africanism of, 270–271	Clerk Alaran da a a a a a a a
on racial identity, 266–273, 321	Clark, Akporode, 325, 326
on racism, 270–271	class consciousness, 52–53
on re-Africanisation, 250	and nationalism, 17–18, 126, 195,
on revolution, 261–266	225–226, 250
on self-determination, 253-254	and race, 58–59
on socialism, 248, 251–252, 253	class struggle, 58-59, 225-226
on solidarity, 247–248, 250	in DRV, 125-126, 137-138
on Soviet Union, 263–264	in Marxism, 137–138
on transnational struggle, 256–261	CMEA. See Council for Mutual Economic
on Tricontinentalism, 263–264, 274–275	Assistance
youth of, 249	Cold War, 4-5, 7-8, 38, 59-60, 108-109,
Cambodia, 94	330-331
capitalism, 26–27, 132–133, 263	challenges to, 24-25
Carlos the Jackal, 189	historiography of, 96-97
Castillo, Heberto, 76, 81	ideological stereotypes in, 71–72
Castro, Fidel, 1-2, 31-32, 75, 129,	NAM and, 72–74
143-144, 153-154, 161, 163-165,	Tricontinentalism in, 18-19
166, 172–173, 222, 223, 239–240,	Colombo Powers, 12
288, 301–302, 304	colonialism, 25-26, 49-50, 60-61,
Cabral and, 315–316	120–121, 224–225. See also
on China, 208	decolonization; neocolonialism;
on Cuba, 288–289	postcolonial theory
Guevara and, 278	Ben Bella on, 163–165
on mercenaries, 306, 312-313, 323-324	end of, 120–121
on Soviet Union, 301-302	Guevara on, 284–285
on Tricontinental Conference, 201–202	Coloured People's Congress, 145, 152
CCP. See Chinese Communist Party	Comintern, 26–28, 29–30, 50–51, 53–54,
Central Intelligence Agency, 235–236,	55, 59
279–280, 308–309	united-front approach of, 51-52
César Sandino, Augusto, 282–283	communism, 16-17, 26-27,
Charter of Algiers, 188-189	137, 180–181
Che. See Guevara, Che	factionalism in, 184
China, 2-4, 34-35, 36-37, 79. See also	Guevara on, 294-295
Sino-Soviet split	and internationalism of DRV, 124-136
on Bandung II, 202	in Soviet Union, 285-286
Castro on, 208	in Third World, 137-138,
Cuba and, 205-208	193, 261–266
DRV and, 116-117	after World War II, 193–194



356 Index

CONCP. See Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas Confederation of Latin American Labor Unions (CSLA), 58-59 Conference of Non-Aligned States, 107 Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP), 256-257, 272 Congo (Democratic Republic of), 2, 21-24, 153-154, 295-296, 298, 306, 309, 312-316 Guevara in, 314-315 United States involvement with, 31, 313-314, 315 Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism and for National Independence. See Brussels Congress Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, 327-328 Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), 301-302 CSLA. See Confederation of Latin American Labor Unions Cuba, 5-7, 21-24, 34-36, 46, 52-53 Algeria relations with, 166-177, 185-190 ANC and, 153-154 Angola and, 316-322 at Belgrade Conference, 178-179 Castro on, 288-289 China and, 205-208 FLN on, 171-172 foreign policy of, 240 FRG and, 82-90 GDR and, 82-90 Johnson on, 239 mercenaries and, 306 on NAM, 214, 327 national identity of, 75 PAIGC and, 261-262 racial identity in, 321-322 Sino-Soviet competition and, 205-208 socialism of, 84 solidarity of, with Algeria, 167-168 Soviet Union and, 62-63, 84-85, 201-202, 205-208, 291-292, 310-311, 343-344

on Tricontinentalism, 79-80 United States relations with, 61-62, 224, 240 Cuban Missile Crisis, 73, 84-85, 163-165, 166, 290-291, 311 Cuban Revolution, 63-64, 73, 74, 205-206, 221-222 armed struggled in, 205-206 Soviet Union on, 206 Cultural Revolution, 237-238 Czechoslovakia, 21-24, 264, 333-334 de Gaulle, Charles, 129-130 Debray, Régis, 283-284 decolonization, 10-12, 15-16, 141, 149, 176-178, 309 Bandung on, 30-31 of Latin America, 279 Portugal and, 273, 316 of South Africa, 146-147, 150-151 Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), 5-6, 73, 82-83, 113, 193-194 at Bandung Conference, 119-120 China and, 116-117 class struggle in, 137-138 communist internationalism of, 124-136 diplomacy struggle in, 115-124 foreign policy of, 125 France and, 116-117 Geneva accords and, 116-118 international community and, 115-124 Latin America influenced by, 134 PLO influenced by, 134 recognition of, 118 socialism of, 118-119, 122-123 successes of, 138 Third World engagement of, 122-123 United States opposed by, 125-126, 127 Deng Xiaoping, 97, 108-109 détente, 135 disarmament, 203-204, 209-210 Dobrynin, Anatoly, 289 Dominican Republic, 80-81 Dos Santos, Marcelino, 249 Dreke, Victor, 295, 321 DRV. See Democratic Republic of Vietnam DuBois, W. E. B., 25-26, 29-30, 118-119 Dutschke, Rudi, 88-89

at Tricontinental Conference, 208-215



Index 357

Egypt, 97-98, 184-185, 199, 213 Israel relations with, 98 Egypt-Israeli Peace Treaty, 104-105 Ethiopia, 123-124, 326-327 Fanon, Frantz, 12, 21, 31-32, 73, 247-248, 264-265, 293-295 Farah, Abdulrahim, 139-141, 143, 144, 147, 155-156 Fateh, 169-170, 175-176 Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), 72 Tricontinental and, 82-90 Fernández, Jose Santiago Cuba, 323 FLN. See Front de Libération Nationale FNLA. See Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola Foco Theory, 88-89, 283-284, 299-300, 301-302 France, DRC and, 116-117 Freedom Charter (1955), 145, 146-147, 149-150 FRELIMO. See Frente de Libertação de Moçambique Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), 256-257, 316-317 Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA), 257-259, 316-317, 318-319 Frente Revolucionario Democrático (FRD), 308-309 FRG. See Federal Republic of Germany Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), 143-144, 149, 256, 293-294 on Cuba, 170, 171-172 Mandela on, 151-152 military stylings of, 171-172 G-77, 33, 37-38, 188-189, 327 Gadea, Hilda, 279-280 Gandhi, Mahatma, 28-29, 144 Garvey, Marcus, 28-29 Gaza, 106, 200-201 GDR. See German Democratic Republic Geneva accords, DRV in, 116-118 Geneva Convention, 323 Additional Protocols to, 325 German Democratic Republic (GDR), 72 Tricontinental and, 82-90 Ghana, 5-6, 63-64, 148-150, 152-153

Global South, 14-15 defining, 38 Global North vs., 17 guerrilla warfare in, 276-278 resistance in, 45 solidarity of, 16, 25-26, 34-35 Western hegemony critiqued by, 163 Gramsci, Antonio, 73 Grand Mosque siege, 101-102 Granma, 60-61, 283-284 Great Leap Forward, 199 Gromyko, Andrei, 203 Guerrero, Xavier, 51-52 guerrilla warfare, 151-152 of ANC, 154-155 in Global South, 276-278 Guevara on, 154-155, 238, 276-278 Mao on, 282-283 Guevara, Ernesto "Che," 12, 21, 31-32, 60-61, 65, 73-74, 82, 88-89, 103, 143-144, 174-175, 182, 206-207, 245-247 in Algeria, 173–174, 293–294 on anti-imperialism, 153-154, 287 on armed struggle, 285 assassination of, 80-81 in Bolivia, 298-301 Cabral and, 261-262 Castro and, 278 in China, 292-293 on colonialism, 284-285 on communism, 294-295 in Congo, 314-315 death of, 238-239, 277, 301, 340-341 on economic planning, 286-287 education of, 279 on foreign investment, 286-287 in Guatemala, 279-282 on guerrilla warfare, 154-155, 238, 276-278 on imperialism, 291-292 on internationalism, 284, 302-303 Latin American revolution and, 283–287 legacy of, 301-303 in Mexico City, 282-283 OSPAAAL and, 276-278 on revolution, 73-74, 282 on Soviet Union, 278, 285-286, 288-293 on Third World, 288-293

Global North

defining, 38

Global South vs., 17



More Information

358 Index

Guevara, Ernesto "Che," (cont.) on United States, 280 on Vietnam, 129 on world revolution, 293-298 Habash, George, 102 Hague Convention, 323 Hallstein Doctrine, 88 Hamas, 106 Hani, Chris, 155, 158-159, 160-161 on Tambo, 155, 158-159 Havana, 75, 84-85, 179-180 Havana Conference. See Tricontinental Conference Hezbollah, 105-106, 339 Ho Chi Minh, 115-118, 122-123 coup against, 124 nationalism of, 126 Hoare, Mike, 313-314 Huynh Kim Khanh, 136 identity politics, 19-20, 36, 102, 251-252 imperialism, 2-4, 48-49, 81-82, 335-336. See also anti-imperialism Brussels Congress on, 49-50 Cabral on, 267-268 Guevara on, 291-292 inequality and, 263 Lenin, V. I. on, 49-51, 60-61 mercenarism as, 329 India, 12 China relations with, 202 independence of, 30-31 Indian National Congress, 25-26, 145 indigenous peoples, 54-55 LADLA on, 56 Indochina, 116-117 Indochina War, 115. See also Vietnam War Indonesia, 5-6 Indo-Pakistani War, 341 International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa and the Portuguese Colonies, 265-266 International Court of Justice, 150-151 international law, mercenaries and, 322-329

Guevara on, 284, 302-303 of LADLA, 49-60 nationalist, 12 in self-determination, 53-54 internationalist fighters, 330-331 in Congo, 312-316 defining, 312-313 solidarity of, 313 Intifada, 106 IPC. See International Preparatory Committee of the Tricontinental Iran, 36 Iranian revolution, 36, 99-100, 101-102 Iraq, 33 Islam, 36 Islamic Conference of Asia and Africa, 202-203 Islamic Jihad, 105-106 Israel, 97-98 Egypt relations with, 98 Palestine occupied by, 106

Jagan, Cheddi, 81 jihadism, 101 Jim Crow laws, 66–67 Johnson, Lyndon, 131–132, 235–236 on Cuba, 239 on Latin America, 230–231 Junco, Sandalio, 58–59

Kabila, Laurent, 295-296

Kasa-Vubu, Joseph, 314–315
Katanga, 309, 320
Kaunda, Kenneth, 152–153, 155, 158–159
Kennedy, John F., 163–166, 172, 185–186, 286–287, 308–309
Khilafat, 28–29
Khomeini, Ayatollah, 36, 99–100, 108, 339
Khrushchev, Nikita, 172–173, 206–208, 264–265, 290–291
Komer, Robert, 165–166
Korean War, 133
Kosygin, Aleksei, 209–210
Kouyaté, Garan, 29–30, 86–88

LADLA. See Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas LAI. See League Against Imperialism Latin American Confederation of Labor, 58 Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS), 79, 226, 238, 241

International Preparatory Committee (IPC)

of the Tricontinental, 65-66, 78

International War Crimes Tribunal, 130

communist, of DRV, 124-136

internationalism, 52, 136



Index 359

United States on, 238-239, 240 mercenaries Le Duan, 31-32, 125, 130, 132-133, 137 in Angola, 316-322 Marxism of, 126, 127-128 Castro on, 306, 312-313, on Soviet Union, 133-134 323-324 on United States, 127-128, 131 in Congo, 312-316 Le Duc Tho, 125-126 Cuba and, 306 League Against Imperialism (LAI), 15-16, as imperialism, 329 international law and, 322-329 27-28, 30-31, 44, 67-68, 338-339 Bandung Conference and, 48 opposition to, 307-308 foundation of, 47-48, 54 shifting role of, 308 ideological fluidity of, 54 Tricontinentalism and, 308-311 inaugural conference, 48 United Nations on, 326 Lebanese Civil War, 99, 104 United States using, 309 Lebanon, 94 Mexican Revolution, 49-50, 52 Lenin, V. I., 26-27, 73, 193 Middle East. See also specific countries conflict in, 99-102 on imperialism, 49-51, 60-61 Liberation Committee of Organization for violence in, 101-102 African Unity, 149-150, 152, 260-261 Mikoyan, Anastas, 206 El Libertador, 51-52, 53-54, 56-58 militancy. See also armed struggle of AAPSO, 216-218 Liu Ningyi, 199 Lu Dingyi, 194-195 of Tricontinentalism, 15, 33-34, Luanda Trial, 318, 324-325 332-333 Lumumba, Patrice, 261, 309, 313-314 MNR. See Movimiento Nacionalista assassination of, 295 Revolucionario Lusaka Manifesto, 155 Monje, Mario, 299-300 Monrovia Group, 34-35 Luthuli, Albert, 147 Moore, Richard B., 55-56 Macmillan, Harold, 147 Morogoro, 155-157, 160-161 Madhubuti, Haki Moshi conference, 201-202, 206-207 Mandela, Nelson, 67, 147, 149–150 Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), 298, 299-300, 304 on Algeria, 149 arrest of, 150-152 Mozambique, 94, 134, 168-169 on FLN, 151-152 MPLA. See People's Movement for the Mao Zedong, 12, 21, 73, 84, 97, 103, 133, Liberation of Angola Mujahideen, 108, 339 181, 194-195, 245-247 Münzenberg, Willi, 44 on guerrilla warfare, 282-283 on Soviet Union, 290-291 Maoism, 18-19, 125, 137-138, 180-181, NAM. See Non-Aligned Movement Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 31-32, 61-62, 78, 225-226, 302 Mariátegui, José Carlos, 58-59, 73 97-98, 102, 177-178, 182, 199, 213, Marxism, 12, 26-28, 62-63, 69, 73, 125, 228-229 225-226, 266, 300-301 National Liberation Front (NLF) of South of Cabral, 247-248, 253 Vietnam, 158-159 nationalism, 153-154 class struggle in, 137-138 of Le Duan, 126, 127–128 Black, 28-29 in Third World, 102 Cabral on, 250-251 of Tricontinentalism, 16-17 fascist, 89 Massemba-Débat, Alphonse, 174-175 of Ho Chi Minh, 126 of Nkrumah, 145-146 Matthews, Joe, 155, 156-157 Mella, Julio Antonio, 46, 51-52 subaltern, 89 Mendy, François, 252-253, 259 Third World, 119-120



360 Index

NATO. See North Atlantic Treaty Organization natural resources of Algeria, 188-189 nationalization of, 33-34 Nazi Germany, 29 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 27-29, 30-31, 44, 118, 145, 177-178, 195-196 neocolonialism, 2, 70, 153-154, 203-204, 308, 337 opposition to, 15-16 transnational war against, 158 of United States, 309 neo-imperialism, 174-175 neoliberalism, 36-37 Neto, Agostinho, 249, 253, 295-296, 316-317 New Development Bank, 36-37 New International Economic Order (NIEO), 33, 189, 302-303 New Left, 21, 267-268 Ngo Dinh Diem, 117 Nguyen Chi Thanh, 125 NIEO. See New International Economic Order Nkrumah, Kwame, 21, 32, 63-64, 143-144, 152-153, 177, 228-229, 247-248, 264-265, 336-337 nationalism of, 145-146 Pan-Africanism of, 146-147 NLF. See National Liberation Front Nokwe, Duma, 156-157 Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), 8-9, 10-12, 19-20, 46, 71, 120, 152-153, 163-165, 166, 167-168, 182, 196-197, 312, 326-327 Cold War and, 72-74 Cuba on, 214, 327 founding of, 177-178 Tricontinentalism on, 333-334 nonstate movements, in Tricontinentalism, 20-21 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 72, 80-81, 88-89, 129-130, 245 North Vietnam. See Democratic Republic of Vietnam Nujoma, Sam, 67

OAS. See Organization of American States OAU. See Organization of African Unity October Crisis. See Cuban Missile Crisis October Revolution. See Russian Revolution OLAS. See Latin American Solidarity Organization OPEC, 33-34, 189, 341-342 Operation Condor, 302 Organization of African Unity (OAU), 80-81, 123-124, 149-150, 153-154, 260, 314-315. See also Liberation Committee of Organization for African Unity Organization of American States (OAS), 61-62, 221-222, 227, 232, 323, 336-337 African Americans and, 67 on OSPAAAL, 234 Radio Havana on, 230-231 Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL), 3, 6-7, 19, 43-44, 68, 84, 213, 236-238, 239, 339 on Black labor, 67-68 constitution of, 79 ephemera of, 345 formation of, 46-48, 60-61, 129-130, 180-181 Guevara and, 276-278 ideological tendencies of, 48-49, 64 leadership of, 62 logo, 70 OAS on, 234 propaganda arms of, 65 role of, 241 on solidarity, 114 Tricontinentalism and, 60-68 United States on, 234-235, 240 Ottoman Empire, 25-26 PAC. See Pan-African Conference Padmore, George, 29-30 PAIGC. See Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde Pakistan, 101 Palestine, 2, 163-165

Israeli occupation of, 106

Tricontinental Movement support for, 95

Nyerere, Julius, 201-202



Index 361

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO),	Portugal, 94, 257, 259–260, 265
1-2, 94, 97-98, 106, 107-108, 326,	decolonization and, 273, 316
339	imperial collapse, 159-160, 255,
China on, 105	256-257, 316-317
DRV influence on, 134	postcolonial theory, 94-96
emergence of, 102	Tricontinental Conference and, 90
secular nature of, 103–104	<i>Pravda</i> , 209–211, 301
Palme, Olof, 273	Purna Swaraj, 27–28
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), 146-147	
ANC conflict with, 148-150	racial identity, 29-30, 252-253, 254-255
Pan-African Conference, 25-26	Cabral on, 266-273, 321
Pan-African Socialism, 145-146	China on, 181, 182
Pan-Africanism, 12-13, 25-26, 29-30, 32,	in Cuba, 321-322
123-124, 139, 166, 245-247,	solidarity and, 321
254-255, 274-275	in Tricontinentalism, 19-20
of Cabral, 270–271	racism, 49, 56, 67-68, 144, 223-224,
of Nkrumah, 146–147	251-252
solidarity, 260–261	Cabral on, 270–271
Panama Canal, 55	opposition to, 19-20, 54-55, 56,
Pan-Arab movement, 28–29, 97–98, 102	271-272
Pan-Asianism, 25-26	Rashidov, Sharaf, 210, 229
Pan-Islamism, 25–26	Rebel Armed Forces of Guatemala (FAR),
Partido Africano da Independência da	I-2
Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC),	Red Cross, 326
245-247, 248, 250, 251-252,	religious identity
254-255, 256-260, 261, 266, 268,	revolution and, 102
315-316	in Third World, 102
Cuba and, 261–262	violence and, 94
Soviet Union and, 264–265	Renmin Ribao (newspaper), 211
support for, 268–269, 271–272	revolutions, 105-106. See also specific
Third Worldism and, 263–264	topics
Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT),	Cabral on, 261–266
279-280	as cultural symbols, 45
Partido Nacional, 88	Guevara on, 73–74, 282
Paz Estenssoro, Victor, 298	nationalist, 249–256
peaceful coexistence, 9–10, 31–32, 77,	religious identity and, 102
118-119, 225-226	secular, 103–104, 108–109
	in Third World, 94,
Chinese opposition to, 133, 178–179, 180–181, 195–196	233, 261–266
Soviet Union on, 195, 209–210,	Tricontinentalism on, 164, 180–181
212-213 Pahing Panigu (poweroper)	world, 113–115, 285, 293–298 Rhodesia, 156–157
Peking Review (newspaper), 211	
People's Movement for the Liberation of	Rivera, Diego, 51–53, 118–119
Angola (MPLA), 206–207, 295–296,	Rivonia Trial, 150–151
317, 322–323, 326–327	Robeson, Paul, 118–119
Peru, 231	Rusk, Dean, 223, 227–228, 231, 235,
PGT. See Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo	236–237
Pham Hung, 125	on Soviet Union, 232
Pinto de Andrade, Mário, 249	Russell, Bertrand, 80–81, 130
Playa Girón. See Bay of Pigs invasion	Russian Revolution, 49–50, 194–195
PLO. See Palestine Liberation Organization	Cabral on, 263–264



362 Index

SACP. See South African Communist Party al-Sadat, Anwar, 61-62, 97-98, 104 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 118-119 Saudi Arabia, 100, 101 SAVAK, 99-100 Savimbi, Joseph, 318 El Sebai, Youssef, 63-64 Second Afro-Asian Conference, 203-205 Second Afro-Asian Summit, 166 segregation, 25-26, 58-59 self-determination, 7, 15, 71, 312-313, 321-322 of Black labor, 58 Cabral on, 253-254 economic (sovereignty), 33, 302-303 internationalism in, 7-8, 53-54 Senghor, Lamine, 27-28, 44, 55-56 Serguera, Jorge, 63-64, 172-173, 174-175 Sharpeville Massacre, 143-144, 147, 149-150 Shijie Zhishi (journal), 211-212 al-Siba'i, Yusuf, 228-229 Simba rebellion, 320 Sinai Interim Agreement, 98 Sino-Soviet split, 63, 64, 77, 78, 82-83, 94-96, 97, 104-105, 122-123, 133-134, 159, 177-178, 180-181, 194-195, 237-238, 333-334, 343 AAPSO and, 196-197, 198-199 Afro-Asianism and, 197-205 Cuba and, 205-208 Sipolio Campaign, 155, 156-157 Six Day War, 213, 340-341 Sixth Pan-African Congress, 20–21 Slovo, Joe, 156-157 Sobukwe, Robert, 146-147, 148-149 socialism, 2-4, 29, 113-115 anti-imperialism linked with, 29-30 Cabral on, 248, 251-252, 253 China on possibility of, 195 of Cuba, 84 of DRV, 118-119, 122-123 modernization under, 5 scientific, 185-186, 264-265 in Third World, 195-196 Tricontinentalism on, 17-18 after World War II, 193-194 Soldier of Fortune (magazine), 319, 321 solidarity, 4-5, 24-25, 34-35, 89-90, 171-172, 179-180, 257-259

ANC on, 156-160, 161 Bandung vision of, 10-12 Cabral on, 247-248, 250, 256-257, 261-262 Cuban-Algerian, 167-168 of Global South, 16, 25-26, 34-35 of internationalist fighters, 313, 315 OSPAAAL on, 114 Pan-African, 260-261, 321 racial identity and, 321 Third World, 103-104, 108, 166 of Tricontinentalism, 13-14, 15-16, 66-67, 80-81, 144, 235-236, 247-248, 293-294, 330, 337 Western, 90, 158-159, 266-273 South Africa, 6-7, 49, 120-121, 144. See also African National Congress apartheid in, 65-66, 67 decolonization of, 146-147, 150-151 liberation struggle in, 143 South African Communist Party (SACP), 146-147, 152, 155-156 South African Congress of Trade Unions, 145, 149-150 Soviet Union, 2-4, 5, 132-133. See also Sino-Soviet split Afghanistan and, 100-101 Bandung Conference II excluding, 202-203 Cabral on, 263-264 Castro on, 301-302 communism in, 285-286 Cuba and, 62-63, 84-85, 201-202, 205-208, 291-292, 310-311, 343-344 on Cuban revolution, 206 Guevara on, 278, 285-286, 288-293 Le Duan on, 133-134 Mao on, 290-291 PAIGC and, 264-265 on peace, 209-210, 212-213 Rusk on, 232 at Tricontinental Conference, 208-215, on Tricontinentalism, 17, 18-19, 82 United States relations with, 96-97, 135 Vietnam and, 211-212 Soviet-Afghan war, 101-102 Subject People's Conference, 29-30 Suez Canal, nationalization of, 199



Index 363

Suez Crisis, 31 on armed struggle, 212-213 Sukarno, 31-32, 59-60 Castro on, 201-202 Sunni, 100 China at, 208-215, 338 Syria, 97-98 counterproductivity of, 236-241 Cuba at, 208-215 declassified documents of, 76 Tambo, Oliver, 67, 147, 151, 152, delegations at, 20-21 154-155, 158-159, 160-161 Hani and, 155, 158-159 emergence of, 46 Tanzania (Tanganyika), 201–202 hosting of, 179-180 Tet Offensive, 102-103, Latin American representation at, 187-188, 235-236 131-133 objectives of, 335-336, 338-339 Third World, 2, 4-5, 169-170. See also Global South organization of, 296-297, autonomy of, 5 311, 332 postcolonial theory and, 90 communism in, 137-138, 193, 2.61-2.66 practical results of, 224-226 DRV engagement with, 122-123 proposals for, 179 Guevara on, 288-293 Soviet Union at, 208-215, 338 Marxism in, 102 United States on, 216-218, 224-226, nationalism, 119-120 236-241, 343-344 Tricontinental Organization, 79, 88-89, nationalist internationalism in, 12 pride movements, 21 213, 223-224 religious identity in, 102 Tricontinentalism, 1-2, 4-5, 6-7, 13-14, revolutions in, 14-25, 94, 134, 233, 68, 74-82, 86-88 261-266 allegiances of, 19 secular left-wing revolutions in, 94 ANC and, 161-162 socialism in, 195-196 Anti-Imperial Project and, 25-32 solidarity, 103-104, 108 anti-imperialism of, 15-17, United Nations and, 120 37-38, 77 United States and, 219-220 on armed revolution, 80-81 Western hegemony challenged by, Bandung Conference contrasted with, 336-337 62-63 Third Worldism, 113-115, 137-138, Cabral on, 263-264, 165-166, 332-333, 341-342 274-275 Algeria and, 166 challenges faced by, 274 Ben Bella on, 163 China support for, 18-19 PAIGC and, 263-264 in Cold War, 18-19 superpowers and, 214-215 conflict in, 221-224 Cuba on, 79-80 Tito, Josip Broz, 178–179, 181, 193–194, defining, 38, 43-44, 341 195-196 emergence of, 2, 31-32 Ben Bella and, 182-183 Touré, Sékou, 257, 259, factionalism and, 184, 343 failures of, 237-238 264-265 Tricontinental (publication), 3, 65 as framework, 12-13 Tricontinental Bulletin, 65, 66-67 FRG and, 82-90 Tricontinental Conference, 1-4, 5-6, GDR and, 82-90 historiography of, 7-14 14-15, 22-23, 39, 60, 64, 66, 72, 75, 77, 86, 151-152, 159, 166, 168, iconography of, 246 ideological principles of, 72 177-178, 182-183, 220, 233-234 on AAPSO, 218 impact of, 21-24, 344-345 ANC at, 153-154 institutionalization of, 184-185



364 Index

Tricontinentalism (cont.) containment strategies of, 107 limitations of, 32-39, 343-344 counteroffensive of, 227-236, 302, Marxism of, 16-17 343-344 mercenaries and, 308-311 Cuba relations with, 61-62, 224, 240 militant nature of, 15, 33-34, DRV opposition to, 125-126, 127 economic leverage of, 235-236 332-333 on NAM, 333-334 Guevara on, 280 nonstate movements in, 20-21 Le Duan on, 127-128, 131 OSPAAAL and, 60-68 mercenary force used by, 309 Palestine support in, 95 Mexico and, 52-53 political power of, 24-25 neocolonialism of, 309 racial identity in, 19-20 on OLAS, 238-239, 240 on OSPAAAL, 234-235, 240 as rebel movement, 69 reformism vs., 5 Soviet Union relations with, 96-97, 135 Third World and, 219-220 on revolutions, 164, 180-181 on socialism, 17-18 on Tricontinental Conference, 216-218, 224-226, 236-241, 343-344 solidarity of, 247-248 Soviet Union on, 17, 18-19, 82 Uruguay, 88, 230-231 support for, 140 Uzbek Communist Party, 210 as worldview, 7, 12-13 Uzbekistan, 229 Trotsky, Leon, 73, 193 Truong Chinh, 121-122, Venezuela, 33-34 Venezuelan National Liberation Front, 133-134 Tshombe, Moishe, 182, 309, 172-173 Verwoerd, Hendrik, 147, 147-149, 155 313-315 Viet Cong, 20-21, 128, 131-132 Tunisia, 105-106, 171-172 Vietnam, 2, 6-7, 24-25, UF. See United Front 35-36. See also Democratic Republic of Ulbricht, Walter, 83 Vietnam China at war with, 98, 104-105 uMkhonto weSizwe, 143, 149, 151, 158 Guevara on, 129 UN. See United Nations UN Conference on Trade and Development Soviet Union and, 211-212 (UNCTAD), 33, 188-189, 287, Vietnam War, 102-103, 318, 336 Vietnamese revolution, 136 União Nacional para a Independência Total Vietnamese Worker's Party (VWP), de Angola (ŪNITA), 316–317, 318 116-117, 121-122, 123-124, 132-133 United Arab Republic, 78, 79, 97-98 coup, 124 violence, 7 United Front (UF), 147-149 United Fruit Company, 55, 280-282 ANC and, 152-156, United Nations, 15, 94, 145, 161, 227, 157-158 in Middle East, 101-102 245-247, 312 Additional Protocols of 1977, 327-328 religion and, 94 General Assembly, 103-104 Vivo, Raul Valdes, 306, 318, 321, on mercenaries, 326 323-324 Vorster, John, 155 Security Council, 232 Third World and, 120 VWP. See Vietnamese Worker's Party United States, 5, 49 on AAPSO, 223 Wankie campaign, 155, 156-157 Warsaw Pact, 72 Algeria relations with, 174-175 Cabral in, 245 Weathermen, 302

West Bank, 106

in Congo, 313-314, 315



Index 365

World War II, 193-194

(ZANU), 174-175

Western hegemony, 26–27, 71
Global South critiquing, 163
Third World challenge to, 336–337
Williams, Robert F., 66
Wilsonian Moment, 28–29
Wolfe, Bertram, 51–52,
54–55
World Council of Churches, 271–272
World Federation of Democratic Youth, 77
World Peace Council (WPC), 63, 118–119,
196–197, 200–201, 213–214
operation of, 197–198
World Trade Organization, 189
World War I, 26–27

WPC. See World Peace Council

Yugoslavia, 184, 205–206,
284–285

Zambia, 36–37, 139, 151, 152–153, 155–156

ZANU. See Zimbabwean African National
Union
Zhou Enlai, 131,
198–199, 203

Zimbabwe, 155

Zimbabwean African National Union