

## 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, 91

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

- Cabo Verde, 249, 250, 252–253, 256–257  
 independence of, 273–274
- Cabral, Amílcar, 12, 21, 31–32, 65, 76,  
 184, 245–247, 315–316, 334, 335–336  
 on armed struggle, 255  
 Cubans and, 261–262, 315–316  
 death of, 273–274  
 foreign policy of, 260  
 as idol, 268–269  
 on imperialism, 267–268  
 Marxism of, 247–248, 253  
 on nationalism, 250–251  
 Pan-Africanism of, 270–271  
 on racial identity, 266–273, 321  
 on racism, 270–271  
 on re-Africanisation, 250  
 on revolution, 261–266  
 on self-determination, 253–254  
 on socialism, 248, 251–252, 253  
 on solidarity, 247–248, 250  
 on Soviet Union, 263–264  
 on transnational struggle, 256–261  
 on Tricontinentalism, 263–264, 274–275  
 youth of, 249
- Cambodia, 94
- capitalism, 26–27, 132–133, 263
- Carlos the Jackal, 189
- Castillo, Heberto, 76, 81
- Castro, Fidel, 1–2, 31–32, 75, 129,  
 143–144, 153–154, 161, 163–165,  
 166, 172–173, 222, 223, 239–240,  
 288, 301–302, 304  
 Cabral and, 315–316  
 on China, 208  
 on Cuba, 288–289  
 Guevara and, 278  
 on mercenaries, 306, 312–313, 323–324  
 on Soviet Union, 301–302  
 on Tricontinental Conference, 201–202
- CCP. *See* Chinese Communist Party
- Central Intelligence Agency, 235–236,  
 279–280, 308–309
- César Sandino, Augusto, 282–283
- Charter of Algiers, 188–189
- Che. *See* Guevara, Che
- China, 2–4, 34–35, 36–37, 79. *See also*  
 Sino-Soviet split  
 on Bandung II, 202  
 Castro on, 208  
 Cuba and, 205–208  
 DRV and, 116–117
- Guevara in, 292–293
- India relations with, 202
- on PLO, 105
- on racial identity, 181, 182
- on socialism, 195
- at Tricontinental Conference, 208–215,  
 338
- Tricontinentalism supported by, 18–19
- Vietnam at war with, 98, 104–105
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 194–195
- Chinese Revolution, 194–195
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- Cienfuegos, Osmany, 63–64, 213
- Clark, Akporode, 325, 326
- class consciousness, 52–53  
 and nationalism, 17–18, 126, 195,  
 225–226, 250  
 and race, 58–59
- class struggle, 58–59, 225–226  
 in DRV, 125–126, 137–138  
 in Marxism, 137–138
- CMEA. *See* Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
- Cold War, 4–5, 7–8, 38, 59–60, 108–109,  
 330–331
- challenges to, 24–25
- historiography of, 96–97
- ideological stereotypes in, 71–72
- NAM and, 72–74
- Tricontinentalism in, 18–19
- Colombo Powers, 12
- colonialism, 25–26, 49–50, 60–61,  
 120–121, 224–225. *See also*  
 decolonization; neocolonialism;  
 postcolonial theory
- Ben Bella on, 163–165
- end of, 120–121
- Guevara on, 284–285
- Coloured People's Congress, 145, 152
- Comintern, 26–28, 29–30, 50–51, 53–54,  
 55, 59
- united-front approach of, 51–52
- communism, 16–17, 26–27,  
 137, 180–181
- factionalism in, 184
- Guevara on, 294–295
- and internationalism of DRV, 124–136
- in Soviet Union, 285–286
- in Third World, 137–138,  
 193, 261–266
- after World War II, 193–194

- CONCP. *See* Conferência das Organizações  
 Nacionalistas das Colônias  
 Portuguesas
- Confederation of Latin American Labor  
 Unions (CSLA), 58–59
- Conference of Non-Aligned States, 107
- Conferência das Organizações  
 Nacionalistas das Colônias  
 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  
 at Tricontinental Conference, 208–215  
 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

- 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 North  
 defining, 38  
 Global South vs., 17
- 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

- 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  
   mercenaryism 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  
 International Preparatory Committee (IPC)  
   of the Tricontinental, 65–66, 78  
 International War Crimes Tribunal, 130  
 internationalism, 52, 136  
   communist, of DRV, 124–136
- 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

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

- 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  
 Nyerere, Julius, 201–202  
 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



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

- 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,  
         338  
     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

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

- Tricontinentalism (cont.)  
 limitations of, 32–39, 343–344  
 Marxism of, 16–17  
 mercenaries and, 308–311  
 militant nature of, 15, 33–34, 332–333  
 on NAM, 333–334  
 nonstate movements in, 20–21  
 OSPAAAL and, 60–68  
 Palestine support in, 95  
 political power of, 24–25  
 racial identity in, 19–20  
 as rebel movement, 69  
 reformism vs., 5  
 on revolutions, 164, 180–181  
 on socialism, 17–18  
 solidarity of, 247–248  
 Soviet Union on, 17, 18–19, 82  
 support for, 140  
 as worldview, 7, 12–13  
 Trotsky, Leon, 73, 193  
 Truong Chinh, 121–122, 133–134  
 Tshombe, Moïse, 182, 309, 313–315  
 Tunisia, 105–106, 171–172
- UF. *See* United Front  
 Ulbricht, Walter, 83  
 uMkhonto weSizwe, 143, 149, 151, 158  
 UN. *See* United Nations  
 UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 33, 188–189, 287, 341–342  
 União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), 316–317, 318  
 United Arab Republic, 78, 79, 97–98  
 United Front (UF), 147–149  
 United Fruit Company, 55, 280–282  
 United Nations, 15, 94, 145, 161, 227, 245–247, 312  
 Additional Protocols of 1977, 327–328  
 General Assembly, 103–104  
 on mercenaries, 326  
 Security Council, 232  
 Third World and, 120  
 United States, 5, 49  
 on AAPSO, 223  
 Algeria relations with, 174–175  
 Cabral in, 245  
 in Congo, 313–314, 315  
 containment strategies of, 107  
 counteroffensive of, 227–236, 302, 343–344  
 Cuba relations with, 61–62, 224, 240  
 DRV opposition to, 125–126, 127  
 economic leverage of, 235–236  
 Guevara on, 280  
 Le Duan on, 127–128, 131  
 mercenary force used by, 309  
 Mexico and, 52–53  
 neocolonialism of, 309  
 on OLAS, 238–239, 240  
 on OSPAAAL, 234–235, 240  
 Soviet Union relations with, 96–97, 135  
 Third World and, 219–220  
 on Tricontinental Conference, 216–218, 224–226, 236–241, 343–344  
 Uruguay, 88, 230–231  
 Uzbek Communist Party, 210  
 Uzbekistan, 229
- Venezuela, 33–34  
 Venezuelan National Liberation Front, 172–173  
 Verwoerd, Hendrik, 147, 147–149, 155  
 Viet Cong, 20–21, 128, 131–132  
 Vietnam, 2, 6–7, 24–25, 35–36. *See also* Democratic Republic of Vietnam  
 China at war with, 98, 104–105  
 Guevara on, 129  
 Soviet Union and, 211–212  
 Vietnam War, 102–103, 318, 336  
 Vietnamese revolution, 136  
 Vietnamese Worker's Party (VWP), 116–117, 121–122, 123–124, 132–133  
 coup, 124  
 violence, 7  
 ANC and, 152–156, 157–158  
 in Middle East, 101–102  
 religion and, 94  
 Vivo, Raul Valdes, 306, 318, 321, 323–324  
 Vorster, John, 155  
 VWP. *See* Vietnamese Worker's Party
- Wankie campaign, 155, 156–157  
 Warsaw Pact, 72  
 Weathermen, 302  
 West Bank, 106

*Index*

365

- 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
- World War II, 193–194
- 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 (ZANU), 174–175