

## Marxism and Latin American Socialist Thoughts

The Three Continents Conference and the Construction of a Global System  
to Combat the Capitalist System\*

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Summary: In January 1966, the Three Continents Conference was held in Cuba. As the only Latin American country among the founding members of the "Non-Aligned Movement" and the only socialist country in the region, Cuba, located in the "backyard" of the United States, held such a meaningful conference. The broadly representative conference is of great significance. The conference was held at a time when the global anti-imperialist and anti-colonial movement was at its peak, and the conference for the first time advocated the expansion of the third world internationalist movement from Asia and Africa to Asia, Africa and Latin America, forming a revolutionary movement connecting three continents. coordination and political mobilization. This conference challenged capitalism in a more radical manner, calling on the third world to form a common anti-colonial and anti-hegemony strategy, and to carry out violent resistance against capitalist groups on a global scale. After the conference, the Asia The African and Latin American People's Solidarity Organization, coupled with the global spread of its official media "Three Continents" magazine, triggered another climax of third world internationalism, injected new impetus into the third world solidarity movement, and promoted the global anti-colonial and anti-hegemony movement. cause. The three-continent movement that was set off can be regarded as one of the origins of the concept of "Global South". Its criticism of the global plunder of capitalist powers and other issues influenced a series of subsequent progressive thoughts, leaving behind The precious legacy of anti-colonialism and anti-hegemony still has important practical significance today.

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The political climate and social soil have also created public opinion propaganda for Cuba to move onto the world stage. In 1960, after visiting Cuba, Hobsbawm said in a briefing to the International Committee of the British Communist Party: "The Castro government is now influenced by communism. influence, but communism has not yet achieved dominance." He encouraged people from all walks of life to visit Cuba and establish economic and trade relations with it to support the country. In 1960, when Castro went to the United States to attend the United Nations General Assembly, he worked with Malcolm X, the leader of the African-American civil rights movement in the United States, the two parties discussed U.S.-Cuba relations, racial discrimination faced by black Americans and other issues. Through meetings with leaders of various countries, civil rights activists and some counter-culture figures, as well as at the United Nations General Assembly In a 269-minute speech, Castro gradually became synonymous with anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. Encouraged by the victory of the Cuban revolution, a series of resistance struggles broke out in Latin America from Mexico in the north to Argentina in the south. This is especially true in Central America and the Caribbean near Cuba. The resurgence of local revolutionary waves in the 1970s and 1980s shifted the center of the Cold War in Latin America from South American powers to Central America and the Caribbean.

Third, with the failure of the "Operation Girona Beach" launched by American mercenaries, the United States resorted to diplomatic means in an attempt to subvert the Cuban revolutionary regime. The convening of the Three Continents Conference in Cuba can not only help Cuba break the diplomatic situation, but also help Asia and Africa. In 1961, at the Organization of American States (OAS) meeting in San Jose, the United States forced most Latin American countries to cut off diplomatic relations with Cuba. Only Mexico withstood the pressure and continued to maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba. Since then, Latin American countries have Exchanges with Cuba were mainly through unofficial revolutionary and progressive organizations. In the same year, Castro declared at a rally that the Cuban revolution "is a socialist revolution", officially clarifying his attitude. As a result, the U.S. blockade and embargo became The situation became more stringent, prompting Cuba to urgently need external support. In this new revolutionary stage, the focus of Cuba's foreign policy shifted to adhering to an anti-imperialist stance and developing relations with socialist countries. In April 1962, the Soviet Union affirmed Cuba 's Socialist nature. In this year, Cuba's trade with socialist countries accounted for its total trade. 4 The influence of the Cuban revolution has exceeded Latin America and the Caribbean.

The proportion of total GDP in the Western Hemisphere soared from 11% in 1959 to 825%, which had a worldwide impact. This impact had multiple dimensions such as politics, ideology and economy. In the years after the victory of the revolution, Cuba also He has hosted many international conferences to discuss with various countries how to carry out anti-colonial and anti-hegemonist struggles. In September 1960, communist parties and workers' parties from 15 Latin American countries gathered in Havana and issued a joint statement condemning the aggressive policy of the United States and affirming their commitment to defend the Cuban revolution. position. In January 1962, Havana hosted a conference of representatives of Latin American countries. At the conference, representatives of various countries reiterated their support for

University Press 2019 p 9  
 Mao Xianglin and Yang Jianmin: "Research on Cuban Socialism" Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2019,

The position of the Cuban revolution. In February, Cuba issued the "Second Havana Declaration", firmly believing that the world socialist revolution will surely win. At the same time, it also clearly stated that "the corpse of imperialism will not come to you on its own" emphasizing the initiative. The necessity of struggle. In 1966, the "collective imagination" that originally established the Third World anti-imperialist alliance gradually declined under the new geopolitical competition situation. However, Castro's conclusion was that "the sphere of influence of the United States is shrinking, not getting stronger day by day."

To a certain extent, the Three Continents Conference can be regarded as the recognition and support of the international community for the actions and results of the Cuban revolution. It is the result of the efforts of revolutionaries such as Castro and Che Guevara. Castro relied on his tough attitude towards imperialism and his charismatic leadership style has become synonymous with anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. The personal image of the revolutionary hero Che Guevara also has considerable appeal. His image began to spread around the world after the revolution and even during the revolution. Inspired countless revolutionaries. Members of the Venezuelan delegation said frankly: "We are following the revolutionary model and heroic commander Guevara."

#### Multiple issues under the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial tone

The Three Continents Conference was the fifth Asian-African Conference since the Bandung Conference in 1955. It was also at this conference that Latin American countries belonging to the Third World attended for the first time. In January 1966, representatives from Congo, Guinea, and South Africa. Left-wing representatives from 82 countries, including Angola, Vietnam, Syria, North Korea and Chile, gathered in Havana, the capital of Cuba, to participate in the Three Continents Conference. China also sent a delegation headed by Wu Xueqian to attend the conference. In addition to the 513 participants, in addition to the official representatives, there were 64 observers and 77 specially invited persons, including representatives of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Federation of Students. In addition, there were 129 journalists from various countries, including Salvador Allende, who later became the president of Chile, and the Guinea-Bissau rebels. Celebrities from all walks of life, including colonial revolutionary Amílcar Cabral and Peruvian writer and Nobel Prize winner Mario Vargas Llosa. On January 4, the meeting officially began. The first part of the meeting was the plenary session, which was held within three days. The heads of each delegation addressed all participants. The second stage of the conference was group discussions from the 7th to the 12th.

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- Written by Mao Xianglin and Yang Jianmin: «Research on Cuban Socialism» Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2019, page 338. See the text of the declaration. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1962castro.asp> [2022-07-26] Vijay Prashad: The Darker Natures: A People's History of the Third World New York: The New York University Press, 2013
  - Fidel Castro speech database held by the University of Texas at Austin, USA <https://www.fidelcastro.net/>
  - In September 1960, Castro gave a 269-minute speech at the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly. Douglas Kellner: Ernesto Che Guevara (World Leaders Past and Present Series 2) New York: Chelsea House Publications 1988 p 90





people's revolutionary ideals.

(2) Strengthen horizontal connections in the third world.

As one of the largest anti-imperialist and anti-colonial rallies in modern and contemporary history, the goal of the conference is to include Latin America on the basis of existing Asian-African solidarity, so as to realize the integration of the three continents. Great Unity. Compared with the Bandung Conference, this conference challenged capitalism in a more radical manner, calling on the third world to form a common anti-colonial and anti-hegemony strategy, and to carry out violent resistance against capitalist groups on a global scale. The participating representatives jointly condemned imperialism and old and new colonialism through their respective speeches, and called for the promotion of revolutionary internationalism and more international cooperation. Cabral said in his speech: "When your house is on fire the drum is useless. In other words, we cannot just shout and curse at imperialism, but we must take up arms and fight. We are doing this and will continue to do so in the future until the rule of imperialism and the shackles will completely disappear." The Chinese delegation also called on the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America to join hands to "remove all obstacles on the way forward and welcome a new Asia, a new Africa and a new Latin America without imperialism and old and new colonialism." Vietnamese representative The speech by Tran Danh Tuyen was particularly eye-catching. At that time, Vietnam was facing a head-on confrontation with a large number of U.S. troops on its own territory. Whether it was Cuba, which was resisting the Batista dictatorship, or Angola, which was resisting the Portuguese colonial government, the degree of difficulty and the scale of the struggle were great. None of them can be compared with the

Anti-American War in Vietnam. The Three Continents Conference also discussed the issue of racial inequality that is closely related to anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism. The delegates supported the patriotic struggle of Cuba and other Latin American countries and opposed US imperialism and its tool America. National organizations call for the elimination of Western military bases on three continents and the abolition of various military treaties, because the majority of third world people, as "colored people", are generally discriminated against by Western society. This is also the third world revolution surpassing European communism. The location of the socialist revolution. As the American black civil rights activist William Edward Burghardt Du Bois said, "The most serious problem in the world in the 20th century is the existence of the 'color line.'" Guevara condemned in his letter issues of racial discrimination, especially the apartheid system in South Africa

Manuel Barcia "Locking Horns with the North and Empire: Anti-American Imperialism at the Three Continents Conference of 1966 in Havana" in Journal of Transatlantic Studies Vol 7 No 3 2009 pp 208-217 Cabral on "The Weapons of Theory" (The Weapon of Theory)'s speech, please see <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1966/weapon-theory.htm> [2022-06-15] «Wu Xueqian, the head of our delegation, at the Three Continents Solidarity Conference in Asia, Africa and Latin America Speech on "People's Daily", January 7, 1966 Fifth edition // [www.marxists.com/subject/africa/cabral/19660107/5](http://www.marxists.com/subject/africa/cabral/19660107/5) [2022-07-15]







In addition to proletarian internationalism led by the Soviet Union, it injected new impetus into the Third World Solidarity Movement. Cuba is close to the United States, and the struggle is particularly difficult. It must seek alliances internationally. As Castro later stated in his speech, Cuba is "The struggle against imperialism in the ideological field was carried out under special circumstances "y. The Three Continents Conference held in Cuba undoubtedly brought a new look to the development of the internationalist movement. It continued the spirit of the Bandung Conference and became more determined and radical. Nasser's demands issued a battle cry against imperialist global hegemony and were of profound significance to Cuba and the global revolution. Nasser hoped to hold the second Asian-African People's Solidarity Organization in Cairo in 1968, the tenth anniversary of the first meeting of the Asian-African People's Solidarity Organization. However, due to Israel's defeat of the coalition forces of Egypt, Syria and Jordan in the third Middle East War in 1967, the plan was ultimately aborted. Therefore, this Asia-Africa-Latin America Conference became the only three-continent solidarity conference. Considering the geography of Cuba, location, the international background of the global Cold War and the scale of the Three Continents Conference, as well as slogans such as "all countries should provide each other with economic and military support." The hostility and pressure felt by the United States can be

imagined. (2) The significance of convening the Three Continents

Conference in Cuba As Cuba is the frontline of anti-imperialism, holding this conference in Cuba had a direct and strong impact on the United States.

Shocking and shocking, it has at least three meanings.

First of all, this conference established a three-continent solidarity mechanism - the Asian, African and Latin American People's Solidarity Organization, whose purpose is to establish a common struggle plan against imperialism and "simultaneously stabilize, strengthen and coordinate the unity that should exist among the peoples of the three continents" Militant unity serves as a 'bridge' in the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and promotes cooperation across races and countries."y Take Cuba's neighbor Dominica as an example. After the three continents meeting, the U.S. intelligence agency discovered that the Dominican Communist Party (PCD) has quickly moved closer to Cuba in terms of revolutionary activities. The United States has judged that the country may have become an important link in the Havana-Moscow alliance. The two countries will strongly support the Dominican guerrilla war struggle. y Guevara called for the creation of multiple countries around the world The slogan "Vietnam" appeared in the "Three Continents" magazine the following year, 1967. This slogan became a rallying call for unity, setting off an anti-imperialist and anti-war upsurge around the world. Countries such as Cuba and Vietnam sought to national liberation to challenge Western colonialism.

Secondly, radical ethnic groups in the United States also regard themselves as members of the Third World. They express their views to the internal colonial masters.

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y Castro's speech on April 19, 1971, quoted from Xu Shicheng: "Cultural Theory and Practice of Cuban Socialism", published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 3,

y 2013, page 9, Laure Guirguis y yyyLefts: Histories and Legaciesy 1950s - 1970sy Edinburg h: EdinburghUniversity  
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A political declaration was finally adopted at the meeting, and the issue of establishing a new international economic order was formally raised for the first time. On April 30 of the following year, 94 member states, on behalf of the Non-Aligned Group of Countries, submitted a document to the United Nations entitled "Establishing a New International Economic Order". On the same day, these Member States also submitted a joint draft resolution on a program of action to establish a new international economic order (A/AC 166/L 48). On May 1, 1974, the Chairman of the Committee proposed two revised draft resolutions (A/AC 166/L 50 and 51). These two draft resolutions were adopted without a vote and became General Assembly Resolution 3201 (S-VI) and Resolution 3202 (S-VI). These two resolutions have thus become one of the important foundations for handling economic relations between countries.

The principle of internationalism has continuity and coherence in the guiding ideology of Cuba's diplomacy. In the closing speech of the Three Continents Conference, Castro expressed the aspirations of the participants and claimed to support the revolutions of various countries militarily and economically. After the Continental Conference and before the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Cuba provided various assistance to developing countries in Latin America and outside the region through various forms for more than 20 years, practicing the spirit of revolutionary internationalism with practical actions. In 1976 In the preamble to the first socialist constitution of 2001, the Cuban government stated that its diplomatic actions were based on "proletarian internationalism, fraternal friendship, assistance and cooperation between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the solidarity of the peoples of Latin America and the world." Even after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the confrontation between the East and the West, Cuba continued to state that its diplomatic actions were based on "proletarian internationalism and the friendship and assistance of the people of the world, especially the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean" after the constitutional amendment in 1992. , unity and cooperation, Cuba "pursues the principles of anti-imperialism and the principles of internationalism". The 1970s and 1980s can be called the "golden age" of Cuba's internationalist policy. Due to the closer diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the large number of aid recipients, Cuba has plenty of room for foreign aid. Cuba's internationalist actions are specifically reflected in its support and solidarity with the national democratic movements and political independence of African countries. It has provided large amounts of aid to African countries, signed economic, technological, cultural, educational and health agreements, and dispatched a large number of medical personnel. In terms of actions such as technical medical personnel and teachers, this series of internationalist assistance demonstrates Cuba's internationalist spirit, through which Cuba "expands its influence in the world and improv

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«Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order», United Nations Office of Legal Affairs, [http://www.legal.org/avl/pdf/ha/ga\\_3201/ga\\_3201\\_ph\\_c.pdf](http://www.legal.org/avl/pdf/ha/ga_3201/ga_3201_ph_c.pdf) [2022-08-10]

Construction of the Republic of Cuba 1991 pp 2 - 8 Quoted from Mao Xianglin and Yang Jianmin: "Research on Cuban Socialism" Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2019, No. 333

Page 4-10 Construction of the Republic of Cuba 1991 pp 2 - 8 Quoted from Mao Xianglin and Yang Jianmin: "Research on Cuban Socialism" Beijing: Social Science Literature Press, 2019, No. 333





Political decision-making is still basically in the hands of white political elites. In addition, a strong presidential system prevails in Latin America, and elite political beliefs have a special impact on social and economic policies. Latin Americans still refer to European culture and are sometimes unwilling to identify with the Socially and ethnically different peoples are concretely reflected in the ambiguous attitude towards participating in the "Non-Aligned Movement". Until the 1970s, Cuba was the only Latin American country to join the Non-Aligned Movement. In the mid-to-late 1980s, the vast development China has fallen into a debt crisis, which is particularly serious in Latin America. Cuba is also deeply involved in it. The 1980s is known as Latin America's "lost decade". Developing countries' actions for a new international economic order have also entered a low ebb. In addition, the Three Continents Conference Although the fighting spirit and struggle strategies advocated were different from the relatively moderate ideas of the Soviet Union, due to the lack of comprehensive national strength of most of the participating countries, they could not completely get rid of the support of the largest socialist power at the time, and the domestic political and economic difficulties of each country In the 1980s, the cooperation in the third world was characterized by "mobilization but no unity". Therefore, as the economies of some countries in the 1980s Due to the decline of the situation and the "at the end of its power" in the late Cold War period of the Soviet Union, the Three Continents Movement also gradually declined.

The practical significance of the Four Three Continents Movement

After the end of the Cold War, although ideological confrontation has been greatly weakened, hegemonism and neocolonialism still exist. Western powers, which are at the "center" of the world system, are still exploiting the vast development by taking advantage of first-mover advantages and the existing international political and economic structure. China and its own proletariat. As Nontobeko Herela, a researcher at the South African Office of the Tricontinental Institute of Social Research, said: "The countries of the Global South include more than 80% of the world's population, but these countries have been systematically excluded from representation. Outside the decision-making circles of the 'international community', unless the countries of the South truly take their destiny into their own hands, they will always have to sit under the table and eat the leftovers of the dividends of global economic growth, most of which comes from on the exploitation of southern countries." The spirit and initiatives of the Three Continents Conference showed advanced foresight, and still have enlightenment significance for current major issues such as South-South cooperation, racial equality, and globalization. For example, when studying the American Civil Rights Movement Most historians focus on the "classic" stage of the civil rights struggle from 1954 to 1965, and compare the "black power" movement that criticized the American capitalist system after 1965 with the civil rights movement.

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in Elena Fiddian - Qasmiyeh and Patricia Dale y ( eds )y Routledge Handbook of South - South Rela tionsy London: Routledgey 2018, p 164 «Foreign

media believes: The Non-Aligned Movement needs global strategic thinking»y Reference newsy ht tp: // yyyyy / yyyyy / yyyyy yyy [yyy y yy y yy]

Isolating the opposition and ignoring the civil rights activities of the 1970s, American historians have discovered that there are actually many connections between the "Global South" and the "American South." There are also some connections. They depict the American South as "the epitome of a decaying empire" and express their opposition by writing about the antagonism that Jim Crow laws created between people of color (mainly blacks) and whites. Imperial dissatisfaction. Therefore, although the latter is located in the United States, it can still be regarded as an enclave of the "Global South." However, their perspective is thus limited by pure racial lines, and the scope of their struggle is restricted. In "Color Curtain", we cannot get rid of the narrative framework of "the Black Atlantic". In fact, it is Geopolitically speaking, black internationalism is rooted in the wider region and spans The Americas, Caribbean, Africa, Asia and the Middle East, and the connection of the global left at the three continental conferences has also led to the unity of black internationalism. Another example is the issue of globalization and inequality. With the uncontrolled expansion of capitalism on a global scale a series of anti-globalization and alternative globalization movements have emerged. They mainly oppose the widening gap between rich and poor, bullying of weak countries by developed countries, and environmental degradation caused by the neoliberal international order at the economic, political, social, cultural and ecological levels. Participants include both developing countries and people and non-governmental organizations within developed countries. In the 1970s, the anti-global expansion movement led by governments and non-governmental organizations in third world countries flourished. In the face of unfair international politics Economic order, some countries in the "Global South" called for joint action to formulate new rules, stabilize the price of primary products, and increase exports from the South. The second wave of the anti-globalization movement occurred in November 1999, when protesters In Seattle, they blocked the access of World Trade Organization representatives to the venue. The American Federation of Labor-Confederation of Industrial Unions (AFL-CIO) and others organized large-scale demonstrations. 6 In the south, Brazil's "Landless Peasants' Movement" (MST ) and the resulting "Homeless Workers Movement" (ABC), the "Landless People Movement" (MPD) in South Africa, the "Famili Lavalas" movement in Haiti, the Patta Movement" (EZLN) and others also formed part of the resistance to capitalist glo

6 Xie Guorong: «The "Long Movement" narrative model and its transcendence», published in «Historical Research», Issue 6, 2014, page 47, Anne Garland Mahler, Fr. The history of the radicalism and Durham: Duke University Press 2018 p 4

7 Regarding the Seattle protest movement, see Patrick F. Gillham and Gary T. Marx, "Complexity and Irony in Policing and Protest: The World Trade Organization in Seattle" in Social Justice

8 Regarding the Seattle protest movement, see Patrick F. Gillham and Gary T. Marx, "Complexity and Irony in Policing and Protest: The World Trade Organization in Seattle" in Social Justice

Social movements in recent years have once again revived the ideologies of the three continental movements, but they have largely abandoned the old black internationalism and its contribution to global racial equality as an "appropriation" of this rupture. In response to the ongoing response, the re-acceptance of black internationalist thought is of key significance to the development of transnational resistance movements. Some of the slogans of the current "Black Lives Matter" movement in the United States, such as "Abolish the Police" and "Close U.S. Immigration and Customs" "Law Enforcement Agency," "Stop Pentagon Funding," etc., all demonstrate the militancy of resistance to racial violence. The universality of these demands shows that today's black resistance movement is not afraid of racial violence endorsed by the power of the American state, and even of certain people outside the United States. have a deep understanding of the systemic oppression of these races. The movement is a metonymic continuation and inheritance of the "color politics" of the post-Cold War era. Modern protest movements such as the "Black Lives Matter" movement are reviving some of the core elements of tricontinentalism. Appeals, such as the aesthetics of colorful political posters in sports, and fast-paced montage-style remix videos, are reminiscent of the distinctive covers and news collections of "Tricontinentes" magazine.

#### Five Conclusions

The Three Continents Conference and the Three Continents Movement it spawned have become an important driving force behind global radical political movements and a major engine of global left-wing cultural production, providing a broader platform for global anti-racial discrimination and anti-imperialist politics and culture. , a more inclusive model. In addition to political mobilization, it also has an enlightening function in spiritual and cultural dimensions. It participates in the reconstruction of global order and cultural thinking in the post-colonial era. It has important contemporary significance and its historical status should be given sufficient Due to the changes in the international situation, especially the low ebb of the international socialist movement, the Three Continents Conference was only held once. It seemed to be just a flash in the pan, but its spirit still existed. Since the 1970s, some scholars have been discussing the "First Conference". "The End of the Three Worlds", with the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, this concept seems to have become history for granted. However, history has not ended yet, and neither has the international socialist movement. Because imperialism and hegemonism continue to exist, the former Third Three Worlds internationalism can still continue to inspire the present.

The world today is undergoing profound changes unseen in a century. Although the Cold War has ended long ago, global hegemony and Cold War mentality did not end with the end of the Cold War. This thinking ignores the general trend of multi-polar development in the world and rejects the new trends in global politics and economy. The formation of order hinders the pursuit of a fair and reasonable international order by the global South or emerging economies. This is a typical "post-imperial syndrome". The current world is still facing to a certain extent the same problems as the three continents conference. Therefore, Rethinking the Three Continents Conference is still helpful in understanding the current great changes unseen in a century. Therefore, the spiritual core of the Three Continents Conference, with its advanced foresight, can still continue to inspire the present and provide theoretical resources and support for the anti-hegemony struggle. Thought enlightenment

(Editor in charge Xu Rui)