

Supplemental Appendices

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Appendix A: Additional Quantitative Information

Table A.1: Summary Statistics, Full Sample

	Count	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Leftist	72	.2916667	.4577194	0	1
Direct Rule	75	.3066667	.4642149	0	1
Rugged Terrain	73	2.380578	1.128972	0	4.324132
Languages Spoken	73	11.73973	8.811336	1	46
Military Expenditures	72	1237902	2572248	0	1.78e+07
Total Population	74	39748.27	88587.99	582	734872
Leftist Incumbent	74	.5	.503413	0	1

Table A.2: Summary Statistics, By Direct Rule and Indirect Rule

	<i>Direct Rule</i>						<i>Indirect Rule</i>					
	Count	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Count	Mean	SD	Min	Max		
Leftist	21	.5714286	.5070926	0	1	51	.1764706	.3850134	0	1		
Rugged Terrain	23	2.019756	1.226059	0	3.854394	50	2.546555	1.052953	0	4.324132		
Languages Spoken	23	9.695652	7.028738	1	21	50	12.68	9.436014	1	46		
Military Expenditures	21	1267412	1456062	3322	3692000	51	1225750	2923493	0	1.78e+07		
Total Population	23	21228	17303.43	2337	44311	51	48100.55	105343.1	582	734872		
Leftist Incumbent	23	.5217391	.5107539	0	1	51	.4901961	.5048782	0	1		

Table A.3: Direct Colonial Rule Predicts the Emergence of Leftist Rebels (High Bar)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Direct Rule	0.368** (0.170)	0.361** (0.174)	0.363** (0.153)	0.312+ (0.188)	0.338** (0.164)
Rugged Terrain		-0.010 (0.060)	-0.029 (0.058)	-0.008 (0.065)	-0.021 (0.058)
Languages Spoken		-0.012+ (0.007)	-0.013* (0.007)	-0.013 (0.010)	-0.010 (0.009)
Military Expenditures				-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Total Population				0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Leftist Incumbent				-0.080 (0.102)	-0.073 (0.088)
Constant	0.178** (0.077)	0.337 (0.249)	0.568* (0.287)	0.372 (0.294)	0.565* (0.320)
Region Fixed Effects	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
R-squared	0.097	0.151	0.244	0.026	0.104
Observations	56	55	55	53	53

Note: The dependent variable is the emergence of *Leftist* rebel groups. Linear probability model coefficients are reported. Robust standard errors clustered by country are in parentheses. The sample includes civil wars in all countries since 1944 until 1991. All time-variant independent variables are measured in the year conflict begins. The variables *Number of Languages* and *Mountainous Terrain* are measured in the country where the conflict takes place. For the variables *Military Expenditure*, *Total Population*, and *Leftist Leader* they are measured at the level of incumbent, to mean either the state in recently decolonized countries, or the empire in colonized countries. Positive coefficients associated with the variable *Direct Rule* support our theoretical expectations and correspond to an increased likelihood that a country experiences the emergence of a leftist rebel group.

Table A.4: Summary of Coding Decisions for Added Cases

Case	Leftist?
Khmer Issarak	Yes, the Khmer Communist movement was “directly descended from the first Khmer Issarak Committee” and was full of Indochinese Communist Party members (Kiernan 1981, 16).
Indonesia People’s Army	No, The IPA crushed a rebellion by the Communist Party of Indonesia while at war with the Dutch because they were anti-Communist (Friend 2003, 36-7).
Irgun (Etzel/IZL)	No, Irgun were significantly influenced by maximalist Revisionism (Shindler 2006, 14).
Lao Issara	No, the Lao Issara’s goal was for an “independent, unified, non-Communist Laos” (Ivarsson and Goscha 2007, 69).
Viet Minh	Yes, the Viet Minh was formed by the Indochinese Communist Party in 1941 (Pike 1966, 26).
Democratic Movement for Malagasy Rejuvenation (MDRM)	No, the MDRM were motivated by the <i>Fokonolona</i> ideology, described as “decentralized communal ideology” by Weigert, which was tied to “pre-colonial Malgache sovereignty.” (Weigert 1996, 15-16).
Communist Party of Malaya (CPM/MCP)	Yes, The CPM was a “People’s Liberation” Communism movement (Pye 1956, 3), with a Communist structure, and Communist objectives (Pye 1956, 7-9).
Mau Mau	No, the Mau Mau’s ideology was a mix of “nationalist and parochial elements” (Weigert 1996, 24).
Istiqlal Party	Istiqlal was a non-Communist nationalist party, which advocated for the return of the Sultans to Morocco (Lawrence 2010, 104-7)
National Liberation Army (Tunisia)	No available data.
Front de Liberation Nationale (Algeria)	Although leftists were part of the FLN, the organization itself was not leftist (see, e.g., Derradji 1997, 43, 145).
Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA)	No, “EOKA’s dedicated focus on political goals is not surprising when considering that the organization emerged from a conservative social context...and did not aim at the formation of a different social model or the detachment of Cyprus from the Western block.” (Karyos 2009, 5-6).

Table A.2: Summary of Coding Decisions for Added Cases, (Cont.)

Case	Leftist?
Union of the Peoples of Cameroon (UPC)	Yes, between 1952 and 1955 the UPC became a revolutionary nationalist organization, introduced Marxist terminology, and launched an insurgency in 1955 (Weigert 1996, 38).
National Liberation Army (Mauritania)	No available data.
MPLA, UNITA, FNLA (Angola)	The MPLA was Marxist-Leninist in orientation. (Thaler 2012, 549-550).
North Kalimantan Liberation Army (Brunei)	No available data.
African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC)	Yes, the PAIGC was influenced by Marxism and African socialism (Chabal 1981, 88).
Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (FRELIMO)	Yes, FRELIMO was Marxist-leninist (Thaler 2012, 549-550).
Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY)	No, FLOSY fought as a reactionary force against the revolutionary NLF in Yemen (Halliday 1990, 69-70).

Appendix B: Qualitative Evidence of Broader Applicability

In this section, I illustrate the broader applicability of my mechanisms by focusing on rebel groups in anti-colonial civil wars in places colonized by Portugal. As discussed in the main text, Portugal is a typical case of direct imperial rule and imposed assimilatory education programs to perpetuate the empire. In this section, I use secondary sources, primary documents and archival material collected in Portugal, Sweden and the United States to bolster my claims. Guinea, Mozambique and Angola are the African countries within the Portuguese empire that experienced anti-colonial civil wars.

This section is not used to eliminate rival explanations but to probe whether the mechanisms presented in the main text operate as expected here. To that end, I primarily focus on the emergence of leftist rebel groups in these conflicts: the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) led by Amílcar Cabral, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) led by Eduardo Mondlane then Samora Machel, and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Agostinho Neto. Although leftist rebel group formation is the focus of this section, I also discuss a case that my theory expects would be negative (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, or FNLA), and a mixed case (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, or UNITA).

The origins of the Portuguese empire date back to the 15th century, but the Portuguese did not invest heavily outside of South America until the late-19th and early-20th centuries. With the independence of Brazil, the Portuguese empire had turned its eye to maximizing its exploitation and control over its remaining colonial possessions, a pace that quickened as the Estado Novo regime began to consolidate power in Portugal in 1926 (Clarence-Smith 1985, 146), but especially after the 1930 Acto Colonial (Lains 1998, 251).

The Portuguese empire approached imperial administration as a civilizing mission in places it colonized (Polanah 2008, 63). One of the chief mechanisms for achieving Portugal's "civilizing" ambitions within African countries it colonized was through education. Indeed, the guiding objective of Portuguese colonial higher education policy was to "create a well-paid African bourgeoisie, owners of plantations or specialists in plantation agriculture, either living from their own income or decently paid, who were protected from any labour abuses and who would identify themselves with Portugal's colonial empire" (Keese 2012, 193).

Future leaders of leftist rebel groups, Mondlane and Cabral, began their education in colonial schools. In an unpublished academic work archived at Syracuse University where he was a professor, Mondlane writes of his experience that:

"there tended to be a concentration of cultural values favoring Europe, and consequently downgrading those of Africa. In this system, schools were viewed primarily as agencies for the spread of European language and culture. The educational policies followed by these European powers, therefore, reflected their governments unique concept of colonial responsibility, namely, to work towards integration of the Africans within their control into French, Portuguese, or Spanish culture and society, rather than for the goal of eventual self-government" (Mondlane ND, 9).

Cabral likewise reflected that the Portuguese imperial education system was one of "progressive assimilation" that was "a more or less violent attempt to deny the culture of the people in question" (Cabral 1970b, 3-4). Both future leaders of leftist rebel groups participated and completed assimilatory educational programs and were aware of their purpose to inculcate a sense of affiliation with the Portuguese Empire.

In the Portuguese context, education was essential to achieving a certain legal status that facilitated social advancement. Colonized persons could be legally recognized as *assimilados*, a legal status meaning colonized persons who had met the criteria for full Portuguese citizenship (Cross 1987, 558-9) and who had accepted Portuguese culture and values (Cross 1987, 553). The *assimilado* status contrasted to the vast masses of *indígenas*, a legal term meaning those from colonized countries who had not met the criteria for full Portuguese citizenship (Cross 1987, 553, 558-9). To become an *assimilado*, a person had to complete an examination of their knowledge of Portuguese, have an income, complete a number of documents and pay a fee (Minter 1974, 20). People with the *assimilado* status had ostensibly equal citizenship and rights within the Portuguese empire. Because almost all skilled and semiskilled positions were filled by Europeans to meet Portuguese unemployment pressures (Cross 1987, 564), achieving *assimilado* status also meant that one was more competitive for skilled and semi-skilled positions. *Assimilados* could also own property (Cross 1987, 559) and were exempt from forced labor requirements (Bowen 2000, 76), although Bowen (2000, 76) notes that these provisions were frequently ignored and that even for *assimilados*, “Portuguese officials never saw their predominant position as endangered” or saw *assimilados* as “potential competitors” (Keese 2007, 104).

Completing tertiary education would make *assimilados* the most competitive for lucrative positions within the Portuguese Empire. Colonized persons, however, needed to attend university abroad as there were no universities in countries colonized by Portugal in Africa until 1962 (Woldegiorgis and Doevenspeck 2013, 37). Most went to Portugal (Duffy 1961, 298). There, would-be leftist leaders faced exclusion and discrimination at the hands of people with whom they were legally equal. For instance, Cabral received a scholarship to attend university in Lisbon (Mendy 2019, 54) and as a university student there, Cabral “encountered overt racism within and outside” his school (Mendy 2019, 61). Cabral’s father even warned him about the racism of the Portuguese capital and potentially also the racism of his teachers (Mendy 2019, 62). Likewise, Mondlane briefly studied at the University of Lisbon, but he realized that “for the Portuguese ... One could not break the color bar on the strength of education and personal capacity alone” (Shore 1992, 176), and Mondlane wrote of the “constant political harassment which most African students suffered in Lisbon at the time” (Mondlane 1966, 1).

Beyond individual experiences of discrimination and exclusion, educated colonized individuals in Lisbon also recognized collective exclusion and discrimination, even against persons who were legally equal to White Portuguese citizens. In Lisbon, “students from different colonies” were able to meet and there they learned “to generalize their [colonial] situation” beyond their own (Reza 2016, 43; see also Ribeiro 2017, 197). Even the most elite *assimilados* were “allowed to take over only those positions that did not require a high degree of education” (Cross 1987, 564). The experience living in Lisbon highlighted to educated persons from colonized countries (but living in Portugal) their subjugated status relative to Portuguese Whites they were ostensibly equal to as codified by law.

These experiences were formative for educated, colonized persons in the imperial metropole (Reza 2016, 39). Experiencing discrimination individually and/or realizing their subjugation as part of a colonized collective, colonized individuals turned to one another for support, forming cohesive social groups. The Portuguese Empire even facilitated this process by creating a specific dormitory, called the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (CEI), to house educated, colonized students in Lisbon and thereby institutionalizing a point where educated colonized persons could gather together. The CEI was initially created to cultivate the allegiance of elites from colonized countries (Rothwell and Martinho 2016, 4). Rather than support Portuguese imperial interests, the Casa served as a “nexus of cultural and geographical difference” and “was both politically radicalizing and theoretically productive for students at the Casa” (Reza 2016, 43). Within the CEI, colonized students produced a radical

political literary and journalistic magazine, *Mensagem*, that underscored their resistance to the social and political structures of imperialism (Reza 2016, 39), helping to form the basis of cohesive and strong bonds with shared ideas.

At the same time, educated, colonized individuals in the metropole turned to radical leftist ideas encountered through other individuals on campus and in the metropole (see, e.g., Oliveira 2017, 4; Mendy 2019, 66). Educated colonized individuals who would lead leftist rebel groups began to participate in anti-regime leftist agitation and to cultivate connections to leftist activists from around the globe. Agostinho Neto (leader of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, a leftist national liberation rebel group in Angola) and Cabral especially would also “engage in political militancy in front organizations of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), or even in the Party itself, a formative experience that left deep traces in their world views, political culture, and leadership style” (Oliveira 2017, 4). Cabral, Neto and others in the CEI also joined anti-Estado Novo activist groups Movimento de União Democrática da Juventude (MUDJ) and the Movimento de União Democrática (MUD). From their position within these groups, both men began to make contact with the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) (Pereira Neto 2013, 24). Such participation in leftism activism, according to Mendy (2019, 66), provided educated colonized individuals with “valuable experience” in “political militancy [in Lisbon], which included practical experience of organizing clandestine activities in a repressive environment.” Furthermore, through this activism, colonized individuals also began to make contact with radical leftist activists from around the world. According to Ribeiro (2017, 199), activists from colonized countries spread among academic circles and religious spaces, and abroad to countries like France, Algeria and Italy. In particular, Macamo (2016, 91) notes that students in the CEI began to cultivate links with not only the Portuguese Communist Party, but the French Communist Party as well.

These activist networks served as the foundation for later support, especially from socialist and communist countries (Soares Sousa 2020; Lopes and Barros 2019; Telepneva 2019). In the 1960s, Mondlane and his wife Janet leveraged connections to left-wing Swedish student groups to gain access to the Swedish government, the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Confederation (Sellström 2002a, 474-5). Mondlane’s Swedish contacts opened the door to Cabral’s (Sellström 2002b, 48), who requested (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde 1970), and eventually received funding and support. The PAIGC then relied on Swedish support for funding for its governance activities (Cabral 1970a) and even requested Swedish funds for the creation of a radio tower that would transmit a national public radio program (Cabral 1971). Likewise, in 1960, Cabral sent ten cadres to study in China (Friedman 2015, 54; see also Soares Sousa 2020) and cultivated ties with the Soviet Union. When Cabral testified to the U.S. Congress, he affirmed that the PAIGC received support from many Eastern-bloc and non-aligned countries (U.S. Congress 1970, 11-3; see also Lopes and Barros 2019; Telepneva 2019). Cabral’s connections with leftist activists and states ultimately facilitated military and political aid that would eventually support his rebel group. Cuba was also deeply financially and militarily supportive of both the Guinean (Gleijeses 1997) and Angolan struggle (Falk 1987).

Thus, within an imperial context, colonized individuals in assimilatory education programs were pulled to the imperial metropole to complete their degree. There, they experienced individual discrimination and exclusion and recognized or affirmed their collective subjugation as colonized people vis-à-vis White Portuguese. Discrimination and subjugation proved pivot points for colonized individuals, who turned to leftist ideologies prevalent on European campuses at the time and which provided a worldview to match colonized individuals’ grievances. Colonized individuals also formed supportive groups with other colonized individuals and other leftist activists. These groups became

the basis of the vanguard of a leftist rebel group and provided experiences in (clandestine) anti-state agitation, as well as connections to other leftist activist groups and supportive foreign states who eventually helped outfit organizations to combat the Portuguese empire. When members of the vanguard in Lisbon returned to their colonized countries, they continued in leftist agitation before eventually beginning a violent struggle as leaders of a leftist rebel group.

Besides these leftist rebel groups, in Angola, two other rebel groups formed: the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto. UNITA is an example of a mixed case that is still consistent with expectations. The UNITA leader Savimbi experienced assimilatory language policies and studied in Lisbon (James III 2011, 50), connected with communist groups, and had his cadres trained in China (Bender 1981, 59). Before independence, Savimbi described UNITA's ideology as "within Marxism-Leninism lines" (Bender 1981, 60). Ultimately opportunistic, however, Savimbi's ideological commitments were far more ambiguous (Thaler 2019, 18-21) and he changed ideologies after independence (Bender 1981, 60). In short, Savimbi took part in assimilatory education policies and moved to the metropole for further schooling, became part of leftist organizations there and formed a leftist rebel group, but upon Angolan independence when the leftist MPLA was victorious, UNITA changed its ideology. The case of UNITA is mostly consistent with expectations.

The FNLA is an example of a negative case consistent with theoretical expectations. The leader of the FNLA, Holden Roberto, was *not* subjected to assimilatory language policies, did not even speak Portuguese, and rarely visited Angola (U.S. Congress 1963, A-4374). Consistent with expectations, the FNLA formed by Roberto was not a leftist rebel group (Thaler 2019, 16-18).

Appendix C: Archives Consulted

Table C.1: List of Archives

Archival Sources: Eritrea

U.S. National Archives: Adelphi, Maryland, U.S.

U.K. National Archives: Kew Gardens, U.K.

Hoover Institution Library and Archives: Stanford, California, U.S.

Archival Sources: Portuguese National Liberation Rebel Groups

Swedish National Archives: Taby, Sweden

Syracuse University's Bird Library, Special Collections Research Center: Syracuse, NY, U.S.

Oberlin College's Herbert Shore Collection: Oberlin, OH, U.S. (Digitized by request, COVID-19 closure)

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo: Lisbon, Portugal

Fundação Mário Soares: Lisbon, Portugal

Centro De Intervenção Para O Desenvolvimento Amílcar Cabral: Lisbon, Portugal

Archival Sources: Viet Minh

Archives Nationales D'Outre-Mer, SLOTFOM Collections: Available electronically

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