

# Online appendix for “The role of Pan-African ideology in ethnic power-sharing”

## Summary statistics

Table A1 shows summary statistics for all variables in the main specifications (Models 1-8 in Table 2 in the article).

Table A1: Summary statistics of variables used in the main analyses.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Proportion groups included	2,577	0.594	0.302	0.067	1.000
Proportion pop. included	2,984	0.605	0.379	0	1
Conference count	2,708	0.158	0.504	0.000	3.000
Civil War	2,984	0.193	0.395	0	1
GDP per capita	2,740	3,173.341	4,231.991	377.580	47,562.320
Polity	2,820	-2.068	5.902	-10.000	10.000
Personalist regime	2,270	0.283	0.451	0.000	1.000
Party regime	2,270	0.258	0.437	0.000	1.000
Military regime	2,270	0.039	0.193	0.000	1.000
First Leader	2,984	0.145	0.353	0	1
Leader group size	2,527	0.361	0.277	0.008	0.964
Leader time in office	2,708	9.532	8.373	1.000	42.000
Leader count	2,708	3.248	2.346	0.000	11.000
Time since last coup	2,565	15.491	12.742	1.000	67.000

## Majority nationalism models

An alternative ideological explanation for ethnic powersharing, or its lack, is majority ‘political domination’ Horowitz (1985, 186-196). Following this logic, elites that lead the majority group of a state have few incentives to share power with minority groups. This is stronger in states with a ‘ranked’ ethnic hierarchy, where groups that represent demographic majorities are also potentially perceived as dominant in comparison to other minority groups and “relations between ethnic superiors and subordinates” become embedded in the political structure of the state Horowitz (1985, 28). Within this framework, policies of exclusion are determined by the majority group through “politics of entitlement” that reaffirm their dominant position Horowitz (1985, 186). In states with a dominant majority group, it is possible that the group size of a leader’s ethnic group is driving variation in ethnic inclusion. This could be a threat to our inference, if leaders representing non-majority groups turn to Pan-Africanism and inclusive politics as a source of legitimacy. In Table A2, we test for whether a state leader’s ethnic group represents the largest ethnic group in the population. The effect of conference attendance remains almost unchanged, but we find that if government leaders are representing the largest ethnic group, they include a greater share of ethnic groups in a country, but seem to join with smaller ethnic groups as the overall proportion of included population declines.

Table A2: Ethnic Majority Leader Models. Linear fixed effects models include a binary indicator of whether government leader is from the largest ethnic groups in a country. Outcome variables: Proportion of included groups/population. Unit of analysis is the country-year. All models include year and country fixed effects.

	Proportion incl. groups	Proportion incl. pop	Proportion incl. groups	Proportion incl. pop
Conference Attendance Count	0.096*** (0.010)	0.112*** (0.011)	0.124*** (0.010)	0.136*** (0.011)
Civil War	-0.037*** (0.013)	-0.036*** (0.014)	-0.005 (0.013)	0.000 (0.014)
GDP per capita	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.006** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.003)
Polity	0.006*** (0.001)	0.009*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.009*** (0.001)
Personalist Regime	-0.083*** (0.014)	0.039** (0.016)	-0.043*** (0.015)	0.080*** (0.016)
Party Regime	-0.023 (0.019)	0.116*** (0.020)	-0.029 (0.018)	0.110*** (0.020)
Military Regime	0.074*** (0.023)	0.141*** (0.025)	0.075*** (0.023)	0.141*** (0.025)
First Leader	-0.027* (0.016)	-0.034** (0.017)	-0.047** (0.019)	-0.040* (0.021)
Leader Group Size	-0.040 (0.063)	0.680*** (0.068)	-0.001 (0.065)	0.734*** (0.071)
Ethnic Majority Leader	0.051** (0.022)	0.029 (0.023)	-0.021 (0.023)	-0.047* (0.025)
Leader Time in Office	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Leader Count	0.048*** (0.005)	0.058*** (0.006)	0.043*** (0.005)	0.050*** (0.006)
Time Since Last Coups			0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.177	0.279	0.184	0.284
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.124	0.232	0.127	0.235
Num. obs.	1922	1922	1659	1659

\*\*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \* $p < 0.1$

## TWFE estimation in light of DiD extensions

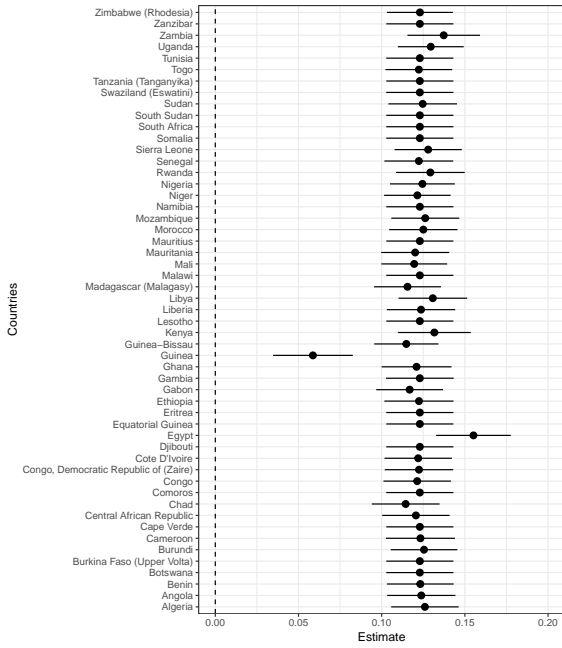
Our main models are linear regression models with two-way fixed effect (TWFE) specifications. In recent years, there have been growing concerns, stemming from extensions of differences-in-differences (DiD) estimators (Goodman-Bacon, 2021; De Chaisemartin and d’Haultfoeuille, 2022; Callaway and Sant’Anna, 2021; Borusyak, Jaravel and Spiess, 2021; Sun and Abraham, 2021; Imai and Kim, 2021; Imai, Kim and Wang, 2023), that TWFE estimators are biased if two assumptions are violated: 1) the parallel trend assumption, meaning that in the absence of a treatment, the difference between the control units and the treated units remains constant over time. 2) homogeneity of the treatment effect, implying that the treatment effect should be constant between units and over time. Heterogeneity in treatment effects leads to biased estimates in TWFE estimators, because of ‘forbidden comparisons’ in staggered designs (units are treated in different time periods). Hence, TWFE estimators can include comparisons between treated units and units that are not-yet-treated (desired comparison) and comparisons between treated units and units that were treated in previous periods (‘forbidden comparisons’) (Callaway, 2022; Imai and Kim, 2021).

Scholars in political science increasingly use a binary treatment estimation framework developed by Imai, Kim and Wang (2023) using matching on observable variables in combination with a DID estimator to address some of the concerns raised above. First, through matching Imai, Kim and Wang (2023), avoid ‘forbidden comparisons’, by drawing inference only from a within-unit matched set, within-time matched set, and an adjustment set (Imai and Kim, 2021). Second, matching is used to ensure the units have similar confounders in the pre-treatment period. Imai, Kim and Wang (2023) do make a parallel trend assumption, but only after conditioning on treatment history, the lagged outcomes, and the covariate history.

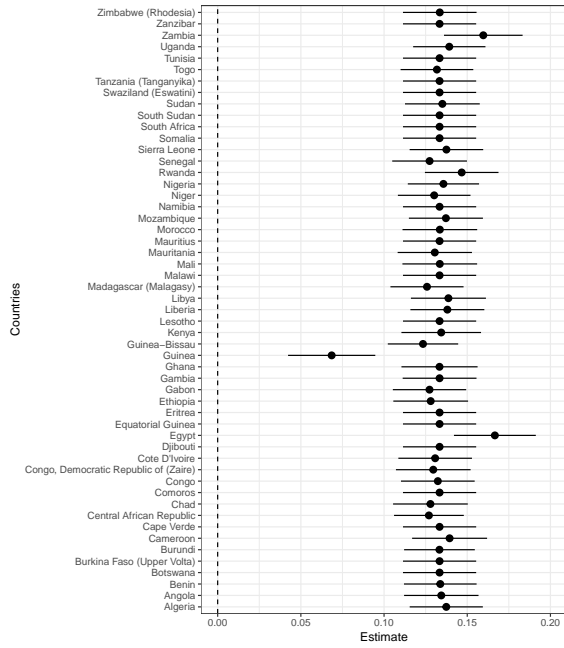
The main challenge to implementing Imai, Kim and Wang (2023) or any other extension of the DID estimator (Goodman-Bacon, 2021; De Chaisemartin and d’Haultfoeuille, 2022; Callaway and Sant’Anna, 2021; Borusyak, Jaravel and Spiess, 2021; Sun and Abraham, 2021; Imai and Kim, 2021) is their reliance on matching or at least leveraging variation of the pre-treatment period. However, when considering Figure 2, we can see that many of our treated countries actually do not have a pre-treatment period, which existing estimators rely on.

## Outlier analysis

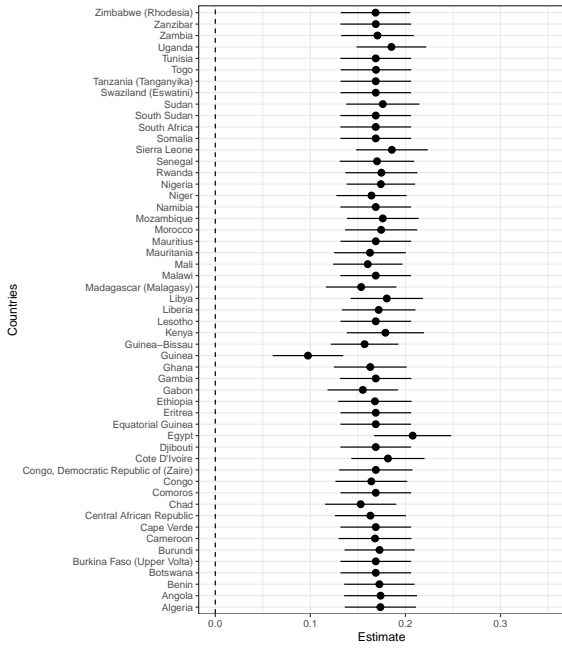
Figure A1 provides the estimates for Pan-African conference participation for models with the proportion of included population as the outcome variable (left panels) and models with the proportion of included ethnic groups as the outcome variable (right panels). Figure A1 shows the estimates for each iteration of the jack-knifed models, where the countries on the y-axis correspond to those being dropped in the respective estimation. Estimates are very stable across iterations, except for three cases: Dropping Egypt and Zambia increases the main effect, which in the Zambian case can be explained by a persistence of inclusive ruling coalitions even after Kaunda left office. The most obvious estimate change happens when dropping Guinea, particularly in the attendance count models. This is explained by the stark change in ethnic inclusiveness when Ahmed Sékou Touré left office. We believe that the Guinean case is a meaningful observation and should not be disregarded and Figure A1 provides clear evidence that even when dropping the Guinean case the size of the effect is meaningful and significant for the conference indicator specification (conference attendance leading to 10 percent more included groups (panel C) and about 15 percent more included population (panel C)) and in the conference attendance count specification (6 percent more included groups (panel A) and 7 percent more included population (panel B) per conference attendance). Note that some countries are not included in the analysis (e.g. South Sudan), because of missing data for the control variables.



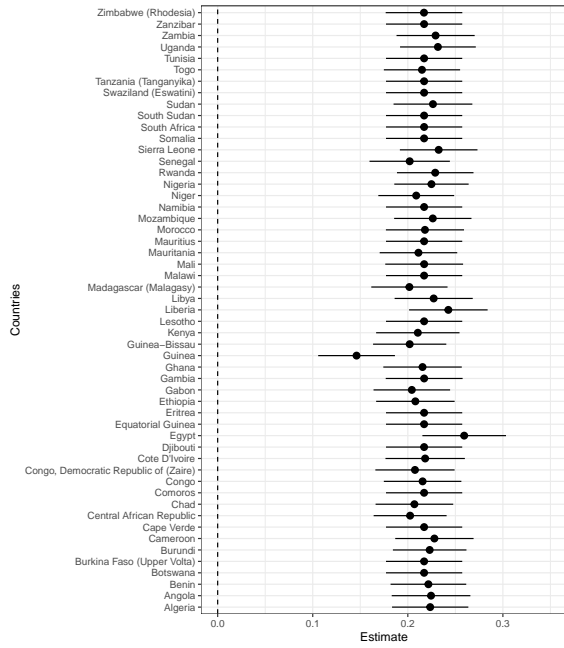
(a) DV: Proportion of groups/ IV: Conference Count



(b) DV: Proportion of population/ IV: Conference Count



(c) DV: Proportion of groups / IV: Conference Indicator



(d) DV: Proportion of population / IV: Conference Indicator

Figure A1: Panels show estimates and 95% confidence bands for Pan-African attendance in the jackknife models. Each estimate pertains to a model with the country on the y-axis dropped. Left panels: Outcome variable is the proportion of politically relevant ethnic groups included in government. Top-left panel corresponds to Table 2 Model 3 with conference attendance count as the main independent variable. Top-left panel corresponds to Table 2 Model 4 with conference attendance count as the main independent variable. Right panels: Outcome variable is the proportion of politically relevant ethnic population included in government. Bottom-left panel corresponds to Table 2 Model 7 with conference attendance indicator as the main independent variable. Top-left panel corresponds to Table 2 Model 8 with conference attendance indicator as the main independent variable.

## Conference summaries

### Fifth Pan-African Congress (October 1945)

The Fifth Pan-African Congress (PAC) held in Manchester in 1945 established the “foundations of contemporary Pan-Africanism” and connected European and North American based Pan Africanists to African leaders of “nascent independence movements” (Adi, 2018; Biney, 2018, 182). Pan-African principles and organizing in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly Kwame Nkrumah’s founding of the All-African People’s Organization, can be traced back to the 1945 PAC (Grilli, 2018; Milne, 1999, 23). The 1945 PAC is considered the first Pan-African conference to include African representation and to “project African leadership upon a wider audience”, featuring African leaders like Jomo Kenyatta and Hastings Banda (Adi and Sherwood, 1995; Makonnen, 1973, 163).

Importantly, the 1945 PAC brought young African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah and Obafemi Awolowo, who were then just students involved in anti-colonial youth organizations, into direct contact with veteran Pan-Africanists like George Padmore and Ras Makonnen and their well-established networks (both Padmore and Makonnen later joined Nkrumah’s government in Ghana as his advisors on Pan-African affairs). Delegates also came from a diversity of organizations and anti-colonial pressure groups, ranging from political parties and trade unions to youth groups. However, the conference was not entirely representative of anti-colonial movements, as there was lack of representation from French colonial Africa. There is also a significant gap between the Fifth PAC and the next major Pan-African conference organized in 1958.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** African nationalism and self-determination; “economic democracy” (equal economic opportunities); international cooperation

**Notable Attendees:** W.E.B. DuBois, George Padmore, Ras Makonnen, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Wallace Johnson, Obafemi Awolowo

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. This was the first Pan-African conference to feature African leaders and updated traditional Pan-Africanist policies to reflect goals of decolonization.

**Selected Sources:** (Pan-African Congress, 1945; Adi and Sherwood, 1995; Munro, 2017; Makonnen, 1973)

### Afro-Asian “Bandung” Conference (April 1955)

The 1955 Afro-Asian Conference, known popularly as the “Bandung Conference”, was the first major international anti-colonial conference that assembled delegates from 29 states. The conference was organized by Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma, and was unprecedented in how representative it was of the global South and in its aims to foster cooperation between anti-colonial movements in African and Asia (South-South cooperation). Bandung occurred during a critical time of decolonization when the French, British, and Portuguese were attempting to modernize yet retain their colonial possessions and “was notable in providing African and Asian peoples with a unified forum in which to forcefully challenge [colonial] structures of inequality” (Phillips, 2016, 334). In the colonial states, it was viewed suspiciously as the former colonies created their own political bloc to support decolonization movements and newly independent states that could potentially disrupt the international order. The Bandung Conference also marshalled growing support for Asian and African states to remain neutral in the Cold War, which is why it is also considered foundational and connected to the later Non-Aligned Movement (Phillips, 2016, 330).

The conference was more representative of Asian nations, as only seven African delegations from Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Sudan, Liberia, and the Central African Federation were present. Notably, delegates from Taiwan, South Africa, North Korea, South Korea, and Israel were excluded to avoid controversies with other states that would have threatened their withdrawal from the conference (Lee, 2019, 11). While delegates from colonial states were present, the organizations and proceedings of the

conference were dominated by leaders from postcolonial states. Importantly for later tensions in the Pan-African movement between Ghana and Egypt, Bandung elevated the status of Gamal Nasser and Egypt as an influential leader in global decolonization movements.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Afro-Asian economic cooperation, anti-colonialism, representation of new states in the United Nations, a 10-point declaration which called for: respect of human rights, territorial sovereignty, equality of all races, the end of military interventions, the right of self-defence, abstention from collective self-defence treaties, refraining from acts of aggression, settlements of disputes through diplomacy, cooperation, and respect for international laws

**Notable Attendees:** Gamal Nasser, Jawaharlal Nehru, Kojo Botsio, Zhou Enlai

**Selection Criteria:** Excluded from the analysis. While a significant international forum for anti-colonial leaders, the decolonization policies discussed were not in direct alignment with Pan-African principles and African leaders and movements were underrepresented.

**Selected Sources:** (Lewis, Stotle and Leow, 2019; Lee, 2019; Phillips, 2016)

### **First Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Conference (December 1957)**

The First AAPSO conference in 1957 expanded the Afro-Asian movement established at the Bandung Conference in 1955 and solidified Egypt's role as a global leader in decolonization movements. The conference was notable for the Soviet Union's involvement who sent 16 delegates as well as the presence of other communist delegations from China, Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam (the conference was closely monitored by Western intelligence agencies). Communist influence ostensibly led British colonial officials to block the Kenyan, Zanzibari, and Tanganyika delegations (Tom Mboya was the head of the Kenyan delegation) from attending the conference on the grounds that "it was a communist front" for the Soviet Union (McCann, 2019, 23). Egypt's closer ties with the Soviet Union also further strained relations between Egypt and Ghana, as at that time, Kwame Nkrumah supported neutrality and opposed entangling decolonization movements in Cold War politics (Grilli, 2015, 39-44). The conference reaffirmed the original 10 resolutions from the Bandung Conference, as well as discussed the conflict in Algeria, apartheid in South Africa, banning nuclear weapons, and support for Palestine.

The conference sought to expand the representativeness of the Afro-Asian movement, inviting over 300 delegates, many from states that were not present at Bandung. For example, there was more African representation at the First AAPSO conference with a total of 19 African nations/territories present compared to the 7 at Bandung. The composition of delegates was diverse, featuring government officials, nationalist movements (like the banned UPC from Cameroon), youth groups, and cultural organizations (Jack, 1958). The conference also established a permanent AAPSO headquarters and secretariat in Cairo, which maintained connections between delegates and anti-colonial movements and planned future conferences (Abou-El-Fadl, 2019). This conference further expanded Egypt's status as a global supporter of decolonization movements (Nasser framed himself as a leader in both Pan-African and Pan-Arab movements) and occurred a year before the All-African People's Conference in Ghana which established Kwame Nkrumah as a major actor in the Pan-African movement.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Reaffirmed the 10-point charter from the Bandung Conference, added four additional resolutions; Africa and Asia as 'nuclear free zones', condemnation of Israeli actions in Palestine, the immediate independence of Algeria, condemnation of racial discrimination in South Africa.

**Notable Attendees:** Gamal Nasser, Anwar Sadat, Félix Moumié, Ernest Ouandié, Getachew Mekasha, John Kale.

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. The conference was representative of African anti-colonial movements, was ideologically aligned with Pan-Africanist policies, and focused on decolonization. This



conference signaled a shift in the Afro-Asian movement to Cairo and to Africa more generally.

**Selected Sources:** (Jack, 1958; Abou-El-Fadl, 2019)

### **First Conference of Independent African States (April 1958)**

The First Conference of Independent African States (CIAS) in Accra, Ghana in April 1958 is significant because it was the first major Pan-African gathering organized and hosted by Kwame Nkrumah. The conference only featured government officials from eight independent African states—Ghana, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic (Egypt). Although the gathering was a summit of state leaders rather than a conference representative of anti-colonial movements across Africa, it was an important first meeting in launching Kwame Nkrumah’s Pan-African foreign policy and establishing early Pan-African networks. Notably, the first CIAS “was one of the first attempts ever made to unite North African and Sub-Saharan countries under one flag” (Grilli, 2018, 88). Ultimately, the first CIAS was a precursor and rehearsal for the much larger and inclusive First All-African People’s Conference that would take place eight months later.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Discussions on African unity and Algeria (no formal resolutions)

**Notable Attendees:** Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, William Tubman

**Selection Criteria:** Excluded from the analysis. This conference only hosted state leaders from already independent African countries and was not explicitly under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism.

**Selected Sources:** (Padmore Research Library BAA/RLAA/478 Grilli, 2018, 88-94)

### **First All-African People’s Conference (December 1958)**

The first All-African People’s Conference (AAPC) in Accra, Ghana was one of the largest and most representative Pan-African conferences and was the first major Pan-African conference hosted in Africa. Politically, the conference firmly established Accra, Ghana as a center of the Pan-African movement and as a sanctuary for anti-colonial groups. Importantly, the conference established permanent Pan-African institutions such as the All-African People’s Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), the African Affairs Centre (AAC) and the Bureau of African Affairs (BAA) which maintained connections between delegates after the conference (these institutions compiled a catalogue of anti-colonial movements and leaders across Africa that was regularly updated). The conference also established the AAPC Steering Committee (elected by delegates at the conference) which was comprised of some of the most important African leaders who used the committee to plan future Pan-African conferences and as a forum to discuss pressing issues such as the war in Algeria and the Congo Crisis. The conference itself, along with the permanent Pan-African institutions it created, forged a lasting network of Pan-Africanists that continued to expand and change as future conferences and events unfolded.

The 1958 AAPC was unprecedented in its diversity of delegates assembled and provides a ‘snap-shot’ of the majority of anti-colonial, nationalist, trade, and political parties across Africa at the time. During the planning of the conference, one of the primary goals of Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, and Ras Makonnen was to invite all “African liberation movements, regardless of their outlook”, including “rival parties, unions, and other civil society organizations” (Grilli, 2015, 45)(Ghirmai, 2019, 125). However, some leaders rejected their invitations in protest of their rivals also attending and some colonial administrations blocked the travel of delegates (both the NPC and the RDA from Nigeria were invited but did not attend). Given “how complicated it was to invite a broad transnational network against the background of the heterogeneity and partial animosity of the groups addressed” during a period of rapid decolonization and political change, the 1958 AAPC was largely successful in its inclusivity and assembled a near representative group of African leaders (Ghirmai, 2019, 125).

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Economic sanctions against South Africa, independence for all African territories, the end of racial discrimination and economic exploitation, the British to end repression in Kenya, to condemn all forms of colonialism and imperialism, to support resistance across Africa, to end tribalism, religious separatism, and chieftaincy, and unity of African states through Pan-Africanism.

**Notable Attendees:** Kwame Nkrumah, Kenneth Kaunda, Patrice Lumumba, Anthony Enahoro, Frantz Fanon, Ntsu Mokhehle, Julius Kiano, Kanyama Chiume, Joshua Nkomo, Félix Moumié, Tom Mboya

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. This was the first major Pan-African conference on the continent. The organizers sought to make it representative of African anti-colonial movements and this conference firmly established the ideology of the 'new' Pan-African movement and its goals for decolonization.

**Selected Sources:** (Grilli, 2018; Ghirmai, 2019; Grilli, 2015; Esedebe, 1994)

## Second All-African People's Conference (January 1960)

Political events between the first and second AAPCs threatened the unity of the organization as well as the overall ideology and direction of the Pan-African movement. The persisting conflict in Algeria continued to divide the Pan-African movement over the use of violence. Kwame Nkrumah's specific sect of Pan-Africanism—'Positive Action'—which advocated for non-violence and political reforms, was increasingly criticized by leaders like Félix Moumié, Patrice Lumumba, and Ahmed Tlili from the Tunisian delegation who believed that violence was a viable strategy for achieving independence (Ghirmai, 2019, 141). There was also a contentious debate over what framework should be used for an African trade union bloc and to what extent African nations should maintain economic ties with European states. There were also debates on Africa's position in the Cold War and more broadly how to resist neo-colonialism. These tensions resulted in a gradual shift away from Ghanaian dominance of the Pan-African movement towards other states like Tunisia, Egypt, and Ethiopia.

The composition of the delegates was slightly different than the first AAPC. The conference location in Tunis facilitated more representation from North African states. Most delegates still came from colonies that had not yet achieved their independence, as the conference occurred in January 1960, right before the next wave of formal declarations of independence. Notably, Tom Mboya and Patrice Lumumba did not attend because they were participating in negotiations with their respective colonial administrations.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Reaffirmed the goals of Pan-African unity established at the first AAPC, economic and intellectual cooperation, establishing an African national trade union federation, country specific resolutions/demands for Algeria, South Africa, Cameroon, Rwanda-Urundi, the Congo, Portuguese colonies, Kenya, South West Africa, commemorated fallen 'freedom fighters', established a volunteer Corp to support the FLN in Algeria.

**Notable Attendees:** Frantz Fanon, Ahmed Boumendjel, Roberto Holden, Félix Moumié, Sékou Touré, Abdoulaye Diallo, Anthony Enahoro, Mainza Chona, Kanyama Chiume, Ahmed Tlili

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. This was a direct follow-up to the first AAPC in 1958 that reaffirmed the goals and ideology of the Pan-African movement and expanded its membership.

**Selected Sources:** (Esedebe, 1994; Ghirmai, 2019, 137-151)

## Second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Conference (April 1960)

The Second AAPSO continued to build on the goals of Afro-Asian unity and anti-colonialism established at the First AAPSO, but discussions also addressed the significant changes that had occurred since the previous conference. Notably, the future of French West Africa was still uncertain and was a focal point

of discussions. This conference further solidified the pivot of Afro-Asian networks to Africa, taking place in Guinea. It also demonstrated that the permanent AAPSO in Cairo was capable of organizing another large conference. The original charter of the Bandung Conference were again reaffirmed along with the four additional resolutions added at the first AAPSO.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Condemnation of French nuclear testing in North Africa, Condemnation of British settlers in Kenya. Reaffirmed the 10-point charter from the Bandung Conference and the four resolutions passed at the First AAPSO (nuclear free zones, condemnation of Israel and South Africa, and calls for the independence of Algeria).

**Notable Attendees:** Osendé Afana, Patrice Lumumba, Anwar Sadat, Kenneth Kaunda, Joshua Nkomo

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. This conference was a further extension of the AAPSO which continued to overlap with the existing networks of the AAPC as well as more generally with Pan-African principles.

**Selected Sources:** (Kale, 1960)

### Second Conference of Independent African States (June 1960)

The Second CIAS in June 1960 in Addis Ababa was larger and more inclusive than the first because the number of independent African nations had nearly doubled since 1958 and the conference organizers chose to include observers from non-independent states. The composition of delegates and observers ensured that important anti-colonial leaders from non-independent states like Kenya, South Africa, Angola, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia, could still participate. While smaller than the AAPCs, the Ethiopian organizers of the Second CIAS viewed the conference as an extension of previous Pan-African and Afro-Asian conferences and used the gathering to further position themselves as supporters of both African and international decolonization movements. The conference was particularly important for solidifying Haile Selassie as a prominent leader in the Pan-African movement and for establishing Ethiopia as another center for anti-colonial organizing. Ultimately, Ethiopian leadership would act as mediators in 1963 to reconcile a divided Pan-African movement to form the Organization of African Unity.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Boycotting South Africa, demands for a negotiated ceasefire and self-determination in Algeria, African unity, completing the decolonization of Africa, establishing a council of African economic cooperation to organize a joint development bank, demands for the British to dissolve the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, establishing a fund to aid 'freedom fighters' in Africa

**Notable Attendees:** Haile Selassie, Julius Nyerere, Tennyson Makiwane, Oliver Tambo, Joshua Nkomo, Taieb Slim, Ako Adjei, Frantz Fanon

**Selection Criteria:** Excluded from the analysis. The Second CIAS included more African leaders than the first and hosted some representatives from non-independent states, but was still predominantly a summit between state leaders and was not explicitly a Pan-African conference.

**Selected Sources:** (of Independent African States, 1960; Johnson, 1962)

### Third All-African People's Conference (March 1961)

The Third AAPC hosted in Cairo in March 1961 was the last conference sponsored by the AAPCO which had rapidly declined in its ability as an organization to maintain unity within the Pan-African movement. The Congo Crisis and the assassinations of Patrice Lumumba and Félix Moumié led to more significant demands by delegates at the conference compared to the previous AAPCs and led to deep divisions among Pan-Africanists (Ghirmai, 2019, 153). Additionally, continued colonial violence in

Algeria and in Portuguese colonies resulted in a significant shift of delegates towards advocating for the use of violence. Politically, the Pan-African movement was now primarily split along the fault lines of the Congo Crisis, which divided the Congo between two governments (Leopoldville and Brazzaville), the question of if African states should form a centralized federation, and Morocco's claim to Mauritania. These divisions resulted in the formation of two rival political blocs known as Casablanca bloc and the Monrovia/Brazzaville Group which split the Pan-African movement and led to increased tensions at the Third AAPC.

Similarly to the Second AAPC, there was a large contingent of North African delegates, with particularly active involvement by the host delegation at the direction of Gamel Nasser who continued to position Egypt as a leader in the Non-Alignment and Afro-Asian movements. Despite political divisions between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups, both blocs sent delegations (with the exception of Chad, Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), and Congo (Leopoldville)) and the AAPC still remained mostly representative of anti-colonial movements across Africa. The AAPCO continued to invite delegates from rival parties, for example members of both KANU and KADU from Kenya and members of the ZNP and ZPPP from Zanzibar were present.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Legitimized the use of violence for independence, highlighted the threats of neo-colonialisms (economic and political dependency), criticized the UN for its role in the Congo Crisis, reforms to the UN Security Council, the formation of women and youth AAPC conferences

**Notable Attendees:** Gamel Nasser, Amílcar Cabral, Ronald Ngala, Julius Kiano, Osendé Afana, Ntsu Mokhehle

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. This was the final AAPC. While the AAPC membership was deeply divided over the use of violence in decolonization and economic unity by 1961, the final AAPC conference was still organized with an open invitation policy and continued to discuss the core principles of African unity.

**Selected Sources:** (Third All-African Peoples Conference, 1961 Ghirmai, 2019, 152-156)

Casablanca Bloc States	Monrovia/Brazzaville Group States
Ghana	Liberia
Guinea	Gabon
Mali	Chad
Libya	Senegal
Tunisia	Ivory Coast
Morocco	Cameroon
Egypt	Congo (Brazzaville)

### Fourth Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa Conference (February 1962)

The Fourth PAFMECA conference held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, hosted approximately fifty delegates from various nationalist movements in East, Central, and southern Africa. Formed in 1958 at a conference in Tanganyika, PAFMECA was created to “coordinate regional activities towards the achievement of independence for territories in East and Central Africa” (*Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA)*, 1962, 447). While its original members were primarily from Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda, by 1962, its membership had expanded to include fifteen nations, with Ethiopia, Somalia, South Africa, South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland officially becoming members at the fourth conference in 1962. The conference was essentially a smaller version of what was supposed to be the Fourth AAPC that never materialized and is important for showing the Pan-African leaders of 1962 as well as the pressing issues within the Pan-African movement at the time. The main

issues discussed were the UN intervention in the Congo and sanctions on Portugal and South Africa. Notably, there was a much larger representation of South African delegates, including Nelson Mandela who delivered a speech.

Although technically a regional conference, the fourth PAFMECA is included in the dataset because it was directly affiliated with the wider Pan-African movement and its goals, featured many prominent leaders within the Pan-African movement, and included observers from other regions of African including Ghana. Unfortunately, the delegate lists from the previous PAFMECA conferences could not be obtained, but the Fourth is the largest of these conferences and captures the membership of this specific Pan-African network at its height.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Boycotting South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia; expanding UN intervention in the Congo; pressure the British government to settle the constitutional crisis in Northern Rhodesia, the independence of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland; withdrawal of South Africa from South West Africa; pressure the French government to negotiate peace in Algeria; end of Nuclear testing and development

**Notable Attendees:** Nelson Mandela, Kenneth Kaunda, Mbiyu Koinange, Getachew Mekasha, Robert Mugabe, Oliver Tambo, Diallo Abudllay, Ben Barka El Mehdi, Kofi Batsa

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. This iteration PAFMECA was no longer a regional conference limited to leaders from East Africa, but featured additional leaders from Southern Africa as well as observers from North and West Africa. The goals of PAFMECA were in alignment with the Pan-African movement established at the first AAPC.

**Selected Sources:** (George Padmore Research Library BAA/RLAA/480 *Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA)*, 1962)

### **Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Conference (February 1963)**

The Third AAPSO Conference was marked by a growing divide between African and Asian anti-colonial leaders, in part due to the generally different stages of decolonization and post-colonization. Newly independent African nations were generally more concerned with addressing the immediate postcolonial economic and political issues of their nations, particularly the threat of economic neo-colonialism. The AAPSO continued to maintain its open invitation policy, allowing any nationalist movements in Africa and in Asia to apply for membership to the AAPSO, as long as they adhered to the core principles of internal unity and solidarity among other (de)colonized nations. Joseph Murumbi, a delegate from Kenya representing KANU, gave an address which pushed for closer Afro-Asian trade relations to counter isolation from European markets.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Reaffirmed 10-point charter from Bandung 1955; closer economic cooperation between African and Asian states; condemnation of economic neo-colonialism

**Notable Attendees:** Tom Mboya, Oliver Tambo, Oscar Kambona, Djibo Bakary

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. The resolutions of the Third AAPSO still maintained its connection to Pan-African ideology and an open invitation policy.

**Selected Sources:** ("Constitution of the National AAPSO", 1965 McCann, 2019)

## Organization of African Unity Conference Summit (May 1963)

The Casablanca and Monrovia bloc states compromised at the 1963 summit in Addis Ababa to form the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the predecessor of the African Union. The 1963 summit was viewed as a reconciliation within the Pan-African movement that was facilitated by the hosting Ethiopian delegation, particularly the influence of Emperor Haile Selassie as a mediator (Esedebe, 1994). However, the framework of the OAU demonstrates that Kwame Nkrumah and the rest of the Casablanca bloc failed to enact their vision for a highly centralized “United States of Africa” with a “Common Market, African Monetary Union, African Military High Command”, and a continental African government (Martin, 2020, 528). Instead, the OAU was founded along the more decentralized and moderate framework advocated by the Monrovia group which pushed for a more gradual economic, intellectual, and political integration of African states.

While the official delegates of the 1963 OAU summit were heads of state and cabinet members, important leaders of anti-colonial movements in states that had not yet to gained their independence were also in attendance as observers. For example, observers from the Kenyan African National Union (KANU), the United National Independence Party (UNIP) from Zambia led by Kenneth Kaunda, the African National Congress (ANC) led by Oliver Tambo, and the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) under Joshua Nkomo were all present at the summit. Similarly to the attendees of previous AAPCs, observers also included members of intra-state opposition groups like from the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The 1963 summit is considered by historians to be the culmination of Pan-African organizing since 1945 and a decisive shift into postcolonial politics (Esedebe, 1994; Adi, 2018; Selassie, 2007, 54). Additionally, the delegates in attendance also show which members of the Pan-African network were able to gain official positions in their respective postcolonial states.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** African unity (compromise of the Casablanca and Monrovia charters), greater African representation and equality within the United Nations, addressing economic development that prevents neo-colonialism, economic cooperation, support for decolonization and ‘National Liberation Movements’, ending settler colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, boycotting Portugal and South Africa, general disarmament

**Notable Attendees:** Gamel Nasser, Amílcar Cabral, Ronald Ngala, Julius Kiano, Osendé Afana, Ntsu Mokhehle

**Selection Criteria:** Excluded from the analysis. This was a summit for state leaders to discuss and debate the structure of the Organisation of African Unity.

**Selected Sources:** (*Proceedings of the Summit Conference of Independent African States*, 1963; Martin, 2020; Esedebe, 1994)

## Fourth Afro-Asian People’s Solidarity Organization Conference (May 1965)

The Fourth AAPSO represented a continued commitment to decolonization even after the creation of the Organization of African Unity. It was one of the last major Pan-African conferences on the continent and signalled a reconciliation between Ghana and Cairo, as the conference was hosted in Accra. The conference is also significant for being one of Kwame Nkrumah’s last Pan-African gathering, as he was overthrown months later in 1966 along with his administration which centered its policies almost entirely on Pan-Africanist ideals. The conference mainly addressed the different threats of neo-colonialism and the ‘balkanization’ of Africa.

**Main Goals/Resolutions:** Reaffirmed 10-point charter from Bandung 1955, “Liquidation of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, the consolidation of independence”, economic reconstruction, and cultural revivalism.

**Notable Attendees:** Oliver Tambo, Martha Moumie, Mehdi Ben Barka

**Selection Criteria:** Included in the analysis. The resolutions of the Fourth AAPSO still maintained its connection to Pan-African ideology and continued to have an open invitation policy. The conference itself was in Accra, Ghana, one of the centers of Pan-African organizing.

**Selected Sources:** (“Constitution of the National AAPSO”, 1965 McCann, 2019)

## Sources on Conference Attendance

The delegate lists for the 1945 PAC were accessed from the University of Manchester Special Collections (Pan-African Congress, 1945), while the delegate records for the 1960 AAPC were accessed from the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme ("Papers from the Second All-African People's Conference", 1960) and documents related to the 1961 AAPC were collected from the Movement for Colonial Freedom Archive housed by the SOAS Special Collections (Third All-African Peoples Conference, 1961). The delegate lists for the 1958 AAPC ("News Bulletin", 1958) and the 1965 AAPSO ("AAPSO List of Delegates") were accessed from the Public Records and Archives Administration Department in Accra, Ghana and the lists for the First CIAS in 1958 ("List of Delegates, 1958") and the 1962 PAFMECA Conference (PAFMECA Conference Programme, 1962) were accessed at the George Padmore Research Library also located in Accra, Ghana. The delegate lists for the Asian-African "Bandung" Conference as well as the first and second AAPSOs were drawn primarily from official conference publications and the the Afro-Asian Networks project (Lewis, Stotle and Leow, 2019). Memoirs and publications from Pan-African leaders who attended these conferences are also used to verify conference records (Esedebe, 1994; Makonnen, 1973; Selassie, 2007; Padmore, 1963). Comprehensive secondary sources published by researchers who also accessed original documents related to the Pan-African movement in the Ghanaian state archives and George Padmore Research Library were used to confirm and expand these delegate lists (Ghirmai, 2019; Grilli, 2018, 2017).



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