

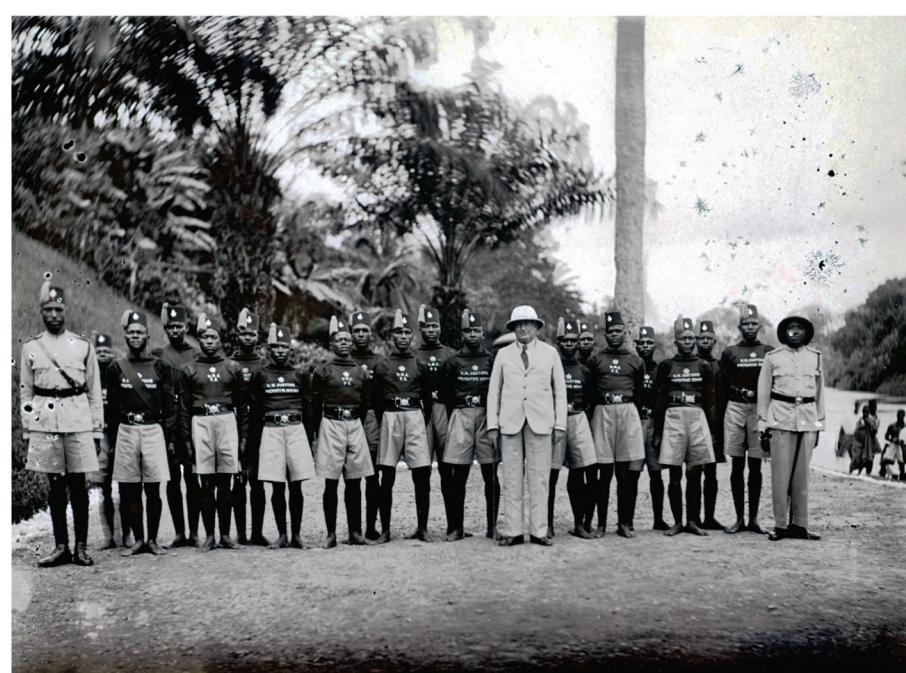
Contributions of Western Colonialism to Human Flourishing: A Research Bibliography

Dr. Bruce Gilley, Professor of Political Science, Portland State University

Version 6.0 (August 2025)

Available at: Research Gate (www.researchgate.net)

This bibliography is intended to serve as a resource for students, scholars, and the general public interested in the contributions of Western colonialism to human flourishing. It covers most of the ways that the public good has been variously defined and statements for each dimension concerning colonial contributions. The intent is to bring together representative research findings concerning Western colonial contributions in order to encourage a more objective account of the topic than presently exists.



1

Governor Sir Alan Burns with Gold Coast Customs Service, 1946

Table of Contents

Theoretical and Philosophical Defenses of Western Colonialism	4
General Histories: British Empire.....	4
General Histories: French Empire.....	5
General Histories: German, Spanish, and Dutch Empires	5
The Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo	6
Pre-Colonial Life: Land Theft, Subjugation, Oppression, Slavery, Displacement, Looting, Violence, Ignorance, and Impoverishment.....	6
Historical Racism of Non-Whites.....	9
Non-Western Colonialism	10
Problems of Private Western Rulers.....	11
Western Colonization as a Response to “Pull” Factors	11
The Myth of Colonial Plunder and Exploitation	12
Economic Growth and Living Standards	13
Capital Formation and Financial Deepening	16
Labor Mobility and Opportunity.....	16
Creation of Cities.....	16
Infrastructure	17
Industry.....	18
Agriculture.....	18
Trade, Commerce, and Services	18
Rule of Law and Constitutionalism	19
Public Finance	19
Human Rights and Liberalism.....	20
Consent and Legitimacy	21
Security and Conflict Resolution.....	23
Counter-Insurgency Against Terrorists: General.....	23
Counter-Insurgency Against Terrorists: Herero/Nama.....	24
Counter-Insurgency Against Terrorists: Mau Mau.....	24
Governance, State Capacity, and Public Administration.....	25

Democracy	26
Civil Society	27
Media and Information.....	28
Education	28
Voluntary Migration to Colonial Areas.....	29
Geographic Knowledge	29
Environmental Preservation.....	30
Artistic, Cultural, Religious, and Linguistic Preservation and Development	30
Abolition of Slavery.....	31
Women's Status	32
Appropriate Geographic Borders	33
National Identity, Nationalism, and the Public Sphere	34
Science	35
Public Health, Life Expectancy, Infant Mortality	35
Food Supply, Population Growth, and Famine Relief	36
Colonial Contributions by Region: Africa	38
Colonial Contributions by Region: India.....	38
Colonial Contributions by Region: Middle East.....	39
Colonial Contributions by Region: Asia and Pacific	40
Native Voices on Colonial Contributions.....	40
Non-Colonized Counterfactuals.....	42
Anti-Colonialism as Bad History.....	43
Anti-Colonialism as Racism and Fascism	44
Anti-Colonialism as Romantic Anti-Modernism	47
Anti-Colonialism as (Alien) White Ideology	47
Problems of Anti-Colonialism in Domestic Affairs.....	49
Problems of Anti-Colonialism at the United Nations and in International Relations.....	52
Problems of Anti-Colonialism in Anglo Settlement Colonies.....	53
Problems of Anti-Colonialism for the Western Liberal Tradition	55
Famous About-Turns by Anti-Colonial Intellectuals.....	56
A Fruitful and Legitimate Colonialism For Today.....	56

Theoretical and Philosophical Defenses of Western Colonialism

Whatmore, Richard. "Liberty, War, and Empire," in B. Kapossy, I. Nakhimovsky, & R. Whatmore (Eds.), *Commerce and Peace in the Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. pp. 216-243.

Morris, Christopher W. "What's Wrong with Imperialism?," *Social Philosophy and Policy* 23, no. 1 (2006): 153-66.

Nigel Biggar, *Colonialism: A Moral Reckoning*, William Collins, 2021.

Bruce Gilley, "Why European Colonialism Was Right," in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

A.P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies: A Study in British Power* (Garden City, NJ, 1968).

Lewis Feuer, *Imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Mind* (1986)

Jenkins Sinclair, *Empire Eternal: In Defense of Imperialism*, Antelope Hill (2022) 4

Plamenatz, John Petrov. *On Alien Rule and Self-Government*. London: Longmans, 1960.

General Histories: British Empire

Jeremy Black, *The British Empire: A History and a Debate*, London: Routledge, 2011.

Harry Crocker III, *The Politically Incorrect Guide to the British Empire* (Regnery History, 2011)

John Ducker, *Beyond Empire: The End of Britain's Colonial Encounter*. London: Bloomsbury, 2019.

H.A. Gailey, *Clifford: Imperial Proconsul* (London: Rex Collings, 1982)

James, Lawrence. *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*. New York: St. Martins Press, 1994.

Bowle, John. *The Imperial Achievement: The Rise and Transformation of the British Empire*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.

Jeffries, Charles. *Proud Record: Britain's Colonial Achievement*. London: H.M.S.O, 1962.

Robert Tombs, "In Defence of the British Empire," *The Spectator*, 8 May 2020.

Carrington, Charles. *The British Overseas: Exploits of a Nation of Shopkeepers*. Cambridge University Press, 1950 (Part 1), 1968 (Part 2).

General Histories: French Empire

Daniel Lefeuvre, *Pour en Finir Avec la Repentance Coloniale [The Case for Ending Colonial Guilt Syndrome]* (Paris: Flammarion, 2007)

Driss Ghali, *A Counter-History of French Colonization* (Vauban, 2024)

Ernest Tagore, *L'Afrique a désintoxiquer: Sortir l'Europe de la repentance et l'Afrique de l'infantilism* (*Detoxing Africa: Overcoming European Guilt and African Immaturity*). Paris: Gorron, 2018.

Constant, Fred and Justin Daniel (eds.) *1946-1996: Cinquante Ans de Départementalisation Outre-mer (1946-1996: Fifty years of French Overseas Departments)* Paris: Harmattan, 1997.

5

Barnett Singer and John W. Langdon, *Cultured Force: Makers and Defenders of the French Colonial Empire* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2004)

General Histories: German, Spanish, and Dutch Empires

Cervantes, Fernando. *The Conquistadores: The Untold History of Spanish Discovery and Empire* (Viking, 2020).

Gilley, Bruce. *In Defense of German Colonialism*. Regnery History (2022). Published in German as *Verteidigung des deutschen Kolonialismus*, Lüdinghausen: Manuscriptum Verlagsbuchhandlung (2021).

Gilberto Freyre, *The Master and the Slaves* (1933)

Buiter, Hans. *Nederlands-Indië (1830-1949): Een Kolonie in Ontwikkeling [The Dutch East Indies: The Development of a Colony]*. Utrecht: Kosmos, 1993.

The Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo

Bruce Gilley, "In Defense of King Leopold's Congo," in *The Case for Colonialism* (2023),
New English Review Press, 2023.

Stengers, Jean. *Congo, Mythes et Réalités*. Bruxelles: Editions Racine, 2005.

A. A. J. van Bilsen, *Vers l'Indépendance du Congo et du Rwanda-Urundi* (Brussels, 1956).

Guido De Weerd, *The Congo Free State: In Search of the Historical Truth*, Bruxelles:
Dynamedia, 2017.

Dembour, M.-B., *Recalling the Belgian Congo: Conversations and Introspection* (Berghahn Books, 2000)

André de Maere d'Aertrycke, André Schorochoff, and Pierre Vercauteran, *Le Congo Au Temps Des Belges: L'histoire Manipulée, Les Contrevérités Réfutées 1885-1960*, Bruxelles : Dynamedia, 2015.

Jean-Pierre Nzeza Kabu Zex-Kongo, *Léopold II: Le Plus Grand Chef d'Etat De L'histoire Du Congo (Leopold II The Greatest Head Of State In The History Of Congo)*

6

André-Bernard Ergo, *Congo Belge: La Colonie Assassinée*, Paris : L'Harmattan, 2009

Johan Op de Beeck, *Leopold II: Het hele verhaal (Leopold II: The whole story)*.

Kisangani, Emizet, *The Belgian Congo As Developmental State: Revisiting Colonialism*, New York, NY : Routledge, 2023.

Brausch, Georges. *Belgian Administration in the Congo*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Charles Blanchart, *Le Rail au Congo Belge 1890-1960* (3 vols.) Paris: Ediblanchart (1998)

Pre-Colonial Life: Land Theft, Subjugation, Oppression, Slavery, Displacement, Looting, Violence, Ignorance, and Impoverishment

Thornton, John K. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Bruce Gilley, "African Civilization and the Premature Termination of Colonialism," in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707)* (New York: Asia Publishing, 1963)

Leland Donald, *Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Lovejoy, Paul E. (ed.), *The Ideology of Slavery in Africa*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications; 1981

Claude Meillassoux (ed.), *L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale*. Paris: Maspero, 1975.

Richard Chacón and Rubén Mendoza, *North American Indigenous Warfare and Ritual Violence* (University of Arizona, 2013).

Kaushik Roy, "Small Wars, Ecology, and Imperialism in Precolonial South Asia: A Case Study of Mughal-Ahom Conflict, 1615-1682," *Journal of Military History*, Jan 2023

R.D. Crosby, *The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-Iwi Conflict, 1806-1845*, Auckland: Oratia Books (1999). 7

Michael Singleton, "Pratiques ancestrales et la démographie de l'Afrique noire précoloniale [Ancestral Practices and the Demography of Pre-Colonial Black Africa]," *Anthropos*, Bd. 100, H. 1. (2005), pp. 53-72.

Hallpike, Christopher. *Ship of Fools: An Anthology of Learned Nonsense About Primitive Society* (Castalia House, 2018).

Hallpike, Christopher. *Bloodshed and Vengeance in the Papuan Mountains: The Generation of Tauade Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977)

Keeley, Lawrence. *War Before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

N'Diaye, Tidiane. *Le génocide voilé: Étude de la traite négrière arabo-musulmane [The Veiled Genocide: A Historical Inquiry into the Arab-Muslim Black Slave Trade]*. Paris: Gallimard Editions, 2008.

Juhani Koponen, "War, Famine, and Pestilence in Late Precolonial Tanzania: A Case for a Heightened Mortality," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1988), pp. 637-676.

Richard Eaton, *India in the Persianate Age: 1000-1765*. London: Allen Lane, 2019.

Biber, Bruce. *Intertribal War in Pre-Colonial Namibia*. Genève: Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales, 1989.

Terry, P.T. "The Arab War on Lake Nyasa 1887-1895," *Society of Malawi Journal*, 18: 1 & 2, 1965.

Miura, Tōru and John Edward Philips. *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*. London: Kegan Paul International, 2000.

Reid, Richard J. and Henri Médard. *Traders, Chiefs, and Soldiers: The Pre-Colonial Capitals of Buganda*. Les Cahiers De L'ifra. Nairobi: Institut français de recherche en Afrique, 1998.

Reid, Richard J.. *War in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa: The Patterns & Meanings of State-Level Conflict in the Nineteenth Century*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007.

8

Reid, Richard, "Mutesa and Mirambo: Thoughts on East African Warfare and Diplomacy in the Nineteenth Century," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* (1998)

Reid, Richard J. *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda: Economy, Society & Welfare in the Nineteenth Century*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2002.

Reid, Richard, "Past And Presentism: The 'Precolonial' and the Foreshortening of African History," *Journal of African History*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2011), pp. 135-155.

Adeleye, Rowland Adevemi. *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and Its Enemies*. Harlow: Longman, 1971.

Gustafsson, Kalle "The Trade in Slaves in Ovamboland, ca. 1850-1910," *African Economic History* 33, no.1 (2005): 31-68

Kruijzer, Gijs. *Xenophobia in Seventeenth-Century India*. Amsterdam: Leiden University Press, 2009.

G. Ugo Nwokeji, "Slavery in Non-Islamic West Africa, 1420-1820" in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, volume 3, Chapter 4 (2011).

Ajayi, J. F. Ade and Okon Edet Uya. *Slavery and Slave Trade in Nigeria: From Earliest Times to the Nineteenth Century*. Ibadan: Safari Books, 2010.

Usman, Aribidesi. "Crisis and Catastrophe: Warfare in Precolonial Northern Yoruba." In *Precolonial Nigeria : Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*, edited by Akinwumi Ogundiran, 361-84. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2005.

Law, Robin, "Human Sacrifice in Pre-Colonial West Africa," *African Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 334 (Jan., 1985), pp. 53-87.

Ojo, Olatunji, "Slavery and Human Sacrifice in Yorubaland: Ondo, c. 1870-94," *Journal of African History*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (2005), pp. 379-404.

Historical Racism of Non-Whites

Barry Sautman, "Anti-Black Racism in Post-Mao China," *The China Quarterly*, No. 138 (Jun., 1994), pp. 413-437.

9

Chin, James. (2022), "Racism towards the Chinese Minority in Malaysia: Political Islam and Institutional Barriers." *Political Quarterly*, 93: 451-459

Frank Dikötter, "Racial Identities in China: Context and Meaning," *The China Quarterly*, No. 138 (Jun., 1994), pp. 404-412.

Hira Singh, M.A. Kalam, "India's Race Problem: Ignorance and Denial," *Social Scientist*, Vol. 45, No. 9/10 (September–October 2017), pp. 75-78.

Deepa S. Reddy, "The Ethnicity of Caste," *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (Summer, 2005), pp. 543-584.

Renu Modi and Rhea D'Silva, "Liminal Spaces: Racism against Africans in India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 51, No. 41 (October 8, 2016), pp. 18-20.

Sureshi M. Jayawardene, "Racialized Casteism: Exposing the Relationship Between Race, Caste, and Colorism Through the Experiences of Africana People in India and Sri Lanka," *Journal of African American Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3/4 (December 2016), pp. 323-345.

Non-Western Colonialism

Efraim Karsh, "Arab Imperialism: The Tragedy of the Middle East," *Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies* (2006)

Masselos, Jim (ed). *The Great Empires of Asia*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2010.

Perude, Peter, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Harvard UP, 2010)

Collins, Robert, "The African Slave Trade to Asia and the Indian Ocean Islands," *African and Asian studies*, 2006, Vol.5 (3), p.325-346

William Adams, "The First Colonial Empire: Egypt in Nubia, 3200-1200 B.C.," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Jan., 1984), pp. 36-71.

Richard Eaton, *India in the Persianate Age: 1000-1765* (Allen Lane, 2019)

10

Wade, Geoff. 2015. *Asian Expansions: The Historical Experiences of Polity Expansion in Asia*, New York, NY: Routledge.

L. Wilks, "The Rise of the Akwamu Empire, 1650-1710," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 3:2, (1957)

N'Diaye, Tidiane. *L'empire de Chaka Zoulou [The Zulu Empire of Chief Chaka]*. Paris: Harmattan, 2002.

Darío Fernández-Morera, "A Meta-Critical Examination of Scholarship in English on the Otherness of al-Andalus," *eHumanista* 37 (2017): 268-281.

Darío Fernández-Morera, *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise* (ICI Books, 2016).

Johnston, H. A. S. *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Karsh, Efraim. *Islamic Imperialism: A History*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2006.

Lovejoy, Paul E. *Slavery, Commerce and Production in the Sokoto Caliphate of West Africa*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World , 2005.

Becker, Peter. *Path of Blood : The Rise and Conquests of Mzilikazi, Founder of the Matabele Tribe of Southern Africa*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.

Problems of Private Western Rulers

Hobson, J. A. *Imperialism: A Study*. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1902.

Marshall, P. J. *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

Pavlakis, Dean. *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896-1913*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Saunders, Graham. *Bishops and Brookes: The Anglican Mission and the Brooke Raj in Sarawak 1848-1941*. Oxford University Press, 1992.

Taylor, Wayne Chatfield. *The Firestone Operations in Liberia*. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Wagner, Florian. "Private Colonialism and International Cooperation in Europe, 1870-1914" in Barth, Volker and Roland Cvetkovski (eds.). *Imperial Co-Operation and Transfer, 1870-1930: Empires and Encounters*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.

11

Western Colonization as a Response to "Pull" Factors

Etemad, Bouda. *Possessing the World: Taking the Measurements of Colonisation from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007.

Rodney Stark, "On Globalization and Colonialism," in *How the West Won: The Neglected Story of the Triumph of Modernity* (ISI, 2015), pp. 357-370.

Abernethy, David B. *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.

Fielding, David and Torres Sebastian. "Cows and Conquistadors: A Contribution on the Colonial Origins of Comparative Development." *Journal of Development Studies* 44, no. 8 (2008): 1081-1099.

Roy, Kaushik, "Armies, warfare and political economy of Mysore: 1760-99," *War, Culture and Society in Early Modern South Asia, 1740-1849*, (2011), p.70-94

The Myth of Colonial Plunder and Exploitation

Patrick O'Brien, "European Economic Development: The Contribution of the Periphery," *Economic History Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Feb., 1982).

Gann, Lewis H. and Peter Duignan. *Burden of Empire: An Appraisal of Western Colonialism in Africa South of the Sahara*. New York,: F. A. Praeger, 1967.

G. Clark, *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism*, New York, 1936.

Masani, Zareer, "Economic Lessons from the Raj: The Myth of Colonial Plunder." *Open Magazine* (India), 10 August 2018.

Patrick K. O'Brien & Leandro Prados de la Escosura (1998): "The Costs and Benefits for Europeans from Their Empires Overseas," *Revista de Historia Economica*, 16:1, 29–89

Patrick K. O'Brien (1988): "The Costs and Benefits of British Imperialism 1846–1914," *Past and Present*, 120, 163–200.

Hira Jungkow, "British India and the \$45-Trillion Lie," *Quadrant Magazine*, 5 October 2021.

Tirthankar Roy, "The British Raj According to Tharoor: Some of the Truth, Part of the Time, A Review of Shashi Tharoor, Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India (2017)," *The Churchill Project, Hillsdale College*,

Hammond, Richard James. *Portugal and Africa, 1815-1910: A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

Fitzgerald, Edward Peter. "Did France's Colonial Empire Make Economic Sense? A Perspective from the Postwar Decade, 1946-1956." *Journal of Economic History* 48, no. 2 (1988): 373–85.

Ferguson, Niall. "British Imperialism Revised: The Costs and Benefits of 'Anglobalization'." Stern School of Business, New York University, RR# 2003-02, *Development Research Institute Working Paper Series*, No.2, April 2003

Davis, Lance E. and Robert A. Huttenback. *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Economics of British Imperialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Economic Growth and Living Standards

Feyrer, James, and Bruce Sacerdote. 2009. "Colonialism and Modern Income: Islands as Natural Experiments." *Review Of Economics And Statistics* 91, no. 2: 245-262.

Leigh Gardner and Tirthankar Roy, *The Economic History of Colonialism* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2020).

Avner Offer, 'Costs and benefits, prosperity, and security, 1870-1914', *Oxford History of the British Empire* vol III (Oxford 1999) pp 690-711.

De Zwart, P., 2011. "South African living standards in global perspective, 1835–1910," *Economic History of Developing Regions* 26 (1), 49–74.

Seidler, Valentin, "Colonial Bureaucrats, Institutional Transplants, and Development in the 20th Century," *Administory: Journal for the History of Public Administration*, 1:2 sc(2016): 155-172.

13

Bigsten, Arne. "Welfare and Economic Growth in Kenya, 1914-76." *World Development* 14:9 (1986), pp. 1151-1160.

Irarrázaval, Andrés, "The Fiscal Origins of Comparative Inequality Levels: An Empirical and Historical Investigation," *Economic History Working Papers* (314). London School of Economics and Political Science (2020).

Dell, Melissa and Benjamin Olken, "The Development Effects of the Extractive Colonial Economy: The Dutch Cultivation System in Java," *Review of Economic Studies*, Volume 87, Issue 1, January 2020.

Fieldhouse, D. K. *The West and the Third World: Trade, Colonialism, Dependence, and Development*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

Bayly, C. A. 2008. "Indigenous and colonial origins of comparative economic development: the case of colonial India and Africa." The World Bank, *Policy Research Working Paper Series*. 4474

- Bauer, Peter. *Equality, the Third World, and Economic Delusion*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Gann, Lewis H. and Peter Duignan. *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960*. 5 vols. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Roy, Tirthankar. "The British Empire and the Economic Development of India (1858-1947)." *Revista de Historia Económica/Journal of Iberian and Latin American History*, September 2016, v. 34, iss. 2, pp. 209-36.
- Roy, Tirthankar. *The Economic History of India, 1707-1857*. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Roy, Tirthankar. *The Economic History of India, 1857-1947*. 2nd edition. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Roy, Tirthankar. *A Business History Of India: Enterprise And The Emergence Of Capitalism From 1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Lal, Deepak. 2004. *In Praise of Empires: Globalization and Order*. New York
- Acemoglu, Daron; Simon Johnson; James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91, 1369-1401.
- Albouy, David Y. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development an Investigation of the Settler Mortality Data." *NBER Working Papers* 14130. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2008.
- Easterly, William and Ross Levine, "The European Origins of Economic Development", Working Paper 18162, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2012.
- Ofosu-Mensah, Emmanuel Ababio. "Mining in Colonial Ghana: Extractive Capitalism and Its Social Benefits in Akyem Abuakwa under Nana Ofori Atta I." *Africa Today* 63, no. 1 (2016): 22-55.
- Ofosu-Mensah, Emmanuel Ababio. *The Economic, Social and Political Impact of Mining on Akyem Abuakwa from the Pre-Colonial Era up to 1943*. Hauppauge, New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2017.

Grier, Robin M. "Colonial Legacies and Economic Growth." *Public Choice* 98, no. 3/4 (1999): 317-35.

Bertocchi, Graziella, "Did Colonization Matter for Growth? An Empirical Exploration into the Historical Causes of Africa's Underdevelopment," *European Economic Review*, 46/10 (2002), 1851 - 1871

Lange, Matthew, James Mahoney, and Matthias vom Hau. "Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies." *American Journal of Sociology* 111, no. 5 (2006): 1412-62.

Booth, Anne. *Colonial Legacies: Economic and Social Development in East and Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.

Odamtten, S. K. *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development up to the 1880s*. Accra: Waterville, 1978.

Rich, Jeremy. "'Bring Back the English': The Legacy of British Trade on the Southern Gabonese Coast in the Concessionary Era, 1900–1914." *Canadian Journal of History* 52, no. 1: 29-53.

15

Rostowski Jacek and Stacescu Bogdan. "The Wig and the Pith Helmet: The Impact of Legal School versus Colonial Institutions on Economic Performance", *CEPR Studies & Analyses*, 2006.

Klerman, Daniel, Paul Mahoney, Holger Spamann, and Mark Weinstein. "Legal Origin or Colonial History? ", *Journal of Legal Analysis* 3, no. 2 (2011): 379–409

Armstrong, H. & Read, R., "Comparing the Economic Performance of Dependent Territories and Sovereign Microstates", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (2000), pp. 285-306.

Bertocchi, G. & Canova, F. (2002) 'Did Colonization Matter for Growth?: An Empirical Exploration into the Historical Causes of Africa's Underdevelopment', *European Economic Review*, Vol. 46, No. 10, pp. 1851-1871

Capital Formation and Financial Deepening

Olivier Accominotti, Marc Flandreau, and Riad Rezzik, "The Spread Of Empire: Clio And The Measurement Of Colonial Borrowing Costs," *Economic History Review* (2011), 64: 385-407.

Mitchener, Kris James and Marc Weidenmier. "Empire, Public Goods, and the Roosevelt Corollary." *Journal of Economic History* 65, no. 3 (2005): 658-92.

Ferguson, Niall and Moritz Schularick. "The Empire Effect: The Determinants of Country Risk in the First Age of Globalization, 1800-1913." *Journal of Economic History* 66, no. 2 (2006): 283-312.

Labor Mobility and Opportunity

Austin, Gareth, Jörg Baten and Alexander Moradi. "Exploring the Evolution of Living Standards in Ghana, 1880-2000: An Anthropometric Approach", 2011.

Charles Orr, "Trade Unionism in Colonial Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Volume 4, Issue 1 (1966), pp. 65-81.

Waijenburg M and Frankema E (2011) "Structural Impediments to African Growth? New Evidence from Real Wages in British Africa, 1880-1965." *The Journal of Economic History* 72.

Schuerkens, Ulrike. "Structural Change in Western Africa as a Legacy of European Colonialism: The Labour System in Ghana and the Ivory Coast." *Cambios estructurales en África occidental como herencia del colonialismo europeo: el sistema de trabajo en Ghana y la Costa de Marfil*. 51, no. 3/4 (2003): 287-304.

Marx, Karl. *Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization*. Shlomo Avineri, ed. Doubleday Anchor: Garden City, NJ, 1969.

Bill Warren, *Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism* (Verso, 1980).

Elson, R. E. *Javanese Peasants and the Colonial Sugar Industry: Impact and Change in an East Java Residency, 1830-1940*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Creation of Cities

Tristram Hunt, *Cities of Empire: The British Colonies and the Creation of the Urban World*, London: Metropolitan Books, 2014.

Becher, Jürgen. Dar es Salaam, Tanga und Tabora : Stadtentwicklung in Tansania unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft, 1885-1914) (Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Tabora: urban development in Tanzania under German colonial rule, 1885-1914). Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1997.

Infrastructure

Edward, Frank and Hård, Mikael, "Maintaining the Local Empire: The Public Works Department in Dar es Salaam, 1920–60," *Journal of Transport History*. Jun2020, Vol. 41 Issue 1, p27-46.

Mattia C Bertazzini, The long-term impact of Italian colonial roads in the Horn of Africa, 1935–2015, *Journal of Economic Geography*, 2021.

Colin Baker, "The Administration Of Public Works In Colonial Nyasaland," *Society of Malawi Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2006), pp. 1-14.

Jedwab, R. and A. Moradi (2016): "The Permanent Effects of Transportation Revolutions in Poor Countries: Evidence from Africa," *Review of economics and statistics*, 98, 268–284.

17

Njoh, Ambe and Fenda Akiwumi, "The Impact of Colonization on Access to Improved Water and Sanitation Facilities in African Cities," *Cities*, Volume 28, Issue 5, October 2011, Pages 452-460.

David Hardiman, "The Politics of Water in Colonial India: The Emergence of Control," in Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt and Robert J. Wasson (eds), *Water First: Issues and Challenges for Nations and Communities in South Asia* (Sage, 2008).

Ian Stone, *Canal Irrigation in British India: Perspectives on Technological Change in a Peasant Economy* (Cambridge University Press, 1984)

Kaub, Amarjit. *Bridge and Barrier: Transport and Communications in Colonial Malaya 1870-1957*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Donaldson, Dave. "Railroads of the Raj: Estimating the Impact of Transportation Infrastructure." *American Economic Review*, 108 (4-5): 899-934, 2018.

Lanthier, Pierre. "From the Raj to Independence: British Investment in the Indian Electricity Sector." *Utilities Policy* 29, 44-53, 2014.

Burton, Anthony. *The Railway Empire: How the British Gave Railways to the World*. London: Trafalgar Square, 1995.

Franz Baltzer. *Kolonialbahnen: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Afrikas (Colonial Railways: With a Special Emphasis on Africa)*. Holzminden: Reprint-Verlag Leipzig, 2007.

Helmut Schroeter and Roel Ramaer, *Eisenbahnen in den einst deutschen Schutzgebieten Ostafrika, Südwestafrika, Kamerun, Togo und die Schantung-Eisenbahn damals und heute (Railways in German Protected Areas in East Africa, Southwest Africa, Cameroon, Togo, and the Shandong Peninsula Then and Now)* (Krefeld: Röhr , 1993).

Industry

Bahl, Vinay. 1994. "The Emergence of Large-Scale Steel Industry in India under British Colonial Rule, 1880-1907." *Indian Economic And Social History Review* 31, no. 4: 413-460.

van Nederveen Meerkerk, E. "Challenging the De-industrialization Thesis: Gender and Indigenous Textile Production in Java under Dutch Colonial Rule, c. 1830-1920." *Economic History Review*, 70, no.4 (2017): 1219-1243.

18

Agriculture

Iversen, Vegard, Richard Palmer-Jones, and Kunal Sen. "On the Colonial Origins of Agricultural Development in India: A Re-examination of Banerjee and Iyer, 'History, Institutions and Economic Performance'. *Journal of Development Studies* 49, no. 12 (2013): 1631-1646.

Bolding, Alex, Peter P. Mollinga, and Kees van Straaten. 1995. "Modules for Modernisation: Colonial Irrigation in India and the Technological Dimension of Agrarian Change." *Journal Of Development Studies* 31, no. 6: 805-844.

Trade, Commerce, and Services

Hong, Por Heong and Tan Miau Ing, "Contested Colonial Metrological Sovereignty: The Daching Riot and the Regulation of Weights and Measures in British Malaya," *Modern Asian Studies*, 2022-01, Vol.56 (1), p.407-426.

Rule of Law and Constitutionalism

Samaddar, Ranabir. "Crimes, Passion, and Detachment: Colonial Foundations of Rule of Law" In Kalpana Kannabirān and Ranbir Singh. *Challenging the Rule(s) of Law: Colonialism, Criminology and Human Rights in India*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2008.

Barnett Hollander, *Colonial Justice: The Unique Achievement of the Privy Council's Committee of Judges*, London: Bowes and Bowes, 1961.

Dorsett, Shaunnagh and John McLaren. *Legal Histories of the British Empire: Laws, Engagements and Legacies*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2014.

Richard Cullen, *Hong Kong Constitutionalism: The British Legacy and the Chinese Future* (NY: Routledge, 2020)

Ramnath, Kalyani. 2013. "The Colonial Difference between Law and Fact: Notes on the Criminal Jury in India." *Indian Economic And Social History Review* 50, no. 3: 341-363.

Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford, *Rage for Order: The British Empire and the Origins of International Law, 1800–1850*, Harvard University Press (2016).

19

Roy, Tirthankar. 2011. "Indigo and Law in Colonial India." *Economic History Review* 64, 60-75.

Mulligan, Michael, "Piracy and Empire: The Campaign against Piracy, the Development of International Law and the British Imperial Mission," *Journal of the History of International Law*. 2017, Vol. 19 Issue 1, p70-92.

Public Finance

Frankema, Ewout, and Anne Booth. 2021. *Fiscal Capacity and the Colonial State in Asia and Africa, c. 1850-1960*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Feger, Thuto, and John Asafu-Adjaye. 2014. "Tax Effort Performance in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Role of Colonialism." *Economic Modelling* 38, 163-174.

Broms, Rasmus. 2017. "Colonial Revenue Extraction and Modern Day Government Quality in the British Empire." *World Development* 90, 269-280.

Human Rights and Liberalism

Black, Jeremy. *Imperial Legacies: How the British Empire Planted the Seeds of Freedom Across the World*. New York: Encounter Books, 2019.

Knapman, Gareth et. al. *Liberalism and the British Empire in Southeast Asia*. New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2019.

Beloff, Max. *Imperial Sunset: Britain's Liberal Empire, 1897-1921*. London: Methuen, 1969.

Knapman, Gareth. *Race and British Colonialism in South-East Asia, 1770-1870: John Crawfurd and the Politics of Equality*. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Lester, Alan and Fae Dussart. *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines Across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Shaw, Caroline. *Britannia's Embrace: Modern Humanitarianism and the Imperial Origins of Refugee Relief*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Sartori, Andrew. "The British Empire and Its Liberal Mission," *The Journal of Modern History* 78, no. 3 (September 2006): 623-642

20

Ibhawoh, Bonny. "Colonialism." In *Encyclopedia of Human Rights*, edited by David P. Forsythe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Charles O. H. Parkinson, *Bills of Rights and Decolonization*. Oxford University Press, 2007

Christopher, K. W. "Colonialism, Missionaries, and Dalits in Kalyan Rao's *Untouchable Spring*." *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*. Mar2018, Vol. 53 Issue 1, p140-154.

Webster, John. *The Dalit Christians: A History*. Delhi: ISPCK (1992)

Vishal Mangalwadi , *The Quest For Freedom & Dignity: Caste, Conversion & Cultural Revolution*, GLS Publishing (2001)

Vishal Mangalwadi, *The Legacy of William Carey: A Model for the Transformation of a Culture*, Crossway Books, 1999.

Bayly, C. A. *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Consent and Legitimacy

Mai Na M. Lee, *Dreams of the Hmong Kingdom: The Quest for Legitimation in French Indochina, 1850–1960*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015.

Veevers, D. *The Origins of the British Empire in Asia, 1600-1750*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

McCaskie, Tom, "African mediators, the Asante and British colonial rule," *Africa* (2018) Vol.88 (2), p.203-204.

Ndung'u, James Mburu. *Administrator in Colonial Times: The Life of Senior Chief David Ndung'u Kagori*. Nairobi: Nyanguku Family Welfare Association, 2015.

B. N. Lawrence, E. L. Osborn, and R. L. Roberts (eds.), *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* (Madison, WI, 2006)

Bührer, T., Eichmann, F., Förster, S. & Stuchtey, B. (eds), *Cooperation and Empire: Local Realities of Global Processes*, Berghahn Books (2017)

21

Ronald Robinson, "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration," in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London, Longman 1975), 117-142.

Kaptein, N. J. G. *Islam, Colonialism and the Modern Age in the Netherlands East Indies: A Biography of Sayyid Uthman (1822-1914)*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Justin Willis, "Tribal Gatherings: Colonial Spectacle, Native Administration, and Local Government In Condominium Sudan," *Past & Present* (2011), 211/1, 243-268.

Carroll, John. "Chinese Collaboration in the Making of British Hong Kong" in Ngo, Tak-Wing (ed.). *Hong Kong's History: State and Society under Colonial Rule*. London: Routledge, 1999: 13-29.

Bangura, Joseph. *The Temne of Sierra Leone: African Agency in the Making of a British Colony*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Poisson, Emmanuel. *Mandarins et Subalternes au Nord du Viêtnam: Une Bureaucratie à L'épreuve, 1820-1918*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2004.

Ernst, Waltraud and Biswamoy Pati. *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Suryadinata, Leo. *Tan Kah Kee and Lee Kong Chian in the Making of Modern Singapore and Malaysia*. Singapore: National Library Board, 2010.

Gulbrandsen, Ørnulf. *The State and the Social: State Formation in Botswana and Its Pre-Colonial and Colonial Genealogies*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.

Richter, Gabriele, "Zake the Papuan Chief: An Alliance with a German Missionary in Colonial Kaiser-Wilhelmsland (Oceania)" in Berman, Nina, Klaus Mühlhahn, and Alain Patrice Nganang eds.. *German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian, and Oceanic Experiences*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014: 130-146.

Skinner, David E.. "The Incorporation of Muslim Elites into the Colonial Administrative Systems of Sierra Leone, The Gambia and the Gold Coast." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29 no. 1 (2009): 91-108.

22

Frederick Quinn, "Charles Atangana of Yaounde," *Journal of African History* 21:4 (1980),pp. 485-495.

Massey, David. "A Case of Colonial Collaboration: The Hut Tax and Migrant Labour." *Botswana Notes and Records* 10 (1978): 95–98.

Weinstein, Brian. *Eboué*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Maran, Rene. *Felix Eboué: Grand Commis et Loyal Serviteur, 1885-1944*. Nouved. ed. Paris: Harmattan, 2007.

Myers-Davis, Erica. *Under One Flag: How Indigenous and Ethnic Peoples of the Commonwealth and Former British Empire Helped Great Britain Win World War II*. London: Get, 2009.

Somerville, Christopher. *Our War: How the British Commonwealth Fought the Second World War*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998

Security and Conflict Resolution

Matthew Lange and Andrew Dawson, "Dividing and Ruling the World?: A Statistical Test of the Effects of Colonialism on Postcolonial Civil Violence," *Social Forces*, 88: 2 (December 2009)

Brad Faught, *Gordon: Victorian Hero* (Potomac Books, 2008)
[Counter-Insurgency Against Terrorists: General](#)

Bruce Gilley, "Malaya and the Low Point of Colonial History Writing in Caroline Elkins' Legacy of Violence," in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

Laura Khor, "The Colonial Foundations of Malaysia's Terrorist Rehabilitation Program," *Malaysian Journal of International Relations*, 1:1 (2012)

P. Eric Louw, Colonialism: Taking the Good with the Bad: A Review of Caroline Elkins' Legacy of Violence," *Academic Questions* (Winter 2022)

Eginald Mihanjo and Oswald Masebo, "Maji Maji War, Ngoni Warlords and Militarism in Southern Tanzania: A Revisionist View of Nationalist History," *Journal of African Military History* (2017), Vol. 1 Issue 1, p41-71.

23

Walker, Jonathan. *Aden Insurgency: The Savage War in South Arabia 1962-1967*. Staplehurst, Kent: Spellmount, 2005.

Neillands, Robin. *A Fighting Retreat: The British Empire, 1947-1997*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1996.

Hack, Karl, "'Devils that Suck the Blood of the Malayan People': The Case for Post-Revisionist Analysis of Counter-insurgency Violence," *War in History*, Vol. 25 Issue 2 (2018): 202-226

Aussaresses, Paul. *Services Spéciaux Algérie 1955-1957*. Paris: Le Grand Livre du Mois, 2001. Published in English as: *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Algeria, 1955-1957*. New York: Enigma Books, 2002.

Mark Moyar, *Phoenix and the Birds of Prey: Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism in Vietnam* (University of Nebraska Press, 1997)

Dickens, Peter. *SAS: Secret War in South-East Asia : 22 Special Air Service Regiment in the Borneo Campaign, 1963-1966*. London, Presidio Press, 1991.

Thompson, Robert. *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1966.

Zareer Masani, "Jallianwala Bagh: 100 years On," *Open Magazine* (India), 29 March 2019.

[Counter-Insurgency Against Terrorists: Herero/Nama](#)

Gerwarth, R., & Malinowski, S. "Hannah Arendt's Ghosts: Reflections on the Disputable Path from Windhoek to Auschwitz." *Central European History* 42,no. 2 (2009): 279-300.

Susanne Kuss, *German Colonial Wars and the Context of Military Violence* (2017)

Hinrich Schneider-Waterberg, Der Wahrheit eine Gasse: Anmerkungen zum Kolonialkrieg in Deutsch-Südwestafrika 1904 [A Path to Truth: Notes on the Colonial War in German South West Africa 1904] (5th edition, 2008)

Andreas Eckl , "S'ist ein übles Land hier": zur Historiographie eines umstrittenen Kolonialkrieges ["It's A Bad Country Here": On the Historiography of a Controversial Colonial War] (2005)

24

Claus Nordbruch, Völkermord an den Herero in Deutsch-Südwestafrika?: Widerlegung einer Lüge [Genocide of the Herero in German South West Africa? Refuting a Lie] (2nd edition, 2006)

[Counter-Insurgency Against Terrorists: Mau Mau](#)

Ken Lees, *Mau Mau Interrogator*. Introduction and Afterword by David Elstein. (Skyscraper, 2019)

Eric Louw, "Mau-Mauing History and Truth," *Quadrant Magazine*, October 1, 2021

Lee Boldeman, *Mau Mau Whitewash, Britain Slandered: A Critique of the Revisionist Account of Mau Mau* (2021)

Branch, Daniel. "The Enemy Within: Loyalists and the War against the Mau Mau in Kenya." *Journal of African History* 48, no. 2 (2007): 291-315.

Blacker, John. "The demography of Mau Mau: fertility and mortality in Kenya in the 1950s: a demographer's viewpoint." *African Affairs* 106, no. 423 (2007): 205–227.

Ogot, Bethwell, Review of Elkins/ Britain's Gulag. *Journal of African History*. 46: 3 (2005): 493-505.

Imperato, Pascal James. "Differing Perspectives on Mau Mau," *African Studies Review*, 48/3 (2005): 147-154.

Daniels, Anthony. "Mau Mau Revisited." *New Criterion* June (2005): 21-26.

Governance, State Capacity, and Public Administration

John Drucker, *Beyond Empire: The End of Britain's Colonial Encounter* (Bloomsbury, 2020)

Noor Mohammad Masum, "Administrative Reform in India: Retaining the British Steel Frame," *Asian Journal of Political Science* (2018), 26:3, 431-446.

Pons, Valdo and Cyril Daryll Forde. *Stanleyville: An African Urban Community under Belgian Administration*. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Dean Dulay, "The Search for Spices and Souls: Catholic Missions as Colonial State in the Philippines," *Comparative Political Studies*, Volume 55, Issue 12 (2022)

Seidler, Valentin, *Colonial Legacy and Institutional Development: The Cases of Botswana and Nigeria*. Vienna : Österreichische Forschungsstiftung für Entwicklungshilfe, 2011.

J. M. Lee, *Colonial Development and Good Government* (Oxford UP, 1967).

Seidler, Valentin. "Copying Informal Institutions: The Role Of British Colonial Officers During the Decolonization of British Africa," *Journal of Institutional Economics*. 32/4 (2017): 1-24.

Tough, Alistair. and Lihoma, P. "The development of recordkeeping systems in the British Empire and Commonwealth, 1870s – 1960s", *Archives & Manuscripts*, 40(3), 2012.

Adu, Ammishadai Lawson. *The Civil Service in New African States*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1965.

Alon, Yoav. *The Making of Jordan: Tribes, Colonialism and the Modern State*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2007.

Gardiner, Robert Kweku Atta, and Helen O. Judd. *The Development of Social Administration*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Tijani, Hakeem. "Britain and Human Capacity Development in Nigeria Before 1960 ", in Mbah Emmanuel and Augustine Ayuk (eds). *The African Civil Service Fifty Years after Independence*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2017.

Ferguson, Niall. *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*. London: Penguin, 2003.

Juan, Alexander De and Jan Henryk Pierskalla. "The Comparative Politics of Colonialism and Its Legacies: An Introduction." *Politics & Society* 45, no. 2 (2017): 159-72.

Wong, Thomas W. P. *Colonial Governance and the Hong Kong Story*. Shatin: Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, 1998.

Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

26

Democracy

Ola Olsson. "On the Democratic Legacy of Colonialism." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 37, no. 4 (2009): 534-51.

Hariri, Jacob. "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 3 (2012): 471-494.

Alexander Lee and Jack Paine, *Colonial Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship*, Cambridge University Press, 2024.

Bongenaar, Karel EM. *Development of the Self-Governing Landscape in the Dutch East Indies: 1855-1942*. Zutphen: Walburg Press, 2005

Higley, John and Michael G. Burton. "Colonial origins of consensually united elites" in *Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006.

Woodberry, Robert. "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 2 (2012): 244-274

Burchardt, Marian and Swidler, Ann, "Transplanting institutional innovation: comparing the success of NGOs and missionary Protestantism in sub-Saharan Africa," *Theory & Society*, Apr2020, Vol. 49 Issue 3, p335-364. 30p.

Tusalem, Rollin F. "The Role of Protestantism in Democratic Consolidation Among Transitional States." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 7 (July 2009): 882–915.

Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, Timothy Nordstrom. "The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 225-50

Bollen, Kenneth A.; Robert W. Jackman. "Political Democracy and the Size Distribution of Income." *American Sociological Review* 54 (1985): 612-21.

Lee, Alexander and Jack Paine. "Did British Colonialism Promote Democracy? Divergent Inheritances and Diminishing Legacies", *University of Rochester Comparative Politics Workshop*, Working Paper (2017).

27

Barbara Ward Jackson, "Britain's Imperial Legacy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Apr., 1957), pp. 412-421.

Civil Society

Price, Richard. *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Cohen, Benjamin. *In the Club: Associational Life in Colonial South Asia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.

Richard Boyd, "Tocqueville's Algeria", *Society*, September/October 2001, pp. 65-70.

Chatterjee, Nandini. *The Making of Indian Secularism: Empire, Law and Christianity, 1830-1960*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Media and Information

Englund, Harri. "Anti Anti-Colonialism: Vernacular Press and Emergent Possibilities in Colonial Zambia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 1 (2015): 221-47.

Peycam, Philippe. *The Birth of Vietnamese Political Journalism: Saigon, 1916-1930*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Frost, Mark. "Pandora's Post Box: Empire and Information in India, 1854–1914." *English Historical Review* 131, Issue 552 (2016): 1043–1073.

Duck, Allen. *Empire Made: Two Centuries of British Influenced Globalisation*. London: Austin Macauley, 2018.

Education

Clive Whitehead, 'British colonial education policy: a synonym for cultural imperialism?', in J.A. Mangan (ed.) Benefits Bestowed? Education and British Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 211–30

Baten, J. & G. Cappelli. "The Evolution of Human Capital in Africa: a colonial legacy?" CEPR Discussion Paper Centre for Economic Policy Research, 2016.

28

Whitehead, Clive, The historiography of British Imperial education policy, History of Education. Jul2005, Vol. 34 Issue 4, p441-454. 14p.

Latika Chaudhary and James Fenske, "Did Railways Affect Literacy? Evidence From India," Economic History Association 2019 Annual Meeting.

Mary Jean Bowman, 'Review of Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*', Economic Development and Culture Change, No. 24 (July 1976), 833–41

Williams, Colbert. *The Methodist Contribution to Education in the Bahamas*. Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1982.

Baker, Jill. *Beloved African: The Story of John Hammond, Headmaster of Goromonzi High School, Rhodesia*. Sydney: Roperpenberthy Books, 2000.

Basu, Aparna. *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974.

R. D. Basu, *Education in India Under the East India Company*.

Azam, Mehtabul, Aimee Chin, and Nishith Prakash. 2013. "The Returns to English-Language Skills in India." *Economic Development And Cultural Change* 61, no. 2: 335-367.

Sarwar, Firoj High. 2012. "Modern Education and Colonized Assam: An Experience of Progress Under Britain's Rule." *Asia-Pacific Journal Of Social Sciences* 4, no. 2: 42-63.

Agbor, Julius A., Johannes W. Fedderke, and Nicola Viegi. 2013. "How Colonial Educational Practices Helped Shape the Pattern of Decolonization in West Africa." *International Journal Of Development And Conflict* 3, no. 2: 1-23.

Barnes, Andrew. *Making Headway: The Introduction of Western Civilization in Colonial Northern Nigeria*. Rochester, N.Y. : University of Rochester Press (2009)

Voluntary Migration to Colonial Areas

Tinker, Keith. *The Migration of Peoples from the Caribbean to the Bahamas*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.

29

Neal, Stan *Singapore, Chinese Migration and the Making of the British Empire, 1819-67*. ??

Sandhu, Kernal Singh. *Indians in Malaya: Some Aspects of Their Immigration and Settlement, 1786-1957*. Cambridge: University Press, 1969.

Geographic Knowledge

Zandvliet, Kees. "The Contribution of Cartography to the Creation of a Dutch Colony and a Chinese State in Taiwan." *Cartographica*. 35 no. 3-4 (1998), 123-135.

Lefebvre, Camille. *Frontières De Sable, Frontières De Papier: Histoire De Territoires Et De Frontières, Du Jihad De Sokoto À La Colonisation Française Du Niger, Xixe-Xxe Siècles [Sand Borders, Paper Borders: Territorial and Border History, From Sokoto Jihad to the French Colonization of Niger, Xixth-20th Centuries]*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015.

Hélène Blais, « Les enquêtes des cartographes en Algérie, ou les ambiguïtés de l'usage des savoirs vernaculaires en situation coloniale, » *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (2007) : 54 :4, 70-85.

Barrow, Ian J. *Surveying and Mapping in Colonial Sri Lanka: 1800-1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Brian Stewart Hoyle, "Gillman of Tanganyika, 1882-1946: Pioneer Geographer," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 152, No. 3 (Nov., 1986)

[Environmental Preservation](#)

Gregory Allen Barton, *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Gissibl, B., *The Nature of German Imperialism: Conservation and the Politics of Wildlife in Colonial East Africa* (Berghahn Books, 2016)

Barton, Gregory, "Keepers Of The Jungle: Environmental Management In British India, 1855-1900," *Historian* (Spring2000), Vol. 62 Issue 3, p557.

[Artistic, Cultural, Religious, and Linguistic Preservation and Development](#)

John Mack. *Emile Torday and the Art of the Congo, 1900-1909* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991).

30

G Sengupta and A N Lambah, *Custodians of the Past. 150 Years of the Archaeological Survey of India* (2011)

Harvey, D. A. (2012). *The French Enlightenment and its others : the Mandarin, the savage, and the invention of the human sciences*. New York, NY, Palgrave Macmillan.

R. Schwab, *La Renaissance Orientale*, (Bibliothèque historique.) Paris: Payot, 1950

Maurice Delafosse, *Negroes Of Africa* (Washington D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1931).

David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835* (Calcutta, 1969)

Henshaw, Peter. "John Buchan and the British Imperial Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism". In *Canadas of the Mind: the Making and Unmaking of Canadian*

Nationalisms in the Twentieth Century, edited by Norman Hillmer and Adam Chapnick. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007

Masani, Zareer. "How British Orientalists Were Responsible for Rediscovery of Indian History", *The Wire*, 11 March 2018.

Charles Allen, *The Buddha and the Sahibs: The Men Who Discovered India's Lost Religion* (London: John Murray, 2002)

Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Hoole, Charles R. A. *Modern Sannyasins: The Protestant Missionary Contribution to Ceylon Tamil Culture*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1995.

Schuylar, Philippa. *Jungle Saints: Africa's Heroic Catholic Missionaries*. Rome: Herder, 1963.

Gray, Richard and Lamin Sanneh, *Christianity, The Papacy, and Mission in Africa*, Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books; 2012.

Yu, K. Kale, "Revisiting Lamin Sanneh's "Western Guilt Complex" from a Grassroots Perspective," *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 2022, Vol.46 (3), p.397-404.

Pierre Singaravélo. *Professer l'Empire: Les "sciences coloniales" en France sous la IIIe République*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011.

Abolition of Slavery

Blackburn, Robin. *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848*. New York: Verso, 1988.

David Allen Harvey, *Tropical Despotisms: Enlightened Reform in the French Caribbean* (Cornell UP, 2022)

Lovejoy, P. and J. Hogendoorn (eds). *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge UP, 1993)

Oostindie, Gert. *Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995.

Peter Grindal, *Opposing the Slavers: The Royal Navy's Campaign Against the Atlantic Slave Trade*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2016

Hochschild, Adam. *Bury the Chains: The British Struggle to Abolish Slavery*. London: Pan, 2006.

Grindal, Peter. *Opposing the Slavers: The Royal Navy's Campaign Against the Atlantic Slave Trade*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015.

Maria Eugenia Chaves, "The reason of freedom and the freedom of reason : the neo-scholastic critique of African slavery and its impact on the construction of the nineteenth-century republic in Spanish America," in Valle, Ivonne del, Anna Herron More, and Rachel Sarah O'Toole. *Iberian Empires and the Roots of Globalization*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2020.

Afigbo. A.E., "The Eclipse Of The Aro Slaving Oligarchy Of South-Eastern Nigeria 1901–1927," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (December 1971), pp. 3-24.

Forclaz, Amalia Ribi. *Humanitarian Imperialism: The Politics of Anti-Slavery Activism, 1880–1940*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

32

Robert Burroughs and Richard Huzzey. *The Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade: British Policies, Practices, and Representations of Naval Coercion*. Manchester University Press, 2018.

Women's Status

Jean-Baptiste, Rachel. *Conjugal Rights : Marriage, Sexuality, and Urban Life in Colonial Libreville, Gabon*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2014.

Von Doepp, Peter 2002, "Liberal Visions and Actual Power in Grassroots Civil Society: Local Churches and Women's Empowerment in Rural Malawi," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol 40, no 2, pp 273-301.

Rommel, Mechtild and Hulda Rautenberg. *Die kolonialen Frauenschulen von 1908-1945* (Colonial women's schools from 1908-1945). Witzenhausen: sn, 1983.

Andreski, Iris. *Old Wives' Tales: Life-Stories from Ibibioland*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1970.

zu Selhausen, Felix Meier. "Missionaries and Female Empowerment in Colonial Uganda: New Evidence from Protestant Marriage Registers, 1880-1945." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 45, no. 3/4 (2015): 361-61.

Yang, Wei-an. "Female Emancipation in a Colonial Context : The Chinese Community in Singapore 1900-1942." Thesis (Ph.D.), University of Sheffield, 2014.

Jhala, Angma D. 2009. "The Malabar Hill Murder Trial of 1925: Sovereignty, Law and Sexual Politics in Colonial Princely India." *Indian Economic And Social History Review* 46, no. 3: 373-400.

Njoh, Ambe J., and Elizabeth N. M. Ayuk-Etang. 2012. "Colonialism, Female Literacy and the Millennium Development Goals in Africa." *African Journal Of Economic And Sustainable Development* 1, no. 4: 316-328.

Mani L. *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India*. Berkeley: University of California Press (1998).

Appropriate Geographic Borders

Paine, Jack, Xiaoyan Qiu, and Joan Ricart-Huguet. "Endogenous Colonial Borders: Precolonial States and Geography in the Partition of Africa." *American Political Science Review*, 2024, 1–20.

Green, Elliott. "On the Size and Shape of African States." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (2012): 229–4

Lefebvre, Camille. "We Have Tailored Africa: French Colonialism and the 'Artificiality' of Africa's Borders in the Interwar Period." *Journal of Historical Geography* 37, no. 2 (2011): 191-202.

Lefebvre, Camille. "The Decolonization of a Commonplace: The Artificiality of African Boundaries: How a Colonial Intellectual Legacy Became the Banner of Anti-Colonialism." *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 24, no. 1 (2011): 77-104.

Lefebvre, Camille. (2015). *Frontières de sable, frontières de papier. Histoire de territoires et de frontières, du jihad de Sokoto à la colonisation française du Niger, XIXe-XXe siècles*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.

National Identity, Nationalism, and the Public Sphere

Roff, William. *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

Henri Brunschwig, « De la Résistance Africaine à L'Impérialisme Européen », *Journal of African History*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1974), pp. 47-64.

Milner, Anthony. *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya: Contesting Nationalism and the Expansion of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Coleman, James. *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958.

Gardner Thompson, *Legacy of Empire: Britain, Zionism and the Creation of Israel* (Saqi Books, 2022)

Latika Chaudharya, Jared Rubin, Sriya Iyer, and Anand Shrivastavad, "Culture and colonial legacy: Evidence from public goods games," *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, Volume 173, May 2020, Pages 107-129.

Kedourie, Elie. *Nationalism*. London: Hutchinson, 1960.

34

Sèbe, Berny. "From Post-Colonialism to Cosmopolitan Nation-Building? British and French Imperial Heroes in Twenty-First-Century Africa." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 5 (2014): 936-68.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Nation Building: Why Some Countries Come Together While Others Fall Apart*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Keith, Charles. *Catholic Vietnam: A Church from Empire to Nation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Tee Ngugi, "Tribalism is not a conspiracy by evil colonialists, it has always been with us," *The East African*, 19 June 2017.

Schmidt, Peter. "The colonial origins of myth and national identity in Uganda." in Bonnie Effros and Lai Guolong (eds). *Unmasking Ideology in Imperial and Colonial Archaeology: Vocabulary, Symbols, and Legacy*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2018.

Science

Tilley, Helen. *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870-1950*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Young, Anthony. *Thin on the Ground: Soil Science in the Tropics*. Second edition. Norwich: Land Resources Books, 2017.

Public Health, Life Expectancy, Infant Mortality

Goss, Andrew, "Building the world's supply of quinine: Dutch colonialism and the origins of a global pharmaceutical industry," *Endeavour* (New series), 2014, Vol.38 (1), p.8-18

Oyekola, Olayinka, "Health Accounting in 124 Colonised Countries" (March 20, 2020). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3557681> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3557681>

Christoph Gradmann, "The Discovery of Cholera in India: Robert Koch and the DMW," *Dtsch Med Wochenschr* 1999; 124 (40): 1187-1188. (in German)

Smith, Alec. *Insect Man: A Fight Against Malaria in Africa*. London: Radcliffe, 1993.

Moradi, Alexander. "Towards an Objective Account of Nutrition and Health in Colonial Kenya: A Study of Stature in African Army Recruits and Civilians, 1880-1980." *Journal of Economic History* 96, no. 3 (2009): 720-755.

Tough, Alistair G. *African Medical History: A Guide to Personal Papers in Rhodes House Library, Oxford*. Oxford, Bodleian Library (1997).

Sweet, Helen M. and Sue Hawkins (eds). *Colonial Caring: A History of Colonial and Post-Colonial Nursing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Hokkanen, Markku. *Medicine and Scottish Missionaries in the Northern Malawi Region, 1875–1930: Quests for Health in a Colonial Society*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.

Calvi, Rossella, and Federico Mantovanelli. "Long-Term Effects of Access to Health Care: Medical Missions in Colonial India." Boston College Department of Economics, *Boston College Working Papers in Economics*: 883 (2015).

Riley, James. "The Timing and Pace of Health Transitions around the World." *Population And Development Review* 31, no. 4 (2005): 741-64.

Manderson, Lenore. "Public Health Developments in Colonial Malaya: Colonialism and the Politics of Prevention." *American Journal of Public Health* 89, no. 1 (1999): 102-07.

Maudlin, Ian. "African trypanosomiasis (Sleeping Sickness)." *Annals of Tropical Medicine and Parasitology* 100, no. 8 (2006): 679-701.

Ramanna, Mridula. "Perceptions of Sanitation and Medicine in Bombay, 1900-1914." In Harald Fischer-Tine and Michael Mann (eds.). *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*. London: Anthem Press, 2004.

Segal, Nancy. "Centenary Celebration for Scottish Missionary Mary Slessor: A Lasting Legacy for Twins/Twin Research." *Twin Research & Human Genetics* 18, No. 3 (2015): 328-333.

Obinna, Elijah. "Bridging the Divide: The Legacies of Mary Slessor, 'Queen' of Calabar, Nigeria." *Studies in World Christianity* 17, no. 3 (2011): 275-93.

Hardage, Jeanette. *Mary Slessor – Everybody's Mother: The Era and Impact of a Victorian Missionary*. Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2010.

Munnings, Harold A. *Princess Margaret Hospital: The Story of a Bahamian Institution*. Nassau: Media, 2005.

Lewnard, Joseph A. and Jeffrey P. Townsend. "Climatic and Evolutionary Drivers of Phase Shifts in the Plague Epidemics of Colonial India." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 113, no. 51 (2016): 14601-08.

Food Supply, Population Growth, and Famine Relief

Grossman, Herschel and Murat Iyigun, "Population Increase and the End of Colonialism," *Economica*, 64: 483-493 (1997).

Mark B.Tauger, "The Indian Famine Crises of World War II," *British Scholar* (2009) 1:2, 166-196.

Arthur Herman, "Absent Churchill, Bengal's Famine Would Have Been Worse, A review of Madhusree Mukerjee , Churchill's Secret War: The British Empire and the Ravaging of India during World War II (2010)" *The Churchill Project, Hillsdale College*,

Debojyoti Biswas and Deccan Famine Study Group, "A Review of Priya Satia's *Time's Monster*," Posted on *HGOS Blog*, April 2021,
<https://hlogserver.blogspot.com/2021/04/>

Boomgaard, Peter. *Children of the Colonial State: Population Growth and Economic Development in Java, 1795–1880*. Amsterdam: Free University Press, 1989.

Zareer Masani, "Churchill and the Genocide Myth," *The Critic* (December 2020)

McAlpin, Michelle Burge. *Subject to Famine: Food Crises and Economic Change in Western India, 1860–1920*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Roy, Tirthankar. "Were Indian Famines 'Natural' Or 'Manmade'?" London School Of Economics and Political Science: *Department Of Economic History Working Papers* No. 243 (June 2016)

Roy, Tirthankar, "Colonialism did not cause the Indian famines," *History Reclaimed*, 18 January 2023.

Roy, Tirthankar, *Natural Disasters and Indian History*, Oxford University Press, 2012.

Moon, Suzanne. *Technology and Ethical Idealism: A History of Development in the Netherlands East Indies*. Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007.

Masani, Zareer. "Churchill a War Criminal? Get Your History Right", *Open Magazine* (India), 29 June 2018.

Visaria, Leela and Visaria, Pravin, "Population," in Kumar, Dharma, ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. 2: 1757–1970, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Smil, Vaclav. "The Shadow of Droughts' Deaths: Review of Mike Davis' *Late Victorian Holocausts El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*." *Science*, 27 Apr 2001: 644-645.

Goklany, Indur M. "Review of Mike Davis' *Late Victorian Holocausts El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*." *Environmental History* 8, no. 3 (2003): 482–483.

Debojoyoti Biswas and Deccan Famine Study Group, "A Refutation of *Late Victorian Holocausts*," Posted on *HGOS Blog*, June 2021.

<https://hlogserver.blogspot.com/2021/07/>

Colonial Contributions by Region: Africa

Egerton, Frederick. *Angola in Perspective: Endeavour and Achievement in Portuguese West Africa*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

Taylor, Humphrey, "40 years on: An Old Africa hand reflects on the colonial era," *Cambridge: The Magazine of the Cambridge Society*, no. 48 (2001).

McPhee, A., 2012. The Economic Revolution in British West Africa. Routledge, London.

Lugan, Bernard. *Histoire de l'Afrique: Des origines à nos jours*. Paris: Ellipses, 2009.

Rudin, Harry Rudolph. *Germans in the Cameroon, 1884-1914*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938.

38

Vanderlinden, Jacques. 1994. *Pierre Ryckmans, 1891-1959: Coloniser dans l'honneur [Pierre Ryckmans, 1891-1959: Colonialism with Honour]*. Bruxelles: De Boeck Université.

Thompson, J Lee. *A Wider Patriotism: Alfred Milner and the British Empire*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Cell, John. *Hailey: A Study in British Imperialism, 1872-1969*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Lawley, Jonathan. "Achievements of the British Colonial Service: A Retrospective View," *The Round Table*, 104:3, 267-280 (2015).

Egerton, Frederick Clement Christie, *Angola Without Prejudice*. Lisbon (1955).

Colonial Contributions by Region: India

MacNamara, Michael Fenwick. *A Governors' Raj: British Administration During Lord Irwin's Viceroyalty, 1926-1931*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2015.

Lalvani, Kartar. *The Making of India: The Untold Story of British Enterprise*. London: Bloomsbury Continuum, 2016.

Griffiths, Percival Joseph. *The British impact on India*. London: Macdonald, 1952.

Wolffhardt, T., *Unearthing the Past to Forge the Future: Colin Mackenzie, the Early Colonial State, and the Comprehensive Survey of India* (Berghahn Books, 2017)

Lloyd, Nick. "You Can Always Blame the British: A Review of Shashi Tharoor's *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India*." *Quadrant*, September (2017)

Allen, Charles. "Who Owns India's History? A Critique of Shashi Tharoor's *Inglorious Empire*," *Asian Affairs*, 49:3 (2018): 355-369

Roderick Matthews, "In Defence of the Empire: Shashi Tharoor misses history for the sake of wounded national pride," *The Open Magazine*, 29 Jun, 2017

Tirthankar Roy (2018) "Review of *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India*," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 31:1, 134-138.

39

Roy, Tirthankar, *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Kusoom Vadgama, *India and Britain: Over Four Centuries of Shared Heritage*. London: Austin Macauley Publishers Ltd, 2018.

Colonial Contributions by Region: Middle East

Daly, W.M. *The Last of the Great Proconsuls: The Biography of Sir William Luce*. San Diego: Nathan Berg, 2014.

Roger Owen, *Lord Cromer: Victorian Imperialist, Edwardian Proconsul* (Oxford University Press, 2005)

Bruce Gilley, "The Case for Colonialism in the Middle East" in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

Bruce Gilley, "Colonial Yemen, Post-Colonial Yemen," in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

C. Brad Faught, *Allenby: Making the Modern Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2020

Kedourie, Elie. *England and the Middle East: The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1921*. London: Mansell, 1987.

Gavin, R. J. *Aden under British Rule, 1839-1967*. London, Hurst, 1975.

Stephen Day (2017) "Aden and the Gulf: The Reflections of a Political Officer," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 53:1, 136-151.

Colonial Contributions by Region: Asia and Pacific

Monnery, Neil. *Architect of Prosperity: Sir John Cowperthwaite and the Making of Hong Kong*. London: London Publishing Partnership (2017).

Christopher Hallpike, "In Defense of Colonialism: The Case of Papua New Guinea," *History Reclaimed* (2021)

Ryan, Neil Joseph. *The Making of Modern Malaysia and Singapore. A History from Earliest Times to 1966*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1969.

40

Buiter, Hans. *Dutch East Indies (1830-1949): A Colony in Development*. Utrecht: Kosmos, 1993.

Hahn, Emily. *Raffles of Singapore: A Biography*. New York: Doubleday, 1946.

Raymond Flower, *Raffles: The Story of Singapore*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2007.

Native Voices on Colonial Contributions

Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, Munshi. *The Hikayat Abdullah: The Autobiography of Abdullah Bin Abdul Kadir, 1797-1854*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Bruce Gilley, "Africa's Chinua Achebe on the Positive Legacies of Colonialism" in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

Bruce Gilley, "India's V.S. Naipaul and the Reckoning With Empire," in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

Driss Ghalli, *A Counter-History of French Colonization* (Vaubon Books, 2024)

Zoubeïda Bittari (Louise Ali-Rachedi) *O, My Muslim Sisters, Weep*, Paris, 1964.

Nirad Chaudhuri, *Clive of India: A Political and Psychological Essay* (London: Barrie and jenkins, 1975)

Tanjil Rashid, "The Queen's War on Nationalism: She was Enoch Powell's Most Successful Adversary," *unHerd*, June 8, 2022

Tshibangu-Wa-Mulumba A (1987) *Hommage à la colonisation*. Paris, Ile-de-France: OKEM.

Kenyatta, Jomo. *Suffering Without Bitterness: The Founding of the Kenya Nation*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.

Masani, Zareer. *Macaulay: Britain's Liberal Imperialist*. NY: Bodley Head, 2013.

Masani, Zareer. "A Personal Rejoinder to British Raj-Haters Masquerading as Historians: From Liberal Laws to Educational Institutions to Infrastructure, the British Raj Contributed a Lot to India.", *The Wire*, 23 March 2017.

41

Nirad Chaudhuri. *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*. London: Macmillan, 1951.

Kulkarni, V. B. *British Statesmen in India*. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1961.

Nigumi, Mohammed. *A Great Trusteeship: A History of British Rule in the Sudan*. London: Caravel Press, 1957.

Carr, Henry Rollinson. *Lectures and Speeches by Henry Carr*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Lumumba, Patrice. *Congo, My Country*. New York: Praeger, 1962.

Banerjea, Surendranath. *A Nation in Making, Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life*. Oxford University Press, 1925.

Bello, Ahmadu. *My Life*. Cambridge: University Press, 1962.

Dupuch, Etienne Jerome. *Tribune Story*. London: Benn, 1967.

Non-Colonized Counterfactuals

Wilson, Jon E. "Early Colonial India Beyond Empire," *Historical Journal* 50, no. 4 (2007): 951-70.

Mekuria Bulcha, "Genocidal Violence in the Making of Nation and State in Ethiopia," *African Sociological Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2005), pp. 1-54

Gnamo, Abbas. *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire, 1880-1974 : The Case of the Arsi Oromo*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Asfa-Wossen, Asserate, Peter Lewis, and Thomas Pakenham. *King of Kings: The Triumph and Tragedy of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia*. London: Haus Publishing Ltd, 2015.

Marsden, Philip. *The Barefoot Emperor: An Ethiopian Tragedy*. London: HarperPress, 2007.

Pankhurst, Richard. *The Great Ethiopian Famine of 1888-1892*. Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University, 1964.

McCann, James. *From Poverty to Famine in Northeast Ethiopia: A Rural History, 1900-1935*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

Nolan, Liam. *The Forgotten Famine in Ethiopia in 1974*. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1974.

Dawit Wolde, Giorgis. *Red Tears: War, Famine, and Revolution in Ethiopia, 1985-89*. Trenton, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1989.

Dikötter, Frank. *The Tragedy of Liberation: A History of the Chinese Revolution 1945-1957*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Dikötter, Frank. *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*. London: Bloomsbury, 2010.

Gershoni, Yekutiel. *Black Colonialism: The Americo-Liberian Scramble for the Hinterland*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1985.

Sawyer, Amos. *The Emergence of Autocracy in Liberia: Tragedy and Challenge*. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1992.

Schuylar, George S. *Slaves Today: A Story of Liberia*. New York: Brewer, Warren & Putnam, 1931.

League of Nations, *International Commission of Enquiry into the Existence of Slavery and Forced Labour in the Republic of Liberia*, Geneva: 1930

Anti-Colonialism as Bad History

Jean Stengers, "Les malaises de l'histoire coloniale," in *Congo: Mythes & Réalités* (2002 edition), pp.309.317.

Paul Crook, "Historical Monkey Business: The Myth of a Darwinized British Imperial Discourse," *History*, Vol. 84, No. 276 (October 1999), pp. 633-657.

Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism* (Prometheus, 2007).

Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents* (Abrams, 2008)

Joachim Betz, « The Aftermath of Colonial Rule » in *Development Policy*, Springer: 2022 ; 43
pp.31-36.

Ernest Gellner, « The mightier pen? Edward Said and the double standards of inside-out colonialism », *Times Literary Supplement*, 1993

Maximilian Felsch, «The Scientific Shortcomings of Postcolonial Theory », *International Studies*, 2023.

Mary Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (New York: Basic Books, 1996)

Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).

Barnaby Crowcroft, "Imperious Historians: *Time's Monster* by Priya Satia claims that historians have been the key architects of empire," *Claremont Review of Books* (Winter 2021/2).

Berman, Russell, "The Myth of Anti-Colonialism" in *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture*, Lincoln, Neb: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Mary Jean Bowman, "Review of Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism," *Economic Development and Culture Change*, No. 24 (July 1976), 833–41.

Emmer, Piet. *Het zwart-witdenken voorbij: Een bijdrage aan de discussie over kolonialisme, slavernij en migratie* (Beyond Black and White Thinking: A Contribution to the Debate on Colonialism, Slavery, and Migration). Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam, 2018.

Stoll, David. *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.

Wiener, Martin. "Treating 'Historical' Sources as Literary Texts: Literary Historicism and Modern British History". *Journal of Modern History* 70, No. 3 (1998): 619-638.

Lemon, Anthony, "Rhodes Must Fall: The Dangers of Re-writing History," *The Round Table*, 105:2 (2016), pp. 217-219.

Biggar, Nigel. "Rhodes, Race, and the Abuse of History." *Standpoint*, March (2016).

44

Thin, Neil, "Colonialism, Appreciative History, and the Trials of Academic Heterodoxy" (2017), *Happiness Lens Blog*. University of Edinburgh.

Masani, Zareer. "Why is Britain so ready to feel postcolonial guilt?" *Sunday Telegraph*, April 23 (2017).

Anti-Colonialism as Racism and Fascism

Dhirendra K Jha, "Guruji's Lie: The RSS and MS Golwalkar's undeniable links to Nazism," *Caravan: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 31 July 2021.

Dharmadasa, K.N.O. "A Nativistic Reaction To Colonialism: The Sinhala-Buddhist Revival in Sri Lanka." *Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1974): 159-179.

G.B. Singh, *Gandhi: Behind the Mask of Divinity*, New York: Prometheus (2004)

Christopher Lasch, "The Anti-Imperialists, the Philippines, and the Inequality of Man," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Aug., 1958), pp. 319-331.

Brian Tsui, *China's Conservative Revolution: The Quest for a New Order, 1927–1949* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Manohar James, *Religious Conversion in India: The Niyogi Committee Report of Madhya Pradesh in 1956 and Its Continuing Impact on National Unity* (WIPF and Stock, 2022)

Barry Rubin and Wolfgang G. Schwanitz, *Nazis, Islamists, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Yale UP, 2014)

Izabella Tabarovsky, "Zombie Anti-Zionism," *Tablet Magazine*, July 30, 2024.

Matthias Küntzel, *Die Deutschen under der Iran* (2009)

P. Eric Louw, *Decolonization and White Africans: The "Winds of Change," Resistance, and Beyond* (Academica Press, 2022)

Reynolds, E. Bruce. "Phibun Songkhram and Thai Nationalism In The Fascist Era." *European Journal Of East Asian Studies* 3, No. 1 (2004): 99–134.

Shane Strate, "An Uncivil State of Affairs: Fascism and Anti-Catholicism in Thailand, 1940–1944," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 2011, Vol.42(1), pp.59-87.

Wole Soyinka, "Neo-Tarzanism: The Poetics of Pseudo-Tradition," *Transition*, No. 48 (1975), pp. 38-44.

Hayes, Romain. *Subhas Chandra Bose in Nazi Germany: Politics, Intelligence, and Propaganda 1941-43*. New York: Columbia/Hurst, 2011.

Sareen, Tilak Raj. *Subhas Chandra Bose and Nazi Germany*. New Delhi: Mounto Pub. House, 1996.

Daniel Brücknerhaus, "Nazi Rule and Transnational Anti-Colonialism in Western Europe, 1933–1945" in *Policing Transnational Protest : Liberal Imperialism and the Surveillance of Anticolonialists in Europe, 1905–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Stefan Wild, "National Socialism in the Arab Near East between 1933 and 1939," *Die Welt des Islams*, 25: 1: 4 (1985), pp. 126-173.

Fritz Steppart, *Das Jahr 1933 und seine Folgen fur die arabischen [The Year 1933 and Its Consequences for the Arab Countries of the Middle East: An Essay on Nazi Policy in the Middle East Towards Zionism and the Fascist Tendencies in Arab Countries]* Leibniz-Centre of Modern Orient (1985).

Joseph B. Schechtman, *The Mufti and the Führer: The Rise and Fall of Haj Amin el-Husseini* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1965)

Klaus Gensicke, *Der Mufti von Jerusalem und die Nationalsozialisten: Eine politische Biographie Amin el-Husseinis* [The Mufti of Jerusalem and the National Socialists: A Political Biography of Amin el-Husseini] (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007)

Bashford, Alison. "Anticolonial Climates: Physiology, Ecology, and Global Population, 1920s-1950s." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. Winter2012, Vol. 86 Issue 4, p596-626.

Thomas Melady and Margaret Melady, *Idi Amin Dada: Hitler in Africa*. Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 1977.

46

Twaddle, Michael. *Expulsion of a Minority: Essays on Ugandan Asians*. London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1975.

James, C. Boyd. *Garvey, Garveyism, and the Antinomies in Black Redemption*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2009.

Stein, Judith. "The UNIA Goes South: Garvey and the Ku Klux Klan" in *The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991.

Flaig, Egon. "Faschistoider 'Antikolonialismus' Frantz Fanon" (The Fascist Anti-Colonialism of Frantz Fanon) in *Die Niederlage Der Politischen Vernunft: Wie Wir Die Errungenschaften Der Aufklärung Verspielen* (The Defeat of Political Reason: How We Forfeit the Achievements of Enlightenment), ch. 3, pp.103-139. Springer: zu Klampen, 2017.

Yannick Lengkeek, "Staged Glory: The Impact of Fascism on 'Cooperative' Nationalist Circles in Late Colonial Indonesia, 1935-1942," *Fascism*, May 2018, Vol.7(1), pp.109-131.

Wilson, K. *Orang dan partai Nazi di Indonesia: kaum pergerakan menyambut fasisme (Nazi People and Parties in Indonesia: The Movement Welcomes Fascism)*. Depok: Bamboo Community, 2008.

Wilson, *Soekarno, komunis, dan fasis Orba [Sukarno, the Communists, and the Fascists of the New Order]* Malang, Jatim: Social Movement Institute, 2015

Bruckner, Pascal. *Le Sanglot de l'homme blanc: Tiers-monde, culpabilité, haine de soi*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1983. Published in English as *The Tears of the White Man: Compassion as Contempt*. New York: Free Press, 1986.

Anti-Colonialism as Romantic Anti-Modernism

Elazar Barkan, "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain," *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (1994), pp. 180-203.

Shepard Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*, New York: W.W. Norton (2000).

47

Afary, Janet, and Kevin Anderson. *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Anti-Colonialism as (Alien) White Ideology

Raftopoulos, Brian. "Terence Ranger's Return to the University of Zimbabwe in the Late 1990s," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41:5 (2015), 1122-1125.

Kuck, Nathanael. "Anti-Colonialism in a Post-Imperial Environment: The Case of Berlin, 1914–33." *Journal of Contemporary History* 49, No. 1 (2014): 134–159.

Lawrence, Adria. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire* (2013).

Gopal, Priyamvada. *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonialism and British Dissent*. London: Verso, 2018.

Manela, Erez. *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

- McCartney, John. "The Influences of the Black Panther Party (USA) on the Vanguard Party of the Bahamas (1972–1987)." *New Political Science* 21, no. 2 (1999): 205-215.
- Makalani, Minkah. *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917-1939*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- Derrick, Jonathan. *Africa's "Agitators": Militant Anti-Colonialism in Africa and the West, 1918-1939*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Anderson, Carol. *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960*. New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Goebel, Michael. *Anti-Imperial Metropolis : Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Butler, L. J. and S. E. Stockwell. *The Wind of Change: Harold Macmillan and British Decolonization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Matikkala, Mira. *Empire and Imperial Ambition: Liberty, Englishness and Anti-Imperialism in Late-Victorian Britain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Boittin, Jennifer Anne. *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
- Owen, Nicholas. *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885-1947*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Tompkins, E. Berkeley. *Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate, 1890-1920*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970.
- Petersson, Fredrik. "Berlin: Hub of the Anti-Imperialist Movement." *Interventions* 16, no. 1 (2014): 49-71.
- Howe, Stephen. *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918-1964*. London: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- M'Baye, Babacar. *Black Cosmopolitanism and Anticolonialism: Pivotal Moments*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Kalter, Christoph. *The Discovery of the Third World: The French Radical Left and the International Struggle against Colonialism, C. 1950-1976*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Louis, William Roger. "American Anti-Colonialism and the Dissolution of the British Empire." *International Affairs* 61, no. 3 (1985): 395-421.

Aitken, Robbie. "From Cameroon to Germany and Back via Moscow and Paris: The Political Career of Joseph Bilé (1892—1959), Performer, 'Negerarbeiter' and Comintern Activist." *Journal Of Contemporary History* 43, no. 4 (2008): 597-616.

Emelyanova, E.N. "The National Liberation Movement in India and the Policy of Soviet Russia in Asia." *World of Scientific Discoveries* (V Mire Nauchnykh Otkrytiy) 71 Issue 11.7 (2015): 2333-2443.

Problems of Anti-Colonialism in Domestic Affairs

Rigmar Osterkamp, "Felwine Sarr's Afrotopia – An Utopian Vision Fruitful for Africa?" in M. Leroch, F. Rupp (eds.), *Power and Responsibility. In Honor of Manfred J. Holler*, Springer 2023, pp. 359 – 372.

49

Olúfẹ́ mi Táíwò, *Against Decolonisation: Taking African Agency Seriously*, London: Hurst (2022)

Ingiriis, Mohamed Haji, "The Genesis, Genealogies, and Geographies of Genocides in Somalia," *African Security*, 2016-07, Vol.9 (3), p.237-258

Robert H. Jackson, Carl G. Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood in the African Crisis," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Mar., 1986), pp. 1-31.

Peter Bauer, *Equality, the Third World, and Economic Delusion* (Harvard UP, 1981)

Nogueira, Alberto Franco, *The Third World*, Foreword by Dean Acheson (London: Johnson, 1967).

Bernardo Teixeira, *Fabric of Terror* (Devin-Adair, 1965).

Henissart, Paul, *Wolves in the City: The Death of French Algeria* (Simon & Schuster, 1970).

V.S. Naipaul. *India: A Wounded Civilization*. New York: Knopf, 1976.

Helen Andrews, "Zimbabwe's Trauma," *National Review* (December 2017)

Thomas Melady and Margaret Melady, *Burundi: The Tragic Years*, New York: Orbis (1974)

Kevin Baldeoosingh, *From Colony to Curse: A Social and Economic History of Trinidad 1901-2001* (Creative Services, 2019)

Bhattacharyya, S.K., *Genocide in East Pakistan/Bangladesh: A Horror Story* (Houston: A. Ghosh, 1988)

Omari, Thompson Peter. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*. London: C. Hurst & Co, 1970.

Vishnu Raghavan, "Tyranny and Turmoil: A Review of Jeffrey Ahlman's Bizarre Defense of Kwame Nkrumah Visions of Liberation," *History Reclaimed*, 12 March 2024.

Schuylar, Philippa. *Who Killed the Congo?* New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1962.

50

Pieter Drooglever, *An Act of Free Choice: Decolonisation and the Right to Self-Determination in West Papua* (Oxford: One World, 2010).

Leith, J. Clark and Ludvig Söderling. *Ghana: Long Term Growth, Atrophy and Stunted Recovery*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Research Report No. 125, 2003.

Buckle, Catherine. *Beyond Tears: Zimbabwe's Tragedy*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2002.

Lugan, Bernard. *Afrique: Bilan De La Décolonisation*. Paris: Perrin, 1991.

Verstraeten, Soraya P.A. ; van Oers, Hans A.M. ; Mackenbach, Johan P., "Decolonization and Life Expectancy in the Caribbean", *Social Science & Medicine* 170, no 1 (2016): 87-96

Maier, Karl. *This House Has Fallen: Nigeria In Crisis*. London: Allen Lane, 2000.

Bereketeab, Redie. *National Liberation Movements as Government in Africa*. London: Routledge, 2018.

Mwakikagile, Godfrey. *Africa Is in a Mess: What Went Wrong and What Should Be Done*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: New Africa Press, 2006.

Achebe, Chinua. *There Was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra*. London: Allen Lane, 2012.

Chiumbu, Sarah and Muchapharara Musemwa. *Crisis! What Crisis?: The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press, 2012.

Igreja, Victor. "Frelimo's Political Ruling through Violence and Memory in Postcolonial Mozambique." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 36, no. 4 (2010): 781-99.

John S. Saul and Colin Leys, "Lubango and after: 'Forgotten History' as Politics in Contemporary Namibia," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Jun., 2003), pp. 333-353

Lewis, W. Arthur. *Politics in West Africa*. Allen & Unwin, 1965.

Matinga, M. N., Clancy, J. S., & Annegarn, H. J. (2014). "Explaining the Non-Implementation of Health-Improving Policies Related to Solid Fuels Use in South Africa." *Energy Policy*, 68, 53-59.

Abbott, Elizabeth. *Haiti: A Shattered Nation*. London: Duckworth, 2011.

Gros, Jean-Germain. *State Failure, Underdevelopment, and Foreign Intervention in Haiti*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Mukui Waruiru, "The Failure of Democracy in Africa", October 31, 2007, *Taki Magazine*

Compagnon, Daniel. *A Predictable Tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the Collapse of Zimbabwe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and Legal Resources Foundation (Zimbabwe). *Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe : A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands, 1980-1988*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.

Doran, Stuart. *Kingdom, Power, Glory: Mugabe, Zanu and the Quest for Supremacy, 1960-1987*. Cape Town: Sithatha Media, 2017.

Problems of Anti-Colonialism at the United Nations and in International Relations

Alex Rowell, *We Are Your Soldiers: How Gamal Abdel Nasser Remade the Arab World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2024)

Kohn, Hans. "Some Reflections on Colonialism", *Review of Politics* 18, no. 3 (1956): 259-268

Sheng, Michael. *Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin, and the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Burke, Roland. "'According to Their Own Norms of Civilization': The Rise of Cultural Relativism and the Decline of Human Rights." In *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Louis, WM. Roger & Ronald Robinson. "The Imperialism of Decolonization." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 22, no. 3 (1994): 462-511.

Burns, Alan Sir. *In Defence of Colonies : British Colonial Territories in International Affairs*. Allen & Unwin, 1957.

McKercher, Asa. "The Trouble with Self-Determination: Canada, Soviet Colonialism, and the United Nations, 1960–1963." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 20, no. 3 (2016): 343-64.

Puchala, Donald. "Third World Thinking and Contemporary International Relations." In Stephanie Neuman (ed.), *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. St. Martin's Press. pp. 133—157, 1998.

Rangel, Carlos. *Third World Ideology and Western Reality: Manufacturing of Political Myth*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1986.

Strausz-Hupé, Robert and Harry W. Hazard. *The Idea of Colonialism*. The Foreign Policy Research Institute Series. New York: Praeger, 1958.

Revel, Jean-François. *The Totalitarian Temptation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.

Nathan, Laurie. *Anti-Imperialism Trumps Human Rights: South Africa's Approach to the Darfur Conflict*. London: Crisis States Research Centre, 2008.

Cameron, Hazel. "The Matabeleland Massacres: Britain's Wilful Blindness." *International History Review* 40, no. 1 (2018): 1-19.

Nogueira, Franco Alberto. *The United Nations and Portugal: A Study of Anti-Colonialism*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1963.

[**Problems of Anti-Colonialism in Anglo Settlement Colonies**](#)

Leland Donald, "Slavery in Indigenous North America" in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, volume 3, Chapter 9 (2011).

Calvin Helin, *Dances With Dependency: Out of Poverty Through Self-Reliance* (UNKNO, 2008)

Fujikane, Candace & Jonathan Okamura (eds.), *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press; 2008

Frances Widdowson, "The Problem With 'Indigenizing the University,'" *Quillette*, 24 February 2021.

Robert MacBain, "How the North-West Mounted Police – the Forerunner of Canada's RCMP – Saved the Blackfoot People from Extinction," *C2C Journal* (Canada), May 31, 2023.

Kenneth Minogue, *Waitangi, Morality, and Reality*, Wellington: New Zealand Business Roundtable (1998)

Dwight Murphey, "The Historic Dispossession of the American Indian," in *The Dispossession of the American Indian And Other Key Issues in American History* (Washington, D.C.: Scott-Townsend, 1995).

Bruce Moon, *Real Treaty, False Treaty: The True Waitangi Story* (2007)

Elizabeth Weiss and James Springer, *Repatriation and Erasing the Past* (University Press of Florida, 2020)

Windschuttle, Keith. *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (3 vols.). Sydney: Macleay Press, 2002-2008.

Jeff Flynn-Paul, "The Myth of the 'Stolen Country': What Should the Europeans Have Done with the New World?", *The Spectator*, 26 September 2020.

Widdowson, Frances and Albert Howard. *Disrobing the Aboriginal Industry: The Deception Behind Indigenous Cultural Preservation*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.

Thomas E. Emerson, *Cahokia and the Archaeology of Power* (University of Alabama Press, 1997)

Casey Chalk, "You Know Who Else Colonized Land from 'Indigenous Peoples'? Native Americans," *The Federalist* (5 March 2020)

Pearson, Noel. "White Guilt, Victimhood and the Quest for a Radical Centre." *Griffith Review* 16 (2007): 34-72.

Pearson, Noel. *Up from the Mission: Selected Writings*. Melbourne: Black Inc., 2009.

54

Carah, N. and Louw, Eric. (2016), "The Apologetic Brand: Building Australia's Brand on a Post-Colonial Apology," pp. 27-45 in Volcic, Z. and Andrejevic, M. (eds.), *Commercial Nationalism: Selling the Nation and Nationalizing the Sell*, Palgrave Macmillan: London.

Ives, Timothy, *Stones of Contention* (New English Review Press, 2021)

Ives, Timothy. "The Hunt for Redneck Archaeology: Disentangling 'White Guilt', Ceremonial Stone Landscape Activism, and Professional Archaeology in New England," *Northeast Anthropology*, no. 85-86 (2018): 47-72

Bruce Gilley, "Erasing White Settlers With Fake Indian Rocks" in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

Bruce Gilley, "Defending the British Empire on the Canadian Prairies," in *The Case for Colonialism*, New English Review Press, 2023.

Flanagan, Thomas. *First Nations? Second Thoughts*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.

Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, Yale University Press (2009).

Bosher, John F. "Vancouver Island in the Empire." *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*. 33, No. 3 (2005): 349-368

Widdowson, Frances, "The Political Economy of 'Truth and Reconciliation' (TRC): Neotribal Rentierism and the creation of the victim/perpetrator dichotomy."

Rata, Elizabeth. "'Marching Through the Institutions: The Neotribal Elite and the Treaty of Waitangi'", *SITES: a Journal of Social Anthropology & Cultural Studies*, 1, no.2 (2004): 57-83.

Rata, Elizabeth. *A Political Economy of Neotribal Capitalism*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2000.

Elizabeth Rata. "Discursive Strategies of the Maori Tribal Elite." *Critique of Anthropology* 31, no. 4 (2010): 359-380.

55

Elizabeth Rata, "Ethnic Ideologies in New Zealand Education: What's Wrong with Kaupapa Maori (The Maori Way)?", Teacher Education Forum of Aotearoa New Zealand Conference, 2004.

Jøn, Allan Asbjørn. "Memory, Power, Place and Identity: Maritime Heritage and the Authorized Heritage Discourse in South-Eastern New Zealand". Department of Anthropology, University of Canterbury.

[Problems of Anti-Colonialism for the Western Liberal Tradition](#)

Daniel Gordon, "Civilization and the Self-Critical Tradition," *Society* No. 54 (2017): 106-123

Douglas Stokes, *Against Decolonisation: The Campus Culture Wars and the Decline of the West* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2023)

Bruckner, Pascal. 2006. *La tyrannie de la pénitence essai sur le masochisme occidental*. Paris: B. Grasset. Published in English as *The Tyranny of Guilt: An Essay on Western Masochism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Atanassow, Ewa. 2017. "Colonization and Democracy: Tocqueville Reconsidered." *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 1: 83-96

Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit. *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004.

Famous About-Turns by Anti-Colonial Intellectuals

Memmi, Albert. *Decolonization and the Decolonized*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Gilley, Bruce. "Chinua Achebe on the Positive Legacies of Colonialism". *African Affairs* 115, no. 3: 646-663.

Rohter, Larry. "Author Changes His Mind on '70s Manifesto: Eduardo Galeano Disavows His Book 'The Open Veins of Latin America'." *New York Times*. 24 May, 2014.

Dembour, M.-B., *Recalling the Belgian Congo: Conversations and Introspection* (Berghahn Books, 2000)

A Fruitful and Legitimate Colonialism For Today

Freiman, Christopher. "Cosmopolitanism within Borders: On Behalf of Charter Cities." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 30, no. 1 (2013): 40-52.

56

Johnson, Paul. "Colonialism's Back, And Not a Moment Too Soon," *New York Times Magazine*, 18 April 1993.

Sebastian Mallaby, "The Reluctant Imperialist: Terrorism, Failed States, and the Case for American Empire," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (Mar. - Apr., 2002), pp. 2-7.

van den Driest, Simone. *Remedial Secession: A Right to External Self-Determination as a Remedy to Serious Injustices* (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2013).

Johnson, R.W. "Sooner or later Africa must face some form of recolonisation." *Daily Telegraph* (Monday, May 22, 2000)

Zartman, William. *Cowardly Lions: Missed Opportunities to Prevent Deadly Conflict and State Collapse*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2005.

Grøner Krogstad, Erlend. "Local Ownership as Dependence Management: Inviting the Coloniser Back." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 8, no. 2-3 (2014/07/03 2014): 105-25.

Krasner, Stephen D. "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States." *International Security* 29, no. 2 (2004): 85-120.

Kruger, Daniel. "The Case for Colonialism." *The Spectator*, 13 March, 2003.

Cutler, A.C. and T. Dietz. *The Politics of Private Transnational Governance by Contract*, New York, NY: Routledge, 2017.

Bruce Gilley, "The Case for Colonialism", *Third World Quarterly*, September 2017. Reprinted in *Academic Questions* (Summer 2018)

Kaplan, Robert. "In Defense of Empire." *The Atlantic* (2014).

Matanock, Aila. "Governance Delegation Agreements: Shared Sovereignty as a Substitute for Limited Statehood." *Governance* 27, no. 4 (2014): 589-612.

Sagar, Rahul. "Are Charter Cities Legitimate?" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 24, no. 4 (2016): 509-29.

Chesterman, Simon. *You, the People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Lugan, Bernard. *Afrique: De La Colonisation Philanthropique à la Reconolisation Humanitaire (Africa: From Philanthropic Colonization to Humanitarian Recolonization)*. Etrepilly: Christian de Bartillat, 1995.