

CAMBRIDGE IMPERIAL & POST-COLONIAL STUDIES

# THE ENDS OF EUROPEAN COLONIAL EMPIRES

## CASES AND COMPARISONS

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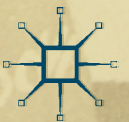
THE ENDS OF EUROPEAN COLONIAL EMPIRES

EDITED  
BY

MIGUEL BANDEIRA JERÓNIMO  
AND ANTÓNIO COSTA PINTO



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"In this collection two ambitious Portuguese scholars assemble an impressive cast of contributors to rethink the demise - or reconfiguration - of European power in Africa. Eschewing morality plays and polemics for historical analysis, the authors add nuance and complexity to the decolonization, the most important phenomenon of 20th century history - making their book essential reading for the growing number of students interested in this crucial topic."

– David C. Engerman, *Brandeis University*

"It is perhaps surprising that decolonisation has remained stubbornly resistant to theorisation. Comparative analysis offers a means to redress things, making this collection especially valuable to researchers and students alike. Interrogating the meanings of decolonisation, its local and global implications, and its material consequences – both foreseen and unforeseen, the essays in this collection complement one another well."

– Martin Thomas, *University of Exeter*

"With a range from the 1940s to the 1970s and beyond, the selection of distinguished and innovative younger historians guide the reader through conceptual issues in a way that is consistently compelling. The individual chapters are integrated into an overall, coherent account of a critical period in world history. A vital read for all those interested in the dissolution of the European colonial empires and the aftermath of decolonization."

– Wm. Roger Louis, *University of Texas*

Authored by some of the leading experts in the field of Decolonization Studies, this volume provides a series of historical studies that analyse the diverse trajectories of the Portuguese, Belgian, French, British, and Dutch imperial demise, offering comparative insights between the main events and processes involved. Addressing different geographies and taking into account diverse chronologies of decolonization, this volume explores the intersections between imperial and colonial endgames and histories of the Cold War, development, labour, human rights, and international organizations, thereby elucidating their connection with wider, global historical processes. The volume concludes with an essay by John Darwin, 'Last Days of Empire'.

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# Introduction – The Ends of Empire: Chronologies, Historiographies, and Trajectories

*Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto*

*The Ends of European Colonial Empires: Cases and Comparisons* provides a plural assessment of the ends of the European colonial empires, made by some of the leading experts of the growing field – in quantity, quality, and scope – of decolonization studies.<sup>1</sup> The historiography of decolonization is still work in progress, vibrant in its plurality of analytical approaches, establishing productive conversations with other historiographies and disciplinary fields. It is a field of research marked by the emergence of novel intellectual concerns, political and ideological outlooks and also geopolitical vistas, as John Darwin illustrates in his contribution to this volume.<sup>2</sup> For example, the intersections between the scrutiny of the imperial and colonial endgames and *local* and *global* researches on the histories of the Cold War, of development, of labour, of human rights or of international organizations are being prolifically explored.<sup>3</sup> The establishment of a critical dialogue between historiographies of imperial endgames, geopolitical competition, and trajectories of globalization, for instance, entails many relevant advantages for each domain.<sup>4</sup> Of course, these historiographical dialogues may generate some problems.<sup>5</sup>

But whatever the relative importance granted to these historiographical and thematic intersections – and their political, economic, ideological, and cultural manifestations in history – it is crucial to emphasize their cross-fertilization (which we do below), illuminating the fertile outcomes and challenges they bring about, as many texts in this volume demonstrate.

Addressing different geographies and taking into account diverse *chronologies* of decolonization, this collection also highlights the specificities of each imperial configuration and respective *colonial situations*. Accordingly, it offers a variegated empirical assessment of almost

all European imperial endgames, focusing, with few exceptions, on the African continent.<sup>6</sup> The importance, indeed the necessity, of endorsing the advancement of ampler analytical exercises that can include and compare other cases of imperial disintegration – for instance, those related to the post-First World War period, to the Japanese and Soviet ‘empires’ or the ‘American empire’ – must be acknowledged, even if the selection of cases in this book does not respond to this need.<sup>7</sup> The chronological and geographical widening and enhancement of the comparative study of imperial formations, its emergence, consolidation and eventual dissolution, is a crucial endeavour that must be continuously promoted.<sup>8</sup>

Despite its focus on the post-Second World War years, this volume nonetheless highlights inter-war legacies, for instance, of racialized and paternalistic outlooks, modalities of imperial reformism or economic *protectionist* preferences. It therefore proposes a cautious use of the widespread argument that posits that the Second World War was *the* fundamental critical juncture that entailed the most *significant* changes to the fate of European colonial empires. Notwithstanding that war’s unquestionable relevance to the study of 20th-century imperialism and colonialism, which is demonstrated by the majority of the texts contained here, a different economy of continuity and change should perhaps be pursued in our efforts to understand the multiple and overlapping *chronologies* of decolonization.

With that in mind, this volume offers studies of particular historical events and processes that characterized the multiple trajectories towards imperial demise, elucidating their connection with wider, *global* historical processes, and enabling comparative insights into the similarities and differences between these events, and the processes and trajectories of decolonization. The consideration of historical contingency and local particularities is a fundamental correction to *general*, linear and simplistic narratives of decolonization and its main causes. In this volume, the supposed inevitability of the imperial endgame is confronted by a multiplicity of competing possibilities, a diversity of options and decisions that were at stake. The polyhedral nature of political, economic, ideological, and sociocultural imagination(s) of late colonialism and decolonization is recognized, not suppressed or reduced to a single analytical dimension (e.g. political or economic). Likewise, the fact that imperial endgames were dynamic, often contradictory and unstable historical processes that influenced each other to varying degrees is acknowledged in this work. For instance, the political, economic, and sociocultural continuities and discontinuities between imperial and

postimperial and postcolonial regimes must be carefully pondered. They must not be taken for granted with hindsight, given the manifest result: the transfer of power or sovereignty. The imperial endgames, their repercussions and 'legacies', are unsuited to reductionist, nomological, and teleological approaches, or to ideological oversimplifications, all of which persist inside and outside academia. The ends of empire were plural and complex, and the imperial endgame was not an inexorable and inevitable process.

Among the many historical subjects held up to critical analysis in this volume, let us single out the following, without aiming to be exhaustive.

The circulation and diverse appropriation of idioms and repertoires of imperial rule is one of the central issues of this volume, including those that left their imprint in the *nature* of the late colonial state.<sup>9</sup> The same goes for the circulation and diverse appropriation of idioms and repertoires of protest and resistance, and self-determination.<sup>10</sup> For instance, the issue of state-sponsored violence that conditioned the 'late colonial shift' in many imperial formations merits a special place, marked as it was by longstanding modalities of colonial stereotyping, racial discrimination and civilizational rhetoric.<sup>11</sup>

Also worthy of attention is 'developmentalism'. In fact, another important historical issue explored in some of these contributions relates to the engagement between international doctrines of development and modernization and the late colonial period. This historical engagement was a central feature of late colonialism. It was certainly associated with post-war economic and political imperatives that affected the European imperial states,<sup>12</sup> whose need to reinvent their colonial and international legitimacy as *progressive* and *modern* polities, confronting the archaism of their administrative apparatus and the meagre social penetration of the infrastructural power of the colonial state, was evident.<sup>13</sup> It was also related to the *local* and *global* interference of competing Cold War 'modernities', constituting an informative example of the postcolonial 'legacies' and ramifications of late colonialism and decolonizing processes. The persistence of idioms and modalities of statecraft and governance (e.g. institutional and constitutional architectures, including an 'imported State'<sup>14</sup>); of disciplinary knowledge with global impact (e.g. *community development* or *development economics*, or the growing institutionalization of Social and Human Sciences and related engagement with imperial processes<sup>15</sup>); of experts and epistemic communities (e.g. related to aid, agricultural economics or labour<sup>16</sup>); of grand schemes of societal transformation; or of repertoires of violent

repression are some examples. Accordingly, this volume deals with the ‘transfers of power’ but clearly goes beyond its associated traditional narrative. It certainly addresses the causes, motivations and contexts of the formulation of imperial policies to manage or resist decolonizing pressures, but it provides a diverse and multidimensional set of interrogations that evade the emphasis on strict political-diplomatic rationales.

As briefly noted above, renewed interest in the role played by international and transnational actors is also perceptible in many of these contributions, accompanying an historiographical turn that is also noticeably rewarding in the assessment of work by bodies such as the League of Nations or the International Labour Organization.<sup>17</sup> The role of the United Nations, for instance, is investigated in many texts.<sup>18</sup> Within this institution, alongside power politics and efforts to *nationalize* the international, the emergence of a community of international experts – who shared particular normative frameworks and therefore mitigated national affiliations – was a crucial process. For sure, positions that were in favour of the continuation of colonial solutions, or that merely pushed for their reform, existed in these international organizations. But the ways in which international organizations accommodated *global* decolonization idioms, *moments* and trajectories, and transformed their normative, institutional and policy-making frameworks, constitute a crucial context through which to observe the plural, circumstantial and often contradictory nature of the imperial endgames.

Finally, alongside aspects such as the role of information and intelligence – the prolongation and perhaps adjustment of the inter-war *empires of intelligence*<sup>19</sup> – or of metropolitan political systems in determining the strategies of imperial resilience or retreat, aspects which are also explored in this collection, another important theme that runs throughout many of these contributions is that of the Cold War (and other geopolitical undercurrents).<sup>20</sup> Despite the need to avoid reducing the history of decolonization trajectories to the historical dynamics of the Cold War, not least because coincidence is the weakest form of causation, the entanglements between both historical processes are of undeniable relevance, as several contributions to this volume show. Among other aspects, the assessment of the global consequences of the transformation of the geopolitical and ideological chessboard brought about by Cold War dynamics, with its own intricacies and hard-to-simplify manifestations, requires moving beyond the ‘tendency to imagine decolonization as a bilateral relationship between an imperial

power and (one) colonial territory', as John Darwin notes in his piece. The understanding of the intersection between the politico-diplomatic, technological, cultural, ideological and artistic *economies* of the Cold War and the plurality of imperial endgames requires refined analytical frameworks.<sup>21</sup>

The contributions to this volume also raise some important methodological and analytical issues.

On the one hand, the multilayered approach of these texts and the diversity of themes and processes they intersect open important comparative possibilities, indicating and enabling comparative avenues of enquiry. In political formations bursting, then and now, with ideologies of exceptionality, the promotion of comparative exercises is perhaps the finest corrective available. The attention to common patterns and to distinctive paths enables understandings that counterbalance clear-cut differentiations between cases and *essentialized* versions of imperial formations (e.g. planned versus disordered trajectories of decolonization), and question the numerous doctrines of exceptionality – of the imperial venture and of its demise, sometimes portrayed as the ultimate evidence of the putative 'civilizing mission' guiding imperial powers – that still predominate in the historical, political and sociological assessment of the end of European colonial empires (e.g. the British Westminster-based constitutionalism versus the Portuguese isolationism). Moreover, the use of a comparative lens, or the exploration of comparable insights that these texts enable, also permits the appreciation of processes of interimperial and intercolonial cooperation and competition, therefore further questioning singular and exceptional self-serving national narratives.

On the other hand, these texts demonstrate, in varying degrees and with different emphases, the advantages of integrating discrete scales of analysis to understand the trajectories of the late colonial state and decolonization, assessing their co-constitution, their interconnections and interdependence, and evading, or at least questioning and complicating, the replication of the propensity to emphasize one of two prevailing explicative and interpretative decolonization models: the metropolitan and the peripheral (or *nationalist*). In association with the mobilization of a multidimensional approach (one which critically relates the historical dynamism of the colonial situations, of the metropolitan circumstances and of the geopolitical and international landscapes), an aspect already noted briefly, these texts also show the importance of an integrated study of the intersections between: international constraints and opportunities (e.g. those entailed by the

dynamics of international organizations' engagement with imperial formations or by the changing nature of imperial and colonial sovereignties' political legitimacy); metropolitan and imperial pressures, strategies and decisions (e.g. the evaluation of the political, economic, social and cultural costs and benefits of an imperial permanence and the related sociopolitical mobilization of domestic constituencies regarding imperial and colonial affairs); and colonial situations (e.g. the changing aspects of the relationship between imperial authorities and plural modalities of colonial rule and colonial societies).<sup>22</sup>

This book is therefore a plural and multilayered collective effort which, alongside the promotion of historiographical dialogue as highlighted above, enables the assessment of international, transnational, metropolitan, and colonial approaches' advantages and shortcomings, exploring the variegated analytical possibilities opened by their articulation.

The volume has three parts. The first – 'Competing Developments: The Idioms of Reform and Resistance' – highlights the contextual production, circulation, and appropriation of specialized knowledge over colonial realities. Here, Frederick Cooper reveals how the need to reform French and British imperialism in Africa, already pressing colonial bureaucracies before the Second World War, was fundamental to the emergence and transformation of the discipline of Development Economics and modernization theories. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto reinforce the importance of international and interimperial circulation of imperial idioms, but stress the diversity of their appropriation, adaptation, and modification by each imperial configuration. The particular combination of administrative and economic modernization, and resistance to political and civic incorporation of African populations, characterized the late colonial state in the Portuguese Empire. Martin Shipway offers an instructive example of the plurality of idioms and repertoires of imperial rule and colonial reform that coexisted after the First World War, while demonstrating the wide spectrum of possible actions offered to those engaged with imperial and colonial affairs in turbulent times. Through the contextualization and interpretation of Robert Delavignette's shifting perspectives and actions, the ambiguities and complexities of late colonialism are illuminated, the associated political and moral quandaries exposed.

In the second part ('Comparing Endgames: the Modi Operandi of Decolonization'), Crawford Young offers a comparison of the turbulent Belgian, Dutch and Portuguese decolonization trajectories, stressing the role of symbolic, identitarian and material dimensions

in the metropolitan and imperial decision-making processes within the broader framework of global politics. Addressing the Portuguese, the French and the British cases, Bruno Cardoso Reis aims to demonstrate the role played by metropolitan 'political culture' and respective 'myths' of empire in the definition of imperial strategies. Sarah Stockwell explores, with some important comparative insights concerning Mozambique, the role of political and cultural aspects in the diffusion of the Westminster model (which entailed more than political institutions, bureaucracies or security services) in order to improve our understanding of the apparent institutional stability in the political transitions after the transfer of power in the British Empire in Africa. Philip Murphy questions the British Empire's supposedly serene transfer of power. He avoids the more obvious cases of insurgency, and focuses instead on the case of the Central African Federation, which is nonetheless understood comparatively – and demonstrates how the threat of violence was a crucial element in the processes of conflict and negotiation between the imperial power and the two most important colonial groups: white settlers and African nationalists.

In the third part ('Confronting Internationals: the (Geo)politics of Decolonization'), Ryan Irwin reveals how global and international transformations associated with the decolonization *moment* impacted on the ideological debates (for instance, on human rights), the organizational cultures, and the political decision-making processes in international organizations, particularly the United Nations, in a process marked by the moderation of pan-European ideas and interests. Exploring the career of Enuga Reddy, the connections between post-colonial geopolitics, international solidarities and networks, and international politics are illuminated and explained. Dealing with the Belgian case, John Kent examines the multiple ways in which Cold War dynamics and decolonization processes intersected. Taking the secession of Katanga (due to the combined role of political and economic colonial interests) and its international impact, Kent shows how imperial and colonial actors gave an instrumental use to the bipolar competition and conflict, aiming to further their own ends. Similar aspects are explored after the transfer of power. Luís Nuno Rodrigues shows how the relationship between Portugal and former imperial states was an important element in the definition of Portuguese imperial policies and strategies at a diplomatic level, challenging the traditional focus on certain traits of Portuguese 'political culture' associated with an authoritarian regime. The latter have tended to reinforce doctrines of national exception, in the Portuguese case one of supposed isolationism.

Finally, in his ‘Last Days of Empire’, John Darwin provides a critical overview of the volume’s main arguments and proposals, highlighting some of the most important themes that connect its contributions.

## Notes

1. A proof, and also a cause, of this enlargement and improvement of the field of decolonization studies is the International Seminar on Decolonization, organized by the National History Center, directed by William Roger Louis and funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. More than 100 young scholars interested in this field participated in the seminar.
2. For some recent comparative reassessments see Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and its Impact: A Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2008; Martin Thomas, Bob Moore, and Larry Butler, *Crises of Empire: Decolonization and Europe’s Imperial States, 1918–1975*, London: Hodder Education, 2008; Jost Dülffer and Marc Frey, eds, *Elites and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011; Pierre Brocheux, ed., *Les Décolonisations au XXe Siècle: Le Fin Des Empires Européens et Japonais*, Paris: Colin Armand, 2012. For comprehensive assessments that place imperial endgames in a *longue durée* approach see John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Global History of Empire Since 1405*, New York, Bloomsbury Press, 2008, and Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010.
3. For five examples only, one for each theme: Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005; Joseph Hodge, Gerald Hodl, and Martina Kopf, eds, *Developing Africa: Concepts and Practices in Twentieth Century Colonialism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014; Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1996; Roland Burke, *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011; Daniel Maul, *Human Rights, Development and Decolonization: The International Labour Organization, 1940–1970*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. See below for further relevant references.
4. For a recent review of the most interesting research possibilities and advantages emerging from this dialogue between historiographies, see Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson, ‘Empire and Globalisation: From “High Imperialism” to Decolonisation’, *The International History Review*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2014), pp. 1–29.
5. For a cautionary approach related to the intersection between decolonization and the Cold War see Matthew Connelly, ‘Taking off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North–South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence’, *American Historical Review*, vol. 105, no. 3 (2000), pp. 739–769.
6. For another geography see, for instance, Marc Frey, Ronald W. Pruessen and Tan Tai Yong, eds, *The Transformation of Southeast Asia: International Perspectives on Decolonization*, Armonk, NY, M.E. Sharpe, 2003; and Christopher E.

- Goscha and Christian Ostermann, *Connecting Histories: Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia, 1945–1962*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2009.
7. This is an extremely valid point raised by one of the anonymous peer reviewers of this volume. For an important contribution see Alfred W. McCoy, Josep Maria Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson, eds, *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.
  8. The editors of this volume also acknowledge the near absence of the Dutch experience, which is only substantially addressed by Crawford Young's contribution. For some important contributions see: Bob Moore, 'Decolonization by Default: Suriname and the Dutch Retreat from Empire, 1945–1975', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 28, no. 3 (2000), pp. 228–250; Christian Penders, *The West New Guinea Debauch: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia, 1945–1962*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2002; Gert Oostindie and Inge Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean: Dutch Policies in a Comparative Perspective*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2003; Marc Frey, 'The Indonesian Revolution and the Fall of the Dutch Empire: Actors, Factors, and Strategies', in Marc Frey, Ronald W. Pruessen, and Tan Tai Yong, eds, *The Transformation of Southeast Asia*, pp. 83–104.
  9. For inspiration see John Darwin, 'What Was the Late Colonial State?', *Itinerario*, vol. 23, nos 3–4 (1999), pp. 73–82.
  10. For a history of the early period see Jonathan Derrick, *Africa's 'Agitators': Militant Anti-Colonialism in Africa and the West, 1918–1939*, London, Hurst, 2008. See also Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007; Cemil Aydin, *Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2007; and Christopher Lee, ed., *Making a World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*, Athens, OH, Ohio University Press, 2010.
  11. For the notion of 'late colonial shift' see Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact*, 12–16. For some recent important contributions to the assessment of violence in late colonialism see: Sylvie Thénault, *Violence ordinaire dans l'Algérie coloniale. Camps, internements, assignations à résidence*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2012; and Fabian Klose, *Human Rights in the Shadow of Colonial Violence: The Wars of Independence in Kenya and Algeria*, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. The now classic works of Anderson and Elkins are fundamental references as well: David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005; Caroline Elkins, *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya*, London, Jonathan Cape, 2005. For coverage of an early period see Martin Thomas, *Violence and Colonial Order: Police, Workers, and Protest in the European Colonial Empires, 1918–1940*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.
  12. Frederick Cooper, 'Reconstructing Empire in British and French Africa' and Nicholas J. White, 'Reconstructing Europe through Rejuvenating Empire: The British, French and Dutch Experiences Compared', in Mark Mazower, Jessica Reinisch, and David Feldman (orgs), *Post-War Reconstruction in Europe*.

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- International Perspectives*. Past and Present Supplement, vol. 6 (2011), pp. 196–210 and pp. 211–236, respectively.
13. On international development see Frederick Cooper and Randall Packard, eds, *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays in the History and Politics of Knowledge*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1997, and the recent Marc Frey, Sönke Kunkel, and Corinna R. Unger, *International Organizations and Development, 1945–1990*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. For the notion of infrastructural power of the state see Michael Mann, 'The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results', *European Journal of Sociology*, vol. 25 (1984), pp. 185–213.
  14. See Bertrand Badie, *The Imported State: The Westernization of Political Order*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000; Julian Go, 'Modeling States and Sovereignty: Postcolonial Constitutions in Asia and Africa', in Christopher Lee, *Making a World After Empire*, pp. 107–140; Dietmar Rothermund, 'Constitutions et décolonisation', *Diogenes*, vol. 4, no. 212 (2005), pp. 9–21; and Crawford Young, *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960–2010*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.
  15. For the history of Sociology's engagement with imperial formations, see Georges Steinmetz, ed., *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2013.
  16. See: Joseph Hodge, *Triumph of the Expert: Agrarian Doctrines of Development and the Legacies of British Colonialism*, Athens, Ohio University Press, 2007; Veronique Dimier, *The Invention of a European Development Aid Bureaucracy: Recycling Empire*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014; Sandrine Kott, 'Une 'communauté épistémique' du social?', *Genèses*, vol. 71, no. 2 (2008), pp. 26–46.
  17. On the League of Nations see, for instance, Susan Pedersen, 'Back to the League of Nations', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 112, no. 4 (2007), pp. 1091–1117; and Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920–1946*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013. On the International Labour Organization see Daniel Maul, 'Human Rights, Development and Decolonization', in Sandrine Kott, ed., *Globalizing Social Rights: The International Labour Organization and Beyond*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013 and Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro, 'Internationalism and the Labours of the Portuguese Colonial Empire (1945–1974)', *Portuguese Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2014), pp. 142–163. For a collection of texts that explore several international and transnational organizations and dynamics see Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro, eds, *Os passados do presente: Internacionalismo, imperialismo e a construção das sociedades contemporâneas*, Lisboa, Almedina, 2014. For a rich overview see Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004. See also Neta Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, Humanitarian Intervention*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002.
  18. On the United Nations see, for instance: Paul Kennedy, *Parliament of Man, The United Nations and the Quest for World Government*, London, Allen Lane, 2007; Glenda Sluga and Sunil Amrith, 'New Histories of the U.N.', *Journal of World History*, vol. 19, no. 3 (2008), pp. 251–274; Mark Mazower, *No*

*Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009; and Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*, New York, The Penguin Press, 2012.

19. Martin Thomas, *Empires of Intelligence: Security Services and Colonial Disorder after 1914*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2007.
20. See, for a summary, Mark Philip Bradley, 'Decolonization, the Global South and the Cold War, 1919-1962', in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, *The Cambridge History of the War*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 464-485. See also Robert J. McMahon, ed., *The Cold War in the Third World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.
21. John Darwin, 'Last Days of Empire', in this volume. This tendency is also visible in many works that lean towards the reduction of the *international* to bilateral relationships between states, for instance between 'great' powers and imperial ones (e.g. the United States and the United Kingdom, Belgium, or Portugal). The acknowledgement of the multifaceted and composite nature of the international is fundamental to studies of decolonization trajectories.
22. This is a suggestion made by Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis that hasn't lost pertinence. See the 'Introduction' to their edited volume, *Decolonization and African Independence: The Transfers of Power, 1960-1980*, New Haven, CT, and London, Yale University Press, 1988, pp. ix-xxix.

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