

Liste des Publications/List of Publications – Alexander Keese (Août 2023/August 2023)

MONOGRAPHIES/MONOGRAPHS

- 1) *Living with Ambiguity: Integrating an African Elite in French and Portuguese Africa, 1930–1961* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007).
- 2) (avec/with Philip Havik et/and Maciel Santos), *Administration and Taxation in Portugal's African Empire: Angola, Guinea and Mozambique (1900–1945)* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).
- 3) *Ethnicity and the colonial state: finding & representing group identifications in coastal West African and global perspective (1850–1960)* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

OUVRAGES DIRIGÉS/EDITED BOOKS

- 1) *Ethnicity and the long-term perspective: the African experience* (Berne et al.: Peter Lang, 2010).
- 2) (avec/with Mark Häberlein), *Sprachgrenzen, Sprachkontakte und kulturelle Vermittler in der Geschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Beziehungen* [Frontières linguistiques, contacts entre langues, et intermédiaires culturels dans l'histoire des relations entre européens et populations extra-européennes; Language boundaries – Linguistic Contacts – Cultural Brokers: Communication between Europeans and Non-Europeans, 16th to 20th century] (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2010).
- 3) (avec/with Tony Chafer), *Francophone Africa at Fifty* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

VOLUMES SPÉCIAUX DE REVUES/SPECIAL ISSUES OF JOURNALS

(avec/with Marie Huber), Special Issue: State enterprises in Africa: a postcolonial history, *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte/Journal of Business History* 67(2), 2022.

ARTICLES

- 1) “Quelques satisfactions d'amour-propre”: African elite integration, the Loi-cadre, and involuntary decolonisation of French Tropical Africa’, *Itinerario (Leiden)* 26(1), 2003, pp. 33–57.
- 2) “Proteger os pretos’. Havia uma tendência reformista na administracão portuguesa de África Tropical, 1926–1961?’ [Existait-il une tendance réformiste au sein de l’administration portugaise en Afrique tropicale?; Did a reformist tendency exist in Portuguese administration in Tropical Africa, 1926–1961?], *Africana Studia (Porto)* 6, 2003, pp. 97–125.

- 3) ‘L’évolution du ‘leader indigène’ aux yeux des administrateurs français: Léon M’Ba et le changement des modalités de participation au pouvoir local au Gabon, 1922–1967’, *Afrique & Histoire* (Paris) 2, 2004, pp. 131–160.
- 4) ‘Dos abusos às revoltas? Trabalho forçado, reformas portuguesas, política ‘tradicional’ e religião na Baixa de Cassange e no Distrito do Congo (Angola), 1957–1961’ [Des abus aux révoltes? Travail forcé, réformes portugaises, « politique traditionnelle », et religion en Baixa de Cassange et au District du Congo (Angola), 1957–1961; From abuses to revolt? Forced labour, Portuguese reforms, ‘traditional’ policy and religion in the Baixa de Cassange and in Congo District (Angola), 1957–1961], *Africana Studia* (Porto) 7, 2004, pp. 247–276.
- 5) ‘Le nationalisme libérateur en Afrique noire française et portugaise? Relecture critique d’un concept classique (1945–1961)’, *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 32, 2005, pp. 65–76.
- 6) ‘Colons français, politiciens africains, et marchands libanais au Sénégal colonial (1945–1958)’, *Africa* (Roma) 60(2), 2005, pp. 201–220.
- 7) ‘Wie Ethnien entstehen: Konflikt, Manipulation und Ethnogenese im früh- und hochkolonialen Westafrika und der Karibik, 1750–1950’ [Sur l’émergence des groupes ethniques: conflit, manipulation, et ethnogenèse en Afrique occidentale et les Caraïbes de l’époque coloniale; How ethnic groups emerge. Conflict, manipulation, and ethnogenesis in early and high colonial West Africa and the Caribbean, 1750–1950], *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 53(7), 2005, pp. 581–598.
- 8) ‘“Poser au village”: Un régime de travail en transition, relations de pouvoir, et la fin des prestations forcées au Moyen-Congo français, 1935–1958’, in Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto (dir./ed.), *Trabalho forçado africano: Experiências coloniais comparadas* (Porto: Campo de Letras, 2006), pp. 349–366.
- 9) ‘Da abolição colonial à reinvenção pós-colonial’: o trabalho forçado na África subsariana francesa (1944–1970) [De l’abolition coloniale à la réinvention postcoloniale: le travail forcé en Afrique subsaharienne sous domination française, 1944–1970]’, in Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto (dir./ed.), *Trabalho forçado africano: Articulações com o poder político* (Porto: Campo de Letras, 2007), pp. 283–296.
- 10) First lessons in neo-colonialism: the personalisation of relations between African politicians and French officials in sub-Saharan Africa, 1956–1966’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 35(4), 2007, pp. 593–613.
- 11) ‘Intermediaries of mobilisation? The role of Cape Verdean administrators and settlers in war mobilisation and war prevention in Portugal’s African Empire, 1955–1965’, *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40(3), 2007, pp. 497–510.
- 12) ‘A Culture of Panic: ‘Communist’ Scapegoats and Decolonization in French West Africa and French Polynesia, 1945–1957’, *French Colonial History* 9, 2008, pp. 131–145.

- 13) 'Building a new image of Africa: 'Dissident states' and the emergence of French neo-colonialism in the aftermath of decolonisation', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 191, 2008, pp. 513–530.
- 14) 'Who's King Tom? Being a 'Temne', 'Mandinka' or 'Susu' between Identity, Solidarity and Ethnic Shifts in Early Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone', in Alexander Keese (dir./ed.), *Ethnicity and the Long-Term Perspective: the African experience* (Berne et al.: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 191–211.
- 15) 'Mit „Primitiven“ verhandeln: Die britische Campbell-Mission von 1836/37 und die Redefinition von Diplomatiestilen in Sierra Leone' [Négocier avec des populations 'primitives': la mission britannique de Campbell de 1836/37 et la redéfinition des styles de diplomatie en Sierra Leone; Negotiating with 'Primitives': The British Campbell Mission of 1836/37 and the redefinition of diplomatic styles in Sierra Leone], in Hillard von Thiessen et/and Christian Windler (dirs./eds.), *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel* (Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 352–367.
- 16) 'Understanding colonial chieftaincy from its final phase: responses to the crisis of an institution in French-ruled West Africa and beyond, 1944–1960', *Africana Studia* 15, 2010, pp. 11–28.
- 17) (avec/with Isabel dos Santos Lourenço) 'Die blockierte Erinnerung: Portugals koloniales Gedächtnis und das Ausbleiben kritischer Diskurse, 1974–2010' [La mémoire obstruée: le souvenir colonial de Portugal et l'absence du discours critique; Blocked remembrance: Portugal's colonial memory and the absence of a critical discourse, 1974–2010], *Geschichte & Gesellschaft* 37(2), 2011, pp. 220–243.
- 18) 'Rigged elections? Democracy and manipulation in the late colonial state in French West Africa and Togo, 1944–1958', in Martin Thomas (dir./ed.), *The French Colonial Mind: Mental Maps of Empire and French Colonial Policy Making* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), pp. 324–345.
- 19) 'Early limits of local decolonisation: Forced Labour, Decolonisation and the 'Serviço' Population in São Tomé and Príncipe from Colonial Abuses to Post-Colonial Disappointment, 1945–1976', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44(3), 2011, pp. 373–392.
- 20) 'Managing the prospect of famine: Cape Verdean officials, subsistence emergencies, and the change of elite attitudes during Portugal's late colonial phase, 1939–1961', *Itinerario* 35(2), 2012, pp. 48–69.
- 21) 'The constraints of late colonial reform policy: forced labour scandals in the Portuguese Congo (Angola) and the limits of reform under authoritarian colonial rule, 1955–1961', *Portuguese Studies* 28(2), 2012, pp. 186–200.
- 22) 'Imperial Actors? Cape Verdean mentality in the Portuguese empire under the Estado Novo, 1926–1974', in Eric Morier-Genoud et/and Michel Cahen (dirs./eds.), *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave – Macmillan, 2012), pp. 129–148.
- 23) 'Bloqueios no sistema: elites africanas, o fenómeno do trabalho forçado e os limites de integração no Estado colonial português, 1945–1974' [Blocages dans le système: élites africaines, le phénomène du travail forcé, et les limites de l'intégration dans l'état colonial

portugais, 1945–1974; Blockades within the system: African elites, the phenomenon of forced labour, and the limits of integration in the Portuguese colonial state, 1945–1974], in Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo (dir.), *O Império Colonial em Questão* (Lisbonne/Lisbon: Edições 70, 2012), pp. 223–249.

- 24) ‘Ein Söldnerführer zwischen postkolonialen Fronten: Bob Denard und die letzte Gefechtslinie im Congo-Kinshasa, 1960–1968’ [Un leader mercenaire entre les champs de bataille postcoloniaux : Bob Denard et la dernière ligne de bataille au Congo-Kinshasa, 1960–1968; A mercenary leader between postcolonial battlefields: Bob Denard and the last line of battle in Congo-Kinshasa, 1960–1968], *Comparativ*, 23(2), 2013, pp. 60–77.
- 25) ‘La décolonisation bloquée: négociations, évolutions, et l’ombre du travail forcé en Angola sous l’état colonial tardif (1955–1974)’, in Jean Fremigacci, Daniel Lefevre, et/and Marc Michel (dirs./eds.), *Démanteler les empires coloniaux* (Paris: Riveneuve, 2013), pp. 99–123.
- 26) ‘Introduction’ (avec/with Tony Chafer), in Tony Chafer et/and Alexander Keese (dirs./eds.), *Francophone Africa at Fifty* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 1–12.
- 27) ‘French officials and the insecurities of change in sub-Saharan Africa: Dakar, 19th August 1960 re-visited’, in Tony Chafer et/and Alexander Keese (dirs./eds.), *Francophone Africa at Fifty* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 44–57.
- 28) ‘Searching for the reluctant hands: obsession, ambivalence, and the practice of organizing involuntary labour in colonial Cuanza-Sul and Malange districts, Angola, 1926–1945’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41(2), 2013, pp. 238–258.
- 29) ‘Forced labour in the ‘Gorgulho Years’: Understanding reform and repression in rural São Tomé e Príncipe, 1945–1953’, *Itinerario* 38(1), 2014, pp. 103–124.
- 30) ‘The Slow Abolition within the Colonial Mind: British and French debates about ‘vagrancy’, ‘African laziness’, and forced labour in West Central and South Central Africa, 1945–1965’, *International Review of Social History* 59(3), 2014, pp. 377–407.
- 31) ‘Developmentalist Attitudes and Old Habits: Portuguese Labour Policies, South African Rivalry, and Flight in Southern Angola, 1945–1974’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41(2), 2015, pp. 237–253.
- 32) ‘Why stay? Forced labour, the Correia report, and Portuguese-South African competition at the Angola–Namibia border, 1917–1939’, *History in Africa* 42, 2015, pp. 75–108.
- 33) ‘Das subsaharische Afrika als globalgeschichtlicher Raum’ [L’Afrique subsaharienne comme espace de l’histoire globale; Sub-Saharan Africa as space of global history], in Margarete Grandner et/and Arno Sonderegger (dirs./eds.), *Nord-Süd-Ost-West Beziehungen: Eine Einführung in die Globalgeschichte* (Vienne/Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2015), pp. 93–120.
- 34) ‘Colonialism and Refugee Communities in West Central Africa, 1920–1955: seeking the parallelism of the maroon societies’, in M. Kadya Tall, Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle, et/and Michel Cahen (dirs./eds.), *Collective Mobilisations in Africa / Mobilisations*

collectives en Afrique: Enough is Enough! / Ça suffit! (Leiden: Brill, 2015 – AEGIS series), pp. 143–163.

- 35) ‘Protektorate als koloniale Herrschaftsmodelle und Erinnerungsorte: der Fall Barotseland in Zentralafrika’ [Les protectorats comme modèles de pouvoir et lieux de mémoire: le cas du Barotseland en Afrique centrale; Protectorates as forms of rule and sites of memory: the case of Barotseland in Central Africa], in Christian Windler, Tilman Haug, et/and Nadir Weber (dirs./eds.), *Protegierte und Protektoren: Asymmetrische politische Beziehungen zwischen Partnerschaft und Dominanz (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016).
- 36) ‘Hunting ‘wrongdoers’ and ‘vagrants’: the long-term perspective of flight, evasion, and persecution in colonial and postcolonial Congo-Brazzaville, 1920–1980’, *African Economic History* 44, 2016, pp. 152–180.
- 37) ‘Key Alliance? ‘Native Guards’ and European Administrators in Sub-Saharan Africa from a Comparative Perspective (1918–1959)’, in Stig Förster, Tanja Bührer, Flavio Eichmann et/and Benedikt Stuchtey (dirs./eds.), *Cooperation and Empire* (London: Berghahn, 2017), pp. 240–265.
- 38) ‘Decolonisation, improvised: A social history of the transfer of power in Cabo Verde, 1974–1976’, *Portuguese Studies Review* 25(1), 2017, pp. 291–312.
(green open access : <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:104259>)
- 39) ‘Equilíbrios de terror: trabalho forçado, fuga, e continuidades clandestinas no Congo-Brazzaville, 1918–1968’ [Equilibre de terreur: travail forcé, fuites et continuités clandestines au Congo-Brazzaville, 1918–1968; Balance of terror: forced labour, flight, and clandestine continuities in Congo-Brazzaville, 1918–1968], *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* 33, 2017, pp. 183–206.
- 40) ‘Ambivalências estruturais e retórica nacional: o regionalismo nas associações de estudantes no Daomé independente (1960–1972) [Ambivalences structurelles et rhétorique nationale: le régionalisme des associations étudiantes dans le Dahomey indépendant (1960–1972); Structural ambivalences and national rhetoric: regionalism in student associations of independent Dahomey (1960–1972)]’, in Cláudia Castelo et/and Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo (dirs./eds.), *Casa dos Estudantes do Império: histórias, memórias, legados* (Lisbonne/Lisbon: Edições 70, 2017), pp. 247–262.
- 41) (avec/with Beatriz Valverde Contreras) ‘The Limits of Authoritarian Rule at the Periphery: The PIDE, the American Airbase, and Social Control on Terceira Island, Azores, 1954–1962’, *Journal of Social History* 52(4), 2019, pp. 1307–1329
(gold open access : <https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shx163>).
- 42) ‘Just like in colonial times? Administrative practice and local reflections on ‘grassroots neocolonialism’ in autonomous and postcolonial Dahomey, 1958–1965’, *Journal of African History* 60(2), 2019, pp. 257–275
(gold open access : <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853719000434>).

- 43) ‘Imagining a Better Future: Anticolonial Protest and Social Debates in Santo Antão, Cabo Verde, 1945–1975’, *Itinerario* 44(1), 2020, pp. 80–104
 (gold open access : <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115320000066>;
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115320000145>).
- 44) ‘Petitioning about the revolutionary nation: social history and communication under the early Kérékou regime in Benin, 1975–1977’, *Journal of West African History* 6(1), 2020, pp. 113–141.
 (green open access : <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:152535>)
- 45) (avec/with Brice I. Owabira) ‘Rescuing, interpreting – and (eventually) digitising regional postcolonial archives: endangered archives and research in Pointe-Noire, Republic of Congo’, *History in Africa* 47, 2020, pp. 143–165.
- 46) ‘A social history of parastatal employees in Southern Benin, 1989–1990: contesting decline and unemployment during ‘Africa’s second democratization’, *International Labour and Working Class History* 98, 2020, pp. 77–98.
 (gold open access : <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0147547919000267>).
- 47) (avec/with Isabel dos Santos Lourenço) ‘Questioning Portugal’s social cohesion, and preparing post-imperial memory: returned settlers (*retornados*) and Portuguese society, 1975–1980’, in Berny Sèbe and Matthew Stanard (eds.), *Decolonising Europe? Popular Responses to the End of Empire* (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 181–196.
- 48) (avec/with Beatriz Valverde Contreras) ‘Between violence, racism and reform: São Tomé e Príncipe in the Great Depression Years (1930–1937)’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 56(2), 2021, pp. 243–267.
- 49) (avec/with Beatriz Valverde Contreras) ‘The art of running away: escapes and flight movements during the Great Depression in São Tomé e Príncipe, 1930–1936’, *International Review of Social History* 66(3), 2021, pp. 357–388.
 (gold open access : <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859021000456>)
- 50) (avec/with Beatriz Valverde Contreras), ‘Living at the margins of repression: everyday life and hidden challenges in the Azores’ Central Group, 1954–1960’, *European History Quarterly* 52(2), 2022, pp. 221–244.
 (gold open access : <https://doi.org/10.1177/02656914221087842>)
- 51) (avec/with Marie Huber), ‘Introduction: State enterprises in Africa: a postcolonial history’, *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte/Journal of Business History* 67(2), 2022, pp. 167–187.
 (gold open access: <https://doi.org/10.1515/zug-2022-0030>)
- 52) ‘Between Community Development Effort and Hidden Colonial Forced Labour: The Long History of “Communal Labour” in Gold Coast/Ghana, 1927–2010’, dans/in Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk et/and Rolf Bauer (eds.), *Global Agricultural Workers from the 17th to the 21st Century* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2022), pp. 384–407.
 (gold open access: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004529427_016)

- 53) (avec/with Annalisa Urbano), ‘Researching post-independence Africa in regional archives: possibilities and limits in Benin, Cabo Verde, Ghana, and Congo-Brazzaville’, *Africa* 93(4), 2023, article accepté, à paraître/article accepted, forthcoming.

CHAPITRES DE MANUELS/HANDBOOK CHAPTERS

- 1) ‘Getting hold of a universe of conspirators: anti-Communist panic, perceptions of subversion, and the routine of repression in Senegal’s early postcolonial security services (the Sûreté), 1962–1965’, in Christian Gerlach et/and Clemens Six (dirs./eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Anti-Communist Persecutions in the Twentieth Century* (Cham: Palgrave, 2020), pp. 163–181. (gold open access at: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-54963-3_7).
- 2) ‘French Colonization and Decolonization’, in Tony Chafer et/and Natalya Vince (dirs./eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Francophone Africa* (London: Routledge), chapitre accepté/chapter accepted, à paraître en/appears in 2021.

ARTICLES D’ENCYCLOPÉDIES/DICTIONARY ARTICLES

- 1) (avec/with Valdemir Zamparoni, Gino Negro, Maciel Santos, et/and Augusto Nascimento), ‘Trabalho: Brasil, Moçambique, Angola, São Tomé e Príncipe’, in Lívio Sansone et/and Cláudio Alves Furtado (dirs./eds.), *Dicionário crítico das ciências sociais dos países de fala oficial portuguesa* (Salvador de Bahia: Editora da Universidade Federal de Bahia, 2014), pp. 453–471.
- 2) “Togo”, in Thomas Spear (dir./ed.), *Oxford Bibliographies in African Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

COMPTE-RENDUS/BOOK REVIEWS

- 1) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Tony Chafer, *The End of Empire in French West Africa. France’s Successful Decolonization?* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), in *Afrique & Histoire* (Paris) 2, 2004, pp. 326–329.
- 2) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Ruth Ginio, *French Colonialism Unmasked: The Vichy Years in French West Africa* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), in *African Affairs* 106(424), 2007, pp. 531–533.
- 3) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Richard S. Fogarty, *Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914–1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), *Journal of Military History* 73(2), 2009, pp. 668–669.
- 4) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Elizabeth Schmidt, *Cold War and Decolonization in Guinea, 1946–1958* (Athens/OH: Ohio University Press, 2007), *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 43(3), 2009, pp. 622–624.
- 5) Compte-Rendu intitulé/Review entitled ‘A useful synthesis of twentieth-century Angolan history on Angola: The Weight of History. Edited by Patrick Chabal and Nuno Vidal’, in *Journal of African History* 50(2), 2009, pp. 308–309.

- 6) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Gregory Mann, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century* (Durham – Londres/London: Duke University Press, 2006), *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 13(3–4), 2010, pp. 653–654.
- 7) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Martin Thomas, Bob Moore, et/and L.J. Butler, *Crises of Empire: Decolonization and Europe's Imperial States, 1918–1975* (Londres/London: Hodder Education, 2008), in *European History Quarterly* 40(2), 2010, pp. 379–380.
- 8) Article de Compte-Rendu/Review Article ‘Le point de vue d’Alexander Keese’, sur/on Thomas Deltombe, Manuel Domergue, et/and Jacob Tatsitsa, *Kamerun! Une guerre cachée aux origines de la Françafrique 1948–1971* (Paris: La Découverte, 2011), in *Politique Africaine* 126, 2012, pp. 189–194.
- 9) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Christine Hatzky, *Kubaner in Angola: Süd-Süd-Kooperation und Bildungstransfer 1976–1991* (Munique/Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), in *Werkstatt Geschichte* 22(63), 2013, pp. 146–148.
- 10) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Dominic Thomas, *Africa and France: Postcolonial Cultures, Migration, and Racism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), in *Francia-Recensio* 4, 2014, version électronique.
- 11) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Frederick Cooper, *Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 46(2), 2015, pp. 285–287.
- 12) Compte-Rendu de/Review of Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Nervous State: Violence, Remedies, and Reverie in Colonial Congo* (Durham – London: Duke University Press, 2016), *Histoire sociale/Social History* 50(101), 2017, pp. 207–210.
- 13) Compte-Rendu de/Book Review of Kathleen Keller, *Colonial suspects: suspicion, imperial rule and colonial society in interwar French West Africa* (Lincoln – London: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), *Modern & Contemporary France* 27(2), 2019, pp. 402–403.
- 14) Compte-Rendu intitulé/Book Review entitled “Labour, Mobility, and Colonialism in Mozambique” de/of Zachary Kagan Guthrie, *Bound for Work: Labor, Mobility, and Colonial Rule in Central Mozambique, 1940–1965* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018), *Journal of African History* 60(3), 2019, pp. 483–485.