Bulletin of the *Transilvania* University of Brasov
Series IV: Philology and Cultural Studies • Vol. 10 (59) No. 1 – 2017

Comparative Perspectives on Post-Colonialism: Southeastern Asia and Central Eastern Europe

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History of each country, by Kondratas et al. (2015, 9), is unique and interesting due to its main narratives, themes, interpretations, and points of emphasis, changing somewhat over time and geopolitical and sociocultural conditions in historical analysis. Post-colonialism in Southeastern Asia and Central Eastern Europe, written in the history of the world, has never been interrogated and analogized in a systematic way. To achieve the study, the researcher applied Wallerstein's World System Analysis to demonstrate two versions in the paper: (1) the existence of colonialism and the colonizers, interrogated through diverse phenomena, including regimes, length of colonial domination, partition, violence, proselytization, settlements and/or migration; and (2) the impacts of colonialism, illustrated through social, economic and political factors. Consequently, the legacy of colonialism in Southeastern Asian countries and Central Eastern European, by Kelertas (2006, 12), has activated the deep changes, or they have tarried almost untouched because of disproportionate weight in the ex-colonized countries.

Keywords: *colonialism, existence, Southeastern Asia, Central Eastern Europe, social, economic, and political factors*

1. Introduction

World System Analysis in the nineteenth century was applied in social science as a critique of dominant analytical models and as a knowledge movement since 1970. Basically, World System Analysis is composed of three elements—space, time and epistemology and three usages: (1) basic unit of social analysis; (2) useful analyses of social reality; and (3) no longer making the existing disciplinary boundaries (Wallerstein 2004, 1). The standard world system list in 1945 consisted of anthropology, economics, political science, sociology, and other two non-social science disciplines (Wallerstein 2004, 2). Between 1850 and 1945, the list was thought to be, by nineteenth-century scholars, three intellectual cleavages: past/present (past: historians; present: economists, political scientists, and sociologists), the Western world/the others (Western: historians, economists,

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political scientist, and sociologists; the others: anthropologists and Orientalists), and the three presumed separate domains of modernity.

Said (1993, 9) argues that colonialism is the inculcating of settlements on distant territory and/or a consequence of imperialism. Colonial settlements, according to Ashcroft et al (1998, 46) take the forms of political ideology, burgeoning economies, and intercultural relations. Slemon (1990, 31) defines colonialism, a tremendously problematical category, as trans-historical and unspecific, and it employs very different kinds of cultural oppression and economic control. In reference with Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 291), colonialism is composed of two forms—domination by people over other people and intergroup domination, subjugation, oppression and exploitation. Much of the history is a history of colonialism; the colonized countries are attempted repeatedly and more or less successfully by the colonizers to create a periphery, to control politics, and to exploit economy. There is no clear-cut distinction between traditional empire-building and European colonialism. The Mughal empire; for example, in Northern/Central India, the Ottoman in Western Asia and Northern Africa, the Chinese in Central and Southern Asia, all used methods of domination and exploitation were only slightly different from colonialism (Ziltener and Kunzler 2013, 292). The most central facts and arguments of colonialism are political, economic and social impacts (Ziltener and Kunzler 2013, 297).

Pertinent to social and political structures and practices, according to Andreescu (2011, 57), post-communist countries and post-colonized countries are the same in the name of colonization. The term ‘Post-communism’ was used in 1989 when revolutions in Central Eastern Europe overthrew the communist regimes in seven countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania. The process of dismantlement of the USSR was completed in 1991 when eighteen erstwhile Soviet republics declared their rejection of communism along with their commitment to democratic political models and free market economy (Andreescu 2011, 62-63). Post-colonialism is central to colonization effects on cultures and societies and has been, from the late 1970s, used by literary critics to discuss the various cultural effects of colonization. Post-colonialism, however, was not mentioned in the studies of Western discourses, as Ashcroft et al. (1998, 186) of *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies* state, “Postcolonial was not employed in these early studies of the power of colonialist discourse to shape and form opinion and policy in the colonies and metropolis.” Post-colonialism, according to Ashcroft et al. (1998, 187), has subsequently been widely used to signify the political, linguistic and cultural experience of societies in former European colonies and to count historical, political, sociological and economic analyses. It is clear that post-colonialism has been employed in most recent accounts and primarily concerned to examine the processes, effects of, and reactions to European colonialism from the sixteenth century onwards and the neo-colonialism of the present day.

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2. Length of Colonial Domination

The history, unique and interesting to each country, has changed somewhat over time with geopolitical and sociocultural conditions and analytical trends, according to Kondratas et al. (2015, 9), and cannot be distinguished from the present, basing upon a deeper understanding of the past, according to Houben (2014, 28). Taken various modalities, according to Kelertas (2006, 28-29), colonial domination depicts different-important facts of colonial empires, needs, strategies, trajectories of expansion or contraction, and levels of territorial penetration, control and exploration. Said (1993) notably argues some areas—the Middle East and China—were not colonized, but were more affected by "colonialism" than many countries that were. Some countries—Ghana, Nigeria or Senegal—were relatively swift and generally peaceful, but others—Algeria, Kenya, Mozambique or Vietnam—were protracted, vicious, and bloody (Kelertas 2006, 28-29). Houben (2014, 29) identifies Southeastern Asia as the area between India and China (**Figure 1**), as a military strategic concept during the Second World War for almost seventy years, and as an endeavor of the studies research and a successor to the European tradition of studying their own-colonies, in the era of the Cold War from the 1950s.



Figure 1. The Countries of ASEAN
Source: Accessed on September 1, 2015 from http://www.aseansec.org/69.htm

Being an area at the crossroad, halfway between India and China, according to Reid (1988, 3), the diversity of Southeast Asian politic-cultural features has been imported from India, the Middle East, China and Europe. Paid little attention to Soviet Russia and Central Eastern European satellites (**Figure 2**), postcolonial studies

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scholars recognize that Soviet Russia or the USSR is not construed as an empire, but only "Soviet imperialism", except the US during the Cold War, as Andreescu (2011, 58) in *Are We All Post-colonialists Now?* writes "Postcolonial Studies scholars have traditionally paid little attention to Soviet Russia and its Central and Eastern European satellites." In the 20th century Russia acknowledges only old "capitalist" empires—England, Germany, Spain, France, Holland, and Portugal—as colonizers, without looking at itself as a colonial empire, according to Kelertas (2006, 1).



Figure 2. The countries of Central Eastern Europe
Source: Accessed on February 9, 2017 from
http://goeasteurope.about.com/od/introtoeasteuropetravel/ss/maps-of-eastern-europe.htm#step2

Russia and the Soviet Union according to Kelertas (2006,11) imposed colonial hegemony over the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Baltics, and Central Eastern Europe for between fifty and two hundred years. Yet the Western discourse of postcolonial studies has never included the twenty-seven-nations of both former Soviet Republics and East Bloc states (Kelertas 2006, 11). All countries in the world have been colonized and then become post-colonials. All groups on this earth from the Baltics to Beijing and to Benin have their claims to migrate, exile, return at some indigenous status to somewhere else. Therefore, many cultural situations, past and present, can be said to bear the postcolonial stamp only partly corresponding to current Western notions, and four billion people live under a single name "the West", as Kelertas (2006, 13) in *Baltic Postcolonialism* certifies, "No a single square meter of inhabited land on this planet has not been colonized and then becomes postcolonial, resulted from more people across Eurasia, Africa, and the Americas have formed and reformed, conquered and been conquered, moved and dissolved".

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Country	Main colonial power(s)	Onset of colonial domination (Onset)	End of colonial domination (ColEnd)	Years of colonial domination (ColYears)
Estonia	Gr/USSR	1939	1991	52
Latvia	Gr/USSR	1939	1991	52
Lithuania	Gr/USSR	1939	1991	52
Romania	Gr/USSR	1939	1989	50
Albania	It/USSR/Gr	1920	1989	69
East Germany	USSR	1949	1989	40
Poland	Gr/USSR	1939	1989	50
Hungary	Gr/USSR	1943	1989	46
Czechoslovakia	USSR	1948	1989	41
Bulgaria	USSR	1947	1989	42
Croatia	Gr/It/USSR	1945	1991	46
Slovenia	Gr/It/USSR	1945	1991	46
Serbia	Gr/It/USSR	1945	1991	46
Brunei	UK	1906	1984	78
Cambodia	F	1863	1953	90
Indonesia	NL	1619	1962	343
Laos	F	1893	1955	62
Malaysia	P/NL/UK	1511	1963	452
Myanmar	UK	1826	1948	122
Philippines	SP/USA	1565	1946	381
Singapore	UK	1824	1965	141
Thailand	F/UK/USA	1855	1938	83
Vietnam	F	1859	1956	97
East Timor	P	1702	1975	273

Table 1. The Onset and the End of colonial domination in Southeastern Asia and Central Eastern Europe

Notes: GR: Germany, USSR: Soviet Union, IT: Italy, UK: United Kingdom, F: France, NL: Netherland, P: Portugal, SP: Spain, USA: United States of America

In Burma as in many other places, colonial institutions and publications stimulate academic interest in the British scholarship about Burma, where colonialism is beyond political, administrative, and economic domains, as SOAS (2004, 2) in *Romance and Tragedy in Burmese History* writes, "A process of colonialism is not confined to the spheres of politics, administration and economics." Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 293) define onset of the colony as the formal declaration of the year of colony or protectorate, but not as the point in time when political sovereignty de facto exercised by the foreign powers. Single or intermittent military attacks are not considered as the beginning of colonialism. However, the end of colonialism (COLEND) is coded as the point in time when the vast majority of the autochthonous population regained full sovereignty over internal and foreign affairs, with or without the participation of foreign settlers (**Table 1** and **Figure 3**). It is not

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important whether foreign administrators are present or not, but rather whether this presence is decided by the colonial power or by a sovereign government. In short, a longer colonial period means more colonial violence, investment in infrastructure, plantations, work immigration, and religious conversions, according to Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 293).

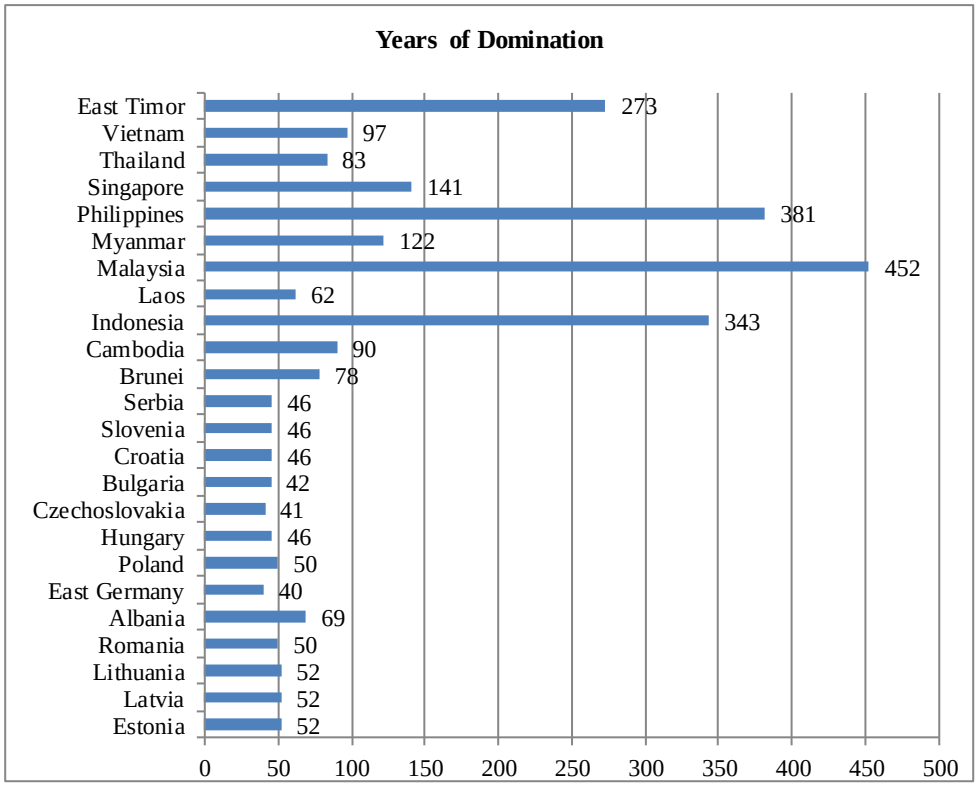


Figure 3. Years of Colonial Domination

Britain's relationship with Brunei, for instance, began in 1847. In 1888 Britain established a protectorate over Brunei, which grew to residency rule by 1906, the onset of official British colony in Brunei, where was granted self-government in 1959 and reached full independence in 1984, as Hussainmiya (2000, 124) in *The Brunei Constitution of 1959* quotes, "The 1959 constitution marked a pivotal point in the nonviolent movement toward post-colonial independence. While it granted internal self-government in 1959, Brunei reached full independence only in 1984." Cambodia, according to Ross (1990, 4), was a French colony in 1863 after signing an agreement of protectorate with the French by King Norodom to prevent from completely swallowing by its neighbors and got full independence in 1953 after

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signing a partial agreement with King Norodom Sihanouk. In Singapore in 1819 Raffles and Farquhar, according to Abshire (2011, xiii-xiv), established a trade port for the East India Company. LePoer (1991, 16) explains how the British colonize Singapore that Farquhar the *temenggong* and the sultan had exploited Singapore. In 1823 Raffles tried to persuade Hussein and the *temenggong*—the island leaders to get rid of their rights to port duties and their share in the other tax revenues. In 1824 the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of London was signed to divide the East Indies into two spheres of influence—north of a line by the British and south of a line by the Dutch. Consequently, the Dutch recognized the British claim to Singapore and abandoned power over Malacca in exchange for the British post at Bencoolen. In 1963 independent Malaysia was composed of Singapore, Malaya, and the former British Borneo territories. Due to communal strife, pressure from neighboring Indonesia and political wrangling between Singapore and Kuala Lumpur by LePoer (1991, 5), Singapore was forced to separate from Malaysia and became an independent country in 1965.

In the Philippines, in reference with Shackford (1990, 81), the Spanish first arrived in 1500s and Miguel Lopez de Legazpi succeeded in establishing settlements in 1565, the onset of Spanish colony in the Philippines until 1898 the beginning of United States rule, according to Dolan (1993, xxiv). Self-governing Commonwealth of the Philippines was formed in 1935 under the auspices of the United States, and the Philippines became independent in 1965, with firmly established democratic institutions—a two party system (Dolan 1993, 4). Cima (1989, 30) states the French arrived in Vietnam in 1857, captured Tourane in 1858 and Gia Dinh—Saigon in 1859, leading to bloody battles and gaining control of the surrounding provinces. Vietnam became fully independent after the national election in 1956, supervised by International Control Commission—Canada, India, and Poland and endorsed by Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), France, Britain, China, and the Soviet Union (p.58). Laos was incorporated into French Indochina in 1893, resulting in Vietnamese immigration, encouraged by the French to staff the middle levels of the civil services and militia, according to Savada (1995, 4). Eventually, Laos became a member of the United Nations after the formal establishment of Lao People's Party in 1955, as a part of Indochinese Communist Party (Savada 1995, 33).

Faced to the Burmese invasion, according to Ackermann (2008, 71), the local rulers sought protection under the British East India Company in 1823. In 1824 The East India Company declared war to Burma, with help from a Burmese ethnic group, serving as guides. In 1825 British forces captured the ancient city of Pagan. The First Burmese war ended with the Treaty of Yandabo 1826 (Ackermann 2008, 71). The monarchy in 1886, exiled in India and the south to Tavoy and Moulmein, was banned from returning home until the very end of British rule in 1948, as Myint-U (2004, 3) in *The Making of Modern Burma* illustrates, "By January 1886, the monarchy had been abolished altogether." LePoer (1989, 20) delineates the reasons on how to survive as an independent nation and to avoid the humiliations

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from outside. Mongkut, the king, signed the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Britain, allowing British merchants to buy and sell in Siam without intermediaries and granting British subjects extraterritorial rights. Other treaties were signed the next year, with the United States and France, and with other European countries the next fifteen years. After the coup of 1932, the constitutional monarchy, bringing about further legal reforms, was promulgated in 1935, leading to the elimination of some Western concepts of jurisprudence in Thai law. Therefore, the system of extraterritoriality was completely excluded by 1938 (LePoer 1989, 276).

Iwaskiw (1995, xi) discovers the country studies of Baltics and the division of Eastern Europe into areas of influence that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are the latest studies of the fifteen newly independent states, emerged from the disintegration of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991. Unstable democracy and Estonia's independence over the period of authoritarian rule during 1934 to 1940 resulted in the division of Eastern Europe into areas of influence by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, and signed the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, so called the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, in 1939. Subsequently, the Soviet Union put pressure on Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to sign the Pact of Defense and Mutual Assistance, allowing Moscow to station 25,000 troops in Estonia (Iwaskiw 1995, 18). The communist regimes were overthrown in 1989 in seven countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Romania, as Andreescu (2011, 65) in *Are We All Post-colonialists Now?* cites "By 1989, some CEE communist states had a budding anti-communist civil society, while others did not." Romania had suffered communist rule for more than forty years, according to Bachman (1991, 63), ranging from the occupation of the Red Army in Bucharest in 1944 (Bachman 1991, 43) to the overthrowing of the communist regime in 1989, according to Andreescu (2011, 65), resulted in the Non-Aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi-Germany, allowing the Soviet Union to influence the Balkans. Consequently, Nazi-Germany and the Soviet Union colonized Romania, where the onset of colony started in 1939, according to Bachman (1991, 40). After World War II (1939-1945), according to Burant (1988, xx), Germany was divided into occupation zones—German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)—at 1945 Yalta Conference, allowing the Soviet Union to occupy East Germany. German Democratic Republic, then, was proclaimed by Socialist Unity Party of Germany in 1949, emerged from the Communist Party of Germany and Social Democrats. Curtis (1994, 37) inserts Polish invasion that Poland never ignored fighting against Germany from the first day of Polish invasion to the end of the war in Europe started in 1939 when three sides of Poland were encircled by Nazi-Germany after a complete Nazi occupation in Czechoslovakia (Curtis 1994, 33), resulting in 6 million people, especially Jews, perished between 1939 and 1945 (Curtis 1994, 34). After two month-intense fighting against the Germans in 1944, the Polish Home Army, with the assistance of Red Army in Warsaw, the Germans retreated, leaving 90 percent of the city in ruins. A

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provisional government, therefore, was installed in Warsaw and recognized by the Soviet Union, resulting in open social unrests throughout the communist period (Curtis 1994, 39).

Burant (1990, 45) points out the sufferings of Hungarians and the invasion of Nazi Germany and Soviet Red Army that some estimated 40,000 Hungarians were killed, and 70,000 were wounded during the massive counterattack between the Soviet Red Army and Hungary's Second Army in the Soviet Union, resulting in the withdrawal of the remnants of the force into Hungary in 1943. Seeing this opportunity, fearing the government's deceit and making separate peace in the country, Nazi Germany occupied Hungary and forced the government to increase its contribution to the war effort, but the Nazi occupation lasted until 1945 when the Soviet Red Army drove all German troops out of Hungary. The Soviet Union, during the aftermath of World War II, succeeded in forcing its political, social, and economic system on Eastern Europe, including Hungary. Hungary, since then, never recognized the Soviet Union as the colonizer until 1956, when its government rebelled against the Soviet Union and its Hungarian vassals, and then a milder form of communist rule was introduced (Burant 1990, 46), with 1949 Soviet-style Constitution, renaming the country as Hungarian People's Republic, and imposing Stalinist political, economic, and social systems. Hungary, however, passed the laws allowing multiparty system during 1988 and 1989 (p. xviii). Czechoslovakia, after World War II, according to Gawdiak (1989, 5), declared its independent state, but it was threatened by a powerful neighbor, the Soviet Union, attempting to place Czechoslovakia into the Soviet's bloc. The dream of democratic, pluralistic political system was not accomplished and did not exist any longer in Czechoslovakia, which was in turn placed into the Soviet orbit and underwent Stalinization in 1948. Czechoslovakia, then, moved completely into the Soviet sphere of influence and it was transformed into a Stalinist state until "*glasnost* and *perestroika*" (Gawdiak 1989, xxiv).

After the retreatment of the Axis powers in Europe in 1944, there remained a strong Russophile element in Bulgaria, where subsequently Bulgarians greeted the arrival of the Red Army, ending the Axis ally in World War II and laying the foundation of the postwar political system. Bulgaria, between 1947 and 1989, was ruled by the conventional communist totalitarian dictatorships, resulting in the changes in industrialization and urbanization of no private ownerships until 1989, as Curtis (1993, xxxii) states in *Bulgaria: A Country Study* "Besides industrialization and urbanization, other important changes had occurred under the conventional communist totalitarian dictatorships that ruled Bulgaria under Georgi Dimitrov (1947-49), Vulko Chervenkov (1949-56), and Todor Zhivkov (1956-89)." Iwaskiw (1994, 25) describes the invasion of other countries into Albania that Italy, under the 1915 Treaty of London, was forced to abandon its occupation of Albania except the Sazan Island by Albania's new government in 1920. Consequently, Italy, under Mussolini, started penetration of Albanian public and economic life in 1925

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(Iwaskiw 1994, xix). German forces invaded Albania and weakened Italian forces in Albania, where Albanian resistance fighters overwhelmed five Italian divisions in 1943, so then German forces occupied Albania (Iwaskiw 1994, xx), and they were withdrawn from Albania in late 1944. Military victory in Albania brought about Albanian communism, backed by the Yugoslavs and armed by the West (Iwaskiw 1994, 33). One hundred thirty members of the Albanian Communist Party, organized by Yugoslavs, took part in the leadership of Hoxha, and eleven members were in the Central Committee in 1941 (Iwaskiw 1994, 35). In 1943, there existed a third resistance organization, an anticommunist, and anti-German royalist group taking shape in Albania's northern mountains. The last Balli Kombetar forces defeated in 1944, the communist partisans encountered the scattered resistance from the Balli Kombetar and anti-German royalist group (Iwaskiw 1994, 36). A provisional government, the same year, had been formed by the communist, dispatched Albanian partisans to help Tito's forces in Kosovo (Iwaskiw 1994, 37). In 1948 Albania became a client of the Soviet Union after the break with Yugoslavia. Albania turned away from Moscow after the death of Stalin and found a new benefactor in China. In the 1970s Albania turned away from China and adopted a strict policy of autarky, ruining the economy of the country (Iwaskiw 1994, 38).

Curtis (1992, xxv) explains the formation of Yugoslavia and the invasion into Yugoslavia that the kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the so-called kingdom of Yugoslavia, formed a constitutional monarchy, after World War I. The King Aleksandar unified the country by a variety of political measures, including dictatorship, but he was assassinated in 1934. The division of Yugoslavia began at the same time as World War II, until 1945 the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was established. Soviet-style constitution, two months later, was adopted for a federation of six republics—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina—under a strong central government (Curtis 1992, 43). After 1990 declarations of the right to secede, six republics declared their own independence in 1991 as separate states (Curtis 1992, xxx). Nazi Germany, during World War II, occupied Yugoslavia more than three years, fighting against three Yugoslav factions and other invaders. Tito, after declaring independence from the Soviet alliance in 1948, changed Yugoslavia's Stalinist command economy to local worker groups, limited control in a self-management system (Curtis 1992, xxv).

3. Impacts of Colonialism

Colonialism, central to economic domain, has been recently dealt with in a number of empirical studies, as Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 297) in *The Impacts of Colonialism* cite, "In recent years, colonialism has been included in a number of empirical studies, often from an economic perspective." It involved a massive inflow of migrant labor from the mid-19th century and onwards. This enhanced the

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ethnic mosaic of Southeast Asian societies, where previous population movements had existed, as Suhrke (1992, 1) in *Migration, State and Civil Soviety in Southeast Asia* adds, "Colonialism in turn stimulated a massive inflow of migrant labor that from the mid-19th century and onwards enriched the ethnic mosaic of Southeast Asian Societies which previous population movements had put in place." The following delineates the effects of post-colonialism in both Southeast Asian and Central Eastern European countries through important variables—social, economic and political factors. These studies, however, analyze the differences of the impacts of post-colonialism, but not the hypothesis about the preponderance of one of them.

3.1. Social Factors

Colonialism, according to Fanon (1963, 170), is pleased not only with holding people in its grip but also brainwashing the natives of all form and content. Perverted logic, oppressed people and devalued pre-colonial history take on a dialectical significance today. The social impact of colonialism, according to other authors, based on the number of settlers of European origins, colonially induced-labor migration, the level of colonial investment in health and education sectors, and different practices of ethnic and/or religious discrimination or privileges, according to Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 302).

Houben (2014, 32) points out the colonized society and the indigenous population that most colonial systems wanted, for reasons of rule maintenance, to promote social continuity, censuses and colonial law; and to install a new horizontal-vertical segmentation of society. This segmentation of society was differentiated on the basis of race by placing Europeans and other selected groups in advantageous positions vis-à-vis immigrants and the indigenous population. Colonial socio-culture did not abolish existing socio-cultures but positioned itself on top and acerbated social cleavages. In the late 15th century, following the voyages of Diaz and Vasco da Gama, increasing numbers of Europeans arrived in Southeast Asia with a sword in one hand and a crucifix in the other, as Tully (2005, 58) in *A Short History of Cambodia* figures out, "The Spanish and the Portuguese, it is often said, came with a sword in one hand and a crucifix in the other." Shackford (1990, 83) adds the changes under colonialism that the Spanish monks and other Spaniards radically brought to the social, political and religious structure of the indigenous people's lives, but they let nothing stand in the way of their conversions of Filipinos to the Catholic faith. Similarly, the Romanian Orthodox church was transformed into a government-controlled organization; the state supervised Roman Catholic schools, imprisoned Catholic clergy, merged the Uniate and Orthodox churches, and seized Uniate church property as stated by Bachman (1991, 51). Iwaskiw (1996, 34) pinpoints the main religions in Estonia and Latvia that the dominant Estonian religion is Evangelical Lutheranism, and the second largest is Orthodox Christianity. The colonizer established its own churches, accounted for twenty-five Russian Orthodox

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congregations and others: forty-three for Estonian and twelve for mixed. The dominant Latvian religion is Evangelical Lutheranism, and the second largest is Roman Catholicism (Iwaskiw 1996, 121). The colonizer established Orthodox Churches in Latvia for Russians, accounted for 9 percent of the population (Iwaskiw 1996, 122). Burant (1990, 91) criticizes the communist states that try to abolish indigenous religions that the new secular authorities, under the communist rule, viewed the churches—the Roman Catholic Churches—in Hungary as a source of opposition, and they harassed and persecuted them. The state took over the religious schools and dissolved most Catholic religious orders in 1948. After 1974 the relations between church and state became warm due to the removal of Mindszenty from his office in 1971. Mindszenty had received permission to leave the country after spending many years in the American embassy in Budapest, where he had fled to escape detention by the authorities (Burant 1990, 92).

Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 303) state that according to the colonial government the most positive impact of colonialism is the investment in the education and health sectors. Education was primarily meant to recruit and to train clerks/officials for the administration but not to improve the knowledge of the indigenous population or to open the ways to European universities. Colonial society's education policies were guided by the practical needs. Colonial schooling, Rodney (1972, 264), meant education for subordination, exploitation, creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment. The colonizers offered opportunities differently within or between their colonies. Independent schools in many colonies, at the same time, were forbidden or carefully observed in order to exclude the development of potentially anti-colonial elite. The impact of schools was far-reaching since it had the effect of creating cultural allies for the colonial powers, according to Trocki (1999, 88). There was virtually no other option for school graduates than to work within a colonial structure (government, trade, and mission), a situation that created what Wallerstein (1970, 410) called the clerk between two worlds where to concentrate on psychological dilemmas of missing the key factor, and the structural bind in which this class found itself. Ziltener & Kunzler (2013, 304) adds colonial investment in health facilities mainly benefit the colonialist, especially in settler colonies. Medical centers were founded, typically with the purpose of lowering infant mortality, advancing disease prevention, and vaccination campaigns. The limited impact of these measures has to do with the predominant orientation of imperial medicine.

According to communist reform in social structure by Bachman (1991, 51), the communist regime in Romania in 1948 was determined to reform the social structure and inculcated the socialist values, by which imprisoned teachers and intellectuals, introduced compulsory Russian language, and rewrote Romania's history by highlighting Russia's contributions and redefining the nation's identity. A forced abandonment of traditional aboriginal languages in North America, by Kelertas (2006, 372), was carried out by a compulsory public educational system

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insisting on using the occupier's language which was English. This forced education in English finds parallels with the Soviet model in the Baltics, where Russian became the official language and a means of asserting control over business, education, and culture. Ngugi viewed cultural oppression as a 'bomb,' which annihilates people's belief in their names, languages, environments, heritage of struggle, unity, capacity, and ultimately themselves (Kelertas 2006, 372). According to the communist education system written by Burant (1990, 96), Hungarian communist government made changes in the communist regime, by putting emphasis on technical and vocational training of citizens for the benefit of society as well as the political education. Consequently, many Soviet professors and textbooks of Soviet authors were available at Hungarian university, and Russian-language clubs were founded. Additionally, Marxism-Leninism, by the early 1950s, had become the backbone of the curriculum.

Suhrke (1992, 12-13) considers that the longest, most devastating and internationalized war after World War II was the Second Indochina War (1960-1970). The conflict produced millions of internally displaced people and sustained outflows of persons classified alternatively as refugees or illegal migrants. The closed migration policies of Southeast Asian States were not seriously enforced until the late 1970s, resulting in the flows of immigrants from neighboring countries or from the region. The region's insurgencies resulted from a secular trend of growing pressure of the population on resources and divisions of class formations (as in Thailand and the Philippines) or mainly ethnicity (as in Malaysia). Most Southeast Asian countries had relieved some pressures due to the upsurge of economic growth of the 1970s, but it was certainly not enough to create large-scale demand for labor. Gilbert (2013, 2) referring to the twentieth century history and catastrophe wars—world wars to civil wars, violent political regimes, and genocides—shape contemporary history. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, King (1993, 20-22) believes that predominant moves of migrants were out of rather than into Europe. From 1820 to 1940, the estimated 38 million out of 55-60 million went to the United States due to geographical upheavals, the two world wars, and to political factors, pushing massive human dislodgements in Europe: 7.7 million in border-crossing and 25 million in shifted movement. Deletant (1995, 258) gives examples of Romanian immigrants that were estimated at about 170,000 emigrated legally between 1975 and 1986; thousands of others that emigrated illegally were arrested; and unknown numbers of Romanians were shot and died while attempting to migrate.

3.2. Economic Factors

Elson (1999, 305) describes the risks of work and the spread of diseases in colonial period. For example, in Southeast Asia there was a significant reduction of mortality, not an increase of fertility. Urbanization, the work in mines, plantations and the big infrastructure construction sites favored the spread of diseases and the

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increase in number of work-related accidents. Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 302) referring to the settler and plantation colonies state that the expropriation of lands was in different forms: (1) the concentration on ownership lands of colonized-horticultural societies higher than areas with higher population densities and more complex agricultural technologies and (2) a strong regional bias between less-prone importation of labor and the colonially induced labor immigration. Tully (2005, 93-97) referring to the French colony believes that Cambodia was in economic backwater. The peasants were discontented from the state apparatchiks and were forced to pay the taxes, to labor on the roads, and to line their own pockets in the process. The French administration had been increasing taxes for some years, but Khmer peasants were held responsible. Shackford (1990, 89, 115) asserts that due to the financial losses for the Dutch and British and the need of money, the Spanish raised taxes and forced the Filipinos to work more for lower wages. Small elite groups of Filipinos and the many Americans had started corporations or had investments in the Philippines due to low cost Filipino labor. Referring to the penetration of the colonial states between Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines, both in length and depth, Houben (2014, 31) considers that social fabric had been changed in important ways. During the middle of the 19th century, on the island of Java, cultivation system by mobilization of peasant labor took place in planting and harvesting cash crops. Major labor was previously recruited in the heavily populated island of Java, and later it was set up outsides Java. In Malaya Chinese, Indians and Javanese were put to work when a sizeable plantation and mining industry emerged, whereas Malay peasants were kept in their villages.

Wallerstein (2004, 3) describes the gap between the developed and the underdeveloped that by 1970 the real-world gap between the “developed” and the ‘underdeveloped’ countries was growing wider and wider with far closing. There is no clear-cut distinction between traditional empire building and European colonialism. All methods of domination and exploitation were only slightly different from colonialism, according to Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 292). The Caucasus, Central Asia, the Baltics, and Central Eastern Europe, Kelertas (2006, 11) believes, were colonized by Russia and the Soviet Union for between fifty and two hundred years. Referring to the exploitation of Romanian natural resources and economy Bachman (1991, 40, 48) considers that Germany and the Soviet Union exploited Romanian natural resources and economy. After signing a ten-year scheme in 1939, Germany exploited Romania’s natural resources and seized opportunity to strengthen its economic influence in the region, where first a premium for agricultural products was paid and soon about half of Romania’s total imports and exports were demanded (Bachman 1991, 40). After signing a long-term economic agreement in 1945, the Soviet Union controlled Romania’s major sources of income—the oil and uranium industries. The excessive post-war reparations to the Soviet Union overburdened Romania’s economy (Bachman 1991, 48), including US$ 300 million in reparation, goods transferred at low prices, and supplying food

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and other goods to the Red Army during transit and occupation, reaching the total equivalent of US$ 2 billion (Bachman 1991, 44). Consequently, Romania in 1947 faced economic chaos, resulting in foreign aid, including United States relief, to help feed the population (p. 48). After 1989 a multiparty system was implemented, Siani-Davies (2005), Romania was under the reform in all fields, especially market economy, but the democratization process was slow and winding due to communist origin of the majority of the political elite. Prohibitive tariffs on imports of Baltic goods, Iwaskiw (1996, xx), were imposed by the Russian government, and prices on Russian fuel and other essential commodities were raised. Today – the economic development of the three countries — Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania — has resulted from the strong relationships with the West since 1994, for after regaining independence in 1991 the Baltic States structured a course of political and economic reorganization and reintegration with the West (Iwaskiw 1996, xix). In terms of sovietization and reforms, Burant (1990, xxvii) deems that Hungary and other Eastern European countries alike were completely sovietized. The Soviet model of economy was adopted, resulting in industrial drive to the economy and the new regime collectivized agriculture. Economic reforms in 1989 took place in Hungary, reacting to the old communist system. The reforms led to the capitalist market economy and to the emergence of a multiparty system. Hungary, additionally, could persuade Poland to join a pro-reform bloc within the Warsaw Pact alliance, resulting in the strengthened-reform efforts in East Germany, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia in late 1989 (Burant 1990, xxx).

3.3. Political Factors

Bockstette et al. (2002, 352) referring to colonial domination states that colonialism politically affects first the pre-colonial elites through different forms of domination. Bergesen and Schoenberg (1969, 232) add political control differentiated from colony to colony within colony from region to region. Coleman (1960, 265) referring to the countries with the most effective indirect rule considers that the political integration was more difficult, and the tension between old and new elites was more evident. However, the countries with most effective direct rule, the political integration has been easier and less barricaded by old elites. Therefore, the colonial state with indirectly ruled colonies, Ziltener & Kunzler (2013, 297), lacked the capabilities to implement policy outside of the capital city and often had no option for pursuing policy other than coercion.

Truism of the effects of colonialism, Alesina et al. (2006, 2), deals with the artificiality of colonial borders. There are two facets of artificial borders, creating landlocked states and then becoming large countries and increasing the likelihood of civil wars according to Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 303). Tully (2005, 69) gives examples of artificiality of colonial borders created by the colonizers that almost the whole of the lower delta region and the Camau Peninsula were controlled by the

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Vietnamese by 1780, leading to populating the region with settlers and provoking border accidents to demand indemnities in land from the Khmers, resulting in almost half a million Khmer Kroms still living in the Vietnamese lower delta today, resulted from the French saving them from assimilation or extinction. Ziltener & Kunzler (2013, 298) know the facts of colonial institutions and infrastructure that institutions as educational facilities and infrastructure are more established where colonization lasted longer. These extractive institutions concentrate on power and are prone to expropriation of property. Shackford (1990, 115) adds more examples of colonization when under the American colonization from 1898 to 1946, the Americans brought in education, health care, new technologies, and American-style democracy to the Filipinos. At the same time U.S. military bases, large plantations, factories and mining operations were set up in the Philippines.

Referring to proselytization, Young (1994, 105) considers that the instrumentalization of ethno-linguistic and/or religious cleavages was one of the most problematic legacies of colonial domination. The army, in British Burma, was controlled by the Karen and Shan, who had been converted to Christianity mainly by U.S. missionaries. The transition to political independence, Houben (2014, 32), did not change the existing social structure much. In Java, upon the political upheavals of the Indonesian revolution, official elite families (priyayi) could retain their positions. Geertz (1965, 119-153) describes the restoration after revolution in Java where the American anthropologist quickly restored social order of postwar Mojokuto city in East Java, after the Indonesian revolution. Social complexities however, increased dramatically on the basis of ideologically affiliated groupings. Selosoemardjan (1962, 105-132) adds a rapid expansion of the bureaucracy that occurred after independence in Indonesia. Carrying high social esteem and political parties, the government officials extended their influence within the government apparatus by appointing their clients to office.

Referring to the development and the rebuilding the countries after independence in 1991, Iwaskiw (1996, xix), the Baltic states have developed their countries from communist legacies, which have formidable challenges—a major demographic shift during the Soviet era, a massive influx of immigrants, high concentrations of Russians in the capital cities, integration of political life, and high birth rate. The Baltic countries, however, have had greater progress in rebuilding their economies than Russia and the other former Soviet republics (Iwaskiw 1996, xxi). Estonia's new democratic politics started slowly in the 1990s, with a new constitution and formation of stable political groupings. Naturalization and integration of Russo-phone population into Estonian society remained a significant challenge, for they had been denied automatic citizenship rights in 1991 (Iwaskiw 1996, 65). The communist party's monopoly on political power in Latvia was ended in 1989 by the Latvian Supreme Soviet, which cleared the way for the rise of independence political parties and for the country's first free parliamentary elections since 1940 (Iwaskiw 1996, 148). The Supreme Council adopted a declaration

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renewing the independence of the Republic of Latvia, culminating elections to a restored Saeima (Latvia's pre-1940 legislature), declaring the Soviet annexation of Latvia illegal, and restoring certain articles of the constitution of 1922 (Iwaskiw 1996, 148-49). The most important issue facing the Saeima was citizenship, resulting in the passing the citizenship bill in 1994, requiring a minimum of five years of continuous residence, a rudimentary knowledge of the Latvian language, history, constitution and a legal source of income (Iwaskiw 1996, 152-53). A provisional constitution, called the provisional basic law, was adopted in 1990 to establish a framework for the new Lithuanian state's government, maintaining democratic rights and rules of democratic process, but basic elements of the Soviet style government still existing (Iwaskiw 1996, 224). Additionally, fundamental human rights and democratic values—freedom of thought, faith, and conscience—are written in the constitution, guaranteeing the status of legal person to religious denominations and allowing religious teaching rights (Iwaskiw 1996, 225). Consequently, Lithuania is an independent democratic republic, with its new constitution of a presidential democracy with separation of powers and a system of checks and balances (Iwaskiw 1996, 223).

After being in office in 1965, Bachman (1991, xxi), Ceausescu adopted the Stalinist model, imposed in 1948, and gave Romania the most highly centralized power structure in Eastern Europe. He became the first president of the republic, he took on the duties of the head of state, and remained the leader of the armed forces. He perfected two control mechanisms—policy making and administration through the mechanism of joint party-state councils, with no precise counterpart in other communist regimes, and rotating mechanism, bolstering his power at the expense of political institutions (Bachman 1991, xxi-xxii). Hardline communist regimes in 1989, from Baltics to the Balkans, gave way to a new generation of politicians willing to satisfy their population with democracy and market economies (Bachman 1991, xxix). Consequently, according to a multiparty system after 1989, Siani-Davies (2005), Romania was under the reform of all fields, especially market economy, but the democratization process was slow and winding due to the communist origin of the majority of the political elite. Burant (1990, 169) states similarities of communism in Hungary where the political system of the Hungarian People's Republic, like others in Eastern Europe, adopted a model first founded in the Soviet Union and allowed the communist party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to rule the state. Economically, politically, and socially the party made decision for the government to implement.

4. Conclusion

Kelertas (2006, 12) criticizes the different weights after colonialism that post-colonialism gave the colonized countries disproportionate weight in developing the

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freed countries. Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 291) confirms that there really existed post-colonialism ranging from 1511 to 1984 in South Eastern Asia and from 1920 to 1991 in Central Eastern Europe (See **Table 1**). There were many problems identified socially, economically and politically; and it remained unsolved. Developing countries in Southeast Asia, except Singapore and Brunei with high income, are Cambodia, Myanmar, Indonesia, Lao PDR, the Philippines, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam with lower middle income; Malaysia and Thailand with upper middle income. Central Eastern European countries are Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia with upper middle income; and Czech Republic, Slovak, Slovenia, Germany, Hungary and Poland are with high income, according to World Bank (2016). Therefore, Ziltener and Kunzler (2013, 306) conclude that transformable effects of colonialism have profound changes in economy and social structure in some countries and have remained untouched in most countries in Southeast Asia and Central Eastern Europe due to wars, occupation of neighboring countries, nepotism, and unsolved corruption.

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