

NOTES

1. Peace, or Change?

1. "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations," A/55/305-S/2000/809; available at www.un.org/peace/reports/peace-operations/.
2. Robert C. Owen, "Aerospace power and land power in peace operations," *Airpower Journal* 13, no.3 (Fall 1999): 4-22.
3. Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 19.
4. John Laughland, "UN Tyranny in Bosnia," *The Spectator*, May 5, 2001.
5. John Laughland, "UN Tyranny in Bosnia," *The Spectator*, May 5, 2001; Max Boot, "America Must Keep the Peace," *Wall Street Journal*, Apr. 22, 2002; Michael Ignatieff, "Nation-Building Lite," *New York Times Magazine*, July 28, 2002; and Ignatieff, "When a Bridge Is Not a Bridge," *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 27, 2002.
6. Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).
7. Ignatieff, "Nation-Building Lite."
8. Ignatieff, "When a Bridge Is Not a Bridge."
9. John Gerard Ruggie, "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution," in *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*, ed. Ruggie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 11.
10. Lisa L. Martin, "The Rational State Choice of Multilateralism," in *ibid.*, p. 92.
11. Roland Paris, "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism," *International Security* 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 54-89; Jack Snyder and Karen Balentine, "Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas," *International Security* 21, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 5-40; Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).
12. Michael J. Kelly, *Restoring and Maintaining Order in Complex Peace Oper-*

ations: *The Search for a Legal Framework* (Boston: Kluwer Law International, 1999).

13. Julie Mertus, "Reconsidering the Legality of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from Kosovo," *William and Mary Law Review* 41, no. 5 (May 2000): 1743–87.

14. Nicholas Lemann, "After Iraq," *The New Yorker*, Feb. 17–24, 2003; James Atlas, "A Classicist's Legacy: New Empire Builders," *New York Times*, May 4, 2003; and Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2003).

15. Col. (Ret.) John R. Ballard, *Upholding Democracy: The United States Military Campaign in Haiti, 1994–1997* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998), p. 25; U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, "Situation in Afghanistan," Federal News Service, June 26, 2002, as reported in the Lexis/Nexis Congressional Universe Online Database.

16. A similar point is made by Roland Paris, "International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice,'" *Review of International Studies* 28, no. 4 (Oct. 2002): 637–56.

2. Peacekeeping and Control

1. Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (Nov./Dec. 1997): 22–43.

2. While some would call the truce observation missions that the UN began to deploy in 1947 "peacekeeping," the term was not explicitly used until the 1956 Suez crisis, and it was the UNEF I mission deployed in response to that crisis that set the standard definition of what "classic" peacekeeping involved. For a clear discussion of the definition and history of traditional peacekeeping, see William J. Durch, *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

3. See Larry L. Fabian, *Soldiers Without Enemies: Preparing the United Nations for Peacekeeping* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1971); Carsten Holbraad, *Middle Powers in International Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1984); and Andrew F. Cooper, ed., *Niche Diplomacy: Middle Powers after the Cold War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). The intellectual inspiration for the literature on middle powers is Robert O. Keohane, "Lilliputians' Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics," *International Organization* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1969): 291–310.

4. "UN Peacekeeping: Some Questions and Answers," prepared by the UN Department of Public Information, Sept. 1998, and available on the web at www.un.org/News/facts/peacefct.htm.

5. Lewis Mackenzie, *Peacekeeper: The Road to Sarajevo* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1993), pp. 21–22.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

7. Author's off-the-record conversation with a retired colonel, Lester Pearson Peacekeeping Center, Nova Scotia, Mar. 1999.

8. The United Nations' goal in ONUC was to restore law and order in Congo following the pull-out of Belgian colonial forces. UN peacekeepers ended up taking sides with the government against a rebel faction in the province of Katanga,

but the attributes of the mission were so controversial and so out of synch with the expectations of the UN system that ONUC remained a unique case until the end of the cold war. Indarjit Rikhye, Michael Harbottle, and Bjorn Egge, *The Thin Blue Line: International Peacekeeping and Its Future* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 71–92.

9. Erwin A. Schmidl, “Police Functions in Peace Operations: A Historical Overview,” in *Policing the New World Disorder: Peace Operations and Public Security*, ed. Robert B. Oakley, Michael J. Dziedzic, and Eliot M. Goldberg (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1998), available at www.ndu.edu/inss/books/policing/chapter1.html.

10. A review of this literature would be a chapter in itself. Two influential and comprehensive edited volumes are William J. Durch, ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), and Olara A. Otunnu and Michael W. Doyle, eds., *Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the Next Century* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998). For a history of UN thinking about peacekeeping from 1989 through the Rwandan case in 1994, see Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 22–48.

11. Lakhdar Brahimi, chair, “Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations,” A/55/305-S/2000/809, Aug. 17, 2000, available at www.un.org.

12. J.M. Sanderson, “UNTAC: Successes and Failures,” in *International Peacekeeping: Building on the Cambodian Experience*, ed. Hugh Smith (Canberra: Australian Defence Studies Centre, 1994), pp. 15–31, and Cheryl M. Lee Kim and Mark Metrikas, “Holding a Fragile Peace: The Military and Civilian Components of UNTAC,” in *Keeping the Peace: Multidimensional UN Operations in Cambodia and El Salvador*, ed. Michael W. Doyle, Ian Johnstone and Robert C. Orr (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 107–33.

13. James A. Schear and Karl Farris, “Policing Cambodia: The Public Security Dimensions of U.N. Peace Operations,” in *Policing the New World Disorder: Peace Operations and Public Security*, ed. Robert B. Oakley, Michael J. Dziedzic, and Eliot M. Goldberg (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1998), pp. 69–102.

14. This process is described well by Roland Paris, *At War’s End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [in press]), chapter 5.

15. Kenneth Allard, lecture on “Cooperation, Command and Control: Lessons Learned or Lessons Identified?” in Capt. Leif Ahlquist, ed. *Cooperation, Command and Control in UN Peacekeeping Operations* (Stockholm: Swedish War College Department of Operations, 1996), p. 98.

16. The movie was based on the book by Mark Bowden, *Black Hawk Down: A Story of Modern War* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1999).

17. John L. Hirsch and Robert B. Oakley, *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1995); Lynn Thomas and Steve Spataro, “Peacekeeping and Policing in Somalia,” in *Policing the New World Disorder* ed. Oakley, et al., pp. 175–214.

18. The Republic of Somaliland, a chunk of territory which is governed by one

of the warring rebel groups but is not recognized by any state as sovereign, has maintained a measure of economic and social stability since its founding in 1991. It does not include Somalia's capital of Mogadishu.

19. Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998); Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

20. Dallaire's estimate was largely supported by a major conference of both military and civilian policy leaders sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict; see Scott R. Feil, *Preventing Genocide: How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda* (New York: Carnegie Corporation, April 1998). For a well regarded dissenting view, but one that nonetheless is critical of the international community for its failure to act more quickly as the Rwandan situation progressed, see Alan J. Kuperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2001). A definitive report of events in this case is "Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," Dec. 15, 1999, commissioned by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and available at www.un.org.

21. See James R. Davis, *The Sharp End: A Canadian Soldier's Story* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 1997).

22. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan commissioned a major internal investigation of the Srebrenica events and presented the resulting report to the General Assembly: "The Fall of Srebrenica: Report of the Secretary General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35," A/54/549, Nov. 15, 1999, available at <http://www.un.org/peace/srebrenica.pdf>. Also see Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War* (New York: Random House, 1998), pp. 68–70.

23. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking, and Peacekeeping," A/47/277—S/24111, June 17, 1992, available at www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html.

24. These reconstruction efforts did not always involve a military component; soldiers were not involved in UN peacekeeping efforts in El Salvador or Nicaragua, for example. It is only those operations that did include a military component that I will be considering here.

25. Stephen John Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security* 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 5–53.

26. "Charter of the United Nations," available at www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html. Sometimes these operations are referred to as "peace enforcement" missions, but since the term "peace enforcement" has also been used to refer to bombing campaigns against aggressive states, such terminology can become confusing. "Peacekeeping" will remain the term used throughout this book.

27. Kofi Annan, "Two Concepts of Sovereignty," *The Economist*, Sept. 18, 1999; Annan, "Report of the Secretary General on the Work of the Organization," General Assembly Official Records A/54/I, Aug. 31, 1999, available at www.un.org; Annan, "We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century (The Millennium Report)," UN Department of Public Information DPI/2103, Mar. 2000.

28. David Jablonsky and James S. McCallum, "Peace Implementation and the Concept of Induced Consent in Peace Operations," *Parameters* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 54–70, available at <http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/99spring/jablonsk.htm>.

29. Jarat Chopra, *Peace-Maintenance: The Evolution of International Political Authority* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

30. Chopra, "The Space of Peace-Maintenance," *Political Geography* 15, no. 3–4 (1996): 340.

31. Michael W. Doyle, "The New Interventionism," *Metaphilosophy* 32, no. 1/2 (Jan. 2001): 220–21.

32. Neta C. Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 429.

33. Richard Caplan, *A New Trusteeship? The International Administration of War-torn Territories*, Adelphi Paper 341 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2002), p. 10.

34. Jacques Paul Klein, "Sharing Political Space in Peacemaking: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina," International Peace Academy Seminar, Vienna, Austria, July 7, 2000; available at <http://www.unmibh.org/news/srsgspe/2000/07jul00.asp>.

35. Caplan, *A New Trusteeship*, p. 15.

36. Klein, "Sharing Political Space in Peacemaking."

37. Caplan, *A New Trusteeship*, p. 27.

38. Michael W. Doyle, "Warmaking and Peacemaking: The United Nations' Post-Cold-War Record," in *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, ed. Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson, and Pamela Aall (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2001), p. 546.

39. Michael Bailey, Robert Maguire, and J. O'Neil G. Pouliot, "Haiti: Military-Police Partnership for Public Security," in *Policing the New World Disorder: Peace Operations and Public Security*, ed. Oakley, et al., p. 215.

40. John R. Ballard, *Upholding Democracy: The United States Military Campaign in Haiti, 1994–1997* (Westport: Praeger, 1998), pp. 25–28.

41. Joseph W. Kinzer, "Vision for the End State for the United Nations Military Force," memo, Dec. 28, 1994, as reprinted in U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute, "Success in Peacekeeping: United Nations Mission in Haiti: The Military Perspective," U.S. Army Chief of Staff Haiti After Action Review (Carlisle Barracks, Penn.: U.S. Army War College, no date), p. 23.

42. Ballard, *Upholding Democracy*, p. 213.

43. Margaret Daly Hays and Gary F. Wheatley, *Interagency and Political-Military Dimensions of Peace Operations: Haiti—A Case Study* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1996), available at www.ndu.edu/inss/books/haiti/haithome.html.

44. Bailey, Maguire and Pouliot, "Haiti," pp. 222–24.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 224–25.

46. The most damning accounts of U.S. military inaction, which many U.S. military officers believe are exaggerations, are provided by Bob Shacochis, *The Immaculate Invasion* (New York: Penguin, 1999).

47. Ballard, *Upholding Democracy*, p. 120.
48. Ibid., pp. 114–15.
49. Bailey, Maguire and Pouliot, “Haiti,” pp. 235–40.
50. Ballard, *Upholding Democracy*, p. 211.
51. See Larry Rohter, “U.N. Troops to Leave Haiti as Feeble as They Found It,” *New York Times*, Dec. 4, 1997; and Steven Lee Myers, “Full-Time U.S. Force in Haiti to Leave an Unstable Nation,” *New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1999. This analysis was confirmed in an off-the-record e-mail interview by the author with a high-ranking U.S. Army officer who had been stationed in Haiti, January 2003.
52. Hays and Weatley, *Interagency and Political-Military Dimensions of Peace Operations: Haiti*.
53. “Where Racketeers Rule,” *The Economist*, Feb. 2, 2002.
54. Off-the-record email interview by the author, Jan. 2003.
55. For encyclopedic descriptions, see the NATO website (www.nato.int), as well as Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York: Penguin, 1996); Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War* (New York: Random House, 1998); Ivo H. Daalder and Michael E. O’Hanlon, *Winning Ugly: NATO’s War to Save Kosovo* (Washington: Brookings, 2000), and Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Future of Conflict* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001).
56. Andy Bair and Michael J. Dziedzic, “The International Police Task Force,” in *Lessons from Bosnia: The IFOR Experience*, ed. Larry Wentz (Washington, DC: Command and Control Research Program, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, April 1998), available on the web at www.dodccrp.org/bostoc.htm.
57. For a description of the complex process by which the operations of the OHR are overseen, see its website: www.ohr.int.
58. Ibid.
59. See “Political Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (November 2001),” *SFOR Informer* no. 126, Nov. 14, 2001, available on the web at www.nato.int.
60. Ibid.
61. Sgt. Kerensa Hardy, “OHR Involvement Reaches Far and Wide in BiH Progression,” *SFOR Informer* no. 113, May 16, 2001, available on the web at www.nato.int.
62. NATO/SFOR Joint Press Conference (including statements by representatives from the OHR and the UN Commission on Human Rights), Jan. 22, 2002; available on the web at www.nato.int.
63. For examples, see Gerald Knaus and Felix Martin, “Travails of the European Raj,” *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 3 (July 2003): 60–74; Keith Brown, “Unraveling Europe’s Raj,” *Foreign Policy* no. 139 (Nov./Dec. 2003): 84; and the exchange between Knaus, Martin, and Brown, “Do Bosnians Want Democracy?” *Foreign Policy* no. 141 (Mar./Apr. 2004): 13.
64. See the General Framework Agreement, available on the NATO website at www.nato.int/ifor/gfa/gfa-home.htm.
65. Kevin Ong, rapporteur, “The UN, Europe and Crisis Management,” conference report (Paris: International Peace Academy et al., October 2000), pp. 5–8, and Elizabeth M. Cousens, “Building Peace in Bosnia,” in *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*, ed. Cousens and Chetan Kumar (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2001), pp. 113–52.

66. A good brief summary is provided on the NATO website at <http://www.nato.int/sfor/docu/d981116a.htm>.
67. David Chandler, *Bosnia: Faking Democracy after Dayton* (Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 1999), p. 3.
68. Chandler, *Bosnia*, pp. 11–28.
69. The agreement is available on the NATO website at <http://www.nato.int/kosovo/docu/a990609a.htm>.
70. UNMIK webpage, <http://www.unmikonline.org/intro.htm>.
71. Ibid.
72. Simon Chesterman, “Kosovo in Limbo: State-Building and ‘Substantial Autonomy,’ ” Project on Transitional Administrations Report (New York: International Peace Academy, Aug. 2001), p. 4.
73. Daniel Simpson, “A Restive Kosovo, Officially Still Serbian, Squirms under the Status Quo,” *New York Times*, Dec. 29, 2002.
74. Bob Breen, *Mission Accomplished East Timor: The Australian Defence Force Participation in the International Forces East Timor (INTERFET)* (Crows Nest, New South Wales: Allen and Unwin Australia, 2000), pp. 1–2; Lincoln Wright, “Secret Defence Papers Show ‘Conspiracy’ at Highest Level,” *Canberra Times*, Nov. 24, 1999, as reported in the Lexis/Nexis Academic Universe online database.
75. Jarat Chopra, “The UN’s Kingdom of East Timor,” *Survival* 42, no. 3 (Autumn 2000), p. 37fn 2.
76. Breen, *Mission Accomplished East Timor*, pp. 6–13.
77. Chopra, “The UN’s Kingdom of East Timor,” pp. 27–39; Jonathan Steele, “Nation Building in East Timor,” *World Policy Journal* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 76–87; Caplan, *A New Trusteeship*, p. 48.
78. Steele, “Nation Building in East Timor.”
79. Chopra, “The UN’s Kingdom of East Timor,” p. 31.
80. Simon Chesterman, “Justice under International Administration: Kosovo, East Timor and Afghanistan,” Transitional Administrations Project Report (New York: International Peace Academy, Sept. 2002), p. 7.
81. UN Security Council Resolution 1410, May 17, 2002, available at www.un.org.
82. Steele, “Nation Building in East Timor.”
83. “A New Year in East Timor,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, Jan. 6, 2003, as reported in the Lexis/Nexis Academic Universe online database.
84. Steele, “Nation Building in East Timor.”
85. A. E. Afgbo, “Men of Two Continents: An African Interpretation,” in *African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa*, ed. L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan (New York: Free Press, 1978), p. 529.
86. Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and Its Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).

3. State Interests, Humanitarianism, and Control

1. See Tony Smith, *America’s Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University

Press, 1994), pp. 37–59; Brian McAllister Linn, *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 5–50; and Linn, “Cerberus’ Dilemma: The U.S. Army and Internal Security in the Pacific, 1902–1940,” in *Guardians of Empire: The Armed Forces of the Colonial Powers, c. 1700–1964*, ed. David Kilvingray and David E. Omissi (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 114–36.

2. Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

3. Frank Hindman Golay, *Face of Empire: United States-Philippine Relations, 1898–1946* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1998), p. 112; Linn, *Guardians of Empire*, pp. 38–39.

4. Smith, *America’s Mission*.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 81–82; Philip D. Curtin, *The World and the West: The European Challenge and the Overseas Response in the Age of Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 16–17. French colonial policy was particularly variable across time and place as the assimilationist policies of the 1870s failed to produce the results Paris wanted; see William B. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1971); D. K. Fieldhouse, *Colonialism 1870–1945: An Introduction* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), pp. 36–45; Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

8. Ethan A. Nadelmann, “Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society,” *International Organization* 44, no. 4 (Autumn 1990): 479–526; Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 887–917; and Neta C. Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). While Finnemore and Sikkink do say that “norm conformance can often be self-interested,” they argue that the “logic of appropriateness” can be separated from instrumental reasons to explain norm conformance (p. 912).

9. Curtin, *The World and the West*, p. 39.

10. This is the major theme of Fieldhouse, *Colonialism*.

11. Lance E. Davis and Robert A. Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Political Economy of British Imperialism, 1860–1912* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 306–7.

12. Ibid., p. 109, 311.

13. Ibid., p. 110.

14. Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986). Also see James J. Cooke, *New French Imperialism 1880–1910: The Third Republic and Colonial Expansion* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1973).

15. Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, p. 64.

16. Davis and Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire*, p. 311.

17. Doyle, *Empires*, p. 246; Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 84–86.

18. For an in-depth review of the British experience with private colonialism, see T. A. Heathcote, *The Military in British India: The Development of British Land Forces in South Asia, 1600–1947* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).

19. Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, p. 75.

20. Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 60; Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, p. 12; Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, pp. 64–65.

21. Curtin, *The World and the West*, p. 208.

22. Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*; Heathcote, *Military in British India*; Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*.

23. The need for self-financing colonies is a major theme of Fieldhouse, *Colonialism*. Also see Young, *African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 123–24.

24. Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*.

25. See Stig Förster, Wolfgang J. Mommsen, and Ronald Robinson, eds., *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference 1884–1885 and the Onset of Partition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1988).

26. Daniel Philpott, “Liberalism, Power, and Authority in International Relations: On the Origins of Colonial Independence and Internationally Sanctioned Intervention,” *Security Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter 2001/2): 117–63.

27. In addition to the example of Leonard Wood in the Philippines cited above, a prominent case was the Amritsar massacre ordered by British officers in colonial India in 1919. See Major General Charles W. Glynn, *Imperial Policing* (London: Macmillan, 1934), pp. 52–63, and Lawrence James, *Imperial Rearguard: Wars of Empire, 1919–85* (New York: Brassey’s, 1988), pp. 60–63.

28. Gerrit W. Gong, *The Standard of ‘Civilization’ in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 39.

29. Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*.

30. For a detailed discussion of indirect rule and “native administration,” see John E. Flint, “Frederick Lugard: The Making of an Autocrat (1858–1943),” in *African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa*, ed. L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan (New York: Free Press, 1978), pp. 290–312. Also see Fieldhouse, *Colonialism*, pp. 33–34, and Jackson, *Quasi-states*, pp. 14–15.

31. Doyle, *Empires*, pp. 181–82; Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, p. 96.

32. Ronald Robinson, “The Excentric [sic] Idea of Imperialism, With or Without Empires,” in *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities*, ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986), pp. 267–89.

33. Doyle, *Empires*, pp. 41–2.

34. Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, p. 91.

35. Curtin, *The World and the West*, p. 276.

36. Anthony Clayton, *The British Empire as a Superpower, 1919–39* (London: Macmillan, 1986), p. 162.

37. Moshe Gershovich, *French Military Rule in Morocco: Colonialism and its Consequences* (London: Cass, 2000), p. 71.

38. A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *Conquest of the Western Sudan: A Study in French Military Imperialism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 272.

39. A. E. Afigbo, "Men of Two Continents: An African Interpretation," in *African Proconsuls*, ed. Gann and Duignan, pp. 523–34.

40. Quoted in Cohen, *Rulers of Empire*, p. 11.

41. See especially Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 69–81, and Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, pp. 75–84.

42. Gong, *The Standard of 'Civilization' in International Society*.

43. Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*; Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*.

44. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*.

45. Horst Gründer, "Christian Mission Activities in Africa in the Age of Imperialism and the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885," in *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa*, Förster, et al., eds., pp. 85–103. Also see L. H. Gann, "The Berlin Conference and the Humanitarian Conscience," in *ibid.*, pp. 323–24, and Davis and Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire*, p. 6.

46. Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, pp. 52–4.

47. Virgil L. Matthew, Jr., "Joseph Simon Gallieni (1849–1916)," in *African Proconsuls*, ed. Gann and Duignan, pp. 80–108.

48. G. Wesley Johnson, "William Ponty and Republican Paternalism in French West Africa (1866–1915)," in *African Proconsuls*, ed. Gann and Duignan, pp. 127–56; Young, *African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*; Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*; Linn, *Guardians of Empire*.

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