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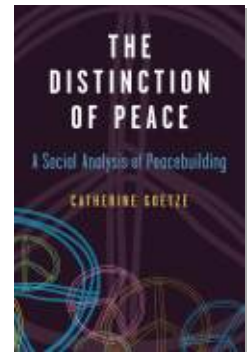
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Notes



Introduction

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Chapter 1

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44. Autesserre, *Peaceland*.

45. Adler and Pouliot, “International Practices,” 4.

46. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Esquisse d’une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d’ethnologie kabyle* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2000 [1972]), 238–41.

47. It is this connection between doing and effect on a society that probably led the German translator to translate “le sens pratique” (the practical sense) as “der soziale Sinn” (the social sense).

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57. Pierre Bourdieu, “Postface,” in *Architecture gothique et pensée scolastique*, ed. Pierre Bourdieu and Erwin Panofsky (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 2011), 151; Bourdieu uses the same image comparing these schemes to the improvisation of musicians as Charles Tilly did much later when introducing the notion of “scripts”; see Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2005), 84.

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59. Patrick Champagne and Olivier Christin, *Pierre Bourdieu: Mouvements d’une pensée* (Paris: Bordas, 2004), 57.

60. See, for a longer discussion of a Bourdieu-inspired critique of the concept of identity, Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity,’” *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000).

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62. Champagne and Christin, *Pierre Bourdieu*, 68.

63. Many countries require visa applicants and bearers of student visas to prove that they have sufficient economic resources to sustain their studies and livelihood during their stay in the host country.

64. See Sozio-Ökonomisches Panel at <http://www.diw.de/en/soep> or the British household panel survey at <https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/bhps>, both accessed March 2015.

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69. See, most notably, the recently declassified documents on the Congo in the Foreign Records of the United States (FRUS), U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–68, Volume 23, Congo, 1960–1968, ed. Nina D. Howland, David C. Humphrey, Harriet D. Schwarz, and Adam M. Howard. Belgian ministerial cabinet meetings have also become accessible online, although they seem to have been weeded with respect to Lumumba’s assassination, see Procès verbaux du Conseil des ministres, Archives Générales du Royaume et Archives de l’Etat dans les Provinces: <http://lib.ulg.ac.be/en/eresources/proces-verbaux-du-conseil-des-ministres>. Also Sergei Mazov, “Soviet Aid to the Gizenga Government in the Former Belgian Congo (1960–61) as Reflected in Russian Archives,” *Cold War History* 7, no. 3 (2007).

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Chapter 2

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2. Patrice Lumumba, Speech at the Ceremony of the Proclamation of the Congo’s Independence, 1st of June, 1960, <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/lumumba/1960/06/independence.htm>, accessed February 2015.

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For a critical view on the state failure paradigm, see the following articles from *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (2014): Derick W. Brinkerhoff, “State Fragility and Failure as Wicked Problems: Beyond Naming and Taming”; Olivier Nay, “International Organisations and the Production of Hegemonic Knowledge: How the World Bank and the OECD Helped Invent the Fragile State Concept”; Isabel Rocha De Siqueira, “Measuring and Managing ‘State Fragility’: The Production of Statistics by the World Bank, Timor-Leste and the G7+.” See also Heather Marquette and Danielle Beswick,

“State Building, Security and Development: State Building as a New Development Paradigm?,” *Third World Quarterly*, 32, no. 10 (2011); and Alina Rocha Menocal, “State Building for Peace: A New Paradigm for International Engagement in Post-Conflict Fragile States?,” *Third World Quarterly*, 32, no. 10 (2011).

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8. V. P. Fortna, “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War,” *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004).

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11. Richmond and Franks, *Liberal Peace Transitions*; Autesserre, *Trouble with the Congo*; Catherine Goetze and Dejan Guzina, “Peacebuilding, Statebuilding, Nationbuilding—Turtles All the Way Down?,” *Civil Wars* 10, no. 4 (2008).

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15. Christopher J. Bickerton, “State-Building. Exporting State Failure,” in *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations*, ed. Christopher J. Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe, and Alexander Gourevitch (New York: University College London Press, 2007); Orford, *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect*, 173; see, for case studies, Niels Nagelhus Schia and John Karlsrud, “Frictions in Peacebuilding Interventions: The Unpredictability of Local-Global Interaction,” Special issue of *International Peacekeeping* 20, no. 2 (2013).

16. For a detailed description of these events, see De Witte, *Assassination of Lumumba*. For a thorough discussion of UN special envoy Andrew Cordier’s dislike of Lumumba, see Carole Collins, “Fatally Flawed Mediation: Cordier and the Congo Crisis of 1960,” *Africa Today* 39, no. 3 (1992).

17. See Telegram from the Station in the Congo to the Central Intelligence Agency, September 5, 1960, Central Intelligence Agency Files, Job 78–00435R, DDO/ISS Files, Box 1, Folder 3, [cryptonym not declassified] Ops. Secret; Rybat; [cryptonym not declassified]; Emergency. Received at 2357Z, reprinted in Foreign Records of the US (FRUS), Africa, 1964–1968, vol. 23, Congo, 1960–1968, document 15. Paper Prepared in the Central Intelligence Agency, undated, Central Intelligence Agency Files, Job 78–00435R, DDO/ISS Files, Box 1, Folder 3, [cryptonym not declassified] Ops. Secret. A handwritten notation on the paper reads: “Prepared for Nixon 7 Sept 1960,” reprinted in Foreign Records of the United States, 1964–1968, vol. 23, Congo, 1960–1968, document 16.

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20. Collins, "Fatally Flawed Mediation." See also Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, "Ralph Bunche, Patrice Lumumba, and the First Congo Crisis," in *Trustee for the Human Community: Ralph J. Bunche, the United Nations, and the Decolonization of Africa*, ed. Robert A. Hill and Edmond J. Keller (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 148–59.

21. Kent, *America, the UN and Decolonisation*.

22. See David N. Gibbs, "Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations, and the Congo Crisis of 1960–61: A Reinterpretation," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no. 1 (1993). For the state failure and statebuilding discourse, see, for instance, James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security* 28, no. 4 (2004).

23. See, for example, Telegram from the Mission at the United Nations to the Department of State, July 14, 1960, Department of State Archives, Central Files, 770G.00/7–1460. Confidential; Priority, reprinted in Foreign Records of the United States, 1958–1960, vol. 14, Africa, Document 123; Telegram from the Mission at the United Nations to the Department of State, July 21, 1960, Department of State, Central Files, 655.70G/7–2160. Confidential, reprinted in Foreign Records of the United States, 1958–1960. Vol. 14, Africa, Document 139; Memorandum of Conversation, July 28, 1960, Department of State, Central Files, 332.70G/7–2860. Secret. Drafted by McBride. Approved in S on August 1, reprinted in Foreign Records of the United States, 1958–1960. Vol. 14, Africa, Document 153.

24. Jean-Bruno Mukanya and Samir Saul, *Cavalier seul: La France contre les interventions multilatérales durant la crise congolaise, 1960–1963* (Paris: SEHRIC, 2010); Alan James, "Britain, the Cold War, and the Congo Crisis, 1960–63," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 28, no. 3 (2000).

25. David N. Gibbs, *The Political Economy of Third World Intervention: Mines, Money, and US Policy in the Congo Crisis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

26. See Walter Lippmann, "Interview with Khrushchev," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy* 3, no. 4 (1961). For the text of Khrushchev's speech, see http://archive.org/stream/KhrushchevInNewYork_395/KINY3_djvu.txt, accessed November 2014; a video extract is available on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F_V2fQCKe4, accessed November 2014.

27. Dag Hammarskjöld, "The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact" (1961): <http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/dag/time1961.htm>, accessed November 2014.

28. Kent, *America, the UN and Decolonisation*.

29. Rajeshwar Dayal, *Mission for Hammarskjöld: The Congo Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

30. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *To Katanga and Back, a UN Case History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963).

31. Stephen Ryan, *The United Nations and International Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), chap. 4.

32. Norrie MacQueen, *The United Nations, Peace Operations and the Cold War* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2011).

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34. Khalid I. Babaa, “The ‘Third Force’ and the United Nations,” *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 362, no. 1 (1965); Steven K. Holloway and Rodney Tomlinson, “The New World Order and the General Assembly: Bloc Realignment at the UN in the Post–Cold War World,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 2 (1995).

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36. Woodward, “Security Council and the Wars in the Former Yugoslavia.”

37. Marrack Goulding, *Peacemonger* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Unvanquished: A U.S.-U.N. Saga* (New York: Random House, 1999), 38.

38. Boutros-Ghali, *Unvanquished*, 45.

39. *Ibid.*, 43; see also Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

40. David N. Gibbs, *First Do No Harm: Humanitarian Intervention and the Destruction of Yugoslavia* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009).

41. Milica Bakić-Hayden, “Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia,” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (1995): 917–31; Marija Nikolaeva Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

42. Steven B. Redd, “The Influence of Advisers and Decision Strategies on Foreign Policy Choices: President Clinton’s Decision to Use Force in Kosovo,” *International Studies Perspectives* 6, no. 1 (2005).

43. Mike Bowker, “The Wars in Yugoslavia: Russia and the International Community,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 50, no. 7 (1998).

44. A good example of this is Stephen Engleberg’s analysis in the *New York Times* in which he ascribes Yugoslavia’s financial crisis to its political crisis and not the other way around; see “Feuds Crippling Yugoslav Economy,” *New York Times*, April 20, 1991. There has been in the meantime rather substantial research on the importance of Yugoslavia’s debt crisis in the 1980s and the pressures of structural adjustment programs: see Viachaslau Yarashevich and Yuliya Karneyeva, “Economic Reasons for the Break-up of Yugoslavia,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 46, no. 2 (2013); Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy*; Gibbs, *First Do No Harm*; David A. Dyker, *Yugoslavia: Socialism, Development and Debt* (London: Routledge, 2013).

45. Kent, *America, the UN and Decolonisation*.

46. For example, a number of analysts argue that timely debt rescheduling or debt relief would have decisively strengthened the Yugoslav federal government and, consequently, deflated the conflict between the republics, while depriving Slovenia and Croatia of the most virulent nationalist propaganda; see, for instance, Michael

Barratt Brown, "The Role of Economic Factors in Social Crisis: The Case of Yugoslavia," *New Political Economy* 2, no. 2 (1997): 299–315; Michael Barratt Brown, "The War in Yugoslavia and the Debt Burden: A Comment," *Capital & Class* 17, no. 2 (1993): 147–60; Egon Žižmond, "The Collapse of the Yugoslav Economy," *Soviet Studies* 44, no. 1 (1992): 101–12.

47. Robert M. Hayden, "Yugoslavia's Collapse: National Suicide with Foreign Assistance," *Economic and Political Weekly* (1992); Stathis N. Kalyvas and Nicholas Sambanis, "Bosnia's Civil War: Origins and Violence Dynamics," in *Understanding Civil War: Europe, Central Asia, and Other Regions*, ed. Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis (Washington: World Bank, 2005), 191–229.

48. Robert Shapiro, Richard Sobel, and Eric Shiraev, *International Public Opinion and the Bosnia Crisis* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002); Philip P. Everts and Pierangelo Isernia, *Public Opinion and the International Use of Force* (London: Psychology Press, 2001).

49. Gibbs, *First Do No Harm*.

50. For the French context, Alice Krieg-Planque has undertaken a very thorough newspaper analysis to retrace how the notion of "purification é ethnique" has taken root and meaning in French media; see Alice Krieg-Planque, *Purification é ethnique: Une formule et son histoire* (Paris: CNRS, 2003). For a differentiated analysis of French, German, and British news reporting, see Reiner Grundmann, Dennis Smith, and Sue Wright, "National Elites and Transnational Discourses in the Balkan War: A Comparison between the French, German and British Establishment Press," *European Journal of Communication* 15, no. 3 (2000).

51. Bobo Lo, *Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era: Reality, Illusion, and Myth-making* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 25 and 55.

52. Robert M. Hayden, *From Yugoslavia to the Western Balkans: Studies of a European Disunion, 1991–2011* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

53. See Jane Boulden, *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001).

54. Qerim Qerimi, "An Informal World: The Role and Status of 'Contact Group' under International Law," *Chicago-Kent Journal of International and Comparative Law* 7 (2007): 7.

55. The "consortium" that put in place the Office of the High Representative comprised 51 actors, states, and international organizations, of which the UN was one.

56. Daniel H. Joyner, "The Kosovo Intervention: Legal Analysis and a More Persuasive Paradigm," *European Journal of International Law* 13, no. 3 (2002).

57. Roméo Dallaire and Brent Beardsley, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2004); Michael N. Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

58. Ingvar Carlsson, Sung-Joo Han, and Rufus M. Kupolati, "Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda" (New York: United Nations, 1999).

59. Berit Bliesemann de Guevara and Florian P. Kühn, "'The International Community Needs to Act!: Loose and Empty Signalling of a Hackneyed Concept,'" *International Peacekeeping* 18, no. 2, 135–51.

60. See letter dated December 15 by the Secretary-General in the preamble of the report.

61. “Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35, the Fall of Srebrenica” (New York: United Nations, 1999). The report on Srebrenica was commissioned through General Assembly Resolution 53/35 in November 1998, which had been introduced by Bosnia and Herzegovina and sponsored by Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Egypt, Hungary, Indonesia, Jordan, Kuwait, Liechtenstein, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Malaysia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Slovenia, Turkey, and the United States. UN Security Council Resolution A/53/PV.72. The resolution was adopted without a vote.

62. Kofi A. Annan and Nader Mousavizadeh, *Interventions: A Life in War and Peace* (New York: Penguin, 2012).

63. Secretary-General of the United Nations, *An Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-Keeping. Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to the Statement Adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992*, (1992); “Supplement to an Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations,” (United Nations, 1995); United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, “A New Partnership Agenda, Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping” (New York: United Nations, 2009); Lakdar Brahimi, “Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations,” ed. Panel on United Nations Peace Operations and Secretary-General (2000); Secretary-General of the United Nations, *Report of the Secretary-General on ‘In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All’* (2005).

64. Orford, *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect*.

65. United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, “A New Partnership Agenda.”

66. Orford, *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect*.

67. See, for instance, the interviews with UN staff Sture Linner and F. P. Liu at the UN oral history project, <http://www.unmultimedia.org/oralhistory/>, accessed November 2014.

68. Lisa Smirl, “Building the Other, Constructing Ourselves: Spatial Dimensions of International Humanitarian Response,” *International Political Sociology* 2, no. 3 (2008).

69. Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide*, 110.

Chapter 3

1. Lippmann, “Interview with Khrushchev,” 154–58.

2. Séverine Autesserre has documented a great number of these frames, ideas, and practices: “Hobbes and the Congo,” 249–80; *Trouble with the Congo; Peaceland*.

3. Paul Novosad and Eric Werker, “Who Runs the International System? Power and the Staffing of the United Nations Secretariat,” *Center for Global Development Working Paper* 376 (2014).

4. Marion Fresia, “Une élite transnationale: La fabrique d’une identité professionnelle chez les fonctionnaires du Haut Commissariat des Nations Unies aux Réfugiés,” *Revue Européenne des migrations internationales* 25, no. 3 (2010): 167–90.

5. Bessma Momani, “Recruiting and Diversifying IMF Technocrats,” *Global Society* 19, no. 2 (2005): 167–87; Wendy Larner and Nina Laurie, “Travelling Technocrats, Embodied Knowledges: Globalising Privatisation in Telecoms and Water,” *Geoforum* 41, no. 2 (2010): 218–26.

6. David Lewis and David Mosse, *Development Brokers and Translators: The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2006); David Mosse, *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice* (London: Pluto Press, 2005); David Mosse, *Adventures in Aidland: The Anthropology of Professionals in International Development* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Mosse, “Anthropology of International Development,” 227–46.

7. The information for this table was extracted from various sources: autobiographies, memoirs, biographies, encyclopedia entries, UN documentation, newspaper archives, and personal communications from family members.

8. UCLA 2051/208/3, Brian Urquhart also quotes this letter in his biography of Bunche; see Brian Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche: An American Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993).

9. Thomas J. Schoenbaum, *Waging Peace and War: Dean Rusk in the Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 377.

10. Westfälischer Anzeiger, 17.09.2011, at www.wa.de/lokales/boenen/todestag-heinrich-wieschhoff-1407946.html, accessed November 2014.

11. Schoenbaum, *Waging Peace and War*, 325.

12. The nobility of blood and the nobility of money in Europe, the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants of direct descent of the first Pilgrims on America’s East Coast. See for a contemporary discussion, Thomas R. Pickering and Edward J. Perkins, “The Foreign Service Is too White. We’d Know—We’re Top Diplomats,” *Washington Post*, May 18, 2015.

13. See Jürgen Kocka and Ute Frevert, *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert. Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich* (Munich: DTV, 1988).

14. Eric Hobsbawm, “Die englische Middle Class 1780–1920,” in *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jürgen Kocka (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 85–111.

15. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge, 2002).

16. Reinhart Koselleck, “Drei bürgerliche Welten? Zur vergleichenden Semantik der bürgerlichen Gesellschaften in Deutschland, England und Frankreich,” in *Begriffsgeschichten*, ed. Reinhart Koselleck (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2010), 433.

17. Wolfgang Kaschuba, “Deutsche Bürgerlichkeit nach 1800. Kultur als symbolische Praxis,” in *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jürgen Kocka (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 92–127.

18. Koselleck, “Drei bürgerliche Welten?,” 437.

19. Craig Calhoun, “The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travelers: Toward a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (2002): 869–97; Craig Calhoun, “Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Social Imaginary,” *Daedalus* 137, no. 3 (2008): 105–14; Catherine Goetze and Berit Bliesemann de Guevara, “Cosmopolitanism and the Culture of Peacebuilding,” *Review of International Studies* 40, no. 4 (2014): 771–802.

20. Leslie Sklair, *The Transnational Capitalist Class* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); Bastiaan van Apeldoorn, and Naná de Graaff, “Corporate Elite Networks and US Post-Cold War Grand Strategies from Clinton to Obama,” *European Journal of International Relations* (2012): 1–27; Kees van der Pijl, *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class* (London: Verso, 1984).

21. Zygmunt Bauman, “Parvenu und Paria,” *Merkur*, no. 3 (1994): 237–48; Zygmunt Bauman, *Flaneur, Spieler und Touristen* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1997).

22. See the critique of too rigid a notion of “class” in Bourdieu, “Social Space and the Genesis of Groups.”

23. Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

24. Jonathan Scott Holloway, *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris, Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919–1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); see also Charles P. Henry, *Ralph Bunche: Model Negro or American Other?* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

25. Ben Keppel, *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, Lorraine Hansberry, and the Cultural Politics of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 47; Walter A. Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience: Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism, 1938–1987* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 131; Bunche allied here with E. Franklin Frazier who for his entire life disputed Herskovits's contention of a distinct African American culture, see also Henry, *Ralph Bunche*, 58–61.

26. Quoted in Jonathan Scott Holloway, "Ralph Bunche and the Responsibilities of the Public Intellectual," *Journal of Negro Education* 73, no. 2 (2004): 125.

27. Henry, *Ralph Bunche*, chap. 1.

28. See, for instance, the testimonies (mainly from white men) at his birth's centennial on the webpage of the Ralph Bunche Institute, www.ralphbuncheinstitute.org/ralphbunchentenary.

29. "Calm UN Aide in Congo, Rajeshwar Dayal," *New York Times*, September 13, 1960.

30. Rajeshwar Dayal, *A Life of Our Times* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1998), 190.

31. Brian Urquhart, *Hammar skjöld* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 241.

32. O'Brien, *To Katanga and Back*.

33. Bertram G. Ramcharan, "The History, Role and Organization of the Cabinet of the United Nations Secretary-General," *Nordic Journal of International Law* 59 (1990): 103; Orford, *International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect*.

34. Manuel Fröhlich, *Political Ethics and the United Nations: Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General* (London: Routledge, 2008); Urquhart, *Hammar skjöld*.

35. Usually, these two titles are combined in one post, however occasionally a mission has a head of mission (or chief of staff) and a special representative of the Secretary-General. The special representative can be additionally doubled up with a special envoy for specific matters for instance, in 2006 Martti Ahtissari was the Secretary-General's special envoy to Kosovo to report on the opportunities of Kosovo's independence.

36. A few smaller missions have been omitted in this table, notably purely military missions like the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). This table also takes into account only missions that were ongoing and funded at the moment of the writing of this book; hence, even if there were former missions in Somalia, this table only takes into account the United Nations Support Office for African Union Mission in Somalia (UNSOA).

37. For Koenders's biography, see http://www.parlement.com/id/vg09llmaheyj/a_g_bert_koenders, accessed October 2014.

38. A similar pattern can be observed in the European Union where nationality becomes a factor in internal organizational communication in those sectors that are highly political: see Hans J. Michelmann, "Multinational Staffing and Organizational Functioning in the Commission of the European Communities," *International Organization* 32, no. 2 (1978): 477–96; Arndt Wonka, "Decision-Making Dynamics in the European Commission: Partisan, National or Sectoral?," *Journal of European Public Policy* 15, no. 8 (2008): 1145–63.

39. Novosad and Werker, “Who Runs the International System?”
40. “Liberia Election: Winston Tubman Profile,” *BBC News Africa online*, November 8, 2011.
41. Frank Prial, “An Old UN Hand Is Now Special Envoy to Somalia,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1992.
42. See Novosads and Werker, “Who Runs the International System?”
43. See chapter 1 for a discussion of methodological questions.
44. This qualification follows the World Bank distinction of industrialized high-income countries (distinguished again between OECD and non-OECD countries), upper middle-income countries, lower middle-income countries, and low-income countries as of 2012.
45. The total number of the prosopographic sample is 557 but only 330 of these have a postgraduate degree.
46. Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, *La reproduction: Éléments pour une théorie du système d’enseignement* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1970), 279.
47. They came to similar conclusions in their analysis of university students; see Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, *Les héritiers, les étudiants et la culture* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1965).
48. Bourdieu found similar relationships in his study of academic excellence in France: see Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1984).
49. Michael Tzanakis, “Bourdieu’s Social Reproduction Thesis and the Role of Cultural Capital in Educational Attainment: A Critical Review of Key Empirical Studies,” *Educate* (March 11, 2011), <http://www.educatejournal.org/index.php/educate/article/view/251>, accessed January 2015; Lawrence J. Saha and Joanna Sikora, “The Career Aspirations and Expectations of School Students: From Individual to Global Effects,” *Education and Society* 26, no. 2 (2008): 5–22; Jason D. Edgerton and Lance W. Roberts, “Cultural Capital or Habitus? Bourdieu and Beyond in the Explanation of Enduring Educational Inequality,” *Theory and Research in Education* 12, no. 2 (2014): 193–220.
50. M. D. R. Evans, Jonathan Kelley, Joanna Sikora, and Donald J. Treiman, “Family Scholarly Culture and Educational Success: Books and Schooling in 27 Nations,” *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 28, no. 2 (2010): 171–97.
51. A survey by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages found that in the period 2004–5 only 18 percent of all K–12 students in public schools in the United States enrolled in foreign language classes; see American Council on The Teaching of Foreign Languages, “Foreign Language Enrollments in K–12 Public Schools: Are Students Prepared for a Global Society?” (Alexandria, VA: ACTFL, 2010). See, for a longer discussion for the case of the United Kingdom, Kathryn Board and Teresa Tinsley, *Language Trends 2013/2014: The State of Language Learning in Primary and Secondary Schools in England* (London: CfBT Education Trust, The British Council, 2014).
52. Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche*.
53. In the qualitative interviews the only worker child I interviewed confirmed this. The interviewee recounted how the parents insisted on hard work for school and were extremely supportive of all educational matters even if this support entailed financial sacrifices.
54. This finding has been similarly brought about by Magdalena Nowicka, *Transnational Professionals and Their Cosmopolitan Universes* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2005).

55. John Hassard, Jonathan Morris, and Leo McCann, “‘My Brilliant Career’? New Organizational Forms and Changing Managerial Careers in Japan, the UK, and USA,” *Journal of Management Studies* 49, no. 3 (2012): 571–99.

56. See, for an overview of the discussion, Lindsey Macmillan, Claire Tyler, and Anna Vignoles, “Who Gets the Top Jobs? The Role of Family Background and Networks in Recent Graduates’ Access to High Status Professions,” in Department of Quantitative Social Science, *Working Paper No. 13–15* (London: University of London, 2013).

57. J. Blanden, P. Gregg, and S. Machin, *Intergenerational Mobility in Europe and North America* (London: London School of Economics, 2005).

58. Richard G. Wilkinson, and Kate E. Pickett, “The Problems of Relative Deprivation: Why Some Societies Do Better Than Others,” *Social Science & Medicine* 65, no. 9 (2007): 1965–78.

59. UNICEF’s data and statistics page, for instance, gives an impression of the high inequality of educational attainment in the world, see <http://data.unicef.org/education/overview>, accessed November 2014.

Chapter 4

1. Anthony J. Hesketh, “Recruiting an Elite? Employers’ Perceptions of Graduate Education and Training,” *Journal of Education and Work* 13, no. 3 (2000): 245–71; Louise Morley and Sarah Aynsley, “Employers, Quality and Standards in Higher Education: Shared Values and Vocabularies or Elitism and Inequalities?,” *Higher Education Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2007): 229–49.

2. United Nations, Assistant Secretary-General for Human Resource Management, Generic Job Profile Associate Political/Electoral Affairs Officer, P2, 2007.

3. See, for a discussion of professional profiles, Autesserre, *Peaceland*, chaps. 5 and 6.

4. International Council of Voluntary Associations and Paul Curion, “Strength in Numbers: A Review of NGO Coordination, Kosovo Case Study, 1999–2002,” in *Strength in Numbers*, ed. ICVA (Geneva: ICVA, 2010).

5. Major discussions are David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002); Alexander De Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars*.

6. For a frank account of an NGO bankruptcy, see Nick Thompson, “The End of Children’s Aid Direct,” *Humanitarian Exchange Magazine*, no. 23 (2003). The author, Nick Thompson, who turned off the lights of Child Aid Direct in 2002, became director of Tony Blair’s Africa Initiative in 2008 and its CEO in 2012.

7. See their webpage: <http://www.careinternational.org.uk/who-we-are/senior-management-team>; <http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/about-us/people/executive-directors>; <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/about-us/our-trustees>, accessed November 2014.

8. See, for an extensive discussion of privileging the global, that is, the Western, over the local, Autesserre, *Peaceland*.

9. David Lewis, “Tidy Concepts, Messy Lives: Defining Tensions in the Domestic and Overseas Careers of U.K. Non-Governmental Professionals,” In *Adventures in Aidland: The Anthropology of Professionals in International Development*, ed. David Mosse (New York: Berghahn, 2011).

10. Rebecca F. Taylor, "Extending Conceptual Boundaries: Work, Voluntary Work and Employment," *Work, Employment & Society* 18, no. 1 (2004): 29–49.
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Chapter 5

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79. The question was "In a typical week, how often do you feel stressed at work?"; respondents responded on a five-step scale with 1 (extremely often) to 5 (not often at all).
80. About 20 percent saw this as typical burnout; 16 percent would have recommended that the aidworker take it easy in the situation; 18 percent would have recommended that the worker pull himself together and show self-control in such a situation; 27 percent would have explicitly recommended that he seek another job if it was too difficult for him to deal with such a situation; 6 percent explicitly described the aidworker's behavior as unacceptable; and only 7 percent showed outright, explicit sympathy.
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Chapter 6

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32. *Ibid.*, 21, 29.

33. John Stuart Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention," *New England Review* 27, no. 3 (2006): 258. Originally published in 1859.

34. Beate Jahn, *Liberal Internationalism: Theory, History, Practice* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

35. Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention."

36. Karl Löwith, T. B. Bottomore, and William Outhwaite, *Max Weber and Karl Marx* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982), 42.

37. The question asked was "If you could change the world tomorrow, what would be your priority?" with a rating from 1 (very important) to 7 (not important at all). Surveyees were then presented with a list of policy measures, one of which was "Abolish private property." No one saw this measure as a priority; almost everyone rated this option as "not important" or "not important at all."

38. This was an open-ended question asking "Which personality do you admire most?" Respondents could give multiple answers. See also the next chapter in this book.

39. This was an open-ended question asking "Which is the historical event that left the strongest impression on you?" See next chapter for further discussion.

40. Richard G. Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010); Paul R. Krugman, *The Conscience of a Liberal* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009); Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003).

41. See, for instance, Bernard Kouchner, *Les guerriers de la paix du Kosovo à l'Irak* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2004); Hugo Slim, "Being Humanitarian: Personal Morality and Political Project in Today's Wars," podcast audio, Oxford Institute

for Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict (2011), <http://www.elac.ox.ac.uk/podcasts/>, accessed March 2014.

42. Gitta Sereny, “The Men Who Whitewash Hitler,” *New Statesman*, November 2, 1979.

43. Johanna Siméant, “Entrer, rester en humanitaire: Des fondateurs de MSF aux membres actuels des ONG médicales françaises,” *Revue Française de science politique* 51, no. 1 (2011): 47–72.

44. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 49.

45. This question asked respondents to express their agreement or disagreement with a battery of statements on global politics, war, and peace on a scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). The statements were taken from various agency publications, i.e., speeches by the UN Secretary-General, World Bank or UNDP reports, or discussion papers by donor agencies like the Department of Foreign and International Development in the United Kingdom.

46. The question about political values asked respondents to express their agreement or disagreement with a list of values that should be promoted in politics on scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). The values asked for were “individual liberty,” “equality,” “merit of individuals,” “tolerance,” “equity in the distribution of public goods,” “competitiveness,” “solidarity,” “security,” “critical discussion,” “state sovereignty,” “fairness,” “private property,” “community and belonging,” “loyalty to the state,” “ecology,” “harmony of society,” “identity,” “individuality,” “plurality of lifestyles,” “family values,” “nation and patriotism,” “contention of politics,” “home,” “conflict,” and “combativeness of individuals.” The question about political reforms was an open-ended question that asked “Which political reform do you admire the most?”; respondents could give multiple answers. Welfare reforms were mentioned most often, closely followed by voting rights.

47. United Nations, “Sture Linner,” 7.

48. See, for instance, Paul C. Stern, Thomas Dietz, and Linda Kalof, “Value Orientations, Gender, and Environmental Concern,” *Environment and Behavior* 25, no. 5 (1993): 322–48.

Chapter 7

1. See, for instance, the debate “Governance, Peacebuilding, and State-Society Relations” at the International Peace Institute, November 17, 2015, <https://www.ipinst.org/2015/11/twenty-first-century-peacebuilding-international-expert-forum#3>, accessed November 2015; see also the debate on the responsibility to protect with Kofi Annan, Lloyd Axworthy, and Lyse Doucet, University of Ottawa Centre for International Policy Studies, 2011, *The Responsibility to Protect 10 Years On: Reflections on Its Past, Present Future*, video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ohzVUuUsn3g>. The Centre for International Policy Studies is directed by Roland Paris, who argued in 2010 that there is no alternative to liberal peacebuilding: see Roland Paris, “Saving Liberal Peacebuilding,” *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 2 (2010): 337–65.

2. Mitchell, *Lost in Transformation*.

3. Tatiana Carayannis et al., “Practice without Evidence: Interrogating Conflict Resolution Approaches and Assumptions,” in *JSRP Paper*, ed. Justice and Security Research Programme (London: London School of Economics, 2014), 2.

4. Heathershaw, “Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and the Idea of ‘Virtual Peace’.”

5. Blieseemann de Guevara and Kühn, *Illusion Statebuilding*.

6. Alan J. Kuperman, “Intervention in Libya: A Humanitarian Success?,” pod-

cast audio, *Ethics, Law and Armed Conflict* (2012), <http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/intervention-libya-humanitarian-success>, accessed January 2014; Alan J. Kuperman, “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (2008), 49–80; Timothy W. Crawford, and Alan J. Kuperman, *Gambling on Humanitarian Intervention: Moral Hazard, Rebellion and Civil War* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006); Alan J. Kuperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001).

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8. John Heathershaw, “Seeing Like the International Community: How Peacebuilding Failed (and Survived) in Tajikistan,” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 2, no. 3 (2008).

9. On the relationship between *doxa* and *nomos*, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Propos sur le champ politique* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2000), 63.

10. Bourdieu, *Méditations pascaliennes*, 140.

11. Bourdieu, *Propos sur le champ politique*, 63.

12. <http://www.un.org/en/events/nonviolenceday/>.

13. <http://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/>.

14. See, for instance, Seumas Milne, “Mandela Has Been Sanitised by Hypocrites and Apologists,” *Guardian*, December 11, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/11/mandela-sanitised-hypocrites-apologists-apartheid>, accessed February 2014.

15. For more critical biographies that discuss, among other things, the iconization processes, see Gary Younge, *The Speech: The Story behind Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s Dream* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013); Jad Adams, *Gandhi: Naked Ambition* (London: Quercus, 2010).

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18. Elleke Boehmer, *Nelson Mandela: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 164.

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20. Richard Stengel, “Mandela: His 8 Lessons of Leadership,” *Time Magazine* (2008).

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22. Dower, *Ethics of War and Peace*, chap. 5.

23. Faisal Devji, *The Impossible Indian: Gandhi and the Temptation of Violence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

24. David Hardiman, *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

25. Adams, *Gandhi*.

26. Martin Luther King, “Letter from Birmingham Jail” (1963), *UC Davis Law Review* 26, no. 4 (1992–93): 840.

27. *Ibid.*, 845.

28. For instance, the dedication of the *Nonviolence Handbook* reads: “For all those who have the faith that humanity can be *redeemed* by nonviolence and the courage to prove it,” Michael N. Nagler, *The Nonviolence Handbook: A Guide for Practical Action* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 2014), emphasis mine.

29. Theodore J. Koontz, “Christian Nonviolence: An Interpretation,” in *The Ethics of War and Peace*, ed. Terry Nardin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 175.

30. Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

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33. Robert Ellsberg, ed., *Gandhi on Christianity* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991).

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37. See Melanie Müller, “Der Bruch in der südafrikanischen Gewerkschaftsbewegung,” in *Focus Afrika* (Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2014); Peter Alexander, “Marikana, Turning Point in South African History,” *Review of African Political Economy* 40, no. 138 (2013).

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44. Helmut Dubiel, “The Rememberance of the Holocaust as a Catalyst for a Transnational Ethic?,” *New German Critique*, no. 90 (2003).

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53. For example, Nelly Sachs, Imre Kertész, Patrick Modiano, Heinrich Böll, Günter Grass, Czesław Miłosz, Wisława Szymborska.

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International Affairs 26, no. 1 (2012); Michael Ignatieff and Amy Gutmann, *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

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65. See particularly Ignatieff’s introduction to *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

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Conclusion

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