(*Somewhat*) Willing & Able: the Use of Caveats in Coalition Warfare

Derek Scott Ray

Bachelor of the Arts, Baylor University, 2010
Masters of the Arts, American Military University, 2012

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Committee:
Phillip B.K. Potter (Chair)
Dale Copeland
Col Patrick H. Donley
John M. Owen IV

The views expressed in this dissertation are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the United States Air Force, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

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CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

Today, NATO needs to cover the full spectrum of operations, from combat to peacekeeping. That's why putting caveats on operations means putting caveats on NATO's future.
- NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, November 6, 2006

On August 11, 2003, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) assumed leadership of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. The alliance set out to enable the Afghan government to provide effective security across the country and to develop new Afghan security forces to ensure their country would never again become a safe haven for terrorists.[1] Three years later, there was a growing sense of anxiety within the alliance about Afghanistan's future as frustration with ISAF's ineffectiveness grew. Despite fielding a military coalition comprised of some 37 nations from across the globe, including some of the richest and strongest militaries in the world, the Taliban proved resilient and a weakened security situation stymied nation-building efforts.

By the end of 2006, both the Commander of ISAF, British General David Richards, and NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer pointed to interference at the operational and tactical level by individual coalition governments in the form of caveats, or national restrictions on forces within a military coalition, as a problem undermining ISAF's effectiveness in Afghanistan.[2] Nations imposed caveats on their military contingent in a coalition to restrict the behavior of these troops by limiting how, where, and what those forces can do. For example,

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[1] NATO, "ISAF's mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014) (Archived)," https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69366.htm, (Sep 1, 2015).

[2] Reflecting on the challenges confronting ISAF, General Richards remarked, "The problem is that of confusing and hugely politicized command and control. The risk, and sometimes the result, is an incoherent and "Balkanized" operation. Nations committing themselves to such operations must influence the campaign thorough influence at the strategic/political level - in the case of NATO through membership of the North Atlantic Council - and must then leave their commanders to get on and implement that direction in militarily sound ways, meeting the nations' agreed and combined intent" (Sten Rynning, *NATO in Afghanistan: the Liberal Disconnect* (Stanford University Press, 2012), 117).

Germany prohibited the country's ISAF contingent from leaving the relatively peaceful northern part of Afghanistan.[3] Slovakia limited its troops to non-combat roles and restricted their ability to leave military bases.[4] Still other governments restricted the use of certain types of weaponry and limited the types of operations their forces participate in.[5]

At a NATO Defense Ministers' Conference, de Hoop Scheffer argued NATO needed to share risks and burdens more equitably in Afghanistan and that "one glaring example is the question of caveats and national restrictions."[6] The NATO Secretary General also raised the issue of caveats with the heads of state and government from all 26 members of the alliance at the NATO Summit in Riga on November 28-29, 2006. Prior to the Riga Summit, there were reportedly only six NATO countries operating in Afghanistan without caveats while the remaining contributors accounted for at least 50 caveats with operational impact and over 100 national restrictions in total.[7] While de Hoop Scheffer successfully lobbied pledges by France and Italy to lift some of their caveats, others countries such as Germany, which was one of the largest contributors to ISAF, refused.[8] By 2009, only 4 of the 41 nations that made up ISAF lacked any caveats.[9]

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[3] Congressional Research Service, *The NATO Summit at Riga, 2006*, by Paul Gallis (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2007), 2-3.
[4] Mário Nicolini, Rudolf Žídek, and Ján Pšida, "Slovakia," in *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, ed. Heiko Biehl, Bastian Giegerich, & Alexandra Jonas (Weisbaden: Springer VS, 2013), 315.
[5] Congressional Research Service, *The NATO Summit at Riga, 2006*, 2-3.
[6] NATO, "ISAF's mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014)."
[7] Bastian Giegerich, *European Military Crisis Management: Connecting Ambition and Reality* (London: Routhledge, 2017).
[8] Following the Riga Summit, Canadian General Ray Henault, Chairman of the Military Committee, noted that the reductions were a step in the right direction but military officials still wanted to see more caveats eliminated. General Ray Henault, "Interview: General Ray Henault, Chairman of the Military Committee," *NATO Review* (January 2007).
[9] "'Caveats' neuter NATO allies," *Washington Times,* edited by Arnaud de Borchgrave, July 15, 2009. https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jul/15/caveats-neuter-nato-allies/; Caveat-free contingents came from the United States, Canada, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

Secretary General de Hoop Scheffer was not the only senior official to decry the negative impact national caveats imposed on commanders on the ground.[10] Writing in his memoirs, George W. Bush blamed national caveats for making the ISAF coalition a "disorganized and ineffective force, with troops fighting by different rules and many not fighting at all."[11] NATO commanders in Afghanistan consistently expressed frustration about the myriad of caveats and the challenges these restrictions cause when planning and executing operations. During their time as Supreme Allied Commander, both General Bantz J. Craddock and General James L. Jones spoke emphatically against caveats and encouraged governments to decrease the restrictions in an effort to increase the flexibility and capacity of NATO forces. General Jones explained, "the more control a commander has and the more agility he has and the more capability he has is directly related to the number of caveats we have to accomplish the mission." From a military perspective, commanders were eager to see national restrictions on the activities of coalition forces removed because of the negative impact they have on the effectiveness of multinational operations[12]

So what exactly constitutes a caveat? Currently there is no standardized definition for the term and scholars researching caveat implementation conceptualize caveats in slightly different ways. Even though the US Department of Defense (DoD) addresses the issue of caveats in its military doctrine, the organization does not provide its own official definition for the term. The US and other NATO members did, however, collectively agree upon a definition for the term

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[10] NATO, "Press briefing by the NATO Spokesman, James Appathurai during the meeting of the Ministers of Defence in Portorož, Slovenia," September 28, 2006.
[11] George W. Bush, *Decision Points*. (New York: Crown, 2010), 211.
[12] General James L. Jones ""NATO's Role in Afghanistan," transcript of presentation to Council on Foreign Relations," October 4, 2004.

that was included in the June 2006 update to the alliance's official glossary of terms. The NATO alliance thus defines a caveat as the following:

> "In NATO operations, any limitation, restriction or constraint by a nation on its military forces or civilian elements under NATO command and control or otherwise available to NATO, that does not permit NATO commanders to deploy and employ these assets fully in line with the approved operation plan (Note: A caveat may apply inter alia to freedom of movement within the joint operations area and/or to compliance with the approved rules of engagement)

The NATO definition is largely consistent with most scholars,[13] who generally define caveats as national restrictions or *rules* imposed by a national government that prohibit national contingents from participating in certain types of offensive and risky military operations.[14]

In this dissertation I define a caveat as any national limitation, restriction, or constraint imposed by the political leaders of a contributing nation that impedes the behavior of that state's contingent of forces within a multinational military coalition. My definition is intentionally designed emphasizes that caveats are *political*, rather than *military* constructs by clarifying that caveats originate from political leaders and are not self-imposed by military members. In this manner, the decision to implement caveats is ultimately about political considerations. By imposing caveats on their contributed forces, the political leaders of a state set the limits as to what their national contingent of forces is authorized to do within the coalition.

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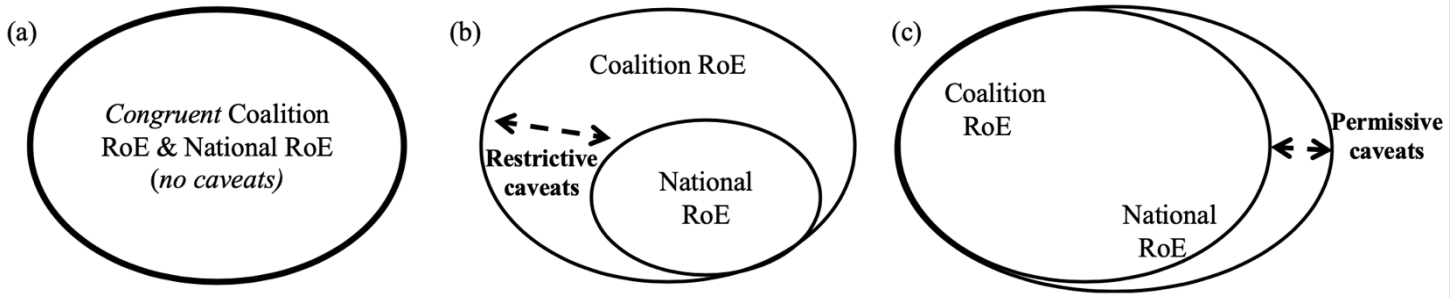
[13] See Per Marius Frost-Nielsen, "Conditional Commitments: Why States Use Caveats to Reserve Their Efforts in Military Coalition Operations." *Contemporary Security Policy* 38, no. 3 (2017): 4-5; Patrick A. Mello, *Democratic Participation in Armed Conflict: Military Involvement In Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq* (Springer, 2014), 113-114; Jens Ringsmose, "NATO Burden-Sharing Redux: Continuity and Change After the Cold War." *Contemporary Security Policy* 31, no. 2 (2010), 328.

[14] Some scholars, such as used Stephen M. Saideman and David P. Auerswald, use the term "caveats" to include *practices* aimed at asserting national authority over national contingents. An example of this is requiring national military representatives known as "red card holders" to be present in the coalition headquarters for the express purpose of wielding veto authority on how their national contingents may be utilized. In this dissertation. I do not consider the mere presence of "red card holders" to constitute a caveat since their presence does not in and of itself limit national contingent behavior.

Caveats typically exist as exemptions to a coalition's formally written rules or directives in order to restrict a national contingent's behavior beyond what is established for other members of the coalition. As such, these national caveats are often annotated sub-bullets within coalition directives, such as the coalition's RoE, Concept of Operation (CONOPS), or Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), that outline expectations and authorized behavior for coalition members.

Figure 1 illustrates how national RoE may deviate (or not) from the letter and intent of coalition RoE, and thus register as restrictive or permissive caveats in three illustrative examples.[15] The difference in size between the ellipses of coalition RoE and national RoE is representative of the degree of scope and robustness between the two sets of RoE. The lack of complete overlap between national RoE and coalition RoE thus constitutes caveats.

Figure 1. RoE and Caveats



Scenario "A" represents the ideal case for effective and efficient coalition operations. In this scenario the ellipses of an individual contributing nation's RoE and the coalition RoE are completely overlapping, indicating a total congruence between the individual contributing nation's RoE and the RoE of the coalition as a whole. In this scenario there is no need for caveats from the perspective of the contributing nation because both the rules and regulations for the contributing nation's contingent are the same as the rules and regulations for the rest of the

[15] Fermann, *Coping with Caveats in Coalition Warfare*, 63

coalition. From a practical standpoint, in this scenario one would expect the contributing nation to actually drop any sort of national RoE for this conflict and simply adopt the coalition's RoE as their own.

Case "B" depicts a robust coalition RoE with a contributing nation applying restrictions for its own national contribution. This is the most common scenario within post-Cold War multinational military operations. In this scenario, caveats document exactly what limitations or restrictions the contributing government imposes on its national contingent. These could be restrictions on where troops can operate, what type of equipment or weapons they are authorized to use, or when they are authorized to use varying levels of force. In either situation, the contributing nations generally adopt the majority of the coalition RoE but implement national caveats on specific issues where national preferences regarding the use of military force diverge from those documented in the coalition RoE.

Finally, case "C" depicts a scenario where the scope of the lead nation's RoE is actually narrower than the scope of the contributing nation's RoE, meaning the lead nation is restricting the coalition's forces more than desired by the contributing nation. In this scenario, the contributing nation would look to negotiate a "permissive caveat" or a caveat that grants the contributing nation permission to exceed the coalition's RoE in a certain situation. Empirically this is exceptionally rare as most contributing nations either adopt the coalition's RoE as their own or look add further restrictions. The only known example of a permissive caveat used in the Afghanistan, Iraq, or Libya coalitions took place with the Dutch contingent in Afghanistan.[16] Instead of negotiating a permissive caveat, a state with broader RoE preferences than the lead

[16] The Netherlands stipulated that their ground forces under ISAF command reserved the right to call on Dutch air support assets even if said airstrikes were vetoed by the ISAF commander (David P. Auerswald & Stephen M. Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan: Fighting Together, Fighting Alone* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 166.

nation is more likely to split whose authority their troop contribution operate under by standing up a parallel mission that is not officially part of the coalition. This method allows some troops to remain exclusively under national control and therefore utilize national RoE, while others operate as part of the coalition and utilize coalition RoE.[17]

Historically speaking, what was significant about the issue of caveats within ISAF and Afghanistan was not the fact that they existed in the first place but the level and openness of which these generally-secretive restrictions were openly discussed. Caveats are both militarily sensitive and politically sensitive in nature. Military commanders are typically keen to avoid openly disclosing information on national restrictions on the use of force or RoE as to prevent this information from being exploited by the enemy. Politically, governments are incentivized to keep their caveats secret in order to avoid having their contribution belittled by either domestic political opponents or international peers. Similarly, fellow members of multinational military coalitions must weigh the costs of shaming fellow contributor states regarding caveats since many states would be unlikely to contribute to the coalition if it were not for caveats on their forces.[18] The secretive nature of caveats in general extends beyond US or NATO-led coalitions. The UN has repeatedly stated that caveats are not allowed in peacekeeping operations, yet

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[17] For example, while participating in the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) the Belgium government considered the UN's RoE too restrictive. Instead of negotiating a permissive caveat, Belgium deployed its own force protection unit comprised of combat troops to accompany its national contribution to the UNIFIL coalition. The Belgian contribution to UNIFIL consisted of medical personnel, engineers, and explosive ordinance disposal personnel the force protection unit remained exclusively under national control and were not a part of the official UNIFIL mission despite the fact that these soldiers directly supported Belgium's UNIFIL contingent. This afforded the Belgian force protection unit the ability to operate according to national RoE and not be bogged down by UNIFIL coalition's RoE (Michel Liégeois and Galia Glume, "A Small Power Under the Blue Helmet: The Evolution of Belgian Peacekeeping Policy," *Studia Diplomatica* 61, no. 3 (2008), 130).

[18] Gunnar Fermann, *Coping with Caveats in Coalition Warfare: An Empirical Research Program* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2019).

caveats remain a reality for UN peacekeeping missions despite a "taboo" surrounding their discussion in New York.[19]

The Argument

The paradox associated with caveats is that states almost universally recognize these restrictions limit the military effectiveness of coalitions; yet national governments continue to impose caveats on their troop contributions anyway. This begs the question of why do states impose these restrictions on their forces if the negative impact of caveats on coalition operations is seemingly both universally recognized and despised? Why are members of a coalition unable to simply agree on a unified strategy, military policy, operating procedures, and RoE that all members of the coalition operate off of? Alternatively, why do coalition members not simply "fall in line" with the lead nation's guidance and directives?

Many politicians and national leaders, including NATO Secretary General de Hoop Scheffer, present the issue of caveats as a type of collective action or burden-sharing problem whereby individual members of the governments of coalition members use caveats as a tool to limit the costs associated with participating in the coalition. As such, states imposing caveats are viewed as withholding their full effort and as being engaged in either buck-passing to or free-riding behavior whereby they capitalize on the efforts of more willing states. However empirically, the level of caveats imposed appears independent of the overall size of the contribution as states, meaning states impose varying levels of caveats on their forces regardless of contribution size. In fact, many states that contribute large numbers of forces at a significant cost still impose high levels of caveats.[20]

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[19] Alexandra Novosseloff, "No Caveats, Please? Breaking a Myth in UN Peace Operations," *Global Peace Operations Review* (September 2016).

[20] For example, Germany was commonly criticized for the caveats imposed on its forces in Afghanistan but contributed the third most troops to ISAF behind the US and UK. Auerswald & Saideman (2014) argue that one

Linking caveats to the issue of equitable sharing of risks leads to a more insightful line of inquiry. After all, a great deal of caveats imposed during coalition operations are aimed at shielding a state's national contingent from danger.[21] However evaluating caveats exclusively as hedging efforts aimed at limiting military casualties provides only half the picture. A closer look at the caveats imposed during contemporary multinational military coalitions reveals there are actually two different categories of caveats. The first are those caveats aimed at limiting the risk posed to one's troops and the second category of caveats are those aimed at limiting the risk posed to civilians and other noncombatants. For example, a caveat requiring troops on patrols to remain in armored vehicles limits the risk posed to those forces while a caveat prohibiting the use of heavy machine guns reduces the likelihood noncombatants are inadvertently harmed in the crossfire of battle.

In this dissertation, I argue that the issues of casualty sensitivity and regard for civilian protections are representative of larger national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force. These preferences are driven by a given society's regard concerning the validity of the military as a foreign policy instrument as well as domestic expectations for the conduct of the armed forces while operating abroad. Additionally, I find that these preferences, which are nested within a state's strategic culture are heavily influenced by a state's own military history. Given that states hold individual preferences regarding the use of military force abroad, caveats thus emerge as a mechanism for governments of troop contributing nations to use in order to retain national control over their contributed military forces when their own preferences

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reason Germany received so much attention and criticism for its caveats was due to the fact that they provided such a large contribution to ISAF.

[21] Yet there is a lack of research on comparative research on casualty aversion as most contemporary scholarly work on the topic focuses on the US (Cornelius Friesendorf, *How Western Soldiers Fight: Organizational Routines in Multinational Missions* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 254). For examples of works on US casualty sensitivity, see Gelpi, Feaver, & Reifler (2009), Boettcher & Cobb (2006, 2008), and Muellier (2005).

regarding the use of military force diverge with the preferences of the state leading the coalition. Since caveats ensure national contingents are only used according to national preferences, they play a key role in enabling the governments of contributing states to appease international peers by allowing them to join a coalition while still placating domestic elites and a general public whose views regarding the proper application of military force differs from those of the coalition leader.

The level of caveats imposed by a contributing government is determined by the degree of overlap or divergence between the lead nation's preferences and the preferences of individual contributing members of the coalition. Where preferences among the lead nation and the contributing nation are congruent, there are few or no caveats. As preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force diverge, including attitudes towards military casualty aversion and civilian protections, the level of caveats imposed by the contributing nation increase. Therefore caveats help the contributing government ensure its contributed troops behave in accordance with national preferences as opposed to being subsumed by the coalition leader.

Brief Plan of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 develops the theoretical argument, describing in detail how the decision of states to impose restrictive caveats on their contributions to military coalitions is tied to the degree in which the state's preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force compares to the preferences of the coalition leader.

To test the arguments, I examine the use of caveats on the Dutch, Belgian, and Danish contributions to the coalitions fighting in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya. Each of these three small

European countries are governed by coalition governments and field armed forces that are roughly similar in terms of size and capabilities.

The first true case study chapter examines the ISAF coalition in Afghanistan. This chapter demonstrates how Dutch preferences regarding the prioritization of civilian protections, formed in the shadow of the Netherlands' experience at Srebrenica in 1995, clashed with the strategy put forth by the US and resulted in the imposing of a moderate level of caveats on their forces in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, Belgium, similarly shaken from their own military failure in Rwanda in 1994, imposed a strict level of caveats on its ground forces in Afghanistan in an effort to reduce the danger these troops faced and minimize the likelihood of having their armed forces suffer further casualties while operating abroad. In contrast to the Netherlands and Belgium, the convergence of strategy and preferences regarding the use of military force between Denmark, the US, and the UK led to few caveats by the Danish government. Instead, a shared proclivity for aggressive combat operations led to a relatively seamless integration of Danish and British forces in the region.

Chapter 4 examines the US-led coalition in Iraq from 2003-2012 and finds similar results to those of the Afghanistan conflict. While the issue of caveats did not generate as much international attention in Iraq compared to Afghanistan, these restrictions were still very much present within the coalition and were again representative of divergent national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force. This chapter further demonstrates how Dutch preferences regarding the prioritization of civilian protections again clashed with the strategy put forth by the US, resulting in a moderate level of caveats imposed on Dutch forces. While Belgium abstained from participating in Iraq, the convergence of preferences between Denmark,

the US, and UK resulted in another Danish contribution relatively uninhibited by national caveats.

The final case study examines the 2011 military intervention in Libya. This coalition lacked a conventional ground component and instead relied on air and naval platforms to support rebel forces battling Muammar Gaddafi's forces. Yet even as a limited military operation, the coalition saw varying contributions with disparate levels of caveats among its contributors. The nature of conflict led the Netherlands to impose a high degree of caveats in order to ensure adequate protections for civilians. Meanwhile the air-centric nature of the military campaign resulted in a situation where Belgium was able to operate according to its own casualty-averse preferences with only minimal caveats. For Denmark, the continued convergence of preferences with the US meant its forces again operated largely devoid of caveats.

The concluding chapter of this dissertation summarizes the findings of the case studies, explores areas for future research, and offers policy recommendations aimed at reducing the operational impact caveats cause during multinational military operations.

CHAPTER TWO
Explaining Caveats in Post-Cold War Military Coalitions

One country may support another's cause, but will never take it so seriously as it takes its own. A moderately-sized force will be sent to its help; but if things go wrong the operation is pretty well written off, and one tries to withdraw at the smallest possible cost.
- Carl Von Clausewitz

Why do national leaders impose operational- and tactical-level restrictions on how their military forces can fight while part of a multinational coalition? After all, imposing restrictions on national contingents in a coalition runs counter to Clausewitz's near-universally accepted principle of war regarding unity of command and risks damaging both the military efficiency and political cohesion of the multinational military coalition.

The answer to the question posed above, in its simplest form, is that governments impose caveats on their national contingents within a coalition as a mechanism to accommodate different preferences between the contributing nation and the lead nation regarding the expeditionary use of military power. If the contributing nation holds preferences largely congruent with the preferences of the lead nation regarding the use of the military abroad, the contributing nation can be expected to impose few or no caveats on its forces within the coalition. However, the greater the divergence in national preferences between the contributing nation and the lead nation, the greater the level of the caveats imposed on the contributing nation's forces as the contributing nations looks to maintain national control over their forces allocated to the coalition.

This chapter outlines how national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force are driven by a state's civil society and reflect two issues that are particularly important to the development of these warfighting preferences. These two issues are a society's regard for the military as a valid foreign policy instrument and a society's sensitivity to the cost of war in terms of military casualties and civilian deaths. This chapter also demonstrates how

these warfighting preferences, which are nested within a state's strategic culture, are heavily influenced by a state's military history.

After establishing the principle of national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military warfare, this chapter explores how varying preferences become problematic in the context of coalition warfare. This chapter goes on to describe how the coalition formation process resembles a two-level game with contribution bargaining negotiations occurring simultaneously at both the domestic and the international level. Here caveats emerge as a compromise mechanism used by governments when the preferences of the lead nation conflict with the preferences espoused by a contributing nation's civil society at the domestic level.

National Preferences Regarding the Use of Military Force

Before delving into the origin of national preferences regarding the use of military force it is necessary to acknowledge the anarchic nature of the international system. Despite the presence of international organizations such as the UN, there is ultimately no overarching power or international authority that oversees the international system and mandates the behavior of states. Therefore, in a general sense, states are relatively free to act according to their own volition. As the subsequent section demonstrates, the lack of a central authority means states are afforded a great deal of latitude regarding the conduct of war.

Despite the anarchic nature of the international systems, most states do willingly agree to some international legal obligations in the form of treaties and international agreements governing the conduct of war (the *jus in bello*). International Humanitarian Law (IHL), which is a body of universally accepted customary practices, multilateral treaties, and normative principles that limit the means and methods of combatants and serves as the basis for the Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC), which are the specific laws that constrain the actions, procedures, and

munitions that states can employ in military actions.[22] However the rules and regulations proscribed under IHL only loosely regulate how states conduct military operations. Under IHL there is still a considerable amount of discretion given to states regarding how to interpret the various obligations. For example the *jus in bello* rules of distinction and proportionality demand fighting forces aim their fire only at legitimate military targets and minimize any harm they might inadvertently inflict on civilians and civilian objects.[23] Yet what constitutes a legitimate military target and constitutes minimized harm is open to interpretation. Many dual-use facilities and civilian-operated facilities that support a state's war effort, such as bridges and communications facilities, have traditionally been viewed as legitimate military targets. What constitutes a "minimized harm" to civilians is also a subjective matter. Near certainty of zero civilian casualties is not required in war, as the principle of proportionality tolerates the infliction of civilian harm as long as that harm is not excessive in relation to the military advantage that is sought.[24] And again, the state conducting the military action determines the anticipated military advantage. As a result of the level of discretion and ambiguity in IHL, states often vary in how they interpret IHL obligations, and some aspects of IHL remain openly disputed by some states. For example, major world powers including the US, China, and Russia have not ratified the 1997

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[22] Bruce Cronin, "Reckless Endangerment Warfare: Civilian Casualties and the Collateral Damage Exception in International Humanitarian Law," *Journal of Peace Research,* 50*,* no. 2 (March 2013), 157; Bryan Frederick and Nathan Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare: The Changing Global Environment and Its Implications for the U.S. Air Force* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2020), 2.

[23] Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), arts. 51, 52, 57,

[24] Gabriella Blum, "The Paradox of Power: the Changing Norms of the Modern Battlefield," *Houston Law Review* 56, no. 4 (2019): 774; AP I stipulates "[a]n attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated."

Table 1. NATO Parties to Select International Humanitarian Law & Related Treaties

	Protections of Victims of Armed Conflicts					*ICC*	*Protections of Cultural Property*			*Restrictions on Weapons*		
NATO Member	Geneva Conv. I-IV 1949	AP I 1977	AP I Declaration art. 90	AP II 1977	AP III 2005	ICC Statute 1998	Hague Conv. 1954	Hague Prot. 1954	Hague Prot. 1999	Mine Ban Conv. 1997	Cluster Munitions 2008	Arms Trade Treaty 2013
Albania	27/05/1957	16/07/1993		16/07/1993	06/02/2008	31/01/2003	20/12/1960	20/12/1960		04/09/1998	22/12/2009	03/06/2014
Belgium	03/09/1952	20/05/1986	27/03/1987	20/05/1986	12/05/2015	28/06/2000	16/09/1960	16/09/1960	13/10/2010	04/09/1998	06/04/2011	02/04/2014
Bulgaria	22/07/1954	26/09/1989	09/05/1994	26/09/1989	13/09/2006	11/04/2002	07/08/1956	09/10/1958	14/06/2000	03/12/1997	16/03/2015	19.06.2019
Canada	14/05/1965	20/11/1990	20/11/1990	20/11/1990	26/11/2007	07/07/2000	11/12/1998	29/11/2005	29/11/2005	20/05/1998	17/08/2009	02/04/2014
Croatia	11/05/1992	11/05/1992	11/05/1992	11/05/1992	13/06/2007	21/05/2001	06/07/1992	06/07/1992	08/02/2006	26/10/1999	22/09/2011	25/09/2014
Czech Republic	05/02/1993	05/02/1993	02/05/1995	05/02/1993	23/05/2007	21/07/2009	26/03/1993	26/03/1993	08/06/2007	08/06/1998	12/02/2010	02/04/2014
Denmark	27/06/1951	17/06/1982	17/06/1982	17/06/1982	25/05/2007	21/06/2001	26/03/2003	26/03/2003	05.09.2018	12/05/2004		02/04/2014
Estonia	18/01/1993	18/01/1993	20/02/2009	18/01/1993	28/02/2008	30/01/2002	04/04/1995	17/01/2005	17/01/2005	23/07/1998	25/09/2009	02/04/2014
France	28/06/1951	11/04/2001		24/02/1984	17/07/2009	09/06/2000	07/06/1957	07/06/1957	20.03.2017	23/07/1998	08/07/2009	02/04/2014
Germany	03/09/1954	14/02/1991	14/02/1991	14/02/1991	17/06/2009	11/12/2000	11/08/1967	11/08/1967	25/11/2009	25/09/2003		29.02.2016
Greece	05/06/1956	31/03/1989	04/02/1998	15/02/1993	26/10/2009	15/05/2002	09/02/1981	09/02/1981	20/04/2005	06/04/1998	03/07/2012	02/04/2014
Hungary	03/08/1954	12/04/1989	23/09/1991	12/04/1989	15/11/2006	30/11/2001	17/05/1956	16/08/1956	26/10/2005	05/05/1999	31/08/2015	02/07/2013
Iceland	10/08/1965	10/04/1987	10/04/1987	10/04/1987	04/08/2006	25/05/2000				23/04/1999	21/09/2011	02/04/2014
Italy	17/12/1951	27/02/1986	27/02/1986	27/02/1986	29/01/2009	26/07/1999	09/05/1958	09/05/1958	10/07/2009	01/07/2005		02/04/2014
Latvia	24/12/1991	24/12/1991		24/12/1991	02/04/2007	28/06/2002	19/12/2003	19/12/2003		12/05/2003	24/03/2011	18/12/2014
Lithuania	03/10/1996	13/07/2000	13/07/2000	13/07/2000	28/11/2007	12/05/2003	27/07/1998	27/07/1998	13/03/2002	14/06/1999	10/07/2009	03/06/2014
Luxembourg	01/07/1953	29/08/1989	12/05/1993	29/08/1989	27/01/2015	08/09/2000	29/09/1961	29/09/1961	30/06/2005	23/10/2006	25/01/2010	18/08/2014
Montenegro	02/08/2006	02/08/2006	02/08/2006	02/08/2006		23/10/2006	26/04/2007	26/04/2007	26/04/2007	12/04/1999	23/02/2011	18/12/2014
Netherlands	03/08/1954	26/06/1987	26/06/1987	26/06/1987	13/12/2006	17/07/2001	14/10/1958	14/10/1958	30/01/2007	09/07/1998	03/12/2008	12/02/2014
Norway	03/08/1951	14/12/1981	14/12/1981	14/12/1981	13/06/2006	16/02/2000	19/09/1961	19/09/1961	05.09.2016	27/12/2012		17/12/2014
Poland	26/11/1954	23/10/1991	02/10/1992	23/10/1991	26/10/2009	12/11/2001	06/08/1956	06/08/1956	03/01/2012	19/02/1999	09/03/2011	25/09/2014
Portugal	14/03/1961	27/05/1992	01/07/1994	27/05/1992	22/04/2014	05/02/2002	04/08/2000	18/02/2005	09.04.2018	30/11/2000		02/04/2014
Romania	01/06/1954	21/06/1990	31/05/1995	21/06/1990	15/05/2015	11/04/2002	21/03/1958	21/03/1958	07/08/2006	25/02/1999	24/07/2015	02/04/2014
Slovakia	02/04/1993	02/04/1993	13/03/1995	02/04/1993	30/05/2007	11/04/2002	31/03/1993	31/03/1993	11/02/2004	27/10/1998	19/08/2009	02/04/2014
Slovenia	26/03/1992	26/03/1992	26/03/1992	26/03/1992	10/03/2008	31/12/2001	28/10/1992	05/11/1992	13/04/2004	19/01/1999	17/06/2009	02/04/2014
Spain	04/08/1952	21/04/1989	21/04/1989	21/04/1989	10/12/2010	24/10/2000	07/07/1960	26/06/1992	06/07/2001	25/09/2003		
Turkey	10/02/1954						15/12/1965	15/12/1965		31/07/1998	04/05/2010	02/04/2014
UK	23/09/1957	28/01/1998	17/05/1999	28/01/1998	23/10/2009	04/10/2001	12.09.2017	12.09.2017	12.09.2017			
U.S.	02/08/1955				08/03/2007		13/03/2009					

Ottawa Treaty banning land mines[25] and the 2008 Convention on Cluster Munitions. As demonstrated above in Table 1, there are even discrepancies among the like-minded, liberal democracies in NATO regarding their adherence to the various international treaties governing the *jus in bello.*

Even if all states were party to the same international treaties concerning the conduct of war, states are still left with a great deal of individual discretion regarding how to proceed in the conduct of war. It is important to recognize that during the conduct of war, national decisionmakers often adopt policies that restrict military activities beyond what is legally required due to political or operational concerns.[26] For example, during a military intervention based on humanitarian grounds, such as ending ethnic violence, a state may restrict its use of lethal force as not to undermine the political justification for intervening in the first place. Likewise a state combatting an insurgency may look to similarly restrict the use of lethal force in order to maintain the support of the civilian population, which would be considered an operational concern.

Another way of examining the issue of choice in the conduct of war is to view the conduct of war as existing on a spectrum. At one end of the spectrum is "limited war," whereby a state makes restrained use of its military capabilities or limits attacks to specific targets.[27] At the other end of the spectrum is what Prussian Military Clausewitz reflected described as total or absolute war, which calls for the utmost use of military force. Whereas IHL sets the upper limits

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[25] In fact, in January 2020, President Donald Trump cancelled a Presidential Policy Directive issued by the Obama Administration that limited the use of land minds issued a new policy on anti-personnel landmine use that permits the use of nonpersistent APLs "in major contingencies or other exceptional circumstances." Congressional Research Service, "New U.S. Antipersonnel Landmine Use Policy," (Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, 2020), 1.
[26] Bryan Frederick & David E. Johnson, *The Continued Evolution of U.S. Law of Armed Conflict Implementation: Implications for the U.S. Military,* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015), iii.
[27] Lawrence Freedman, "The Theory of Limited War" in *International Perspectives on the Gulf Conflict, 1990–91*. Edited by Alex Danchev and Dan Keohane D, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), 201.

as to what is viewed as acceptable practice in war, it is ultimately up to the state to determine how "limited" of a war to conduct. For the modern battlefield, a state may look to conduct a limited war by opting to rely exclusively on airpower over utilizing ground forces, or choosing to employ smaller munitions rather than larger ones, and has the ability to implement more- or less-restrictive RoE.[28] The overall point here is to underscore that a state can normally choose how to pursue military objectives during a conflict using several different approaches.[29]

Generally speaking, military effectiveness is thought to typically favor the immediate application of overwhelming force.[30] However recent history is littered with examples of national leaders opting for military policies and strategies that restricts military activities beyond what is legally required. This is particularly the case for conflicts that feature a gross imbalance in military capabilities and the militarily superior state typically holds greater discretion regarding the conduct of the conflict.[31] Recent history has shown that, in these power imbalance situations, the more powerful state typically opts for more restrained approaches.[32] It is important to recognize that states have options regarding the conduct of war because part of the challenge with multinational military coalitions is that states within a coalition often disagree on the best way to pursue military objectives during a conflict.

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[28] Frederick & Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare*, 1.
[29] Frederick & Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare*, 1.
[30] Frederick & Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare*, 1; This line of thought is typically associated with the so-called Powell Doctrine, a strategy put forth by General Colin Powell in the lead up to the Gulf War that was heavily influenced by lessons learned from the Vietnam conflict and the Weinberger Doctrine.
[31] This is to say that in conflict between two highly capable state adversaries, where vital national interests or state survival is at risk, both states are more likely to trend towards total war and are not as likely to view themselves as having the luxury to pick-and-choose what type of limited war to engage in. In this way, states facing an existential threat should be considered less likely to exercise restraint on the battlefield compared to states lacking a similar existential national security threat.
[32] Frederick & Johnson, *The Continued Evolution of U.S. Law of Armed Conflict Implementation*, 35); In this section, "recent history" refers to the Cold War period through the present. During the Cold War, the US and its allies as well as the Soviet Union fought a series of "limited wars" against lesser adversaries (ie. Vietnam and Afghanistan).

It is important to recognize that the decision of what approach a state takes is not made in a vacuum nor is it solely based on operational considerations. For western, liberal democracies in particular, the specific expectations that a given civil society develops regarding the use of its own military force are significant drivers of military behavior since the militaries of these liberal democracies are ultimately accountable to the societies they represent. These domestic expectations then influence national leader decision-making in regards to what approach to take in order to achieve military objectives during a conflict.[33] Glimpses into these expectations regarding the conduct of a state's military forces can be either both formally captured through the ratification of international and domestic legal obligations or informally with public opinion. I argue that a given society's expectations regarding the acceptable behavior and conduct of its armed forces is driven by two main issues: first is a society's perception of the military as a legitimate foreign policy tool and second is a society's sensitivities towards the cost of war in terms of military and civilian deaths.

How the society of a given state views the military has tremendous impact on how its armed forces are expected to behave in a conflict. How does the military factor in as a foreign policy instrument? Is the military defined by an association with fighting and inexorably linked with combat or is military force considered simply another foreign policy tool on equal grounds as diplomacy, development cooperation, and trade? Are soldiers viewed as global peacekeepers or martial warriors? Answering these questions on how a society views its armed forces provides insight into a what a society expects from its military. How a society views its military impacts

[33] It is necessary to specify that liberal democracies are beholden to civil society in contrast to authoritarian states for several reasons. States lacking a free and open press may be able keep its public in the dark concerning its conduct in war and withhold information concerning military casualties, collateral damage and civilian deaths, and even battlefield outcomes. Domestic societies in authoritarian are also less able to protest government wartime transgressions.

not only what types of missions they expect their armed forces participate in but also how a society expects their armed forces to behave during operational missions, including what type of strategy and operational policies a state's military should use.

In modern Germany, for example, both the general public and particularly the elites seek to avoid using military force abroad and instead prefer to rely on "civilian power."[34] Polling suggests that the German public rejects the idea of military intervention as a legitimate tool by wide margins in addition to disproving of German military involvement in external crisis and conflict management.[35] It is perhaps unsurprising then, that when Germany deployed soldiers to Afghanistan, the government pitched the contribution as a "stabilization operation" and avoided the use of terms like "combat operation" or "war." Using the term "war," or emphasizing the combat element of the mission would have contradicted the humanitarian frame constructed beforehand and would have alerted an already deeply critical public.[36]

In contrast, the strategic culture in Poland is one that promotes a romantic-or altruistic portrayal of their soldiers as the carriers of national identity.[37] Pacifist rhetoric has never been prominent in the country's security and defense discourse and instead Polish society has a well-established acceptance of the "duties of the soldier" to fight and, if necessary, to die.[38]

It is necessary to distinguish between how different states view their armed forces because caveats emerge, in part, as a tool to preserve national preferences on how the military

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[34] Julian Junk & Christopher Daase, "Germany," in *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, ed. Heiko Biehl, Bastian Giegerich, & Alexandra Jonas, (Weisbaden: Springer VS, 2013), 146.
[35] Junk & Daase, "Germany," 146; For example, a 2007 survey by the Allensbach Institute found only 14% of the German public supported the military's involvement in external crisis while 50% voiced support for economic measures like sanctions and 83% preferred diplomacy.
[36] Junk & Daase, "Germany," 148.
[37] Marcin Terlikowski, "Poland," in *Strategic Cultures in Europe: Security and Defence Policies Across the Continent*, ed. Heiko Biehl, Bastian Giegerich, & Alexandra Jonas, (Weisbaden: Springer VS, 2013) 276.
[38] Terlikowski, "Poland," 276.

should be used within a coalition context if there is a divergence between the preferences of the lead nation and the society of the contributing nation. In relation to the vignettes above, it is worth noting that these two states were on opposite ends of the caveat spectrum in Afghanistan. Germany imposed some of the tightest restrictions among all ISAF contributors while Poland deployed to Afghanistan with minimal caveats.[39] And to be clear, there is a significant amount of variation even among other NATO members regarding how their domestic public views the military.[40]

The other important issue driving the formation of national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force is a given society's sensitivities towards the human cost of war. Military operations almost inherently place military personnel, as well as civilians, at some level of risk. A given society's perceived sensitivity to casualties suffered by either group plays a major role in determining a state's preferences regarding the use of military force. As the Poland example above illustrated, sensitivities towards the human cost of war are not completely unrelated to how a state views its armed forces and how a society views its armed forces can be related to a society's willingness to sustain casualties. However these concepts of how a society views its armed forces and its willingness to endure casualties in war are distinct enough to merit separate evaluation.

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[39] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 111-112.

[40] In international public opinion surveys conducted in 2007, 2010, 2011, and 2019, the Pew Research Center asked respondents whether they completely agreed, mostly agreed, mostly disagreed or completely disagreed with the following statement, "It is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world." American respondents consistently most favorably to the statement with between 75-78% agreeing with the statement across the four surveys. The British public also supported the notion that military force was necessary to maintain order in the world, with 67-71% of respondents agreeing. France (57-63%) and Spain (55-62%) were less supportive and Germany's public was the most skeptical of the necessity of military force with only 41-50% supporting the statement (Pew Research Center, 2020, 36-37).

A dearth of academic literature has already explored the link between *military* casualties and public support.[41] While the exact relationship remains somewhat debated, the general consensus is that national leaders typically have a political incentive to limit the number of casualties suffered in a given conflict.[42] Ultimately, individuals and society writ large exhibit some level of casualty sensitivity, which should not be considered a binary issue but rather as existing on a spectrum. At one end of the spectrum is "casualty phobia," a reflexive opposition to any use of force that includes any risk of more than a trivial amount of casualties. The most extreme form of casualty phobia is arguably pacifism, which includes the opposition to all uses of force.[43] At the opposite end of the spectrum is the person or state that is casualty indifferent, or expresses a willingness for the nation to pay any price and bear any burden in order to achieve the military and political objectives of a given conflict. This is not to suggest that this type of person or state would not still prefer to pay lower costs or endure fewer casualties, only that support for the use of force will not erode substantially as costs mount.[44]

Separate, but not mutually exclusive, from a society's military casualty sensitivity is a society's sensitivity towards the deaths of civilians or other noncombatants during the course of a

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[41] For example, see John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 1973); Bruce W. Jentleson, "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (1992), 49–74; Eric V. Larson, *Casualties and Consensus: The Historical Role of Casualties in Domestic Support for U.S. Military Operations* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1996); Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler, *Pay the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion & Casualties in Military Conflicts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

[42] In this dissertation I differ from the DOD regarding the definition of the term "casualty." While the DOD defines a casualty as "any person who is lost to the organization by having been declared dead, duty status – whereabouts unknown, missing, ill, or injured" (*DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, 30), this dissertation uses the term only when referring to the death of a servicemember suffered as the result of a hostile act.

[43] Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi. *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 99.

[44] There are some individuals that argue that low-cost or casualty-free military victories (often associated with debate regarding the role of unmanned weapons systems in war) are potentially destabilizing because they encourage hubris and adventurism. However in this dissertation I am operating with stated assumption that any actor prefers fewer casualties.

conflict.[45] Here a civilian is defined as any persons who are not members of the armed forces, armed opposition groups, and are otherwise not directly engaged in hostilities.[46] These individuals are supposed to be afforded general protection against the dangers arising from military operations in accordance with IHL, which calls for the protection of civilians through the legal principles of civilian distinction, military necessity, proportionality, and feasible precaution.[47] However the somber reality is that civilian deaths occur during armed conflict and that, under international law, civilian deaths are generally accepted as collateral damage.[48]

The link between civilian deaths and public support for a conflict has yet to be as thoroughly investigated as the link between military casualties and public support. However preliminary findings indicate attention to and concern about civilian casualties have increased in the US and among key Western European allies in the post-Cold War period and that civilian protections are becoming a more salient concern in the conduct of military operations.[49] Again, even though seemingly all states look to avoid or at least minimize civilian deaths on the

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[45] In order to avoid confusion between the two people groups (military vs. civilian), this dissertation refers to civilian fatalities as simply deaths and only utilizes the term "casualty" when referring to military personnel.

[46] Definitions for what constitutes a civilian varies slightly. Protocol I, Article 50 of Geneva Conventions of 1949 defines civilians as "persons who are not members of the armed forces" while in 2000, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia defined civilians as "persons who are not, or no longer, members of the armed forces." Some states (including Australia, Canada, France, Hungary, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States) add that civilians are "persons who do not participate in hostilities" in their national laws and military manuals.

[47] Protocol I, Articles 48, 49 & 51 of Geneva Conventions of 1949

[48] International humanitarian law and the Rome Statute permit belligerents to carry out proportionate attacks against military objectives, even when it is known that some civilian deaths or injuries will occur. War crimes only occur if there is an intentional attack specifically directed against civilians (which violates the principle of distinction) or if an attack is launched on a military objective with the knowledge that the incidental civilian injuries would be clearly excessive in relation to the anticipated military advantage (which violates the principle of proportionality). Thus the legality of actions that result in civilian deaths depends on the anticipated military advantage against expected civilian losses. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (2003) ruled that when determining whether an attack was proportionate, "it is necessary to examine whether a reasonably well-informed person in the circumstances of the actual perpetrator, making reasonable use of the information available to him or her, could have expected excessive civilian casualties to result from the attack."

[49] Larson & Savych, *Misfortunes of War: Press and Public Reactions to Civilian Deaths in Wartime*; One reason concern for civilian deaths may be more profound among Western democratic states is due to freedom of the media. States with closed media environments, such as Russia or China, have the ability to restrict or prohibit coverage of civilian casualties.

battlefield, the extent to which this is a priority varies because the rules and regulations proscribed under IHL only loosely set an upper limit on how states conduct military operation and there is a fair amount of discretion given to states regarding actions taken while engaged in armed conflict.

Yet we know empirically that decisionmakers willingly adopt policies that restrict military activities beyond what is legally required. For both political and operational reasons, the US and its allies have increasingly restricted military activities beyond what is required by IHL in the post-Cold War period out of greater concern for civilian casualties.[50] These efforts to limit the number or either military casualties or civilian deaths are typically reflected in policy directives such as the military's RoE and in targeting procedures. In the context of multinational military coalitions, states can assert their national authority to reflect a heightened sensitivity towards either military casualties or civilian deaths by imposing national caveats on their forces, which serve to hold these troops to a different standard than the rest of the coalition.

It is important to note that depending on the operational context of a given conflict, a state must manage conflicting incentives associated with limiting the human costs of war. First, prioritizing civilian protection or minimizing military casualties can come at the expense of mission effectiveness since it can prevent forces from making the necessary actions on the ground to achieve the military objectives of the conflict. Likewise, measures taken to minimize the risk to a state's own military forces may actually increase the risk to civilians and other non-combatants while measures taken to limit the danger posed to civilians may increase the risk to troops. For example, an overreliance on air support can minimize the threat to military personnel

[50] Frederick & Johnson, *The Continued Evolution of U.S. Law of Armed Conflict Implementation*, iii.

but can also result in greater collateral damage and civilian deaths.[51] Conversely, restricting troops to a "self-defense only" RoE where they can only fire their weapons after having been fired upon significantly reduces the risk to civilians but simultaneously increases the risk to military personnel by ceding a first mover advantage to the adversary. Depending on which issue holds greater priority for the state, the government can institute policies that essentially shift the risk away from the prioritized group, in what has become known as a "risk transfer."[52] As explored in more detail later in this chapter, one of the fundamental reasons states impose caveats on their forces in a coalition is when there is a difference between the contributing nation and the lead nation regarding the prioritization of mission effectiveness, minimizing military casualties, and avoiding civilian deaths.

At this point, it is necessary to acknowledge the role domestic media coverage and media freedom regarding a society's sensitives to both military casualties and civilian deaths in combat. Often, the degree to which military casualties and civilian deaths decrease public support for a military operation depends on the media coverage.[53] Previous scholarly works have already established that the more negative images shown in the media, the greater the potential political concerns that policymakers might face regarding support for the operation, and the greater incentive they might have to limit military casualties and civilian deaths.[54] Furthermore, elite assumptions about likely popular reaction to military casualties sometimes drive shifts in policy before public opinions are even formed.[55] Also important is the relative independence of media

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[51] In a way, the use of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) represents the ultimate example of risk transfer since no military lives are at risk while civilians remain at risk.
[52] Martin Shaw, *The New Western Way of War: Risk Transfer and its Crisis in Iraq* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005).
[53] Frederick & Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare*, 6.
[54] Matthew A. Baum and Philip B. K. Potter, *War and Democratic Constraint: How the Public Influences Foreign Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
[55] Cori Dauber, "Image as Argument: The Impact of Mogadishu on US Military Intervention," *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 27, No. 2, (2001), 205–207.

outlets, since media outlets in states with high levels of media independence and open political systems are free to disseminate content that might erode public support for a conflict while states with closed political systems and greater state control over media are more likely to limit this type of information sharing.[56]

Finally, it is necessary to acknowledge the role of history in determining a state's preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force in the present. The wartime experiences of Germany and Japan provide the most glaring examples of how wartime experiences can have a transformative effect on how a society subsequently regards the use of military force. However there is no reason to assume that history only influences states in the extreme, like with these two former WWII belligerents. Instead history matters across cases as societies afford their leaders the opportunities to repeat policies regarding this specific use of military force when they have been successful in the past. However when past experiences are viewed as failures, domestic pressure mounts on these national political leaders to deviate from the past strategies and policies that resulted in failure.[57] Therefore acknowledging a state's military history is important as it is the key to understanding how successes generate persistent trends in preferences regarding the use of military force while failures help explain when and why states change their preferences.

For contemporary military operations, this generally means examining their military experiences starting with the end of the Cold War. This has less to do with the number of years that has elapsed but instead this period of time represents an effective general benchmark for

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[56] Matthew A. Baum and Yuri M. Zhukov, "Filtering Revolution: Reporting Bias in International Newspaper Coverage of the Libyan Civil War," *Journal of Peace Research*, 52, no. 3, 384–400.

[57] Although differentiating between success and failure sounds fairly simple and straightforward, it is a bit more nuanced considering victory and failure are subjective in nature and vulnerable to the framing of the state and the media (Johnson & Tierney, 2006).

examining military experiences since the end of the Cold War served as a critical juncture for many countries around the world in terms of their defense policies. While certain military experiences that occurred prior to the end of the Cold War continue to influence strategic culture and preferences regarding the use expeditionary use of military force, there are multiple reasons why this point in time serves as an effective general benchmark. First, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and end of the bipolar system reduced the likelihood of a large-scale conventional between Major Powers. As such, the end of the Cold War ushered in a period of profound changes in military's organization, strategy, and policy around the world. For Europe in particular, this meant a shift from viewing the military through the lens of territorial defense and towards an association with expeditionary operations away from home. As such, for many countries the role of the military and the validity of military force as a foreign policy tool changed after this point in time.

When evaluating a state's recent military experiences, it is important to note for states contributing to multinational military coalitions, their specific determination of success or failure is not inexorably linked to the overall success or failure of the campaign. After all, these contributing nations are not likely to play the deciding role in the campaign's overall outcome, and they may not even play a deciding role in the outcome of any major battle. Rather the determination of success or failure for contributing nations is based on the state's own set of political and military objectives within the coalition. Did the contributing nations have a positive impact to the coalition? Was the contributing nation successful in achieving its military objectives within its assigned area of operations? Were the contributing nation's efforts recognized by other members of the coalition? These are the types of questions that determine whether or not a state's contribution to a multinational coalition should be viewed as a victory or

success. The importance of the overall outcome of the campaign is primarily an issue for the lead nation. Contributing nations need only be concerned with achieving their own objectives within the coalition.[58]

When faced with military success, states not only face a growing expectation to repeat past successes but to continuously improve upon them. In many ways increasing public expectations for its armed forces is similar to what the business world refers to as the "Law of Rising Expectations."[59] In business, this "law" holds that what was once considered beyond the call of duty, when performed repeatedly over time, becomes the new norm; and what were once considered privileges become rights.[60] Applied to military operations, once a nation's military has demonstrated an ability to win a conflict while sustaining minimal casualties, the expectation of that state's public is for that level of success to be repeated again in the future. Especially since the end of the Cold War, it is clear empirically that the public's expectations for the military in terms of limited casualties and civilian deaths have risen substantially.

The US-led coalition in the 1991 Gulf War demonstrated the vast potential of modern weaponry and achieved such a resounding military victory that commentators declared it a "Revolution of Military Affairs." As a result of this success, the US public looked for their military to achieve similarly decisive victories with minimal costs going forward. For example, prior to the start of the Gulf War, the US expected to sustain a fairly high number of military casualties. General Schwarzkopf, the commander of US Central Command who led the coalition,

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[58] For example, whereas the strategic goal of the lead nation might be to pacify an entire country, the goal of an individual contributing nation depends on the scope of their contribution. The contributing nation's objective may be as grand as pacifying a specific region or it could be to simply to provide effective security at a military base or train a certain number of local nationals as policemen or soldiers.

[59] This is a slight adaptation of Alexis de Tocqueville's "revolution of rising expectations," which is idea that unfulfilled, rising expectations create unstable political situations.

[60] Alan Graner, "Business 101: The Law of Rising Expectations" *Graner Daly-Swartz Public Relations* (2019); An example of this in the business world is the way free shipping went from being a novel concept to the industry standard for e-commerce.

acknowledged that his military planners told him to expect as many as 20,000 US casualties alone during the course of the conflict.[61] Yet in actuality, the entire coalition only suffered a fraction of that, with 240 combat deaths, including 147 Americans, while still achieving an overwhelming military victory. More than twenty years later, for the 2003 invasion of Iraq, expectations of repeated success were high, specifically in regards to further minimizing the loss of life. Casualty projections for the 2003 Iraq campaign paled in comparison to Desert Storm, with estimates ranging anywhere from 100 to 5,000 expected coalition casualties.[62] Additionally, the expectation of continued progress in limiting the human cost of conflict extended towards protecting against civilian deaths as well. In a 2003 pre-invasion press briefing, a senior defense official used the Gulf War as a baseline when speculating on anticipated civilian deaths, telling the press during a background brief on targeting procedures that the increased use of precision-guided munitions in the 2003 invasion should result in fewer civilian deaths compared to the 1991 Gulf War.[63]

Even outside the two Iraq conflicts, the battlefield performance of the US and its allies since the end of the Cold war resulted in growing public and elite expectations for so-called "immaculate warfare," whereby intervening soldiers are spared from harm.[64] During the 1995 air campaigns in Bosnia, NATO forces released 1,026 weapons without suffering a singly military

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[61] William Thomas Allison, *The Gulf War, 1990-91* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
[62] Michael O'Hanlon, "Estimating Casualties in a War to Overthrow Saddam," https://www.brookings.edu/articles/estimating-casualties-in-a-war-to-overthrow-saddam/ (January 1, 2003). This statement was included in a background briefing by the Department of Defense on the US targeting processes prior to the invasion of Iraq. The Department advised journalist in attendance that the briefing was to be considered "on background" and could be attributable to "a senior CENTCOM official." The official referenced a previous statement by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Richard Myers, reported that roughly 60-70% of bombs used in the invasion would be PGMs.
[63] Department of Defense, *Background Briefing on Targeting,*. https://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/iraq/2003/iraq-030305-dod01.htm (March 5, 2003).
[64] Stephen D. Wrage, "Introduction," in *Immaculate Warfare: Participants Reflect on the Air Campaigns over Kosovo and Afghanistan* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), 1-3.

casualty and with fewer than 30 civilian deaths on the ground.[65] During the 1999 air campaign over Kosovo, the intervening NATO forces similarly avoided any combat fatalities and fewer than 500 civilians were killed as a result of the 14,000 strikes missions and 28,000 munitions employed.[66] Even during other, more intense, post–Cold War and campaigns in Kuwait, Iraq, and Afghanistan, levels of military casualties and civilian deaths were substantially higher than air-centric campaigns but still remained orders of magnitude lower than those inflicted in Vietnam, Korea, and World War II.[67] In many ways, despite wielding an unprecedented level of destructive power, contemporary Western militaries currently face a "paradox of power," in that the state's means and methods for conducting of war have become both more devastating (in potential) and less devastating (in practice), as states place a higher premium on preserving the lives of their own soldiers and that of civilians than any other time in history.[68] As these armed forces continue to demonstrate an ability to fight with minimal losses of human life, the expectation of the public is for that level of success to be repeated and that preferences regarding the use of military force should remain persistent or reflect a gradual increase in battlefield expectations.

National preferences are, however, subject to change when things go awry. This is especially the case when there is a catastrophic or traumatic military failure, whereby a state's failure to achieve its desired military or political objectives results significant negative media

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[65] Although there were no NATO casualties, a French Mirage 200K fighter aircraft was shot down on the first day of the campaign and the crew captured by the Bosnian Serbs. Ryan C. Hendrickson, "Crossing the Rubicon," *NATO Review,* (2005); Robert C. Owen, ed., *Deliberate Force: A Case Study in Effective Air Campaigning, Final Report of the Air University Balkans Air Campaign Study* (Maxwell Air Force Base: Air University Press, January 2000), 505, 522.

[66] Frederick & Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare*, 51-52**;** Wrage, *Immaculate Warfare*, viii; Phillip Meilinger, "A Matter of Precision: Why Air Power May Be More Humane Than Sanctions," *Foreign Policy* (November 18, 2009).

[67] Frederick & Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare*, 51.

[68] Blum, "The Paradox of Power: the Changing Norms of the Modern Battlefield," 747.

coverage, and captures the attention of the international community and the contributing nation's domestic public. Traumatic failures can lead to substantial changes in preferences regarding the use of military force abroad whether they happen during unilateral action or as part of a multinational coalition because public failures force domestic audiences to reevaluate their preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force in an effort to avoid repeating the same mistakes.[69] Adopting a "never again" attitude can result in a shift in a society's perception of the military as an effective foreign policy tool. Empirically, governments often respond to these types of failures by launching an official government inquiry or review of government decision-making. These efforts not only help elites show accountability to the publics but provide an impetus to changes to governmental practices to help assuage public concern about repeating traumatic failures in the future.

Caveats as the Result of Preference Divergence

While the first section of the chapter demonstrated that states hold individual preferences regarding the use of force based on historically-driven societal expectations for their armed forces as well as societal sensitivities to the human cost of war, the remainder of this chapter focuses on how states use caveats in military coalitions to compensate for incongruous preferences within the coalition. In particular, I argue caveats emerge as the national political leaders of contributing nations look to balance domestic concerns regarding the expeditionary use of force with international pressure from the lead nation to contribute military forces in a manner consistent with the lead nation's own preferences and without any additional restrictions on how a contributing nation's forces can be used. As such, negotiations regarding the coalition

[69] For example the US military changed considerably after military failures such as the Vietnam War and the Black Hawk Down incident in Somalia in 1993.

contribution represent a two-level game whereby national leaders must simultaneously negotiate with their international peers as well as domestic influences.

At this point, it is important to make clear that this dissertation is somewhat narrowly concerned with military coalitions as opposed to military alliances. Despite the fact that the two terms are used interchangeable in public discourse, there are important differences between the two terms. An *alliance* is a relationship that results from a formal agreement (e.g., treaty) between two or more nations for broad, long-term objectives that further the common interests of the members.[70] As such, alliances are typically formed in peacetime and represent an enduring formal promise to cooperate to future.[71] It is important to note the formal nature of alliances and since these organizations' founding agreements typically define expected behavior regarding issues such as collective action in the event of war with another state or set of states. Therefore, the purpose of an alliance is to formalize a states' commitments and promises of *future* behavior.[72] Given this emphasis on the future, alliances tend to be open-ended in regard to their expected duration. For perspective, the US is currently party to only seven different military alliances, each formalized in a collective defense treaty that is at least sixty years old.[73]

However the focus of this dissertation is on military coalitions. In contrast to the formal nature of alliances, a *coalition* is defined as an ad hoc arrangement between two or more nations for common action.[74] Coalitions are formed by different nations with specific objectives, usually

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[70] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 1-0: Doctrine for the Armed Forces of the United States*. Department of Defense (Washington, DC, 2017), II-21. Since this dissertation focuses primarily on US-led military coalitions, I utilize US Department of Defense definitions and terminology where applicable.
[71] Wolford, *The Politics of Military Coalitions*.
[72] Wolford, *The Politics of Military Coalitions*, 19.
[73] U.S. Department of State, "U.S. Collective Defense Arrangements" January 20, 2017, https://2009-2017.state.gov/s/l/treaty/collectivedefense//index.htm. The Rio Treaty, which pledges collective action with 21 Central and South American states, was signed in 1947 and is the US's oldest ongoing collective defense arrangement. The North Atlantic Treaty, which established the NATO alliance was signed two years later in 1949.
[74] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 1-0,* II-21.

for a single occasion or for longer cooperation in a narrow sector of common interest.[75] As such, coalitions are largely comprised of states that take the same side in a crises, whether or not a prior commitment obligates them to do so.[76] Formed in the shadow of a conflict, coalitions represent a temporary coalescing of states that is expected to dissolve once the originating conflict or dispute is resolved. Coalitions are not typically governed by formal treaty obligations, therefore national leaders must weigh their state's own national interests in a given conflict and determine if, when, and to what extent they will commit their nation's resources to a coalition. As a result, each coalition differs in terms of membership and composition. The US military's own doctrine on multinational operations puts it rather simply, stating "the only constant [in a coalition] is that a decision to "join in" is, in every case, a calculated diplomatic decision by each potential member."[77]

Table 2. *Typologies of state military action*

Typology of Action	Definition
Unilateralism	State confronts military threat alone
Multilateralism	Two or more states collectively confront a military threat
Alliance	A formal agreement between two or more states for broad, long-term objectives such as collective action in the event of war with another state or set of states
Coalition	An ad hoc force of two or more states established to undertake a specific mission that dissolves once that mission is complete

Coalitions and alliances are not mutually exclusive institutions. Coalitions can (and often do) include formal allies as members but membership in a coalition is not limited to existing formal allies. In fact most contemporary multilateral military operations led by a military alliance are actually coalitions by definition, since they include both member states and non-member

[75] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 1-0,* II-21.
[76] Wolford, *The Politics of Military Coalitions*, 17.
[77] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-16: Multinational Operations*, Department of Defense, (Washington, D.C., 2019), III-1.

states.[78] The composition of a coalition is also more likely to change compared to alliances as states are generally free to join and leave coalitions over the course of a conflict as individual state's national objectives change or force contributions reach the limits of a state's ability to sustain them.[79]

Unlike alliances, coalitions are not intended to exist indefinitely. Instead coalitions are expected to either dissolve once the originating conflict or dispute is resolved or evolve into a new coalition once the primarily objective of the coalition evolves. Again looking at US examples, whereas all current US alliance agreements are at least sixty years old, coalitions emerge and either evolve or dissolve far more quickly.[80]

The primary challenge in coalition warfare is with how to manage the actions of various sovereign states. Just because these states rally around a common cause does not mean they all hold identical views on the desired outcome. Even when states do hold identical views on the desire outcome, this does not guarantee that states within a coalition will hold identical views on how to best achieve the military objectives necessary to reach the desired outcome. As the previous section made clear, even similarly like-minded liberal Western democracies hold varying preferences regarding the use of military force. When engaged in a conflict, it is not uncommon for differences in preferences regarding the use of force to lead states to hold divergent preferences regarding the best military strategy to pursue.

Divergent preferences and strategies within a coalition are problematic for contemporary military coalitions because these organizations are structured in a way that optimizes high levels

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[78] For example NATO's Stabilization Force (SFOR) mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina included twenty-three NATO members but also thirteen non-NATO members, including Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Chile, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Morocco, New Zealand, Russia and Sweden.
[79] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-16*, III-1.
[80] For example, the coalition for Operation Unified Protector in Libya only lasted eight months in 2011 before the conflict ended and coalition disbanded while the ISAF coalition in Afghanistan lasted thirteen years (2001-2014) before it evolved into the Resolute Support Mission in 2015.

of coordination and interoperability of military forces across the strategic, operational and tactical level. Gone are the days where a coalition consisted of loosely-aligned states fighting against a common enemy but with each nation doing so by fielding a fighting force separate and independent from the other members of the coalition. Instead, contemporary military coalitions, in particular those US-led coalitions in the post-Cold War era, are highly institutionalized and integrated bureaucracies designed to maximize unity of command and unity of effort among coalition participants.[81] These modern coalitions feature an organizational structure designed to integrate varying numbers of states in a manner that maximizes military efficiency and features a chain-of-command that formalizes a degree of hierarchy within these multinational organizations.

For these modern, post-Cold War coalitions, there is typically one state responsible for the political and military leadership of the coalition, which I refer to simply as the lead nation. This term describes the state with the will, capability, capacity, competence, and influence to provide the essential elements of political and military leadership to coordinate the planning, mounting, and execution of a coalition military operation.[82] In certain circumstances this role

[81] What precisely constitutes membership in a coalition is loosely defined in the scholarly literature as well in public discourse as the various labels of "coalition members," "coalition participants" and "coalition partners" each reflects an ambiguous level of support. Governments participating in a coalition are often keen to emphasize the scope of international support for their coalition by naming countries as participants even when little tangible support is provided. For example, in the year after 9/11 the US government claimed a total of 69 "coalition partners" in the global war on terrorism yet only 20 nations deployed military forces in support of that mission. The main, and in some cases only, contribution by multiple countries was political support or permission to overfly the state's territory. In this dissertation I use the term "contribution nations" in lieu of coalition members or participants in order to distinguish which states actually contribute military forces in support of coalition operations. This means excluding states that only provide diplomatic support, financial support, overflight permissions, or basing rights and focusing on states that provide active and direct military support to the coalition. I do not impose any minimum requirement on the number on contributed troops or other combat forces for a state be included as a coalition member, only that the forces provided are actually military personnel as opposed to civilian reconstruction assistance.

[82] Multinational Interoperability Council, "Military Strategic Overview Vol. 1," *Coalition Building Guide* (2015), B-2. This definition is roughly analogous to what NATO's AJP-3, Allied Joint Operations refers to as a "framework nation."

may be filled by a select number of states but typically there is a single country that holds this leadership position.

There are two important elements to the lead nation role. First, the lead nation serves as the coalition's leader in both the political and military spheres. In terms of political leadership, the lead nation generally plays a highly visible and active role advocating for a multilateral military coalition to be formed in response to a crisis. The lead nation also determines the political objectives of the coalition, develops plans regarding what the coalition should look like, and finally garners international support for the coalition in terms of recruiting other nations to contribute their own military forces. This type of public advocacy generally makes identifying the lead nation fairly simple.

The lead nation also plays an equally important role leading militarily, serving as the multinational force commander for the coalition and contributing one of the largest, if not the de facto largest, contingent of troops to coalition. As the military leader of the coalition, the lead nation is responsible for coordinating the efforts of all national contingents towards a common goal or objective. The lead nation typically sits atop the coalition's military chain of command as well. In many ways, solidifying itself in the top position in the coalition's chain of command formalizes the hierarchy within a coalition. Being atop the chain of command is not just a symbolic gesture as the structure of the coalition enables the lead nation to "stack the deck" in terms of leading the coalition in accordance with its own national preferences regarding the use of military force. This is readily apparent with US-led military coalitions in particular, which serve as the focus of this dissertation.

US military doctrine is quite clear in expressing national preferences regarding the construct of multinational military coalitions and unsurprisingly, the US favors the type of

coalition structure that maximizes the influence of the US as the lead nation.[83] When looking into how the structures of the various command arrangements facilitate hierarchy and empower the lead nation, it is easy to understand why US military doctrine advocates for an integrated or lead nation command structure. For an integrated command structure, the strategic command staff, subordinate commanders, and the corresponding subordinate commanders' staffs are comprised of individuals from the various coalition states but the overall military commander is still typically an American General, thus allowing for greater American influence.[84]

The other preferred command structure, according to US military doctrine, is the lead nation command structure wherein all contributing nations place their national contributions to the coalition under the command US, who also controls almost all the command and staff arrangements with subordinate elements.[85] An example of the lead nation command structure is found in the coalition for Iraq for the 2003 conflict. As illustrated in Figure 2, below, the US dominated the primary leadership positions within the Iraq coalition even though the coalition consisted of a thirty-eight total nations. In either the integrated command structure or lead nation command structure, the US is able to assert itself at the top of the military chain-of-command which enables the US to heavily influence coalition operations by placing other coalition participants in a subordinate role.

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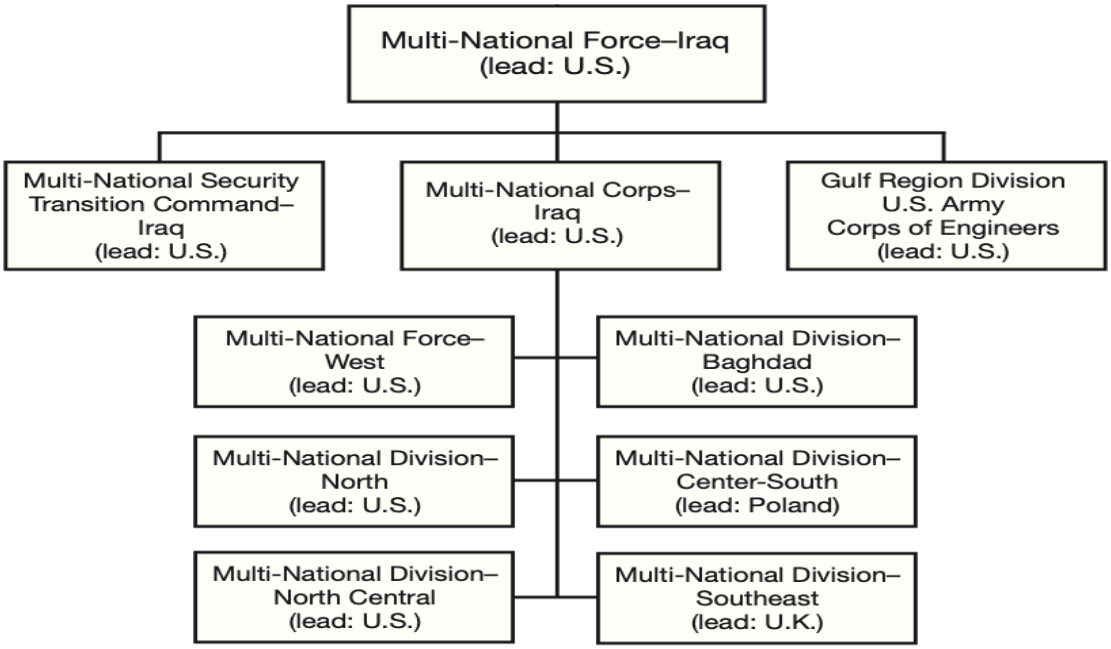
[83] US doctrine recognizes three different types of coalition command structures; an integrated command structure, a lead nation command structure, and a parallel command structure. Of these three, the US prefers the lead-nation or integrated command structure over the parallel command structure, which US military doctrine flatly states "should be avoided, if at all possible" since it lacks a single military commander (Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-16*). Both the lead-nation and integrated command structures allow the US as the lead nation a great degree of influence over coalition operations.

[84] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-16*, II-15; An example of an integrated command structure was NATO's Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[85] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3-16*.

Figure 2. Multi-national Force-Iraq Command Structure (as of June 2004)



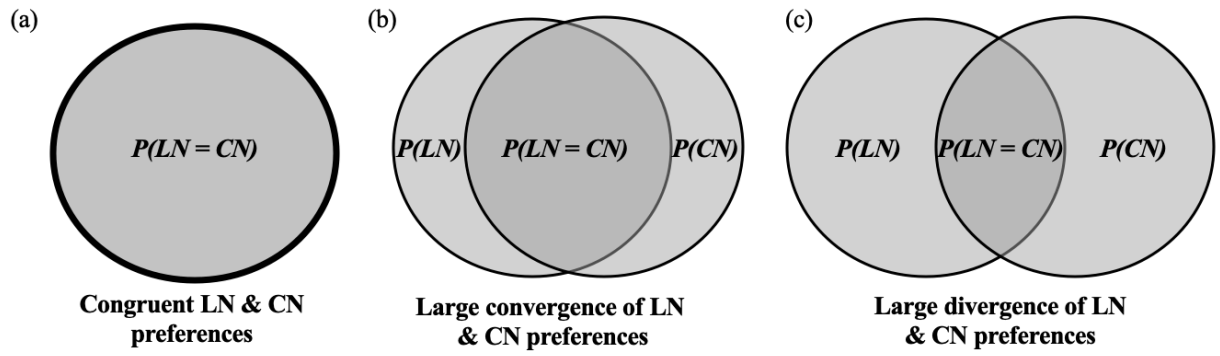
One of the ways the lead nation can exert its influence on the entirety of the coalition is by influencing the coalition's RoE, which is one of the most important documents in relation to the implementation of caveats within a coalition. As mentioned in the previous chapter, RoE are directives to military forces and individuals that define the circumstances, conditions, degree, and manner in which the use of force or other action may or may not be applied.[86] While coalitions can operate with each contingent utilizing its own national RoE, the overwhelming majority of contemporary military coalitions develop a unified coalition RoE in order to avoid conflicting national directives and ensure unity of command. The coalition RoE has a profound impact on the behavior of coalition forces since this document delineates the circumstances and limitations under which coalition forces will initiate and/or continue combat engagement with other forces encountered.[87] In many cases, caveats are literally national exceptions to or

[86] Multinational Interoperability Council, "Military Strategic Overview," 34.
[87] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, *DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington, D.C., Department of Defense, 2019), 188.

deviations from the larger coalition RoE and as such are documented as sub-bullets within the RoE document itself.[88]

It is due to the structure of contemporary military coalitions that differences in military preferences between the lead nation and individual contributing nations are vital to the issue of caveats. Caveats represent a useful tool for a contributing nation's government to use in order to retain soveriegn control of their contributed forces within a coalition, especially when the contributing nation's preferences diverge with those of the lead nation. As depicted in Figure 3, when the lead nation and the contributing nation feature highly congruent societal preferences

Figure 3. Lead nation & contributing nation preference convergence & divergence



regarding the expeditionary use of military force (scenario a), there should be few or no caveats imposed on the contributing nation's forces since expectations regarding how the national contingent should be used should be similar to what the lead nation wants from the contributing nation's forces. However contributing nations that hold preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force that are divergent from the preferences of the lead nation should be expected to implement caveats as a measure to ensure the contributing nation's preferences are respected by the lead nation. The level of expected caveats imposed on a national contingent is

[88] Fermann, *Coping with Caveats in Coalition Warfare*, 40.

reflective of the degree of convergence or divergence in societal preferences between the lead nation and the contributing nation regarding the expeditionary use of military force. When the lead nation and contributing nation share predominately similar preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force (scenario b), there will be few caveats implemented by the contributing nation. However the greater the divergence in preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force between the lead nation and contributing nation (scenario c), the greater the level of caveats that contributing nation should be expected to implement.

While the above scenario seems somewhat straightforward, it is important to recognize the contrasting influences levied on the national political leaders of contributing nations. After all, caveats are a tool used by national-level political leaders to navigate the potentially conflicting preferences and expectations of both international and domestic audiences regarding the contribution of military forces to multinational coalitions. As such, it is necessary to examine the issue of caveats on troop contributions through a lens similar to what Robert Putnam described as a "two-level game."[89] In this, the national-level politicians responsible for making decisions regarding their armed forces are "sandwiched" between the domestic and international level and must navigate between preferences of the lead nation on the international level and the preferences of domestic elites and the general public on the domestic level regarding the expeditionary use of military force within a coalition. In this way, caveats represent a compromise tool and way of ensuring national forces are used within the bounds of national preferences on the use of military force abroad.

In terms of the negotiation timeline, it is important to note most states generally recognized that all national caveats should be declared and negotiated upfront by each

[89] Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (1988): 427-60.

contributing nation's national government during the coalition's formation and operational planning stage of the conflict. Declaring caveats during this early phase ensures the coalition's military planners can account for these caveats in order to utilize each national contigent in the most effective and efficient manner.[90] Some national caveats remain undeclared and only emerge during an ongoing operations, however this represents the minority. These undeclared caveats typically appear after a country refuses to perform a specific function, citing a previously unknown restriction by the national government. These undeclared caveats are particularly troublesome because they impede the military planning process by precluding military commanders from knowing exactly what national contingents can and cannot be ordered to do.[91] Some states do not delcare all caveats in advance intentionally as a strategy designed to avoid the controversy that caveats provoke.[92] However on other occasions, undeclared caveats emerge simply because the need for declaring a restriction or caveat only manifested itself as the operations developed. After all, it is impossible to account for every contingency regarding how a contributing nation's forces might be used when initially agreeing to contribute forces.

Now in terms of the negotiation process itself, on the international level a state that is contributing to a military coalition negotiates its contribution with a lead nation prior to actually sending troops forward. Holding all else equal, the lead nation prefers contributing nations

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[90]An example of this in action is Dutch transparency regarding caveats on its forces in Uruzgan Province, Afghanistan where the Netherlands took up command of ISAF operations in 2006. One of the reasons Dutch military officers were more open about their caveats than other contributing nations was that prior to assuming command of the province, the government publicly laid out these caveats in the parliamentary document authorizing the military's expanded involvement in Afghanistan (Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan,*156).

[91] U.S. Department of Defense, *Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Defense, 2009), 30.

[92] Jennifer Medcalf, *Going Global or Going Nowhere? NATO's Role in Contemporary International Security* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 181. Undeclared caveats are not limited to US- or NATO-led coalitions. They have been especially problematic in UN Peacekeeping Missions as well. A 2017 audit of ongoing UN peacekeeping missions by the UN Office of Military Affairs identified and addressed 14 undeclared caveats imposed by 9 troop contributing countries (Lt Gen Carlos Loitey, "United Nations Security in High Risk Environments," *United Nations Peace Operations,* https://www.25iaptc.com.pe/sesiones/United_Nations_Security_in_high_risk_environments.pdf (October 9, 2019)).

commit large military contributions unburdened by politically-imposed caveats to the coalition.[93] The absence of caveats is key as this affords military commanders a high degree of flexibility in managing the coalition's forces and ultimately allows the lead nation to prosecute the war according to its own interests and preferences. A hypothetical coalition comprised of contributions devoid of caveats provides the lead nation with all the material benefits in terms of additional manpower and equipment and without any "strings attached" in terms of national political considerations regarding how contributed forces can be utilized. This means that a state leading a coalition comprised of caveat-free contributions could pursue its own politically-desired end state using its preferred military strategy. However in actuality, states rarely, if ever, transfer full authority of their military to another state even within a coalition context.

On the domestic level, individual contributing nations impose varying levels of caveats on their military contributions because these states face different societal preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force. As outlined in the beginning of this chapter, states view their armed forces differently and hold different sensitivities to the human cost of war. As a result of differing state preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force, states differ in how they prioritize the often-conflicting issues of mission effectiveness, minimizing military casualties, and protecting civilians. This is to say that a state that holds a highly martial view of its armed forces and is tolerant of the human cost of war is likely to prioritize mission effectiveness over minimalizing military casualties or protecting the civilian population. In contrast, a state that prefers to see its armed forces used as peacekeepers and stewards of maintaining international order may prioritize minimizing military casualties or civilian

[93] Oliver Schmitt (2018) provides a nuanced look into the lead nation's preferences regarding the contributions of other states within a coalition and finds that size of preferred contribution is based on a state's military capabilities as well as their standing in the international community in terms of respect for international humanitarian law. While recognizing this, for the purposes of this dissertation, I hold the preferences of the lead nation constant.

protections over mission effectiveness. As subsequent case studies make clear, states even differ in the manner they prioritize between protecting military members and civilians. These distinctions are important because they drive states to impose caveats.

Again, I define a caveat as a politically-motivated limitation imposed by a national government that restricts the behavior of the state's national contingent within a coalition.[94] When examining the content of these restrictions, it becomes clear that national caveats generally fall into one of two primary categories based on the intent of their impact. The first category is military casualty-averting caveats. These caveats are imposed by political leaders with the intent of further reducing the likelihood that troops sustain casualties beyond the casualty-mitigation efforts already imposed by the lead nation on the coalition as a whole. This typically results in military casualty avoidance taking precedence over mission effectiveness and can also include casualty avoidance taking precedence over civilian protections due to the risk-transfer that occurs with some casualty-mitigation protocols.

Casualty-aversion-driven casualties include restrictions on the mobility of forces in terms of geographic restrictions in order to prevent coalition commanders from moving their troops to regions or areas where fighting is particularly intense. These also include restrictions regarding whether or not forces are even permitted to leave their own forward bases. Other examples of casualty-averting caveats include the prohibitions against patrolling or flying at night, or requiring patrols to be conducted exclusively in armored vehicles. Military casualty-averting caveats can also include restrictions on the types of missions that troops are authorized to perform. Caveated forces many be limited to civil-military relations, state-building tasks,

[94] It is important to stress that caveats are described as *politically*-motivated restrictions because they originate from political circles and not from the military's operational leadership itself. As such, caveats represent efforts on the part of political leaders to essentially micro-manage the behavior of their military contingents abroad to achieve a certain outcome.

reconstruction, or police-life functions whereas their un-caveated peers would be authorized to conduct a full range of combat operations. Operational restrictions are generally imposed to limit the risk of sustaining military casualties by minimizing direct exposure to combat and may go as far as limiting contingents to only non-combat operations such as medical support. Ultimately casualty-averting caveats restrict the behavior of troops on the ground in order reflect political considerations regarding the priority of avoiding military casualties.

The second category of caveats pertains to protecting civilians on the battlefield. Whereas casualty sensitivity and casualty-aversion caveats are concerned with preserving the lives of one's own military forces, civilian protection caveats ensure non-combatants are not harmed during a military operation. Civilian protection caveats emerge when the contributing nation imposes greater restrictions on its own forces then the lead nation imposes for the coalition as a whole in order to further safeguard civilians on the battlefield. Civilian protection caveats can restrict the types of military weapons and equipment authorized for use by the national contingent and regulate their use. For example in Afghanistan, Italy's fighter aircraft were prohibited from carrying aerial bombs and were limited to using their on-board gun in the event ground troops required lethal air support in order to reduce the likelihood of accidently harming civilians in the area.[95] German troops in Afghanistan also faced strict limitations on the use of certain heavy weapons that favored destructive power over accuracy.

Because of the potentially conflicting nature of these two types of caveats, the caveats a state imposes on its contingent typically come from the same category. Therefore the caveats imposed by a risk-averse state that prioritizes mitigating military casualties should be predominately casualty-averting caveats. Given the persistent nature of national preferences

[95] David Cenciotti, *"*Cleared Hot": the Italian AMX Light Combat Planes to be Cleared to Carry (and use) Bombs in Afghanistan,*"* *The Aviatonist*, https://theaviationist.com/2012/01/28/cleared-hot/ (January 28, 2012).

regarding the use military force, this same risk-averse state should be expected to impose casualty-averting caveats across all the coalitions the state participates in. Since the two categories are potentially conflicting but are still not mutually exclusive, states may impose both casualty-averting caveats and civilian protection caveats in a limited number of cases. In this situation, it is important to recognize that such all-encompassing restrictions come at the expense of mission effectiveness since these troops are the most limited in what they can do. These states that impose both casualty-averting caveats and civilian protection caveats are the contributing nations with the furthest degree of divergence in preferences regarding the use of military force compared to the lead nation.

Finally, it is necessary to recognize the importance of evaluating the level of caveats implemented within the specific context of the conflict itself. Again, the persistence of national preferences regarding the use of military force leads states that heavily prioritize mission effectiveness, minimizing military casualties, or safeguarding civilians to continue to impose caveats that reinforce their priorities across cases. However operational considerations within any particular conflict can either obscure or exacerbate which people group faces the greatest amount of risk and therefore influences the level of caveats required to maintain national preferences. For example, a contributing nation holding casualty averse preferences would be expected to impose different levels of caveats on its forces fighting a high-intensity ground war compared to its forces enforcing a low-threat naval embargo or air war since the risk of sustaining casualties is dramatically different for each type of conflict. At the same time, a state that prioritizes civilian protections may impose the same or even a greater level of caveats on its forces in air-centric campaign compared to a ground-based peacekeeping mission since the threat to the civilian population is higher in air campaigns. Recognizing that that threat levels vary

across conflict types helps explain why caveats are rampant within multinational military coalitions engaged in armed conflict but not in humanitarian responses to environmental disasters, even if the same countries use their militaries in both scenarios. This is all to say that when considering a priori expectations about caveats, the persistent nature of national preferences makes it straightforward to anticipate the *type* of caveats that a contributing nation will impose, but that *level* of caveats imposed will depend on operational considerations associated with the conflict itself.

In summary, the key to understanding the implementation of caveats by contributing members of a coalition is to recognize how divergence preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force clash with coalition structures that emphasize unity of command. When a contributing nation's preferences align with those of the lead nation, there is no need for the contributing nation to impose caveats on its forces since those forces can be expected to be used in a manner consistent with both lead nation and contributing nation preferences. However, the greater the divergence between the contributing nation's preferences and the preferences of the lead nation, the higher the level of caveats that are expected to be implemented. This remains the case regardless of where the differences in priorities lie. It is the extent of the preference divergence that drives the degree to which the contributing nation must impose caveats on its forces.

Case Selection

This dissertation focuses specifically on the behavior of states participating in a military coalition but does not look to explain why states join or abstain from certain coalitions and not others. Rather the focus of this dissertation is on the behavior of the states that elect to join a coalition. Additionally, since this dissertation focuses on the behavior of states in a coalition, the

focus lies exclusively on fighting multilaterally, in coordination with other states. This is not to suggest that states do not maintain preferences regarding the unilateral conduct of military operations, only that unilateral military action lies outside the scope of this study.

My focus on multilateral action under the context of multinational military coalitions also lends itself to a specific time period, namely the post-Cold War era. The post-Cold War period is noteworthy because multinational coalitions in this time period featured unprecedented levels of international cooperation and coordination. I focus on contemporary military coalitions in the post-Cold War era for multiple reasons. Modern communications and command and control technology allow national governments the ability to closely control their military's activities in a way that was not previously possible before the end of the 20th Century. Today's political and senior military leaders have the ability to monitor troop movements across the battlefield on digital displays or remotely access live battlefield footage from unmanned aerial vehicles. This ability to closely monitor and control one's own forces far from the actual battlefield certainly has a role in making the implementation and enforcements of national caveats a newfound phenomenon. Technological advancements also enable military officers serving as national representatives at a coalition headquarters to "call home" and quickly gather input from Ministers of Defense or other political authorities with a simple phone call or email before committing their national forces to any action. As explored later in the chapter, limiting the scope of this dissertation is also bolstered by the evolving nature of military alliances and coalitions since the end of WWII, which feature highly institutionalized and bureaucratic processes that differentiate these coalitions from previous coalitions in history.

This dissertation is focused almost exclusively on conventional military forces and largely excludes discussion regarding the use of special operations forces (SOF). This is

intentionally done for two reasons. First, while military caveats themselves are sensitive in nature, SOF deployments and operations are cloaked in an additional level of secrecy that makes reliable data availability exceptionally problematic. Secondly, a secret SOF-only contribution to a coalition removes the issue of justifying the contribution to both domestic and international audiences outside of the coalition since SOF deployments typically occur without public knowledge let alone consent. Taken together, contributions are fundamentally different from conventional military contributions to a multinational military coalition.

I recognize this dissertation may come across as an overly US-centric view of coalition warfare. After all, the US is not the only state to lead multinational military coalitions in the post-Cold War period.[96] However I focus specifically on US-led multinational military coalitions made for three reasons. First, the US is the most politically significant state in terms of discussing contemporary multinational military coalitions. Over the past two centuries, the number of states involved in any one war has grown at roughly the same pace as the growth of the international system as a whole, meaning military coalitions themselves are not necessarily getting bigger over time.[97] However the exception to this trend is the size of coalitions led by the US, which started to participate in larger coalitions starting at the end of the 20th Century.[98]

The second reason for focusing on US-led coalitions is that, as the sole remaining superpower and "indispensable nation" in this period of unipolarity, the US is uniquely positioned when it comes to these international endeavors.[99] Given its overall stature in the

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[96] Australia, for example, led a multinational military coalition into East Timor in 1998 and France led a coalition in Mali in 2013.
[97] Patricia A. Weitsman, *Waging War: Alliances, Coalitions, and Institutions of Interstate Violence*. (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2014), 40. Weitsman uses Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID) data from the Correlates of War (COW) Project.
[98] Weitsman, *Waging War*, 40.
[99] David A. Lake, "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics," *International Security,* no 32 (1), (2007), 47-79.

international system, the creation of almost any multinational coalition is likely to occur with at least the tacit blessing of the US.[100] This is due to both its formal power as a veto-yielding permanent member of the UN Security Council as well as its informal power as a leading international actor.

The third reason for focusing on US-led coalitions is for analytical purposes. A significant portion of my theory on caveat implementation rests on the comparison of preferences between the lead nation and the other contributing nations to the coalition. Limiting the case studies to US-led coalitions holds the lead nation constant across all three cases which simplifies the comparison across cases.

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[100] David A. Lake, "Anarchy, Hierarchy, and the Variety of International Relations," *International Organization*, (1996), 1-33.

CHAPTER FOUR
Afghanistan

No serious study of caveats in modern military coalitions would be complete without examining how these national restrictions plagued coalition efforts in Afghanistan. Due to the extent of restrictions applied and the extended duration of the military campaigns in Afghanistan, the issue of caveats became much more visible for ISAF compared to previous military coalitions.[101] When ISAF was first formed, NATO leaders struggled to persuade all member states to contribute forces and as the coalition took form, states imposed caveats on their national contingents in order to limit how their contributed forces could be used. The issue of caveats largely simmered behind closed doors in the early part of the conflict but captured the public's attention at the NATO summit in Riga, Latvia, in November 2006 and again at the Bucharest summit in April 2008. At each meeting, national leaders sought to address the issue and reduce the number of caveats restricting the use of national contingents in Afghanistan. Yet despite the pledges made during those conferences for members to review their use of caveats, the political leaders of ISAF countries were unable to resolve the caveat problem and caveats continued to

Table 3. Caveats Among ISAF Contributors

Australia	*Medium*	Norway	*Medium*
Belgium	*Tight*	Poland	*Loose*
Canada	*Medium*	Romania	*Medium*
Denmark	*Loose*	Spain	*Tight*
France	*Medium*	Sweden	*Medium*
Germany	*Tight*	Turkey	*Tight*
Italy	*Tight*	UK	*Loose*
Netherlands	*Medium*	US	*Loose*

Source: Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan: Fighting Together, Fighting Alone*, 17.

[101] Fermann, *Coping with Caveats in Coalition Warfare*, 6.

challenge both ISAF's operational flexibility and political cohesion throughout the Afghanistan mission.[102]

This chapter examines the use of caveats among the military contingents from the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark, focusing primarily on caveats present from 2006 to 2008. This time period marked the beginning of a new phase of operations in Afghanistan, as the ISAF mandate was extended to encompass the entirety of the country. This extension of ISAF's mandate resulted in a renewed call for military contributions in order to meet the expanded mission which proved especially challenging as a Taliban resurgence led to a deteriorating security situation on the ground. As a result ISAF, contributing nations were well aware that troops destined for the hostile south and southwestern regions of Afghanistan were likely to face combat.

Table 4. Belgian, Danish, & Dutch Contributions to ISAF

Country	Largest Contingent	Summary of Contribution	Caveat Level
Belgium	600	Responsible for Kabul Int'l Airport; Provided F-16 detachment, ground troops for airport security, & limited PRT support	*Tight*
Denmark	750	Operated as part of Task Force Helmand; Provided ground troops for full-spectrum of combat & reconstruction operations while under British operational command	*Loose*
Netherlands	2,000	Responsible for Uruzgan Province; Provided combat troops, F-16 fighter aircraft detachment, PRTs, a field hospital, & various logistics support	*Medium*

Sources: Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 17; Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, NATO, *SHAPE: Denmark;* NATO, "Belgian Contribution to Operations in 2009" (2009).

On the surface, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark share enough similarities that it would be reasonable to expect they would contribute to ISAF in a similar manner. All three states were governed by coalition governments which, according to Auerswald & Saideman

[102] Stephen J. Cimbala and Peter Kent Forster. *Multinational Military Intervention: NATO Policy, Strategy and Burden Sharing* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 154.

(2014), generally impose more caveats on their armed forces than presidential or majoritarian parliamentary governments. Yet the overall contributions and levels of caveats imposed by the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark in Afghanistan varied in ways that challenge Auerswald & Saideman's theory about the impact of domestic political institutions on the implementation of caveats.

What becomes clear is the extent to which the varying national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force of these contributing nations influences the political decision to impose caveats on the national contingents within ISAF. The Dutch and Danish governments were far from timid international actors but imposed very different levels of restrictions on their forces because each government pursued a drastically different strategy in Afghanistan. The Danish contingent faced minimal caveats and largely adopted the same strategy implemented by the US and UK. In contrast, the Dutch held strong, independent national preferences regarding combat operations and about the use of lethal force in particular. Belgium, meanwhile, represented a casualty-averse state looking to limit the risk to its forces on the ground. Understanding the behavior of each country can only be accomplished by examining both the international and domestic pressures on each national leader and how each country's national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of force abroad as part of a coalition.

Background on the ISAF Coalition

On the morning of September 11, 2001, 19 terrorists from Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda terrorist group hijacked four US airliners, flying two into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York and another into the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. Thanks to the courageous efforts of passengers onboard, the fourth airliner crashed in Pennsylvania before it could be used against another target. The attacks claimed the lives of nearly three thousand

people, making it the deadliest terrorist attack in US history. International support for the US in the aftermath was widespread as countries from around the globe offered to support the US in a variety of ways - some militarily, others diplomatically, and others financially. Militarily, the mutual defense clauses of both the ANZUS treaty and NATO's Washington Treaty were invoked for the first time in response to the attacks.

From the beginning, President Bush emphasized that the United States would hunt down and punish those responsible for the attacks[103] and that no distinction would be made between the terrorists who committed the acts and those who harbored them.[104] On September 15, the president promised "a comprehensive assault on terrorism," a "series of decisive actions against terrorist organizations and those who harbor or support them."[105] And he warned:

> I will not settle for a token act. Our response must be sweeping, sustained and effective. You will be asked for your patience; for the conflict will not be short. You will be asked for resolve; for the conflict will not be easy. You will be asked for your strength, because the course to victory may be long.

The US-led military response to these attacks began in Afghanistan. Two separate, yet interrelated military missions emerged early on in the conflict. The first was Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) which encapsulated the greater "war on terrorism" mission. Under the banner of OEF, combat operations against Al Qaeda terrorists and their Taliban hosts began in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 with American and British airstrikes. By mid-October 2001, special operations began coordinating airstrikes and initiating ground assaults against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. By 2002, six allies actively participated in combat operations on the ground in

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[103] George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President After Two Planes Crash Into World Trade Center" and "Remarks by the President Upon Arrival at Barksdale Air Force Base," September 11, 2001.
[104] George W. Bush, "Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation," September 11, 2001.
[105] George W. Bush, "Radio Address of the President to the Nation," September 15, 2001.

Afghanistan.[106] Denmark, France, Germany, and Norway contributed their own elite special operations forces units, while Canada and the United Kingdom deployed both special operations personnel and conventional ground troops.[107]

Separate from OEF, ISAF was created by UN Security Council Resolution 1386 on December 20, 2001. Led originally by the US, the ISAF mission was initially limited to Kabul and its UN mandate was to enable the Afghan government to provide effective security across the country and develop new domestic security forces to ensure the country would never again become a safe haven for terrorists.[108] NATO formally assumed command of ISAF in Afghanistan on August 11, 2003 and assembled one of the largest multinational military coalitions in history. The twenty-eight NATO members served as the core of this multinational coalition that included military contingents from over forty countries from around the world. Although originally tasked with providing security in and around the capital Kabul, ISAF's presence gradually expanded to cover the whole country by the second half of 2006. As will become clear in later in this chapter, even though the NATO allies formally agreed on ISAF's mission, they differed on how to accomplish it.

Although officially separate missions operating in Afghanistan, the line between OEF and ISAF operations was often blurry. In fact, the Bush Administration initially pushed for both operations to merge under one command from the fall of 2005 through early 2006.[109] OEF

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[106] Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and the United Kingdom all contributed vessels to coalition maritime operations in the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf and/or the Red Sea during 2002. Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK also deployed fighter-bombers and flew combat missions within Afghanistan during this time period.

[107] Secretary of Defense, "Report on the Allied Contributions to the Common Defense," (Washington, D.C., Department of Defense, 2003), I-I.

[108] NATO, "ISAF's mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014)."

[109] Congressional Research Service, *NATO in Afghanistan: A Test of the Transatlantic Alliance* by Vincent Morelli and Paul Belkin (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2009), 22. The UK, Germany, and France each opposed the US initiative to merge ISAF and OEF but for different reasons. Germany wanted to preserve ISAF's stabilization, and avoid taking on a combat mission since its forces participating in ISAF were trained only for

primarily focused on combatting international terror networks and was also responsible for building up the initial Afghan army.[110] In contrast, ISAF focused on the three core tasks of security, good governance, and reconstruction. However by May 2006, in response to a dramatic resurgence of Taliban attacks, then-ISAF Commander British General David Richards described the current stage of the ISAF mission as a "combat operation" and dismissed the tendency of some NATO governments to draw a line between OEF's counter-terror operations and the ISAF's low-level counter-insurgency responsibilities, telling visiting members of a NATO parliamentary delegation that counter-terror and counter-insurgency operations in Afghanistan were not always distinguishable.[111] Within ISAF's leadership was a US commander who, along with his function in ISAF, was in command of the deployment of OEF units thus enabling the US to coordinate and deconflict OEF's and ISAF's activities at the headquarters level. This was important considering some OEF forces remained in southern Afghanistan and continued counter-terrorist operations even after responsibility of the region was formally transferred from American forces operating under OEF to ISAF on July 31, 2006.[112]

Part of the reason caveats emerged as such a contentious issue in Afghanistan, was that different national units with specialized capabilities worked side by side at the tactical and operational level and frequently integrated into bi- or multi-national contingents. Yet the countries contributing troops to ISAF often held different views on the nature of the operations

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stabilization and not counter-insurgency operations. The UK also wanted to keep ISAF focused on reconstruction despite also contributing forces to OEF, As ISAF's counter-narcotics lead, the UK wanted to ensure the counter-narcotics issue remained in the sphere of the reconstruction mission in order to maintain the political support for its efforts in this area. France's objection was based on a suspicion that a single military command would allow the Bush administration to increasingly utilize non-US NATO forces for combat operations in Afghanistan so that US forces could be sent to Iraq.

[110] Responsibility for building and training the Afghan National Army was later transferred to ISAF in 2009 and incorporated into the NATO Training Mission in Afghanistan (NTM-A).

[111] Defence and Security Committee of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, *Visit to Afghanistan*, (NATO, 2006), 2.

[112] Congressional Research Service, *NATO in Afghanistan*

in Afghanistan.[113] The inability of ISAF contributors to reach a consensus on a military strategy is apparent with how some governments categorized ISAF as being engaged in a counter-insurgency campaign, while other governments framed ISAF operations as a stabilization and reconstruction mission. The disagreement over the fundamental nature of the mission ISAF spurred subsequent disagreements regarding other mission-related issues such as the number and types of troops that were necessary and what kind of military capabilities the contributing nations needed to field in Afghanistan. Additionally the core disagreement about the type of mission ISAF was engaged in led to disagreements regarding *how* state contributions behaved, especially regarding the use or non-use of lethal force. With different national units specialized in different capabilities working together in the field, differences in "national RoE" made it difficult for military commanders who sought maximum flexibility in utilizing troops under their command. These military commanders were vocal in criticizing caveats as a severe impediment to military flexibility and efficiency, and thus to the successful implementation of the political mandate of the coalition. At one point, ISAF's military leaders in Afghanistan compiled an eighty-page document describing seventy instances of national reservations on the use of force in coalition operations.[114] The overall magnitude of national caveats on the use of force applied by the members of ISAF ultimately contributed to the less than successful implementation of the mission's political goals.[115]

Afghanistan from the American Perspective

Because caveats are the result of a deviation in preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force between the lead nation and the contributing nations, it is necessary to

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[113] Fermann, *Coping with Caveats in Coalition Warfare*, 40.
[114] Peter L. Bergen, *The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict Between America and Al-Qaeda,* (United Kingdom: Free Press, 2011) 49.
[115] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan.*

understand the US approach to ISAF and the Afghanistan conflict as a whole. As the lead nation, the strategies and policies put forth by the US were adopted as the official strategy and policies of the ISAF coalition as well.

From the beginning of the conflict, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld advocated for a small troop footprint in Afghanistan bolstered by overwhelming air support. In terms of the conduct of forces, the US administration initially enacted relatively strict RoE in order to minimize civilian casualties out of concern for the explosive potential that images of civilian deaths could have on US public opinion and relations with the Islamic world.[116] However this policy of restricting the overall behavior of the coalition lasted only briefly. After Operation Anaconda in March 2002,[117] and partially the result of the overall assessment of OEF at the time, the strict RoE were significantly relaxed and US and coalition forces were less inhibited by strict constraints on the use of force.[118]

Some allied governments argued that US combat operations in Afghanistan were overly aggressive and, in some instances, even counter-productive.[119] Certainly compared to other

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[116] Sebastain Kaempf, *Saving Soldiers Or Civilians?* Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, 2018), 178; Richard Falk, "Appraising the War Against Afghanistan," *Social Science Research Council*, http://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/falk.htm; Cordesman 2002.

[117] Operation Anaconda was the largest combat operation in Afghanistan since the beginning of OEF and involved about 1,100 US servicemembers, 200 special operation troops from various international partners, and 700 Afghan soldiers. The US-led forces fought Al Qaeda and Taliban fighters who sought refuge in a system of mountain tunnels and caves near the Shah-i-Khot Valley near the border with Pakistan. Although Al Qaeda and the Taliban are believed to have suffered hundreds of casualties, many al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders including possibly Osama bin Laden escaped. (Adam Geibel, "Operation Anaconda, Shah-i-Khot Valley, Afghanistan, 2-10 March 2002," *Military Review*, (US Army, 2002), 72-77).

[118] US RoE in Afghanistan was initially designed to minimize civilian casualties limiting the use of lethal force. For example, through Operation Anaconda the RoE stipulated that US Central Command (CENTCOM) Headquarters needed to approve all airstrikes unless ground commanders had visual line-of-sight contact with the target and could verify hostile intent. Later the RoE was loosened and ground commanders were delegated greater authority on validating targets. See Richard L. Kugler, Michael Baranick, and Hans Binnendijk, "Operation *Anaconda*: Lessons for Joint Operations," National Defense University (Washington, DC, 2009); Michael DeLong and Noah Lukeman, *Inside CENTCOM: The Unvarnished Truth About the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq*, Regnery Publishing (Washington, D.C., 2004), 67-73; and Kaempf, *Saving Soldiers Or Civilians?*, 178.

[119] Congressional Research Service, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 24.

countries sending troops to Afghanistan, US policy was relatively aggressive.[120] For example, even though the ISAF mission was not authorized to play a direct role in counter-narcotics efforts, such as destroying poppy fields or processing facilities, and many nations opposed eradication efforts specifically, the US pushed for eradication of poppy fields using both manual sprayers and crop-dusting aircraft.[121] In terms of the combat operations both the Bush and Obama administrations called on allied countries to assume more responsibilities in the fight against insurgents and terrorists in Afghanistan.

The Netherlands in Afghanistan

In response to the September 11th attacks, the Netherlands, who fought alongside the US in the Korean War, Gulf War, and in the former Yugoslavia, again pledged military support to its longstanding NATO ally. Starting in 2001 as part of OEF, the Netherlands made several military contributions to the US-led effort in Afghanistan. For different periods of time and with various compositions, the Netherlands supported OEF with special operations forces, transport helicopters, F-16 fighter aircraft, tanker aircraft, transport aircraft, maritime patrol aircraft, and liaison officers at various locations in and around Afghanistan and did so with a medium level of caveats.[122] Although the Netherlands imposed some casualty-averting caveats, it was the abundance of civilian protection caveats and overall manner in which the Netherlands prioritized civilian protections that put the country at odds with the US in terms of preferred military strategy.

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[120] Congressional Research Service, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 24.
[121] Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, *Counternarcotics: Lessons from the U.S. Experience in Afghanistan*, (Arlington, 2018).
[122] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 18.

While the Netherlands provided a moderate level of support to the initial phase of OEF, the preponderance of the Dutch military effort in Afghanistan occurred under the auspices of NATO's ISAF mission, which the Netherlands was involved with from ISAF's inception in December 2001. Initially, Dutch involvement consisted of an infantry company, a Commando Corps platoon, staff officers, a F-16 fighter aircraft detachment and financial contributions. As ISAF's mandate and area of responsibility expanded, so did the Dutch contributions to the coalition. In 2003, the staff of the German-Netherlands Corps formed the core of the ISAF headquarters in Kabul. In 2004 and 2005, the Netherlands supplied an Apache attack helicopter

Map 1. RC & PRT Locations in Afghanistan

Source: NATO, *ISAF Placemat*

detachment and from 2004 through 2006, the Dutch also provided a Provincial Reconstruction

Team (PRT) in the north of Afghanistan. In 2005, the government contributed an Election Support Force and supplied another F-16 fighter aircraft detachment, supported by an aerial tanker and transport aircraft.

In December 2005, the Netherlands, along with the UK, Canada, and Australia, committed to accept responsibility for pacifying and stabilizing the southern portion of Afghanistan, designated as Regional Command South (RC-S) as part of ISAF's expansion across the country. It is important to note that the Dutch approach to operations in Afghanistan made them not only outliers within ISAF, but specifically within RC-S. The UK and Canada each assumed responsibility for a province in RC-S and shared similar views with the US on how ISAF should fulfill its mission.[123] Canada was one of the first contributing nations to call for a large number of combat troops in Kandahar and engaged the Taliban resurgence in that province aggressively.[124] British attitudes regarding NATO and ISAF's role in Afghanistan were in lockstep with the US and the British conducted massive offensive operations across Helmand Province.[125] Furthermore, both the UK and Canada deployed air and ground contingents in support of the ISAF mission as well as the US-led OEF counter-terrorism mission.

Within RC-S, the Netherlands took command of ISAF operations for all of Uruzgan Province. At the time of the Dutch decision to lead efforts in Uruzgan, this very traditional province was considered one of the most dangerous in the country.[126] It was a poor, isolated part of Afghanistan with little socio-economic development. Making matters worse, by the time the first Dutch troops arrived in the summer of 2006 the security situation in Uruzgan deteriorated

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[123] Congressional Research Service, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 24.
[124] Congressional Research Service, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 17.
[125] Like the US, the UK adopted cautious stance on ISAF's mission in early 2006 but advocated for a more aggressive ISAF as Taliban activity increased in southern Afghanistan.
[126] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 97.

even further, to the point where insurgents moved freely in parts of the province and enjoyed support among the local population.[127] Despite initially agreeing to lead operations in Uruzgan for only two years, the Netherlands elected to extend the Dutch command of ISAF operations for Uruzgan Province for an additional two years, until August 2010.[128]

In terms of organization and chain-of-command, the Dutch task force controlling Uruzgan province fell under ISAF's RC-S command in Kandahar, which stood subordinate to the overall ISAF commander in Kabul. Stationed at this RC-S level, was the Dutch contingent commander, who served as the area representative of the Netherlands Chief of Defense (CHOD) and provided administrative support to Dutch ISAF troops. Importantly, the Dutch contingent commander was the designated "red card holder," who was authorized to veto operations involving Dutch troops in the event that the conditions for operations, as set by the Dutch government, had not been met. In addition to direction from ISAF, the Dutch contingent in Afghanistan received instruction directly from the Dutch Ministry of Defense and from the Military Operations Steering Group, which consisted of which high-level representatives of the ministries of General Affairs, Foreign Affairs and Defense.[129]

Compared with previous overseas military operations, the Dutch participation in ISAF was extensive and complex. This was the first time the Netherlands' armed forces had conducted an expeditionary mission of this scope in such a remote and inaccessible province.[130] The security situation was poor at the outset, exacerbated by severe poverty and a complete lack of

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[127] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 25; CJ Chivers, "Dutch Soldiers Stress Restraint in Afghanistan," *New York Times* (April 6, 2007).
[128] The domestic debate about further extending the Dutch military's continued commitment to ISAF and operations in Uruzgan after August 2010 led to the fall of the Dutch government in February 2010. Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende favored a continued Dutch military presence but the second largest party in his coalitional government favored a complete withdrawal and pulled its support for the government.
[129] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 31.
[130] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 98.

good governance of any form. Overall, the total Dutch contribution to ISAF from 2002-2010 consisted of over 20,000 Dutch military personnel and 130 Dutch civilian personnel and included 25 military fatalities and almost 150 wounded in combat.[131]

Overview of Dutch Caveats

As a military contingent operating under ISAF, the Dutch military was subject to ISAF RoE as established by NATO. However, the government imposed a number of civilian protection caveats on its military personnel in Afghanistan. This included prohibitions against detaining Afghans, geographic restrictions, and restrictions on the types of operations troops could conduct.[132] One of the intriguing aspects about Dutch caveats in Afghanistan is that the Netherlands officially removed a number of operational caveats imposed on their forces after facing backlash for them at NATO's Riga Summit in November 2006. For example, prior to the Riga Summit the Dutch government imposed operational caveats on its forces prohibiting their deployment outside of Uruzgan Province in RC-S and prohibiting the participation or involvement of Dutch combat forces in offensive kinetic operations, counter-terrorism operations, or counter-narcotics operations.[133] After Riga, nearly all of these operational caveats were eliminated with the exception of the caveat prohibiting the deployment of Dutch ground troops outside of Uruzgan Province.

Examination of Theory

First, it should be made clear that the government's removal of caveats at Riga was more about making the Netherlands look like a responsive and cooperative ally on paper than it was

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[131] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 97.
[132] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 35.
[133] Regeena Kingsley, "FIGHTING AGAINST ALLIES: An Examination of "National Caveats" Within the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) Campaign in Afghanistan & their Impact on ISAF Operational Effectiveness 2002-2012." PhD diss, Massey University (New Zealand), 132-133.

about actually initiating a change in the way the government managed its military contingent in Afghanistan. As the lead for operations in Uruzgan, the only caveat the Dutch really needed to keep in place in order to ensure their own troops acted according to national-level priorities and preferences was the caveat that ensured their troops remained in Uruzgan Province where the Netherlands had authority over all ISAF forces. As long as the Dutch contingent to ISAF stayed in Uruzgan, those forces stayed under direct national control. So while the government was able to officially remove the majority of its caveats on paper, Dutch forces still operated with the same de facto restrictions. Since the one caveat the government left in place ensured the Hague retained primary control of its forces in Afghanistan the other operational caveats were essentially moot and could be removed from coalition records and protocols.

The scope of caveats and restrictions on Dutch forces is intriguing because of a seeming contradiction in government policy towards Afghanistan. Like Germany, the Netherlands proved willing to send a large military contingent to Afghanistan but with heavy caveats. Unlike Germany, however, the Netherlands was willing to commit its forces to one of the most hostile regions in Afghanistan. Auerswald and Saideman (2014) describe the Dutch contribution as "both more and less aggressive than one might have expected" and that while the Dutch use of restricted delegation contracts, caveats, and governmental oversight fit their theory regarding expectations for parliamentary coalitions, other aspects of Dutch decision-making for Afghanistan did not. Alternatively, others explain the Dutch use of restrictive caveats as a result of the political debate in the Dutch parliament and a general mistrust of military commanders to engage in battles beyond necessity.[134]

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[134] Ton de Munnik & Martijn Kitzen, "Planning Dilemmas in Coalition Operations." In *Mission Uruzgan: Collaborating in Multiple Coalitions for Afghanistan* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 154.

In the larger historical context, the Netherlands was far from a reluctant partner with a skeptical public. As a NATO member and active contributor to international stability and security operations, the Dutch contribution to ISAF fits the country's larger historical pattern of contributions to multinational military operations.[135] In fact the Netherlands is recognized internationally for its idealistic approach to defense, epitomized by the fact the Dutch claim to be the only country in the world to incorporate its duty to uphold the international rule of law in its constitution.[136] In terms of domestic support, the public offered fairly high support for operations in Afghanistan, especially early on in the conflict. According to a 2004 survey, the Netherlands ranked highest among European states with troops stationed in Afghanistan in terms of support for their military's presence there.[137]

The Dutch public also consistently reported favorable views of the NATO alliance. In surveys from 2002 to 2010, the Netherlands consistently expressed some of the highest levels of support for NATO with at least 70% of Dutch respondents each year supporting the view that the NATO alliance is essential for the country's security.[138] In regards to contributing to forces to Afghanistan, the Dutch public expressed some of highest support among European publics for

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[135] For example, since 1991 the Netherlands contributed forces to the US-led coalition in the Gulf War, the UN Protection Force and the United Nations Peace Forces in the former Yugoslavia, and the U.S-led intervention in Haiti in addition to smaller UN missions around the globe.

[136] Jaïr van der Lijn & Stefanie Ros, "Contributor Profile: the Netherlands," *Providing for Peacekeeping,* (January 14, 2014), http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/08/contributor-profile-the-netherlands/; Article 97 of the Dutch Constitution states "The armed forces exist for the defense and protection of the interests of the Kingdom, and in order to maintain and promote the international legal order" and a 2000 Ministry of Defense White Paper expounds upon this stating that Article 97 is interpreted as the following three core tasks for the defense organization:
1) Protecting the integrity of national and Allied territory, including the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba;
2) Promoting stability and the international rule of law;
3) Supporting civil authorities in upholding the law, providing disaster and humanitarian relief, both nationally and internationally.

[137] German Marshall Fund, *Transatlantic Trends 2004* (Washington, D.C., 2004), 13.

[138] German Marshall Fund, *Transatlantic Trends 2010*, (Washington, D.C., 2010), 17-18.

the notion that *all* NATO members should to contribute troops if the NATO alliance decides to take military action.[139]

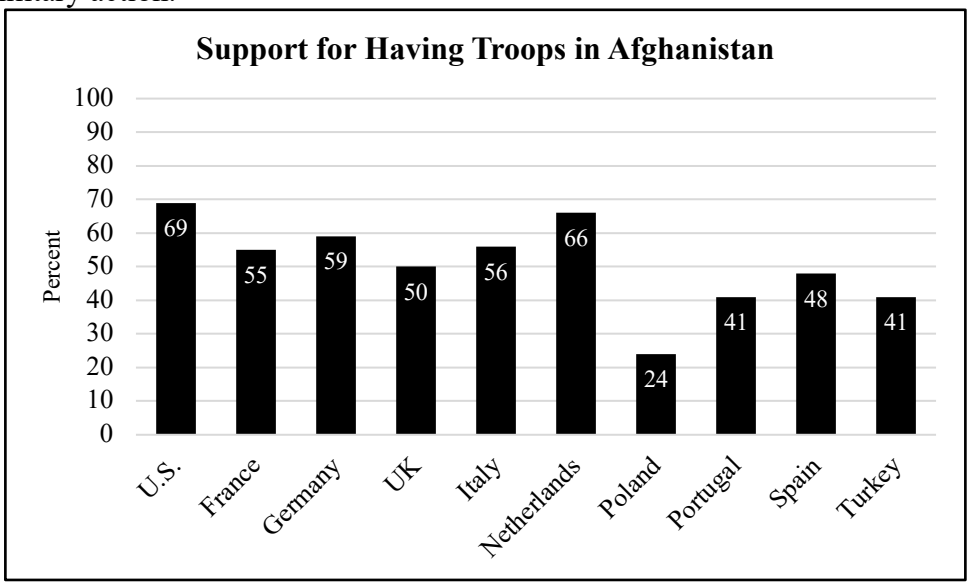

Figure 3. 2004 Transatlantic Trends Survey
Source: German Marshall Fund, 2004

It seems to be the case for the Dutch mission in Afghanistan that national caveats were not the result of a lack of enthusiasm for the coalition or belief in the cause behind the mission. Instead, the issue of Dutch caveats can best be explained as a product of larger differences between Dutch preferences regarding the conduct of expeditionary military operations and those of the US. As a whole the Dutch government looked to differentiate their troops from the US and other ISAF members, and preferred less aggressive military strategy in Afghanistan.

The Dutch parliament's debate about sending troops to support ISAF's expansion into southern Afghanistan, provides keen insight into Dutch sensitivities towards protecting the civilian population as well as the government's reluctance to have their forces closely associated with the US forces in Afghanistan. In their deliberations, Dutch parliamentarians voiced serious

[139] German Marshall Fund, *Transatlantic Trends 2010*, (Washington, D.C., 2010), 17-18. The survey question asked "To what extent do you tend to agree or disagree that ALL NATO member countries should contribute troops if the NATO alliance decides to take military action?" 81.2% of respondents from the UK agreed with the statement, followed by 81.5% of Dutch respondents.

concern about keeping distance between Dutch and American troops because of the perception of US forces in the wake of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal and US treatment of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay.[140] The Netherlands even went so far as to raise the issue of allied treatment of prisoners in official NATO circles as part of the initial negotiations for sending troops to RC-S. Simply put, the Netherlands did not want the image of its forces sullied by the actions of Americans.

But the key issue for the Dutch contribution in Afghanistan was the rather significant difference in opinion regarding the best military strategy for Afghanistan as well as a disagreement over the fundamental nature of the ISAF mission there. During the initial stages of ISAF, there was a great deal of debate within the Netherlands regarding the question of whether the Dutch contribution constituted a "combat mission" or a "reconstruction mission."[141] The Article 100 letters, parliamentary documents that outline the justification for deploying the armed forces abroad as well as the objectives of their involvement, did not describe the Afghanistan mission in either of these terms, and instead vaguely categorize it as a "stabilization and support mission." The 2005 letter recognized that given the security situation, "it may be necessary to conduct some offensive actions" in Afghanistan but the same letter also made clear that the Dutch contingent would not focus solely on promoting security and stability but also on creating the conditions for administrative and economic development. As the mission progressed, it became increasingly clear that combat duties had to be performed with frequency in order to further improve security in the province and provide better protection to Afghan citizens. At the same time, it was strongly believed that reconstruction activities and diplomacy

[140] Congressional Research Service, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 23.
[141] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 22.

were just as necessary for the sustainability of any contribution to improving stability and security. The Article 100 letter of 2007 contains the following statement:

> The objectives of this stabilization and support mission, which is aimed at the transfer of tasks, are a combination of security and development. After all, development cannot be rooted in an insecure environment, and security increases if the population has prospects for development and is governed with integrity. This approach continues to be ruled by the maxim: "reconstruction where possible and military action where necessary."

Thus, the Afghanistan mission was based on the assumption that there could be no reconstruction without better security, and that sustainable improvement of the security situation depended on the progress made in the area of reconstruction.

Determining whether the ISAF mission was a "combat mission" or a "reconstruction mission" was not just a semantic argument. The Dutch government, as well as Italy and others, pressed NATO to emphasize reconstruction over combat operations in Afghanistan.[142] For the Dutch in particular, there was disparate levels of public support for committing troops depending

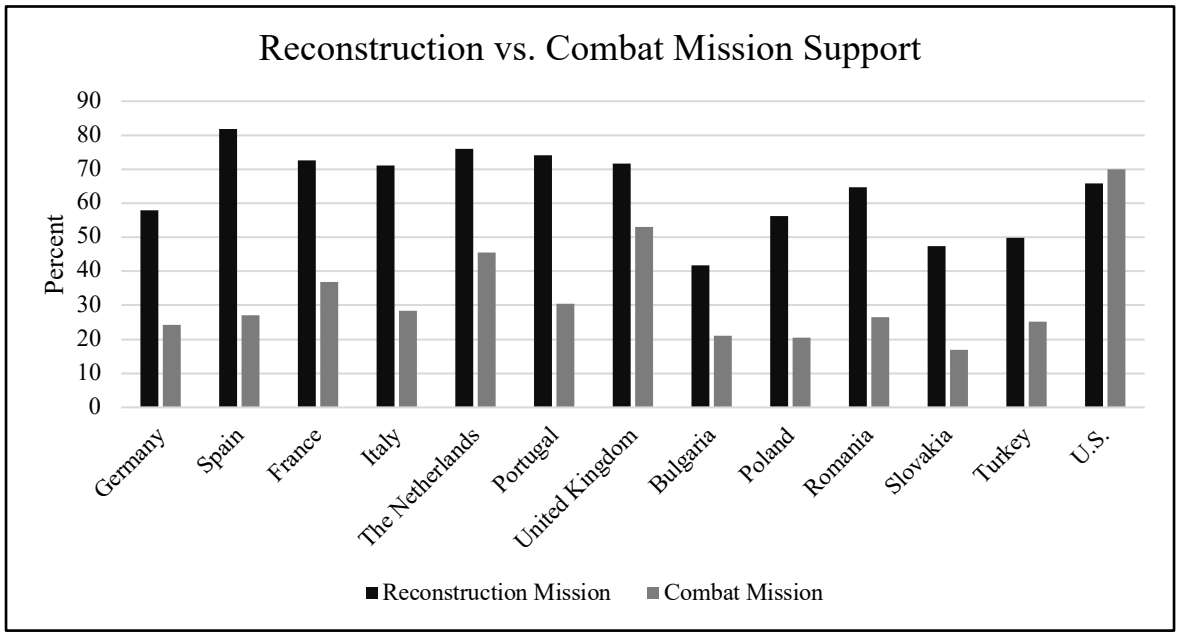

Figure 4. Support for committing troops to a reconstruction mission & combat mission in Afghanistan
Source: German Marshall Fund 2007

[142] Congressional Research Service, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 23.

on the nature of the ISAF mission. At the time of ISAF's expansion into provinces across Afghanistan, over 75% of the Dutch public supported contributing troops to international reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan but only 45% of the Dutch public were in support of committing troops for combat operations against the Taliban. In contrast, American support for committing troops to Afghanistan remained consistent across both mission types with 66% of Americans supporting the reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan while 70% supported combat operations against the Taliban.[143]

In terms of overall military strategy for ISAF in Afghanistan, from 2002 until around 2009 the coalition's strategy focused on the military defeat of insurgents. For the US and leading contributors such as the UK and Canada, a key element of ISAF's mission was prosecuting a counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanistan based on the three-phased approach, described as "clear, hold, and build."[144] In the "clear" phase, military operations would create an initial secure environment by eliminating, detaining, or expelling insurgents and anti-government entities from a given area or region, separating these elements from the general Afghan population. Then, in the "hold" phase, the ISAF and the Afghan government would maintain the secure environment and take advantage of the separation created between the insurgents and the people to connect the population to the government in Kabul. In this phase military forces would still need to maintain a strong presence, denying anti-government elements the opportunity to return.[145] Finally in the "build" phase, ISAF, members of the international community, and Afghans would take advantage of the security and stability established in the "clear" and "hold" phases to build

[143] German Marshall Fund, *Transatlantic Trends 2007*, (Washington, D.C., 2010).
[144] U.S. Department of Defense, *Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan,*15.
[145] U.S. Department of Defense, *Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan,*16.

the human capital, institutions, and infrastructure necessary to achieve a stable, secure, and prosperous Afghanistan.[146]

From the outset, the "clear, hold, and build" strategy was fundamentally different than the strategy endorsed by the Netherlands. The Netherlands' strategy in Afghanistan was founded on the so called "3D approach," of defense (security), diplomacy (good governance), and development (socio-economic development).[147] In the 3D approach, military, diplomatic and development efforts are connected as much as possible and integrated where possible and desirable to achieve the final goal. The underlying thought is that security, good governance and development are inextricably linked based on the assumption that there could be no reconstruction without better security, and that sustainable improvement of the security situation depended on the progress made in the area of reconstruction. Thus in the Netherlands' policy, building good governance and structural socio-economic development played an equally important role as security. Although the Dutch maintain that the 3D approach shares similarities with NATO's Counterinsurgency doctrine, they recognize that their interpretation differed from the ISAF interpretation of the NATO's counterinsurgency doctrine. In what came to be internationally known as "the Dutch approach," the 3D strategy aimed to diminish the influence of insurgents and protect the civilian population through improved living conditions and self-governance. As a result the 3D approach that aimed to diminish the influence of insurgents and to protect the civilian population by focusing on improving living conditions and self-governance

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[146] U.S. Department of Defense, *Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan,* 16.
[147] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 19.

as opposed to hunting down insurgents themselves became internationally known as the Dutch approach.[148]

One area where differences in the overall strategy were evident regarded kinetic operations. The US viewed direct kinetic operations against insurgents as a requirement for establishing security in Afghanistan. For the US and most of ISAF, killing and capturing insurgents, destroying their equipment, supplies, and infrastructure, and denying insurgents access to and mobility within a given area, and physically separating them from the general population would not only degrade and eventually destroy the capacity of insurgents but dissuade the general population from joining the insurgent ranks.

In contrast, from the beginning of the Netherlands' participation in ISAF, the Dutch were convinced that the success of the mission would be less about fighting insurgents and more about depriving the insurgency of the local population's support and instead garnering support for the Afghan government.[149] Dutch Commander Col. Hans van Griensven captured this sentiment, telling his troops, "[w]e're not here to fight the Taliban. We're here to make the Taliban irrelevant."[150] When Dutch forces did engage the enemy, standing policy was to use the minimum amount of force necessary and the prevention of collateral damage was constantly an important point of focus with military commanders.[151] This clash of strategies led American military officials to express concern that the Dutch strategy would actually undermine the larger US-led strategy by enabling insurgents to use Uruzgan as a safe haven from which they could

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[148] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 31. These counterinsurgency tactics are derived from past military experiences in Indonesia, Malaysia, Borneo, Vietnam, and Iraq.
[149] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 43.
[150] Chivers, "Dutch Soldiers Stress Restraint in Afghanistan."
[151] For Dutch aircraft deployed to Afghanistan, this often meant low fly-overs or by dropping flares before actually dropping precision-guided munitions.

conduct attacks across all of RC-S.[152] However since the Netherlands was the lead for Uruzgan Province there was little the US could do to force the Netherlands to change its operational and tactical strategy there.[153]

It is important to note that Dutch reluctance to utilize lethal force was not unique to Afghanistan and reflects larger national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force as part of multinational military coalitions. In this case, the reluctance to use lethal force reflects a heightened prioritization of civilian protection on the battlefield and reflects the seriousness of which the Dutch society views the use of lethal force. Every incident involving the use of force by the Dutch ground troops and combat aircraft is reported to the Netherlands Public Prosecution Service via Troops in Contact reports and After-Action Review/Mission Reports. These incidents were then examined and, in some cases, led to a full investigation by the Public Prosecution Service.[154] This meant that over the course of the Afghanistan conflict the Public Prosecutor Office in the Netherlands oversaw more than a thousand cases concerning the use of lethal force by Dutch soldiers. For the 2007 Battle of Chora, the Netherland's largest battle in Afghanistan, the Public Prosecutor spent one full year of investigating the actions of the Dutch contingent before validating the use of lethal force was used within the constraints of the Law of Armed Conflict and met RoE requirements.[155] This stands in stark contrast to the US, which does not investigate civilian deaths on the battlefield unless there is any credible allegations or reason

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[152] Chivers, "Dutch Soldiers Stress Restraint in Afghanistan."
[153] The US and later Australia took over responsibility for Uruzgan Province after the Dutch withdrawal. Multiple accounts indicate that even under Dutch command Uruzgan Province served as a safe haven for Taliban fighters. See Bill Roggio, "Afghan Forces Withdraw from District in Uruzgan," *The Long War Journal* (March 9, 2016) and Lauren McNally and Paul Bucala, *The Taliban Resurgent: Threats to Afghanistan's Security*, Institute for the Study of War (Washington, D.C., 2015), 15.
[154] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 49.
[155] Paul Ducheine and Eric Pouw, "Controlling the Use of Force" in *Mission Uruzgan: Collaborating in Multiple Coalitions for Afghanistan*, Amsterdam University Press (Amsterdam, 2012), 75.

to believe they otherwise occurred.[156] In fact, the Netherlands is fairly unique among even Western nations with respect to civilian deaths on the battlefield in that government applies the requirements of the European Convention on Human Rights even on its armed forces that are operationally deployed.[157]

Again in contrast the US strategy that emphasized the importance of kinetic operations, the Dutch differed from the US regarding the perceived importance of the counter-terrorism mission in Afghanistan. The US initially looked to transfer the counter-terrorism mission to ISAF and US policy long maintained that establishing and maintaining long-term security in Afghanistan depended on dismantling Islamic terrorist networks and their influence in Afghanistan and the region. [158] This rationale was driven by the idea that these terror groups have an explicit interest in an unstable, undemocratic, extremist regime in Afghanistan and provide financing, training, and personnel to the Taliban and other anti-government groups.[159]

However even after the Dutch dropped its formal caveat prohibiting participation in counter-terrorism operations, the Netherlands' ISAF contingent did not conduct any counter-terrorism missions either unilaterally or combined operations with other coalition partners.[160] Nor did the Dutch contingent participate in sweeps or raids of suspected insurgents as these types of offensive operations did not mesh with the Dutch 3D counterinsurgency strategy. Instead the Dutch focused argued their overall strategy fit with the general objective of preventing

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[156] Ryan Santicola and Hila Wesa, "Extra-Territorial Use of Force, Civilian Casualties, and the Duty to Investigate," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, (2017), 212-213.
[157] Santicola & Wesa, "Extra-Territorial Use of Force, Civilian Casualties, and the Duty to Investigate," 248.
[158] U.S. Department of Defense, *Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan,* 19.
[159] U.S. Department of Defense, *Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan,* 19.
[160] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 46. Support was only given by Dutch forces to OEF units in emergency (in-extremis) situations by the Netherlands' Air Task Force, such air support during urgent self-defense. Even then, Dutch Apache and F-16 pilots ensured Dutch conditions for lethal support had been met before air support could be given using a time-consuming target verification process.

Afghanistan from becoming a stronghold for terrorist networks.[161] Even if the Dutch military strategy had called for offensive missions, it is not clear whether or not the political authorities back at The Hague would have authorized counter-terrorism missions since the counter-terrorism mission was considered outside the mandate of ISAF.[162] Simply put, the counter-terrorism mission was up to the US and the OEF coalition. Despite initially participating in OEF, by 2006 the Netherlands preferred to keep its distance from OEF operations. When the US or states participating in the counter-terrorism mission of OEF planned to operate in Uruzgan, these missions were deconflicted in advance to ensure Dutch forces were not also operating nearby.[163]

Dutch counter-narcotics policies also put the Netherlands at odds with US policy in Afghanistan, specifically regarding the issue of eradication programs. The US maintained that a successful counter-narcotics strategy required both strong incentives and strong disincentives. As such, the US advocated a comprehensive approach that provided alternatives to farmers but US policy also called for the non-negotiated forced eradication of poppy fields used in the production of heroin and demonstrated a willingness to destroy heroin processing facilities.[164] Despite the danger associated with eradication efforts, the US viewed this type of disincentive as necessary to the counter-narcotics effort since they inject an element of risk into farmers'

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[161] [161] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 47.
[162] Seen as a response to the Abu Ghraib scandal in Iraq, the Dutch Parliament adopted a motion in November 2005, prior to assuming command of Uruzgan province which limited direct cooperation within the context of military missions to countries "which respect international humanitarian law and the Geneva Conventions." This notion would have also prohibited Dutch units from working alongside American units.
[163] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 47. The Australian based a special forces unit (Task Force 66) in Uruzgan operated under OEF and was not under Dutch command.
[164] U.S. Department of State, U*.S. Counternarcotics Strategy for Afghanistan*, by Thomas A. Schweich, (Washington, D.C., 2007).

planting decisions, and theoretically make poppy production a less attractive investment for the Afghan farmer.[165]

While the Dutch government recognized the revenues from the drug sales formed an important source of income for the insurgents and drug-related crime constituted a risk to Dutch forces, the Netherlands opposed eradication for two different reasons. First, the government considered ISAF's legal authority limited to assisting the Afghan government with its own counter-narcotics operations. As such, the Dutch maintained ISAF did not have the legal authority to destroy harvests or take any other autonomous action against drug producers.[166] Therefore Dutch policy was that it was simply not NATO or ISAF's duty to carry out eradication. The second reason the government differed from the US on the eradication issue was that the Dutch considered eradication to be a bad policy decision that hit the farmers the hardest and not the traffickers.[167] In line with the greater 3D policy, the Dutch counter-narcotics policy prioritized civilian welfare and consisted of an anti-drug and public health campaign information campaign, the development of alternative sources of income for farmers, and more resources for law enforcement and Afghan-implemented interdiction.

Ultimately, the fact that the Dutch espoused a divergent strategy from the US is evidenced by the fact that the Netherlands' preferred "3D" strategy became known internationally simply as "the Dutch approach." Even though the Dutch government recognized the necessity of participating in some combat operations and the risk this posed to their troops in Afghanistan, fundamental differences in policy and strategy resulted in the Dutch employing

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[165] U.S. Department of Defense, *Progress Toward Security and Stability in Afghanistan,* 10. The primary reason the US did not dedicate more military resources towards counter-narcotics operations is that the limited number of forces in Afghanistan meant bolstering the counter-narcotics mission would come at the expense of other mission sets.
[166] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 61.
[167] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, *Final Evaluation: Netherlands Contribution to ISAF, 2006-2010*, 62.

more caveats on their forces under ISAF members. In key mission areas the Dutch disagreed with either the proper role of ISAF, the strategy for accomplishing the coalition's objectives, or both. The Dutch considered the counter-terrorism outside the scope of ISAF and the US counter-terrorism strategy itself largely counter-productive. The view towards counter-narcotics operations was similar. The Dutch viewed the US as pushing ISAF beyond its legal mandate in this area and disagreed with the US approach regarding eradication. Finally with the larger counter-insurgency mission, the Netherlands were confident their own strategy and sought to distance themselves from American influence on the matter.

As the subsequent case studies will demonstrate, the divergence of strategy and approach between the US and the Netherlands was not limited to the Afghan conflict. Instead these differences reflect broader differences in how the US and the Netherlands prefers to conduct expeditionary military operations in a manner that prioritizes the protection of civilians. The Dutch experience in Afghanistan demonstrates how the Netherlands was willing to accept risk to its military forces and was willing to engage in combat if necessary. At the same time, the Dutch differed from the US in terms of how to prioritize civilian protections and how large of a role lethal force should play in the Afghanistan campaign.

Belgium in Afghanistan

After examining the Dutch contribution to ISAF, it is worth evaluating the military contributions of neighboring Belgium. The two NATO countries are similar small, wealthy European nations with similarly-structured parliamentary governments that even boast similar military histories. Yet despite their many similarities, Belgium and the Netherlands contributed to ISAF in remarkably different ways. Whereas the Netherlands filled a prominent regional leadership role within ISAF, Belgium played a minor role on the ground in Afghanistan. In

addition to their contributions differing in terms of numbers of troops and types of missions authorized, Dutch forces operated with a moderate level of caveats while Belgian ground troops were even more severely burdened by a high level of casualty-averting caveats.

Whereas in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks, the Netherlands contributed special operations forces, strike aircraft, and other military equipment to the early OEF campaign in Afghanistan, Belgium's initial contribution to the "war on terror" consisted of a lone C-130 cargo plane for humanitarian operations in and around Afghanistan.[168] In early 2003, Belgium deployed its first ground troops to Afghanistan as part of the ISAF coalition. These initial troops were responsible for providing force protection at the Kabul International Airport. In the late summer of 2003, Belgium deployed additional ground troops as part of a joint Belgium-German Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) assigned to Kunduz Province in the relatively peaceful northern region of Afghanistan known as RC-North.

As the ISAF mandate extended to cover all of Afghanistan, Belgian ground operations increased only marginally. In September 2008, the Belgian military stood up its own Operational Mentoring and Liaison Team (OMLT) in RC-North, which operated separate from the ongoing PRT in Kunduz.[169] The arrival of OMLT personnel brought the total size of the Belgian contribution to ISAF to around 500 personnel. Throughout 2009 - 2010, the size of the Belgian contingent in Afghanistan further increased as the Belgian Air Force increased its presence in Afghanistan and Belgian forces formed a combined, supplemental OMLT in Kunduz with German troops. [170] Despite expanding the scope of missions performed by Belgian forces, the

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[168] U.S. Department of State, *International Contributions to the War Against Terrorism*, (June 14, 2002).
[169] OMLTs are composed of 13-30 personnel and provide training and mentoring to the Afghan National Army (ANA). They also serve as a liaison capability between ANA and ISAF forces, coordinating the planning of operations and ensuring that the ANA units receive necessary enabling support (including close air support, casualty evacuation and medical evacuation).
[170] The air combat component of the Belgian Armed Forces is formally called the Belgian Defense Air Component (or Luchtcomponent in Dutch and Composante air in French). In an international context, it is still commonly

majority of Belgian military personnel in Afghanistan continued to be assigned to Kabul International Airport.[171]

Although this chapter focuses primarily on ground troops in Afghanistan, it is worth noting that Belgium also contributed F-16 fighter aircraft to ISAF. Initially the Belgian contribution to ISAF air operations consisted of four F-16 fighter aircraft which operated out of Kabul for a six month rotation starting in 2005, and then again for a year-long deployment in 2007.[172] In September 2008, the Belgian Air Force deployed four F-16s to Kandahar Airfield, in the heart of volatile RC-South.[173] A year later Belgium deployed two additional F-16s to Kandahar where they operated until 2014 as part of the larger drawdown of Belgian forces from Afghanistan.

Overview of Belgian Caveats

In addition to the limited size of the Belgian contribution to ISAF, the casualty-averting caveats imposed on Belgian ground forces in Afghanistan severely limited their military usefulness. Both prior-to and after NATO's Riga Summit, Belgium's government imposed a caveats severely limiting the mobility of its forces, with the Belgian contingent tasked with providing security at the Kabul airport prohibited from operating outside the confines of the airport.[174] Even in emergency situations, members of the PRT in Kunduz were prohibited from

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referred to simply as the Belgian Air Force. The transition from a single-service structure to a component structure was enacted by the Arrêté Royal Déterminant la Structure Générale du Ministère de la Défense et Fixant les Attributions de Certaines Autorités [Royal Decree Determining the General Structure of the Ministry of Defence and Defining Certain Authorities' Fields of Responsibility], Brussels: Ministry of Defence, December 21, 2001, Chapter IV, Section 1, Paragraph 2.

[171] Kingdom of Belgium, "Partaking in NATO Operations," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation (Brussels, 2015).

[172] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 170.

[173] This deployment of F-16 fighter aircraft lasted until late 2010.

[174] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 170. Eventually the security force was granted permission to travel up to twelve kilometers outside of the airport facility but only when necessitated by a search-and-rescue-operation for a downed aircraft.

leaving RC-North without the explicit permission of the Belgian Ministry of Defense and all Belgian troops in Afghanistan were prohibited from participating in counter-narcotics missions, counterterrorism missions, offensive combat operations or joint operations with OEF forces.[175] These caveats proved significant and impeded the effectiveness of Belgian operations. For the OMLTs in particular, the prohibition against participating in OEF operations proved problematic as the Afghan kandak units that the Belgian teams were imbedded with did not face the same restrictions and were often tasked with participating in joint Afghan-US operations in the north.[176]

Examination of Theory

Both Belgian and Dutch caveats demonstrate that states hold national-level preferences regarding the conduct of war. However while Dutch caveats resulted from differences in military strategy and a greater prioritization of civilian protection, Belgian caveats reflected the government's reluctance to put its own forces in harm's way. In this manner, Belgian caveats represent casualty-averse policies that overly prioritizes the safety and well-being of Belgium's deployed military personnel. In order to understand Belgium's casualty-aversion, it is necessary to understand Belgium's military history. In particular, Belgium's catastrophic 1994 Rwanda tragedy continues to influences Belgian political discourse, public perception, and strategic thinking about contemporary multinational military operations.[177]

In terms of its longer military history, Belgium's attempts to remain neutral in European affairs were violated during two major conflicts in the 20th Century which brought widespread destruction to the country. Out of perceived necessity, Belgium made the pragmatic choice to

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[175] Kingsley, "Fighting Against Allies"
[176] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 156.
[177] Joachim Koops and Edith Drieskens, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium," *Providing for Peacekeeping* (October 2012), 4.

shift away from a policy of neutrality and opted to join the defensive alliances including the Western European Union and NATO.[178] In the aftermath of the Cold War, Belgium was quick to downsize its military forces and reduce military spending. The country ended conscription in 1992 and the size of the military was reduced from 110,000 in 1989 to 53,000 by 1994, stabilizing at roughly around 39,000 by the year 2000.[179] Similarly defense spending as a percentage of GDP dropped from a Cold War high of 3.37% in 1981 to 1.67% in 1994, and it has remained under 1.3% of GDP since 2001. However much like the Netherlands, Belgium also changed its military mission in the post-Cold War era as the focus on territorial defense shifted as the prospect of war on its own territory diminished.

In 1994, a Belgium defense white paper identified five main axes of Belgian defense policy going forward: developing the European Union, maintaining the transatlantic link through NATO, broadening cooperation with other countries, reinforcing the United Nations' role, and participating in arms control.[180] However Belgium's enthusiasm for UN Peacekeeping Missions and other expeditionary operations faced a massive setback with the events of June 1994, when ten Belgian UN Peacekeepers were captured and subsequently murdered while trying to protect the Rwandan Prime Minister at the beginning of the ethnic conflict in Rwanda.[181]

The horrific murder of Belgian soldiers in Rwanda had a lasting effect on Belgium's political and strategic attitude towards overseas military operations and UN peacekeeping missions in particular. In the aftermath of the tragedy, the Belgian parliamentary launched a formal inquiry into the events. The committee's conclusions were presented in December 1997

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[178] Kingdom of Belgium, "The Modernization Plan 2000-2015 of the Belgian Armed Forces," Ministry of Defence (Brussels, 2000).
[179] The World Bank, "Armed forces personnel, total – Belgium" (2019).
[180] Kingdom of Belgium, "The Modernization Plan 2000-2015 of the Belgian Armed Forces."
[181] The killing of the peacekeepers triggered the pullout of UN forces, opening the way for the ethnic violence to spread.

and were used as a foundation for the articulation of a set of criteria to guide governmental decision-making regarding the use of the military, which were included in the Note of General Policy regarding the Belgian Participation in Peacekeeping Operations in January 1998. The Note of General Policy confirmed the recommendation "to cease furnishing contingents to UN operations carried out in former Belgian colonies" but that Belgium could provide logistics and communication assistance, as well as financial and material support to troops from third countries. [182] The Note of General Policy regarding the Belgian Participation in Peacekeeping Operations also specified preconditions for determining whether or not to participate in a peacekeeping mission.[183]

As a result of the "Rwanda recommendations," as of 1998, successive Belgian governments froze the participation of their armed forces in UN peacekeeping missions as the government doubted the UN's ability to safeguard its soldiers serving as peacekeepers.[184] As such, the government increasingly looked to NATO as the preferred mechanism for multinational military missions.[185] However despite the shift with leading organizations, the government consistently applied the "Rwanda recommendations" to NATO-led missions as well, such as Operation Allied Force in 1999. This meant that the same requirements for participation in UN-Peacekeeping Missions such as force protection measures were applied to NATO-led missions as well.

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[182] Koops & Drieskens, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium," 1-2.
[183] There were four preconditions specified. They are as follows: 1) the existence of a clear international political framework (including a UN Security Council resolution); 2) sufficient means and resources (in terms of room for maneuver, troops and equipment, and logistical support); 3) political and operational coherence (i.e., a clearly defined concept of operations and rules of engagement as well as effective command and control structures); and 4) credible security guarantees.
(including medical evacuation) for the troops involved.
[184] Koops & Drieskens, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium," 2.
[185] Koops & Drieskens, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium," 2.

Given this understanding of Belgium's military policies, the country's contribution to ISAF and the caveats it imposed on its forces should be understood as more than simple attempts to buck-pass or free-ride. Instead, Belgium's involvement in Afghanistan should be viewed as an embodiment of Belgian national-level preferences regarding the use of its military forces abroad. Specifically, Belgium's use of caveats should be regarded as an effort to avoid military casualties in accordance with the Rwanda recommendation for "maximum guarantees for troops safety on the ground." Indeed, one way to minimize the threat to troops on the ground was to not deploy combat units for coalition operations but to provide rear-echelon personnel such as medics, engineers and explosive ordinance disposal teams, who could carry out their mission primarily away from the front lines. Another way to maximize troop safety is to impose geographic caveats to keep them out of the most dangerous regions of a country. In Afghanistan, Belgium employed both strategies.

Thus by examining Belgium's contribution to ISAF in the context of a two-level game, the limited contribution matched with a high level of caveats makes sense as the logical outcome. Furthermore, the fact that Belgium did not impose the same restrictive measures on the combat aircraft deployed to Afghanistan underscores that caveat decisions reflect national preferences and Belgium was not simply trying to buck-pass or free-ride in Afghanistan.

Domestically-speaking, Belgium's public only offered lukewarm support for the prospect of military operations from the onset. In Gallup poll survey conducted in November – December of 2001, 52% of Belgian respondents supported the US-led military action in Afghanistan and

50.5% thought Belgium should take part in the military action with the US.[186] Seventeen of NATO's nineteen member states were included in this survey.[187] Of these NATO member states

Figure 4. Public Support from NATO Member States

	US-Led Military Action in Afghanistan		*Your Country Should Take Part with the US*	
	Agree	*Disagree*	*Agree*	*Disagree*
Belgium	52.0	34.0	50.5	32.0
Czech Republic	68.3	22.8	48.0	41.0
Denmark	66.0	19.0	64.0	30.0
France	73.0	20.0	67.0	28.0
Germany	65.0	28.0	58.0	38.0
Greece	9.0	81.0	7.0	86.0
Iceland	48.0	26.0	NA	NA
Italy	60.0	31.0	57.0	38.0
Luxembourg	61.0	31.0	57.0	37.0
Netherlands	75.0	17.0	66.0	25.0
Norway	54.5	34.7	52.5	41.6
Poland	61.0	28.0	48.0	41.0
Portugal	59.0	59.0	45.0	47.0
Spain	34.0	49.0	33.0	60.0
Turkey	16.2	69.7	14.0	71.0
United Kingdom	68.0	20.0	66.0	25.0
United States	88.0	6.0	NA	NA

Source: Gallup International End of Year Terrorism Poll 2001

surveyed, only four states offered less support for the US-led military action in Afghanistan and Belgium still fell into the bottom-half of NATO member states in terms of support for their own involvement in the US-led mission in Afghanistan.

Yet what is clear with the Belgian contribution to ISAF is that the ground-centric counter-terrorism, counter-insurgency, and nation-building type missions in Afghanistan are not

[186] In Gallup International's End of Year Terrorism Poll for 2001, only 52% of Belgian respondents supported the US-led military action in Afghanistan and an even smaller number (50.5%) thought Belgium should take part in the military action with the US

[187] Canada and Hungary were not included in the survey.

the type of expeditionary military mission the Belgian public or politicians prefer to participate in altogether. Ultimately the decisions made regarding the size, scale, and caveats imposed on ground troops participating in ISAF reveals a lot about the political rationale prevailing in Brussels regarding discussing troop deployment abroad.

After almost twenty years, the catastrophic experience in Rwanda still marked Belgian political discourse, public perception and strategic thinking related to the use of the military abroad.[188] Both large-scale involvement in former colonies as well as the participation in high-risk operations remain taboo in Belgium and the Afghanistan conflict represented a high-risk operation that stood to put its troops in a direct combat role.[189]

Given Belgium's casualty aversion preferences, the decision to limit the country's initial military contribution on securing Kabul airport helped mitigate the threat to these troops while also providing some valuable benefits. In addition to limiting the risk of casualties, consolidating troops at the airport avoided the dispersion of the Belgian personnel, eased the evacuation contingency planning if Belgium needed to withdraw its forces, and complemented the airlift duties regularly performed for ISAF by Belgian C-130 aircraft.[190] In fact, securing the airport and enabling aerial logistics was more in line with the type of military support Belgium was comfortable performing considering the majority of the overseas military missions conducted since the end of the Cold War by the Belgian military were peacekeeping and humanitarian operations that largely consisted of air shipments by the Belgian Air Force in the form of "C-130 diplomacy."[191]

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[188] Koops & Drieskens, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium," 4-5.
[189] Koops & Drieskens, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium," 3-4.
[190] Liégeois & Glume, "A Small Power Under the Blue Helmet," 120.
[191] Liégeois & Glume, "A Small Power Under the Blue Helmet," 113.

The policy of casualty-averse decision making continued throughout Belgium's involvement with ISAF. During the joint Belgian-German PRT in Kunduz Province, Belgian political leadership refused to authorize missions that risked casualties or put troops in harm's way, even when such policies were advocated for by the military leadership on the ground.[192] In 2004-2005, Belgium's government denied requests by Belgian land component commanders to deploy in larger numbers and to authorize troops to engage in offensive operations.[193] Even the deployment of F-16 fighter aircraft to Kandahar Airfield in 2008 represented a low-risk deployment. In fact, Belgium's deployment of combat aircraft to Afghanistan provides illuminating context to Belgium's overall preferences regarding the use of military force. At the time of the government's decision to deploy their F-16s to Kandahar, fellow NATO members and the NATO Secretary General were frequently calling on Belgium to both lift the caveats that restricted Belgian ground troops to the Kabul airport and to increase the country's overall contribution to ISAF as the coalition extended its mandate across the entirety of Afghanistan.[194] Deploying fighter Kandahar Province allowed Belgium to appease its fellow NATO allies by contributing combat forces to one of the most volatile regions in Afghanistan, but without accepting much risk since the Taliban and other insurgents posed little threat to the forces stationed at the sprawling Kandahar Airfield and did not have any real means to threaten fighter aircraft once they were airborne.

Much like taking control of Kabul International Airport, deploying F-16 fighter aircraft to the heart of combat operations in Kandahar gave Belgium disproportional visibility among ISAF members without dramatically increasing the threat to deployed Belgian military personnel.[195]

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[192] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 170.
[193] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 170.
[194] Liégeois & Glume, "A Small Power Under the Blue Helmet," 121.
[195] Liégeois & Glume, "A Small Power Under the Blue Helmet," 121.

Also telling is the fact that the Belgian F-16s in Afghanistan lacked many of the caveats that burdened their compatriots on the ground or even some of the other air forces operating in Afghanistan.[196] Instead, Belgium's F-16 fighter aircraft faced minimal interference from Brussels, and flew missions armed and authorized to use lethal force.[197] Belgian F-16s even took on demanding combat tasks such as standing ground for alert close air support.[198] Ultimately Belgium operated out of Kandahar Airfield until the end of 2014, when the country began withdrawing the majority of its troops from Afghanistan. This is all to say that the difference between how the government managed its Air Force compared to its ground troops provides the clearest evidence for casualty-averting preferences. It is also worth mentioning that this dynamic differed from the Netherlands, who also flew F-16s in Afghanistan.[199]

Ultimately, Belgium's total contributions to the ISAF coalition reveal a lot about the country's preferences regarding the use of force. On the domestic side, Belgium effectively limited the risk posed to its military forces by imposing a high level of restrictive caveats on its forces on the ground, thus avoiding another potential Rwanda scenario where its forces suffer casualties abroad. However such casualty-averse policies are abandoned when it comes to combat aircraft because they are unnecessary given the lack of threat to these aircraft flying over Afghanistan. In this manner Belgium attempted to use its contribution of combat aircraft to appease fellow NATO members on the international level since casualty-averse domestic audiences and political elites were unbothered by the use of these forces in a combat role since the threat to the pilots and aircraft was negligible.

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[196] For example, Italy's AMX fighter aircraft were not authorized to carry weapons in Afghanistan until 2012 and Germany's combat-capable Tornado aircraft were only authorized to conduct reconnaissance missions.
[197] Jos Schoofs, "Operation Guardian Falcon," *Belgian Wings* (January 2009).
[198] Christian F. Anrig "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War,* edited by Karl P. Mueller, (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015), 288.
[199] Almost all of the civilian protection-caveats imposed on Dutch ground troops in Afghanistan were also imposed on Dutch aircraft assigned to ISAF.

Danish Involvement in Afghanistan

Like Belgium and the Netherlands, Denmark was governed by a coalition government and it featured a parliament with strong war powers similar to the Netherlands that arguably should have resulted in a more restrained use of its military.

The Danish entry into the war in Afghanistan started early, in December 2001, as a Royal Danish Air Force C-130 inserted special operations forces into the war zone as part of OEF, making Denmark one of only six allied nations to send ground troops to Afghanistan in the first year of the conflict.[200] The following year, the air force contributed six F-16s to OEF as part of a tri-national air wing consisting of Danish, Dutch and Norwegian F-16s.[201] Meanwhile, Denmark continued to contribute special operations forces to OEF to combat the remnants of al-Qaeda. However the primary Danish ground presence in Afghanistan operated under the command of NATO and ISAF, which the Danish government supported since its inception.

On the ground, Danish contributions to ISAF initially featured a limited number of troops that were fragmented across various units and missions. From 2002 to 2006, Denmark deployed a small Explosive Ordinance Disposal (EOD) unit of approximately 50 personnel to Kabul to conduct ammunition disposal and mine clearing. From 2003 to 2007, rotations of six personnel served in a British-led PRT in Mazar-e-Sharif in northern Afghanistan and from 2005 to 2008, contingents of 50 personnel were deployed to the German PRT in Feyzabad where they

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[200] Secretary of Defense, "Report on the Allied Contributions to the Common Defense," I-I.
[201] Peter Viggo Jakobsen & Sten Rynning, "Happy to Fight, Willing to Travel," *International Affairs*, 95, no 4 (2019): 890-891; This deployment was the product of enhanced cooperation between the European states in possession of F-16s, initiated after the Kosovo campaign in order to improve their capacity to make joint contributions to international operations, and was inspired by the joint contribution made to the Kosovo campaign by Belgium and the Netherlands.

conducted patrols in the northern province of Badakhshan.[202] From 2005 to 2009, Denmark also deployed ten troops to the Lithuanian-led PRT in in central Afghanistan.

However Denmark's main and most significant contribution began in 2006, when they served under operational control of the British-led Task Force Helmand as part of the larger ISAF expansion across Afghanistan. The government elected to accept a dangerous assignment and deployed 290 combat troops to the insurgent-infested Helmand Province in southern Afghanistan. This initial Danish contingent was immediately thrust into combat when they relieved a beleaguered British unit deployed to a main operating base near the town of Musa Qaleh on July 21, 2006 and the Danish contingent repulsed over fifty Taliban attacks during their first month in Helmand province.[203] For the remainder of 2006 and 2007, Danish troops conducted combat operations throughout Helmand Province, primarily during independent combat patrols while still under British operational command. From 2007 to 2012 the Danish contingent grew to over 700 personnel and assumed responsibility for security in the Nahr-E Saraj district in Helmand Province while still under the overall command of the British-led Task Force Helmand. Additionally, in the fall of 2010 the Danish government lifted its caveat on mentoring the Afghan National Army and agreed to form its own OMLT to train Afghan servicemembers.[204]

Denmark carried one of the heaviest burdens among all ISAF. Measured per capita, Denmark was not only one of the largest troop-contributing nations in Afghanistan but suffered the highest per capita casualty rate.[205] Danish forces in Afghanistan suffered 43 fatalities and

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[202] Steen Bornholdt Andersen, Niels Klingenberg Vistisen & Anna Sofie Schøning, *Danish Lessons from Stabilisation & CIMIC Projects* (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Defence College, 2016) 26.
[203] Peter Viggo Jakobsen & Peter Dahl Thruelsen, "Clear, Hold, Train: Denmark's Military Operations in Helmand 2006-2010." In *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2011,* edited by Nanna Hvidt & Hans Mouritzen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2011), 82.
[204] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 165.
[205] NATO, "Denmark," *SHAPE* (June 2020), https://shape.nato.int/denmark.

over 150 wounded from 2002 until their withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2013. Although a fraction of the casualties endured by the US (2,228) and the UK (444), Danish losses exceed the total suffered in all other international operations conducted by the Danish armed forces since World War II and represents the highest number of fatalities per capita for any country fighting in Afghanistan.[206]

Overview of Danish Caveats

Considering the Denmark's recent history, its contributions to the war in Afghanistan fits well within the nation's larger preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force as part of a coalition. In the aftermath of the Cold War, the Danish government took an activist approach to foreign policy where the military was seen as an instrument by which Denmark could make a difference internationally.[207] After having been a reluctant NATO ally during the Cold War, Denmark contributed to 68 international military operations under the auspices of the UN, NATO, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international coalitions from 1990 until the end of 2017.[208] Starting small, the Royal Danish Navy dispatched a corvette to the Persian Gulf in August 1990, to participate in the UN naval embargo after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Subsequently, the number of Danish troops deployed abroad on UN and NATO missions increased over the course of the 1990s, peaking in 1999 and 2000 with the military intervention in the Balkans.

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[206] Peter Viggo Jakobsen & Jens Ringsmose, "In Denmark, Afghanistan is Worth Dying For: How Public Support for the War Was Maintained in the Face of Mounting Casualties and Elusive Success," *Cooperation and Conflict,* 50*,* no. 2 (2015): 211-227.
[207] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 163.
[208] Anders Wivel, Rasmus Mariager, & Clara Lyngholm K. Mortensen, "Denmark at War: Patterns and Developments in Denmark's Military Engagement." *Small States and the New Security Environment.* (Reykjavik: University of Iceland, 2018). Thirty-three operations occurred under the auspices of the UN, twenty-one under NATO, four under OSCE, and ten occurred as part of an ad hoc coalition.

The NATO-led intervention in Yugoslavia marked a turning point for the Danish military and Danish foreign policy. NATO's air campaign, known as Operation Allied Force, was the Royal Danish Air Force's first international experience with manned aircraft in a hostile environment.[209] During that campaign, Danish F-16 fighter aircraft played a direct combat role, dropping laser-guided bombs on Serbian military targets. On the ground in the subsequent NATO and UN peacekeeping missions, the Danish army had over 2,700 troops deployed at the same time on separate missions in Bosnia and Kosovo in 1999 and 2000. Denmark's performance during the air war in the Balkans helped alter its societal perception of the military instrument as a legitimate tool of statecraft.[210] Opinion polls conducted during the conflict highlighted strong Danish public support for the military operation and news that Danish F-16s successfully bombed Serbian targets was widely greeted with pride and joy by the public.[211] Ultimately, Denmark's participation in the Balkan campaign capped off a decade of change that resulted in a distinct political willingness to deploy Danish military forces, especially in support of NATO missions.[212]

The shift in foreign policy concerning the use of the Danish military abroad was significant considering the military was almost exclusively focused on territorial defense against the Soviet Union during the Cold War. A 2004 defense agreement that reorganized the armed forces formalized the shift in focus from territorial defense to expeditionary operations. This transformational agreement reflected operational lessons of the 1990s, political demands for

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[209] Jakobsen & Rynning, "Happy to Fight, Willing to Travel," 890; Deploying 2,700 troops is particularly impressive considering the total size of the Danish Army at that time was only 19,400, including 9,900 conscripts.
[210] Jakobsen & Ringsmose, "In Denmark, Afghanistan is Worth Dying For," 218.
[211] Jakobsen & Ringsmose, "In Denmark, Afghanistan is Worth Dying For," 218.
[212] NATO is viewed as a more effective security organization and a better fit for the Danish approach to peace operations, which tend to be more robust. Denmark's use of tanks in 1994-1995 as part of UNPROFOR was met with some criticism internationally for being too heavy-handed (Jakobsen, "Providing for Peacekeeping: Denmark").

lower defense spending, and a strong political desire to cement a "special relationship" with the US, who sought expeditionary combat contributions in the wake of the September 11th attacks[213] The 2004 defense agreement acknowledged that "the conventional military threat to Danish territory has ceased for the foreseeable future" and that changes in the international security environment required the Danish military to strengthen in two areas: internationally deployable military capabilities and the ability to counter terror acts and their consequences.[214]

Danish forces in ISAF were largely unrestricted by national caveats, experienced minimal political interference with military operations, and were able to integrate effectively into the caveat-free British forces in Afghanistan. Prior to the Riga Summit, the EOD team and members of the joint Danish-German PRT faced some caveats restricting offensive behavior by Danish PRT members. However these caveats were largely negated by the fact that these troops' German counterparts faced significantly more restrictions than the Danes. As a result, the Danish portion of the joint Danish-German PRT was tasked by their German commander to conduct the majority of the out-of-area patrolling and other tasks which their German peers were prohibited from doing because of their own caveats.[215] After the Riga Summit and by the time Denmark contributed its forces to Helmand Province in 2006, there were only two basic caveats on its forces.

The first caveat prohibited Danish forces from embedding soldiers in Afghan 'kandaks," or battalions, which some ISAF nations were doing as part of the OMLT program.[216] Denmark was far from the only ISAF member hesitant to integrate with the Afghan National Army, since

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[213] Jakobsen & Rynning, "Happy to Fight, Willing to Travel," 879.
[214] (Danish Ministry of Defence 2004)
[215] Søren Schmidt, *Afghanistan: Organizing Danish Civil-Military Relations* (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2009), 50-51.
[216] Kingsley, "Fighting Against Allies."

these forces faced greater risks by engaging in combat with an Afghan unit rather than their fellow national soldiers, which is why some states that did contribute OMLTs also put caveats on these forces.[217] However for Denmark, Danish reluctance to mentor Afghan troops appears to be due to a lack of trust in another way. The Danes officials were reportedly more concerned with the risks associated with Afghans potentially committing atrocities while Danish troops were present or in command.[218] Thus, Denmark was willing to risk sustaining casualties and were only risk-averse when it came to assuming responsibility for the harm that others might cause.[219] As mentioned above, the Danish government only removed this caveat in 2010 and agreed to stand up a garrison OMLT as part of its larger exit strategy from Afghanistan.

The second caveat was more bureaucratic than operational. Denmark's government set a hard limit on the number of troops involved with ISAF at 750.[220] This was a part of the parliamentary mandate authorizing the effort and it played a role in limiting the military's ability to significantly reinforce its effort in Afghanistan which was problematic as the British manning and resources allocated to Helmand Task Force were chronically stretched thin.[221] Given the size of the Danish army and the duration of their contribution to ISAF, the 750 troop cap was not unreasonable.[222] In fact, the strain on Danish army personnel led to Ministry of Defense to utilize air force and navy personnel in lieu of army personnel in order to stand up a garrison OMLT

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[217] As noted earlier, this was the case for the Netherlands.
[218] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in* Afghanistan, 165; The reluctance to partner with local forces in Afghanistan as part of the 2006 ISAF expansion can be traced to Denmark's experience in Iraq. In 2004, Danish soldiers in Iraq faced allegations of war crimes after at least 12 detained Iraqi insurgents were abused by Iraqi security forces during a joint operation with Danish and British forces.
[219] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in* Afghanistan, 165
[220] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in* Afghanistan, 156-166.
[221] Schmidt, *Afghanistan: Organizing Danish Civil-Military Relations*; Jakobsen & Thruelsen, "Clear, Hold, Train," 99.
[222] The Danish army consisted of around 9,000 regular active duty soldiers and was designed with the capacity to sustain 1,500 deployed personnel at any given time across all international missions.

after the government lifted the caveat prohibiting troops from embedding with Afghan in 2010.[223]

Unlike the Dutch experience in ISAF, Danish military commanders on the ground were relatively free from interference from Copenhagen. Operational decisions were not dictated by the prime minister, even though the Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen (2001 – 2009) had a passion for foreign policy and would go on to serve as Secretary General of NATO (2009 – 2014).[224] The Minister of Defense was similarly seen as ardent support of NATO and the ISAF mission and, along with Denmark's Chief of Defence delegated operational authority to the commander on the ground in Afghanistan.[225] Overall, Danish contingent was afforded a great degree of latitude and only called back to Copenhagen for authorization for rare, extraordinary events.[226]

Examination of Theory

Denmark's willingness to contribute a relatively large number of troops with few caveats, to a hostile region of Afghanistan make it decidedly different compared to the two ISAF contributors previously examined. Yet the underlying causes of Belgian and Dutch caveats are noticeable absent for Denmark.

Whereas Belgium proved a reluctant ally with a skeptical public, Denmark saw Afghanistan as an opportunity to advance its relationship with the two lead member states within NATO and a way to increase its overall standing within the alliance in a manner that was backed by the Danish public. The previous military success in the Balkans resulted in the military becoming the flagship in Denmark's new activist foreign policy, which saw a large majority of

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[223] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 166.
[224] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 165.
[225] Søren Gade, Minister of Defense from 2004 – 2010, is also a reserve officer in the Royal Danish Army.
[226] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 164-165.

Danish policymakers argue the country had an obligation to use military force to protect Denmark's interests and to promote its values.[227] So whereas Belgium looked to hedge against the costs of war in terms of avoiding military casualties, Denmark sought to make a real impact within the coalition, a sentiment Defense Minister Søren Gade captured when he summed up the rationale behind Danish contribution stating "We do not go just to show the flag. We want to make a real contribution and to make a difference."[228] Since the Danish military was not big enough to take on a leadership role within ISAF, the Danish government instead opted to partner with the caveat-free British forces in hostile Helmand Province and imposed few restrictions of their own in order to enhance its military effectiveness and to maximize goodwill with the UK and NATO.[229]

From the two-level game perspective, the Danish contributions to ISAF were a clear win on the international level. Broadly speaking, the US and NATO warmly welcomed Denmark's ISAF contribution. The Danish contribution represented exactly the kind of output that the alliance kept calling for in terms of deployable expeditionary forces that were sustainable in terms of national logistics and reinforcement and that could be put in harm's way in the combat zones where NATO needed to be engaged.[230] For all sides, Denmark's timing proved beneficial as the Afghanistan conflict (and to a lesser extent the Libya intervention in 2011) led US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates to caution that NATO was

> "turning into a two-tiered alliance between members who specialize in 'soft' humanitarian, development, peacekeeping and talking tasks and those conducting the 'hard' combat missions -- between those willing and able to pay the price and bear the burdens of alliance commitments, and those who enjoy the benefits of NATO

[227] Jakobsen & Ringsmose, "In Denmark, Afghanistan is Worth Dying For," 218.
[228] Jakobsen & Thruelsen, "Clear, Hold, Train," 78.
[229] Jakobsen & Thruelsen, "Clear, Hold, Train," 98.
[230] Jens Ringsmore & Sten Rynning, "The Impeccable Ally? Denmark, NATO, and the Uncertain Future of Top Tier Membership." In *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2008*, edited by Nanna Hvidt, & Hans Mouritzen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies) 56.

> membership, be they security guarantees or headquarters billets, but don't want to share the risks and the costs."[231]

Therefore Denmark's contribution to ISAF earned the country even greater praise and increased the standing of the country since so many other NATO members were shirking from Afghanistan.

On the international stage, Denmark's contribution to ISAF served as useful evidence for the Danish argument that the US and other NATO members should view alliance burden sharing in terms of effective troop contributions to coalition operations as opposed to the standard metric of defense spending as a percentage of GDP.[232] The contributions have also helped raise the prestige of Denmark and resulted in unprecedented interaction between the nations' leaders.[233] President George W. Bush welcomed Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen to the Oval Office, Camp David, and his personal ranch in Crawford and became the second sitting US President to travel to Denmark where he met with Queen Margrethe II and Prime Minister Rasmussen in 2005. Subsequently, President Obama would visit Denmark twice in while in office.

Overall there was a great degree of overlapping preferences between Denmark and the UK in Afghanistan. The two governments worked closely to formalize Denmark's strategy and strategic objectives for Afghanistan that could be shared with the Danish public in the form of the Danish Helmand Plan. Published in December 2007 by the Danish Whole of Government Stabilization Secretariat and the inter-governmental Task Force Afghanistan, the Danish

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[231] Robert M. Gates, "Remarks by Secretary Gates at the Security and Defense Agenda, Brussels, Belgium," (June 10, 2011), https://archive.defense.gov/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=4839.
[232] Gary Schaub Jr & André Ken Jakobsson, "Denmark in NATO: Paying for Protection, Bleeding for Prestige," War on the Rocks, July 17, 2018, https://warontherocks.com/2018/07/denmark-in-nato-paying-for-protection-bleeding-for-prestige/.
[233] In 2002, Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen was accorded an Oval Office meeting, which at the time was hailed in the press as an exceptional reception. By 2008 he had been riding cross-country bikes with President W. Bush at Camp David and had become one of just a handful close allied leaders to visit the President in his home in Crawford, Texas.

Helmand Plan closely mirrored the UK's own Helmand Plan which provided the original political basis for initial Danish contribution to the province. Each of these plans served as political documents which explained each country's objectives for Afghanistan with the domestic audiences serving as the primary audience.

Also, unlike the Dutch experience in Afghanistan, there was no doubt on the part of Danish leaders that the mission to Afghanistan was a combat mission first and foremost. When the Danish parliament voted to commit troops to the Helmand province in early 2006, it did so in the knowledge that the operation would be dangerous and likely to result in casualties as southern Afghanistan was known to be a difficult area of operations. After all, Danish special forces and fighter aircraft were already engaged in combat there and within the first year in Helmand, Denmark even deployed Leopard main battle tanks per the request of its forces on the ground.[234]

Unlike Belgium and to a lesser extend the Netherlands, Denmark benefitted from having strong government support as well as Danish public support for the military mission in Afghanistan. Succeeding governments maintained a high level of political consensus on Afghanistan through a process of continuous consultation and consensus-building where political elites supporting the mission then sustained the high level of public support by defining success in ways that did not involve 'winning' but focused instead on the attainment of realistic short-

[234] The deployment of tanks to Afghanistan exemplifies how Danish preferences regarding the use of military force abroad more closely matched those of American and British forces as opposed to the Germans, Dutch, or other contributing nations. Denmark was both willing and able to aggressively use heavy military firepower in Afghanistan where others contributing nations shirked away from offensive combat operations. Denmark demonstrated similar preferences for entrusting its military with tanks and other heavy weapons in 1994 as part of the UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During this operation Denmark deployed Snow Leopard main battle tanks against the wishes of the UN Secretariat, the UN commander in Bosnia, and the UN mediator in Yugoslavia. This marked the first time tanks had been deployed as part of a UN peacekeeping mission and turned out to be a great military success as the tanks proved decisive in repelling a Serbian ambush that resulted in 150 Serbian casualties and no Danish losses (Jakobsen, Denmark and UN Peacekeeping: Glorious Past, Dim Future 2016).

term, tactical objectives such as police training and building of schools, and by speaking with one voice to the media. This effectively reduced the Danish media to a conveyor belt passively transmitting the positive views of the political parties supporting the Afghanistan operation and the officers and soldiers carrying it out.[235]

In terms of public support, the Danish public supported participating in a military response to the September 11th attacks from the onset. The week after the September 11th attacks, Gallup International's International Poll on Terrorism surveyed respondents in 37 countries and asked questions about support for US military action. When asked whether they thought their country should participate in US military action, Denmark ranked second in terms of support for participation with over 80% of Danish respondents agreeing.[236] Successive Danish governments succeeded in maintaining the highest level of public support among the nations contributing to the NATO mission in Afghanistan, despite suffering the highest number of fatalities per capita by making a case for war that resonated with broadly shared pre-existing interests and values (national defense and support for democracy and human/ women's rights), and role conceptions (supporting NATO and US-led military operations as a responsible member of international society). As a result, Denmark maintained the second highest mean public support (49%) in the August 2006–December 2009 period, followed only by the US (55%).[237]

In contrast to the Netherlands, whose military *was* big enough to take on one of the operational leadership positions in ISAF, Denmark was largely supportive of the greater ISAF strategy and the way the British chose to implement it. When Danish forces arrived in Helmand in 2006, British forces in the region were pursuing ISAF's "ink-spot" counter-insurgency

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[235] Jakobsen & Ringsmose, "In Denmark, Afghanistan is Worth Dying For," 217.
[236] Gallup International Poll on Terrorism in the US, 37 countries, September 14–17, 2001.
[237] Sarah Kreps, "Elite Consensus as a Determinant of Alliance Cohesion: Why Public Opinion Hardly Matters for NATO-led Operations in Afghanistan." *Foreign Policy Analysis,* 6, no. 3 (July 2010), 191-215.

strategy that utilized the same clear-hold-build approach that was utilized and advocated by American forces. The Danish government's decision to make its contingent available to Britain essentially without caveats meant Danish troops essentially followed orders from and seamlessly integrated into the caveat-free British brigade and fought according to the British strategy in Helmand. If anything, the lack of caveats imposed on Danish forces and the integration into the British chain-of-command made it difficult for Danish commanders to resist British orders and directives in situations even when their own tactical priorities and readings of the operational environment differed.[238] For example, Danish commanders disagreed with British commanders regarding how far to extend forces into remote areas yet they did not refuse to deploy to these remote areas and still supported the overall British "ink-spot strategy" in Helmand.[239]

Over the course of the Afghan campaign and as British strategy evolved, Danish forces continued to follow the British lead on combat operations. This included a shift from the original strategy of occupying "platoon houses" to long-range patrols over large areas, to large-scale clearing operations in the "clear" stage of combat operations. The Danish equivalent to the US military's Joint Chiefs of Staff, Defence Command Denmark, published their own plan for the development of the Danish troop contributions to Helmand for 2008 – 2012. This provided a good basis for planning the future Danish military contributions, but the military leadership in Copenhagen did not produce a Danish-specific concept of operations for Danish operations in Helmand and thus troops on the ground continued to adopt British operational strategy.[240]

Although there were still differences of opinion between British and Danish military commanders, Danish officers reported a positive working relationship with the British brigades

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[238] Jakobsen & Thruelsen, "Clear, Hold, Train," 79.
[239] Schmidt, *Afghanistan: Organizing Danish Civil-Military Relations*, 28.
[240] Andersen, Vistisen, & Schøning, *Danish Lessons from Stabilisation & CIMIC Projects*, 32-33.

and experienced minimal problems of cooperation.[241] Ultimately, the UK proved an ideal partner for a number of reasons. The Danish military establishment viewed the U.S contribution to ISAF as too big and too difficult to plug into technologically; the Germans and the Nordics as too timid and incapable of providing combat support in case of emergencies.[242] However the British had the right size, a command culture and doctrine similar to the Danish, were willing and capable of fighting, and the two countries recently fought together in Iraq.

In the end, Denmark's military experience in the 1990s altered the Danish perception of the military instrument in the course of the 1990s to the point that the government's case for Afghanistan can be characterized as business as usual with an added element of protecting against international terrorism.[243] Denmark was thus able to capitalize on public support for the Afghanistan mission to advance the nation's reputation and standing with the US, UK, and within the NATO alliance.

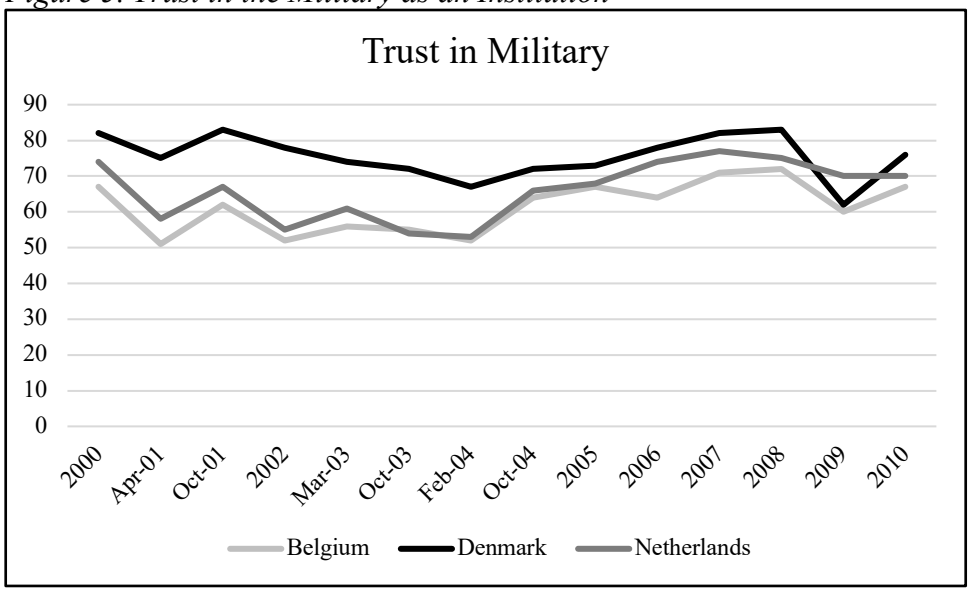
Conclusion

Unfortunately there is not one single metric or datapoint that can explain variation in caveat implementation among troop contributing nations. However the conundrum of explaining why states impose caveats begins to clear up by looking at the decision of managing troop behavior through the lens of nation-specific preferences. For example, Mello (2014) examined public support for military involvement in Afghanistan prior to the formation of ISAF using cross-national surveys with similar wording and over a large range of countries. The results show a clear difference in the public support in the Netherlands (63.6%) and Denmark (53.6%) compared to Belgium (46.5%). Yet despite the Netherlands yielding a high level of domestic

[241] Jakobsen & Thruelsen, "Clear, Hold, Train," 90.
[242] Jakobsen & Thruelsen, "Clear, Hold, Train," 83.
[243] Jakobsen & Ringsmose, "In Denmark, Afghanistan is Worth Dying For," 218.

support for military involvement, the Dutch imposed far more caveats than Denmark because of the profound difference in opinion over strategy between the Dutch and the major powers in ISAF.

Figure 5. Trust in the Military as an Institution



Additionally how a domestic public views NATO and their own government likely plays a role in determining whether or not a national government feels compelled to place restrictions on its own forces in a coalition. Eurobarometer Survey's in 2008 and 2009 asked European publics about their trust in certain institutions. Regarding NATO, the Denmark's public held the alliance in the highest regard (73.5%) of all 30 European countries surveyed, followed by the Netherlands (66%), with Belgium showing the least amount of trust (59.5%).[244] Regarding trust in their own national army the results followed a similar pattern. Eurobarometer surveys from 2000-2010 show that on average, Denmark has the highest amount of public trust (75.5%) in the

[244] Eurobarometer 70.1: Globalization, European Parliament and Elections, Building Europe, Georgian Conflict, Mobility, European Union Budget, and Public Authorities in the EU, October-November 2008; Eurobarometer 72.4: Globalization, Financial and Economic Crisis, Social Change and Values, EU Policies and Decision Making, and Global Challenges, October-November 2009.

military as an institution, followed by the Netherlands (65.9%) with Belgium's public having the least amount of trust (61.4%) in its military.

I argue that these three issues, public opinion towards a specific military operation, trust in the military as an institution, and the perception of NATO are all indicative of a state's perception of the military as a foreign policy tool and can provide insight into the types of preferences a state holds regarding the expeditionary use of military force. As demonstrated in the Afghanistan conflict, the Netherlands prioritized civilian protections which led to a pursual of a different military strategy from that of the US. Belgium prioritized avoiding military casualties which resulted in a limited use of ground forces. Finally, Denmark's preferences largely aligned with the US as the lead nation which led to a seamless integration of forces.. As will be made clear in the subsequent case studies, these preferences persist throughout subsequent conflicts.

CHAPTER FIVE
Iraq

The campaigns of Iraq and Afghanistan are often coupled together when discussing US-led military coalitions, modern counter-insurgency operations, and 21st century warfare more generally. Indeed there is a lot of overlap between the two conflicts, including their timelines. Many of the issues regarding military strategy and best practices in one campaign influenced the other. In terms of caveats, many of the issues that emerged after the 2006 extension of the ISAF mandate in Afghanistan were influenced by the Iraq campaign, which began in 2003. Both conflicts featured a limited number of states participating in the initial phases of hostilities, followed by a large and more diverse number of states joining the coalition later on. In both conflicts, there was an expectation that a short and decisive military victory at the beginning of the campaign would be followed by a reconstruction and peacekeeping mission similar to what took place with the UN-authorized and NATO-led missions in the Balkans in the mid-1990s. Instead, both coalition campaigns become saddled with a violent insurgency that undermined the security situation and state-building efforts.

In terms of differences, for the Afghanistan campaign the September 11th terror attacks spurred widespread international support for military action. The subsequent desire for a quick and decisive military response resulted in coalition forces being thrust into combat with minimal long-term campaign planning. In contrast, the invasion of Iraq proved much more controversial and lacked the same type widespread international support offered to the Afghan campaign. However the methodical build-up to the invasion of Iraq allowed for greater campaign planning and coordination among coalition members.[245]

[245] Even with the protracted build-up to the Iraq invasion, it is clear in retrospect that there was still not enough time dedicated to developing the post-invasion phase (Phase IV) of the Iraq campaign.

Regarding the issue of caveats, restrictions on national contingents existed simultaneously and throughout both campaigns. As this case study demonstrates, states participating in both campaigns faced similar caveats and restrictions in both theaters. However it speaks to the politically- and diplomatically-sensitive nature of caveats that these restrictions generated more attention in Afghanistan than in Iraq. For Afghanistan, the issue of caveats was brought up and debated through NATO channels, with the Secretary-General serving as the most critical voice to the issue. In this context, NATO, as an international organization, served as neutral arbiter for the caveat issue. This minimized the potential for the caveat issue in Afghanistan to be viewed as simply one country un-gratefully lamenting the contributions of another. As a non-NATO operation, the US largely preferred to address the issue of caveats in the Iraq coalition behind closed doors and proved reluctant to publicly shame contributing nations for caveats in Iraq like NATO had done for caveats in Afghanistan.

Also contributing to the lower profile of caveats in Iraq was the way military planners were able to more effectively manage the various caveats in order to minimize their operational impact. Here the longer build-up to the invasion allowed planners to avoid a repeat of the early Afghan campaign where troops from various contributing nations found themselves working alongside other national contingents without adequate de-confliction regarding what duties each contingent was actually authorized to perform by their own national government.[246] However in Iraq, contributing nations still implemented caveats on the types of authorized missions, geographic restrictions on where troops could operate, and restrictions on the use of lethal force

[246] For example, prior to the invasion of Iraq, US Central Command (CENTCOM)-sponsored a number of RoE conferences where military lawyers from close allies such as the UK and Australia were able to coordinate and draft national RoE consistent with US RoE. As a result of the prior-planning and communication with contributing nations' governments, the coalition's military leadership was able to maintain a RoE matrix for all contingents by the beginning of combat operations so operational commanders and staffs could track and deconflict any caveats or additional restrictions on national contingents. (Center for Law and Military Operations 2008)

in order to ensure their troops acted in accordance with each state's own capabilities, laws, and preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force.[247] Given these issues, at first glance there appears to be a difference in the quantity of caveats in Iraq compared to Afghanistan but both contributing nations actually imposed similar levels of de facto restrictions on their national contingents.

The only notable caveat-related issue that proved specific to Iraq was the stringent adherence to the limits on the length of deployments. Although contributions to Afghanistan generally came with a certain timeline attached, it was common for contributors to continuously re-new their troop commitments in a manner that made them almost seen indefinite. For Iraq, most contributing nations deployed troops to Iraq with either an explicit mandate on the length of that deployment or with a specific mission to accomplish and actually followed it.[248] For example, Thailand deployed forces to Iraq in September 2003 with the understanding that its soldiers would remain Iraq for one year and Thai forces indeed withdrew after satisfying that commitment in September 2004. Likewise, the Netherlands deployed military forces with the explicit task of reconstructing Al Muthanna Province and returning it to sovereign Iraqi control. After nineteen months of operations in the province, Al Muthanna was judged "pacified" and under Iraqi authority, so the Dutch forces withdrew.

The remainder of this chapter provides background information on the Iraq coalition, presents the Iraq conflict from the viewpoint of the US as the coalition's lead nation, and examines the caveats on the contributions of the Netherlands and Denmark to the Iraq campaign.

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[247] In Afghanistan these issues were further exacerbated by complications regarding the classifications of US RoE, which in the early phases of OEF were not shared with other contributing nations within coalition. The inability to view US RoE documents for Afghanistan forced contributing states to create their own national RoE to govern its national forces without full knowledge of the rules levied on US troops. As a result, even close military allies such as Australia adopted national RoE that still featured inconsistencies with the US RoE for OEF (Center for Law and Military Operations 2008, 344).

[248] Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 32.

What becomes clear in this examination is the same national preferences are reinforced through the use of caveats in Iraq as was the case in Afghanistan. Just as in Afghanistan, the Dutch imposed a moderate number of caveats in order to ensure its troops acted in accordance to the Netherlands'' own distinct national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force while the Danes again imposed minimal caveats and acted in concert with the Americans and British.

Background on the Iraq Coalition

In this dissertation, I use the generic term "Iraq coalition" because what actually constituted membership in the much-hyped "coalition of the willing" and other multinational efforts involving Iraq has been marked by some confusion. This chapter focuses specifically on the US-led multinational military coalition that led the invasion and reconstruction efforts in Iraq from 2003 until 2011 under the banner of Operation Iraqi Freedom and largely excludes analysis of the smaller NATO Training Mission-Iraq (NTM-I) and United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI).[249]

In the lead-up to the actual invasion, the Bush administration released a list of 48 nations who offered political, military, or financial support for US efforts in Iraq which constituted a "coalition of the willing."[250] Over the course of Operation Iraqi Freedom, 38 countries, including

[249] The NTM-I was established in 2004 as a training and mentoring mission aimed at helping Iraq create effective armed forces and provide for its own security. A total of 14 countries contributed personnel to NTM-I in theater, including: Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Turkey, Ukraine, the UK, and the US. UNAMI was a political mission established in 2003 with a mandate to advise and assist the Iraqi with advancing inclusive political dialogue and national reconciliation, assisting in the electoral process and legal reforms. It was supported by military forces from New Zealand and Fiji (Congressional Research Service, *Operation Iraqi Freedom: Strategies, Approaches, Results, and Issues for Congress*, by Catherine Dale (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2007), 52).

[250] The White House reported the following countries in the "coalition of the willing" in March 2003: Afghanistan; Albania; Angola; Australia; Azerbaijan; Bulgaria; Colombia; Costa Rica; Czech Republic; Denmark; Dominican Republic; El Salvador; Eritrea; Estonia; Ethiopia; Georgia; Honduras; Hungary; Iceland; Italy; Japan; Kuwait; Latvia; Lithuania; Macedonia; Marshall Islands; Micronesia; Mongolia; Netherlands; Nicaragua; Palau; Panama; Philippines; Poland; Portugal; Romania; Rwanda; Singapore; Slovakia; Solomon Islands; Republic of Korea; Spain;

the US, provided troops to support operations in Iraq, some of which were not original "coalition of the willing" members. Twenty additional countries provided indirect support such as basing rights, commercial shipping, overflights, and humanitarian aid.[251] Yet despite the veneer of widespread international support, only four countries, the US, UK, Australia, and Poland, directly and openly participated in the invasion phase of combat operations which began on March 20, 2003.[252]

The initial invasion phase of combat operations was swift. By April 9, 2003, US forces in Baghdad helped topple the statue of Saddam Hussein in Firdos square and on May 1, 2003, President Bush, declared an end to major combat operations during a speech aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln. Afterwards, in this initial post-major combat period of the conflict, troop commitments from contributing nations reached their peak, both in terms of the number of both countries contributing and total number of troops contributed.

It is important to note that shortly after the end of major combat, on May 22, 2003, the UN Security Council recognized the US and UK as "occupying powers," together with all the "authorities, responsibilities, and obligations under international law" that this designation entails.[253] It was not until October 6, 2003, that the UN Security Council authorized a "multi-national force under unified command to take all necessary measures to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq."[254] This Resolution marked an important milestone for several contributing nations in establishing the legitimacy of the post-war international

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Tonga; Turkey; Uganda; Ukraine; United Kingdom; United States; and Uzbekistan. White House, "Operation Iraqi Freedom: Coalition Members."

[251] Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 1.

[252] Denmark is suspected to have deployed special operations forces to assist in the initial attack but has not publicly acknowledged that fact. Germany, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Ukraine deployed military nuclear-chemical-biological defense teams in Kuwait, but did not enter Iraq during the invasion phase of combat operations (Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 6 & (Congressional Research Service 2003, 13).

[253] United Nations Security Council, "Resolution 1483 (2003)," 2.

[254] United Nations Security Council, "Resolution 1483 (2003)," 3.

presence in Iraq and opened the door for a host of countries to join the US-led coalition now that it had UN backing. UN backing also resulted in the eventual re-naming of the coalition from Combined Joint Task Force-7 (CJTF-7) to the Multi-National Force-Iraq (MNF- I).

In terms of operations, the type of missions conducted by the individual contributing nations varied. However as a whole, non-US coalition forces still played an important role by participating in combat operations, safeguarding non-combat forces, and providing reconstruction assistance.

Particularly noteworthy were the contributions from the UK, Poland, and South Korea since each of these states assumed a regional leadership role in one of the divisional areas of responsibility in Iraq.[255] However among all the contributing nations, The UK stood out as the state that contributed more troops and resources to the coalition after the US.[256]

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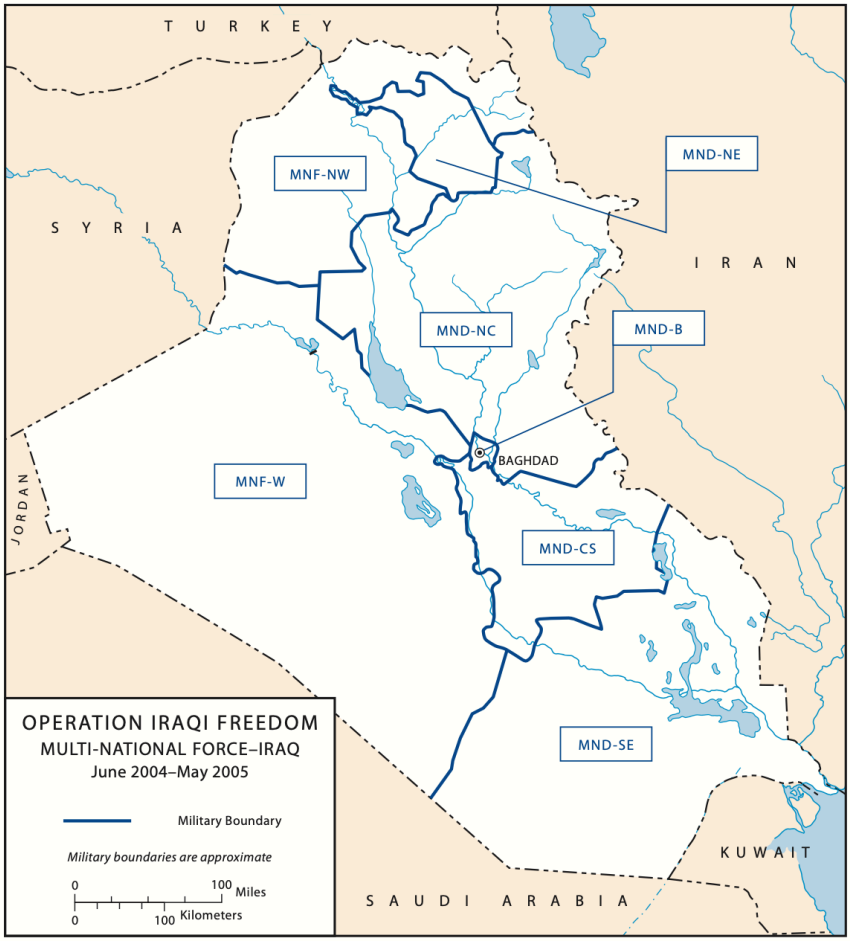
[255] CJTF-7 originally divided Iraq into six divisional areas of responsibility in 2003 although these divisional lines were adjusted on several occasions throughout the conflict. The original six divisional areas were: Multi-National Division– North (MND-N), Multi-National Division–North Central (MND- NC), Multi-National Division–Baghdad (MND-B), Multi-National Division–West (MND-W), Multi-National Division–Center-South (MND-CS), and Multi-National Division–Southeast (MND-SE).

[256] Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 121.

Map 2. Multi-National Division Boundaries (2004-2005)



Contributing nations began withdrawing from the Iraq coalition as early as 2004 for various reasons ranging from domestic political considerations to the completion of the contingent's mandate.[257] The majority of contributing nations ended their deployments in 2008 as the expiration of the UN mandate on December 31, 2008, essentially forced the remaining

[257] For example, the Dominical Republic, Honduras, Hungary, New Zealand, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Spain, and Tonga all withdrew in 2004. Spain withdrew after a new Prime Minister took office and in response to terror attacks at home. The Philippines withdrew after a Filipino contractor was kidnapped by insurgents and threatened with execution if the Philippines did not withdraw. Nicaragua withdrew due to a lack of funding while Tonga and New Zealand withdrew after completing their mission in Iraq (Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*).

coalition members to either negotiate a bilateral status of forces agreement with the Government of Iraq, or to withdraw their forces.[258]

Iraq from the American Perspective

Even today, the decision to invade Iraq in 2003 remains controversial in the US. The primary justification for the invasion, the notion that Saddam Hussein was developing WMD, proved unfounded as did the fear that Saddam would proliferate these weapons to terrorists. While the US's short- and long-term objectives in Iraq remained fairly constant, the strategy employed by the US in Iraq evolved over time.

One of the Bush Administration's key short-term goals for OIF was regime removal. In hist March 17, 2003 Address to the Nation, President Bush stated emphatically that "[it] is too late for Saddam Hussein to remain in power" and that "the tyrant will soon be gone." [259] In the same speech, President Bush declared that in the longer term, the United States would help Iraqis build "a new Iraq that is prosperous and free" and that Iraq would not be a country that was at war with its neighbors, or abused its own citizens. [260] These declarations were adopted as the basic "end state" by US military planners as the US Central Command (CENTCOM) OIF campaign plan, described the strategic objective as: "A stable Iraq, with its territorial integrity intact and a broad-based government that renounces WMD development and use and no longer supports terrorism or threatens its neighbors."[261] Over time, the Bush Administration's longer-term strategic objectives were fine-tuned, with the November 2005 *National Strategy for Victory in Iraq,* describing the long-term goal for Iraq as a country that is "peaceful, united, stable, and

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[258] Congressional Research Service, *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, 52; For example, the UK and Australia signed an agreement with Iraq to authorizing their troops to remain in Iraq for the first six months of 2009. Romania reached a similar agreement with Iraq and remained in country until July 2009.
[259] White House, "President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours," https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030317-7.html (March 17, 2003).
[260] White House, "President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours."
[261] Congressional Research Service, *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, 31.

secure, well-integrated into the international community, and a full partner in the global war on terrorism."[262]

From a military perspective, the objectives for OIF were to "destabilize, isolate, and overthrow the Iraqi regime and provide support to a new, broad-based government; destroy Iraqi WMD capability and infrastructure; protect allies and supporters from Iraqi threats and attacks; destroy terrorist networks in Iraq, gather intelligence on global terrorism, detain terrorists and war criminals, and free individuals unjustly detained under the Iraqi regime; and support international efforts to set conditions for long-term stability in Iraq and the region."[263] To achieve these results, the US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld played an active role in the planning process, consistently pushing for a quick timeline and advocating for the use of a streamlined force.[264]

For the purposes of this dissertation, the most pertinent strategy in terms of caveats in Iraq was the strategy employed in Phase IV (or post-major combat operations phase) of coalition operations.[265] During this period, the military strategy was built around four basic lines of operation, or categories of effort— political (governance), economic, essential services, and security.[266] In the "security" line of operation, military operations included aggressive combat operations focused on "killing or capturing" the adversary.[267] Eventually, US military operations employed more counter-insurgency (COIN) practices such as fencing off a town or area and strictly controlling access through the use of check-points and ID cards and basing coalition

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[262] George W. Bush, "National Strategy for Victory in Iraq," November 30, 2005, https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/iraq/iraq_strategy_nov2005.html#part2.
[263] Congressional Research Service, *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, 32.
[264] Congressional Research Service, *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, 32; This stood in contrast the 1991 Gulf War and the so-called "Powell Doctrine," which called for an overwhelming use of military force among other considerations.
[265] Caveats were not a major issue in the initial phase of the combat operations, considering only four states openly and directly participated in the invasion.
[266] Congressional Research Service, *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, 62.
[267] Congressional Research Service, *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, 61.

forces among the population as opposed to operating exclusively out of their relatively large and secure Forward Operating Bases (FOBs).[268]

By 2005 the US employed a "clear, hold, build" strategy whereby troops to clear an area from insurgent control, keep the area secure (hold), and then engage in civil-reconstruction missions. The November 2005 update to the administration's *National Strategy for Victory in Iraq* declared that success required three major tracks; security, political and economic. [269] Each track was to be pursued simultaneously and, in theory, would be "mutually reinforcing."[270] However in response to a worsening security situation, by 2007 the strategy shift again to emphasize that security was a prerequisite for progress in the other areas. The new strategy, called the New Way Forward by the administration stated "While political progress, economic gains and security are all intertwined, political and economic progress are unlikely absent a basic level of security" which was further underscored by President Bush in an address to the nation that unveiled the new strategy on January 10, 2007.[271] This new strategy and corresponding surge in coalition operations was premised on a fundamental shift from focusing on transferring responsibility to the Iraqis to population security.

The Netherlands in Iraq

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Netherlands has a long history of committing troops to out-of-area expeditionary operations. While the Netherlands joined the "coalition of the willing" relatively early in the conflict, its support for the Iraq campaign was decidedly more reserved than for Afghanistan. The US counted the Netherlands as a member of the "coalition of

[268] Congressional Research Service, *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, 62.
[269] Bush, "National Strategy for Victory in Iraq."
[270] Bush, "National Strategy for Victory in Iraq."
[271] George W. Bush, "President's Address to the Nation," (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Press Secretary: January 10, 2007).

the willing" as early as March 2003, however Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende only voiced political support for the military campaign to disarm Iraq, and stated he would not deploy combat forces in support of the invasion.[272] As this section demonstrates, Dutch support for the Iraq conflict was decidedly different than for the Afghanistan conflict yet the level of caveats and the manner in which the Dutch government oversaw its operations in both conflicts are remarkably similar. In this way, the case of the Netherlands in Iraq advances the argument that caveats are tied to differences in persistent national preferences regarding the use of military force and pushes against the notion that caveats are linked to popular support or the state's overall enthusiasm for any particular conflict.

Whereas the Dutch public demonstrated high levels of support for their own country's military involvement in Afghanistan, an EOS-Gallup Europe from January 2003 found an overwhelming majority (84%) of Dutch citizens opposed their country getting involved in the Iraq war if the US militarily intervened militarily without a preliminary decision of the UN with 61% even strongly objecting ("absolutely unjustified").[273] A subsequent Dutch opinion survey from March 2003 further noted Dutch opposition towards their own involvement, with 71% of respondents answering "no" to the statement: "The Netherlands should support the US militarily in the war with Iraq."[274] In parliament the decision to join the coalition was controversial as well and no less than five parliamentary debates were held on the subject.[275] Participation was

[272] Ironically, the Netherlands did not intend to be listed as a member of the "coalition of the willing" at this point in time but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs failed to provide this information to the Dutch ambassador in Washington prior to the US announcement. Netherlands, *Irak Rapport Commissie*, 530; (Government of the Netherlands 2010); White House, "Operation Iraqi Freedom: Coalition Members."
[273] (EOS Gallup Europe 2003); In contrast the 2004 German Marshall Fund survey found 66% of Dutch respondents were supportive of maintaining Dutch troops in Afghanistan.
[274] (Hummel 2007, 28)
[275] (McInnis, How and Why States Defect from Contemporary Military Coalitions 2019, 183)

primarily opposed by the Dutch left-wing parties, including the Greens, Socialists, and Labor Party.[276]

Dutch support for the Iraq campaign remained limited to political support in the lead up to the invasion through the major combat phase of operations. It was not until June 6, 2003 that the Dutch government decided to send an initial contingent of 1,100 troops to southern Iraq to join the British-led multinational stabilization force the following month.[277] When Dutch forces arrived in Iraq, the Dutch government insisted they were recognized as part of the UN–sponsored Stabilization Force Iraq (SFIR) and insisted on the SFIR designation. This contingent of Dutch troops ultimately consisted of as many as 1,345 personnel making it one of the largest international contingents behind the US, UK, and Italy.[278] The Dutch contribution consisted of a commando squad, logistics team, and field hospital from the Royal Netherlands Army forces, Dutch Marines, and various helicopters from the Royal Dutch Air Force. The Netherlands also deployed its military police which consists of the independent Royal Marechaussee, or Royal Constabulary.[279] These Dutch forces deployed to Iraq with the explicit task of reconstructing the Al Muthanna Province and returning it to sovereign Iraqi control. There, Dutch troops worked to

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[276] Gregory Crouch, "Dutch Send 1,100 Troops to Iraq, Relieving as Many U.S. Marines," *The New York Times* (August 2, 2002), https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/02/world/dutch-send-1100-troops-to-iraq-relieving-as-many-us-marines.html?auth=login-email&login=email.

[277] Crouch, "Dutch Send 1,100 Troops to Iraq, Relieving as Many U.S. Marines."

[278] Even though the Netherlands contributed one of the largest international contributions to the Iraq coalition, the "Netherlands only provided a limited number of capabilities and forces compared to what was initially requested by the US. In its 2010 report, the Dutch Iraq Commission released the US's formal request for military assistance from November 15, 2002. In the letter, the US requested the Dutch government provide full access, basing and overflight rights for the US and other coalition partners, participate in theater missile defense and air defense missions, contribute to civil-military operations as part of the post-conflict stability effort, and aid in nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons management operations. The US also requested the Dutch contribute an abundance of air, ground, and naval assets including F-16 fighter aircraft, Apache attack helicopters, cargo aircraft, a mechanized division, hazardous material experts, military police, engineers, intelligence personnel, medical support, constabulary forces, explosive ordinance disposal units, frigates, maritime patrol aircraft, mine warfare units and submarines Netherlands, *Irak Rapport Commissie*, 511-512.

[279] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, "Deployment in Iraq," *Historical Missions*, https://english.defensie.nl/topics/historical-missions/mission-overview/2003/deployment-in-iraq.

restore public amenities such as restoring the supply of water, electricity, fuel and telephone communications and rebuilt the police and security organizations by providing training and instruction for Iraqi security forces.[280]

The main contingent of Dutch forces provided security and civil reconstruction assistance support in Al Muthanna for only twenty months, at which point the Dutch forces withdrew after deeming the province pacified and under local Iraqi control. Only twenty-five Dutch military personnel remained in Iraq, serving as part the NATO Training Mission – Iraq until January 2012.[281]

Map 3. Al Muthanna Province, Iraq

Overview of Dutch Caveats

[280] Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 86-87.
[281] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, "Deployment in Iraq."

Although the exact number and composition of caveats on Dutch forces in Iraq remains classified, these forces are generally considered to have endured a similar level of politically-motivated restrictions to the Dutch forces participating in the ISAF coalition in Afghanistan. Indeed, the fact that for both conflicts the government restricted their forces to a certain geographic area which was exclusively under Dutch control meant the national contingents remained under direct national control at all times.[282] In terms of formally declared caveats in Iraq, the Netherlands ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence negotiated two umbrella caveats with multiple sub-points with their counterparts in the UK, which were documented in a joint Memorandum of Understanding with the British Ministry of Defence and the seven other countries whose military forces were operating in Multi-National District South-East.[283] Of these contributing nations, the Netherlands reportedly imposed the more restrictions on its forces than any other state operating in the district.[284]

The first general caveat prohibited the assumption of civil governance by Dutch forces. This meant that governing the province was to be left explicitly to Paul Bremer's Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in Baghdad and the acting Iraqi governor of Al Muthanna. The Netherlands wanted to avoid soldiers becoming governors by default as there was no CPA governorate coordinator on the ground in Al Muthanna's capital of As Samawah prior to the Dutch arrival on August 1, 2003.[285]

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[282] In Afghanistan the Dutch were responsible for all ISAF activity in Uruzgan Province while in Iraq the Dutch were responsible for all coalition activity in Al Muthanna Province.
[283] Although the Memorandum itself remains classified, the government of the Netherlands revealed pertinent information relating to caveats and the RoE in Iraq the 2007 Van den Berg Committee Report, which investigated allegations of Iraqi civilian abuse by Dutch forces, and in subsequent legal proceedings regarding Dutch forces in Iraq.
[284] Cate & Zaalberg, *A Gentle Occupation: Dutch Military Operations in Iraq 2003-2005* (2014), 57.
[285] Thijs Brocades Zaalberg and Arthur ten Cate, "A Gentle Occupation: Unravelling the Dutch Approach in Iraq, 2003–2005," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 23, no. 1 (2012), 122.

The second general caveat prohibited Dutch forces from engaging in crime-fighting or other law enforcement-type missions. The Dutch government saw this as a task for the local Iraqi police under responsibility of the CPA. As such even the Dutch Military Police platoon was only authorized to monitor and train the local police and was formally prohibited from carrying out independent crime fighting operations. On the basis of the Law of Occupation as laid down in the Fourth Geneva Convention, their British counterparts in MND-SE were entitled to apprehend and intern citizens for crimes and other security reasons but Dutch forces could only temporarily "detain" individuals. Arrests were not permitted and Dutch forces were not permitted to intern or imprison people.[286] Dutch military personnel were also forbidden from interrogating anyone. When detained, "ordinary criminals" were handed over to the Iraqi police. "Security detainees," who posed a threat to the Coalition, were handed over to the British under the condition that these individuals would not be further transferred to US forces without the explicit permission of the Netherlands.[287]

Examination of Theory

The Dutch experience in Iraq is one that, at first glance, is seemingly filled with contradictions. On one hand Dutch forces were officially authorized to take part in full-spectrum operations.[288] Yet this authorization was moot since the Dutch did not join the coalition until after invasion was complete and major combat operations were largely over with. So despite having the official authority to conduct full-spectrum operations, the Dutch contingent in Iraq was directed to pursue a military strategy that sought to minimize direct military confrontations, and the government still caveated its forces in ways that limited their freedom of action in

[286] Cate & Zaalberg, *A Gentle Occupation: Dutch Military Operations in Iraq 2003-2005* (2014), 63.
[287] The stipulation against subsequent transfer to the Americans was the result of the controversial treatment of so-called 'unlawful combatants' by the US in Guantánamo Bay in Cuba and Bagram in Afghanistan..
[288] Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 4.

important ways. Therefore, while Minister of Defence Henk Kamp maintained Dutch forces were authorized to use "robust" force when necessary, decision regarding the use lethal force proved to be quite contentious in actuality. For example, when an errant warning shot killed an Iraqi civilian trying to loot an abandoned military supply truck, the Dutch Marine who pulled the trigger was removed from the battlefield and publicly tried in a Dutch court for violating the rules on the use of force.[289] So how is one to make sense of the Dutch experience in Iraq? The first step is to examine the specific caveats imposed on the Dutch forces and look to determine the intent behind them. The next step is to determine how these caveats relate to the domestic and international pressures to contribute forces and how these caveats correspond with previously established preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force.

As outlined in the previous section, the two umbrella caveats stipulated that Dutch troops were neither allowed to assume governance tasks nor to perform public security tasks. Government documents are quite clear on the intent behind these caveats. The Netherlands holds international law in high regard and as such viewed the duties of governance and crime-fighting as two of the primary obligations of the "occupying powers" under the Law of Occupation as laid down in The Hague Convention of 1907 and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.[290] Since the Netherlands did not participate in the invasion, this meant governance and crime-fighting responsibilities fell to the US, UK, and the other invading states. Multiple parliamentary findings and sources make clear that these two major caveats were part of a larger attempt to distinguish Dutch forces as a part of an international stabilization force, distinct from the

[289] The case is known in the Netherlands as the "Eric O. Case." In it, a Sergeant-Major of the Royal Netherlands Marine Corps was charged with violating the rules on the use of force as set forth in the aide-memoire for commanders and the soldier's card for Dutch forces participating in SFIR and thereby causing the death of an Iraqi civilian. The case sparked extensive debate in the social, political, and legal arenas and an extensive review of the Dutch military legal system. Although the Marine was eventually acquitted, the case ultimately led to a change in the Netherlands' Military Criminal Code (Hosang 2020, 241).

[290] Zaalberg and Arthur ten Cate, "A Gentle Occupation" (2012), 122.

"occupiers" that participated in the initial invasion.[291] Instead, the general picture painted in the official letter to parliament prior to deployment was that the Dutch force would take on an overwatch or back-up role to Iraqi security forces, operating outside of the urban population centers and avoiding an overly visible presence with roadblocks and patrols.[292] In this sense, the caveats served to distance the Netherlands from the controversial invasion and reinforce the idea that the Netherlands was in Iraq simply to help provide the security necessary to enable civil reconstruction.[293]

The focus on differentiating themselves went far beyond what other countries participating in the coalition and is also evident by the very name the Dutch government gave it's contingent. The name Stabilization Force Iraq and abbreviation SFIR was introduced in political and civil service circles in the Netherlands as a means to distinguish the Dutch contingent from the Americans and British as the two primary occupying powers. No other contributing nation used the SFIR name, and no other members of the Iraq coalition in the region made similar efforts to distinguish themselves from the UK, US, or other coalition members. The Danes and Italians, who operated in the same region as the Dutch, simply viewed and presented themselves as belonging to the "Coalition Forces."[294] However orders from the Defence Staff back in the Netherlands also led the Dutch contingent to further differentiate themselves to the Iraqi public as well. Dutch forces marked vehicles with the words 'The Netherlands' in English and Arabic, and right at the onset of the deployment to Al Muthanna Dutch Marines distributed leaflets in the

[291] (Case of Jaloud v. the Netherlands 2014); Cate & Zaalberg, *A Gentle Occupation: Dutch Military Operations in Iraq 2003-2005* (2014); Zaalberg and Arthur ten Cate, "A Gentle Occupation" (2012).
[292] Zaalberg & Cate, "A Gentle Occupation" (2012), 123.
[293] Indeed, the Dutch Committee of Inquiry on Iraq found in 2010 that, in retrospect, the military action in Iraq lacked a sound mandate under international law Netherlands, *Irak Rapport Commissie*, 531.
[294] Cate & Zaalberg, *A Gentle Occupation: Dutch Military Operations in Iraq 2003-2005* (2014), 56. The desired distinction between the Dutch stabilization force and the occupying powers was formally laid down in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the governments of the countries within the British-led Multi-National Division Southeast. This document remains classified.

colors of the Dutch flag to announce the arrival of the new military unit and to distinguish themselves from their American predecessors.[295] When speaking to journalists Lieutenant Colonel Swijgman, commander of the first Dutch Marines in Iraq, explained "we deliberately want to be recognizable as a Dutch unit" and that "the local people will be able to see a clear difference between the troops from the different countries."[296]

This begs the question, why were the Dutch so keen to distinguish themselves from their American and British counterparts? Here it helps to examine the entirety of the Dutch contribution to Iraq through the lens of the two-level game and with respect to Netherlands recent military history.

First of all, the decision to support the invasion of Iraq politically and contribute to the support post-invasion militarily was based primarily on international political considerations.[297] There were the largely unspoken Atlantic solidarity considerations at stake and as mentioned previously in this dissertation, the Netherlands had consistently proven itself as a reliable security partner to the US since the end of WWII and throughout the post-Cold War period. As such the Dutch looked to continue their Atlanticist approach to US-led military operations when it came to the Iraq campaign.[298] Additionally, there was a desire for continuity in Dutch policy on Iraq. When it came to the issue of Iraq in 2002, the Netherlands largely aligned itself with the US and British position that advocated for the neutralization of the Weapons of Mass Destruction that Iraq was supposed to possess. Its only substantive deviation from the US and UK position was its view that pursuing regime change in Iraq had no basis in international law.[299] Meanwhile

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[295] (Crouch 2003)
[296] Arthur ten Cate & Thijs Brocades Zaalberg, *A Gentle Occupation: Dutch Military Operations in Iraq 2003-2005* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2014), 46.
[297] Netherlands (Commisie van onderzoek besluitvorming Irak), *Rapport Commissie van onderzoek besluitvorming Irak* (Amsterdam, 2010), 530.
[298] Heiko Biehl, Bastian Giegerich, and Alexandra Jonas, *Strategic Cultures in Europe*, 380.
[299] Netherlands, *Irak Rapport Commissie*, 529.

President Bush made abundantly clear in his March 17, 2003, Address to the Nation that regime change was one of his administration's goals stating "[it] is too late for Saddam Hussein to remain in power" and that "we will tear down the apparatus of terror ... the tyrant will soon be gone."[300] This difference of an opinion regarding the future of Saddam's rule was one of the reasons the Netherlands was hesitant to participate in the invasion since regime change was already a foregone conclusion in Iraq. Either way, the relationship was strong enough that the US requested and received a sizeable amount of military support from the Netherlands for the post-combat stage of operations.

On the domestic level, all political parties represented in the Netherlands' Lower House of parliament, with the exception of GroenLinks (Green Left) and later the SP (Socialist Party), had supported the previous US-British military actions that took place against Iraq between 1991 and February 2001, including those elements that were not authorized by the Security Council.[301] In regards to the 2003 conflict, despite some disagreements over Iraq policy the Dutch public was largely preoccupied with domestic matters regarding turbulent social and political developments in 2002-2003.[302] Opinion polls in the lead up to the 2003 invasion reflected the Dutch public's aversion to war with Iraq but the impact of a less than enthusiastic public support is debatable.

Caveats emerge from this context as the result of the divergence in Iraq policy stemming from the Dutch interpretation of international law regarding regime change and from the fact that

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[300] White House, "President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq Within 48 Hours."
[301] Netherlands, *Irak Rapport Commissie*, 529. This included Operation Provide Comfort/Provide Have (1991-1992), the Multinational Interception Force (1996-2000), and Operation Desert Fox (1998).
[302] One issue that encapsulated the public's attention was the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation's investigation into the Dutch government's role in the 1995 genocide in Srebrenica. The publishing of the institute's 7,000-page report blamed politicians and top military officials for the failure of Dutch UN peacekeepers to prevent the massacre and led to the resignation of the government en masse in April 2002. Other issues grabbing the attention of Dutch society was the May 2002 assassination of right-wing politician Pim Fortuyn who led an anti-immigration party and the 2002 Dutch general election.

a large-scale conventional-military invasion of a sovereign country clashed with Dutch preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force. Unlike their American and British military counter-parts, the Dutch had consistently prioritized the safeguarding of the civilian population and would rather support peace-keeping or peace-enforcing operations as opposed to direct combat operations and any other type of operation that could result in Dutch forces directly confronting Iraqi civilians. Even though the Dutch military was fairly active internationally since the end of the Cold War, the Dutch typically shied away from major combat operations. During the Gulf War, the Netherlands only contributed naval vessels, a mobile field hospital, and Patriot air defense units to the coalition but did not participate in any offensive military operations.[303] The Royal Netherlands Air Force (RNLAF) played an active role during that air campaign of Operation Deliberate Force against Bosnia Serb forces in Bosnia and Croatia from 1993-1995, but the failure of Dutch UN Peacekeepers to make a stand against Bosnian Serb forces at Srebrenica underscored the larger Dutch reluctance to engage in major combat operations.

Simply put, Dutch caveats in Iraq are again indicative of the type of military operation the government ideally wanted to participate in, even if the reality on the ground called for something else. Again, the anticipated use of Dutch forces as a stabilization force in the Article 100 Letter is revealing. The Dutch government saw the role of their national military contingent as helping to solidify the security situation in a generally peaceful province of Iraq so that the UN, NGOs, and reconstruction elements could do their job rebuilding the country. The Dutch were not looking for a direct combat role that threatened the civilian population they were there to help. This mindset of stabilization over combat is in line with the type of peacekeeping

[303] Netherlands Ministry of Defence, "The Dutch contribution to the Gulf war," *Historical Missions*, https://english.defensie.nl/topics/historical-missions/mission-overview/1990/the-gulf-war/dutch-contribution.

missions the Dutch had performed all over the world as part of UN- and NATO-led peacekeeping missions and was a mission both the Dutch government and Dutch public were comfortable with. Therefore the use of caveats can be seen as an attempt by the government to ensure that Dutch forces were operating according to national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force. This is why the missions Dutch forces were authorized to perform in Iraq were consistent with prior Dutch peacekeeping missions and the restrictions Dutch troops faced in Iraq were similar to those restrictions imposed on Dutch troops in Afghanistan.

Denmark Contribution to Iraq

In contrast to the Netherlands, the case of Denmark in Iraq is fairly straightforward. Denmark's support for the US-led coalition in Iraq was remarkably similar to the way Denmark supported ISAF in Afghanistan. In both cases Danish decision-makers contributed combat forces to the coalition largely devoid of operational caveats and volunteered their forces for dangerous tasks in hostile areas that few other nations were willing to take on. The Iraq case is particularly enlightening because the long build-up to the invasion provides amble evidence demonstrating how Denmark's military preferences, approach and attitude towards Saddam Hussein and Iraq coalesced with those of the US and UK prior to the onset of hostilities. As a result, there was little need to attach significant caveats or further restrict Danish forces in Iraq. Instead, the Iraq campaign proved to be another opportunity for Denmark to demonstrate its usefulness to the US and UK as a security partner.

Although Denmark is rumored to have contributed special operations forces for the invasion, the Danish contribution to the Iraq coalition did not formally began until April 2003

and lasted until December 2007.[304] The initial Danish troop deployment in April 2003 consisted of 380 personnel, including medical, military police, and infantry forces. The number of Danish troops in Iraq peaked at 545 personnel, a level that persisted throughout the bulk of the country's involvement in Iraq. The primary Danish contingent in Iraq served under British command as part of the Multi-National Division-Southeast (MND-SE) that also included forces from Italy, Australia, Romania, Portugal, Czech Republic, and Lithuania. Denmark also deployed an additional thirty-five soldiers to serve as guards for the UN in Baghdad and contributed ten instructors and seven guards to assist the NATO Training Mission–Iraq.[305] In addition to ground forces, Denmark also deployed a detachment of four Fennec helicopters for nighttime surveillance missions as well as frigates and submarines to patrol the Persian Gulf.[306]

Overview of Danish Caveats

Just as in Afghanistan, the Danish government maintained its contribution was caveat free; however this is only partly true. While there were not any formal caveats placed on their troops, there was an implicit understanding between the Danish, British, and Americans regarding the use of Danish troops. Overall, the impact of low level of restrictions on Danish forces was negligible considering the relatively small size of the contingent in Iraq. Furthermore, any restrictions were overshadowed by Denmark's willingness to deploy to the volatile city of Basra, Iraq's second largest city and a hotbed for Shiite militias.[307]

The primary restriction on Danish forces in Iraq was an understanding up the Multi-National Forces' chain-of-command that the country's troops were tied to the country's civilian-

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[304] Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 6.
[305] Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM* 54.
[306] Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 52-53.
[307] Lionel Beehner, "The Challenge in Iraq's Other Cities: Basra," *Council on Foreign Relations* (June 28, 2006), https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/challenge-iraqs-other-cities-basra; Denmark ultimately suffered seven fatalities over the course of its involvement in Iraq, the most in MND-SE behind the UK and Italy.

based reconstruction effort in Basra. There, Danish troops were tasked with establishing security in the Danish sector of the city, and were responsible for providing security escorts for the civil reconstruction team.[308] Also, like the majority of other national contingents, the Danish contingent lacked a formal authorization to conduct the full-spectrum of combat operations.[309] Danish forces still conducted a variety of missions including the search for biological weapons, conducting transport and mission support, monitoring prisoners at the Camp Eden detention facility, and completing civilian reconstruction projects but were not considered a fully independent fighting force.

Examination of Theory

Given the nature of the mission in Iraq, the size of the contingent, and the volatility of Basra, the low level of restrictions on Danish forces had a negligible impact on the overall perception of the country's contribution as the Danes were still lauded by both the British and American administrations for their efforts in Iraq. Almost in the contrary, the low level of restrictions placed on Danish forces in Iraq stood in stark contrast to the majority of contributing nations in the coalition and underscore the largely convergent preferences regarding the use of military force between Denmark and the US.

Whereas other contributing nations imposed caveats to limit the risk to their deployed forces or out of concerns regarding the aggressive use of lethal force by US troops, Denmark's limited caveats were again aimed at ensuring the country's contingents remained co-located and unified. For Iraq, this meant ensuring Danish military forces remained unified with the civilian

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[308] Finn Stepputat, *Synthesis Report: Civil-Military Relations in International Operations: A Danish Perspective* (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2009), 38.
[309] Only eight countries (the United Kingdom, Australia, Estonia, Georgia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Macedonia) out of the thirty-seven countries that joined the US in Iraq authorized their forces to conduct full-spectrum operations (Carney, *Allied Participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM*, 4).

reconstruction team, known as Reconstruction Unit Denmark. This proved crucial as the Danish civilian personnel involved in reconstruction and capacity-building programs depended almost exclusively on Danish military support in order to operate.[310] The lack of full-spectrum combat authorization meant Danish forces could not be independently tasked to engage in combat operations and were subsequently forced into fulfilling their primary role of providing physical security.[311] In this sense, Danish caveats on its military forces in Iraq simply ensured its forces were provided the necessary security support to its civil reconstruction teams.

Even with the prohibition against undertaking offensive combat operations, the Danish sustained a relatively high number of casualties given the size of its contingent.[312] Yet both the Danish leadership and Danish public proved willing to accept these costs. In the summer of 2004, as the Iraqi insurgency was moving to the south, a hundred Danish troops were involved in a single fight against insurgents in the town of Al Qurnah, making it one of the most serious firings that Danish forces have engaged in since the Second World War.[313] However back home, the fighting produced far fewer headlines than the allegations of torture involving the Danish forces in Iraq and did not provoke any debate over the viability of the Danish battalion's mission.[314] Reports of major firefights with insurgents did not generate debate over whether to

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[310] Kasper Hoffman, *Civil-Military Relations in Iraq 2003-7: the Danish Experience,* (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2009), 8.
[311] Danish forces still participated in search and arrest missions, conducted patrols, and carried out border control operations.
[312] Of the thirty-eight states that contributed forces to the OIF coalition, sixteen countries did not suffer a fatality. Those that did include: the US (4,418), the UK (179), Italy (33), Poland (23), Ukraine (18), Bulgaria (13), Spain (11), Denmark (7), El Salvador (5), Slovakia (5), Georgia (4), Latvia (3), Romania (3), Australia (2), Estonia (2), the Netherlands (2), Thailand (2), Czech Republic (1), Hungary (1), South Korea (1), Kazakhstan (1), and Azerbaijan (1).
[313] Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, "Camp Eden: The 2004 Defence Agreement, Military Power and Danish Values," in *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2005*, edited by Per Carlsen, & Hans Mouritzen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2005), 46.
[314] Rasmussen, "Camp Eden," 47; Danish forces were accused of being complicit in the torture and inhumane treatment of 23 civilians by Iraqi security service members following a joint operation with Iraqi security services. Although the Danish soldiers did not participate in the torture, in 2018 a Danish court ultimately found that the

continue the mission in light of the increased risks to military forces. Instead of discussing the safety and welfare of the Danish soldiers, the Danish media was wrapped up with the debate over the welfare of Iraqi prisoners under Danish care.[315]

It should also be made clear that Denmark did not elect to impose significant caveats on its national contingent in Iraq despite the fact that the country had little influence on the US military-led stabilization and reconstruction process and was not involved in the planning of the post-conflict phase.[316] Instead, just as in Afghanistan, Denmark continued to unequivocally support US policies and strategy in Iraq.[317] These policies and strategies were largely synonymous with British policies and strategy in Iraq, under whose operational command Danish forces served.[318]

Whereas differences in strategic preferences at the national level resulted in significant caveats for the Netherlands, the close operational relationship between the US, UK, and Denmark served as a continuation of the overlapping strategic preferences between the three countries. Not only did the Danish military engagement in Operation Iraqi Freedom come in response to a US desire for similar Danish military engagement like it had in Afghanistan and the Balkans, but Denmark's Iraq policy had mirrored US and UK policies since the 1990s.[319] Denmark, like the US and the UK, publicly demanded that Iraq destroy its weapons of mass destruction and decried Iraqi compliance with UN resolutions. In 2003 Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen made no secret of his agreement with the US administration and was a vocal

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Danish troops were aware that the prisoners faced a "real risk" of being physically abused by the Iraqi security forces failed to prevent the abuse (Al Jazeera 2018).

[315] Rasmussen, "Camp Eden," 47.

[316] Hoffman, *Civil-Military Relations in Iraq 2003-7*, 60.

[317] Anders Wivel and Matthew Crandall, "Punching above their weight, but why? Explaining Denmark and Estonia in the transatlantic relationship." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 2019 (17), 392-419.

[318] Danish forces in ISAF also fought under British operational command while deployed in Afghanistan and were heavily influenced by a British strategy that was analogous to US strategy.

[319] Wivel & Crandall, "Punching above their weight, but why?" 57.

critic of Saddam Hussein's Iraq regime. Additionally, by the time of the invasion, Rasmussen stressed in public and behind closed doors that, in his opinion, siding with the US served both Denmark's long-term security interests and the promotion of Danish values such as democracy and human rights.[320]

In terms of public opinion regarding the Iraq conflict, the Danish public appeared somewhat ambivalent. A January 2003 Gallup International poll surveyed representative sample of the population concerning their attitudes towards a military operation against Iraq. The survey found that just under half (42%) of Danish voiced some level of support, either in general or with Danish military involvement and a subsequent Gallup survey in May 2003, the Danish public reported overwhelmingly that the military operation against Iraq had no effect on how Danes viewed the US.[321] A February 2004 Gallup poll then asked whether or not the Danish explanation to go to war against Iraq was weakened due to the fact that no weapons of mass destruction have been found in Iraq, and respondents were still evenly split with 47% agreeing and 48% disagreeing with the question.[322] Additional Gallup surveys in May 2004 Gallup, found an even split among the Danish public regarding whether or not Denmark should be actively contributing personnel to the war against Iraq. [323] However a clear majority of Danes disagreed with the suggestion that Denmark should withdraw its forces from Iraq as a consequence of American and British soldiers being accused of abusing and humiliating Iraqi prisoners of war.[324]

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[320] Wivel & Crandall, "Punching above their weight, but why?" 57.
[321] *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2004*, edited by Per Carlsen & Hans Mouritzen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for Internationale Studies, 2004), 251-252.
[322] *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2005*, edited by Per Carlsen & Hans Mouritzen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for Internationale Studies, 2005), 183.
[323] *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2005*, 185.
[324] *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2005, 185*; The question asked was as follows: Do you agree that Denmark should withdraw its forces from Iraq as a consequence of American and British soldiers being accused of abusing and humiliating Iraqi prisoners of war? Just over a third (35%) or respondents agreed while the majority (60%) disagreed with 5% of respondents answering "don't know/neither."

Ultimately, the experience in Iraq appears to have done little to shake the use of military force as a foreign policy tool in Denmark. In the same 2007 Gallup poll which 39% of respondents approved of the decision to contribute troops to Iraq in retrospect, and only 21% of respondents viewed the foundation for the war in Iraq is still solid, respondents were unconvinced that Danish involvement in Iraq hurt the country's reputation.[325] Furthermore, a majority of respondents still supported Denmark sending troops to hot spots around the world.[326]

Given the ambivalence surrounding Danish public opinion for Iraq, it is perhaps not surprising that the government was not inclined to burden its military contingent with a multitude of caveats. Instead, a passive domestic population enabled Denmark's national leaders to engage in the Iraq conflict in a matter that fit the country's persistent preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force. This meant safeguarding the relatively smaller contingent from being split up or dispersed across the deployed environment but otherwise seamlessly integrating into American and British-led operations.

Conclusion

Regarding the issue of caveats in multinational military coalitions, the issues surrounding the Iraq campaign were remarkably similar to the issues facing ISAF in Afghanistan. While the political controversy surrounding the decision to invade Iraq may have encouraged the US to stay silent regarding the issue of caveats, these restrictions were still very much present. The fact that the states examined in this chapter exhibited similar levels of caveats in both conflicts and

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[325] *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2008*, edited by Per Carlsen & Hans Mouritzen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for Internationale Studies, 2008), 175; The question asked: Do you think it has improved or deteriorated the Danish reputation to participate in the war in Iraq? 34% of respondents answered "improved," only 12% answered "worsened," 43% answered "neither improved or worsened," and 11 % answered "don't know."

[326] *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2008,* 175; The question asked: Are you for or against Denmark from now on sending troops to hot spots around the world? The majority of respondents (57%) answered they were for continued deployments while only 27% answered they were against it.

imposed caveats aimed at achieving similar results across both conflicts underscores the notion that caveats reflect national-level preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force. Just as in Afghanistan, the Netherlands exhibited combat-averse behavior and a desire to distinguish themselves from American combat forces in Iraq. On the other side of the caveat spectrum, Denmark imposed relatively few caveats on its forces in Iraq. Just as in Afghanistan, Denmark looked to keep its contingent together and co-located during the conflict but their forces otherwise willing and able to adopt US strategy.

CHAPTER SIX
Libya

In many ways, the 2011 multinational military intervention in Libya was decidedly different from the campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq. Lasting only from March - October 2011, the Libya conflict was remarkably short and lacked a committed nation-building effort after combat operations concluded. Additionally, the intervention itself was more limited. The multinational military effort consisted of a maritime embargo to stop the flow of arms into Libya and an air campaign aimed at halting the advance of regime and mercenary forces fighting on behalf of Libya's brutal dictator, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi. Noticeably absent from this campaign was the use of multinational ground troops in either a combat or civil reconstruction role.[327] However despite these differences, the issue of caveats that plagued the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq persisted in the Libya intervention as well.

This chapter focuses specifically on the air component of Operations Odyssey Dawn and Unified Protector and again examines the contributions of Belgium, Denmark, and the Netherlands.[328] One aspect that makes examining these states particularly useful is that all three field comparable air forces. These states are all part of the European Participating Air Forces' Expeditionary Air Wing, meaning they all operate the same F-16AM multi-role fighter aircraft, train together, and have deployed in combat together before.[329] The equivalency goes even further in Libya as these three states also contributed the same number of F-16 fighter aircraft to

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[327] Very limited numbers of special forces from France, the UK and some Arab countries are reported to have operated on the ground in Libya to gather intelligence as well as to advise and train Libyan rebels (Grand 2015).
[328] The maritime dimension of the intervention mentioned above included an important arms embargo enforcement and seaborne delivery of humanitarian relief supplies, but was a decidedly less dangerous and less important to the overall Libya campaign mission.
[329] The European Participating Air Forces is a defense cooperation initiative that began in 1974 when Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway collaborated to procure a common multirole fighter aircraft, the F-16A. The initiate continued with joint aircraft upgrades and also includes joint advanced instructor pilot training and joint combat deployment.

the campaign. Yet despite the similarities, their behavior and conduct during the Libya campaign differed. As the following chapter demonstrates, Denmark earned considerable praise for their combat performance, willingness to engage a variety of ground target, and lack of caveats. Belgium similarly exceeded expectations by conducting more than their share of airstrikes and, in contrast to its experience in Afghanistan, did so with minimal caveats. Finally, the Netherlands drew the ire of NATO leadership for its use of caveats prohibiting ground strikes in Libya.

Background on the Libya Coalition

The military campaign in Libya occurred in two phases under different mission names: Operation Odyssey Dawn and Operation Unified Protector.[330] Both missions were aimed at protecting Libya's civilian populace from the dictatorial regime, who's military and mercenary forces were brutally repressing an opposition movement throughout the country. On March 19, 2011, combat operations as part of Operation Odyssey Dawn began with French fighters bombing regime forces advancing on the key city of Benghazi while the US and UK launched over a hundred Tomahawk land-attack cruise missiles (TLAMs) at key regime targets. After these initial strikes decimated Libya's antiquated air defenses, a growing coalition operating under the command of the US military initiated an offensive air campaign against the Gaddafi regime that resulted in the establishment of a no-fly zone within only 72 hours.[331] On March 31, 2011, after thirteen days of combat operations, Operation Odyssey Dawn ended as NATO

[330] Odyssey Dawn was the US military's codename for the initial stage of the Libyan campaign. While some coalition members adopted the codename Operation Odyssey Dawn, others adopted their own names for their national efforts in Libya. This include Operation Ellamy (UK), Operation Harmattan (France), Operation Freedom Falcon (Belgium), and Operation Mobile (Canada). After command of the operation was transferred to NATO on March 31, 2011, all participants adopted the official NATO mission name: Operation Unified Protector.

[331] The coalition for Operation Odyssey Dawn consisted of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, Qatar, Spain, the UAE, the UK, the US

assumed military command of the Libya campaign from the US under the banner of Operation Unified Protector.

The main difference between Operation Odyssey Dawn and Operation Unified Protector was that the later was an official NATO-led operation with the formal backing of the UN and UN Security Council Resolution 1932. Otherwise the Libya campaign's overall objective of using "all necessary measures" to protect civilians and civilian-populated areas remained unchanged. Similarly, the composition of the multinational force for Operation Unified Protector is still best categorized as a coalition despite its formal NATO affiliation since the operation included several non-NATO members such as Sweden, Qatar, and the UAE. Ultimately, twelve nations provided naval assets to enforce an arms-embargo at sea while sixteen countries provided air assets and flew sorties in support to the operation. [332] In total for Operation Unified Protector, the coalition conducted over 26,500 aerial missions, including over 9,700 strike missions, destroying over 5,900 military targets including over 400 artillery or rocket launchers and over 600 tanks or armored vehicles.[333]

The primary caveat imposed by participants in the campaign's air mission was the prohibition against conducting air-to-ground bombing missions in Libya. Of the fifteen countries to contribute combat-capable aircraft to Operation Odyssey Dawn and/or Operation Unified Protector, only eight countries authorized their forces to conduct strike missions. Abstaining from strike missions proved controversial as military leaders continuously complained that member countries had not contributed enough strike-authorized aircraft in order to accomplish

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[332] Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, the UK and US provided air and naval assets in support of Operation Unified Protector. Bulgaria and Romania only provided naval assets and Denmark, Jordan, Norway, Qatar, Sweden and the UAE only provided air assets.

[333] NATO, *Operation UNIFIED PROTECTOR Final Mission Stats* (North Atlantic Treaty Organization Public Diplomacy Division, 2011).

the coalition's military objectives. For states participating in strike missions, lesser caveats included restrictions on the types of strike missions their forces could be tasked to conduct, such as limiting forces to only pre-planned bombing missions and prohibiting dynamic or ad hoc targeting missions.[334]

Libya from the Lead Nation Perspective

The Libya campaign was a decidedly different conflict than the previous multinational military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, in that three nations shared the lead nation role and responsibilities. Unlike the two previous Middle East conflicts, the US did not lead the initial calls for military intervention in Libya. Instead, it was France and the UK that pushed for military intervention, advocating for such action at the UN, a NATO defense ministers meeting, a European Union summit, and at a G8 summit prior to the campaign beginning. It was the French Foreign Minister who ultimately introduced the resolution to UN Security Council that authorized the no-fly zone over Libya and "all necessary measures" to protect civilians. In terms of political leadership the US under President Barack Obama, reluctantly supported the political leadership of France and the UK on the Libya issue.

From a military perspective, the US played a leading role despite pronouncements of "leading from behind." Despite the fact that, France initially advocated for a joint Franco-British operation in the opening days of Operation Odyssey Dawn that would have existed concurrently with operations by other states, this idea never gained much traction with the UK. [335] Instead states joined a growing coalition under the military leadership of the US. Command and control for the Operation Odyssey Dawn phase of the Libya campaign took place at the US Air Force's

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[334] Gregory Alegi, "The Italian Experience: Pivotal and Underestimated" in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*, edited by Karl P. Mueller (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015), 226.
[335] Christopher S. Chivvis, "Strategic and Political Overview of the Intervention" in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*, edited by Karl P. Mueller (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015), 25-26.

Combined Air Operations Center at Ramstein Airbase in Germany with US General Officers atop the military chain-of command.

Operationally, the US led the military effort as most NATO air forces lacked adequate munitions stocks, air mobility capabilities, and C4ISR (command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance) assets necessary for the Libya campaign.[336] US personnel represented also the largest contingent of strategists, targeteers, and other directors and managers of the campaign as the coalition also relied heavily on the US's ability to conduct long-range, short-notice bombing missions.[337] On March 28, 2011, when the US Department of Defense conducted its final press conference on Operation Odyssey Dawn, the Pentagon noted the US flew 983 of the coalition's 1,602 total sorties, including 370 of the coalitions 735 strike sorties.[338] Later, the Air Force Chief of Staff noted the US conducted 99 percent of operational airlift, 79 percent of inflight refueling, 50 percent of airborne reconnaissance, and 40 percent of strike missions for the Operation Odyssey Dawn phase of combat operations.[339]

Once the campaign transitioned from Operation Odyssey Dawn to Operation Unified Protector, the US withdrew most of its combat assets, thereby increasing the military leadership role of the France and UK. However the US still contributed key military capabilities to the coalition, especially in terms of airlift, intelligence and targeting support, and aerial refueling. Even in their reduced role, the US military still flew more than 7,100 total sorties which

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[336] Robert C. Owen, "The U.S. Experience: National Strategy and Campaign Support" in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*, edited by Karl P. Mueller (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015), 101.
[337] Deborah C. Kidwell, "The U.S. Experience: Operational," in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*, edited by Karl P. Mueller (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015), 107.
[338] U.S. Department of Defense, "DOD News Briefing with Vice Adm. Gortney from the Pentagon on Libya Operation Odyssey Dawn," *U.S. Department of Defense News Transcript* (March 28, 2011).
[339] Kidwell, "The U.S. Experience: Operational," 135.

represented nearly 27 percent of the total sorties flown during the Operation Unified Protector Phase of the Libya campaign. [340]

Belgium in Libya

One of the more intriguing participants in Operation Odyssey Dawn and Operation Unified Protector was Belgium. After contributing a small, heavily caveated ground force to ISAF in Afghanistan and abstaining from participating altogether in the Iraq coalition, Belgium was a key contributor during both phases of coalition operations in Libya. Not only did Belgium provide a sizeable contribution of fighter aircraft to the campaign but did so largely devoid of caveats. The Libya case helps clarify that Belgium was not *conflict*-averse but rather *casualty*-averse in its own national preferences regarding the use of military force. As such, the Libya campaign demonstrated there are conditions under which Belgium's politicians and public alike support a sizeable and unrestricted contribution to a multinational military coalition. This section outlines how the conflict in Libya fit domestic expectations regarding the use of force and enabled Belgium's national leaders to maximize their position on the international stage by contributing combat forces largely devoid of national caveats.

On March 21, 2011, two days after the French, Americans, and British launched Operation Odyssey Dawn, the Belgian government almost unanimously agreed to contribute air and naval forces to the growing international coalition. The naval contribution consisted of a minesweeper to support the arms embargo in the Mediterranean but the main contribution consisted of a detachment of six F-16 multi-role fighter aircraft. Once the decision to contribute was made, Belgium did not hesitate to join ongoing combat operations. Belgian F-16 fighter aircraft conducted their first combat air patrol mission later on March 21, the same day the

[340] Kidwell, "The U.S. Experience: Operational," 146.

government elected to contribute to Operation Odyssey Dawn.[341] These F-16s initially flew defensive counter-air missions armed with currently available air-to-air weapons until air-to-ground weapons were delivered to the Belgian Air Force's deployed location in Greece. Then, six days after Belgium joined the coalition, Belgian F-16s conducted their first air-to-ground strikes on March 27, 2011.[342] During the first three consecutive days of ground-strike missions, the Belgian F-16 detachment carried out a series of airstrikes against Libyan air force installations which were subsequently publicized by the Belgian Minister of Defense.[343] Belgian F-16s continued strike missions in Libya throughout the remainder of Operation Odyssey Dawn and throughout the duration of Operation Unified Protector. When combat operations in Libya ceased with the end of Operation Unified Protector on October 31, 2011, Belgium's F-16s had completed 620 combat missions and employed 473 laser- and GPS-guided bombs.[344]

While the Belgian Air Force operated at an impressive operations tempo, typically flying two to four sorties per day for six days a week, it was their willingness to conduct strike missions that distinguished them from the majority of coalition participants.[345] Once Belgium delivered the requisite air-to-ground weapons to their deployed F-16s, almost all subsequent Belgian sorties were designated as strike missions, with only five percent of the total sorties consisting of defensive counter-air patrols. The other 95% of missions were either deliberate pre-planned

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[341] Belgian F-16s were able to fly combat missions on the same day as the government opted to join the coalition because the Belgian Air Component already had a detachment of F-16 fighter aircraft deployed to Araxos Air Base in western Greece for an un-related military exercise.
[342] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 290.
[343] Belgian Minister of Defence Pieter De Crem publicly released images of a Belgian forces' airfield attack, showing the destruction of a Libyan Sukhoi Su-22 on the ground in the days following the attack.
[344] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 293.
[345] Only eight nations (the US, France, Great Britain, Canada, Italy, Denmark, Belgium, and Norway) of the fifteen countries contributing to Operation Unified Protector participated in strike missions. Jordan, the Netherlands, Qatar, Spain, Turkey, and the UAE contributed combat aircraft but did not conduct air-to-ground strikes.

targeting missions or dynamic targeting missions where the F-16s struck targets of opportunity in designated "hot spots" as they emerged.[346]

Overview of Belgian Caveats

In contrast to the Belgian ground mission in Afghanistan that was subjected to numerous caveats and restrictions, the Belgian Air Force operated in Libya with minimal interference from Brussels. On March 21, 2011, when the Belgian government approved Belgium's entry into Operation Odyssey Dawn, the government also elected to adopt the coalition's RoE as their own national RoE with the exception of only a single additional caveat. Whereas Belgium's caveats in Afghanistan were largely designed to limit the risk to Belgian military personnel on the ground, the lone Belgian caveat for the Libyan air campaign was an additional measure to avoid unintentionally harming civilians. The caveat stipulated that civilian casualties must be avoided at all times and that Belgian pilots were not to employ their weapons if they suspected civilians were present, leading Belgian pilots to adopt a simple rule of thumb that "when there is a doubt, there is no doubt: NO DROP."[347]

As with most air forces conducting strike missions, the pilots in the cockpit are ultimately responsible for avoiding civilian casualties, but they are provided a great deal of support from the operations center. Belgium's pilots participating in the Libya campaign were supported by a nation representative serving as a "Red Card Holder" and a Belgian legal advisor at the Air Operation Center where each mission was planned.[348] As with most other coalition members, Belgium's Red Card Holder and the legal advisor were responsible for approving all pre-planned

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[346] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 293; 30% of the total missions were deliberate strike missions while 65% were dynamic targeting missions.
[347] Jos Schoofs, "Operation "Freedom Falcon,"" *Wings*, (March 2012), 17.
[348] Operation Odyssey Dawn was led from the 603rd/617th Air Operations Center at Ramstein Air Base in Germany. When NATO assumed control under Operation Unified Protector, command and control of air operations were transferred to the NATO Combined Air Operations Center at Poggio Renatico, Italy.

targets and were included in mission planning process to ensure any potential targeting issues were addressed early on. Again, this type of review was not a unique requirement by the Belgian Air Force but rather standard procedure for coalition partners participating in strike missions for both Odyssey Dawn and Unified Protector.

Examination of Theory

Interestingly, one aspect of the Libya campaign that was different from previous Belgium military engagements is that the Belgian parliament was arguably in a better position to implement caveats on its forces than at any other time in its history. Pursuant to Article 167(1) of the Belgian constitution, the King (which in practice means the Government or the executive power) possesses the right to formally declare war and the decision to deploy Belgian armed forces to military operations abroad is taken by the Government alone. The constitution only stipulates Belgian Parliament should receive information on the decision by governmental note *ex post,* as soon as national interest and the safety of the state permit it.[349]

However, since the Belgian government was in dismissal and reduced to a caretaker role at the time of the Libya crisis, the executive prerogative was put into question by constitutional experts, resulting in a cross-party consensus that the government could only act on the basis of a parliament authorizing Belgian participation.[350] Thus, the Libya conflict marked the first time the Belgian Parliament was asked for prior authorization regarding a foreign military deployment.[351] Yet participation in the Libya coalition was approved with near unanimity, with only one dissenting vote.

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[349] Sandra Dieterich, Hartwig Hummel, & Stefan Marschall, *Parliamentary War Powers: A Survey of 25 European Parliaments* (Düsseldorf: Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2010), 53-54.
[350] Yf Reykers & Daan Fonck, "Who is controlling whom?: An analysis of the Belgian federal parliament's executive oversight capacities towards the military interventions in Libya (2011) and Iraq (2014-2015)," *Studia Diplomatica,* 68, no. 2, 98.
[351] This process was later repeated in 2014 to approve the deployment of F-16 fighter aircraft and 120 ground support troops to Iraq to fight the self-proclaimed "Islamic State" terror group.

So why was there such a disparity between in government interference between the Afghanistan conflict and the Libya conflict? Again, the answer comes back to the two-level game and the realization that on the domestic side, Belgian casualty aversion shapes military deployment preferences and use of force decisions. As a result, Belgian officials prefer to support multinational military coalitions with less risky contributions of air and naval forces. With Belgium's public favoring these types of less risky missions, Belgium's national leaders are able to maximize their position on the international-level by contributing without imposing loathsome caveats.

As discussed previously in the Afghanistan chapter, Belgium's government implemented a number of caveats aimed at protecting its ground troops deployed to Afghanistan in support of ISAF. Belgian casualty-aversion preferences resulted in a minimal deployment with significant restraints imposed on Belgian troops as there was no way to eliminate the threat given the unconventional nature of the conflict. Even though Belgian ground troops initially operated in the relative safety of Kabul International Airport and in the relatively northern province of Kunduz, the key word is relative. These troops still faced a wide range of threats including improvised explosive devises, suicide bombers, and indirect fire. Even with Belgium's limited contribution and use of casualty-averting caveats, one Belgian soldier was killed and more than a dozen were wounded by enemy fire while serving under ISAF command in Afghanistan.

However in order to understand the lack of caveats in Libya, it is important to grasp the drastic difference between the threat environment on the ground in Afghanistan and the threat to pilots in advanced fighter aircraft operating over Libya. While Libya used to possess fairly formidable air defenses during the Cold War, these capabilities deteriorated in the post-Cold War period to the point where these now-antiquated systems were easily destroyed during the opening

salvos of Operation Odyssey Dawn.[352] As a result, the threat to air operations in Libya was negligible and pro-Qaddafi forces were unable to impede the coalition's air operations. Coalition members did not suffer a single fatality in either Operation Odyssey Dawn and Operation Unified Protector.[353]

Given the disparity of threat facing ground troops in Afghanistan and pilots flying over Libya, a more insightful comparison can be made between of caveats placed on Belgian air operations in Libya and Belgian air operations in Afghanistan. After all, the threat to air operations in Libya was very similar to the threat to air operations in Afghanistan where pilots operating the same F-16 fighter aircraft operated with a similar degree of impunity. In Afghanistan, the Taliban lacked advanced air defense systems and was initially thought to wield a surface-to-air weapons inventory consisting of man-portable surface-to-air missiles, antiaircraft artillery (AAA) guns of calibers up to 100mm, and an undetermined number of US-made Stinger shoulder-fired infrared surface-to-air-missiles (SAMs) left over from what the US supplied to the mujaheddin during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan during the Cold War.[354] While there were incidents of AAA fire in Afghanistan, there were no confirmed reports of any Stinger infrared SAMs having been fired and the threat to air operations was considered negligible by the time Belgian F-16s arrived in 2005.[355]

So how did Belgium caveat its air forces in Afghanistan? Belgium actually employed fewer caveats on its air forces in Afghanistan than it imposed on its ground forces there. With the

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[352] Frederic Wehrey, "The Libyan Experience," in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*, edited by Karl P. Mueller (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015), 46.
[353] Karl P. Mueller, "Examining the Air Campaign in Libya," in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*, edited by Karl P. Mueller (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015); The only known loss of an aircraft occurred on March 21, 2001 when a US Air Force F-15E crashed due to mechanical issues while conducting a strike mission but both crewmembers were rescued unharmed.
[354] Benjamin S. Lambeth, *Air Power Against Terror: America's Conduct of Operation Enduring Freedom* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2005), 77.
[355] Lambeth, *Air Power Against Terror*, 89.

ISAF expansion, Belgian politicians utilized airpower to do the heavy fighting in the volatile southern provinces, and deployed an F-16 detachment to Kandahar in early 2008 in lieu of ground troops. Unlike other air forces operating in Afghanistan, Belgium's F-16 fighter aircraft faced minimal interference from Brussels, flying armed and authorized to use lethal force.[356] Belgian F-16s also took on demanding combat tasks such as ground alert for close air and maintained a presence at Kandahar Airfield until the end of 2014, when Belgium began its larger withdrawal from Afghanistan.[357]

Not only was Belgium's air campaign in Libya similar to Belgium's previous air campaign in Afghanistan but is indicative of Belgian's preferred use of airpower since the late 1990s. Belgian aircraft, including cargo aircraft, were increasingly called upon to support UN missions even as Belgium reduced its overall support to UN missions after the 1994 Rwanda incident.[358] In terms of air-to-ground combat missions, Belgium's first major combat air campaign in the post-Cold War era occurred during Operation Allied Force, NATO's 1999 air campaign over Kosovo. During this operation Belgian F-16s were authorized to conduct strike missions and employed 271 weapons over the course of the conflict.[359]

The notion of a Belgian preference for low-risk air and naval campaigns over ground offensives is also supported by surveys of public opinion in Belgium. A 2017 representative survey about public attitudes towards missions of the Belgian Ministry of Defense found that two-thirds of Belgians supported the use of F-16 missions abroad while only 58% of the population approved of Belgian military support to foreign governments for reforming their

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[356] Schoofs, "Operation Guardian Falcon." For example, Italy and Germany prohibited their combat-capable aircraft from carrying weapons in Afghanistan.
[357] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 288.
[358] Koops & Drieskens, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium."
[359] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 270.

security sector, including the military.[360] These sentiments coincide with prior Belgian public support for the individual combat missions in Afghanistan and Libya.

Belgium's public offered strong support for the military enforcement of a no-fly zone and strikes against regime forces in Libya. An international poll conducted after the beginning of Operation Odyssey Dawn by Ipsos for Reuters News found that Belgium's public offered the greatest support for the ongoing military actions in Libya among all NATO members and second most of all countries surveyed.[361] This level of support persisted throughout the duration of the conflict, as additional Ipsos polling found Belgium retained the strongest level of support for the operation among NATO members.[362] In contrast, Belgium's public offered only lukewarm support for Belgium's mission in Afghanistan from the very onset of the conflict in 2001.[363] The disparity in the likelihood of suffering casualties for ground troops compared to aircraft or naval vessels in these multinational military coalitions helps explain why participation in combat operations by the air and navy components is largely uncontroversial for Belgium's public.[364]

Ultimately, Belgium's political leaders did not deviate from national preferences regarding use of force in Libya. To the contrary, Belgium's participation in the Libya campaign continued to show how the shadow of the Rwanda incident still influences national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force. During the debate in parliament regarding authorization of the Libya mission, members of the Joint Committee on Defense and Joint

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[360] Delphine Resteigne and Philippe Manigart, "Boots on the streets: a "policization" of the armed forces as the new normal?" *Journal of Military Studies,* (2019), 22-23.
[361] Ipsos, "Ipsos Global @dvisory: Majority (60%) of Global Citizens Support NATO's Military Intervention in Libya," *Ipsos Global @dvisory* (May 11, 2011); Only South Africa reported greater support with 83% of respondents supporting the ongoing military action.
[362] Ipsos, "Majority (64%) of Global Citizens Believe Death of Muammar Gaddafi Will Lead to Stability in Libya: But Only a Third (32%) Say His Execution Was Acceptable" *Ipsos Global @dvisory* (December 12, 2012).
[363] In Gallup International's End of Year Terrorism Poll for 2001, only 52% of Belgian respondents supported the US-led military action in Afghanistan and an even smaller number (50.5%) thought Belgium should take part in the military action with the US
[364] Sven Biscop, "Belgian Defence Policy: The Fight Goes On," *The Security Policy Brief*, (2011).

Committee on Foreign Affairs stressed the necessity of following the 1997 Rwanda investigation committee's recommendations regarding participation in multinational military coalitions. Overall the conditions under which the Libyan campaign was fought aligned perfectly with Belgian preferences regarding military action. Specifically, the stringent "no boots on the ground" stance taken by the US and other key members of the coalition largely removed any impetus for Belgium to place restrictive caveats on its contribution to the Libya coalition. Had the threat to air operations been higher in Libya, or if members of the coalition had openly deployed ground troops to the frontlines of Libya in either conflict, Belgium might have taken a different approach to managing its military involvement. Instead, Belgium's political leaders were presented with a situation where there was no need implement casualty-averting restrictions on its forces in the Libya coalition and could instead look to maximize their position on the international level.

On the international level, Belgium was in a position where making a sizeable and unrestricted contribution to the Libya coalitions could result in considerable gains among chief allies and international organizations. Specifically, the full utilization of Belgium's air combat capabilities stood to improve Belgium's standing with France, the US, NATO, and the UN. The fact that the French took a leading political and military role in the coalition was important. France is arguably Belgium's closest ally and international partner, and is even referred to as Belgium's "big sister."[365] In Belgian politics, France is widely thought of as a power whose actions generally inspire confidence and France's proactive role influenced a number of Belgian decisionmakers, particularly among the French-speaking liberals.[366] Therefore the fact that

[365] Kingdom of Belgium, "Western Europe Policy," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation*, https://diplomatie.belgium.be/en/policy/world_regions/western_europe.
[366] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 289.

France actively applied the pressure on Belgium to participate in the Libya campaign should not be overlooked.

Participation in the Libya conflict also provided Belgium's government with a welcome opportunity to improve the country's relationship with the US and demonstrate Belgium's usefulness as a security partner and NATO ally. This was especially important considering the diplomatic fallout that occurred after Belgium rejected both NATO's proposed involvement in Iraq as well as Belgium's own involvement in the Iraq War. In Libya, Belgium could help mend the relationship, by meeting the US's need for members willing to conduct bombing missions.

To the UN audience, participation in the Libya campaign served as an opportunity for Belgium to practice what it preached as its participation was in line with the professed foreign policy concepts of "humanitarian activism" and "ethical diplomacy" that had been championed by former Minister of Defense André Flahaut in the year's preceding the conflict.[367] The Belgian government often stressed its normative commitment to multilateralism and the UN system at large, and was a vocal supporter of including a "protection of civilians" dimension in peacekeeping mandates.

Furthermore, Belgium's experience in Libya fails to sync with some of the other explanations for why states caveat their military forces. In terms of security motivations, Belgium did not face a direct threat from Libya and Muammar Gaddafi's regime. Belgium certainly faced an indirect threat given how Gaddafi threatened to unleash waves of African migrants across the Mediterranean to Europe. However this was an issue that primarily threatened Europe's "southern flank" more than Belgium itself.

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[367] Koops & Drieskens, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium," 4.

For their part, Auerswald & Saideman (2014) look to explain the difference between the heavy use of caveats on ground forces in Afghanistan and the lack of caveats on the air force in Libya by pointing to the caretaker government in charge. They argue that "Belgium went from a multiple-veto player, fragile coalition government" for Afghanistan to "essentially no veto-players and a much more flexible mission in Libya." They point to a supposed lack of accountability that allowed the government cabinet more freedom of action than it would otherwise have in a standard coalition government.[368]

However this explanation comes short for two primary reasons. First, the governmental structure argument does not explain variation in how Belgium discriminated in how it caveated its ground forces compared to its air forces in Afghanistan. The second reason is that their explanation for the lack of Belgian caveats in Libya overlooks the Belgian parliament's unprecedented ability to impose caveats if they had chosen to do so. Specifically, the Special Committee for the Monitoring of Foreign Missions (SCMFM), which was initially set up following the recommendations of the Rwanda investigative committee (1997), overseas technical and highly sensitive military matters regarding foreign military deployments including caveats and national RoE.[369] Membership in this reflects the allocation of seats in the general Chamber and therefore members of the committee were well positioned to press for caveats had they wanted them. But ultimately, as Auerswald and Saideman later acknowledge, the government had few restraints because of its overall popularity.[370]

Ultimately, the Libya crisis represented the ideal scenario for the employment of the Belgian military. The campaign was an air-centric effort for which Belgium was both well-

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[368] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan,* 208.
[369] Reykers & Fonck, "Who is controlling whom?," 95.
[370] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 208.

equipped and well trained to participate in. However even more important was the fact that the nature of the operation was low-risk in terms of potential casualties. The low risk nature of the operation resulted in wide-spread public support for the use of force against a brutal dictator thus allowing Belgium's politicians to unleash the full force of their air force without imposing overly burdensome political restraints. Belgian forces were thus able to operate with impunity, advancing the credibility of the force and earning hearty praise from their international peers.

The Netherlands in Libya

For the 2011 Libya campaign, the Netherlands was positioned to play yet another prominent role in a US-led multinational military coalition. Yet this conflict seems to stand out at first glance as a departure for the Dutch in that the Netherlands was more cautious and reserved with its contribution to the Libya coalition compared to previous US-led multinational coalitions. However careful analysis of the Dutch experience in Libya shows that the Netherlands did not suddenly employ a risk-averse policy for this conflict nor was the Netherlands looking to buck-pass. Instead, just as the Dutch had done in the Afghanistan and Iraq campaigns, the Netherlands differed in the preferred military strategy, demonstrating a heightened concern about the use of lethal force and potential civilian casualties, and sought to distinguish themselves as separate from the US and other international participants in the coalition.

On March 22, 2011, three days after the French initiated airstrikes against regime forces as part of Operation Odyssey Dawn, the Dutch government decided in favor of contributing military forces in support of the NATO-led mission in Libya. The contribution consisted of six multi-role F-16 fighter aircraft, an aerial refueling aircraft, and a mine-hunting vessel. While airstrikes under Operation Odyssey Dawn had already begun at the time of this initial decision to support NATO; the alliance had not yet made an official decision on implementing a No-Fly

Zone. Thus, the NATO mission at that time was limited to an arms embargo. The Dutch decision to contribute forces was contingent on those forces remaining exclusively under NATO command and control, meaning the Netherlands was signing up to support what would become the NATO-led Operation Unified Protector and its forces were not to be used in the ad hoc coalition that was fighting under the banner of Operation Odyssey Dawn.[371]

In the Mediterranean, the HNLMS Haarlem and later the HNLMS Vlaarding took part in mine countermeasures operations off the Libyan coast from April through September 2010.[372] However the main effort for the Libya campaign and for the Netherlands was the air component and the Royal Netherlands Air Force (RNLAF) began flying operations over Libya on March 28, 2011. Initially the Dutch flew counter-air missions off the coast of Libya as the Dutch government prohibited their aircraft from flying over Libyan soil until mid-May. Dutch F-16s contributed to the enforcement of the maritime arms embargo and no-fly zone, but only flew armed and authorized to intercept regime aircraft with air-to-air weapons. Despite being capable of conducting ground strikes, the Dutch F-16s were not permitted to conduct airstrikes against ground targets. Instead these aircraft were tasked with missions such as defensive air patrols, escorts for bombers, and in a non-traditional intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capacity.[373] By the end of Operation Unified Protector, Dutch F-16s conducted 639 total sorties, consisting of at least 2,940 flight hours.[374]

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[371] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 296.
[372] (Netherlands Ministry of Defense 2015)
[373] Non-traditional intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance is the concept of utilizing sensors not normally used for intelligence collection purposes, such as those found on fighter or bomber aircraft, as part of an integrated collection plan developed at the operational level for preplanned, on-call, ad hoc, and/or opportune collection (United States Air Force 2007, 6)
[374] (Netherlands Ministry of Defense 2015)

Overview of Dutch Caveats

Given the limited nature of the campaign in Libya, the level of caveats imposed by the Netherlands on its participating forces was considered high, even though there were essentially only three caveats imposed by the national government. The most significant caveat placed on the RNLAF was the prohibition against conducting airstrikes against ground targets. Less impactful was the caveat that prohibited the Dutch F-16s from flying over Libyan soil during the first month and a half of combat operations and the caveat that Dutch assets were only to fall under NATO command.

While the prohibition against attacking ground targets was certainly the main caveat that limited the effectiveness of the Dutch F-16s in Libya, these "lesser caveats" still limited the Netherlands' impact to the Libya campaign albeit minimally. The mandate to operate exclusively under NATO control meant Dutch F-16s were effectively sidelined from participating in the early stages of combat operations that took place under the banner of Operation Odyssey Dawn. However given that NATO assumed responsibility for the no-fly zone only four days after the Dutch decision to contribute lessened the impact of this restriction on the larger Libya campaign.

The restriction from flying over Libyan territory limited the usefulness of the Dutch F-16s more in terms of opportunities lost than in direct mission effectiveness. By the time Dutch F-16s began flying air-to-air missions to enforce the no-fly-zone, almost all regime aircraft were either already destroyed during Operation Odyssey Dawn or were under the control of anti-Gaddafi forces.[375] In either event, in terms of the primary mission there were no aircraft left for the Dutch F-16s to intercept, so it did not matter whether or not Dutch F-16s were prohibited

[375] Many Libyan air force officers actually joined the revolt against the regime and formed the Free Libya Air Force. Some even flew close air support, maritime interdiction, and reconnaissance missions while at least one attempted an air-to-air intercept of a regime aircraft (Wehrey, "The Libyan Experience, 43).

from flying over land or not. This restriction from flying over Libyan soil did however, reduce Dutch F-16s ability to be used in a non-traditional intelligence collection role. All Dutch F-16s were equipped with the Litening Advanced Targeting Pod which enabled these aircraft to perform non-traditional intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance of ground- and sea-based targets.[376] The coalition could have benefited more from this capability if the Dutch were authorized to fly over land from start of Operation Unified Protector since the system was only initially used to monitor the regime's limited naval activity due to the range of the system. The RNLAF was only able to utilize this capability against critical ground targets after the aircraft were authorized to fly over Libyan soil. In general though, a non-traditional intelligence-gathering capacity is considered a secondary mission for F-16 fighter aircraft and NATO would almost certainly have preferred to task Dutch F-16s with strike missions instead of intelligence collection missions had they been permitted to do so.

The main caveat that limited the effectiveness of the Dutch F-16s in Libya was certainly the prohibition against attacking ground targets. Simply put, the Libya campaign was a bombing campaign at its core and the Netherlands refused to drop bombs. This was a major point of contention among coalition members because of the shortage of aircraft authorized to conduct bombing missions. For the Netherlands, the decision to abstain from conducting strike missions was particularly disappointing for the coalition's leaders because the Dutch fielded one of the most capable and active air forces in Europe.

Examination of Theory

In terms of its recent military history, the imposition of highly restrictive caveats on the RNLAF in Libya appears to be an outlier for the Netherlands. In the 1990s, the RNLAF was a

[376] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 293.

leading contributor and conducted bombing missions as a part of the air combat operations over Bosnia and Kosovo in NATO's Operation Allied Force and Operation Deliberate Forge.[377] In Afghanistan too, Dutch F-16s supported both OEF at the beginning of the conflict and later ISAF with aircraft authorized to conduct strike missions.

Some scholars and commentators suggest the Netherlands' more restrained participation in Libya was the result of fatigue from the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.[378] After all, disagreement over whether or not to keep Dutch troops in Afghanistan caused the governing coalition in the Netherlands to fall in 2010 and public survey data regarding Afghanistan shows that while initially the Dutch strongly supported military involvement in Afghanistan, the Dutch public largely soured on the Afghan mission by 2011.[379] At the beginning of the Libya campaign, less than a third of the Dutch public was confident Afghanistan could be stabilized and pessimism was equally pervasive about the future stability of Iraq.[380]

Yet despite the pessimism surrounding the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Dutch people were again ranked among the highest in Europe in surveys regarding public support for

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[377] (Netherlands Ministry of Defense n.d.)
[378] Saideman & Auerswald, "Comparing Caveats."
[379] German Marshall Fund, *Transatlantic Trends 2004*, (Washington, D.C., 2010), 13.
[380] Transatlantic Trends surveys from 2009 – 2011 asked international respondents about their confidence about stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan. In 2009, 36.8% of respondents said they were optimistic (2.2% very optimistic and 34.6% somewhat optimistic) about stabilizing Afghanistan. The number of optimistic respondents dropped to 29.4% (5.1% very optimistic and 24.3% somewhat optimistic) in 2010 and then to only 28.8% (5.7% very optimistic and 23.1% somewhat optimistic) in 2011. The 2009 Transatlantic Trends Survey found that only 39% of Dutch respondents were reportedly optimistic about the future stability of Iraq and this number further declined to 33.1% in the 2010 survey.

military action in Libya.[381] Only by examining the Dutch contribution and use of caveats in

	Approval of military action by international forces in Libya?					
	Approve Very Much	*Approve Somewhat*	*Total Approve*	*Disaprove Somewhat*	*Disapprove Very Much*	Total Disapprove
Sweden	33.3	39.8	73.1	17.3	9.7	27.0
Netherlands	26.8	40.5	67.3	18.3	14.3	32.6
United States	17.9	46.1	64.0	24.6	11.4	36.0
Portugal [a]	13.0	47.4	60.4	29.6	9.9	39.5
France	23.1	36.9	60.0	22.1	17.7	39.8
United Kingdom	19.1	38.6	57.7	24.3	18	42.3
Spain	15.1	41.2	56.3	27.9	15.8	43.7
Italy	13.0	35.7	48.7	29.6	21.7	51.3
Bulgaria [b]	13.3	35.4	48.7	30.1	21.2	51.3
Romania [b]	6.1	38.2	44.3	31.8	23.8	55.6
Poland [a]	8.0	34.8	42.8	38.8	18.5	57.3
Germany [a]	11.6	28.1	39.7	38.7	21.6	60.3
Slovakia [a]	4.2	27.5	31.7	42.4	25.9	68.3
Turkey	8.7	16.4	25.1	23.1	51.8	74.9

[a] Did not participate in the coalition

[b] Only contributed naval forces to the coalition

Source: Transatlantic Trends Survey, 2011

Libya through the lens of the two-level game and national preferences on the use of military force does it becomes clear that the Libya conflict is not as much of an outlier for the Dutch as might be expected. Rather it becomes clear that on the domestic level, the Dutch government used caveats as a tool to maintain public support by continuing to advocate for military strategies and policies that minimized the possibility of civilian deaths or collateral damage. On the international level, the Dutch government's use of caveats reflects yet another divergence between the Dutch and the coalition's leaders regarding the overall strategy employed. Thus the Dutch contribution and use of caveats reaffirmed the continuation of combat-averse national preferences regarding the employment of military force coming to fruition during coalition operations.

[381] Only 45% of the people in the EU approved of their governments' handling of the situation in Libya, but opinions varied greatly within the EU countries surveyed. The Swedes, at 65%, were the most approving of their government's policy toward Libya followed by the Dutch (61%). Just about half of the French (52%) and the British (50%) and 42% of the Germans and Italians supported their governments' policies in Libya (Zsolt Nyiri & Ben Veater-Fuchs, *Transatlantic Trends: Key Findings 2011* (2011), 9).

Just as the Netherlands had done in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Dutch government imposed caveats on its military forces that limited the possibility that Dutch forces would accidently kill or injure civilians on the ground. While in Iraq and Afghanistan this meant reserving the use of lethal force as a matter of last resort for both its air and ground forces, in the skies over Libya the government went a step further and prohibited its aircraft from dropping bombs altogether.

With this in mind, it is important to recognize that the Libya conflict itself was dramatically different from the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts in ways that made it far more challenging for aircraft overhead to differentiate between friend and foe. In Iraq and Afghanistan, airstrikes were typically called in by personnel on the ground who required air support while they actively fought against the Taliban or other insurgents themselves. In Libya, the lack of coalition troops on the ground meant the pilots in the cockpit were ultimately responsible for differentiating between forces from the air. The difficulty of this task was compounded by the fact that regime forces discarded their uniforms to blend in with opposition forces, were highly mobile, and used information gathered from press broadcasts about NATO limitations to adapt their tactics on a daily basis to counter air strikes.[382] For example, Qaddafi forces abandoned their tanks and armored personnel carriers in favor of civilian vehicles mounted with heavy weapons, since these improvised vehicles were commonly used by the opposition forces as well. When Western military advisors and intermediaries instructed the rebels to mark the hoods and roofs of their vehicles with a simply painted "N," Qaddafi's troops started to do the same thing.[383] When opposition forces switched to painting their hoods with a yellow or orange fluorescent paint, the regime forces switched paint colors as well.[384]

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[382] Christina Goulter, "The British Experience: Operation Ellamy," in *Precision and Purpose: Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*, edited by Karl P. Mueller (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2015), 167.
[383] Wehrey, "The Libyan Experience," 58.
[384] Wehrey, "The Libyan Experience," 58.

Given the lack of real-time communication between forces on the ground and pilots in the air, the inexperience and lack of discipline among opposition troops,[385] and the resourcefulness of the regime forces, civilian deaths and friendly fire against opposition forces was almost guaranteed to occur.[386] However given the knowledge that troops on the ground in Libya had been ruled out from the very beginning, the Netherlands was only able to avoid culpability for these unintentional deaths by abstaining from strike missions altogether. In this manner, the caveats used by the Dutch in Libya align with the motivations behind similar civilian protection policies employed in the previous conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Dutch were not casualty averse in terms of preserving the lives of their own forces. Instead, the Dutch were simply collateral damage averse. Demonstrating this point is the fact that once Dutch aircraft were authorized to fly over land, they routinely performed "show of presence" missions above the front lines as a form of bluff to scare off regime forces who would have been unaware that the particular F-16 flying above was not actually armed with air-to-ground munitions.[387] During these missions, Dutch F-16s accepted all of the same risks of ground fire as if they were performing missions but were able to avoid any chance of killing civilians or friendly forces.

Similarly, on the international level it is clear that the Netherlands was once again looking to assert its own independent preferences regarding military strategy that diverged from that of the lead nations of the US, France, and the UK regarding Libya. Dutch leaders questioned two key aspects of the Libya campaign. First, the Dutch questioned whether or not airstrikes against regime forces were actually covered by the UN mandate. Second, they questioned

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[385] There were multiple incidents where overzealous opposition fighters crossed into "no-go zones" in an attempt to capture regime weapons. In one incident opposition fighters captured a regime tank and were driving the captured tank back toward opposition lines (with the gun turret still facing towards opposition forces) when NATO aircraft bombed the tank (Wehrey, "The Libyan Experience," 58.

[386] Exact numbers are impossible to know, but an investigation by Human Rights Watch alleged coalition air strikes killed at least 72 civilians during the course of the Libya campaign.

[387] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 298.

whether or not conducting airstrikes against regime forces outside of the front lines was actually the best policy to resolve the Libya conflict as a whole.

The first question about the legality of the airstrikes is another example of the Dutch taking a narrower view of the UN mandate and what missions it authorized compared to other members of the coalition. For the Libya conflict, both Dutch politicians and military leaders emphasized the mandate was about protecting civilians, warned against "mission creep," and cautioned against the mission to protect civilians evolving into a mission for regime change.[388] Additionally, just as the Dutch questioned the overall strategy in the Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts, the Netherlands was skeptical about the feasibility of a key objective for the Libya campaign. The Dutch openly questioned whether foreign military intervention could ever convince Gaddafi to give up power. Dutch Defense Minister Hans Hillen called NATO allies who thought bombing would force Gaddafi to step down "naïve" and urged the alliance's politicians to find a political solution to the crisis, which was an opinion that was shared by Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte.[389]

Given the degree of divergence in the preferred strategy of the Netherlands and the coalition's leaders, the extent of what the Dutch were willing to do militarily in Libya is almost more surprising than the increased level of caveats on its forces. For instance, in Afghanistan Dutch forces in ISAF were prohibited from operating alongside, interacting with, or aiding other forces operating under OEF and the counter-terrorism mission.[390] However in Libya, the Dutch still took an active role in facilitating bombing missions. Dutch F-16s not only escorted bombers

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[388] This included statements by the Dutch Minister of Defense and Prime Minister (David Brunnstrom, "Dutch warn of heated NATO debate as Libya drags on," *Reuters World News,* (June 29, 2011) https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-nato-dutch-idUSTRE75S3FW20110629)
as well as individual members of the Dutch parliament (Frost-Nielsen, "Conditional Commitments," 382).
[389] Brunnstrom, "Dutch warn of heated NATO debate as Libya drags on."
[390] Kingsley, "Fighting Against Allies."

to their targets but used their targeting pods to gather intelligence they knew would be used for bombing missions.[391] Also, in contrast to Iraq, the Dutch did not simply fulfill their initial pledge of support and then withdraw. Instead, the Netherlands elected to extend its commitment to the Libya coalition twice during the course of the conflict and drawing down the Dutch contribution to the campaign was never seriously considered, even as the RNLAF needed to rotate new forces and equipment in-and-out of the conflict.[392]

Thus it is clear that on the international level, the Dutch attempted to balance between appeasing the coalition's leaders while not subverting its own preferences regarding the use of force on preferred strategy in Libya. Just as in the prior conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, the Dutch caught some criticism for their caveats. However whether or not the Netherlands was actually successful in playing the two-level game is moot. During the Libya conflict, both US Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates, and Secretary General of NATO, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, and British Defence Secretary Liam Fox all openly expressed their disappointment with Dutch caveats and urged the Netherlands to conduct bombing missions.[393] It is telling that despite the criticism and pressure to conduct bombing missions, Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte was rather diplomatic in his responses and careful not to undermine the political cohesion of the coalition by publicly attacking the coalition's policy on bombing. Instead, Dutch leaders tried to counter criticism by arguing that their F-16s were filling another critical need by providing much needed intelligence collection in lieu of bombing and noted that the Dutch government was "not against air-to-ground bombings, but the Netherlands at the moment is not participating."[394]

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[391] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 306.
[392] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 300.
[393] Aaron Gray-Block, "NATO chief calls for more planes to bomb Libyan targets," *Reuters* (July 14, 2011), https://af.reuters.com/article/libyaNews/idAFLDE76D0MC20110714.
[394] Gray-Block, "NATO chief calls for more planes to bomb Libyan targets."

Taken as a whole, the only way to make sense of the Dutch contribution is to examine it through the prism of the two-level game. The Dutch were not looking to shy away from the costs of participating, as they provided a level of support that was equal to or exceeded other NATO member states. The Dutch were not risk-averse or casualty-averse, as their aircraft faced the same level of threat as those conducting strike missions. Instead the Dutch continued the tradition of employing a military strategy that prioritized the safety of civilians on the ground and minimized the possibility of Dutch forces being responsible for collateral damage. By keeping the hands of the military clean, the Dutch could continue to differentiate themselves from their seemingly more aggressive allies and further the notion that the Netherlands' maintained a unique approach to international conflicts. At the same time, the Netherlands' flexible use of their F-16s to include almost all mission sets short of bombing demonstrate the state's desire on the international level to be seen as a reliable ally and security partner aboard. The Dutch tried in vain to convince their allies that their contribution, although different than what was asked of them by NATO, was still important and useful to the coalition's operations. They were also quick to point out that not all NATO members were participating at any level. In this sense, it is clear Dutch leaders were still trying to earn recognition for their efforts on the international level despite the self-imposed limits on their contribution.

Denmark in Libya

Although much of the international attention for the Libya campaign was directed at France, the US, and the UK, Denmark played a key role from the very beginning of Operation Odyssey Dawn through the end of Operation Unified Protector. Denmark made a significant military contribution without caveats and displayed a persistent willingness to volunteer for

dangerous and difficult missions. In many ways, the Danish participation in the Libya conflict continued a pattern of military contributions with little to no political influence.

If there was such a thing as a "perfect war," Libya was it for Denmark. The reasoning for military intervention resonated with the Danish public in such a way that parliament approved the military participation unanimously. Polling at the onset of the Libya campaign, reported nearly eighty percent of the Danish public supported the government's decision to contribute fighter aircraft to the coalition.[395] The overwhelming domestic support for action provided an opportunity for Danish leaders to use their military contribution to maximize its position on the international level. Additionally, the nature of the conflict itself negated any impact of the small size of the Danish military and provided an opportunity for Denmark to "punch above its weight" in a high-profile manner.

Denmark was quick to provide political and military support for the intervention in Libya. Even prior to the onset of hostilities, Danish leaders from multiple political parties discussed a possible Danish contribution to operations over Libya so that Denmark would be prepared to join the coalition effort in the event France, the US, and the UK decided to initiate military action.[396] When the Danish parliament introduced a proposal for military participation in Libya in the evening of March 18, 2011, it passed unanimously shortly after midnight on March 19th, the same day France launched the initial attacks on Libya. The decision to join the Libya coalition marked the first time all the parties in Denmark's parliament voted unanimously in favor of going to war.[397]

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[395] Chris Kjær Jessen, Jesper Thobo-Carlesen & Kristian Klarskov, "Massiv opbakning til Libyen-krig," *Berlingske* (March 22, 2011), https://www.berlingske.dk/internationalt/massiv-opbakning-til-libyen-krig.
[396] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 272.
[397] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 115.

Militarily, Danish F-16s arrived in Italy just 57 hours after the UN Security Council had authorized the implementation of the no-fly zone, making them the first country to join the ranks of the US, UK, and France coalition. The Royal Danish Air Force (RDAF) flew its first mission under Operation Odyssey Dawn on March 20, 2011, less than two full days after parliamentary authorization.[398] From the very beginning of the conflict, the leader of the RDAF contingent pressed the US military leaders of Operation Odyssey Dawn for taskings and after initially being assigned defensive counter-air missions, on the second day of Danish combat operations its F-16s were tasked with their first strike mission. The Danish contingent went on to fly both fixed and dynamic targeting missions throughout both phases of the Libya campaign, employing a full suite of air-to-ground weapons against various ground targets including tanks, armored personnel carriers, multiple rocket launchers, artillery positions, ground-based air defenses, air bases, command and control facilities, and munitions depots.[399]

Like the Belgians and Dutch, the Danish contribution to the Libya campaign consisted of six F-16 fighter aircraft. Despite deploying the same number and types of fighter aircraft,

Figure 5. Comparison of Belgian, Dutch, and Danish F-16s in Libya

	F-16s Deployed	Weapons Used	Combat Missions	Flying Hours
Belgium	6	473	620	2,589
Denmark	6	923	1,288	4,716
Netherlands	6	-	591	2,845

Source: Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 217.

Denmark flew far more missions and dropped the most bombs. Unlike Belgium and other many other the coalition members, Denmark did not institute a weekly no-fly day and still managed to

[398] Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "The Danish Libya Campaign." In Dag Henriksen, & Ann Karin Larssen, *Political Rationale and International Consequences of the War in Libya* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 201.
[399] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 275-276.

fly eight sorties a day, surging to 10 or 12 sorties per if needed.[400] Only the US employed more weapons than Denmark during the Operation Odyssey Dawn phase of the conflict and during the Operation Unified Protector phase Denmark ranked fourth out of nine behind the US, France, and UK.[401]

Overview of Danish Caveats

The Danish contribution to the Libya campaign was caveat-free and adopted US RoE during Operation Odyssey Dawn and NATO RoE during Operation Unified Protector as their own without any additional caveats or restrictions.[402] The Danish government authorized the RDAF to conduct all types of missions for the Libya campaign, including strike missions that other members of the coalition strayed from.

Although not an official caveat, Denmark designated a senior Danish military officer as the "red card holder" and this individual was granted veto authority for any specific Danish mission judged to be outside of the Danish mandate or UNSCR 1973.[403] However this practice was standard for members of multinational military coalitions operations by this time and was not unique to Denmark. Rather this official represented just one part of the RDAF's national liaison team at the air operation center, where air missions were planned.[404]

Examination of Theory

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[400] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 274.
[401] Jakobsen, "The Danish Libya Campaign," 201; Neither coalition released per country bombing statistics, however for Operation Unified Protector publicly available bombing numbers includes the following estimates: the UK (1,420), France (1,140), the US (1,026), Denmark (923), Italy (710), Canada (696), Norway (588), Belgium (472), and Qatar (exact number undisclosed but described as "some").
[402] Peter Viggo Jakobsen and Karsten Jakob Møller, "Good News: Libya and the Danish Way of War" in *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2012*, edited by Nanna Hvidt, & Hans Mouritzen (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2012), 118.
[403] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 273-273.
[404] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 275. The remainder of the team consisted of a colonel who served as the senior national representative and coordinated high-level operational and strategic issues on behalf of the RDAF, a legal advisor, an air tasking order planner, two flying unit representatives, and an intelligence specialist.

For Denmark, contributing to the Libya campaign represented the continuation of an activist foreign policy that utilized military involvement abroad to increase standing and prestige among its traditional security partners and benefactors. In this iteration, national-level Danish leaders were able to capitalize on overwhelmingly domestic support to use the RDAF in a manner that maximized the Danish position on the international-level.

The principle justification for intervention clearly stood in preventing mass killings by Muammar Gaddafi and his regime. However, the high level of Danish public support for intervention in Libya can be attributed to a number of factors as Danish intervention advanced both Danish interests and values. Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen emphasized that in addition to the humanitarian justification of stopping Gaddafi's brutal attacks against his own people, Danish intervention as served a means to support the greater Arab Spring and the hope for a peaceful, democratic future for the region.[405] Meanwhile, Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs Lene Espersen sought to convince the public of Denmark's interests in Libya, such as economic interests in terms of international trade which were threatened by instability in northern Africa and the greater security risks associated with economic breakdown, refugee flows, terrorism and the spread of armed conflict to neighboring countries.[406]

The unanimous parliamentary support and nearly eighty percent domestic support in polling both serve as ample evidence that the Danish public was no obstacle to intervention. Public support for military involvement remained high throughout the conflict and Danish media

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[405] Lars Løkke Rasmussen, "Speech by Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen at a hearing in the Foreign Policy Committee of the Danish Parliament, Copenhagen, 25 May 2011," in *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2012*, edited by Nanna Hvidt, & Hans Mouritzen, (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies, 2012).
[406] Jakobsen & Møller, "Good News," 112.

coverage of the conflict was overwhelmingly positive, portraying Danish pilots as military professionals admirably performing a worthwhile mission.[407]

However it is worth noting that the nature of the conflict and intervention itself made it relatively easier for Denmark's public to support. The exclusion of ground troops under UNSCR 1973 and the policies of the coalition's leaders made the concept of limited military contributions all the more appealing. In the same Gallup poll that recorded overall support for the campaign at 78% percent, only 44% of Danes agreed that Denmark should also participate with ground troops later on if proposals called for it.[408] Taken together, the nature of the conflict and the overwhelming domestic support for the use of military force in Libya paved the way for Danish leaders to use their military contribution to maximize their position on the international level.

On the international level, the Libya conflict provided Denmark with a perfect opportunity to not only "do its part" as a NATO member and security partner but to "punch above its weight" in terms of contribution relative to its size. For this conflict, it did not matter that Denmark did not field a large ground army. Instead, in an air-centric conflict Denmark was well positioned with its RDAF to integrate seamlessly into coalition operations with its advanced fighter aircraft. At all levels, Denmark seized the opportunity and earned widespread recognition for its efforts in Libya.

Operationally, the RDAF's efforts during Operation Odyssey Dawn earned them the title "the rock stars of the campaign" by the Joint Force Air Component Commander, Major-General Margaret H. Woodward.[409] The RDAF's willingness to play a major role in striking challenging ground targets also earned the Danish representatives at the Combined Air Operations Center an

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[407] Jakobsen, "The Danish Libya Campaign," 204.
[408] Jessen, Thobo-Carlesen, & Klarskov, "Massiv opbakning til Libyen-krig."
[409] Jakobsen & Møller, "Good News," 114.

upgraded move from the back of the operations room floor to a position nestled alongside the lead nations.[410]

However it is important to note that the efforts to push the RDAF to play a prominent role in the coalition did not simply originate from the deployed military members by themselves. As NATO operations drew to a close and other coalition members, such as Norway looked to reduce or withdraw their contributions to the coalition, Denmark did the opposite.[411] Throughout the final month of the conflict, Denmark's Minister of Defense directed a surge in RDAF operations which saw the RDAF flying combat missions even on the final day of Operation Unified Protector.[412]

On the international level, participating in the Libya coalition presented Denmark with an opportunity to increase its standing with three Great Powers within NATO. Prime Minister Løkke Rasmussen highlighted Denmark's obligation as a responsible member of the international community and the fact that the coalition was led by NATO members France, the UK and the US only stood to benefit Denmark.[413] With a strong showing in the Libya campaign, Denmark could continue its growing relationship with the US and bolster relations with its European allies as well. It's no coincidence that Danish foreign policy positions on Libya evolved in lockstep with American foreign policy.[414] Shortly after US President Barack Obama announced in early March 2011 that Gaddafi "lost the legitimacy to lead," Danish Prime Minister Løkke Rasmussen echoed the same sentiment in a joint meeting with the US President,

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[410] Jakobsen, "The Danish Libya Campaign," 205.
[411] Norway concluded air operations in support of Operation Unified Protector on July 31, 2011 although the operation continues until October 31, 2011.
[412] Anrig, "The Belgian, Danish, Dutch, and Norwegian Experiences," 274.
[413] Jakobsen & Møller, "Good News," 112.
[414] Jakobsen & Møller, "Good News," 113.

commenting that "[Gaddafi] should be history."[415] When Obama questioned the efficacy of implementing a no-fly zone, Rasmussen questioned it too. Then, on March 17, 2011, when the US made clear it preferred military action beyond implementing no-fly zone, this immediately became Denmark's policy for Libya.[416] When the US, UK, Qatar conferenced in London on March 29 and tacitly agreed to allow Gaddafi to go into exile, the Danish government immediately supported this idea as well.[417]

Denmark's participation in the Libya campaign earned the country high praise from world leaders abroad. At the UN, President Obama singled out Denmark, in addition to the UK, France, and Norway, for how these countries' willingness to conduct airstrikes served to protect the rebels on the ground.[418] Even US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates highlighted the Danish contribution to Libya during his speech at NATO Headquarters where he warned against other members not contributing enough.[419] In fact multiple Danish ministers and diplomats noted how the Danish contribution to the Libya campaign was praised by their colleagues from the UK, US, and France.[420]

In terms of the two-level game, the case of Denmark's contribution in Libya is fairly straightforward. On the domestic level, a highly supportive public resulted in a wide win-set of permissible military actions that enabled Denmark's leaders to maximize their position on the

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[415] White House, "President Obama's Press Availability with President Calderón & Statement on Libya," *The White House: President Barack Obama,* (March 3, 2011), https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/photos-and-video/video/2011/03/03/president-obama-s-press-availability-president-calder-n-statement-; White House, "President Obama Meets with Danish Prime Minister Rasmussen," *The White House: President Barack Obama,* (March 14, 2011), https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/photos-and-video/video/2011/03/14/president-obama-meets-danish-prime-minister-rasmussen.
[416] Jakobsen & Møller, "Good News," 113.
[417] Keith Weir & Andrew Quinn, "World powers raise pressure on Gaddafi to go." *Reuters World News* (March 29, 2011), https://in.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-55952220110329.
[418] White House, "Remarks by President Obama at High-Level Meeting on Libya," *The White House: President Barack Obama,* (September 20, 2011), https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/09/20/remarks-president-obama-high-level-meeting-libya.
[419] Gates, "Remarks by Secretary Gates at the Security and Defense Agenda. Brussels, Belgium."
[420] "Jakobsen, The Danish Libya Campaign," 204.

international level. Because the nature of the conflict in Libya did not require ground troops, Denmark was well-positioned to utilize its small but advanced air force to impress its NATO allies. By providing advanced military aircraft unburdened by national caveats, Denmark was able to successfully reinforce its image as a reliable and capable military partner.

Conclusion

The case of the Libya campaign is illuminating because it demonstrates how national preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force persist, despite changes in the type of conflict. The Netherlands, Denmark, and Belgium each demonstrated a continuation of national preferences with their use of caveats on national contingents in the coalition despite the changing operational environment. The Libya case also makes clear that the issue of caveats is not specifically linked to a ground-centric specific counter-insurgency or nation-building types of military operation.

CHAPTER SEVEN
Conclusion & Policy Recommendations

History testifies to the ineptitude of coalitions in waging wars. Allied failures have been so numerous and their inexcusable blunders so common that professional soldiers had long discounted the possibility of effective allied action.

- General Dwight D. Eisenhower

As the opening of the dissertation made clear, caveats serve as a source of frustration for military and political leaders alike. Caveats degrade the effectiveness and efficiency of coalition operations and the perception that some states are less willing to share burdens and risks than others threatens the political cohesiveness of a coalition at the international politics level. Arguably most concerning about the issue of caveats is the fact that the issue has become such a point of tension among states that their presence can overshadow the actual size, scope, and cost of a state's contribution to the coalition, in a manner that may threatens the long-term security relationships between allies.

However as the case studies on coalition contributions to the conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya demonstrate, the decision to caveat troops is not based on a simple buck-passing or cost-avoidance strategy nor is it a sign of cowardice or lack of effort. Instead, this dissertation finds that caveats are primarily driven by national-level preferences regarding the appropriate application and use of military force in an expeditionary context. These preferences are found to be established well before the onset of the crisis that generates the coalition itself and, as such, could have been anticipated by the lead nation prior to the start of coalition operations. This point is reinforced in this concluding chapter, where I summarize the findings of the case studies and highlight how each state's preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force were shaped prior to the first coalition campaign in Afghanistan but persisted through each subsequent

conflict. Given these observations, I then offer two policy recommendations regarding how states can more alleviate some of the issues surrounding caveats in coalition warfare.

On the Netherlands:

In the case of the Netherlands, the Dutch used caveats to navigate a tension within Dutch society regarding support for the general use of its military abroad in support of international and a general reluctance to endorse the use of lethal force that resulted in a prioritization of civilian protections on the battlefield.

Summary of Dutch Caveats

Conflict	Level of Caveats	Description of Known Caveats
Afghanistan	*Medium*	Prohibition against detaining Afghans Geographic restrictions against operation outside of Uruzgan Province Prohibition against counter-terrorism operations Prohibition against counter-narcotics operations Prohibition against offensive combat operations Prohibition against assisting OEF operations
Iraq	*Medium*	Prohibition against conducting civil governance tasks Prohibition against law enforcement operations
Libya	*High*	Prohibition against dropping air-to-ground munitions Prohibition against flying over Libyan territory Limited to operations under NATO command

On one side, the government of the Netherlands and Dutch society as a whole take seriously Article 97 of the Dutch constitution that plainly states that in addition to homeland defense, the Dutch military exists "to maintain and promote the international legal order."[421] After the end of the Cold War in particular, the Dutch public supported the active use of its military abroad as part of various UN- and NATO-led missions. However on the other side, the inability of Dutch UN Peacekeepers to prevent the massacre of more than 7,000 Bosnians in

[421] Kingdom of the Netherlands, *The Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands* (The Hague: Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, Constitutional Affairs and Legislation Division, 2008).

1995 served as a critical juncture for the Dutch regarding the use of its military abroad.[422] The traumatic events left a deep impression on the attitudes and preferences surrounding the use of the military within Dutch society and the subsequent parliamentary enquiry directly influenced the future of Dutch defense policy thereafter.[423]

Within the Netherlands the events of Srebrenica resulted in a distrust of the UN command structure and a shift to NATO as the preferred avenue for multinational expeditionary operations.[424] Specifically within Dutch government and military circles, the events of Srebrenica resulted in a hesitancy to place Dutch troops in a position where they are solely reliant on other nations, even states with powerful militaries such as the US and UK, to protect their military contingent to a coalition. As a result, Dutch contributions to multinational coalitions consisting of ground troops also include either Dutch fighter aircraft or attack helicopters to support these troops if necessary. This specific national-level preference for providing its own force protection support is the direct result of the notion that the Srebrenica massacre might have been avoided had repeated requests for airstrikes from Dutch forces not been ignored by the joint UN-NATO headquarters, which was primarily composed of American, British, and French military officials.[425] The specific caveat that results from this event is one of the only examples of a permissive caveat found in these coalitions. The Netherlands stipulated

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[422] Jörg Noll & René Moelker, "The Netherlands." In *Strategic Cultures in Europe*, edited by Heiko Biehl, Bastian Giegerich & Alexandra Jonas (Weisbaden: VS Springer, 2013), 255.
[423] Wim Klinkert, "Benelux Countries." In *The Handbook of European Defence Policies and Armed Forces,* edited by Hugo Meijer & Marco Wyss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 250.
[424] van der Lijn & Ros, "Contributor Profile: the Netherlands."
[425] William Drozdiak, "Dutch Government Absolves Troops in Fall of Srebrenica," *Washington Post,* (October 31, 1995), Peter Cluskey, "Dutch still furious with 'great powers' about Srebrenica," *The Irish Times*, (July 11, 2018); Dutch UN Peacekeepers submitted six separate requests for air support in the days leading up to the fall of Srebrenica (Michael Dobbs, "To stop a genocide, please submit the correct form," *Foreign Policy* (April 5, 2012)). Joris Voorhoeve, Dutch Defense Minister during Srebrenica, aggressively promulgated the idea that airstrikes could have prevented the tragedy.

that their ground forces under ISAF command reserved the right to call on Dutch air support assets even if said airstrikes were vetoed by the ISAF commander.[426]

Also influencing the types and level of caveats on Dutch forces were Dutch attitudes towards conflict and military intervention itself, which is characterized by skepticism about the efficiency of the use of lethal force. Instead, the so-called "Dutch Approach," or 3D approach as it is formally referred to, calls on simultaneous government efforts in defense (security), development (reconstruction) and diplomacy (political assistance). While the approach itself appears fairly non-controversial, in practice prioritizing this approach meant the Dutch did not operate in accordance with larger coalition strategies in terms of counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency policy in Afghanistan and Iraq. Thus many Dutch caveats were aimed at ensuring Dutch troops operated according to the "Dutch Approach" as a distinct strategy that prioritized the protection of the civilian population and resorted to the use of lethal force as a matter of last resort.[427]

The much-publicized use of their own unique approach to operations in Afghanistan and Iraq fits the larger trend of the Netherlands looking to differentiate itself from other coalition members, who the Dutch often viewed as being overly aggressive. The shaping of this perception was reinforced with caveats that prohibited Dutch troops in Afghanistan from interacting with troops under the OEF mandate, in Iraq with the insistence of Stabilization Force Iraq label, and in Libya with the prohibition against ground strikes. Alternatively put, the Dutch looked to shape the perception of its military force as peace*keepers* as opposed to peace*makers*, as this coalesced with Dutch public attitudes that are wary of the use of lethal force.

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[426] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 166. Unlike Afghanistan, there was no need for a similar caveat in Iraq since Dutch AH-64 Apache attack helicopters were directly under the same Dutch command as the Dutch ground troops and there were no Dutch troops on the ground to protect in Libya.
[427] Noll & Moelker, "The Netherlands," 263.

On the international level, the Netherlands embraces the use of its military abroad and the considerable respect and prestige these operations earn the state within the international community. The Netherlands also looks to continuously prove itself as a reliable security partner to its allies. Given the backlash from their use of caveats early on in Afghanistan, the Netherlands was mindful about framing its restrictions as caveats, which is why in Iraq the actual number of caveats were low but the contribution to the Iraq coalition was shaped in a way that guaranteed Dutch national control of its forces so that official caveats were not necessary. However evidence of national preferences regarding the use of force impacting caveat decisions was abundantly clear in Libya, where the issue of airstrikes brought Dutch caveats back into open discussion. In this conflict, the Dutch looked to appease their international peers by stretching the limits of what their aircraft contributed short of dropping bombs.

Overall there's a tension in that the Netherlands fields a competent, interoperable, and combat-capable military force that is well suited for multinational military coalitions yet Dutch leaders and the Dutch public is seemingly combat-averse. So while Dutch society is willing to risk the lives of their own military personnel in support of international causes, the strong aversion to civilian deaths and collateral damage result in politically-imposed caveats to limit the risk of this occurring.

On Belgium:

Belgium's disparate use of caveats in Afghanistan and Libya makes it one of the most useful cases for illustrating how national preferences regarding the use of military force abroad drives decision-making regarding the implementation of caveats. Even though Belgium implemented contrasting levels of caveats on their forces during these two conflicts, societal

preferences regarding the use of military force remained consistent and the intent behind the implementation of caveats did not change.

Unlike their Dutch neighbors, Belgium did not exhibit overly prioritize civilian protection. Instead Belgian preferences regarding the use of military force was marked by straightforward casualty aversion. As such, the Belgium government imposed caveats on its forces operating in high-risk environments while largely abstaining from caveats in low-risk environments. These differences are apparent when comparing both the larger Belgian experience in Afghanistan to Libya as well as when comparing the caveats imposed on Belgian ground troops compared to its air force in Afghanistan.

On the surface, Belgium's strategic culture and use of its armed forces outside its borders are similar to that of other small states looking to maximize their international influence through participation in international organizations and multinational military coalitions.[428] As such, the country enthusiastically participates in a number of military and politically-oriented international institutions and the primacy of international law lies at the heart of Belgium's strategic culture.[429]

Summary of Belgian Caveats

Conflict	Level of Caveats	Description of Known Caveats
Afghanistan	*High*	Geographic restrictions against leaving Kabul International Airport Geographic restrictions prohibiting PRT operations outside of RC-N Prohibition against counter-narcotics operations Prohibition against offensive combat operations Prohibition against assisting OEF operations
Libya	*Low*	Restrictions against employing weapons near suspected civilians

[428] Anders Wivel, "The Security Challenge of Small EU Member States: Interests, Identity and the Development of the EU as a Security Actor." *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 2005, 43(2), 393-412.
[429] Sven Biscop, "Belgium," in *Strategic Cultures in Europe*, edited by Biehl, Heiko; Giegerich, Bastian; Jonas, Alexandra, Springer (Weisbaden, 2011), 36.

Specifically in regards to participation in expeditionary military operations, Belgium's leaders look to balance a tension that exists between a principled commitment to international engagement and a general casualty-aversiveness among political elites and the general public alike.[430] As a result of this tension, Belgium routinely demonstrates a willingness to participate in international military coalitions and missions with little to no caveats provided the threat to its military personnel is minimal. This is the case whether the coalition is an UN-sponsored peacekeeping mission or NATO-led operations multinational operation. However Belgium demonstrates a much greater reluctance to participate in high-risk missions or combat operations. During these missions the government specifically imposes threat-mitigating caveats on its contributed forces as demonstrated by the number and type of caveats imposed on Belgium's ground forces in Afghanistan.

Considering neither the Netherlands nor Denmark exhibited a similar casualty-aversiveness, this begs the question of why is Belgium more casualty-averse than other small states? The answer again can be found in the state's recent military history. For Belgium, the 1994 execution of ten Belgian paratroopers serving as part of a UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda represented a critical juncture that transformed Belgian preferences regarding the use of military force abroad thereafter.

After the end of the Cold War and prior to the 1994 Rwanda incident, Belgium made substantial contributions to multiple UN and NATO operations across the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Rwanda.[431] Domestically, these contributions were supported by governing

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[430] Biscop, "Belgium," 34.

[431] Belgium contributed an infantry battalion (1,038 troops) to Croatia as part of UNPROFOR, 450 troops to UNAMIR in Rwanda, and over 850 to UNOSOM I and II in Somalia.

coalitions that strongly emphasized multilateralism and collective security, especially under the aegis of the UN.[432]

However Belgian preferences regarding the use of military force abroad abruptly changed after the Rwanda incident and were institutionalized following a 1997 parliamentary inquiry into the events of Rwanda. The parliamentary inquiry itself consisted of one year of public hearings with intensive media coverage.[433] The inquiry included recommended changes to Belgian military policy in the final report that was published in December 1997. Less than one month later, these recommendations were officially adopted by the government.

The most news-worthy change was that Belgium would no longer deploy front-line troops to former colonies. However arguably more impactful was the establishment of a set of requirements that needed to be met before Belgium could be used abroad in the future.[434] These requirements were drafted explicitly to ensure "that the security of troops is maximized and the mission's chances of success are optimized."[435] The order and specific verbiage used here are important to note, as this line at the beginning of the report recommendations reflects a prioritization of troop safety above all else, even the overall mission itself.

The requirements themselves follow this overall theme of prioritizing the safety of Belgian troops as well. Included are requirements that "staff, equipment and armament resources" are available from the operation's onset and that these resources "must maximize staff protection and safety" and arm its deployed forces with "sufficient armament to enable the

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[432] Biscop, "Belgium," 34.
[433] Liégeois & Glume, "A Small Power Under the Blue Helmet: The Evolution of Belgian Peacekeeping Policy," 118.
[434] The parliamentary inquiry's recommendations specifically address UN peacekeeping operations but the same requirements have been equally applied to non-UN missions including NATO-led missions.
[435] Belgian Senate, *Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Events in Rwanda* (Brussels: Kingdom of Belgium) Chapter 5, Item 4.

Belgian contingent to deal with any scenarios (including "worst-case").”[436] The report further stipulates that “the quality of their armament must be at least equal to that of the belligerents (potential)” and that even though the UN “may set the usage arrangements for certain armament systems” the Belgian armed forces reserves the right to deploy “all weapons systems that they deem necessary or useful to their safety in difficult situations” and that in the case of self-defense “the units in question must have the express right to defend themselves with all available weapons.”[437] All of these requirements reinforce the mindset that the government must protect its own troops first and foremost. While not explicitly stated, the fact that force protection even exceeds mission success is evident with the requirement that one of the first tasks for deployed Belgian contingents is to “create a military applicable evacuation plan” so that if troops are truly in danger, they can leave quickly.[438]

As a result of the Rwanda inquiry, successive Belgian governments froze the participation of Belgian troops in UN peacekeeping missions and changed the way it used its military force abroad.[439] Not only did Belgium move away from the UN as the preferred organization for leading multinational operations in favor of NATO and the EU, but it was at this point where Belgium fully embraced casualty-averse preferences regarding the use of military force abroad, including the use of risk-limiting caveats on ground troops.

Alternative arguments about the implementation of caveats do not adequately account for both the difference in government approaches to the use of military force abroad for UN missions in the 1990s compared to more contemporary NATO-led coalitions in the 21st Century.

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[436] Belgian Senate, *Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Events in Rwanda,* Chapter 5, Items 8 & 9.
[437] Belgian Senate, *Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Events in Rwanda*, Chapter 5, Item 9.
[438] Belgian Senate, *Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Events in Rwanda* ,Chapter 5, Item 25.
[439] Koops & Drieskens, “Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Belgium.”

Nor do alternative theories explain variation in caveats imposed between conflicts and disparities in caveat use between the different armed services.

In support of their government structure-based theory, Auerswald & Saideman (2014) look to explain the difference between the heavy use of caveats on ground forces in Afghanistan and the lack of caveats on the air force in Libya by pointing to the caretaker government in 2011. They argued the caretaker government removed veto-players in the government decision-making process and that a lack of accountability within the government cabinet allowed for more freedom of action than it would otherwise have in a standard coalition government.[440] However such an explanation fails to account for persistent differences in how Belgium caveated its ground forces compared to its air forces, including in Afghanistan. Pointing at the caretaker government is also a problematic explanation because of the Belgian parliament's unprecedented ability to impose caveats for the Libya mission if they had chosen to do so since the decision to deploy the military abroad was actually given to parliament for the first time. Based on Auerswald & Saideman's own theory about the power of national executives, a high number of caveats should have been expected as a compromise measure among all the political parties. Auerswald & Saideman later acknowledge that the government had few restraints because of its overall popularity but it is necessary to examine strategic culture and preferences regarding the use of military force abroad that it is possible to understand why the Libya conflict was so popular.[441]

On Denmark:

So far during the conflicts of the 21st Century, Denmark has proven a steadfast ally to the US and NATO. Denmark not only provided disproportionally large contributions to subsequent

[440] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 208.
[441] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 208.

US-led coalitions in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya, but did so while imposing few caveats on forces. Instead, Danish forces were allowed to seamlessly integrate into the multinational military coalitions. As demonstrated in the three case studies, Denmark's lack of politically motivated caveats is the product of a strategic culture that embraces the use of military force abroad. Over the past two decades, Danish society overwhelmingly supported multiple expeditionary military deployments despite suffering a number of casualties. The high level of domestic support from the Danish public afforded their national leaders the opportunity to use the military abroad in a way that maximized the state's position on the international level, gaining goodwill, prestige, security and influence along the way.

In regards to caveats, Denmark's limited use of caveats in Afghanistan and Iraq reflect Danish preferences regarding the use of military force abroad with two issues in particular driving caveats. First is a skepticism about working alongside lesser militaries and the second is a concern about overextending the Danish military beyond its capacity. However it is important to recognize that these issues permeate Danish decision-making and defense policy and are not limited to the implementation of caveats.

Summary of Danish Caveats

Conflict	Level of Caveats	Description of Known Caveats
Afghanistan	*Low*	Restrictions against offensive behavior Prohibition against integrating with Afghan soldiers Troop level capped at 750 personnel
Iraq	*Low*	Mission tied to civil-reconstruction Not authorized to conduct full-spectrum of combat operations
Libya	*None*	-

For the first issue regarding security partners at the operational and tactical level, Danish defense policy routinely reiterates that NATO is both the "Cornerstone of Danish Security" and

the preferred organization for conducting international military operations.[442] Danish political and military leaders view NATO as an effective and efficient organization for leading military operations, especially compared to the UN. Despite the overall small size of its military, Denmark counts itself among the US and UK as of the NATO's members with an elite military force and prefers to integrate with other elite militaries in coalition operations.[443] On one side, this preference resulted in a "plug and play" strategy where Danish forces are armed and equipped to seamlessly integrate into other advanced NATO forces. The flip side of the preference for integration with American and British troops is an aversion to fight alongside less capable militaries. This was best demonstrated with the caveat in Afghanistan that prohibited Danish forces from embedding into Afghan battalions out of concerns regarding the lack of discipline and professionalism among Afghan forces.[444] This partner preference is also evident in regard to Denmark's contributions to UN peacekeeping missions, which followed the larger Western trend of dropping off following the UN-authorized NATO missions in the Balkans in the 1990s.

The other issue driving Denmark's remaining caveats is the small size of its military force. Of the three states examined in this dissertation, the Danish military is the smallest and the numbers for Denmark are further skewed since just under half of Denmark's army is comprised of conscripts currently undergoing basic training.[445] In terms of actual combat troops, the Danish

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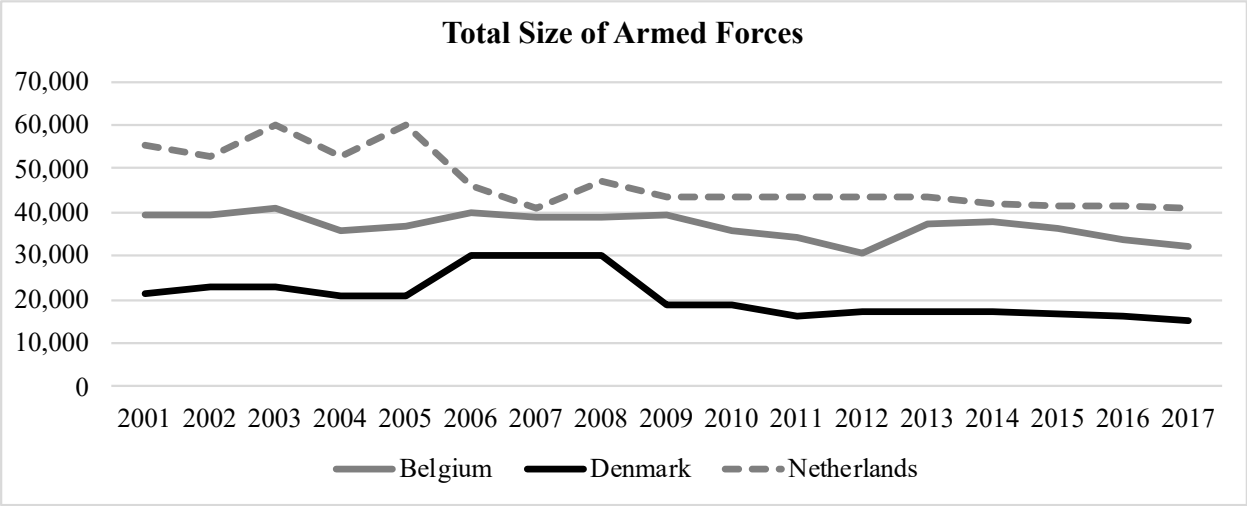
[442] Danish Ministry of Defence, *Danish Defence Agreement 2005 – 2009* (Copenhagen, 2004); Danish Ministry of Defence, *Danish Defence Agreement 2010 – 2014* (Copenhagen, 2009); Danish Ministry of Defence, *Danish Defence Agreement 2013 – 2014* (Copenhagen, 2012); Danish Ministry of Defence, "NATO - The Cornerstone of Danish Security," Danish Ministry of Defence (August 27, 2019), https://fmn.dk/eng/allabout/Pages/NATO-TheCornerstoneofDanishSecurity.aspx.

[443] Peter Viggo Jakobsen, "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Denmark," *Providing for Peacekeeping* (June 2016), 4-5.

[444] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 165.

[445] Defence Command Denmark, "Army," *Danish* Defence (March 25, 2019) https://www2.forsvaret.dk/eng/Organisation/TheDanishArmy/Pages/TheDanishArmy.aspx; Out of NATO's 29 current member states, Denmark ranks 18th in terms of number of armed forces personnel.

army only consists of two combat brigades, a reconnaissance squadron, an electronic reconnaissance company, and a select number of special operations troops. However of Denmark's two combat brigades, only one, known as the Danish International Bridge, is designated for use abroad.[446]



Given the limited size of the Danish armed forces the second group of caveats, including the cap on personnel in Afghanistan and the limited mission scope in Iraq, served as a reasonable safeguard against overextending the Danish military. In both coalitions, the US called for greater support from its allies but Danish forces were already stretched thin by concurrent deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan and the overall duration of the Danish contribution to ISAF. The degradation of readiness and troop availability due to consistently high deployment rates reached a low point in 2010 when Denmark resorted to using air force and navy personnel to augment army personnel for its training mission in Afghanistan.[447]

The Libya campaign, however, provided an illuminating example of conditions under which Denmark would abstain from imposing any caveats. The composition of the coalitions, the

[446] The other brigade remains dedicated to homeland defense.
[447] Auerswald & Saideman, *NATO in Afghanistan*, 166.

air-centric nature of combat operations and the limited scope of the Libya campaign made it essentially the perfect conflict for Denmark to join. Denmark was able to fight alongside its fellow elite allies in the US, UK, and France and was well positioned in terms of its fighter aircraft capacity to provide a large, impactful contribution to the coalition regardless of Denmark's overall military size.

Policy Recommendations & Way Forward

The persistent nature of national preferences may make it seem as though there is nothing that can be done from a policy perspective to alleviate the issue of caveats in contemporary multinational military coalitions. However there are two general strategies states could utilize to more effectively manage inter-coalition relations as it relates to the issue of caveats. For the militaries participating in a coalition, the first recommendation is for a dedicated public relations effort aimed at increasing the public's understanding of the level of effort that Western militaries place on protecting their forces as well as safeguarding civilians. For the national leaders of a coalition's lead nation, the second recommendation is to recognize the national preferences of its allies and shape contribution requests in a manner that respects those state-level preferences regarding the expeditionary use of military force.

For the first recommendation, both the militaries of the lead nation and contributing nations of a coalition could benefit from further educating their domestic publics regarding the level of effort placed on safeguarding troops and civilians alike. Simply highlighting advancements in body armor or armored vehicles can demonstrate the state's commitment to protecting its deployed troops with the best resources available. The greater challenge lies with convincing the public that enough effort is being made with respect to safeguarding the civilian population since it is military practices that tend to safeguard civilians as opposed to material

equipment. Yet it is crucial that states help the public understand both the extent to which civilian protections are a priority and the how efforts to protect civilians go beyond what adversaries may be doing since public aversion to civilian casualties is likely to further increase within the US and among its key allies.[448] Both the lead nation and contributing nations in the coalition should look to expand journalist and media access through embedding programs at both the tactical and operational level in order to highlight the considerable effort the military places on avoiding civilian casualties. Additionally, the coalition members should continue to highlight the abuses of civilians by adversaries to demonstrate how restrained coalition operations truly are. To do so, coalition members should invest in information distribution networks capable of quickly, accurately, and widely disclosing incidents of either alleged or actual unintended civilian casualties to the public in order to mitigate political blowback.[449] For example, an increased use of body cameras on the battlefield may help provide video evidence to refute false claims of civilian harm or at least provide greater context to unintended collateral damage.[450]

The second recommendation, to acknowledge and respect the national preferences of individual contributing nations, is geared specifically for the political leaders of the lead nation during the coalition formation process. In the coalition campaigns examined in this dissertation, there appears to be a level of inter-coalition mirror-imaging that took place whereby the US as the lead nation expected the various contributing nations to think and fight as if they were Americans. As such, misunderstandings about differences in national preferences resulted in frustration on both sides when individual contributing nations resorted to caveats as a way to ensure troops acted in accordance to their own preferences and not according to American

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[448] Larson & Savych, *Misfortunes of War*
[449] Frederick & Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare*, 60.
[450] Frederick & Chandler, *Restraint and the Future of Warfare*, 60.

preferences. To mitigate the inter-coalition tension that caveats generate, contribution requests should be more carefully and narrowly crafted to include the types of expeditionary mission sets that are compatible with a contributing nation's ongoing preferences regarding the use of military force. This means not pressing allied nations to commit to undertaking operations they are fundamentally opposed to or that they hold different preferences on how such operation should be conducted. Instead, contribution request should reflect individual consideration regarding a state's national preferences as well as the state's military capabilities. This would help avoid situations where contributing nations need to heavily caveat their forces to ensure they act in accordance with national preferences and avoids situations where a contingent of troops on the ground are operating according to a different strategy than the rest of the coalition. By only asking states to contribute forces for mission sets where their preferences converge with those of the lead nation, both sides can avoid situations where caveats are operationally necessary.

In many ways, the ongoing US-led coalition against the self-proclaimed Islamic State in Iraq and Syria provides some evidence that progress has been made in regards to this second recommendation. In this coalition over sixty nations and partner organizations agreed to participate, contributing either military forces or resources (or both) to the campaign. The anti-Islamic is incorporating elements of the second recommendation by organizing it's contributors along five "lines of effort," and thus represents a sort of 'coalition-of-coalitions.'[451] Although there is some overlap between the different multinational lines of effort, delineating membership

[451] The lines of effort are: supporting military operations, capacity building, and training (led by the US and Iraq); stopping the flow of foreign terrorist fighters (led by The Netherlands and Turkey); cutting off IS access to financing and funding (led by Italy, Saudi Arabia and the US); addressing associated humanitarian relief and crises (led by Germany and the UAE); and exposing IS's true nature (led by the UAE, the UK, and the US). (McInnis, Coalition Contributions to Countering the Islamic State 2016, 1)

based on mission type allows nations to be explicit about what type of support they intend to provide and reduces ambiguity among coalition members regarding what a state should be expected to provide.

Going forward, there is much work still to be done to advance our understanding of how states fight together. A lack of comparative research on casualty aversion is at the top of the list, as most contemporary scholarly work on the topic of a public's tolerance for military casualties focuses on the US.[452] Similarly, there is a lack of comparative research regarding how different societies tolerate civilian deaths despite the recognition of the growing importance of this topic. Larson & Savych (2006) compare how the US and foreign media portray the issue of civilian deaths during combat operations but these scholars do not directly investigate varying levels of casualty sensitivity by country.[453]

As time progresses and more coalition documents are de-classified and made available to the public, there is hope that a fuller accounting of caveats will enable both greater understanding into the issue of caveats and allow for greater quantitative analysis of the topic. It is vital that the lessons of the coalition operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya are not forgotten and that the participants of future conflicts can learn and benefit from these campaigns.

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[452] Cornelius Friesendorf, *How Western Soldiers Fight: Organizational Routines in Multinational Missions* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 254. For examples of works on US casualty sensitivity, see John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinio*n (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 1973); Bruce W. Jentleson, "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force," *International Studies Quarterly*, 36, no. 1, (1992), 49–74; Eric V. Larson, *Casualties and Consensus: The Historical Role of Casualties in Domestic Support for U.S. Military Operations* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1996); Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler, *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion & Casualties in Military Conflicts*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

[453] Eric V. Larson & Bogdan Savych, *Misfortunes of War: Press and Public Reactions to Civilian Deaths in Wartime* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2006).

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