



Parliamentary Control of Security Policy

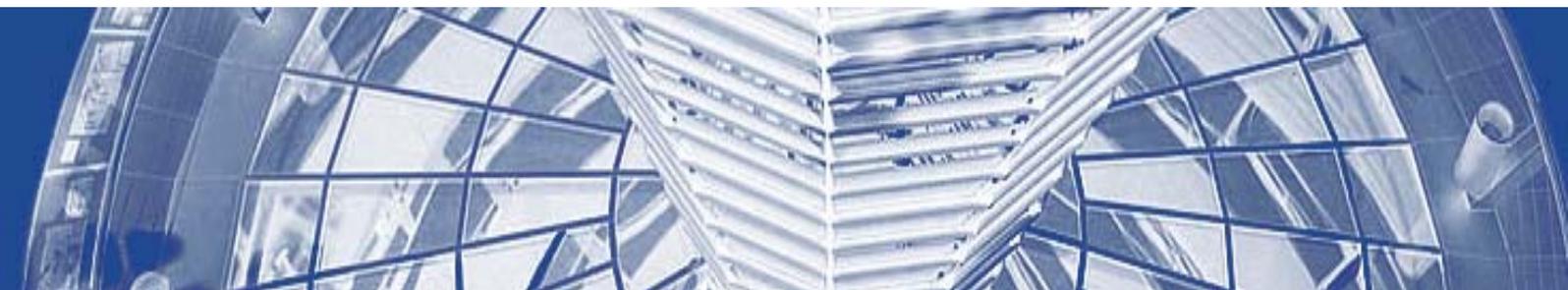
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**A Survey of Involvement
of 15 European States in the Iraq War 2003
(revised version)**

paks working paper 7

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1. Introduction

As part of the research project on the “parliamentary control of military security policy” (paks), data on the involvement in the Iraq war 2003 of the 25 European countries of the project sample have been collected. This paper presents the results of this survey for the 15 member states of the European Union.

1.1 Methodology

The paks project developed two typologies for assessing war involvement: a rationalist-utilitarian and a normative one. The utilitarian typology covers five degrees of war involvement in terms of risk for life and financial costs from the perspective of democratic voters. The normative typology is based on five degrees of governmental responsiveness to what citizens think would be an appropriate national policy concerning the Iraq war (cf. tables 1 and 2). A detailed explanation of the concept and methodology of these typologies can be found in Hummel (2007).

In the case of the Iraq war in 2003, war involvement by governments has been measured at different phases of the war that relate to different utilitarian and normative assessments by citizens (cf. table 3). The utilitarian typology will be applied to phases 1 and 2 and also to phase 3. The normative typology will only be applied to phases 1 and 2, because of missing polling data for phase 3 and because citizens’ normative assessments of stabilization operations most probably differ from the rejection of an intervention considered illegitimate.

Each country chapter is divided into five sections. Section one consists of a brief summary of the military assets and capacities a government could have used for the Iraq war. Section two includes information on which capacities actually had been used in the 2003 Iraq war. Section three presents evidence on normative assessments of the Iraq war by citizens based on public opinion poll data. Section four documents official statements which were used for assessing the government’s war involvement from a normative perspective. The final section deals with the coding for the respective country in terms of the two paks typologies

Table 1: Paks typology of war involvement: utilitarian perspective

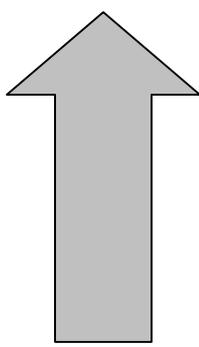
(1) conventional warfare / ground forces	combat troops with a high personal risk	
(2) asymmetrical warfare / air and naval forces	combat troops with a low personal risk but high financial burden	
(3) rear support, peacekeeping and reconstruction / rear ground troops	low financial burden but some personal risk	
(4) logistical support	low financial burden, no personal risk	
(5) no war involvement	no direct costs	

Table 2: Paks typology of war involvement: normative perspective(if prevailing majority among citizens regards the specific war as unjust)t

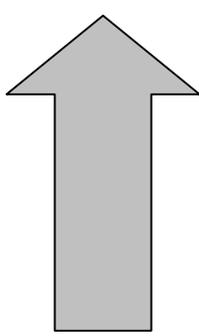
(1) defiance of societal norm	active justification of war and war involvement	
(2) neglect of societal norm	cautious approval of the war, hesitant position to war involvement	
(3) "Schwejk" category	diffuse or fragmented position to the war and to war involvement	
(4) support of societal norm	cautious opposition to the war	
(5) promotion of societal norm	active criticism of the war, clear rejection of war involvement	

Table 3: Phases of the 2003 Iraq War

Phase	Time	Utilitarian context	Normative context
(1) Pre-invasion war preparations	January to March 19	Deployment of coalition troops to the Middle East	Anti-war protests and rising public opposition to the war, disputes in the UN security council
(2) The invasion or international war phase	March 20 to April 30	Full scale conventional international war	Continuous public opposition to the war, intervention without UN Security Council mandate
(3) Post-invasion insurgency	May 1 to December	Military occupation and counter-insurgency operations	UN Security Council resolution 1483 of May 22, 2003, mentions responsibility of the occupation powers for the security of Iraq and calls for humanitarian aid; public opinion is unclear

1.2 Data sources

Data used for the paks study originate from a variety of open sources. For reasons of comparability, sources covering the whole sample were preferred to sources for individual countries. For reasons of validity and because of discursive relevance, data from official sources were preferred.

Data on military capabilities are based on the 2003-2004 issue of *Military Balance*, an authoritative source for armed forces worldwide. Data on military contributions generally have been taken from the US Congressional Research Service report “Iraq: International Attitudes to Operation Iraqi Freedom and Reconstruction“ of December 2003. Additional data on war-related activities, especially concerning less intensive war involvement, have been taken from newspaper sources.

Public opinion data originate from the European-wide EOS-Gallup Europe survey of January 2003. Methodological details of this survey are presented in the Gallup survey publication which can be downloaded from the paks website.¹ For countries with high degrees of war involvement the Gallup data have been double-checked by means of supplementing national public opinion poll data in order to make sure that indeed a clear majority of people had been opposed to their country’s participation in the war. The national poll data have been taken from the extensive collection of public opinion poll data on the Iraq war by Everts (2004).

Data on official statements primarily relate to the “Letter of the Eight” of January 30, 2003, and the “Vilnius Declaration” of February 5, 2003. The “Letter of the Eight” was signed by the prime ministers of five of the older EU member states, by the Czech President and by the prime ministers of Hungary and Poland. The letter stressed the vital importance of

¹ Cf. http://www.paks.uni-duesseldorf.de/Dokumente/International-Crisis-Survey_Rapport-Final.pdf. The survey results had been widely reported in the media. They were published on the EOS-Gallup Europe web side for some time after they had been issued. After EOS-Gallup Europe had taken the survey from its web side, paks contacted EOS-Gallup Europe and got permission to publish the survey on the paks website.

the transatlantic relationship and, although more indirectly, supported plans for an invasion to topple the Iraqi regime. The eight signatories also argued that the UN Security Council would lose its credibility if it did not act against Saddam Hussein's regime. In the Vilnius statement, ten Central and Eastern European governments expressed their support for a US-led military intervention in Iraq. Both letters ultimately supported the military intervention against Iraq and effectively ended efforts to compromise on a common European position. Additional data on governments' position have been taken from a variety of sources, including newspapers.

2. Austria

2.1 Military capabilities

In 2003 the Austrian army had 34,600 active troops, including 17,200 conscripts. The army had 114 main battle tanks. Air Services of 6,850 troops with 52 combat aircraft and 11 armed helicopters formed part of the army. A 1955 constitutional law stipulated Austria's "perpetual neutrality". Thus, Austria became a member of the European Union in 1995, but did not enter NATO.

2.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

In December 2002 members of the Austrian Parliament of the the opposition Green party denounced the illegal violation of Austrian airspace by the United States and demanded the government to completely close Austrian airspace to any US military aircraft. Answering to these parliamentary accusations the Austrian Ministry of Defense admitted that it had authorized 181 US flights to Iraq over Austria and conceded that there had been more flights which had not been notified.² Subsequently, the Austrian government seemed to have adopted a much stricter transit policy. In February 2003, for example, the Austrian government did not give permission for the transit of US troops from Germany to Italy via Austria. Austrian Minister of Defense Herbert Scheibner explained that in the absence of a new UN Security Council resolution the Austrian government would have to obey the neutrality provisions of the Austrian Constitution and could not allow transit or use of Austrian airspace by US forces. The transit ban delayed the embarkation of US troops in Italian ports for several days.³ Austrian President Thomas Klestil reiterated in a TV speech broadcast on March 21, 2003, that Austria's neutrality compelled the government to deny any transit to belligerent states.⁴

The Austrian government was also asked to deploy nuclear, biological and chemical weapon countermeasure experts to the Gulf region. But in January 2003 the Austrian National Security Council recommended that "no Austrian forces should participate in eventual

² Der Standard, 29.12.02.

³ Financial Times, 14 February 2003; Agence France Press – German, 14 February 2003; "Austria bars U.S. troops from crossing country," in: The International Herald Tribune February 15, 2003; Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 February 2003.

⁴ Meyer 2005: 19.

military combat against Iraq”.⁵ The 2003 CRS-Report mentions that Austria neither participated in the Coalition forces nor granted the war Coalition access to Austrian facilities or transit.⁶ After the end of major combat Austria sent financial and humanitarian assistance to Iraq but did not participate in the military occupation.⁷

2.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe poll shows a clear war opposition among Austrian citizens, of which 85 % regarded national participation in a non-UN mandated intervention as unjustified

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	Don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Austria	2%	7%	14%	71%	6%	8%	85%

2.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

On January 31, 2003, Foreign Minister Benita Ferrero-Waldner criticized the “Letter of the Eight” initiative for dividing the European Union.⁸ On February 26, 2003, in a speech before the National Council, Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel explained the position of the Austrian government concerning Iraq. He said that his government regarded an explicit mandate by the UN Security Council as a precondition for a military intervention. In the absence of such a mandate, Austrian forces would not participate in a war against Iraq.⁹ On March 26, 2003, when the National Council was debating the issue of the illegal war against Iraq, Chancellor Schüssel described his government’s stance as a “position of the middle”. He repeated that there would be no participation of Austrian forces in the Coalition of the Willing, because the intervention was not authorized by a resolution of the UN Security Council.¹⁰ The White House did not include Austria in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.¹¹

⁵ Nationalrat, XXII Gesetzgebungsperiode, Anfragebeantwortung 117 (Proceedings of the Austrian Parliament), 29 January 2003.

⁶ Hildreth et al. 2003: 34f.

⁷ CRS-Report 2003: 38; 42; 46.

⁸ Agence France Presse – German, 31 January 2003.

⁹ Nationalrat, Stenographisches Protokoll, 5. Sitzung des Nationalrates der Republik Österreich, XXII. Gesetzgebungsperiode (Proceedings of the Austrian Parliament), 26 February 2003, p. 4.

¹⁰ Regierungserklärung von Bundeskanzler Wolfgang Schüssel, zit. nach Nationalrat, XXII Gesetzgebungsperiode, Stenographisches Protokoll, 10. Sitzung (Proceedings of the Austrian Parliament), p. 36.

¹¹ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>.

2.5 Coding results

The Austrian government granted use of airspace to the Coalition forces in December 2002 but Austrian members of parliament, by publicizing this practice, forced the government to strictly adhere to the provisions of Austrian neutrality and ban Coalition forces from transit in 2003. Therefore, as far as the year 2003 is concerned, Austria can be coded as “no war involvement” in the utilitarian typology for both the pre-intervention and the intervention phases. Austria has a long record of participating in UN peacekeeping mission but deliberately did not send troops to post-intervention Iraq. Therefore, for the occupation phase as well Austria has to be classified as “no war involvement”. In a normative sense, however, the Austrian government has not kept away from the Iraq war so clearly. In spite of clear public opposition against the Iraq intervention the Austrian government only cautiously criticized the Iraq intervention and claimed a “position of the middle”. Therefore, the Austrian government’s position is classified as a “supporter of societal norm” on the normative paks typology.

paks classification	Austria
utilitarian, phases 1/2	5
utilitarian, phase 3	5
normative, phase 1	4

3. Belgium

3.1 Military capabilities

Belgium maintained professional armed forces of 40,800 troops in 2003. The army of 24,800 troops had 143 main battle tanks and 74 helicopters. Three principal surface combatants plus a mine warfare unit formed the small Belgian navy of 2,450 troops. The Belgian air forces had 10,250 troops, 90 combat aircraft plus some support aircraft. Belgium is a founding member of NATO and the European Union and host both to the headquarters of NATO and the main institutions of the European Union.

3.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

According to the Congressional Research Service Report of December 2003 Belgium granted overflight rights to Coalition aircraft.¹² Belgium also allowed movement of troops and materiel for the Iraq war from US bases in Germany to the Belgian port of Antwerp.¹³ Except

¹² Hildreth et al. 2003: 35.

¹³ The Herald-Sun (Durham, NC) 28 February 2003; The Seattle Times, 19 March 2003.

for these transit rights, however, Belgium got involved militarily in the Iraq war neither during the intervention nor the post-intervention phase.¹⁴

3.3 Public opinion

Belgian public opinion showed clear opposition against the Iraq intervention. The EOS-Gallup Europe survey counted 84 per cent for those who thought the intervention was not justified and 59 % even strictly opposing the war as absolutely unjustified.

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Belgium	4%	9%	25%	59%	4%	13%	84%

3.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

The Belgian government consistently opposed the war against Iraq and insisted on the need for a new UN Security Council resolution before taking action against Iraq.¹⁵ On February 10, 2003, Belgium joined France and Germany and vetoed a request submitted by the US and Turkey to the NATO Council asking for NATO assistance to Turkish defense capacities. The three governments argued that accepting this request would implicitly endorse the planned attack on Iraq.¹⁶ Houben reports that Belgian Foreign Minister Louis Michel always insisted that “the logic of peace should prevail over the logic of war“.¹⁷ The White House did not include Belgium in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.¹⁸

3.5 Coding results

Belgium granted logistical support to the Coalition forces but otherwise did not get involved militarily in the Iraq war, neither in the intervention nor the post-intervention phases. Belgium's consistent and outspoken opposition to the Iraq war is coded as 5 on the normative paks typology.

paks classification	Belgium
utilitarian, phases 1/2	4

¹⁴ Houben 2005: 54.

¹⁵ Süddeutsche Zeitung 25 January 2003.

¹⁶ Copson 2003: 27.

¹⁷ Houben 2005: 54.

¹⁸ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>.

utilitarian, phase 3	4
normative, phase 1	5

4. Denmark

4.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, Denmark maintained armed forces of 22,880, including conscripts. In addition to regular reserves the Home Guard (*Hjemmevaernet*) had about 59,300 volunteers up to the age of 50. The Danish army had 14,700 active troops with 220 main battle tanks. It also had 12 attack and 13 support helicopters. The Danish navy of 4,000 troops is small but well equipped. In 2003, it had 4 submarines and 3 principal surface combatant ships, plus a fleet of patrol and coastal combatants and mine warfare vessels. It also had 8 naval helicopters. The Danish air force of 3,500 had 68 combat aircraft and some transport aircraft.

Denmark is a founding member of NATO and joined the EU in 1973. As result of the first (negative) Danish referendum on the Maastricht treaty, Denmark opted out of military participation in ESDP.

4.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

On 22 January 2003, the US newspaper Christian Science Monitor revealed that the US government was secretly negotiating with the Danish government on a military contribution for the planned intervention against Iraq.¹⁹ In mid February 2003, the Danish Parliament approved the deployment of a Danish submarine to the Persian Gulf.²⁰ It was reported that the Danish government had also offered 70 elite Jaegerkorps soldiers to the US-led intervention²¹ On 21 March 2003 the Danish Parliament finally approved Danish military participation in the Iraq intervention. According to the parliamentary decision the Danish submarine already sent to the Persian Gulf will be joined by one corvette. A total of 160 Danish navy soldiers will be deployed to the Persian Gulf.²² A Congressional Research Service Report of 22 April 2003 said that Denmark had sent two warships and a medical unit “in a non-combat capacity”.²³

In May 2003, the US Department of Defense mentioned Danish military contributions to the Coalition intervention which included the deployment of one coastal submarine and one frigate in the North Arabian Gulf and the deployment of a three man surgical team to

¹⁹ BBC 22 January 2003.

²⁰ “Danish parliament gives go-ahead for military planning with US on Iraq,” in: AFP 17 February 2003.

²¹ “PM defends Danish military participation in war on Iraq,” in: AFP 18 February 2003; The Herald-Sun (Durham, NC) 28 February 2003.

²² AFP, 21 March 2003; Stahl 2006: 151.

²³ Copson 2003: 26.

Jordan.²⁴ On 15 May 2003, the Danish parliament authorized the government to send 380 Danish soldiers to post-intervention Coalition forces in Iraq. These troops included a light infantry unit, medics and military police for the British-controlled occupation zone. Ten more army Danish officers for the multinational force in the Polish controlled occupation zone were to be sent in late May.²⁵ In August 2003, the US State Department announced, that Denmark was contributing troops to the Coalition.²⁶ A Congressional Research Service Report of December 2003 listed 390 Danish soldiers supporting the Coalition stabilization forces in Iraq. In October 2003, Denmark sent 90 additional troops to Iraq.²⁷

4.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe poll showed a clear majority among Danish people opposing Danish participation in a military intervention without UN mandate, with 83 per cent regarding it as “unjustified” and 58 percent even as “absolutely unjustified”.

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Denmark	4%	10%	25%	58%	4%	13%	83%

A national opinion survey in Denmark at the end of January 2003 supports the EOS-Gallup Europe survey results and confirms that a clear majority of Danish citizens opposed war involvement.

Vilstrup Research/Politiken, 25 January, 2003: “Should Denmark participate in a war with Iraq for which the UN has NOT given a mandate?” ²⁸		
Yes	No	Don't know
4 %	87 %	9 %

4.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

In January 2003, Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen regarded previous UN Security Council resolutions to sufficiently legitimate a military intervention against Iraq. He did not

²⁴ U.S. Department of Defense: Defend America News "Fact Sheet: International Support and Coalition Contribution to Operational Iraqi Freedom and Post-War Iraq", Defend America Website, May 15, 2003

²⁵ Hildreth et al. 2003: 34, 38; “Danish lawmakers approve sending troops to Iraq,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, 15 May 2003; “Denmark Approves Sending 380 Troops To Iraq,” in: BBC Monitoring International Reports 15 May 2003; Associated Press Worldstream 27 May 2003.

²⁶ U.S. State Department: "New Troop Contributions to the Coalition in Iraq", Question Taken at Daily Press Briefing of August 20 , <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/23433.htm>.

²⁷ Associated Press Worldstream - German 10 October 2003.

²⁸ Vilstrup Research/Politiken, 25 January, 2003; quoted after: Everts 2004: 197.

rule out that Denmark would back unilateral action of the United States.²⁹ On 24 January 2003, the Liberal-Conservative government and the opposition Social Democrats reached agreement on a joint position on a possible military action against Iraq, stressing that a mandate of the UN Security Council would be required.³⁰ Prime Minister Rasmussen also signed the Letter of the Eight supporting military action against Iraq which was published on 30 January 2003. Danish opposition parties sharply criticized what they perceived as Rasmussen's unconditional support for US intervention plans.³¹ In February 2003, Prime Minister Rasmussen defended his government's military backing for an eventual intervention against Iraq by the US, saying it was "sometimes necessary to threaten with war to avoid it".³² The White House listed Denmark as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.³³ On the same day a US Senate Resolution mentioned Denmark as part of the Coalition because it participated in the military intervention and had supported the January 30, 2003, declaration.³⁴

4.5 Coding results

Due to the fact that Denmark participated in the Iraq intervention with navy forces, it has to be coded as level 2 in the utilitarian typology. War involvement in the post-intervention included ground forces and hence is coded as level 1. The Danish government from the very beginning not only supported a US-led intervention but even advocated unilateral action to disarm Iraq. This justifies a normative coding of 1.

paks classification	Denmark
utilitarian, phases 1/2	2
utilitarian, phase 3	1
normative, phase 1	1

5. Finland

²⁹ Süddeutsche Zeitung 25 January 2003.

³⁰ "Denmark agrees Iraq policy: UN mandate required," in: Danmarks Radio P1, Copenhagen, as monitored by BBC Monitoring Europe - Political 24 January 2003.

³¹ "Danish premier criticized over Iraq letter," in: Danmarks Radio P1, Copenhagen, as monitored by BBC Monitoring Europe - Political 30 January 2003.

³² "PM defends Danish military participation in war on Iraq," in: Agence France Presse - English 18 February 2003

³³ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.htm>

³⁴ United States Senate 180th Congress 1st Session, Senate Concurrent Resolution 30 (S.Con.Res.30), Congressional Record, March 27, 2003.

5.1 Military capabilities

In 2003 Finland had only 27,000 active troops, including 18,500 conscripts, but extensive reserves of 435,000. Some 35,000 reservists are involved in military training each year. The army had 19,200 active troops with 235 main battle tanks. The navy had 5,000 active troops with a fleet of patrol and coastal combatants, mine warfare and amphibious vessels. The air force had 2,800 active troops with 63 combat aircraft. Finland joined the EU in 1995.

5.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

According to the US State Department Finland has not offered any military support for the Iraq war.³⁵ A Congressional Research Service Report of December 2003 confirms that there has been no Finnish involvement in the Iraq war with troops, military equipment, access to territory or logistical support.³⁶

5.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe survey shows that an overwhelming majority of Finnish citizens regarded national participation in a military intervention in Iraq as not justified, 72 per cent even as “absolutely not justified”.

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Finland	1%	6%	18%	72%	4%	7%	89%

5.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

In January 2003, Finnish Foreign Minister Erkki Tuomioja said that the fact that the Finnish government is prepared to discuss humanitarian assistance and reconstruction in a post-war Iraq does not imply Finnish support for military action. Finland insisted on a key role of the UN Security Council in dealing with the crisis.³⁷ After a meeting of the President of the Republic and the Cabinet Committee on Foreign and Security Policy on February 14, 2003, the Finnish government announced that any use of military force would require authorization from the UN Security Council.³⁸ On March 12, 2003, the US State Department announced that neither Finland nor the United States regarded Finland as a member of the military

³⁵ BBC Monitoring Europe, March 13, 2003.

³⁶ Hildreth et al. 2003: 34-35.

³⁷ “Foreign Minister Erkki Tuomioja: Finland prepared to participate in UN-led non-military missions in Iraq,” in: Suomen ulkoasiainministeriö/Finnish Foreign Ministry Press Releases, January 11, 2003.

³⁸ “The Cabinet Committee on Foreign and Security Policy considered the Iraq situation,” in: Suomen ulkoasiainministeriö/Finnish Foreign Ministry Press Releases, February 14, 2003.

Coalition against Iraq.³⁹ The White House did not include Finland in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.⁴⁰

5.5 Coding results

The Finnish government did not provide any military support to the Iraq war and strictly supported the position that a war without UN mandate was not justified. In the paks typologies Finland has to be coded as “no war involvement”

paks classification	Finland
utilitarian, phases 1/2	5
utilitarian, phase 3	5
normative, phase 1	5

6. France

6.1 Military capabilities

France is a major military power and has its own arsenal of nuclear weapons. In 2003, France had professional armed forces of 259,050 which were split into strategic nuclear forces of 4,800, an army of 137,000 and a navy of 44,250. There is no conscription any more. The army has 614 main battle tanks. The army includes sizeable capacities for intervention abroad, such as the Foreign Legion of 7,700, special operation forces of 2,700 and 14,700 marines. The navy of 44,250 has one aircraft carrier with 58 combat aircraft, one helicopter carrier with 30 armed helicopters, plus 32 other principal surface combatant ships, 10 submarine (4 strategic submarines with nuclear missiles), a fleet of patrol and coastal combatants and mine warfare vessels and 9 amphibious ships. The air force of 64,000 has 478 combat aircraft. There are also diversified air transport capabilities. French forces are partly based abroad in French overseas territories as well as in the African states of Chad, Côte d’Ivoire, Djibouti, Gabon and Senegal.

France is a founding member of NATO, but in the 1960s has left the military structures of NATO. France is also a founding member of the EU and traditionally has been a strong supporter of ESDP.

6.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

On February 10, France, Germany and Belgium vetoed a request submitted by the US and Turkey to the NATO Council for providing NATO assistance to Turkish defense capacities.

³⁹ BBC Monitoring Europe, March 13, 2003.

⁴⁰ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>

The three governments argued that accepting this request would implicitly endorse the planned attack on Iraq.⁴¹ On February 17, 2003, the French Defense Ministry confirmed that France was allowing US military aircraft to fly over French territory and US ships to use French port facilities. The ministry explained that France was bound by a bilateral agreement of September 26, 2001. According to the ministry the fact that an American aircraft carrier had stopped over in a French port in late December 2002 was covered by this agreement.⁴² The December 2003 report by the Congressional Research Service mentions only overflight rights as French military support for the Iraq war.⁴³

6.3 Public opinion

According to the EOS-Gallup Europe poll a clear majority of 84 percent of French citizens opposed French military participation in military intervention in Iraq and 60 per cent even regarded it as absolutely unjustified.

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
France	3%	10%	25%	60%	3%	13%	84%

6.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

France was one of the major opponents of the US-led military intervention against Iraq. In February 2003, French Foreign Minister Dominique De Villepin and President Jacques Chirac sharply criticized EU candidate states for supporting US preparations for war against Iraq by signing the Letter of the Eight or the Vilnius Declaration.⁴⁴ In the debate in the UN Security Council France rejected the evidence presented by US Secretary of State Colin Powell for alleged Iraqi capabilities of weapons of mass destruction and threatened to veto any Security Council resolution authorizing military intervention against Iraq.⁴⁵

On March 21, 2003, President Chirac condemned the US-led military attack on Iraq without UN Security Council mandate as a violation of international law.⁴⁶ However, when

⁴¹ Copson 2003: 27.

⁴² “French Defense Ministry Says USA Allowed To Fly Over French Territory, ” in: World News Connection February 17, 2003.

⁴³ Hildreth et al. 2003: 35.

⁴⁴ “Chirac Iraq comments show French worries over EU enlargement,” in: Agence France Presse - English, February 18, 2003.

⁴⁵ “France unchanged on Iraq despite Powell presentation: PM,” in: Agence France Presse - English February 6, 2003; “President Jacques Chirac says U.S. evidence on Iraq not enough to change French position“, in: Associated Press Worldstream February 6, 2003. “France defies second Iraq resolution, says de Villepin,” in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur February 24, 2003; “Chirac renews opposition to new Iraq resolution,” in: Agence France Presse - English February 26, 2003.

⁴⁶ “Iraq war breaches international law: Chirac,” in: Agence France Presse - English March 21, 2003.

the intervention against Iraq actually started the French government defended US and British aircraft using French airspace. French Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin explained in Parliament that such cooperation was normal between two allies.⁴⁷ The White House did not include France in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.⁴⁸

6.5 Coding results

In spite of outspoken French opposition to the Iraq war (normative coding 5), the French government continued to provide overflight rights and logistical support (utilitarian coding 4 for all phases).

paks classification	France
utilitarian, phases 1/2	4
utilitarian, phase 3	4
normative, phase 1	5

7. Germany

7.1 Military capabilities

The German armed forces (*Bundeswehr*) consisted of 284,500 active troops in 2003 including conscripts. The army of 191,350 has 2,398 main battle tanks and 525 helicopters. The German navy of 25,650 has 12 submarines and 13 principal surface combatant ships, plus patrol and coastal combatants and mine warfare vessels. Naval aviation includes 65 combat aircraft and 22 armed helicopters, but no aircraft or helicopter carriers. The German air force of 67,500 has 376 combat aircraft, but no attack helicopters.

Germany had been completely disarmed after World War II and remilitarized only in 1955 when it simultaneously joined NATO and the Western European Union (WEU). Germany is a founding member of the European Union. With German unification, the *Bundeswehr* integrated the armed forces of the former German Democratic Republic. There are major US and UK military bases in Germany, among them 73,500 US troops including one US Army corps and the 17th Air Force and the British “Rhine Army” with 22,000 regular troops. In 2003 both the US and the UK sent major parts of its Germany based troops to the Iraq war.

7.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

As part of Operation Enduring Freedom Germany had deployed 60 soldiers specialized in nuclear, chemical and biological warfare to Kuwait in 2001. The German legislature had

⁴⁷ “France's foreign minister defends U.S. military overflights,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, March 25, 2003.

⁴⁸ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>.

authorized a maximum of 800 troops to assist in Kuwait, 250 of whom were on standby in Germany for Kuwait duty and 59 of whom were already in Kuwait as of early February 2003. They were part of the Combined Joint Task Force for Consequence Management, along with 160 American and 250 Czechs specialists.⁴⁹ The Germans troops had no mandate to enter Iraqi territory and said they will not do so unless their parliament approves it. In March 2003, the government sent 30 additional soldiers to the unit already in Kuwait. The German Minister of Defense Peter Struck emphasized that these troops were unrelated to the Iraq war.⁵⁰

Answering US requests in late 2002, the German government confirmed that it continued to grant overflight and transit rights as well as use of military bases for the planned intervention against Iraq.⁵¹ In a parliamentary debate on March 19, 2003, German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder said that Germany will stick to its pledge to allow the United States use of its airspace and its bases in the country for war against Iraq because Germany remained a close ally to the United States and the United Kingdom.⁵² The German government carefully avoided to send troops to any mission in post-intervention Iraq. A Congressional Research Service report of 22 April 2003 reported that Germany had military nuclear-chemical-biological (NBC) defense teams in Kuwait, which, however, would not enter Iraq.⁵³

7.3 Public opinion

According to the EOS-Gallup Europe survey an overwhelming majority of 89 per cent of Germans thought that national participation in a military intervention against Iraq would be “unjustified”; 61 per cent even said it would be “absolutely unjustified”.

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Germany	4%	6%	29%	61%	1%	10%	89%

7.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

The German government even before 2003 clearly opposed the Iraq war and strictly excluded the possibility of any German military involvement. German diplomats proposed to oppose German military participation but to approve military action against Iraq as a non permanent

⁴⁹ “Germans, Americans cooperating closely in Kuwait in civil defense project,” in: Associated Press Worldstream February 6, 2003.

⁵⁰ “Germany to increase troop contingent in Kuwait,” in: Associated Press Worldstream February 26, 2003; “German Defense Minister: More forces in Kuwait, no role in Iraq,” in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur, March 2, 2003.

⁵¹ Rose 2003: 237.

⁵² “Schroeder stresses Germany will allow U.S. overflight, use of bases in Iraq war,” in: Associated Press Worldstream March 19, 2003.

⁵³ Copson 2003: 13.

member of the Security Council. However, German Chancellor did not accept this proposal and in January 2007 announced that Germany would under no circumstances vote for a military intervention against Iraq in the Security Council.⁵⁴

On February 10, 2003, France, Germany and Belgium vetoed a request submitted by the US and Turkey to the NATO Council for providing NATO assistance to Turkish defense capacities. The three governments argued that accepting this request would implicitly endorse the planned attack on Iraq. Copson adds that “German Chancellor Schroeder sought to sharpen the distinction by announcing that his government would provide defensive missiles and AWACS crews to help protect Turkey on a bilateral basis.”⁵⁵ German Chancellor Schroeder reiterated in a speech before parliament in March 19, 2003, that German soldiers would not participate in combat.⁵⁶ The White House did not include Germany in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.⁵⁷

7.5 Coding results

The German government actively opposed the Iraq war (normative coding 5), but continued to provide overflight rights and logistical support (utilitarian coding 4 for all phases).

paks classification	Germany
utilitarian, phases 1/2	4
utilitarian, phase 3	4
normative, phase 1	5

8. Greece

8.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, Greece had armed forces of 177,600 active troops, more than half of them being conscripts. They are split into an army of 114,000, a navy of 19,000, air forces of 33,000 and centrally controlled forces of 11,600. The army has 1,723 main battle tanks and 20 attack helicopters. The navy has 8 submarines, 14 principal surface combatant ships and a fleet of patrol, coastal, mine warfare and amphibious vessels. Naval aviation includes 18 armed helicopters. The Greek air forces have 418 combat aircraft.

Greece joined NATO in 1952. US forces maintain a small navy base in Greece. 1,250 Greek troops are permanently based in the Republic of Cyprus. In 1981, Greece became a

⁵⁴ Süddeutsche Zeitung January 25, 2003.

⁵⁵ Copson (2003: 27).

⁵⁶ Deutscher Bundestag, Protokoll der 34. Sitzung, 19. März 2003 (Parliamentary proceedings).

⁵⁷ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>.

member of the European Union. From January to June 2003, i.e., during phases 1 and 2 and also during parts of phase 3 of the Iraq war, the Greek government held the EU presidency.

8.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

Greece strictly limited military involvement in the Iraq war to logistical support. On January 19, 2003, Defense Minister Yiannos Papantoniou states that “in no event” Greece would send troops to Iraq. Support to its allies would only be given in the form of facilities, mainly port facilities, and not some other type of participation.” On January 19, 2003, Defense Minister Yiannos Papantoniou explained that any Greek support for military action against Iraq would be conditioned on full authorization by the UN Security Council.⁵⁸

On March 18, 2003, Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis said Greece would not participate or allow itself to be drawn into war and the use of force should be the last resort. Following an emergency cabinet meeting to discuss the Iraq crisis, Simitis said that Greece would, however, honor international treaties and agreements. Accordingly Greece is allowing some overflights under NATO and bilateral defense accords and continues permission for the use of Soudha Bay in Crete by the US navy.⁵⁹

A Congressional Research Service study of December 2003 listed the use of Soudha Base, maritime access and overflight rights as Greek support for the Iraq war.⁶⁰

8.3 Public opinion

There can be no doubt about Greek public opinion opposing the Iraq war. Almost 9 out of 10 Greeks regarded national military participation in a military intervention against Iraq as not justified, 64 per cent even as “absolutely unjustified”.

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Greece	2%	7%	24%	64%	3%	9%	88%

8.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

As early as fall 2002, members of the Greek government explicitly opposed military action against Iraq.⁶¹ On January 7, Greek government spokesman Christos Protopapas stated that the Iraq crisis had to be handled within the framework of the UN. He added that Greek had

⁵⁸ “Greece won't send troops if war declared on Iraq,” in: Athens News Agency, January 19, 2003.

⁵⁹ “Greece declares it will not be drawn into war on Iraq,” in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur, March 18, 2003.

⁶⁰ Hildreth et al. 2003: 35.

⁶¹ Stahl 2006: 147.

offered the use of facilities to the US within the framework of contractual obligations stemming from the Greek-US bilateral agreements.⁶² On January 19, 2003, Defense Minister Yiannos Papantoniou explained that any Greek support for military action against Iraq would be conditioned on full authorization by the UN Security Council.⁶³

After an emergency government meeting on March 18, 2003, Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis said that the United Nations “should be the guarantor of peace”. He made clear that Greece would not participate or allow itself to be drawn into the war and that Athens believed that the use of force should be the last resort. He said that Greece would continue to meet its treaty obligations and, even in the event of a war against Iraq, would not block the use of US bases.⁶⁴ The White House did not include Greece in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.⁶⁵

8.5 Coding results

Greece is classified as supplier of logistical assistance during the whole war period. In normative terms Greece has to be classified as promoter of public war aversion because of its early and clear rejection of unilateral military action against Iraq as well as exclusion of Greek military participation.

paks classification	Greece
utilitarian, phases 1/2	4
utilitarian, phase 3	4
normative, phase 1	5

9. Ireland

9.1 Military capabilities

The Irish armed forces included 10,460 active professional troops in 2003. They were split into an army of 8,500 with 14 light tanks, a navy of 1,100 with coastal and patrol combatants and an air corps of 860 with transport and reconnaissance capabilities only. Ireland joined the EU in 1973.

⁶² “The Greek Government Does Not Want War In Iraq,” in: Macedonian Press Agency Thessaloniki, January 7, 2003.

⁶³ “Greece won't send troops if war declared on Iraq,” in: Athens News Agency, January 19, 2003.

⁶⁴ “Greece sees major crisis due to Iraq war, says primary role belongs to UN,” in: Athens News Agency March 2003, 18.

⁶⁵ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>.

9.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

Irish military support for the Iraq war was limited to logistical support, most importantly continuous use of Shannon airport by US military aircraft. On 13 January, 2003, Irish Foreign Minister Brian Cowen defended to give permission to the US for the military use of Shannon Airport saying that Shannon Airport was being used mainly to transfer military personnel.⁶⁶ When the intervention started the Irish government sought explicit approval of parliament for continuous use of Shannon Airport by US forces. The parliament narrowly agreed.⁶⁷

9.3 Public opinion

Irish citizens were strongly against national participation in the Iraq war, with 81 % saying they regarded it unjustified, 56 % even strongly objected (absolutely unjustified).

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: "Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations"							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Ireland	2%	11%	24%	56%	6%	13%	81%

9.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

The Irish government allowed the US to use Shannon Airport for the military intervention against Iraq although it regarded a UN Security mandate as necessary for military action. Drawing a distinction between the continued use of Shannon and Ireland's position towards a US invasion of Iraq, Prime Minister Bertie Ahern argued that, as far as Irish soldiers were concerned, Ireland would not "engage or involve ourselves in" an invasion unless backed by a second UN resolution.⁶⁸ In a motion to the Parliament on March 20, 2003, Prime Minister Bertie Ahern argued that the Irish government did "not regard the provision of landing and overflight facilities to foreign aircraft as participating in a war".⁶⁹

In a written statement of March 22, 2003, Prime Minister Ahearn declared that "Ireland will not be participating in the military campaign" and that a UN Security Council resolution was a necessary precondition for military action against Iraq.⁷⁰ The White House did not include Ireland in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Associated Press Worldstream, January 13, 2003.

⁶⁷ "Neutral' Ireland will keep airport open to U.S. military bound for Iraq," in: Associated Press Worldstream, March 20, 2003; The Sun, March 21, 2003.

⁶⁸ "Ahern indicates US can use Shannon for unilateral war," in: The Irish Times March 14, 2003.

⁶⁹ Dáil Éireann - Volume 563 - 20 March, 2003.

⁷⁰ The Irish Times March 22, 2003.

⁷¹ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>

9.5 Coding results

The continuous logistical support for the Iraq intervention is coded as level 4 on the utilitarian typology. On the normative typology the cautious Irish opposition against the war is coded as level 4.

paks classification	Ireland
utilitarian, phases 1/2	4
utilitarian, phase 3	4
normative, phase 1	4

10. Italy

10.1 Military capabilities

In 2003 the size of the Italian armed forces was 200,000 active troops including about 20,000 conscripts. The army has 116,000 troops and 1,183 main battle tanks. The navy including the naval air arms and marines has 36,000 troops, 6 submarines, 18 principal surface combatants and a fleet of patrol, coastal, mine warfare and amphibious vessels. Naval aviation includes 18 combat aircraft and 80 armed helicopters. Italy has special military intervention capacities, such as special forces and 2,000 marines. The air force of 48,000 troops has 263 combat aircraft and 6 armed helicopters.

Italy is a founding member both of NATO and the European Union. It hosts large US bases totaling 11,965 troops including army, navy and air force elements.

10.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

In the pre-intervention and intervention phases the Italian government offered Coalition forces military transit, including the use of Italian airspace and seaports, under long-standing NATO-commitments, but did not send Italian troops to Iraq.⁷² In January 2003, the Italian government approved a US request for use of airspace for the deployment of troops to Iraq. However, US aircraft were only permitted to land on Italian soil in case of an emergency.⁷³ (Associated Press Worldstream - German, 12. Jan. 2003). In February 2003, the Italian government also granted maritime and land transit rights to Coalition forces.⁷⁴

The question of Italian military participation in the intervention was finally dealt with by the Supreme Defense Council of Italy, chaired by Italian President Ciampi, although according to the constitution the final word belonged to the government and the parliament. On 19 March 2003 the Council decided that no Italian military personnel would take part in

⁷² Hildreth et al. 2003: 35. The Seattle Times, 19.03.03; Copson 2003: 26; Houben 2005: 225f.; Stahl 2006: 151

⁷³ Associated Press Worldstream - German, 12 January 2003.

⁷⁴ Agence France Presse – German, 14. February 2003.

any act of war against Iraq.⁷⁵ Only when major combat had ended the Italian government decided to send Italian troops to Iraq to join the stabilization forces of the Coalition. The Italian troops included ground forces and a field hospital.⁷⁶ The Italian contingent of about 2,400 to 3,000⁷⁷ soldiers and *carabinieri* was one of the largest contributions to the Coalition and played a prominent role in the military occupation by taking up responsibility for the security of one sector in Southern Iraq.⁷⁸

10.3 Public opinion

According to the EOS-Gallup Europe Survey a broad majority of 81 per cent of Italian citizens regarded participation in a military intervention against Iraq without authorization by the United Nations Security Council as “not justified.”

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: “Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations”							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Italy	3%	14%	39%	42%	2%	18%	81%

10.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

The Italian government supported unilateral military action of Coalition forces against Iraq but at the same time carefully keeping Italy out of the war. The government did not commit Italian troops to the intervention and did not permit use of Italian territory for direct attacks on Iraq. On the other hand Italy tried to bridge the gap with France and Germany as the main critics of the Coalition war.⁷⁹ In January 2003, Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi signed the Letter of the Eight. On March 19, 2003, immediately before the start of the attack, he said that the use of force against Iraq was legitimate and Italy could not abandon the Americans “in their fight against terrorism”.⁸⁰ On the other hand Italian President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi who

⁷⁵ “Berlusconi endorses U.S. attack, security stepped up in Italy,” in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur 19 March 2003; “Italian council bans military personnel's involvement in Iraq war,” in: Xinhua General News Service, 19 March 2003.

⁷⁶ U.S. Department of Defense: “Fact Sheet: International Support and Coalition Contribution to Operational Iraqi Freedom and Post-War Iraq”, Defend America Website, 15 May 2003.

⁷⁷ The Guardian 31 October 2005; Houben 2005: 225-226.

⁷⁸ The Guardian 31 October 2005; Houben 2005: 225-226.

⁷⁹ Croci (2005), similar analysis in Barber, Tony: Italy treads a delicate Diplomatic Path, in: Financial Times (London, England) February 18, 2003. “An Italian newspaper has said that Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi has managed to keep an ambiguous though balanced position on Iraq. By doing so, he has been faithful to Washington without leading the country to war, belying those who portrayed him as a warmonger after he pledged support to the USA.” cf. BBC Monitoring International Reports, March 21, 2003.

⁸⁰ “Berlusconi endorses U.S. attack, security stepped up in Italy,” in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur March 19, 2003; Financial Times 19 March 2003.

was chairing Italy's Supreme Defense Council strictly opposed the deployment of Italian troops without a clear mandate by the United Nations.⁸¹ The White House listed Italy as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.⁸² On the same day a US Senate Resolution mentioned Italy as part of the Coalition because it had supported the January 30, 2003, declaration.⁸³

10.5 Coding results

Italian military involvement involved only logistical assistance in phases 1/2, but with the ground forces in phase 3 has to be upgraded to level 1. The support for the Coalition war without a national commitment of Italy translates into level 2 on the normative typology.

paks classification	Italy
utilitarian, phases 1/2	4
utilitarian, phase 3	1
normative, phase 1	2

11. Luxembourg

11.1 Military capabilities

Luxembourg has a small army of 900 lightly armed troops. These troops are partly integrated into the Belgian element of the Eurocorps and partly included in the NATO pool of deployable forces. There is no air force. Luxembourg is a founding member of both NATO and the European Union.

11.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

The report of the Congressional Research Service does not mention that Coalition governments sought or Luxembourg granted any transit or overflight rights to Coalition forces.⁸⁴ Luxembourg did not commit troops to Iraq.

11.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe survey reported 84 per cent for those who thought the intervention was not justified (identical to the Belgium result in the same polls) and 62 % even strictly opposing the war as absolutely unjustified.

⁸¹ La Repubblica, 16 March 2003; BBC Monitoring Europe - Political 13 March 2003.

⁸² The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.htm>.

⁸³ United States Senate 180th Congress 1st Session, Senate Concurrent Resolution 30 (S.Con.Res.30), Congressional Record, March 27, 2003.

⁸⁴ Hildreth et al. 2003 (34-36).

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Luxembourg	7%	7%	22%	62%	3%	13%	84%

11.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

In January 2003, the government of Luxembourg insisted on a diplomatic solution for the Iraq crises and said it would not support unilateral action by the US or the UK. Any military action against Iraq had to be backed by a new UN Security Council mandate.⁸⁵ Luxembourg's Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker was annoyed about the Letter of the Eight European states which had been published on January 30, 2003, because it contributed to a split among European countries. Later, Luxembourg openly sided with Belgium, France and Germany in criticizing the US-led intervention against Iraq and in advocating an independent European security policy.⁸⁶ The White House did not include Luxembourg in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.⁸⁷

11.5 Coding results

Luxembourg did not get involved in the Iraq war and fully promoted public war aversion. Therefore, it can be coded as 5 on all parts of the paks typology.

paks classification	Luxembourg
utilitarian, phases 1/2	5
utilitarian, phase 3	5
normative, phase 1	5

12. Netherlands

12.1 Military capabilities

The Netherlands maintained armed forces of 53,130 active professional troops in 2003, including 6,800 Royal Military Constabulary. The army has 23,150 troops with 308 main

⁸⁵ Süddeutsche Zeitung January 25, 2003.

⁸⁶ “Chirac, Schroeder pursue European defense union,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, April 29, 2003.

⁸⁷ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>.

battle tanks. The Dutch navy has 4 submarines, 15 principal surface combatants, a mine warfare and amphibious fleet, a naval aviation with 10 combat aircraft and 21 armed helicopters, and includes 3,100 marines as potential intervention forces. The air force has 11,050 active troops, 137 combat aircraft and 30 armed helicopters. The Netherlands are a founding member of both NATO and the EU. There is a 800 troops US army and air force base in the Netherlands.

12.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

The US requested the Dutch government to allow transit for US troops and military material on their way to the Gulf region. The Dutch government granted permission for the US military to use Schipol Airport in Amsterdam, the port of Rotterdam, as well as railway lines for military transit purposes.⁸⁸ According to a statement by the US Department of Defense issued in May 2003, the only military contribution of the Netherlands in relations to the Iraq war so far was the deployment of Patriot missile batteries to Turkey.⁸⁹ Such deployments cannot be included in the paks typology of war involvement, because they relate to the defense of Turkey in the framework of the NATO treaty and not to the Coalition intervention.

On June 6, 2006, the Dutch government decided to send 1,100 troops to southern Iraq to join the British-led multinational stabilization force.⁹⁰ The Dutch force consisted of 650 marines, three transport helicopters, a logistics team, a field hospital, a commando contingent, military police and a unit of 230 military engineers.⁹¹ In August 2003, the US State Department announced, that the Netherlands were contributing troops to the Coalition.⁹²

12.3 Public opinion

According to EOS-Gallup Europe a clear majority of 84 per cent of Dutch citizens opposed national war involvement, with 61 per cent even strongly objecting (“absolutely unjustified”).

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Netherlands	5%	7%	23%	61%	3%	13%	84%

⁸⁸ “Dutch help U.S. move men and arms to the Gulf,” in: The International Herald Tribune, February 19, 2003; “Greenpeace protest blocks US military cargo headed for Gulf,” in: Agence France Presse - English, February 20, 2003.

⁸⁹ U.S. Department of Defense: Defend America News "Fact Sheet: International Support and Coalition Contribution to Operational Iraqi Freedom and Post-War Iraq", Defend America Website, May 15, 2003

⁹⁰ “Dutch to Send 1,100 Peacekeepers to Iraq,” in: Associated Press Online, June 7, 2003.

⁹¹ “Dutch peacekeepers prepare to face August heat in Iraq”, in: Associated Press Worldstream, June 12, 2003.

⁹² U.S. State Department: "New Troop Contributions to the Coalition in Iraq", Question Taken at Daily Press Briefing of August 20 , <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/23433.htm>

A national Dutch opinion survey of 18 March 2003 confirms the impression that a majority of Dutch citizens opposed national involvement in the Iraq war. 71 per cent answered “no” to the statement: “The Netherlands should support the US militarily in the war with Iraq”, only 18 per cent said yes and 11 per cent of the respondents were in the “don’t know” category.⁹³

12.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

On January 30, the Dutch government in a written statement for parliament, announced that a UN resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq was desirable. But in the letter the government did not rule out Dutch military support for US-led intervention even without a new UN mandate.⁹⁴ On March 18, Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende stated that the Netherlands supported the military campaign to disarm Iraq, but would not deploy combat forces to the Coalition intervention. Balkenende added that the Netherlands could participate in a post-intervention peacekeeping force.⁹⁵ The White House listed the Netherlands as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.⁹⁶ On the same day a US Senate resolution counted the Netherlands as a Coalition member because of “diplomatic and strategic support”.⁹⁷

12.5 Coding results

The Netherlands contributed logistical support to the war in phase 1/2 and ground forces in phase 3. The Dutch government can be classified as having neglected public war aversion because on the one hand it clearly supported unilateral Coalition intervention against Iraq, but on the other hand held a very hesitant position to Dutch war involvement.

paks classification	Netherlands
utilitarian, phases 1/2	4
utilitarian, phase 3	1
normative, phase 1	2

⁹³ R&M Opinion Poll, 18 March, 2003 (N=524), quoted after: Everts 2004: 207.

⁹⁴ “Dutch government doesn’t rule out going to war in Iraq without U.N. approval,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, January 30, 2003.

⁹⁵ “Dutch Cabinet supports the war effort, but won’t commit troops,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, March 18, 2003.

⁹⁶ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.htm>.

⁹⁷ United States Senate 180th Congress 1st Session, Senate Concurrent Resolution 30 (S.Con.Res.30), Congressional Record, March 27, 2003.

13. Portugal

13.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, the armed forces of Portugal totaled 44,900 active troops including 9,100 conscripts. 26,700 troops served in the army which had 187 main battle tanks. 10,950 troops formed the navy with 2 submarines, 6 principal surface combatant ships and patrol, coastal and amphibious vessels. The Portuguese air force had 7,250 troops and 50 combat aircraft. Special intervention forces included a special operations unit of the army and 1,980 marines. Portugal joined NATO in 1949 and the European Union in 1986. There is a US military base in Portugal with 1,120 troops, mainly from the air force.

13.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

In January 2003, Prime Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso announced that his government had authorized US military aircraft to use Lajes airbase on the Azores in the event of a war against Iraq.⁹⁸ On March 18, 2003, Prime Minister Barroso clarified that Portugal would not provide troops or equipment for a war against Iraq.⁹⁹ A CRS survey of April 2004 lists permission to the use of airbases and seaports as Portugal's only contributions to the attack on Iraq.¹⁰⁰

On May 8, 2003, i.e. after the end of the intervention phase, the government of Portugal announced that it was willing to send 120 members of its national guard, a paramilitary police force, to Iraq in order to take over stabilization and reconstruction duties in Iraq.¹⁰¹ The deployment of these national guards had been scheduled for July, but then delayed until September because the required security conditions for the deployment of the Portuguese guards were not yet met.¹⁰² The US State Department announced in August 2003, that Portugal was "committed" to contributing troops to the Coalition.¹⁰³

13.3 Public opinion

More than three quarters of the Portuguese people regarded participation of Portugal in a military intervention in Iraq as unjustified, according to the EOS-Gallup Europe opinion poll of January 2003. However, strong opposition ("absolutely unjustified") amounted to only 28 per cent of those polled and was not as strong as in most other countries of the EU-25 sample.

⁹⁸ "Portuguese president says no troops without new Iraq resolution," in: Agence France Presse - English, February 26, 2003.

⁹⁹ "Portuguese government defends its support for United States over Iraq," in: Associated Press Worldstream, March 18, 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Copson 2003: 26.

¹⁰¹ "Portugal to send 120-strong force to help stabilize Iraq," in: Agence France Presse - English, May 8, 2003.

¹⁰² "Portugal to delay deployment of its Iraq force until September: report," in Agence France Presse - English, July 24, 2003.

¹⁰³ U.S. State Department: "New Troop Contributions to the Coalition in Iraq", Question Taken at Daily Press Briefing of August 20, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/23433.htm>.

EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003: „Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations“							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Portugal	2%	15%	49%	28%	7%	16%	77%

13.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

While Portuguese Prime Minister Barroso was one of eight European leaders who signed the Letter of the Eight, President Jorge Sampaio strongly supported French President Jacques Chirac's vocal opposition to war.¹⁰⁴ On February 27, 2003, Prime Minister Barroso told parliament that a new UN Security Council resolution was needed in order to legitimize a US-led military strike against Iraq.¹⁰⁵ However, on March 10, 2003, the Prime Minister changed his mind and said that Portugal supported a US-led war on Iraq even without United Nations backing.¹⁰⁶ The White House listed Portugal as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.¹⁰⁷ On the same day a US Senate Resolution mentioned Portugal as part of the Coalition because it had supported the January 30, 2003, declaration.¹⁰⁸

13.5 Coding results

On the utilitarian typology Portugal is ranked 4 for the phases 1/2 and 3 for phase 3. The classification of the Portuguese normative war involvement is difficult because of contradicting statements of the Prime Minister and the President. Therefore, level 3 seems to be appropriate.

paks classification	Portugal
utilitarian, phases 1/2	4
utilitarian, phase 3	3
normative, phase 1	3

¹⁰⁴ “Portuguese president says no troops without new Iraq resolution,” in: Agence France Presse - English, February 26, 2003.

¹⁰⁵ “Portugal says second UN resolution on Iraq needed to legitimize intervention,” in: Agence France Presse - English, February 27, 2003.

¹⁰⁶ “Portugal backs US war on Iraq even without UN mandate,” in: Agence France Presse - English, March 10, 2003

¹⁰⁷ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.htm>.

¹⁰⁸ United States Senate 180th Congress 1st Session, Senate Concurrent Resolution 30 (S.Con.Res.30), Congressional Record, March 27, 2003.

14. Spain

14.1 Military capabilities

Spain had 150,700 active troops in 2003. The Spanish army included 95,600 troops and 552 main battle tanks. Spain had sizeable naval capabilities of 22,900 troops, with one aircraft carrier, 6 submarines, 16 additional principal surface combatant ships plus patrol and coastal combatant, mine warfare and amphibious ships and naval aviation with 17 combat aircraft and 37 armed helicopters. The Spanish air force had 22,750 troops and 186 combat aircraft. Special intervention capabilities included a rapid reaction division and a special operations command of the army and 5,600 marines.

After the democratization of Spain, the country joined NATO in 1982 and the EU in 1986. There were 2,030 US troops based in Spain, mostly from the navy.

14.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

On January 23, 2003, Foreign Minister Ana Palacio told parliament that the Spanish government would allow the U.S. to use military bases in Spain in the event of a war against Iraq. She added that the Spanish government had also discussed the possibility of Spanish participation in an international military action against Iraq with the US government.¹⁰⁹ On March 17, 2003, Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar emphasized that US forces could use the Rota naval base and the Moron air base, which were both under bilateral defense accords, but that Spain had no further obligations to the United States.¹¹⁰ On the next day the Prime Minister ruled out deploying Spanish troops to the Coalition forces attacking Iraq but said Spain would offer warplanes to defend Turkey and send military personnel and equipment in a non-combat, support capacity. Aznar said this would include a hospital vessel, a mine-clearing unit, a team of chemical detection experts, a frigate and an oil tanker vessel, with personnel totaling around 900 people.¹¹¹ The Spanish fleet reached Iraq on April 10, 2003.¹¹² The Spanish government emphasized that it was taking every precaution to avoid casualties.¹¹³

In May 2003 the US Department of Defense mentioned that Spanish military contributions to the Coalition intervention included the deployment of one frigate and one support ship to the North Arabian Gulf and a military field hospital to the North Arabian Gulf

¹⁰⁹ "Spain promises U.S. use of its bases in event of Iraq war," in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur January 23, 2003.

¹¹⁰ "Aznar again avoids saying if Spain will contribute forces to war against Iraq," Associated Press Worldstream, March 17, 2003.

¹¹¹ "Aznar rules out participation of Spanish troops in Iraq attack," Associated Press Worldstream, March 18, 2003; "Opposition says Spanish deployment to Iraq illegal," in: Associated Press Worldstream March 19, 2003

¹¹² "Spanish Forces Begin Medical And Humanitarian Aid Mission In Iraq," in: World News Connection, April 10, 2003.

¹¹³ "Spanish Navy Expects To Begin Distributing Aid In Iraq 9 April," in: World News Connection, April 3, 2003.

and to Umm Qasr.¹¹⁴ On June 12, 2003, Spain announced that it would take deputy command of a multinational brigade deployed to the Polish occupation zone. This brigade consisted of 1,300 Spanish troops plus 1,200 soldiers from the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua¹¹⁵ and was to be fully deployed in September 2003.¹¹⁶ In August 2003, the US State Department announced that Spain was contributing troops to the Coalition.¹¹⁷

14.3 Public opinion

A clear majority of 78 per cent of Spanish respondents opposed military participation of their country in a military intervention against Iraq, according to the EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003.

“EOS-Gallup Europe (2003): Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations”							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Spain	2%	10%	31%	47%	11%	12%	78%

Spanish national opinion polls, such as two Intergallup polls of February 2003 and April 2003, confirm the impression that a clear majority of Spanish citizens opposed national involvement in the Iraq war.

Intergallup (Feb. 2003): “In the case of a military intervention in Iraq, would you approve or disapprove of a government decision to send Spanish troops?” ¹¹⁸		
Agree	Disagree	DK/NA
6 %	90 %	4 %

Intergallup (Apr. 2003): Do you consider the participation of Spain together with the US and Great Britain in the war against Iraq is legal or illegal? ¹¹⁹		
Legal	Illegal	DK/Na
16 %	67 %	17 %

¹¹⁴ U.S. Department of Defense: Defend America News "Fact Sheet:International Support and Coalition Contribution to Operational Iraqi Freedom and Post-War Iraq", Defend America Website, May 15, 2003

¹¹⁵ “Spain hopes for more countries to join multinational Iraq force,” in: Agence France Presse - English, June 25, 2003.

¹¹⁶ “Spain to join Poland in central Iraq peacekeeping mission,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, June 12, 2003.

¹¹⁷ U.S. State Department: "New Troop Contributions to the Coalition in Iraq", Question Taken at Daily Press Briefing of August 20 , <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/23433.htm>

¹¹⁸ Intergallup, 3-24 February, 2003 (N=1,008) , source: Everts 2004: 211.

¹¹⁹ Intergallup, 1-22 April, 2003 (N=1,007) , source: Everts 2004 : 211.

A overwhelming majority of Spanish people did not only oppose deployment of Spanish troops to Iraq, but also the use of military bases in Spain by Coalition forces.

Intergallup (Apr. 2003): “Do you agree or disagree with the use of air bases in Spain by the forces of the Anglo-American coalition?” ¹²⁰		
Agree	Disagree	DK/NA
12 %	71 %	14 %

14.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

Prime Minister Aznar signed the Letter of the Eight in January 2003 supporting military action against Iraq. In the UN Security Council, Spain, as a non permanent member, joined the United States and Britain and co-sponsored a draft resolution seeking authorization for war to disarm Iraq.¹²¹ On March 20, 2003, Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar reiterated his support for the United States in its war against Iraq. He argued that it was not the US, but Iraq who had violated international law.¹²² The White House listed Spain as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.¹²³ On the same day a US Senate resolution lauded Spain for its “strong support” for the Coalition, including its support for the January 30, 2003, declaration.¹²⁴

14.5 Coding results

Spain supported the Coalition war with non-combat rear support troops in phases 1/2 and with ground forces in phase 3. In defiance of clear domestic opposition the Spanish government actively justified the war which has to be classified as level 1.

paks classification	Spain
utilitarian, phases 1/2	3
utilitarian, phase 3	1
normative, phase 1	1

¹²⁰ Intergallup, 1-22 April, 2003 (N=1,007), source: Everts 2004 : 211.

¹²¹ “Aznar rules out participation of Spanish troops in Iraq attack,” Associated Press Worldstream, March 18, 2003.

¹²² “Spanish leader reaffirms support for US on Iraq,” Agence France Presse - English, March 20, 2003.

¹²³ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.htm>.

¹²⁴ United States Senate 180th Congress 1st Session, Senate Concurrent Resolution 30 (S.Con.Res.30), Congressional Record, March 27, 2003.

15. Sweden

15.1 Military capabilities

Sweden had active armed forces of 27,600 in 2003, including 12,300 conscripts. These comparatively small active forces are backed by 262,000 reservists. The army has 13,800 active troops with 280 main battle tanks. The Swedish navy of 7,900 troops maintains 7 submarines plus an extensive fleet of patrol and coastal combatants, mine warfare and amphibious vessels. The air force has 207 combat aircraft and a special armed forces helicopter wing with personnel from all three services and some conscripts.

Sweden has a long tradition of being a neutral country. However, since Sweden joined the EU in 1995 its neutrality is under dispute.

15.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

There are not reports on Swedish military support for the Iraq war.¹²⁵ A December 2003 report by the Congressional Research Service does not mention any Swedish war contribution.¹²⁶

15.3 Public opinion

According to EOS-Gallup Europe, in January 2003 a clear majority of 85 per cent of Swedish citizens opposed a military participation of their country in a military intervention against Iraq, with three quarters even strictly rejecting it as “absolutely unjustified.”

“EOS-Gallup Europe (2003): Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations”							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Sweden	3%	6%	10%	75%	6%	9%	85%

15.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

On January 15, 2003, Sweden's Prime Minister Göran Persson said that a U.S. attack against Iraq must have UN Security Council approval. The Swedish government consistently kept to this position. Thus, when the Iraq intervention started, Persson called the war illegal - because it lacked authorization by the UN Security Council -and "an arbitrary military attack" that could be emulated by other countries that "lack the democratic control and restraining

¹²⁵ Arms transfers are not taken into consideration by the paks project, cf. Hummel 2007.

¹²⁶ Hildreth et. al. 2003: 34-36.

intentions that exist in the United States and its allies."¹²⁷ The White House did not include Sweden in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.¹²⁸

15.5 Coding results

No Swedish war involvement could be found and the Swedish government outspokenly criticized the Coalition intervention. Hence the coding is 5 for all parts of the paks typology.

paks classification	Sweden
utilitarian, phases 1/2	5
utilitarian, phase 3	5
normative, phase 1	5

16. United Kingdom

16.1 Military capabilities

The United Kingdom is a major conventional military power and also a nuclear power. In 2003 British armed forces totaled 212,660 active professional troops. British Forces were split into strategic forces of 1,000, an army of 116,670, the Royal Navy of 42,370 and the Royal Air Force of 53,620. The army had 543 main battle tanks and 126 attack helicopters. The Royal Navy commanded large and diversified capabilities of three aircraft carriers with 34 combat aircraft and 178 armed helicopters, 15 submarines (including 4 nuclear armed strategic submarines), 34 principal surface combatant ships and a fleet of patrol and coastal combatants, mine warfare and amphibious vessels. The Royal Air Force had 415 combat aircraft. Special intervention forces include 3,750 Gurkhas, one special forces regiment of the army and a Royal Marines Command including navy and army elements.

The UK is a founding member of NATO and joined the EU in 1973. There are US bases in the UK with normally 11,097 troops, mostly from the air force. 22,000 army troops form the British "Rhine Army" which is permanently based in North Germany. More than 10,000 troops mostly from the army were committed to Northern Ireland in 2003. The UK still has a global network of overseas bases, among them the sovereign British bases in Cyprus with 3,275 troops, and the large Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean which is mainly used by US forces.

¹²⁷ "Swedish prime minister blasts United States for war in Iraq," in: Associated Press Worldstream, March 25, 2003.

¹²⁸ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>.

16.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

In a report of the Congressional Research Service, updated April 22, 2003, Copson reports that British forces deployed to Iraq included an armored Battle Group, a naval Task Force including Royal Marines, and Royal Air Force units, totaling about 47,000 personnel.¹²⁹ This amounted to almost one quarter of total British armed forces. In May 2003, the US Department of Defense announced that the United Kingdom contributed ground, navy and air forces to the Coalition intervention.¹³⁰ In August 2003, the US State Department said, that the United Kingdom was contributing troops to the Coalition.¹³¹ A December 2003 report of the US Congressional Research Service summarized that the United Kingdom had nearly 12,000 British troops in the southern part of Iraq, which it governed as responsible occupation power.¹³²

16.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003 reported 68 per cent of British respondents citizens opposing national participation in a US-led Iraq intervention without a preliminary decision of the United Nations, with 41 per cent regarding it even “absolutely unjustified”.

EOS-Gallup Europe: “Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq ? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations”							
	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
United Kingdom	9%	18%	27%	41%	6%	27%	68%

Other opinion surveys seem to contradict these results. For example, a Gallup International poll conducted almost at the same time showed 44 per cent support among British citizens for military action against Iraq and 41 per cent opposing it.

Gallup International: “If military action goes ahead against Iraq, do you think YOUR COUNTRY should or should not support this action?” ¹³³ (N = 1,255)			
14-29 January, 2003	Should support	Should not support	Don't know/ No answer
United Kingdom (excluding Northern Ireland)	44	41	15

¹²⁹ Copson 2003: 13..

¹³⁰ U.S. Department of Defense: Defend America News "Fact Sheet: International Support and Coalition Contribution to Operational Iraqi Freedom and Post-War Iraq", Defend America Website, May 15, 2003

¹³¹ U.S. State Department: "New Troop Contributions to the Coalition in Iraq", Question Taken at Daily Press Briefing of August 20 , <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/23433.htm>.

¹³² Hildreth et al. 2003.

¹³³ Gallup International, 14-29 January 2003, quoted after : Everts 2004: 182.

Most interestingly the 41 per cent figure for those responding “should not support” correspond to the EOS-Gallup Europe result of 41 per cent regarding British war involvement without UN mandate “absolutely unjustified.” It seems to be crucial how to ask the group of those being skeptical about the war but not absolutely opposing war involvement. In his detailed analysis of British public opinion polls covering the pre-intervention phase Jan Stuchlik comments on contradictions among polls. He thinks that the results very much depend on the framing and conditioning of the questions asked:

“The polls from early March, 2003, showed that the British public conditioned its support not only on a UN mandate. This mandate would have been a strong argument for them only if it was followed by evidence that Iraq had produced WMDs¹³⁴ If none of the conditions had been fulfilled, only a quarter of respondents would have supported military intervention with British participation, and more than 60% would have been against such action.”¹³⁵

While the existence of polls showing a public majority supporting British participation in the intervention cannot be ignored, and has been widely used by the British government to support its war policy, there is enough additional evidence from independent sources to back the EOS-Gallup Europe results. Additional survey results include a ICM/The Guardian poll of March 2003 showing 51 per cent disapproving Britain backing US military intervention against Iraq (even without mentioning the UN mandate and WMDs issues). And the British internet-based market research firm YouGov, which is proud of its comparatively accurate election polls, found that both in January and in March 2003 almost two thirds of British citizens thought that their country should not participate in a US-led Iraq intervention without a UN mandate, a figure which closely matches the EOS-Gallup Europe results.

ICM/The Guardian, 15-17 March, 2003: “Would you approve or disapprove of Britain backing American military action against Iraq?” ¹³⁶ (N=1,003)		
Approve	Disapprove	Don’t know
35	51	15

YouGov: “If the UN does not take action and the United States launches such a military action, should Britain contribute to the US-led force?” ¹³⁷			
	Should	Should not	Don’t know
16-17 Jan., 2003	23	67	10
6-7 March, 2003	26	65	8

¹³⁴ WMDs = weapons of mass destruction.

¹³⁵ Stuchlik, Jan: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Discourse in the United Kingdom and France during the Iraq Crisis, in: Perspectives 23 (2005), 5-35, p. 25.

¹³⁶ quoted after : Everts 2004: 215.

¹³⁷ quoted after : Everts 2004: 218.

For the purpose of the paks study it seems to be plausible to proceed on the assumption that a clear majority of British citizens – like citizens in other European countries – did not support their country’s war involvement under the conditions the intervention actually happened.

16.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

British Prime Minister Tony Blair signed the Declaration of the Eight in January 2003 supporting military action against Iraq. He was the closest ally to US President Bush during the Iraq crisis. He frequently joined US President Bush in public statements or press conferences to justify the Iraq intervention. The White House listed the United Kingdom as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.¹³⁸ The US Senate, in a resolution of the same day, enthusiastically mentioned the United Kingdom as a key member of the Coalition because of its military participation in the intervention, its “strong support” for the Coalition and its support for the January 30, 2003, declaration.¹³⁹

16.5 Coding results

Next to the United States the United Kingdom is the key intervention power both in utilitarian and normative terms.

paks classification	United Kingdom
utilitarian, phases 1/2	1
utilitarian, phase 3	1
normative, phase 1	1

¹³⁸ The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.htm>

¹³⁹ United States Senate 180th Congress 1st Session, Senate Concurrent Resolution 30 (S.Con.Res.30), Congressional Record, March 27, 2003.

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18. Annex

Annex 1: Breakdown of Coalition Members, as reported by official US sources

Source and date of information	White House [1] March 27, 2003	U.S. Senate [2] March 27, 2003	U.S. Department of Defense [3] May 15, 2003	U.S. State Department [4] August 20, 2003
Austria	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Belgium	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Denmark	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Military participation in intervention, supporter of the January 30, 2003, declaration	Deployed one coastal submarine and one frigate in the North Arabian Gulf, three man surgical team to Jordan	Contributed troops
Finland	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
France	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Germany	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Greece	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Ireland	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Italy	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Supporter of the January 30, 2003, declaration	Ground Forces to be deployed, deploying field hospital	Contributed troops
Luxembourg	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Netherlands	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Important diplomatic and strategic support	Deployed Patriot batteries to Turkey	Contributed troops
Portugal	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Supporter of the January 30, 2003, declaration	not mentioned	Committed to providing troops
Spain	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Strong support for coalition, supporter of the January 30, 2003, declaration	Deployed one frigate and one support ship to the North Arabian Gulf, Field Hospital to North Arabian Gulf and Umm Qasr	Contributed troops
Sweden	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
United Kingdom	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Military participation in intervention, strong support for coalition, supporter of the January 30, 2003, declaration	Ground, Navy, Air Forces	Contributed troops

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- [1] The White House: Operation Iraqi Freedom. Coalition Members. March 27, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>.
- [2] United States Senate 180th Congress 1st Session, Senate Concurrent Resolution 30 (S.Con.Res.30), Congressional Record, March 27, 2003.
- [3] U.S. Department of Defense, Defend America News "Fact Sheet: International Support and Coalition Contribution to Operational Iraqi Freedom and Post-War Iraq", Defend America Website, May 15, 2003; recoded according to original source, excluding "international financial support".
- [4] U.S. State Department: "New Troop Contributions to the Coalition in Iraq", Question Taken at Daily Press Briefing of August 20, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/23433.htm>.

Basic source: <http://www.usiraqprocon.org/pop/coalitionmembers.html>

Annex 2: EOS Gallup Public Opinion Poll of January, 2003

Question: "Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq? If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations"

	Absolutely justified	Rather justified	Rather unjustified	Absolutely unjustified	don't know/no answer	justified	not justified
Belgium	4%	9%	25%	59%	4%	13%	84%
Denmark	4%	10%	25%	58%	4%	13%	83%
Germany	4%	6%	29%	61%	1%	10%	89%
Greece	2%	7%	24%	64%	3%	9%	88%
Spain	2%	10%	31%	47%	11%	12%	78%
Ireland	2%	11%	24%	56%	6%	13%	81%
Italy	3%	14%	39%	42%	2%	18%	81%
Luxembourg	7%	7%	22%	62%	3%	13%	84%
Netherlands	5%	7%	23%	61%	3%	13%	84%
Austria	2%	7%	14%	71%	6%	8%	85%
Portugal	2%	15%	49%	28%	7%	16%	77%
Finland	1%	6%	18%	72%	4%	7%	89%
France	3%	10%	25%	60%	3%	13%	84%
Sweden	3%	6%	10%	75%	6%	9%	85%
United Kingdom	9%	18%	27%	41%	6%	27%	68%

Source:

EOS-Gallup Europe 2003: International Crisis Survey, January 2003. Brussels: EOS Gallup

Annex 3: “Letter of the Eight”**Europe and America Must Stand United**

Times, London, January 30, 2003

THE real bond between the United States and Europe is the values we share: democracy, individual freedom, human rights and the Rule of Law. These values crossed the Atlantic with those who sailed from Europe to help create the USA. Today they are under greater threat than ever.

The attacks of 11 September showed just how far terrorists — the enemies of our common values — are prepared to go to destroy them. Those outrages were an attack on all of us. In standing firm in defence of these principles, the governments and people of the United States and Europe have amply demonstrated the strength of their convictions. Today more than ever, the transatlantic bond is a guarantee of our freedom.

We in Europe have a relationship with the United States which has stood the test of time. Thanks in large part to American bravery, generosity and far-sightedness, Europe was set free from the two forms of tyranny that devastated our continent in the 20th century: Nazism and Communism. Thanks, too, to the continued cooperation between Europe and the United States we have managed to guarantee peace and freedom on our continent. The transatlantic relationship must not become a casualty of the current Iraqi regime’s persistent attempts to threaten world security.

In today’s world, more than ever before, it is vital that we preserve that unity and cohesion. We know that success in the day-to-day battle against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction demands unwavering determination and firm international cohesion on the part of all countries for whom freedom is precious.

The Iraqi regime and its weapons of mass destruction represent a clear threat to world security. This danger has been explicitly recognised by the United Nations. All of us are bound by Security Council Resolution 1441, which was adopted unanimously. We Europeans have since reiterated our backing for Resolution 1441, our wish to pursue the UN route and our support for the Security Council, at the Prague Nato Summit and the Copenhagen European Council.

In doing so, we sent a clear, firm and unequivocal message that we would rid the world of the danger posed by Saddam Hussein’s weapons of mass destruction. We must remain united in insisting that his regime is disarmed. The solidarity, cohesion and determination of the international community are our best hope of achieving this peacefully. Our strength lies in unity.

The combination of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism is a threat of incalculable consequences. It is one at which all of us should feel concerned. Resolution 1441 is Saddam Hussein’s last chance to disarm using peaceful means. The opportunity to avoid greater confrontation rests with him. Sadly this week the UN weapons inspectors have confirmed that his long-established pattern of deception, denial and non-compliance with UN Security Council resolutions is continuing.

Europe has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Indeed, they are the first victims of Iraq's current brutal regime. Our goal is to safeguard world peace and security by ensuring that this regime gives up its weapons of mass destruction. Our governments have a common responsibility to face this threat. Failure to do so would be nothing less than negligent to our own citizens and to the wider world.

The United Nations Charter charges the Security Council with the task of preserving international peace and security. To do so, the Security Council must maintain its credibility by ensuring full compliance with its resolutions. We cannot allow a dictator to systematically violate those Resolutions. If they are not complied with, the Security Council will lose its credibility and world peace will suffer as a result.

We are confident that the Security Council will face up to its responsibilities.

José María Aznar, Spain

José Manuel Durão Barroso, Portugal

Silvio Berlusconi, Italy

Tony Blair, United Kingdom

Václav Havel, Czech Republic

Peter Medgyessy, Hungary

Leszek Miller, Poland

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Denmark

Source:

Text as published on Times Online at <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/article858456.ece>

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