



Parliamentary Control of Security Policy

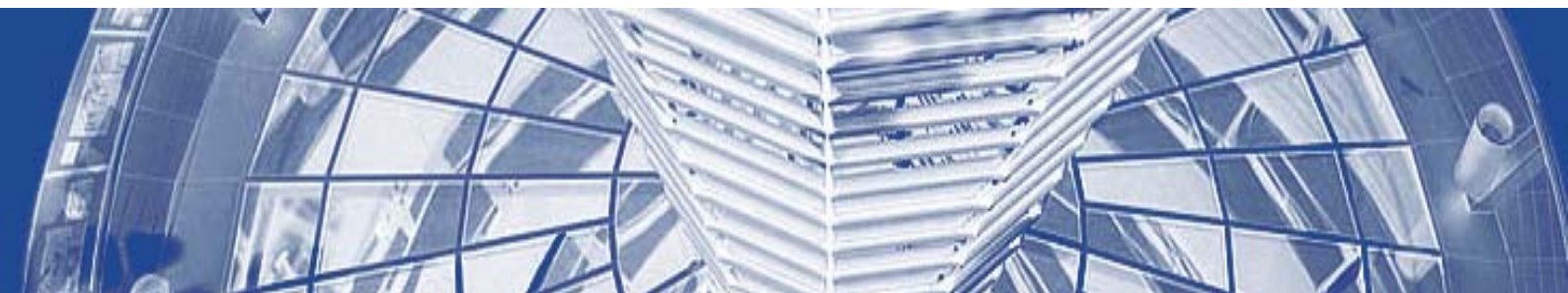
*Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf
School of Social Sciences*

Hartwig Hummel

**A Survey of Involvement
of 10 European States in the Iraq War 2003
(revised version)**

paks working paper 9

2007





PAKS WORKING PAPER SERIES

EDITOR:

Research project on Parliamentary Control of Security Policy (paks)

Universitätsstr. 1, D-40225 Düsseldorf

Phone: +49 (211) 81 15 097

Fax: +49 (211) 81 14 075

Email: dieterich@phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de

Homepage: <http://www.paks.uni-duesseldorf.de/>

Funded by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)

NOTES ON THE AUTHOR:

Prof. Dr. Hartwig Hummel, Professor for European Politics and International Relations at the School of Social Sciences at Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf.

E-Mail: hummel@phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Copyright © 2007 [paks]. All rights reserved.

ISSN 1864-9467 (Printversion)
ISSN 1864-9475 (Internetversion)

Hartwig Hummel

**A Survey of Involvement
of 10 European States in the Iraq War 2003**

**paks working paper 9
2007**

Contents

1. Introduction	4
2. Cyprus.....	7
3. Czech Republic.....	9
4. Estonia	12
5. Hungary	14
6. Latvia	16
7. Lithuania.....	18
8. Malta.....	21
9. Poland.....	22
10. Slovakia	24
11. Slovenia	27
Bibliography	30
Annex.....	31

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 10 countries whose negotiations on accession to the European Union had been concluded in December 2002. They eventually acceded to the EU in 2004.

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

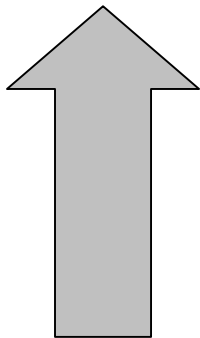
(1) conventional warfare / ground forces	combat troops with a high personal risk	
(2) asymmetrical warfare / air and naval forces	combat troops with a low personal risk but high financial burden	
(3) rear support, peacekeeping and reconstruction / rear ground troops	low financial burden but some personal 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

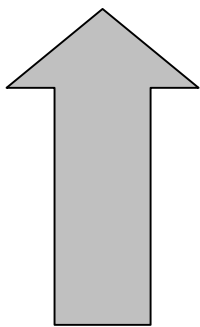
(1) defiance of societal norm	active justification of war and war involvement	
(2) neglect of societal norm	cautious approval of the war, hesitant position to war involvement	
(3) “Schwejk” category	diffuse or fragmented position to the war and to war involvement	
(4) support of societal norm	cautious 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

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.

and by the prime ministers of Hungary and Poland. The letter stressed the vital importance of 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. Cyprus

2.1 Military capabilities

Cyprus is divided into the internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus in the southern part of Cyprus island and the separatist Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. This survey covered only the Republic of Cyprus. The National Guard of the Republic of Cyprus has 10,000 troops, including 8,700 conscripts. It has 104 main battle tanks, no combat aircraft, but 12 armed helicopters, and some patrol and coastal defense maritime capabilities. 1,250 Greek troops are based in Cyprus. In 2004 the Republic of Cyprus became a member of the European Union.

Geographically, Cyprus is situated in the neighborhood of the Middle Eastern region. There are two British military bases in Cyprus which are not part of the Republic of Cyprus but remain under British sovereignty. Because of its geographical location and because of the presence of two British bases, Cyprus is a potential support base for any Western intervention in the Middle East.

2.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

In the pre-intervention phase the Cypriot government, on the one hand, supported Iraq-related UN missions. For example, the government offered the UN to host interviews of Iraqi scientists conducted by UN weapons inspectors. On the other hand, the Cypriot government to grant logistical support to the Coalition. It allowed the large British intervention fleet to anchor off its coast on its way to the Persian Gulf² and also granted use of airspace and port facilities to British forces.³ On 20 March 2003, the Cypriot government approved a US request to open airspace and facilities to US aircraft on the condition that civil airspace would not be endangered and that facilities would be used for humanitarian issues, emergency cases and search and rescue operations only.⁴ There are no reports that Cyprus has sent any military personnel to Iraq in the occupation phase.

2 Associated Press Worldstream, 1 February 2003.

3 World News Connection, 16 February 2003; Hildreth et al. 2003: 12.

4 BBC Monitoring International Reports, 20 March 2003; Xinhua General News Service, 20 March 2003.

2.3 Public opinion

According to the results of a EOS-Gallup Europe survey, 90 per cent of the Cypriot citizens regarded national involvement in a military intervention against Iraq as “not justified”, and 83% even as “absolutely not justified”. Even more remarkable is the fact that only 2 per cent regarded it a “justified” at all.

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
Cyprus	2%	0%	7%	83%	8%	2%	90%

2.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

On 13 March 2003, the Cypriot Parliament unanimously approved a resolution on Iraq in which it expressed the need to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq and in which it opposed any unilateral military action.⁵ On 19 March, Cypriot Defense Minister Kyriakos Mavronicolas said that Cyprus did not want to participate in the war against Iraq. Any facilities offered by Cyprus would be granted only for humanitarian purposes. He added that British military bases would be used only for providing supplies and not as a launch pad for the attacks against Iraq.⁶ The White House did not include Cyprus in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.⁷

2.5 Coding results

Cyprus provided logistical support to the Coalition while officially keeping it limited to humanitarian purposes, but otherwise did not get involved in the Iraq war. Both the government and the parliament of the Republic of Cyprus expressed their unambiguous opposition to the Iraq intervention.

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

5 Xinhua General News Service, 13 March 2003.

6 BBC Monitoring International Reports, 19 March 2003; “Cyprus not to become launch pad in Iraq war,” in: Xinhua General News Service 19 March 2003.

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

3. Czech Republic

3.1 Military capabilities

The Czech Republic completely restructured its armed forces after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the break-up of former Czechoslovakia. In 2003, the Czech Armed Forces totaled 57,050 active troops including conscripts. The Czech forces are split into an army of 39,850, an air force of 13,100 and central headquarter staff of 4,100. The army had 541 main battle tanks and included a rapid-reaction brigade. The air force of 13,100 had 54 combat aircraft, 34 attack helicopters and some transport aircraft. The Czech forces are specialized in nuclear, chemical and biological weapons reconnaissance and counter-measures. The Czech Republic joined NATO in 1999 and the EU in 2004.

3.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

As part of Operation Enduring Freedom the Czech Republic had been deploying a special anti-chemical warfare military battalion to Kuwait. In January 2003, the Czech government decided to strengthen this battalion with extra troops. At the same time the government strictly limited actual military action of these Czech troops to operations under a new mandate of the UN Security Council or to Iraq's use of weapons of mass destruction.⁸ Therefore, these troops could not join the Coalition forces which were not operating under the new UN Security Council mandate required by the Czech government.⁹ Also in January 2003, the Czech government, in a statement approved by Czech parliament, granted basing, transit and overflight rights to Coalition troops.¹⁰

Although the Czech government had been trying to separate its anti-chemical warfare battalion based in Kuwait from the Iraq intervention for some time, it started to link the Czech troops in Kuwait to the Coalition war in a statement on Czech Iraq policy issued on March 19, 2003. In this statement the Czech government announced that these troops would join in protective and humanitarian work in Iraq should weapons of mass destruction be used against the civilian population or coalition units.¹¹ However, Prime Minister Spidla made it clear that Czech soldiers would not participate in direct combat.¹² A Congressional Research Service report of December 2003 mentioned that 430 Czech troops from the 4th NBC Defense Company were "stationed in the region to reinforce U.S. anti-chemical warfare capabilities", but that they were not authorized to engage in any attack on Iraq that was not authorized by the UN Security Council.¹³

During the intervention phase the Czech government sent a military hospital to the city of Basra. The government explained that this deployment was neither part of Operation Enduring Freedom (which covered the Czech units based in Kuwait) nor of Operation Iraqi

8 Associated Press Worldstream, 13 January 2003; Czech News Agency, 14 January 2003; Král/Pachta: 2005: 37.

9 BBC Monitoring International Reports, 19 March 2003.

10 Král/Pachta: 2005: 37.

11 BBC Monitoring International Reports, 19 March 2003.

12 BBC Monitoring Europe – Political, 19. March 2003/CTK news agency.

13 Hildreth et al. 2003: 34.

Freedom (the Coalition forces attack on Iraq). Rather, it was a strictly national contribution under UN Security Council Resolution 1472 of March 28, 2003¹⁴, although with close coordination with Operation Iraqi Freedom commanders.¹⁵ The Czech military officially opened the Basra field hospital on May 18, 2003 although Czech medical personnel had been providing services there since April 25, 2003.¹⁶

In May 2003, the US Department of Defense listed the deployment of the Czech Republic nuclear, biological and chemical weapons countermeasures (NBC-CM) team to Kuwait and the field hospital to Basra as part of the Coalition warfare.¹⁷ After the end of the intervention phase the Czech Republic sent 400 Czech troops to the Iraq Stabilization Force. Czech troops included 280 medics already in the field hospital in Basra, 50 military police and 15 soldiers to protect aid workers.¹⁸ In August 2003, the US State Department announced that the Czech Republic was contributing troops to the Coalition.¹⁹

3.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe survey reports a 65 per cent majority of Czechs to regard national involvement in a military intervention against Iraq 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
Czech Republic	11%	19%	28%	37%	5%	30%	65%

The publicly-funded CVVM opinion poll institute conducted several polls confirming that a clear and consistent majority of Czech citizens was opposed to their country's war involvement.

14 This resolution, inter alia, called on the international community to provide humanitarian assistance to the Iraqi people, cf. UN press release at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2003/sc7713.doc.htm>.

15 Král/Pachta: 2005: 43-44.

16 Hildreth et al. 2003: 12-13 and 38.

17 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

18 Hildreth et al. 2003: 12-13 and 38.

19 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>

“support for a military operation against Iraq without UN Security Council mandate” ²⁰		
poll	in favor	against
11/2002	17 %	69 %
01/2003	13 %	76 %
03/2003	10 %	83 %

3.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

President Václav Havel signed the “Letter of the Eight” in January 2003 which signalled support for military action against Iraq. However, the Czech Prime Minister and his government insisted on the need for a new UN mandate before starting military action against Iraq. The government stated its willingness to contribute to such an intervention backed by the UN Security Council.²¹ The Czech government insisted that the Czech Republic would not participate in any military action in the absence of such a new UN mandate.²² On March 19 2003, Czech Foreign Minister Svoboda explained the government’s position on the Coalition intervention. He said that, on the one hand, the Czech Republic would stand on the side of the Coalition of countries which supported the United States in its war against Iraq. But, on the other hand, support for the US as alliance partner of the Czech Republic was purely political and Czech troops in the region were not part of a military operation.²³ On 20 March 2003, newly installed Czech President Klaus repeated that the Czech Republic was not part of the Coalition war against Iraq. He called former President Havel’s support for the “Letter of the Eight” his private initiative.²⁴

Notwithstanding these subtle reservations the White House bluntly listed the Czech Republic as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.²⁵ On the same day, a US Senate Resolution mentioned the Czech Republic as part of the Coalition because President Havel had supported the January 30, 2003, declaration.²⁶

3.5 Coding results

In the utilitarian typology the Czech Republic is coded as rear support for phases 1/2 and ground forces for phase 3. Here, the rear support code is not given because of the deployment of NBC-CM experts to Kuwait since they did not enter the Iraqi battlefield. However, the presence of Czech medical personnel in Basra justifies the rear support coding. In the

20 Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění - Sociologický ústav AV ČR, Press releases, <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/index.php?lang=1&disp=zpravy&r=1&shw=100136>; <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/index.php?lang=1&disp=zpravy&r=1&shw=100166>; <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/index.php?lang=1&disp=zpravy&r=1&shw=100200>.

21 Hammock 2003: 89.

22 BBC Monitoring Europe – Political, 19 March 2003/CTK news agency.

23 BBC Monitoring Europe – Political, 19 March 2003/CTK news agency.

24 Czech News Agency, 20 March 2003.

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

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

normative typology the Czech Republic is the prototypical case of the Schwejk category for phase 1.

paks classification	Czech Republic
utilitarian, phases 1/2	3
utilitarian, phase 3	1
normative, phase 1	3

4. Estonia

4.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, Estonia had armed forces of 5,510 active troops (including 1,310 conscripts) which were split into 2,300 centrally controlled units (border guards), some 2,550 army troops, 440 navy troops and 220 air force troops. The army has no main battle tanks and the air force has no combat aircraft, only surveillance and transport capabilities including helicopters. The Estonian navy is a small fleet of patrol and coastal combatants and mine warfare vessels. Estonia regained its independence in 1991 and then built up its small armed forces. In 2004 Estonia joined both NATO and the EU.

4.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

On January 27, 2003, Estonian Prime Minister Siim Kallas announced that the Estonian government granted use of airspace to Coalition aircraft, but excluded Estonia military participation in the intervention phase.²⁷ A week later he stressed that the lack of military capacities was one of the reasons for the non-participation of Estonia.²⁸ On April, 30, 2003, Estonian Defense Minister Margus Hanson said, that, on a request by the US, Estonia would contribute up to 55 troops to post-intervention Coalition forces in Iraq. This would include a 32-strong light infantry unit to guard facilities, an 11-strong cargo handling team to unload cargos landing in Kuwait and a three-man team of divers searching for mines.²⁹ On May 7, the Estonian Parliament passed a resolution allowing the government to send up to 55 troops to Coalition forces.³⁰ In August 2003, the US State Department announced, that Estonia was contributing troops to the Coalition.³¹

27 Välisministeerium, Estonian Review, January 27 - February 2, 2003.

28 Välisministeerium, Estonian Review, February 3 - 7, 2003 .

29 Välisministeerium, Estonian Review, April 28 - May 4, 2003.

30 Välisministeerium, Estonian Review, May 5 - 11, 2003.

31 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>.

4.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe public opinion survey shows that in January 2003 a clear majority of 85 per cent of Estonians regarded national military involvement in a military intervention without UN authorization 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
Estonia	2%	6%	24%	60%	8%	8%	85%

4.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

The Foreign Minister of Estonia declared support for a US-led military intervention in Iraq by co-sponsoring the Vilnius Declaration of 5 February 2003. When the intervention started on March 20, 2003, the government of Estonia stated that it understood the need for disarming Iraq and that Estonia was ready to contribute troops to post-intervention stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq. On the next day, Prime Minister Kallas confirmed that a possible military contribution of Estonia was related to post-conflict Iraq.³² The White House listed Estonia as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.³³ On the same day a US Senate Resolution mentioned Estonia as part of the Coalition because it had supported the February 5, 2003, declaration.

4.5 Coding results

In phases 1/2 of the Iraq war Estonia offered only use of airspace which has to be coded as 4 on the utilitarian typology. In the post-intervention phase Estonia sent ground forces which is coded as 1. In normative terms, the Estonian government conforms to level 2 of the typology.

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

32 Välisministeerium, Estonian Review, March 17-23, 2003. The Estonian government's statement was also published on the web side of the US President at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030326-7.html>

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

5. Hungary

5.1 Military capabilities

In 2003 the armed forces of Hungary totaled 33,400 active troops including conscripts, mainly land forces of 23,600 plus an air force command of 7,700. There are 743 main battle tanks, 37 combat aircraft and 49 attack helicopters. Hungary completely restructured its armed forces after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. Hungary joined NATO in 1999 and the EU in 2004.

5.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

At the request of the US government, Hungary permitted the use of the Tazsar airbase for the training of Iraqi dissidents as interpreters and liaison officers by US military instructors starting in January 2003.³⁴ This program was suspended on April 1, 2003.³⁵ On January 25, 2003, Hungarian Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy excluded any participation of Hungarian troops in the planned intervention against Iraq.³⁶ On February 5, Hungarian Minister of Defense Ferenc Juhasz reiterated that his country would not send soldiers for military action against Iraq.³⁷ On February 20, 2003, US helicopters and aircraft crossed Hungary on their way to Romania to take part in military exercises to prepare for the Iraq intervention, although authorization had only be given for participation in Operation Enduring Freedom. The Hungarian government officially protested against this misuse of Hungarian overflight permission.³⁸

On February 24, 2003, the Hungarian Parliament authorized the government to extend permission for transit and use of airspace to US troops intended for the defense of NATO member Turkey.³⁹ However, in response to the misuse of overflight permits by the United States in February, the Hungarian government tightened regulations on the use of its airspace by introducing stricter advance notification requirements.⁴⁰ The Hungarian parliament granted use of Hungarian territory and airspace by “forces seeking to make Iraq comply with United Nations resolutions” on March 16, 2003.⁴¹ A Congressional Research Service report of April 2003 noted that Hungary had allowed the United States to use a Hungarian air base to train Iraqi opposition figures for non-combat support roles and postwar administration, had given

34 “U.S. troops in Hungary preparing to train Iraqis,” in: Associated Press Worldstream January 5, 2003.

35 Copson 2003: 27-28.

36 Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25 January 2003.

37 DPA-AFX, Februar 5, 2003.

38 “Hungary criticizes US aircraft overflight,” in: Agence France Presse - English, March 1, 2003

39 AFX-Swiss, February 24, 2003.

40 “Hungary tightens regulations on use of air space,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, April 1, 2003.

41 “Hungary authorizes use of airspace in war against Iraq,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, March 16, 2003.

permission for transit and overflight for NATO purposes and was willing to consider opening airspace to US military flights for Iraq, but had so far ruled out contributing troops.⁴²

On April 22, 2003, the Hungary government announced that British and US governments had asked Hungary to send military police to Iraq.⁴³ On May 6, 2003, the Hungarian parliament voted to extend transit and overflight rights to the post-intervention stabilization force in Iraq, but made no decision on whether Hungarian troops would take part.⁴⁴ On May 28, 2003, the Hungarian government decided to deploy a 300 soldier supply unit to be a part of the Polish-led multinational brigade in Iraq, starting in August.⁴⁵ On June 2, 2003, the Hungarian Parliament finally authorized the deployment of 300 Hungarian soldiers, most of them logistical experts, to aid in the reconstruction of Iraq.⁴⁶ Answering to public fears for the security of Hungarian soldiers Defense Minister Juhasz announced that the government would consider withdrawing its soldiers from Iraq if they were placed in a “war situation”⁴⁷ In August 2003, the US State Department announced that Hungary was contributing troops to the Coalition.⁴⁸

5.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe opinion survey showed that in January 2003 as many as 76 per cent of Hungarians thought that national participation in a military intervention against Iraq was not justified, with 62 per cent even strictly rejecting 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
Hungary	4%	5%	14%	62%	16%	8%	76%

5.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

In the pre-intervention phase the Hungarian government was eager to show its solidarity with the United States as a NATO alliance partner but carefully avoided to become involved in the military intervention. For example, Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy signed the “Letter of the

42 The Herald-Sun (Durham, NC) 28 February 2003.

43 “US-British forces ask Hungary to send military police to Iraq,” in: Agence France Presse - English, April 22, 2003.

44 “Hungarian parliament opens territory to Iraq stabilisation force, no ruling yet on troops,” in: Agence France Presse - English, May 6, 2003.

45 “Hungary to send 300 supply troops to Iraq” in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur May 28, 2003.

46 “Hungary approves mission of up to 300 troops to Iraq”, in: Agence France Presse - English June 2, 2003 Monday; “First contingent of Hungarian troops leaves for Iraq,” in: Agence France Presse - English July 18, 2003.

47 “Hungary would consider pulling soldiers out of a “war-like” Iraq”, in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur August 1, 2003.

48 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>

Eight” in January 2003 supporting military action against Iraq and on February 11, 2002, he called for NATO members’ support to the United States in the Iraq crisis.⁴⁹ But on the other hand, Prime Minister Medgyessy said in an official statement of March 20, 2003, that Hungary was “not waging a war” and was not “any part of the Iraq military conflict”.⁵⁰ Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs added that Hungary did not qualify as a country at war and was listed as a member of the Coalition only because of its logistical support and granting of transit and overflight rights to Coalition troops.⁵¹

Moreover, the Hungarian government did not want to alienate itself from its European partners France and Germany and thus reacted only mildly to President Chirac’s attacks on the signatories of the “Letter of the Eight”. It also sought to please France by refusing a request of the US government to expel the Iraqi chargés d’affaires.⁵² The White House listed Hungary as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.⁵³ On the same day a US Senate Resolution mentioned Hungary as part of the Coalition because it had supported the January 30, 2003, declaration.⁵⁴

5.5 Coding results

The Hungarian government strictly limited military involvement in the phases 1 and 2 to logistical support (level 4). The Hungarian forces deployed to Iraq in phase 3 were restricted to supply units and were not intended as ground forces (level 3). In normative terms, Hungary supported the US position with reservations (level 2).

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

6. Latvia

6.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, the Latvian armed forces totaled 4,880 active troops which included 1,600 conscripts. The army had 4,000 troops with 3 main battle tanks. The navy consisted of 620

49 “Hungarian PM repeats call for US and Europe to cooperate,” in: Agence France Presse - English, February 11, 2003.

50 “Iraq War - Prime Minister Issues Statement,” in: Hungarian News Agency (MTI) March 20, 2003.

51 “Iraq War - Statement By Foreign Minister,” in: Hungarian News Agency (MTI), March 20, 2003.

52 Hammock 2003: 90.

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

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

troops and a small fleet of patrol and coastal combatant and mine warfare vessels. The air force of 250 troops had only lightly armed helicopters and some transport and reconnaissance aircraft. Latvia regained its independence in 1991 and then built up its small armed forces. In 2004, it joined both NATO and the EU.

6.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

In January 2003 the Latvian government allowed use of Latvian airspace to the anti-Iraq Coalition.⁵⁵ On March 19, 2003, the Latvian Parliament authorized the government to send Latvian troops on a non-combat mandate to Iraq.⁵⁶ Based on this parliamentary approval the government began to plan the deployment of Latvia's military units to post-intervention Iraq. On May 19, 2003, Latvia sent one unit to the Gulf region, consisting of 30 soldiers for logistics duties, six mine clearing experts and three officers. On June 17, 2003, the government decided to send another 103 troops to Iraq to join Poland's multi-national division. The second unit included a 95-strong infantry company, two military police officers and three officers from the National Armed Forces.⁵⁷ In August 2003, the US State Department announced, that Latvia was contributing troops to the Coalition.⁵⁸

6.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup Europe poll shows, that in January 2003 a clear majority of 85 per cent of Latvians did not regard national military participation in a military intervention against Iraq as justified, with 69 per cent even strictly opposing 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
Latvia	1%	6%	16%	69%	8%	7%	85%

6.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

Latvia's government stated in the pre-intervention phase that military force could be used against the Saddam Hussein regime unilaterally, if diplomatic efforts in the United Nations failed.⁵⁹ The Foreign Minister of Latvia supported a US-led military intervention in Iraq by co-sponsoring the "Vilnius Declaration" of 5 February 2003. When the intervention was

55 Agence France Press – German, January 31, 2003; The Associated Press, February 21, 2003.

56 "Latvian parliament OKs deployment of post-combat support troops," in: Associated Press Worldstream March 19, 2003; Associated Press Worldstream, March 19, 2003.

57 "Latvian Govt Approves Dispatch of Another Army Unit to Iraq," in: Baltic News Service, June 17, 2003.

58 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>.

59 "Parlt Supports Latvia's Participation In Operations Disarming Iraq," in: Baltic News Service March 20, 2003.

about to begin, the Latvian government sought, and received, parliamentary approval to deploy troops to Iraq for the time after the end of major combat.⁶⁰ The White House listed Latvia as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.⁶¹ On the same day a US Senate Resolution mentioned Latvia as part of the Coalition because it had supported the February 5, 2003, declaration.⁶²

6.5 Coding results

On the utilitarian typology Latvia's war involvement must be coded as logistical support for phases 1/2 and as ground forces level for phase 3. The unconditional support for unilateral military action by Coalition forces justifies a coding as level 1 in the normative typology.

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

7. Lithuania

7.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, Lithuania had armed forces of 12,700 active troops which included 4,700 conscripts. The armed forces were split into 1,000 centrally controlled forces, 7,950 army forces with light weaponry, 650 navy forces with 2 frigates and a fleet of patrol and coastal combatant and mine warfare vessels, an air force of 1,150 troops with air surveillance and transport capabilities only, and additional paramilitary troops of 14,600 land and coast border guards. Latvia regained its independence in 1991 and then built up its armed forces. In 2004, it joined both NATO and the EU.

7.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

On January 29, 2003, the government of Lithuania authorized use of airspace for the military intervention against Iraq. In doing so the government extended the permission it had granted on September 26, 2001, as part of Operation Enduring Freedom, to the U.S. and ten other NATO countries to use Lithuania's airspace and land at Lithuania's airports.⁶³ In April 2003, four Lithuanian military physicians were deployed to southern Iraq to join a Spanish military

60 "Latvian parliament OKs deployment of post-combat support troops", Associated Press Worldstream, March 19, 2003.

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

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

63 "US Will Be Able To Use Lithuania's Airspace In Operation Against Iraq," in: Baltic News Service, January 29, 2003.

hospital. 10 Lithuanian soldiers were deployed to a Kuwait-based U.S. military base as cargo-handling specialists.⁶⁴ The medical team returned to Lithuania at the end of June 2003 when Spain recalled its hospital ship.⁶⁵

In May 2003, the US Department of Defense mentioned that Lithuania had contributed to the Coalition forces a cargo handling team and medical personnel integrated in the deployed Spanish field hospital.⁶⁶ On May 26, 2003, the Lithuania National Defense Council decided to send up to 130 Lithuanian troops to participate in international stability force in Iraq. The Lithuanian Parliament approved the deployment of these “peacekeeping forces” on May 29, 2003.⁶⁷ In August 2003, the US State Department announced, that Lithuania was contributing troops to the Coalition.⁶⁸

7.3 Public opinion

According to the EOS-Gallup Europe opinion poll of January 2003, almost three quarters of the Lithuanian citizens regarded national participation in a military intervention in Iraq 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
Lithuania	2%	11%	38%	34%	15%	12%	73%

7.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

In a statement of January 30, 2003, the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while mentioning the importance of international law and the “respect to the authority of the United Nations”, stressed that “Lithuania supports the international Coalition, which is being formed by the US against the current regime of Iraq and deliberated Lithuanian contribution to it.”⁶⁹ The Foreign Minister of Lithuania announced support for a US-led military intervention in Iraq by co-sponsoring the Vilnius Declaration of 5 February 2003. On 14 March 2003, the newly elected President of Lithuania, Rolandas Paksas, met with the heads of the parliamentary groups of the Lithuanian Parliament and discussed the position of Lithuania

64 “Lithuania Considers Possibilities to Contribute to Ensuring Security in Iraq,” in: Baltic News Service, May 5, 2003.

65 “Spain Recalls Ship From Iraq, Lithuanian War Doctors Finish Mission Earlier Than Planned,” in: Baltic News Service, June 24, 2003.

66 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.

67 “Lithuanian Parlt Approves Of Sending Troops To Iraq,” in: Baltic News Service, May 29, 2003.

68 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>.

69 Lithuanian Foreign Policy Highlights 2003, www.lfpr.lt/uploads/File/2003-11%2012/Lithuanian_Foreign.pdf

regarding the Iraq crisis. The President emphasized, “that Lithuania is ready to further participate in the actions of the international community against international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.”⁷⁰ On March 19, 2003, President Paksas wrote a letter to US President Bush and explained that “Lithuania’s possible contribution to the settlement of the Iraq crisis will be not military but humanitarian participation, aimed at dealing with adverse consequences, by sending doctors, servicing staff and other specialists, as well as by participating in international programs aimed at helping the Iraqi people, including food aid.”⁷¹

On March 19, 2003, the Lithuania National Defense Council chaired by President Paksas discussed Lithuania’s position regarding the imminent intervention against Iraq. The council agreed that Lithuania would support the US-led intervention against Iraq politically, was ready to provide humanitarian aid and could also deploy military doctors and logistics specialists taking part in the actions in Iraq. However, Lithuania would not participate in direct military operations.⁷² The White House listed Lithuania as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.⁷³ On the same day, a US Senate Resolution mentioned Lithuania as part of the Coalition because it had supported the February 5, 2003, declaration.⁷⁴

7.5 Coding results

On the utilitarian dimension of the paks typology Lithuania can be coded as 3 for phases 1/2 and 1 for phase 3. The Lithuanian position regarding the normative dimension of war involvement is ambivalent is can bet be classified as level 3.

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

70 Lithuanian Foreign Policy Highlights 2003, www.lfpr.lt/uploads/File/2003-11%2012/Lithuanian_Foreign.pdf

71 President Rolandas Paksas, Letter to President George Bush, March 19, 2003, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030326-7.html>.

72 “Lithuania will support attack on Iraq if diplomacy fail - official,” in: Lithuanian Radion Vilnius as monitored by BBC Monitoring Former Soviet Union - Political, March 17, 2003.

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

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

8. Malta

8.1 Military capabilities

In 2003 the Armed Forces of Malta had 2,140 lightly armed troops with some coastal and patrol vessels and some helicopters and air reconnaissance and transport capabilities. Officially, Malta regards itself as a neutral country. It joined the EU in 2004.

8.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

The Congressional Research Service report of December 2003 does not mention any military support of Malta for the Iraq war.⁷⁵ There are reports of US navy ship making port calls to Malta. However, no direct links to the Iraq intervention are reported.⁷⁶

8.3 Public opinion

In Malta there was an almost complete opposition against national war involvement, with as many as 91 per cent objecting to national war involvement, and 73 per cent even regarding it 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
Malta	1%	3%	19%	73%	5%	4%	91%

8.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

The Maltese government's official policy regarding the Iraq war was to support the EU policy.⁷⁷ This can be interpreted as non-support for the interventionist policy of the US and its coalition partners. On February 12, 2003, Malta's Foreign Minister Joe Borg said that any military action against Iraq must be sanctioned by the UN Security Council.⁷⁸ The White House did not include Malta in its March 27, 2003, list of Coalition members.⁷⁹

75 Hildreth et al. 2003: 34-36.

76 In a January 13, 2003, report the Washington Post mentions such port calls by ships belonging to a US navy battle group: "In a more traditional side to showing the flag, ships from the battle group also are making port calls across the region -- three ships visited Spain and Gibraltar, two visited Turkey, a sixth went to Portugal and Malta and a seventh stopped in Italy." "U.S. Warships Eye Eastern Mediterranean for Iraq War Role," in: Washington Post, January 13, 2003, page A14.

77 "Malta aligns itself with EU on Iraq stance," in: The Malta Financial and Business Times, 19 February 2003.

78 "Maltese leader to meet Blair in London," in: Agence France Presse -- English, February 12, 2003.

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

8.5 Coding results

Since there is no evidence of war involvement, Malta has to be coded as 5 on all parts of the paks typology.

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

9. Poland

9.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, Poland maintained armed forces of 163,000 active troops including 81,000 conscripts. The army of 104,500 troops formed the major part of Polish armed forces. It had 947 main battle tanks. The navy of 14,300 troops had 4 submarines, 4 principal combatants, a fleet of patrol, coastal, mine warfare and amphibious combatant vessels and a naval aviation with 26 combat aircraft and 12 armed helicopters. The Polish air force had 36,450 troops and 224 combat aircraft. Poland completely restructured its armed forces after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. The country joined NATO in 1999 and the EU in 2004.

9.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

Poland's government sent 200 troops, including special forces and supplied ships to the Persian Gulf region. The Polish troops included 54 members of the elite special forces unit GROM, a 74-strong anti-chemical warfare team supplied with special mobile laboratories and a Polish supply ship with a crew of 53.⁸⁰ A US Congressional Research Service Report of 22 April 2003 mentioned that about 200 Polish special forces and non-combat personnel were supplementing British forces in the Basra region.⁸¹ In its May 2003 list of contributions to the Coalition warfare the US Department of Defense mentioned the deployment of Polish ground forces.⁸²

On June 6, 2003, the Polish government said that it had completed a 7,000-strong multilateral force to be deployed to the Polish administered occupation zone in Iraq to which more than a dozen countries had promised to contribute. Almost half of the command staff would be Polish. Poland would contribute a total of 2,200 troops which were to be deployed

80 "Polish Troops Conduct Iraq War Missions," in: Associated Press Online, March 24, 2003; "More Polish troops sent to Iraq," in: Agence France Presse - English, March 30, 2003.

81 Copson 2003: 13, 26.

82 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.

by the end of August.⁸³ In August 2003, the US State Department confirmed, that Poland was contributing troops to the Coalition.⁸⁴ The Congressional Research Service report issued in December 2003 emphasized that Poland, “with some logistical assistance from NATO,” was the occupation power in charge of central-southern Iraq and was commanding “a force of 9,200 troops from various European and non-European countries.”⁸⁵

9.3 Public opinion

According to the EOS-Gallup Europe poll of January 2003, a clear majority of 72 per cent of Polish citizens did not regard national involvement in the Iraq war to be 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
Poland	9%	13%	25%	47%	7%	21%	72%

National polls by TNS-OBOP social research agency confirm that a clear majority among Polish citizens was opposed to national participation in the Iraq war. TNS-OBP's January 2003 poll includes a slightly weaker level of opposition against Poland's military participation in the Iraq war than Gallup's poll, but opposition rates rise in the February and March polls and slightly exceed the opposition level indicated by Gallup's poll.

“Should Polish troops participate in the military action against Iraq, or not?” ⁸⁶						
poll	Yes, definitely	Yes, rather	No, rather not	No, definitely not	don't know	(total no)
01/2003	4 %	21 %	24 %	43 %	8 %	67 %
02/2003	4 %	13 %	24 %	51 %	7 %	75 %
03/2003	5 %	14 %	23 %	52 %	6 %	75 %

9.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

On January 28, 2003, Poland's President Aleksander Kwasniewski urged the US President not to attack Iraq unilaterally but instead seek a multilateral solution.⁸⁷ Prime Minister Leszek Miller, however, signed the “Letter of the Eight” in January 2003 supporting military action

83 “Poland says it has completed multinational force to maintain order in its sector of postwar Iraq,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, June 6, 2003.

84 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>.

85 Hildreth et al. 2003, summary.

86 CBOS, cited in: Everts 2004: 210.

87 “Poland President urges US not to act unilaterally on Iraq,” in: Agence France Presse - English, January 28, 2003.

against Iraq. On March 12, 2003, President Kwasniewski stated that UN resolution 1441 was “sufficient” to launch a military campaign against Iraq.⁸⁸

On 19 March 2003, shortly before the US and British government’s ultimatum to Iraq was running out, the Polish Council of Ministers issued a statement endorsing the President’s request to commit military support to Coalition forces. That statement emphasized that failure to take action to disarm Iraq in this situation would be a serious political and military mistake. The Council approved the President’s request, while capping participation at 200 soldiers, noting that the anticipated participation of Poland in the international coalition would be limited, and the size of the contingent would not exceed 200 soldiers. The Council’s statement downplayed the role of the Polish forces, omitting the deployment of special forces and promising that the “Polish contingent will receive limited specialist tasks. They will be mostly of a logistic nature, supporting the activities of the Coalition forces such as neutralizing the consequences of the possible use of weapons of mass destruction by Iraq, decontaminating the area.”⁸⁹

In its March 27, 2003, statement the White House listed Poland as publicly committed to the Coalition.⁹⁰ On the same day, a US Senate Resolution mentioned Poland as part of the Coalition because it participated in the military intervention and had supported the January 30, 2003, declaration.⁹¹

9.5 Coding results

Despite initial hesitation both the President and Prime Minister in March 2003 defied public war aversion and sided with the US intervention. Thus, Poland was fully involved in the war according to all dimensions of the paks typology.

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

10. Slovakia

10.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, the armed forces of Slovakia totaled 22,050 active troops including 3,500 conscripts. 1,300 troops were centrally controlled staff, logistical and support troops. The army had

88 “Polish president says existing UN resolution enough for Iraq attack,” in: Agence France Presse - English, March 12, 2003.

89 Hammock 2003: 88.

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

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

13,700 troops with 271 main battle tanks. The air force had 71 combat aircraft and 19 attack helicopters. Following the tradition of the former Czechoslovak forces the Slovak forces maintained specialized capabilities for nuclear, chemical and biological weapons reconnaissance and countermeasures (NBC-CM). Slovakia completely restructured its armed forces after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the break-up of former Czechoslovakia. It joined both NATO and the EU in 2004.

10.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

In January 2003, the government of Slovakia, on a request by the US government, granted overflight rights and, on February 13, also transit rights to US and Coalition forces for preparation of the Iraq intervention.⁹² On January 29, 2003, the Slovak Cabinet approved the deployment of a 75 member NBC-CM team to join a similar Czech team in Kuwait.⁹³ Parliament approved by a majority vote the deployment decision on February 6, 2003, permitted the military unit's operation in joint activities with Coalition forces but linked the participation of these troops in military action to a new UN Security Council mandate.⁹⁴ On March 2, 2003, 69 Slovak NBC-CM soldiers arrived in Kuwait.⁹⁵ At the end of May 2003, the NBC-CM team returned to Slovakia. Defense Minister Ivan Simko indicated that the unit could be replaced by military engineers specializing in de-mining, adding that details still needed to be concretized.⁹⁶

A Congressional Research Service report of 22 April 2003 reported that Slovakia had sent NBC-CM experts to Kuwait who would not enter Iraq.⁹⁷ In May 2003, the US Department of Defense confirmed that Slovakia had deployed a NBC-CM team to Kuwait.⁹⁸ On June 19, 2003, the Slovak Parliament, on a request by the government, approved the deployment of up to 85 army engineers to Iraq to take part in "peacekeeping operations" in Iraq.⁹⁹ In August

92 "Slovakia to provide US forces with special units in any Iraq war," in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur, January 29, 2003; "Slovakia accepts U.S. request for assistance in case of war against Iraq," in: Associated Press Worldstream February 13, 2003.

93 "Slovak MPs complete resolution on troops' deployment in Iraqi operation," in: TASR web site, Bratislava, as reported by BBC Worldwide Monitoring, January 30, 2003.

94 "Parliament Gives Go-Ahead To Troops In Gulf," in: CTK National News Wire, February 6, 2003; "Slovak Parliament Approves of Sending Troops To Iraq," in: World News Connection, February 6, 2003 (text of report in English by Slovak news agency TASR web site).

95 "Members of Slovak Chemical Unit Deployed In Kuwait Doing Well - Minister," in: BBC Monitoring International Reports, March 4, 2003. Later news reports said that 74 Slovak soldiers had been staying with the NBC-CM unit in Kuwait, cf. "Slovak Parliament Approves Sending Military Engineers To Iraq," in: Czech News Agency, June 19, 2003 and "Slovak anti-chemical unit to return from Gulf region," in: Associated Press Worldstream, May 15, 2003.

96 "Slovak anti-chemical unit to return from Gulf region," in: Associated Press Worldstream, May 15, 2003.

97 Copson 2003: 13.

98 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

99 "Parliament approves the deployment of military engineers to Iraq," in: Associated Press Worldstream June 19, 2003.

2003, the US State Department announced, that Slovakia was contributing troops to the Coalition.¹⁰⁰

10.3 Public opinion

The EOS-Gallup poll shows that 59 per cent of Slovak Citizens regarded participation of their country in a military intervention “not justified”. This is the lowest war opposition figure for the EU-25 sample, but it still indicates an anti-war majority.

“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
Slovakia	8%	33%	38%	21%	1%	41%	59%

10.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

The Foreign Minister of Slovakia declared support for a US-led military intervention in Iraq by co-sponsoring the Vilnius Declaration of 5 February 2003. On March 17, 2003, Slovak Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda announced that his government would continue to support the US government's tough policy towards Iraq. However, after a session of the Slovak Security Council on March 20, 2003, Dzurinda hastened to announce that Slovakia had not become a “direct participant” in the Iraq war by deploying an anti-chemical unit to Kuwait and opening its air space and roads to US military transport.¹⁰¹

The White House listed Slovakia as publicly committed to the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.¹⁰² On the same day a US Senate Resolution mentioned Slovakia as part of the Coalition because it had supported the February 5, 2003, declaration.¹⁰³

10.5 Coding results

The military involvement of Slovakia in phases 1/2 has been limited to logistical support. Like their Czech colleagues, the Slovak anti-chemical experts were deployed to Kuwait and did not enter Iraq; thus they are not counted as rear support. Slovakia's war involvement level reached “rear support” only in phase 3 with the deployment of military engineers to Iraq. On the normative dimension the government of Slovakia “neglected” popular war aversion in spite of its cautious approval of the war and hesitant position to war involvement.

100 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>.

101 “Slovakia has not become direct participant in Iraq war - premier,” in: BBC Monitoring Europe - Political March 20, 2003.

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

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

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

11. Slovenia

11.1 Military capabilities

In 2003, Slovenia had an army of 6,550 active troops, including 1,200 conscripts. The army had 40 main battle tanks and included a small air element of 8 armed helicopters and some reconnaissance and transport aircraft. The marine element had one patrol boat. Slovenia built up its small armed forces from the autonomous territorial defense units of the Yugoslav era. Slovenia joined both NATO and the EU in 2004.

11.2 War involvement: Utilitarian dimension

On January 22, 2003, Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel said that Slovenia would only consider taking part in “post-conflict rehabilitation”.¹⁰⁴ On March 27, 2003, the Slovenian government, responding to an earlier request by the US government, granted overflight rights to US aircraft carrying personnel and equipment in humanitarian missions to northern Iraq, but not for military transports in support of the war. The Prime Minister stressed that this would not make his country part of the Coalition attacking Iraq. The government also announced that it would grant those rights only in the case of a UN Security Council mandate for the war or of a separate bilateral agreement.¹⁰⁵

The Slovenian government conditioned participation in military activities in post-intervention Iraq on a UN Security Council mandate. Accordingly the government decided to take part only in the post-intervention phase and only in UN activities related to de-mining in Iraq and, along with the International Trust Fund for De-mining (ITF), offered an expert to assist the UN Coordination Group for De-mining in Iraq.¹⁰⁶

11.3 Public opinion

EOS-Gallup Europe results from the January 2003 opinion poll indicate that 86 per cent of Slovenes regarded a participation of their country in a military intervention as not justified, 77 percent even strictly opposed it as “absolutely unjustified”.

¹⁰⁴ BBC Monitoring International Reports, January 22, 2003.

¹⁰⁵ “Slovenia opens up skies for U.S. planes on humanitarian missions,” in: Associated Press Worldstream, March 27, 2003.

¹⁰⁶ United States Central Command (Centcom) web side: Coalition pages Slovenia (Last modified at 1/11/2007), cf. <http://www.centcom.mil/sites/uscentcom2/Coalition%20Fighting%20Terror/CoalitionPages/Slovenia/slovenia.htm>.

“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
Slovenia	4%	5%	9%	77%	6%	8%	86%

11.4 War involvement: Normative dimension

Dimitrij Rupel, the Foreign Minister of Slovenia, declared support for a US-led military intervention in Iraq by co-sponsoring the “Vilnius Declaration” of 5 February 2003. Facing heavy domestic criticism, Rupel later backtracked from the Vilnius Declaration and expressed support for German and French efforts to avoid any military intervention.¹⁰⁷ The Foreign Minister denied that he had made the decision to sign the Vilnius Declaration alone but siad he had talked with Prime Minister Anton Rop and President Janez Drnovsek before.¹⁰⁸ On March 19, 2003, Slovenian President Janez Drnovsek announced that Slovenia would not take part in a war against Iraq and deplored any military intervention without a mandate by the UN Security Council.¹⁰⁹ The next day, Prime Minister Anton Rop said at a government meeting: “Slovenia, with its armed forces, is not cooperating and will not cooperate in the military operations against Iraq.”¹¹⁰ The White House did not mention Slovenia as member of the Coalition in its March 27, 2003, statement.¹¹¹ But, on the same day the US Senate, in a resolution, ranked Slovenia among Coalition supporters because it has signed the February 5 declaration.¹¹² In April 14, 2003, Slovenian Prime Minister Anton Rop said that the fact Slovenia was not part of the war Coalition in Iraq had been made clear in US Senate committees on several occasions.

11.5 Coding results

Slovenia provided logistical support during the Iraq war. The normative classification is difficult, because an earlier participation in the Vilnius Declaration actually would have justified a coding at level 2. However, because the government backtracked from the Vilnius declaration, clearly insisted on a UN mandate for any military action against Iraq and

107 “Slovenia's foreign minister under fire at home over Iraq policy,” in: Agence France Presse - English, February 14, 2003; “Slovenia balks at inclusion in U.S. list of supporters,” in: The Globe and Mail (Canada) March 29, 2003.

108 “Slovene daily looks into Foreign Minister's decision to back Vilnius Statement,” in: BBC Monitoring International Reports, February 17, 2003.

109 “Slovenia will not take part in war against Iraq, president says,” in: Deutsche Presse-Agentur, March 19, 2003.

110 “Slovenia regrets Iraq war, will not cooperate in it - premier,” Radio Slovenia as monitored in: BBC Monitoring Europe - Political, March 20, 2003.

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

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

explicitly asked US government and Congress not to include Slovenia in the list of Coalition members, it seems to be fair to code Slovenia at level 4 in the normative typology.

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

Bibliography

- Copson, Raymond W. (coordinator) 2003: Iraq War: Background and Issues Overview. Updated April 22, 2003, in: CRS Report for Congress RL31715.
- EOS-Gallup Europe 2003: International Crisis Survey, January 2003. Brussels: EOS Gallup
- Everts, Philip 2004: Public opinion on 'Iraq': international comparative polls and countries outside USA (up to August, 2004). Leiden: Leiden University, Department of Political Science, [http://www.socialsciences.leidenuniv.nl/general/img/Poll%20Data%20War%20against%20Iraq%20\(outside%20the%20US\)_tcm18-34424.pdf](http://www.socialsciences.leidenuniv.nl/general/img/Poll%20Data%20War%20against%20Iraq%20(outside%20the%20US)_tcm18-34424.pdf), (October 10, 2007).
- Hammock, Gordon R. 2003: Iraq, Preemption, and the Views of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, in: *Air and Space Power Journal* 17, 3, 84-92.
- Hildreth, Steven A., et al. 2003: Iraq: International Attitudes to Operation Iraqi Freedom and Reconstruction. Updated December 18, 2003, in: CRS Report for Congress RL31843.
- Houben, Marc 2005: *International Crisis Management: The Approach of European States*. London: Routledge, 31-54.
- Hummel, Hartwig 2007: *How to Measure War Involvement*. paks working paper 4, Düsseldorf.
- International Institute of Strategic Studies 2004: *Military balance 2003-2004*. London: IISS.
- Král, David/ Pachta, Lukáš 2005: *Czech Republic and the Iraq Crisis: Shaping the Czech Stance*. Prague: EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy.
- Stahl, Bernhard 2006: *Vergleichende Außenpolitikanalyse: Das Verhalten ausgewählter EU-Staaten in der Irak-Krise*, in: Siedschlag, Alexander (Hrsg.): *Methoden sicherheitspolitischer Analyse*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 135-167.

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
Cyprus	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Czech Republic	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Supporter of the January 30, 2003, declaration	Deployed an NBC-CM team to Kuwait, Field Hospital to Basrah; six water purification units to Iraq	Contributed troops
Estonia	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Supporter of the February 5, 2003, declaration	not mentioned	Contributed troops
Hungary	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Supporter of the January 30, 2003, declaration	not mentioned	Contributed troops
Latvia	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Supporter of the February 5, 2003, declaration	not mentioned	Contributed troops
Lithuania	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Supporter of the February 5, 2003, declaration	cargo handling team, medical personnel integrated in the deployed Spanish Field Hospital.	Contributed troops
Malta	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned	not mentioned
Poland	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Military participation in intervention, supporter of the January 30, 2003, declaration	Ground Forces	Contributed troops
Slovakia	Publicly committed to the Coalition	Supporter of the February 5, 2003, declaration	Deployed an NBC-CM team to Kuwait	Contributed troops
Slovenia	not mentioned	Supporter of the February 5, 2003, declaration	not mentioned	not mentioned

Note: NBC-CM = nuclear, biological and chemical weapons countermeasures team

References:

[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
Cyprus	2%	0%	7%	83%	8%	2%	90%
Czech Republic	11%	19%	28%	37%	5%	30%	65%
Estonia	2%	6%	24%	60%	8%	8%	85%
Hungary	4%	5%	14%	62%	16%	8%	76%
Latvia	1%	6%	16%	69%	8%	7%	85%
Lithuania	2%	11%	38%	34%	15%	12%	73%
Malta	1%	3%	19%	73%	5%	4%	91%
Poland	9%	13%	25%	47%	7%	21%	72%
Slovakia	8%	33%	38%	21%	1%	41%	59%
Slovenia	4%	5%	9%	77%	6%	8%	86%

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>

Annex 4: “Vilnius declaration”**Statement of the Vilnius Group Countries in response to the presentation by the United States Secretary of State to the United Nations Security Council concerning Iraq**

February 5, 2003

Statement by the Foreign Ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia:

Earlier today, the United States presented compelling evidence to the United Nations Security Council detailing Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction programs, its active efforts to deceive UN inspectors, and its links to international terrorism. Our countries understand the dangers posed by tyranny and the special responsibility of democracies to defend our shared values. The trans-Atlantic community, of which we are a part, must stand together to face the threat posed by the nexus of terrorism and dictators with weapons of mass destruction.

We have actively supported the international efforts to achieve a peaceful disarmament of Iraq. However, it has now become clear that Iraq is in material breach of U.N. Security Council Resolutions, including U.N. Resolution 1441, passed unanimously on November 8, 2002. As our governments said on the occasion of the NATO Summit in Prague: “We support the goal of the international community for full disarmament of Iraq as stipulated in the UN Security Council Resolution 1441. In the event of non-compliance with the terms of this resolution, we are prepared to contribute to an international coalition to enforce its provisions and the disarmament of Iraq.”

The clear and present danger posed by the Saddam Hussein’s regime requires a united response from the community of democracies. We call upon the U.N. Security Council to take the necessary and appropriate action in response to Iraq’s continuing threat to international peace and security.

Source:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia: Statement of the Vilnius Group Countries. Press Release, 5 February 2003, <http://www.am.gov.lv/en/news/press-releases/2003/feb/2868/>

paks working paper series

- paks working paper 1** Hummel, Hartwig 2006: Parliamentary Peace: The Parliamentary Control of Military Security Policy in the EU-25 and the Iraq War 2003. paks working paper 1, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 2** Dieterich, Sandra 2007: Demokratische Außenpolitik = Friedliche Außenpolitik? Ein Literaturbericht. paks working paper 2, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 3** Hummel, Hartwig/Marschall, Stefan 2007: How to Measure Parliamentary War Powers. paks working paper 3, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 4** Hummel, Hartwig 2007: How to Measure War Involvement. paks working paper 4, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 5** Dieterich, Sandra 2007: A Survey of Parliamentary War Powers (Part I): Parliamentary Control of Military Security Policy in 15 European States. paks working paper 5, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 6** Dieterich, Sandra/Hummel, Hartwig/Marschall, Stefan 2007: Von der exekutiven Prärogative zum parlamentarischen Frieden? – Funktionslogik und Funktionsprobleme der parlamentarischen Kontrolle militärischer Sicherheitspolitik am Fallbeispiel Deutschland. paks working paper 6, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 7** Hummel, Hartwig 2007: A Survey of Involvement of 15 European States in the Iraq War 2003. paks working paper 7, Düsseldorf
- paks working paper 8** Marschall, Stefan 2007: A Survey of Parliamentary War Powers (Part II): Parliamentary Control of Military Security Policy in 10 European States. paks working paper 8, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 9** Hummel, Hartwig 2007: A Survey of Involvement of 10 European States in the Iraq War 2003. paks working paper 9, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 10** Dieterich, Sandra/Hummel, Hartwig/Marschall, Stefan 2007: Zusammenhänge zwischen parlamentarischer Macht in der militärischen Sicherheitspolitik und der Beteiligung am Irakkrieg 2003 in 25 europäischen Staaten. paks working paper 10, Düsseldorf.
- paks working paper 11** Alexander Böhm 2008: Das dänische Parlament und der Irakkrieg 2003. paks working paper 11, Düsseldorf.

