

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS¹

Table A.1 Contributions to OEE/ISAF in Afghanistan

<i>Contribution</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Poland</i>
Participation in ISAF/OEF	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (but less extensive than other states studied here)	Yes (but less extensive than other states studied here until 2007, increased after 2007)
Responsibility for PRT	No	Multiple	Single	Multiple	No	No
Military Training Command of Military Region	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	– ^a	Yes
Logistical Support	Rotating	Rotating	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Deployed Forces</i>						
Army	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Minimum Peak Deployment (ISAF) Airforce	3850 (2010)	9500 (2009)	4200 (2011)	4909 (2013)	170 (2007)	2527 (2011)
	Yes, combat	Yes	Transports	Reconnaissance	Helicopters and Transports	Transports
Navy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	–

^a– Indicates “No” based on negative information, no explicit information that they did not participate with such capacities, but no information that they did either.

Table A.2 Contributions to OIF in Iraq 2003

<i>Contribution</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Poland</i>
Participation in OIF/ Stabilisation Force	No	Yes	Post-Invasion	No	No	Yes
Logistical Support	-	Yes	-	Yes	Yes	-
UNSC stance	Anti-Invasion	Pro-Invasion	n.a.	Anti-Invasion	n.a.	n.a.
Army	No	Yes	<i>Deployed Forces</i> Yes	No	No	Yes
Deployment	-	41 000 personnel from all branches	>3000 personnel from all branches (2004)	-	-	200 personnel during OIF, 2500 post invasion
Airforce	No	Yes	Yes	Indirect reconnaissance ^a	No	No
Navy	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes

^aA question of definition: German crews were stationed on AWACS reconnaissance aircraft participating in the war.

Table A.3 Contributions to EU NAVFOR Somalia

<i>Contribution</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Poland</i>
Participation in EU NAVFOR	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Limited
Force Command (rotating)	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Operational Command	Deputy (rotating)	Yes	Deputy (Rotating)	Deputy (Rotating)	No	No
Air reconnaissance	Yes	–	Yes	Yes	–	No
<i>Deployed Forces</i>						
Army	No	No	No	No	No	No
Airforce	Reconnaissance	No	Unmanned Reconnaissance	Reconnaissance	–	No
Navy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Other		Operation HQ facilities		Liaison Officers	Liaison officers	Liaison officers

Table A.4 Contributions to OUP in Libya

<i>Contribution</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Poland</i>
Participation in OUP	Yes	Yes	Yes	Indirect/Facilitating	Facilitating	No
Logistical Support	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Stated
Air strikes	Yes (20 %)	Yes (12 %)	Yes (9 %)	No	No	No
Position on OUP	Eager	Eager	Reluctant	Reluctant/Opposed (Abstained UNSC)	Supportive	Supportive
Army	No	No	No	<i>Deployed Forces</i> No	No	No
Airforce	Yes, combat	Yes, combat	Yes, combat	No	Yes, Reconnaissance/RADAR	Transport Planes
Navy	–	Yes	–	No	Yes	No
Other				11 Soldiers involved in target selection		

Table A.5 Contributions to the operation in Iraq that started in 2014

<i>Contribution</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Poland</i>
Air strikes—Iraq	Yes	Yes	Facilitating	–	Facilitating	–
Air reconnaissance—Iraq	Yes	Yes	Yes	–	–	–
Military equipment	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	–
Military training	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	–	–
Humanitarian aid	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Logistical support	–	Yes	–	–	–	–
<i>Deployed Forces</i>						
Army	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	–	–
Airforce	Yes	Yes	Yes	–	–	–
Navy	Yes	Yes	–	–	–	–

NOTE

1. References to these tables are found in the Conclusions.

APPENDIX II

SUMMARY OF JUSTIFICATIONS FOR PARTICIPATION AND NON-PARTICIPATION

Justifications for participation

	<i>ISAF</i>	<i>OIF</i>	<i>ATALANTA</i>	<i>OUP</i>
France	<p>Solidarity with the USA in particular with ref to NATO article 5.</p> <p>Defence of the liberal democratic world and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan population.</p>		<p>An opportunity for European security cooperation in particular Franco-UK collaboration</p> <p>Making manifest EU as a strategic actor.</p> <p>Protect trade</p> <p>Burden sharing</p>	<p>Defending human rights and averting genocide</p> <p>Re-establish and reaffirm France as a nation supporting the rise of an oppressed people against its ruler.</p> <p>Make manifest that Europe can do crisis management without leaning on the USA in particular in Africa.</p> <p>Geographical proximity facilitates a successful military operation.</p> <p>Quick decision-making process resulting in immediate launch of military operation</p> <p>Restoration of political prestige of President Sarkozy and the French government.</p> <p>The president influenced by the French intellectual Bernard-Henry Lévi's diplomatic work.</p>

	<i>ISAF</i>	<i>OIF</i>	<i>ATALANTA</i>	<i>OUP</i>
Greece	Stabilise the area and strengthen diplomatic position – insist on national caveats. Obligation due to NATO membership.	Respect and support “international legitimacy”. Display solidarity to key alliance partners.	Vicinity to area of operation. Protection of the Greek merchant fleet.	Geographical proximity. No combat troops. Obligation due to NATO/EU membership. Historical links to the Arab world. Reasoning of other states with close relations to northern Africa.
Germany	Show (unrestricted) solidarity. Consistent with other means. Combat international terrorism as a means for self-defence		National interest as the world’s number one trading nation to safeguard routes of trade. Protect civilian vessels with humanitarian aid and commercial cargo. Monitoring the coast line. Hope to develop co-operation of benefit for broader security purposes because the operation also involved regional actors and the USA and Russia.	

	<i>ISAF</i>	<i>OIF</i>	<i>ATALANTA</i>	<i>OUP</i>
Italy	Favour development of governmental structure. Extend control of the whole country. Assist humanitarian efforts and reconstruction in relation to international agreements.	Solidarity with the USA. Participate in war on terror.	Normative standards met (peacekeeping?) cf. p.17 Piracy threat to international peace and security. Defend and protect Italian economic interests. Improvement of national naval capacity: upgrading and maintaining equipment, get specific training.	Protect the Libyan people. R2P. Protect economic interests in Libya. Make sure not to lose impact on the operation once it was clear it would take place. Pushing to make it a multilateral operation
UK	Solidarity with the US and NATO. Defend values of reason, democracy and tolerance. Self-defence, including the participation in protecting the USA. Bring responsible to account and remove threat of terrorists (to defend society and values).	Disarmament. Non-proliferation. Authority of the UN.	Part of a wider UK strategy to create stability in the region. Protect the UN World Food Programme. Effectiveness of UN arms embargo. Protect trade.	Operation only appropriate if there is regional support, a clear legal basis, and a demonstrable need. Protect civilians, avoid humanitarian crisis (R2P).

	<i>ISAF</i>	<i>OIF</i>	<i>ATALANTA</i>	<i>OUP</i>
Poland	Demonstrate solidarity with the USA and NATO. Strengthen territorial security. Increase political influence, especially in NATO.	Demonstrate solidarity with the USA. Strengthen territorial security. Increase political influence.		

Justifications for non-participation

	<i>ISAF</i>	<i>OIF</i>	<i>ATALANTA</i>	<i>OUP</i>
France		Absence of UNSC resolution making the intervention illegitimate and illegal Dislike of US unilateral politics		
Germany		Continue to seek peaceful solution to the crisis. Dangers and consequences of military action "plain to see".		Regretting suspension of diplomatic route. Unimpressed by fragile endorsement by the Arab League. Scepticism of result of intervention: could it lead to a stable political situation?
Poland			Somali pirates no threat to Poland. Limited military resources, which should be used for other purposes.	Libyan civil war no threat to Poland. Limited military resources, which should be used for other purposes. High domestic political risks.

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