

Contents

| | | |
|---------------------|---|----|
| Introduction | 9 | |
| Chapter 1 | Towards Iraq | 17 |
| | Mixed feelings: Dutch politics and Iraq | 17 |
| | Iraq as an international threat | 19 |
| | Inspections and confrontations | 20 |
| | Military intervention? | 22 |
| | Renewed inspections | 26 |
| | War in Iraq | 28 |
| | The Netherlands: political rather than military support | 30 |
| | Into the desert | 34 |
| | Party to the conflict | 40 |
| Chapter 2 | 'A sandpit under Dutch control' | 41 |
| | The Americans hand over command | 41 |
| | The area of operations | 43 |
| | Boots on the ground | 45 |
| | Outside the wire | 49 |
| | The proconsul of Al Muthanna | 53 |
| | Crime fighting | 58 |
| | Targeting operations | 60 |
| | Detention and interrogation | 62 |
| | The limits of the mandate | 68 |
| | Separation of powers? | 70 |
| | De facto occupation | 74 |

| | | |
|------------------|--|-----|
| Chapter 3 | Governing in the midst of chaos | 77 |
| | Uprising in Al Khidr | 77 |
| | The 'Al Muthanna model' | 81 |
| | Visitors from The Hague | 86 |
| | Parties and militias | 89 |
| | Mounting threats | 92 |
| | Change of command and mission extension | 95 |
| | Accelerated transfer of sovereignty | 99 |
| | The Al Muthanna model as an exit strategy | 102 |
| | | |
| Chapter 4 | Creating a secure environment | 105 |
| | A disorderly bunch | 105 |
| | Security Sector Reform | 107 |
| | The transition plan | 111 |
| | Troops in contact | 115 |
| | Knock Talk Search | 120 |
| | SSR: the interim score | 126 |
| | | |
| Chapter 5 | Caught between a power struggle and an uprising | 161 |
| | Operation Swatter | 161 |
| | Armed opposition: the Mahdi Army | 165 |
| | Province of peace? | 167 |
| | Incidents and provocations | 171 |
| | The power struggle at its peak | 175 |
| | The second uprising | 181 |
| | Ambush in Ar Rumaythah | 185 |
| | Ceasefire | 189 |
| | Complex crisis response operations | 192 |
| | | |
| Chapter 6 | Reconstruction | 195 |
| | The faltering 'project machine' | 195 |
| | Civil-Military Cooperation in theory | 197 |
| | Civil-Military Cooperation in practice | 198 |
| | "Spend the money!" | 201 |
| | The key role of reconstruction funds | 204 |
| | Two million euros for the 'Beggar's Army' | 207 |
| | Security assistance and reform | 211 |
| | The fifth contingent | 216 |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|-----|
| | The run-up to elections | 218 |
| | A carnival-like atmosphere | 221 |
| | Reconstruction or force protection? | 224 |
| Chapter 7 | Dutch approach? | 227 |
| | A stubborn minister | 227 |
| | Game over | 229 |
| | 'Dutch approach' | 232 |
| | Ar Rumaythah as a litmus test | 235 |
| | Critical allies | 238 |
| | British self-criticism and exit | 242 |
| | Al Muthanna after the departure of the Dutch | 247 |
| | The us in Iraq, 2003-2011 | 249 |
| | The 'Dutch touch' | 251 |
| | A gentle occupation | 256 |
| Acknowledgements | | 259 |
| Select bibliography | | 263 |
| Abbreviations and acronyms | | 269 |
| Notes | | 271 |
| Index | | 305 |