Online Appendix:

Buying Allies: Payment Practices in Multilateral Military Coalition-Building

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Korean War coalition participants: South Korea (602,902), USA (326,863), UK (14,198), Canada (6,146), Turkey (5,453), Australia (2,282), the Philippines (1,496), New Zealand (1,385), Ethiopia (1,271), Greece (1,263), Thailand (1,204), France (1,119), Colombia (1,068), Belgium (900), South Africa (826), the Netherlands (819), and Luxembourg (44). A range of other countries provided medical or other support to the coalition.[1]

Vietnam War coalition participants: South Vietnam (850,000+), USA (543,000), South Korea (50,003); Thailand (11,586), Australia (7,672), the Philippines (2,061),[2] and New Zealand (552).[3]

Gulf War coalition participants: United States (697,000), Saudi Arabia (100,000), the United Kingdom (45,400), Egypt (33,600), France (14,600), Syria (14,500), Morocco (13,000), Kuwait (9,900), Oman (6,300), Pakistan (4,900), United Arab Emirates (4,300), Qatar (2,600), Bangladesh (2,200), Canada (2,000), Italy (1,200), Australia (700), the Netherlands (600), Niger (600), Spain (500), Senegal (500), Belgium (400), Bahrain (400), Argentina (300), Afghanistan (300), Poland (200), Greece (200), South Korea (200), Denmark (100), Hungary (50), and Norway (50).[4]

Iraq War coalition participants: Albania (240), Armenia (46), Australia (2,000), Azerbaijan (250), Bosnia and Herzegovina (85), Bulgaria (485), Czech Republic (300), Denmark (545), Dominican Republic (302), El Salvador (380), Estonia (40), Georgia (2,000), Honduras (368), Hungary (300), Iceland (2), Italy (3200), Japan (600), Kazakhstan (29), Kuwait, Latvia (136), Lithuania (120), Macedonia (77), Marshall Islands, Moldova (24), Mongolia (180), the Netherlands (1,345), Nicaragua (230), Norway (150), the Philippines (51), Poland (2,500), Portugal (128), Romania (730), Singapore

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[1] Numbers refer to peak strength on July 27, 1953 -- the day the Armistice Agreement was signed. USFK Public Affairs Office, 'United Nations Command.' Available at www.usfk.mil/About/UnitedNationsCommand.aspx. Accessed on 18 July 2018.

[2] The agreement with Philippines included US$2.44 million for overseas allowances; US$1.7 million for training and associated defense services for replacement units; US$3 in equipment for replacement units; and US$1.9 million to cover pay and normal allowances of actually-employed replacement troops. Dean Rusk to AmEmbassy Manila, 2/19/65, "Philippine Cables, Vol. II, 6/64-6/66," Item No.166. NSF Country File – Philippines, Box 278. L.B.J. Library. The initial Philippine deployment to Vietnam was discussed under Filipino President Macapagal. In late 1965, President Marcos succeeded Macapagal. Marcos requested to renegotiate the agreement to include the following (more detailed) U.S. material assistance to the Philippines in connection with their deployment to Vietnam. (1) four switch craft boats (US$ 800,000); (2) Engineer equipment for 3 battalions (US$1,959,834); (3) Weapons and ammunition (US$ 190,935); transportation costs (US$ 563,892). In addition, to sweeten the deal, President Johnson personally offered Marcos an additional cash grant of US$45 million. See U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. Republic of the Philippines: Hearings before the Subcommittee on United States Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, Part 1, 91st Congress, 1st session, 1969, pp. 31 & 37.

[3] These are estimated peak deployment numbers. Edwin E. Moïse, *The A to Z of the Vietnam War*, Vol. 9 (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005), p.11.

[4] These are estimated peak deployment numbers. Available at http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/stats/Military/Gulf-War-Coalition-Forces. Accessed 26 July 2018.

(175), Slovakia (110), Spain (1,300), South Korea (3,600), Thailand (423), Tonga (55), Ukraine (1,650), the United Kingdom (46,000), and United States (165,000).[5]

ISAF coalition participants: USA (90,000), United Kingdom (9,500), Germany (4,909), France (3,979), Italy (3,815), Canada (2,900), Poland (2,527), Turkey (1,799), Romania (1,726), Australia (1,550), Spain (1,499), Georgia (924), Denmark (748), Bulgaria (608), Belgium (528), Sweden (500), Hungary 483, Czech Republic (463), South Korea (426), Norway (413), Croatia (299), Slovakia (296), Albania (257), New Zealand (236), Netherlands (197), Lithuania (188), Macedonia (177), Finland (165), Estonia (158), Latvia (136), Greece (132), Portugal (114), Azerbaijan (94), Slovenia (79), Mongolia (62), Tonga (55), Singapore (48), Bosnia and Herzegovina (45), Armenia (40), Montenegro (36), UAE (35), Malaysia (30), Ukraine (20), Luxembourg (9), Ireland (7), Austria (3), Iceland (2).[6]

UNAMID coalition participants: Nigeria (3,700 military and police forces), Rwanda (3,430 forces), Egypt (2,650 forces), Ethiopia (2,400 forces), Senegal (1,330 forces), Bangladesh (1,080 forces), Tanzania (1,030 forces), Burkina Faso (970 forces), South Africa (850 forces), Thailand (832 forces), Pakistan (796 forces), Jordan (700 forces), Nepal (640 forces), Sierra Leone (400 forces), Gambia (343 forces), China (323 troops), Ghana (310 forces), Zambia (200 forces), Yemen (190 forces), Togo (150 forces), Indonesia (150 forces), Kenya (90 forces), Mongolia (70 forces), the Philippines (70 forces), Namibia (40 forces), Cameroon (35 forces), Malaysia (35 forces), Burundi (25 forces), Niger (20 forces), Jamaica (15 forces), Fiji (12 forces), and token forces from the United States, Tajikistan, Mali, Germany, Malawi, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Zimbabwe, Kirgizstan, Guatemala, Iran, South Korea, Ecuador, Italy, Uganda, Palau, the Netherlands, and Canada.[7]

AMISOM coalition participants: Uganda (6,200); Burundi (5,400); Djibouti (1,800); Kenya (4,300); Sierra Leone (850); Ethiopia (4,400).[8]

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[5] These are estimates of peak contributions. Countries with no numbers provided only political support. Joseph Christoph, "Stabilizing and Rebuilding Iraq. Coalition Support and International Donor Commitments," (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2007), p.3; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multi-National_Force_%E2%80%93_Iraq#Troop_deployment_in_Iraq_2003%E2%80%932011.

[6] These are deployment numbers during the Afghanistan surge. See ISAF Placemat, March 2011. Available at https://www.nato.int/isaf/placemats_archive/2011-03-04-ISAF-Placemat.pdf Accessed May 22, 2018. Jordan and Switzerland also participated in ISAF in 2007 contributing 90 and 5 troops respectively.

[7] These are estimated peak contributions. Réseau Francophone de Recherche sur les Opérations de Paix, "MINUAD." Available at www.operationspaix.net/78-operation-minuad.html. Accessed 2 August 2012.

[8] These are estimated peak contributions. Paul Williams, "Joining AMISOM: Why Six African States Contributed Troops to the African Union Mission in Somalia," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* Vol.12, No. 1 (2018): p.174.

Table 1: Gulf War Financial Assistance (in millions of U$)

Donors/Recipients	Egypt	Turkey	Jordan	Unallocated	Other States	Grand Total
	Committed	Committed	Committed	Committed	Committed	Committed
Gulf Coast States (GCC)	2.663	1.810	0	1.875	2.529	8.877
Saudi Arabia	1.688	1.160	0	0	1.503	4.351
Kuwait	555	300	0	1.645	763	3.263
United Arab Emirates	420	350	0	230	263	1.263
European Community (EC)	871	191	234	668	39	2.203
EC budget	16	2	10	733	0	760
Belgium	16	9	7	0	0	32
Denmark	20	0	0	10	0	30
France	50	30	20	100	30	230
Germany	665	73	146	0	0	884
Ireland	0	0	0	6	0	6
Italy	75	49	27	0	9	159
Luxembourg	0	0	1	3	0	4
Netherlands	18	18	18	3	0	57
Spain	11	11	5	9	0	35
United Kingdom	0	0	0	5	0	5
Other	12	5	13	173	0	202
Austria	0	0	0	11	0	11
Finland	0	0	0	11	0	11
Iceland	0	0	1	2	0	23
Sweden	10	3	10	22	0	45
Switzerland	0	0	0	109	0	109
Japan	419	286	250	1.067	0	2022
Canada	22	4	23	17	0	66
Korea	23	20	15	25	17	100
Total Commitments (as of December 1990)	U$4.010	U$2.316	U$534	U$4.025	U$2.585	U$13.470

Source: Paper, Gulf Crisis Financial Assistance 1990-91 Commitments and Disbursements, December 13, 1990, folder "Hass, Richard N. Files Working File Iraq December 1990," Box "Haass, Richard N. Working Files," Bush Presidential Records, George H. W. Bush Presidential Library. This table is based on data from December 1990. As a result, aid figures are smaller than eventually collected.

Table 2: U.S. Coalition Expenditures Iraq 2003-2006 (in U$)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	TOTAL
Coalition Support Funds spent on Iraq	151,700,000	274,300,000	245,600,000	54,300,000	**725,900,000**
Lift and Sustain			483,300,000	219,000,000	**702,300,000**
Peacekeeping Operations Budget	50,000,000	16,000,000			**66,000,000**
TOTAL	201,700,000	290,300,000	728,900,000	273,300,000	**1,494,200,000**
Total Foreign Troops deployed to Iraq	24,000	25,000	23,000	15,200	**87,200**
Amount per soldier spent	**U$8,404**	**U$11,612**	**U$31,691**	**U$17,980**	**U$17,135**

Source: Joseph A. Christoph, *Stabilizing and Rebuilding Iraq. Coalition Support and International Donor Commitments*, May 9, 2007 (Washington, D.C.: Government Accountability Office), p. 10.

Table 3: Overall Afghanistan Deployment Support 2010-2015 (in U$)

	FY 2010	FY 2011	FY 2012	FY 2013	FY 2014	FY 2015
Coalition Support Funds	1,600,000,000	818,709,802	1,431,840,347	828,149,999	1,930,260,999	1,699,999,999
Global Lift and Sustain	300,000,000	9,730,466	6,506,092	449,668,000	139,686,000	139,686,000
TOTAL	1,900,000,000	828,440,268	1,438,346,439	1,277,817,999	2,069,946,999	1,839,685,999
Total Foreign Troops in ISAF	41,730	42,400	40,386	32,330	19,086	7,000
Amount per soldier spent	**U$ 45,531**	**U$19,539**	**U$35,614**	**U$39,524**	**U$108,454**	**U$262,812**

Source: For 2010 – DOD Section 1209 and Section 1203(b) Report to Congress on Foreign-Assistance Related Programs for Fiscal Years 2008, 2009, and 2010, April 2012. Available at http://securityassistance.org/sites/default/files/1204_1209_rept.pdf. Accessed 17 February 2016. For 2011 – DOD Section 1209 and Section 1203(b) Report to Congress On Foreign-Assistance Related Programs for Fiscal Year 2011, October 2012. Available at www.dod.mil/pubs/foi/Reading_Room/Other/14-F-0197_DOC_01_Department_of_Defense_Section_1209_and_Section_1203b_report_to_congress_FY11.pdf. Accessed 17 February 2016. For 2012 - DOD Section 1209 of the NDAA for FY 2012 (Public Law 11 0-181) Report to Congress On Foreign-Assistance Related Programs for Fiscal Year 2012, May 2013. Available at http://securityassistance.org/sites/default/files/2012_1209_rept_0.pdf. Accessed 17 February 2016. For 2013-2015 - Security Assistance Monitor (www.securityassistance.org). Deployment numbers for Afghanistan: Brookings Institute Afghanistan Index July 31, 2015 edition. These estimates do not include any supplementary foreign aid payments or other payments made to ISAF coalition partners, for examples, via the Foreign Military Financing program or Section 1208/1233 (Support of Special Operations to Combat Terrorism) which has also been used to finance ISAF contributions. See http://defenseassistance.org/programs/law.php?name=Section_1208. As a result, the amounts are most certainly low-ball estimates.

Table 4: ISAF Deployment Support per country (in U$ million)

Country	FY 2012	FY 2013	FY 2014	TOTAL
Bulgaria	3.2			3.2
Croatia	5.2	5.5	9.6	20.3
Czech Republic	4.0	16.9		20.9
Estonia	8.8	4.6	4.7	18.1
Hungary	13.3		2.3	2.3
Latvia	3.2	5.2	11.7	20.1
Poland	14	11.1	3.8	28.9
Romania	14.3	20.1		34.4

Source: Nina M. Serafino, *Security Assistance Reform: "Section 1206" Background and Issues for Congress*, December 8, 2014 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service), pp.7-8