

(Washington, DC: The Joint Staff, June 16, 1995), III-13.

²⁸ Allied Joint Publication (AJP) 3.4.1, *Peace Support Operations* (Brussels: NATO, July 2001), 2-2, 2-4, 4-5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-4, 6-7, 6-15.

³⁰ JP 3-07.3, *Peace Operations* (Washington, DC: The Joint Staff, October 17, 2007), III-5.

³¹ Kuperman, “A Model Humanitarian Intervention?”; Christopher S. Chivvis, *Toppling Qaddafi: Libya and the Limits of Liberal Intervention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 175.

³² Elaine M. Grossman, “Naumann: Be Ready to Use Ground Troops: Senior General Warned NATO Repeatedly of Prolonged Kosovo Conflict,” *Inside the Pentagon* 15, no. 16 (1999), 1, 16–17; Elaine M. Grossman, “Naumann: Coercing Milosevic Initially ‘Did Not Work’: NATO General Says Alliance Is Prepared for Long Haul in Kosovo,” *Inside the Pentagon* 15, no. 17 (1999), 1, 15–16.

³³ Wheeler, *Saving Strangers*, 256, 268; Grossman, “Naumann: Be Ready to Use Ground Troops,” 17; Grossman, “What If . . . We Were Still Fighting in Winter Weather?” 12.

³⁴ Michael Hastings, “Inside Obama’s War Room,” *Rolling Stone*, October 13, 2011, available at <<https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/inside-obamas-war-room-238074/>>; David E. Sanger and Thom Shanker, “Gates Warns of Risks of a No-Flight Zone,” *New York Times*, March 2, 2011, available at <<https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/2011/03/03/world/africa/03military.html>>.

³⁵ Brockmeier, Stuenkel, and Tourinho, “The Impact of the Libya Intervention Debates,” 119–120, 132; Benedetta Berti, “Forcible Intervention in Libya: Revamping the ‘Politics of Human Protection?’” *Global Change, Peace, and Security* 26, no. 1 (2014), 39; Hastings, “Inside Obama’s War Room.”

³⁶ AJP-3.4.1, 2-1, 4-4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

³⁸ Andrew Cottey, “The Kosovo War in Perspective,” *International Affairs* 85, no. 3 (2009), 606–607; Wheeler, *Saving Strangers*, 269–270, 283–284.

³⁹ Kuperman argues in “A Model Humanitarian Intervention?” 116–121, that far fewer Libyans would likely have died had NATO not intervened as it did. Chivvis argues in *Toppling Qaddafi*, 175, that Libya would be better off with Qadhafi gone only if long-term violence was not the result, which it has been in the 7 years since he published the book.

⁴⁰ Kuperman, “A Model Humanitarian Intervention?”; Pashakhanlou, “Decapitation in Libya”; Chamberlain, *Cheap Threats*, 143; Jack Goldsmith and Matthew Waxman, “The Legal Legacy of Light-Footprint Warfare,” *The Washington Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (2016), 9; Cevallos and Frederick, “Implementing Safe Areas,” 169; Chivvis, *Toppling Qaddafi*, 90; Sarah Brockmeier, “Lessons in Statecraft Still to Be

Joint Publications (JPs) Under Revision (to be signed within 6 months)

JP 2-0, *Joint Intelligence*

JP 3-0, *Joint Operations*

JP 3-01, *Countering Air and Missile Threats*

JP 3-03, *Joint Interdiction*

JP 3-12, *Cyberspace Operations*

JP 3-15, *Barriers, Obstacles, and Mine Warfare in Joint Operations*

JP 3-20, *Security Cooperation*

JP 3-31, *Joint Land Operations*

JP 3-32, *Joint Maritime Operations*

JP 3-33, *Joint Task Force Headquarters*

JP 3-35, *Joint Deployment and Redeployment Operations*

JP 3-42, *Joint Explosive Ordnance Disposal*

JP 3-68, *Noncombatant Evacuation Operations*

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JP 3-07, *Joint Stability*

JP 3-XX, *Information*

Learned 5 Years After the Libya Intervention,” *War on the Rocks*, March 16, 2016, available at <<https://warontherocks.com/2016/03/lessons-in-statecraft-still-to-be-learned-5-years-after-the-libya-intervention/>>.

⁴¹ Berti, “Forcible Intervention in Libya,” 39; Brockmeier, Stuenkel, and Tourinho, “The Impact of the Libya Intervention Debates,” 131; Brown, “Kosovo and Libya,” 475; Sui-Lee Wee, “Russia, China Oppose ‘Forced Regime Change’ in Syria,” Reuters, January 31, 2012, available at <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-china-russia/russia-china-oppose-forced-regime-change-in-syria-idUSTRE81007L20120201>>; Brockmeier, “Lessons in Statecraft.”

⁴² JP 3-07.3, B-1-B-8.

⁴³ Sarah Sewall, Dwight Raymond, and Sally Chin, *Mass Atrocity Response Operations: A Military Planning Handbook* (Cambridge, MA: Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School, and U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, 2010), 5–9, 103–105, available at <<https://www.usmm.org/m/pdfs/MARO-Handbook-091117.pdf>>.

⁴⁴ JP 3-07.3, B-1-B-10.

⁴⁵ Sewall, Raymond, and Chin, *Mass Atrocity Response Operations*, 55–56, 82–84.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 80–81.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 84–87.