

Dissertation

zur Vorlage am Fachbereich Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften
an der Freien Universität Berlin

Negotiating in Humanitarian Interventions

The Case of the International Intervention into the War in
Bosnia-HerzegovinaHerzegovina

Gutachter:

Prof. Dr. Georg Elwert
Prof. Dr. Holm Sundhaussen

Eingereicht im Mai 2002

Disputation am 12. Mai 2003

von

Kristóf Gosztanyi
Grenzburgerstr. 5
12165 Berlin

-----Section Break (Next Page)-----

Contents

- List of Acronyms 5**
- 1 Introduction 7**
 - 1.1 Methodology and Layout of the Dissertation.....13**
- 2 Literature Review 15**
 - 2.1 Negotiation and Mediation15**
 - 2.1.1 Game Theory and Negotiations..... 18
 - 2.1.2 WW Negotiations and Conflict Transformation..... 22
 - 2.1.3 Empirical and Experimental Studies 25
 - 2.2 Intrastate Wars30**
 - 2.2.1 Rational Factors..... 31
 - 2.2.2 Value-based, Cognitive and Psychological Factors 32
 - 2.2.3 Organizational Aspects 36
 - 2.3 The International Context38**
 - 2.3.1 The Post-Cold War Era..... 38
 - 2.3.2 State Action..... 41
 - 2.3.3 The Actors in the Field: IOs and the Media 52
- 3 The International Community and War 60**
 - 3.1 Geograhpy and Demography of Bosnia60**
 - 3.2 The War in Bosnia.....61**
 - 3.2.1 The Bosniac-Croat Conflict..... 65
 - 3.3 The International Community and the Bosnian Conflict77**
 - 3.3.1 The IC During the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina 80
 - 3.3.2 Phase I - EC / UN Political Action..... 81
 - 3.3.3 Phase II - Humanitarian Effort, Blue Helmets and NATO..... 83
 - 3.3.4 Phase III - First NATO Threat 94
 - 3.3.5 Phase IV - Limited NATO Action 101
 - 3.3.6 Phase V - Arming the HV 112
 - 3.3.7 Phase VI - Showdown 113
 - 3.4 Analysis - Pressure and Compliance in War.....118**
- 4 Mostar and the War (1992-1994)..... 128**

4.1	Mostar and the International Community	145
4.1.1	UNHCR and its Work in Bosnia-Herzegovina	146
4.1.2	UNPROFOR	155
4.1.3	The ICRC	164
4.2	International Organizations in Mostar	167
4.2.2	Mostar Until the End of the War.....	198
4.2.3	Analysis – International Negotiations on the Field Level.....	208
5	Discussions and Conclusions	217
5.1	Summary (The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Mostar)	218
5.1.1	International Engagement.....	220
5.1.2	The War in Mostar	222
5.1.3	The International Intervention at the Level of Mostar	223
5.2	Negotiations	224
5.2.1	State-Level Interventions	227
5.2.2	Mostar Level Interventions.....	229
5.2.3	Power-Based vs. WW Negotiations: Policy Recommendations.....	232
5.3	Interacting with the Warring Parties	237
5.3.1	Reactions to Threats – Rational or Emotional Response?.....	237
5.3.2	Social-Psychological Factors.....	239
5.3.3	Organizational Factors.....	240
5.4	The International Context and the Humanitarian Intervention	241
5.4.1	National Interest, Normative Action and Institutional Theory	242
5.4.2	Media and International Organizations in the Field	246
5.4.3	The Interactive Aspect: Learning	258
5.5	Conclusions	262
5.5.1	Open Questions: A Future Research Agenda	264
6	List of Quoted Informants	266
7	Literature	267
	Lebenslauf	280

-----Page Break-----

List of Acronyms	5
1 Introduction	6

1.1	Methodology and Layout of the Dissertation	
12		
2	Literature Review	14
2.1	Negotiation and Mediation	
14		
2.1.1	Game Theory and Negotiations	
17		
2.1.2	Win-Win Negotiations and Conflict Transformation	
21		
2.1.3	Empirical and Experimental Studies	
25		
2.2	Intrastate Wars	
29		
2.2.1	Rational Factors	
30		
2.2.2	Value-based, Cognitive and Psychological Factors	
31		
2.2.3	Organizational Aspects	
35		
2.3	The International Context	
37		
2.3.1	The Post-Cold War Era	
38		
2.3.2	State Action	
41		
2.3.2.1	National Interest	
41		
2.3.2.2	Values and Norms	
43		
	Excursion: Rational vs. Norm-Based Action	47
2.3.2.3	Institutional Theory	
49		
2.3.3	The Actors in the Field: IOs and the Media	
52		
2.3.3.1	International Organizations	
54		
3	The International Community and War	59

3.1	The War in Bosnia-Hercegovina (1992-1995)	
59		
	Bosnia-Hercegovina's History Until the Beginning of the War (1992)	60
3.2	The War in Bosnia	
63		
3.2.1	The Bosniak-Croat Conflict	
67		
3.3	International Community and the Bosnian Conflict	
79		
3.3.1	The IC During the War in Bosnia-Hercegovina	
82		
3.3.2	Phase I - EC / UN Political Action	
83		
3.3.3	Phase II - Humanitarian Effort, Blue Helmets and NATO	
85		
3.3.3.1	Neutrality	
87		
3.3.3.2	The Concentration Camps	
88		
3.3.3.3	IC Strategy	
91		
3.3.3.4	Rape Camps	
95		
3.3.4	Phase III - First NATO Threat	
96		
3.3.5	Phase IV - Limited NATO Action	
102		
3.3.6	Phase V - Arming the HV	
113		
3.3.7	Phase VI - Showdown	
115		
3.4	Analysis - Pressure and Compliance in War	
120		
4	<i>Mostar and the War (1992-1994)</i>	129
	The War Reaches Mostar	130
4.1	Mostar and the International Community	
146		

4.1.1	UNHCR and its Work in Bosnia-Herzegovina	
147		
4.1.2		UNPROFOR
156		
4.1.3		The ICRC
164		
4.2	International Organizations in Mostar	
167		
4.2.1.1	The Humanitarian Situation on the ABiH Side	
193		
4.2.2	Mostar Until the End of the War	
199		
4.2.3	Analysis – International Negotiations on the Field Level	
209		
4.2.3.1	Formulating and Representing Demands in an Aggressive and Committed Way	213
4.2.3.2	Engaging Higher Levels of Decision Making	
215		
4.2.3.3	Using the Media	
216		
5	Discussions and Conclusions	217
5.1	Summary (The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Mostar)	
218		
5.1.1	International Engagement	
220		
5.1.2	The War in Mostar	
222		
5.1.3	The International Intervention on the Level of Mostar	
223		
5.2	Negotiations	
224		
5.2.1	State-Level Interventions	
227		
5.2.2	Mostar Level Interventions	
229		
5.2.3	Power-Based vs. Win-Win Negotiations: Policy Recommendations	
232		
5.2.3.1	Resolve	
234		

5.2.3.2	Neutrality	
235		
5.3	Interacting with the Warring Parties	
237		
5.3.1	Reactions to Threats – Rational or Emotional Response?	
237		
5.3.2	Social-Psychological Factors	
239		
5.3.3	Organizational Factors	
240		
5.4	The International Context and the Humanitarian Intervention	
242		
5.4.1	National Interest, Normative Action and Institutional Theory	
243		
5.4.2	Media and International Organizations in the Field	
246		
5.4.2.1	Key Events	
246		
5.4.2.2	Media Reporting and Escalation	
250		
5.4.2.3	The Media	
252		
5.4.2.4	Norm Entrepreneurs	
254		
5.4.3	The Interactive Aspect: Learning	
258		
5.5	Conclusions	
262		
5.5.1	Open Questions: A Future Research Agenda	
264		
6 Literature		266
Lebenslauf		279

List of Acronyms

ABiH - Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the BosniakBosniac dominated government troops) (Armija republike Bosne i Hercegovine)

BosniakBosniac - the term used to refer to Bosnian (or Slavic) Muslims

HDZ - Croatian Democratic Community (the ruling party of Croatia; the party of president Tudjman) (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica)

HDZ BiH - The Bosnian branch of HDZ (this party rules in the Bosnian Croat areas)

HOS – Hrvatske obrambene snage (Croatian Defence Forces)

HV – Croatian Army (Hrvatska vojska)

HVO - Croat Defense Council (the Bosnian Croat Army) (Hrvatsko vijeće obrane)

HZ HB - Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna (Hrvatska zajednica Herceg-Bosne)

ICRC – International Committee of the Red Cross

IO – International Organization

NGO – Non-Government Organization

PB – power-based negotiations

RRF – Rapid Reaction Force

RS – The Serb Republic (Republika srpska)

SDA – Party of Democratic Action (The BosniakBosniac nationalist party. The party of President Izetbegović) (Stranka demokratske akcije)

SDS – Serb Democratic Party (The main Serb nationalist party. The party of Radovan Karadžić) (Srpska demokratska stranka)

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNPROFOR – United Nations Protection Force

VRS – Army of the Serb Republic (Vojska republike srpske)

WW – WW solutions in negotiations