

# ETHNIC CLEANSING

## *HOW THE MEDIA INTRODUCED A NEW TERM INTO INTERNATIONAL LAW*



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# 1 Introduction

‘Thousands flee evil of ‘ethnic cleansing’’ (*The Times*, 25 July, 1992)

‘Ethnic cleansing threatens to wipe away memory of Tito’ (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 October 1993)

‘Bosnie: la purification ethnique serait en voie d’achèvement’ (*Le Monde*, 27 April 1995)

‘Blaskic: 45 jaar voor Etnische Zuiveringen (Blaskic: 45 years for Ethnic Cleansing)’

(*Noordhollandsdagblad*, Saturday 4 March 2000)

Such article headlines were the stimulus for this thesis. The expression ‘ethnic cleansing’ entered the media during the war in Bosnia and is nowadays used in the media to describe a variety of actions committed by individuals and groups against others. Furthermore, as the last headline suggests, the expression found its way into international law and, consequently, the perpetrators of such deeds have been and can be convicted. However, the questions remain: where precisely does the expression come from? When did the media start using the expression? What is meant by it and how has it evolved over the last decade so that everybody is using the expression in a range of contexts?

More importantly, however, is the result of the use of the expression by the media in a legal context. When did the expression loom up in legal texts, such as conventions, Resolutions and declarations of the international community, particularly regarding the situation in Bosnia? Is there a relationship between the use of the expression in the media and the use of it in these legal texts?

Finally, as the last headline suggests, perpetrators are convicted for ethnic cleansing. The expression is also mentioned in several indictments of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), but how exactly is the expression used in a legal context? Much debate is going on about the comparison between genocide and ethnic cleansing. Is it the same? Does ethnic cleansing have elements of genocide in it or is it necessary to distinguish between terms? The expression is not mentioned in the statute of the tribunal but the distinction is vague, as the last headline quoted above suggests. The expression does loom up in indictments and judgements. What do the prosecutor and judges of the ICTY mean when using the expression in indictments and judgements? Is there any evidence that the media have influenced the use of the expression?

To analyse a tendency between the use of the expression in the media and the use of it in legal texts I will undertake the following steps. First of all, I will look at the origin of the expression, and its evolution during the war in Bosnia in the media. Secondly, I will examine the use of the expression in legal texts on the international level, especially the ICTY. Thirdly, I will attempt to determine the specific meaning given to the term in both the media and the legal texts to find out if there could be a correlation. Finally, I will discuss the place ethnic cleansing should have in the international law framework, especially in comparison with crimes against humanity and the crime of genocide. In this context I will also consider the role the media play in this debate.

The influence of the media on political decisions as well as on the public is already well researched as is the evolution of international law over the last decades. The relationship between the two however is the central issue I want to inquire into in this thesis. The influence of the media on the development of international law is a central issue. The central question of the thesis will be:

*How have the international media influenced the development of international law through their use of the term 'ethnic cleansing'?*

### 1.1 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

To answer this central question, the classical idea about political communication forms the basis. This model is shown in the following graph (Van Cuilenburg et al., 1992: 9):

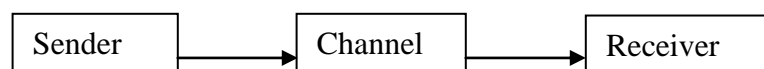


FIGURE 1.1 CLASSICAL COMMUNICATION MODEL

However this model is outdated, because of its top-down nature and its extreme simplicity. It excludes the mutual influence between the three elements in the model. In political communication theory these influences are more researched for example by Blumer and Gurevitch (1995) and Kleinnijenhuis et al. (1995, 1998). These authors show the mutual interdependence between politics, media and the public. This can be figured as follows:

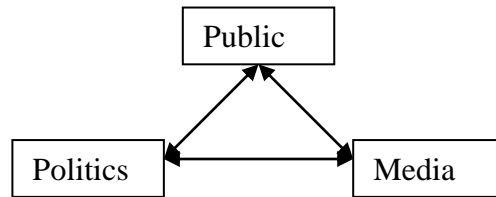


FIGURE 1.2 POLITICAL COMMUNICATION MODEL

In the context of this thesis, this model can be used as a basis for looking at the influence of the media on the development of international law. Globalization has made the world different over the last decade. The economy is becoming ‘Global’ and so also is politics. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 international relationships have changed and a new world order is emerging. Globalization also occurred in the field of the media. The rapid development of new technology created an evolution in communication possibilities especially for the media. Therefore the public could witness the war of Iraq in 1991 daily live at CNN. The media are everywhere and no war can be fought without being noticed by the media. The coverage of the war in Bosnia has been enormous over the years.

The media serve the public and keep them informed. However the public are less interested in foreign affairs if there is not a national interest at stake (see Bennett, 1990, 1995 and Allen & Seaton, 1999). During the Cold War all foreign affairs could be reported as matters of national interest, but this has changed in the 1990s. Furthermore, the technological possibilities cause an overload of information for the public. Cable and other systems allow the public to receive many channels from which they can choose. This development shapes the media as well; the public, or, more broadly, the society, including the economic sphere, influence the coverage of the media to a great extent.

The political communication model suggests influences between public, media, and politics. Therefore the changes in the media and in society as a result of globalization will have their impact on politicians. International law too is a product of politics. Politicians, influenced by the media are deciding about international law, by way of conventions, resolutions and declarations. Therefore, I argue that the media have also an impact on the development of international law. This I want to support by researching one particular expression, namely ‘ethnic

cleansing'. I will argue that the widespread use of the expression in our daily life is caused by the use of it in the media. The fact that the expression also appears in different legal texts derives from the same reason. This idea is shown in the following figure:

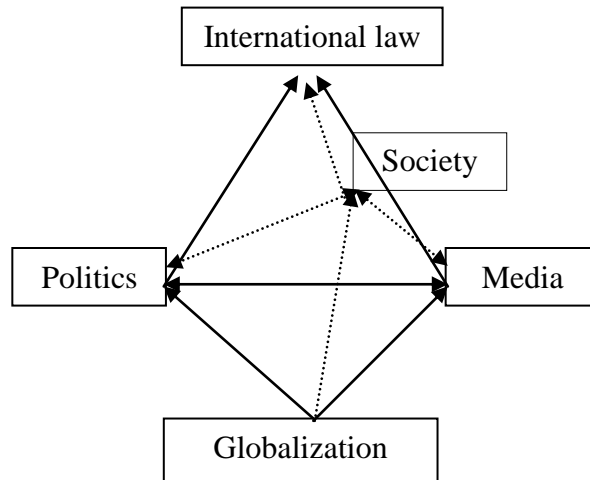


FIGURE 1.3 CONCEPTUAL MODEL BASED ON RUIGROK (1999: 7)

In this model the political communication model is used as a basis. However, because of the economic impact of globalization, the determinant public is changed in society in which I mean the broader context in which public activities takes place.

To answer the central question of the thesis I will concentrate on the specific expression ethnic cleansing. The empirical part of the thesis considers the question of how the media have influenced the use of the expression ethnic cleansing in international law. A content analysis of newspaper articles and documents of United Nations organisations dealing with ethnic cleansing can answer this question. This will explain only a part of the model figured above. As the model shows, the different determinants are all interlinked with one another. Therefore, to look at the model in total I will start with a literature study to explain the broader context in which the media play their part.

## 1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In the following chapter, I will discuss the methodology of research from which the results will be discussed in chapter five. However, the research is concentrating only on a part of the model. The model suggests that globalization is changing the three determinants of international law:

politics, society, and media. Therefore, globalization will be the starting point. In chapter three, I will look at the influence of globalization on politics, society, and media and their mutual influences on each other. In doing so, this chapter will explain the model presented above in more detail and present the broader context in which the actual research of the thesis takes place. International law is influenced by all three elements; therefore I will concentrate on the development of international law in the last decade as a consequence of changes in politics, media, and society. The media are the main actor in this thesis and therefore I will have a closer look at the influence of the media on the development of international law in chapter four. In this chapter I will discuss general media-effect studies and three specific media theories that can be applied in the research as well as a model determining media-effects on policies concerning humanitarian intervention.

The actual research results are presented in chapter five. This chapter is divided into several parts, discussing both an indirect and a direct effect of media on international law. After a brief overview of the main happenings during the Bosnian war, I will look at the definitions of ethnic cleansing as well as its origin. Furthermore, I will have a close look at how the expression first appeared in international media followed by documents of United Nations organisations. This will show the agenda-setting role the media played in this respect. The main perpetrators of ethnic cleansing according to the media and the international organisations will be discussed in a separate section. This part of the research will show how the Serbs became the ‘issue-owner’ of the new term. Specific aspects of ethnic cleansing, as distinguished by the international media and the United Nations organisations will support the discussion about different approaches between the two sources of information as well as the analysis to find distinctive characteristics of ethnic cleansing. In a separate section, the policy-media interaction model will be applied to the research, in order to determine the influences of the international media on policy decisions made by the United Nations’ Security Council in August 1992 and February 1993. These parts of the research constitute the indirect influences of the media on international law. I will discuss the direct influence the media have on international law in the last part of the research. In this section I will discuss the ongoing debate about ethnic cleansing as a synonym for genocide.

The thesis will end with a concluding chapter in which I will answer the central question of the thesis as well as giving recommendations for further research in this field.

## 2 Research Method

In this thesis the central question focuses on the relationship between international media and international law. With a content analysis of relevant articles of international media, relevant documents of several international organisations and documents of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, I will answer the question: *How have the international media influenced the development of international law through their use of the term 'ethnic cleansing'?* In this chapter I will define the scope of research to get a representative view on international media and international law. Furthermore I will describe the research method used for this part of the thesis.

### 2.1 SCOPE OF RESEARCH

#### 2.1.1 *International Media*

The research focuses on international media. The content analysis is solely focused on articles in representative newspapers. Although the impact of television is often recognised as being much bigger than newspapers, news coverage of television is far more difficult to gather, especially because the data required for the research is relatively old. Therefore the focus in this research is confined to newspapers. For gathering the newspapers I have used the online database Lexis Nexis. For international newspapers, I chose the following: *Los Angeles Times (LA-Times)*, *The Times/The Sunday Times* and *Le Monde*. These newspapers are most representative of the countries in which they are published. National differences are apparent in their media: The United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK), and France had much debate about strategies employed to cope with the situation in Bosnia. The UK and France had both a lot of soldiers present in Bosnia and therefore were sceptical about air strikes whereas the USA refused to send ground troops and were in favour of air strikes to stop Serbian aggression.

The timescale of this research is from the first time the expression appeared in international media, 2 August 1991 in the *Washington Post*, until the war officially finished when all parties signed the Dayton agreement on 14 December 1995 in Paris.

### 2.1.2 *Official Documents*

In numerous committees and commissions discussions occurred about the situation in the former Yugoslavia. For the purpose of my research, I selected all materials of the official bodies of the United Nations (UN) concerned with the situation in Bosnia: the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Human Rights Commission, and the Third Committee (a special committee as part of the General Assembly concerning Human Rights). Furthermore, I looked at the reports of the Special Rapporteur for the Human Rights situation in former Yugoslavia, Tadeus Mazowiecki, from which only the general sections concerning ethnic cleansing and the conclusions are coded. The timescale for these documents is the same as for the international newspapers. From the first time it appeared in official documents, August 1992, until the peace agreement in December 1995.

### 2.1.3 *ICTY*

The final part of the research looks at the official documents of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. The tribunal was established May 1993 by Resolution 808 of the Security Council and was operational in autumn of the same year. After the war was finished the work of the tribunal increased and more indictments and judgements were made. For this reason all the indictments and judgements of the tribunal mentioning the expression ethnic cleansing are examined.

## 2.2 RESEARCH METHOD

For the content analysis of all these articles and documents I used the program Ceta2 (Computer evaluative text analysis) based on the so-called Net-method (Network analysis of evaluative texts). This method is based on the idea that the explicit or manifest content of a text can be depicted as a network consisting of relations between meaning objects. To map the content of a text into a network, texts are parsed into nuclear sentences, each of which connects one meaning object to another. The method relies on the reverse ability of the audience to unravel complex sentences, mapping the logic of texts' in nuclear sentences. A nuclear sentence is defined as a two-place predicate connecting an i-object (i.e., its agent or subject) with a j-object (i.e., the object influenced or implied by the i-object).

In this research the subject as well as the object can be a certain action in relation to ethnic cleansing. Which sources, subjects and objects are selected is decided in advance. An example of a sentence could be: ‘UN: Serbian forces have used ethnic cleansing in Srebrenica’. This sentence will be parsed as follows: UN as the source, Serbian forces as the i-object and ethnic cleansing as the j-object. The nuclear sentence will be: ‘UN: Serbian forces / have used (ACT +1) / ethnic cleansing’. The relation between the i-object and the j-object is mentioned in the predicate. In this case ‘have used’. The ACT +1 means that the Serbian forces made a positive action or are associated with ethnic cleansing. A negation of any action or dissociation would get a value of -1.

### 2.3 MEANING OBJECTS

The meaning objects form the elementary part of the research. They are objects that can be classified into a few abstract types. Various types of meaning objects include *actors*, such as individuals, collectively acting groups, organisations, and institutions (e.g. Milosevic, the Croatian military forces, the United Nations and the United States) *states*, more or less concrete products of human action or interaction (e.g. Vance-Owen plan, genocide) *variables* such as means used to achieve ethnic cleansing or results of ethnic cleansing (e.g. expulsion, killings, detention camps etc.); *values* (e.g. doing good) and *realities*. The last two objects need further clarification. A value is a meaning object that an author uses to evaluate another meaning object. According to the author, the evaluated meaning object has an effect on the value. The sentence ‘General Assembly: ethnic cleansing is odious’ suggests that ethnic cleansing has a negative effect on a value (being good). This value is labelled as *Ideal*. In this case the nuclear sentence will be as follows: General Assembly: ethnic cleansing / is odious (EVA -1) / Ideal. The meaning object Ideal can only occur as a j-object.

A reality encompasses everything that happens within itself. Often references are made to the author’s reality ‘UNHCR: Ethnic cleansing in Srebrenica’. This sentence will be coded as follows: UNHCR: REA (+1) / @06 occurs / ethnic cleansing. However, assessments about ethnic cleansing occur also without reference to a specific source: ‘Ethnic cleansing in Krajina continues’. This form is a so-called ‘reality’ message. The nuclear sentence will be as follows: REA (+1) / @07 continues / ethnic cleansing.

An extra aspect of the research is the reservation in the predicate for the place where certain actions happen. The places are numbered in advance. In the sentences mentioned above the @06 and the @07 mean that ethnic cleansing took place in respectively Srebrenica and Krajina. In all types of predicates this aspect can be included.

Different types of meaning objects correspond loosely to qualitatively different types of predicates. For this research I describe only five types of sentences that are directly relevant to the research at hand.

- \* Evaluations (EVA) predicates are used to evaluate a meaning object ‘General Assembly: ethnic cleansing is odious’ is coded as ‘General Assembly: ethnic cleansing / is odious (EVA -1) / Ideal.’
- \* Reality (REA) predicates relate a j-object to the author’s reality ‘UNHCR: Ethnic cleansing in Srebrenica.’ This sentence will be coded as follows: UNHCR: REA (+1) / @06 occurs / ethnic cleansing.
- \* Actions (ACT) predicates are used to code actions ‘UN: Serbian forces have used ethnic cleansing in Srebrenica’ is coded as ‘UN: Serbian forces / @06 have used (ACT +1)/ethnic cleansing.’
- \* Affinity (AFF) predicates may be used to code an affective relation from an actor (as i-object) toward a variable (as j-object). In Resolutions of the Security Council the following sentences occur: ‘Condemns the practice of ethnic cleansing’. The core sentence will be as follows: Security Council / condemns (AFF-1) / ethnic cleansing. In this case it is not an action but a negative affinity with the object, expressed by the subject.
- \* Causality (CAU) predicates are used to code causal relations between pairs of variables. ‘Expulsion is one of the means used to achieve ethnic cleansing.’ In this case the sentence will be analysed as follows: expulsion as subject, and ethnic cleansing as object. The

predicate ‘mean to achieve’ indicates the relationship. The core sentence will be ‘expulsion / is a mean to achieve (CAU +1) / ethnic cleansing’

Another aspect in this example is the fact that it affects the Muslim population. In this case another core sentence will indicate this fact: ethnic cleansing / affects (CAU –1) / Muslims. The relationship is negative, because ethnic cleansing has negative consequences for the object mentioned.

- \* Equivalent (EQV) is used in order to determine which synonyms are used for the expression of ethnic cleansing. If ethnic cleansing is compared with genocide, the nuclear sentence will be: ethnic cleansing / is (EQV (+1) / genocide. This type of sentence is also used to indicate expressions where ethnic cleansing is called a policy.
- \* Order (ORD) is used to code statements of actors about actions that certain other actors should be doing in order to achieve something or to stop something. A Resolution of the Security Council could say ‘all fighting parties must stop the practice of ethnic cleansing’. Transformed in a nuclear sentence this will be Security Council: fighting parties / should stop (ORD –1) / ethnic cleansing. The connection is negative because a negative action is demanded.

Finally, it should be noted that one sentence may be coded as several different nuclear sentences. The statement ‘Muslim village ethnically cleansed by Serbian forces’ will be coded in the following sentences: Serbian forces / (ACT +1) / ethnic cleansing and ethnic cleansing / (CAU – 1) / Muslims.

#### 2.4 APPLICATION TO CENTRAL QUESTION

The coding of the materials allows for all kinds of analysis. However, in this thesis I will only use a selection of these possibilities, while concentrating on answering the central question in this thesis. To do that the method as explained above will be applied as follows:

- \* In separate files the data of articles and international organisations will be coded. The dates can give an indication of how the expression evolves during the conflict in both

newspapers and official documents. News flows can be indicated as well as flows of information at the international level.

- \* The assessments of actions can indicate the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing according to the different sources.
- \* The causal relations can give an indication of elements, which are connected with ethnic cleansing. Differences and similarities in newspapers and official documents can be analysed. Furthermore, this type of sentences indicates the main victims of the crime.
- \* The equivalents used for ethnic cleansing can indicate the meaning of the expression according to the source. Here as well, differences and similarities between the different sources can be found.
- \* However, before starting the actual research I will first look at the model as a whole. In a literature study I will show the influences of globalization on the three defined determinants of international law: politics, society, and media, their mutual influences and their influence on the development of international law. This study will constitute the broader context in which I research the influence of the media on international law.

### 3 Globalization

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Two hundred years ago, Jeremy Bentham introduced the term ‘international’ to describe the rise of cross-border transactions between nation-states (Baylis, J. & Smith, S., 1997). Until that point, nobody had spoken about ‘international relations’ as such, for the simple reason that the world was not then organised by territorial states. Two hundred years on, a new term has been added to our standard vocabulary. ‘Globalization’ has become a buzz-word, not only among academics but also among journalists, politicians, and other elements of society.

Globalization is, according to the International Monetary Fund: ‘The increasingly close international integration of markets both for goods and services and for capital.’ (quoted in Kegley & Wittkopf, 1999: 246). This is an essentially economic view of the phenomenon. The changing character of transnational economic relations can be seen as the most important dynamic of globalization. Geared by the development of electronic money, the level of capital flows has increased greatly over recent decades. ‘Foreign exchange trading in the world’s financial centres exceeds a trillion dollars a day...greater than the total stock of foreign exchange reserves held by all governments’ (Cable, 1995: 27).

Globalization, however, also entails aspects other than economic ones. It is a political, technological and cultural as well as a social phenomenon. As Anthony Giddens (1990: 64) puts it: ‘Globalisation can...be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.’

Thus, it has been argued, globalization stems from ‘the onrush of economic and ecological forces that demand integration and uniformity and that mesmerize the world with fast music, fast computers, and fast food – with MTV, Macintosh, and MacDonalds, pressing nations into one commercially homogenous global network: one McWorld tied together by technology, ecology, communications and commerce’ (Barber, 1995: 4).

The overall consensus among scholars from different disciplines looking at globalization is the increasing interconnections in different fields that turn the world into one single, integrated community and market.

Globalization plays a central role in the model presented in the introduction, and it affects all three determinants of international law as defined in the model. The actual research here focuses only on part of the model: the relation between media and international law. However, for a good understanding of the context in which the research is done I will discuss the effects of globalization on politics, society, and media in this chapter.

## 3.2 GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIETY

‘Globalization is creating a nongovernmental global civil society composed of non-governmental organisations, transnational business, labor, media, cultural and religious institutions and networks, and cosmopolitan individuals with extraordinary wealth and influence’ (Falk & Strauss, 1999: 13). This quotation highlights the fact that globalization affects the whole of society. I will now look at its effects on the economic and the social sphere.

### 3.2.1 *Economic Sphere*

As mentioned in the introduction, developments in the economic sphere can be seen as an important aspect of globalization. Today almost all countries in the world trade internationally. Around 20 per cent of world output is traded and a much larger percentage is subject to international competition. Trade is the key mechanism for moving goods, and services around the globe. With trade as the key mechanism Transnational Corporations (TNCs) form the key players in this respect. They rule the global economy. Their growing transactions and organisational connections that cross national boundaries is the cornerstone of globalization. In 1998 around 53,000 TNCs worldwide with 450,000 subsidiaries account for global sales of \$9,5 trillion (UNCTAD, 1998: 7). A small number of TNCs dominate world markets. The hundred largest TNCs employ 6 million workers worldwide and account for almost 30 per cent of total world sales of all TNCs. (UNCTAD, 1997: 8). The operations of TNCs are central in the process of economic globalization. In total all TNCs account for almost two-thirds of world trade, with up to one third of trade being intrafirm trade (UNCTAD, 1995: 23). There are several reasons for the important role of TNCs in the current world economy. First, over the last 30 years, communication technology vastly improved, while on the other hand the costs of communication decreased rapidly. Alongside this, major advances occurred in transport infrastructures, which enabled firms to organise production transnationally. Simultaneously, the liberalisation of the

financial markets on the one hand and the liberalisation of trade on the other hand have pushed economic growth to new heights.

The competitive advantages of TNCs derived from several sources: economies of scale and scope, superior management techniques and/or worldwide sales networks. But the key source of their competitive advantage is the technological innovations as mentioned previously. TNCs are often innovative companies in technologically dynamic industries. However, in the last decade, mostly due to the digital revolution, technological innovation in itself is not a guarantee of competitive advantage. Advantage also depend on the speed with which innovation takes place and new products can be produced and distributed (Castells, 1996).

The liberalisation of trade is another important development for the growth of TNCs in world trade. This is reflected in the record levels of Foreign Direct Investment in the late 1990s. The creation of a Single European Market in the European Union, the APEC's Osaka Declaration (declaration for a free and open market across the Asia-Pacific by 2010) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) encouraged the development of three regional markets. TNCs reacted by locating production inside each of these markets. This was achieved mostly by purchasing existing local and national firms. In the 1990s most changes in national FDI regulations across the world were in the direction of further liberalisation. This trend has been particularly important with respect to services where previously national restriction caused problems for TNCs.

This wide range of developments meant that trade was booming during the last decade. Even when the world faced an economic recession in the early 1990s, world trade kept growing and moreover the financial crisis in Asia in 1997 did not stop this growth. 'International trade has been growing at a startling pace. While the global economy has been expanding at a bit over 3 percent a year, the volume of trade has been rising at a compound annual rate of about twice that. In 1996 \$5.2 trillion of goods was sent from one country to another, up from \$2 trillion a decade earlier' (Economist, November 8, 1997: 85).

However, there is a serious downside to the globalization of trade. The gains made by trade are not equally distributed among the countries. The Northern hemisphere, where most of the TNCs are based, is gaining significantly more than the Southern, especially the African countries. Developed states have dominated international trade, accounting for 70 per cent in 1996 (Held et al. 1999: 171). The share of developing countries declined under the influence of

domestic protectionist measures to protect countries from the unfavourable effects of globalization. Although we are far from an equal division of trade between the developing countries and the developed countries, there is a trend towards increasing TNC activity within, and from, the developing countries. Not only are the countries attractive for Western TNCs, they also participate increasingly in global production networks as a base for TNCs. In the late 1980s developing countries were home to some 3,800 TNCs. By the mid-1990s this number had more than doubled. The level of FDI outflows from developing countries increased significantly. The foreign assets of the fifty largest TNCs based in developing countries increased by some 280 per cent compared to 30 per cent for the world's top hundred (mostly based in Western countries) TNCs (UNCTAD, 1997: 1-8).

### *3.2.2 Social Sphere*

The rushing integration of the world global economy has effects that reach beyond trade and financial services. Most employees have, as a reaction to the growing power of their companies, formed organisations to look after their interests. Furthermore, because of the evolution in telecommunications, issues transform from national importance to global importance. Whereas in the 1940s global radio broadcasting was established, in the 1990s many satellites facilitated telephone networks and live television coverage from events all over the world. Finally, in the 1990s the introduction of the Internet made instant exchange of massive volumes of information possible for a wide range of people. These evolutions in telecommunications make it feasible for small groups of people to communicate and cooperate with other groups around the world.

In this era of global communications pressure groups or NGOs found a good basis from which to emerge. NGOs are, according to a definition given by the Secretary-General of the United Nations Boutros Boutros-Ghali: '[S]elf-governing, private institutions engaged in the pursuit of public purposes outside the formal apparatus of the State' (Boutros-Ghali, 1996: 34). In 1960 there were 1,255 NGOs, by 1997 this number had increased to 5,472 (Union of International Associations, 1996: 1685).

Besides NGOs another expression of public awareness emerged as a result of globalization: social movements. Social movements are formed by groups of people concerned about interlinked issues, such as feminists, environmentalists and peace activists. Although less structured and organised than an NGO, social movements can play an important role in our

society. Due to their less structured and organised form, it is possible for individuals to participate in activities without becoming a member. Therefore social movements consist of as many people as possible, without administrative membership. Through the medium of collective action, social movements are capable of putting pressure on governments to act in a certain way. A good example of the possibilities of social movements is the role they played by the boycott campaigns against South Africa to put pressure on the government to stop apartheid.

### 3.2.3 *Identity and Ethnicity*

Globalization is much more complex than simply a redistribution of power from the state to other non-state actors. Globalization has also a counter-effect. By creating a world market, flows of goods, and people between states it also provokes resistance by those who feel threatened. Nationalism can therefore be seen as a reaction against globalization. But in another sense nationalism is also a product of globalization. The world is becoming a smaller place. The interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasing; these increasing interactions intensify consciousness of racial and/or cultural differences, which causes the most brutal wars, the 'ethnic wars', which we have faced during the last decade. Giddens (1999: 8) argues: 'Globalization is the reason for the revival of local cultural identities in different parts of the world.' The revival of local identities is caused by globalization, mostly because of the influence it has had on the media. The mutual influence of the three determinants is important in this respect. Television audiences in one part of the world watched the revolutions in other parts of the world. Large number of these audiences then took to the streets themselves.

Samuel Huntington in his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* argues that the growth of identity consciousness can transform into so-called 'fault line wars'. They can emerge as interstate wars but also as civil wars. He sees the war in Bosnia as an example of a fault line war. 'Fault line conflicts sometimes are struggles for control over people. More frequently the issue is control of territory. The goal of at least one of the participants is to conquer territory and free it of other people by expelling them, killing them, or doing both, that is, by 'ethnic cleansing'' (Huntington, 1996: 252).

Although ethnicity plays an important role in these new conflicts, the conflicts are often related to a struggle to overthrow-or maintain- a given system of allocating economic rewards. In such a system often only an elite, frequently one derived from an ethnic group, has privileged

access to jobs, education and health services and is often reinforced by external powers or even international aid.

#### *3.2.4 Global Civil Society*

Conflict, however, can also be seen as a necessary step in the creation of a global society. Conflict is the driving force of integration; the public sphere becomes a space in which kinds of difference and social distance make a positive contribution to social integration. World society comes into being because it is divided. Tensions within national public spheres are immediately relativized by transnational identities and networks (Beck, 2000). To deal with a situation of conflict, Ulrich Beck argues, a more important role for citizens is necessary. 'In order for this idea of transnational institutions, transnational conflict recognition and resolution – a centrepiece of cosmopolitan democracy – to assume a shape and power, a new political subject needs to be legitimated and founded: movements and parties of world citizens' (Beck, 2000: 102).

This cosmopolitan individual is the key figure in what Richard Falk (1995) calls 'globalization from below'. He argues that this is the only suitable response to 'globalization from above', the dominant role of transnational corporations. Globalization from below means a unification of the peoples in one global society. In an article in the Herald Tribune he makes this idea more concrete by stressing the need for the creation of a world parliament. 'We believe that the most promising innovation would be a worldwide grassroots campaign to establish the first Global Peoples' Assembly .... If, as the democratic principle asserts, political authority ultimately resides in citizens, then the citizenry has the right to found its own assembly' (Falk & Strauss, 1999: 13).

### **3.3 GLOBALIZATION AND THE MEDIA**

Globalization of communication consists first of all in a dense new media infrastructure of satellite and cable systems, Internet, e-mail and broadcast channels. Already in 1964 Marshall McLuhan argued that advances in electronic communication would result in what he called 'The Global village': a future world in which borders will vanish and the world will become one homogeneous community. The growing speed and flow of international communications is seen as the main cause of this emerging global village.

### *3.3.1 Media Infrastructure*

What may be termed as ‘global media’ began to appear in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when news agencies such as Reuters, Havas and Wolff, produced news about foreign affairs with the aim of selling it to newspaper publishers. Most media institutions, however, were still nationally oriented. The boost in the process of global media came after the Second World War. The United States (US) emerged from the war as the leading country in the world with significant political and economic power. As far as communication was concerned the US introduced the notion of the ‘free flow of information’, which implied that transnational media firms and advertisers could operate globally, without government restrictions. The new medium that benefited most from this free flow of information was television. Although established as a non-profit service, there was a significant commercial element to the trade of programs. Telecommunication companies and media-entertainment conglomerates arose in many countries. They were still mostly domestically oriented, partly because of state-involvement and partly because of the limited reach of languages. This changed in the 1980s when the communication and information business became one of the main features in the globalizing of the market economy. As a consequence global media expanded rapidly, with increasing revenues for the companies involved. As Anthony Smith (1991: 23) calculates, the total exports to Europe from Hollywood nearly doubled in the 1980s to more than \$5 billion in 1989. The decisive change, however, came in the 1990s with the commercialisation of ‘global television’. The introduction of cable connections and satellites dramatically increased the number of channels available. Along with these technical developments the pressure on governments to deregulate and commercialise media and communication took hold. This resulted in the emergence of global satellite television covering live events all over the world. The most prominent example of this evolution is CNN International, owned by Time Warner. The launching of the international news outlet, Cable News Network International (CNNI), in 1985 brought about new forms of communications within a period of only a few years. CNNI, later renamed CNN, has introduced a market-force-oriented process, which mixes the conventional system of national news presentation, concentrating on ‘home’ and ‘foreign’ news, with a new global presentation of the ‘internal’ and ‘external’ news. Another important element that CNN has brought into this new form of broadcasting is stylistic: the introduction of a neo-journalistic language with ‘sound bites’, ‘fact journalism’, and ‘breaking news’ stories, transmitted around the globe 24-hours a day. The

program *World Report* is a good example of this new form of journalism. Contributors to this program deliver the reports to CNN and pay the cost of production. CNN's contribution to the program consists mainly in the organisation and presentation of the program. Similar programs appeared later in BBC World Service and Euronews. According to a study by Ingrid Volkmer (1999) on the impact of CNN on global communication, the *World Report* program is a global platform especially for news agencies in developing countries '[I]t appears that crisis regions gain attention to their problems by using the World Report public sphere. Whereas Western countries do not participate frequently in terms of political programme or hard news, developing nations...contribute regularly' (Volkmer, 1999: 199).

According to Volkmer (1999), the majority of reports (31.2%) on *World Reports* cover political, economic or military issues which indicate that the program is regarded as a political forum. However this fact also poses possibilities for new political players in the field of programme production, like the United Nations. UNTV produced 3.3% of the programmes in the sample of Volkmer's study with a highly global character. She concludes: 'The difference between the 'traditional' type of development journalism and the global journalism...is that these issues arise from regional or national contexts but are framed in an international or multinational scope' (Volkmer, 1999: 196).

The revolution in telecommunications also had an impact on other parts of our society. The introduction of a worldwide telephone connection, fax and modem changed social life completely. The mobile phone makes it possible for a great number of people to keep in contact with other parts of the world 24 hours a day. The death of distance as a determinant of the cost of communications is an important economic force shaping society. A three-minute New York-London call in 1930 costs almost \$250 whereas in 1990 the price was reduced to \$3.32 (Held et al, 1999: 170). In terms of overall flows, the volume of international telephone calls climbed from 12.7 billion call minutes in 1982 to 67.5 billion in 1996 (Staple, 1996: 21). The growth of telephone traffic has many sources, like decreasing costs and increasing international business connections. However, the most important source of growth comes from the integration of telecommunication, computing, and media technologies. The Personal Computer and the Internet can be seen as another important phenomenon for spreading an enormous flow of information all over the world. With the introduction of the World Wide Web (WWW) people all over the world with a computer and a modicum of computer skills have been able to gain access to seemingly

unlimited information. This so-called digital revolution is spreading rapidly over the world and where it will lead is not yet clear. In the early 1990s some 100,000 computers were connected, in 1996 there were over 12.8 million Internet hosts and by now there are likely to be over 100 millions users worldwide (OECD, 1997: 25).

The role of the Internet as a mass medium remains to be seen. Until now, the companies are investing more in the WWW than they earn from it. Another downside effect, as seen with other forms of telecommunications, is the stratification between developed countries and developing countries. In 1997 the numbers of Internet hosts per 1,000 inhabitants ranged from 55.5 in Finland and 38.4 in the US to 0.2 and 0.3 in Turkey and Mexico respectively (OECD, 1997: 28).

The possibilities of the Internet for exchanging ideas, however, have a major impact on the public and especially on the growth of social movements and NGOs. The green movement is a good example of this development in embracing new communication technologies as a mobilising tool, particularly the use of the Internet (Bartz, 1996). They use the Internet to coordinate actions, inform their members, and to enlarge their network. World Wide Web sites are becoming rallying points for participants around the world to discuss specific topics relating to the environment. Through the creation of networks local groups can act globally, at the level where main problems are created. It seems that a computer-literate elite is emerging as the global co-ordinating core of local action groups around the world. Greenpeace recognizes, more than any other group, the importance of generating favourable and exciting media coverage. Their entire logic is geared toward creating events to mobilise public opinion on specific issues in order to put pressure on governments. Their direct actions, for example the occupation of the oil platform Brent Spar in 1995, are media stunts, exciting images orchestrated to convey a critical perspective toward environmental issues. The dramatic aspect attracts journalists and television crews to specific actions and makes it possible for the groups themselves to distribute their own media presentations. Greenpeace has its own media facilities; within hours it can provide photographs to newspapers and circulate scripted video news spots to television stations in countries all over the world.

### 3.3.2 *Centralisation and Commercialisation*

A counter-movement to the globalization of the media is centralisation. Television news pictures are provided to broadcasters worldwide by three commercial news agencies and a variety of co-operative news exchanges. The television news agencies are the audio-visual counterparts of the wire services, Reuters, Associated Press (AP) and World Wide Television News (WTN). The agencies gather story information continuously from a large number of other bureaux, and edit together their own story 'packages' for their customers. The clients, satellite broadcasters, national broadcasters and local broadcasters subscribe to this service. BBC for example subscribes to Reuters. CNN, although it produces much of their international news themselves, is also subscribed to all three agencies.

This oligopoly can be seen as a threat to democracy (Herman & McChesney, 1997). Although they acknowledge that competition between commercial media companies and state-controlled companies caused a quality increase in the latter's products, they see it mostly as a threat to democracy. The quality of the media is influencing the quality of democracy. Centralisation of the media, with a dominant role for competition, will lessen the quality of products and therefore influence democracy negatively. News agencies can be seen as the agenda-setters and more, because they make the first decision on if and how international stories will be covered. However, news agencies are involved in a heavy competition for clients. Therefore their coverage decisions are based largely upon what their rival company is doing, the costs of providing coverage, and the will of the most powerful broadcasters. Chris Paterson's (1998:83-85) content analysis of the output of the three agencies for two days of September 1995 demonstrates that each of the three agencies was giving roughly equal coverage to the major stories, including stories of riots in Tahiti, and the ongoing story of war in Bosnia.

Broadcasters, on the other hand, are involved in competition for audiences. Their decision what to broadcast follows the same lines as the news agencies. Therefore they tend to rely heavily on the output of those agencies. Paterson's ongoing content analysis shows that this is a trend among broadcasters worldwide. He concludes: 'The dominance of a few powerful media alliances in the provision of international news product means that news, in both print and electronic form, from much of the world, is now determined and provided by what is essentially a single editorial perspective' (Paterson, 1993: 94).

The habits of news agencies change dramatically. The increasing pace in the industrialisation of news put pressure on the news agencies. Jean Seaton (1999) argues that dominant news agencies and broadcasters do not invest in quality news anymore: on the contrary, they ruthlessly cut costs. There are fewer journalists, fewer experts, but more programs.

This commercialisation trend of the media market has its influence as well on the journalists working for the multinational conglomerates. ‘Can we even think of doing what we must in this global world, doing what we should, as journalists and as intellectuals, comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable, being a counter-power, a voice for the voiceless, when so many of us are as much a part of the ruling class as the business elite itself?’ (Halimi, 1997: 13). The answer to this question is ambiguous, not least because, it has been argued, news agencies only deliver the raw material whilst the meaning of the story is shaped by the broadcaster (Gurevitch et al. 1991). However, as pointed out before, journalists tend to rely on output of the news agencies in making their decisions. The availability of ready-made stories is an important factor in the decision whether a foreign news story is covered (Paterson, 1999). Furthermore, the continuous flow of news means that strict deadlines occur and journalists have less time to gather news themselves. Under pressure journalists take news from easily accessible sources (Seaton, 1999). The implications of these trends will be discussed when I consider the globalization of world politics in the next section.

### 3.4 GLOBALIZATION AND WORLD POLITICS

Before the onset of globalization, world politics was arranged according to the Westphalian order, derived from the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). The system provided a framework for governance. Statehood and Sovereignty were key-points in this system. Statehood meant a world divided into territorial parcels, each ruled by an independent government. Sovereignty meant that this government could exercise control over its territory without any interference from outside. Each state had its own jurisdiction within its territory.

The main discussion looking at the influence of globalization on world politics concentrates on the declining power of states. As mentioned in the preceding sections, new non-governmental actors are playing an important role in world politics nowadays and a new form of democracy is evolving among world citizens.

### *3.4.1 Intergovernmental Organisations*

‘Global politics’ is a term which usefully captures the stretching of political relations across space and time; the extension of political power and political activity across the boundaries of the modern nation-state. The emergence of global politics can be measured in terms of the number of Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGOs), institutions created and joined by governments, which give them authority to make collective decisions to manage particular problem(s) on the global agenda (Kegley & Wittkopf, 1999). The number of IGOs has, like NGOs, rapidly increased over the last decades. In 1960 there were 154 IGOs and 1,255 NGOs; by 1997 these numbers increased to 260 and 5,472 respectively (Union of International Associations 1996: 1685). This growth in number of IGOs reflects the wish of most national governments to create new forms of international governance to deal with collective policy problems. The mutual influence of the three determinants becomes clear in this respect because this development also reflects the pressure on governments from social movements, national, and international NGOs to cope with global problems. This new form of governance can be seen as an ‘international regime’: ‘[I]mplicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area of international relations’ (Krasner, 1983: 2).

International regimes can include IGOs but there are also other forms of international co-operation, created for example by treaties. An example of an international regime is the security system in Europe that is built up around complex relations between the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the European Union (EU), the West European Union (WEU), and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

The globalization of politics goes hand in hand with the emergence of regionalism. Political regionalism can be defined as: ‘[A] geographical cluster of contiguous nation-states which share a number of common attributes, have significant levels of interaction, and which enjoy institutionalized co-operation through a formal multilateral structure’ (Held et al., 1999: 74). The clearest example of regionalism is the formation of the European Union. The participating countries have voluntarily given power to higher levels of decision-making. The political processes within the European Union have a supranational character. As the European Court of Justice noted: ‘[B]y creating a Community of unlimited duration, having its own institutions, its own personality...and more particularly, real powers stemming from a limitation

of sovereignty of a transfer of powers from the States to the Community, the member States have limited their sovereign rights' (Mancini, 1990: 180).

### *3.4.2 Economic Actors*

Globalization of the economy cannot be seen as a separate occurrence from state involvement. The collapse of the old bipolar world has diminished the power of state centric rivalries to dominate international relations. Simultaneously, the opportunities for transnational economic corporations to cross national boundaries increased. Furthermore, as set out in section 3.2.1 national governments played an important role in changing regulations in the direction of further liberalisation of trade.

Considering the consequences for the state of the rising of powerful transnational corporations, it could be argued that the role of the state is diminishing, because any restriction to economic liberalism could be negative for the country's well being. 'Whether any given territory is included in global production networks or excluded from them depends on the decisions of private actors. States can try to make their territories attractive, but they cannot dictate the structure of global production networks' (Evans, 1997: 66). However, the power of the state is not completely undermined by these Transnational Corporations (TNCs). On the contrary, the relationship between trade and government influence is highly intertwined. Existing cross-national statistics suggest that greater reliance on trade is associated with an increased role for the state rather than a diminished one. Dani Roderik (1996: 31-32) found '[A] quite strong correlation among the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries between government expenditures (as a share of Gross Domestic Product) and exposure to trade: countries that are more exposed to trade have bigger governments.'

### *3.4.3 Social Actors*

'Territorial sovereignty is being diminished on a spectrum of issues in such a serious manner as to subvert the capacity of states to control and protect the internal life of society, and non-state actors hold an increasing proportion of power and influence in the shaping of world order' (Falk, 1997: 125). Globalization, therefore, will cause a redistribution of power among states and non-state actors.

The UN system is a good example of interaction between NGOs and world politics. The UN system has always been open for consultation by NGOs. In fact in 1945 it was due to pressure from NGOs that article 71 was added in the proposed Charter, providing consultation arrangements with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). However, consultation was guaranteed only in a limited form. In the 1990s, as a result of pressure from NGOs, the UN Charter was amended to give NGOs more space for an advisory position within the UN system. The vaguely stated provisions in article 71 of the UN Charter were changed into a range of rights of participation for certain NGOs. In July 1996, by Resolution 31, ECOSOC codified three categories of groups of NGOs: (1) a small number of high-status NGOs, concerned with most of the Council's work, such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO); (2) specialist NGOs, concerned with a few fields of activity, like the International Monetary Fund (IMF); and (3) other NGOs that are expected to contribute to the Councils work occasionally, like the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The Secretary-General of the UN, Boutros-Ghali, also recognised the influence of NGOs on global politics as 'a basic form of popular representation in the present-day world. Their participation in international relations is, in a way, a guarantee of the political legitimacy of those international organisations' (quoted in Kurt, 1996: 18).

Another school of thought on the influence of civil society on world politics argues that the main responsibility still lies with the nation states and that non-state actors can only monitor the national states in their international relations (Kurt, 1996). This interpretation does not deny a changing international society, but the nation state remains the key actor in international affairs. Scholars of this school of thought look at the influence of NGOs in the UN system differently and argue that their powers are still restricted in several ways. The UN has amended the UN Charter but is giving power only to a certain number of NGOs, not to all. Furthermore, states can still restrict the influence of those NGOs. The NGOs themselves, on the other hand, are still trying to influence their own governments more than the international system as such. They are concentrating more on good relationships with state-officials and therefore increasing their domestic importance rather than their global importance.

The difficult relationship between states and NGOs at the international level like the UN system makes direct influence of NGOs complex. However, their role as advisors can make a difference especially considering that intergovernmental cooperation is often a reaction to social demands. In this respect NGOs can build a bridge between the public and its domestic

governments and by doing that influence the international politicians. '[I]t remains the task of non-state actors to help the state to commit itself more wholeheartedly to intergovernmental cooperation over a variety of pressing issues for global security, such as climate control, persisting interstate violence, global social displacements and consequences of the increasing gap between rich and poor' (Kohler, 1998: 242).

In this field social movements can play an important role as well. With their all-inclusive character, excluding no one who wishes to be part of the movement, they can play an important part in the globalization of world politics. They benefit from the facilities provided by the new communications and transportation technologies, enabling individuals and groups to overcome geographic boundaries and creating access to a range of social and political experiences in which they may never have had an opportunity to engage directly (Giddens, 1991: 84-85). In this way social movements can easily control the global activities of both businesses and states. The green movement for example has become preoccupied with the developmental excesses of transnational corporations. An illustrative example of how a social movement influenced national governments is the effort of publics all over the world to bring apartheid in South Africa to an end through a campaign designed to get corporations to cease their activities in that country. A more recent example is the effort of Greenpeace to mobilise support to get France to stop nuclear testing in the South Pacific. Petitions, containing more than 7 million signatures from people in more than thirty countries were delivered to the French government. This could well be one of the factors that contributed to the decision of the French government to reduce the number of tests from eight to six.

#### *3.4.4 The Media and World Politics*

From the company perspective, a few media conglomerates rule a disproportionate amount of the media market as discussed in section 3.3.2. Their impact on world politics is the same as the influence of other transnational companies. The state will still be the most important actor, but its role in governing society will change.

The role of the media, however, has another impact on world politics as well, as the following quote of Douglas Hurd, the British Foreign Secretary points out: '[T]here is nothing new in mass rape, in the shooting of civilians, in war crimes, in ethnic cleansing, in the burning of towns and villages. It has always happened. What is new is that a selection of these tragedies is

now visible, within hours, to people around the world' (The Times, 18 August 1994). This phenomenon is also known as the 'CNN effect' or even the 'CNN curve', and is supported by the judgement of Boutros-Ghali in 1995 that CNN was effectively the 16<sup>th</sup> member of the Security Council. The important influence of media can be found in this agenda-setting role, where news coverage influences the agenda of world politics. One critic describes this as follows: 'Observers of international affairs call it the CNN curve...It suggests that when CNN floods the airwaves with news of foreign crisis, it evokes an emotional outcry from the public to 'do something'. Under the spell of the CNN curve, goes this refrain, policymakers have no choice but to redirect their attention to the crisis at hand or risk unpopularity, whether or not such revision is merited by policy consideration' (Neuman 1995-1996: 109).

This quotation highlights the interdependence of media, public, and politics. The media are influencing 'public opinion' by their choice of subjects and their way of presenting the news. Governments, on the other hand use, and influence the media as well, because international media will cover their actions. I will discuss the influence of media on world politics in more detail in the next chapter.

#### *3.4.5 Changing World Politics and Accountability*

There remains, however, an important question to be answered about accountability and responsibility. Although there is agreement about a nascent global community, the way in which democratic ideals are to be realised in this New World is still to be answered. The developments towards a more global democracy with diverse non-governmental actors influencing world politics will increase the checks and balances. However, these constraints are not formalised and therefore the end responsibility as well as the accountability is still at a state level. However, there is a common recognition that we live in a complex and interconnected world, where global economic and political issues raise questions about accountability. If the current geopolitical institutions cannot settle many of those pressing matters, like environmental issues, then the mechanisms of accountability should be reconsidered.

In the contemporary debate three schools of thought can be distinguished which deal with a new way of regulating and democratising contemporary globalization: liberal-internationalism, cosmopolitan democracy, and radical republicans (Held et al., 1999). Advocates of the liberal-internationalist thinking like the Commission on Global Governance seek to construct an ideal of

‘democracy beyond borders’. They want to achieve this by reforming the existing structures of global governance. Solutions to pressing global problems ‘will require the articulation of a collaborative ethos based upon the principles of consultation, transparency, and accountability....There is no alternative to working together and using collective power to create a better world’ (Commission on Global Governance, 1995: 5).

The second school of thought, the cosmopolitan democracy, argues that each citizen of a state should also become a ‘cosmopolitan citizen’, a citizen able to communicate with other traditions and communities with the aim to broaden one’s horizon and increase mutual understanding (see Held, 1995 and Archibugi et al. 1999). In this way politicians will be better equipped to resolve the challenging global problems. Therefore democracy needs to be rethought as a ‘double-sided process’, which means not only deepening democracy within a national community, but extending the process of democracy across territorial borders. The core idea is to extend the process of redistribution of power to self-regulating associations, like regions and wider global networks.

Contrary to liberal-internationalism and partly overlapping the cosmopolitan citizen project, the radical republicans stress the importance of the creation of alternative mechanisms. They are concerned with conditions necessary to empower people to take control over their own lives. The agents for these changes are critical social movements, such as the green movement and the women’s movement, which can encourage local communities to become self-governing. In a global context the overlapping communities seek for common goals, resulting in new models and forms of social, political and economic organisation. It is a ‘bottom up’ theory of democratisation and civilizing of global order. Falk, with his idea of an alternative Peoples Assembly, as discussed in section 3.2.4 can be seen as an important representative of this school of thought.

With respect to accountability, Falk and Strauss (1999) propose a second step, namely global elections to ensure a world representation of all peoples in the Assembly. After this is established the Assembly would be in the first place at the same level as other non-governmental organisations and could try to become integrated within the UN system alongside them. The distinguishing factor of the Assembly, however, is that it can claim to represent the peoples of the world. The current ‘one state, one vote principle’ leads to distortions between the representation of large and small countries – at present 0.5 per cent of the world population dispose of more than

25 per cent of General Assembly votes (Archibugi, 1998: 298). The reformation of the United Nations system is an ongoing debate with a significant number of proposals for a more democratic UN system. These proposals are partly in the same vein as Falk's idea of a second Assembly, as a better representation of the world population in which the members would not be accountable to their governments but to their electorates. Although such an assembly would certainly contribute to a more democratic UN system there is a major problem in representation according to the size of countries populations. If such an Assembly is intended to represent the political, social and cultural diversity of states, the number of delegations would be excessive with major consequences on organisational and financial aspects.

Reformation of the United Nations system must first of all be found in the position of the Security Council. The right of veto of the five permanent members – who derive their permanent seats from outdated power – contradicts in essence the idea of democracy and equality of states. Another reformation according to the Security Council is needed in relation to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). The UN Charter does not say that the ICJ is entitled to review decisions of the Security Council. In fact, dealing with the case *Libya v UK/USA (Lockerbie-case)* in 1993 the ICJ decided that it is not entitled to supervise the Security Council acting under Chapter VII. The reformation of the Security Council can be seen as a precondition for further developments for a more democratic UN system.

The future development of world politics in this new global world are still uncertain but as Held et al. (1999: 451) conclude: 'In this new emerging world, cities, national parliaments, regional assemblies and global authorities could all have a distinctive but interlinked set of roles within a framework of accountability and public decision-making. There is a choice and the choice remains ours to make.'

### 3.5 CHANGING SOCIETY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

The previous sections show the influence of globalization on society, on media, and on politics, as well as their mutual influences. The question remains how these changes in the three fields will have their impact on developments within the framework of international law. Emmanuel Kant (1795) spoke of the globalization of law, referring to a world order constituted of nation states, which agreed on a binding just legal order for all mankind. He saw a world order where all states formed a political federation with one common constitution. The present globalization,

however, shows a different picture. It is fragmented, rather than uniform and states are losing power to different non-governmental actors as argued in the previous sections.

Gunther Teubner (1997) argues that several parts of world society are ripe for a law without the state, like economic law and labour law. Self-regulation among companies involved and standard codes of conduct make co-ordination possible with minimal influence from international politics. I will now look at a different sector of society ripe for law without a state: human rights discourse. As illustrative example of my argument I will use as a case-study the intervention in Kosovo.

### *3.5.1 Universalism and Human Rights*

Global, regional and national institutions constitute the regime, which deals with human rights. The widespread consensus on human rights is enshrined in the Bill of Rights, composed of the Universal Declaration of Human rights, adopted in 1948, and the two covenants on Civil and Political rights (ICCPR) and on Economic, Social and Cultural rights (ICESCR), both adopted in 1967. This Bill of Rights could be seen as universal, but on the other hand the UN is founded with the UN Charter, which guarantees national jurisdiction for its member states.

### *3.5.2 Humanitarian Intervention*

Throughout the 1980s there was a growing concern that international response to humanitarian crises was inadequate. Therefore, due to pressure from NGOs, in 1991, General Assembly Resolution 46/182 created the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA). In the globalized world of the 1990s several humanitarian interventions have taken place. The force behind these interventions was not states trying to pursue the public to take action, but the other way round. The media and domestic public opinion put pressure on governments to take actions. However, the influence of the media and their coverage of atrocities had a counter effect as well. The pictures of slaughtered American soldiers dragged on the streets of Mogadishu changed public opinion in America and forced the government to pull back. The same can be said about an incident in Haïti where rebels put signs before the cameras of CNN saying, ‘Haïti is going to be the second Mogadishu.’ The US marine, ready to intervene, turned to return home.

The interventions, which proceeded, were legally legitimate according to the UN Charter. The Charter, in article 39, limits the sovereignty of member states in case of ‘any threat to the

peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression' (Van der Wolf, 1994: 17). The Security Council, under article 39, can pass a Resolution to initiate military intervention under Chapter VII.

Although these laws justify humanitarian intervention there is an ongoing debate on what principles should govern this right of humanitarian intervention. On the one hand there is the pluralist international society theory, which rejects any form of humanitarian intervention on the basis of subjectivity (see Brown, 1992 and Parekh, 1997). This theory argues that international order, and therefore all individuals, are better served by upholding the principle of non-intervention than by allowing humanitarian intervention according to subjective criteria of only a few powerful states without general consensus.

In contrast to this theory, the solidarist international society theory argues that there is a legal right, deriving from a moral duty of humanitarian intervention. This theory challenges the primary purpose of the UN to maintain peace and security by promoting an equal rank for the promotion of human rights. Furthermore, this theory argues that a legal basis for humanitarian intervention can be found in the existence of customary law.

### *3.5.3 Intervention in Kosovo*

Both theories as mentioned in the previous sections come back in the discussion about the legitimacy of the military action in Kosovo in spring 1999. The NATO bombing of Serbia in response to gross human rights violations was not backed by a Resolution of the Security Council and therefore legally speaking a violation of international law. 'How can Humanitarian Intervention be justified when it occurs in an international political system premised on state sovereignty and the convention of non-intervention?' (Dobbs, 1997: 600).

In this case, also pressed by media images and public opinion the Western states gave more weight to opposing the violations than the UN Charter procedures and international law. This reasoning was justified as follows by the American Secretary of State, Madeline Albright: 'The promotion of human rights is not just a kind of international social work. It is indispensable for our safety and well being because governments which do not respect the rights of their own citizens will in all likelihood not respect the rights of others either. In this century, almost every major act of international aggression was carried out by a regime, which suppressed political rights. Such regimes are also more likely to trigger unrest by persecuting minorities, offering a safe haven for terrorists, smuggling drugs or clandestinely manufacturing weapons of mass

destruction' (Albright, 1998: 2). The British premier Tony Blair recognised the role of globalization in the decision to intervene: 'Globalisation means we cannot turn our backs on the violation of human rights in other countries if we want to be secure' (quoted in Prospect, 1999: 16).

Critics of the campaign stressed the importance of sovereignty of states. The main argument here is the fact that human rights abuse per se cannot be a ground for intervention, because there is no international agreement on the standards to be uphold and the means to upheld them (see Roberts, 1999 and Rogers, 1999).

The motives for the NATO bombing campaign, however, included many other elements as well, which were not purely humanitarian, like guilt over past inaction during the Bosnian war, concern over peace and security in the region, and NATO's credibility after so many threats against Belgrade. Nevertheless, the case of Kosovo stresses that the sovereignty of states is limited. If gross human rights violations are committed, the state can lose her sovereignty. In other words: priority has changed from national sovereignty to human rights. The idea that sovereignty of nation states precedes human rights has changed into the idea that human rights precede sovereignty in international law.

#### *3.5.4 Subjects of International Law*

The problem with placing human rights above state sovereignty within international law is the fact that individuals are bearers of human rights, whereas states are the subjects of international law. Individuals are not subjects of international law, but this seems to be changing. 'Opinion has moved against the doctrine that international law must be a law between states only and exclusively' (Held et al. 1999: 73). Beck (2000) argues that if human rights law precedes sovereignty in international law, a morally binding principle changes into law, with all kinds of consequences. 'While the moral code posits duties, the law establishes rights without reciprocal obligations... Intervention would not only be permitted, it would be required. That amounts to a paradigm shift from nation-state societies to cosmopolitan society insofar as international law goes over the heads of nations and states and addresses individuals directly, thereby positing a legally binding world society of individuals.'

The changes in international law, especially regarding individual responsibility, became clear with the adoption of the ICC Rome Statute for the establishment of an International

Criminal Court, in September 1998. Up to now, the Rome Statute has 97 signatories and 12 ratifications. France became the 12th state to ratify the Rome Statute on 9 June 2000. To enter into force 60 ratifications are needed. Nevertheless, the development of international law is evident. The idea of a world society with a criminal court to deal with individual responsibilities is one step further towards a society of world citizens as earlier proposed by Falk and Strauss (see section 3.2.4). These developments refer back to the discussion about accountability in world politics. The establishment of an International Criminal Court can indeed be seen as a step towards more democratic world governance. However, as argued before, a precondition to achieving this is a radical change on the power and functioning of the Security Council. In that way, interventions will not have to be justified from a moral point of view, but will have a legal basis as well.

### 3.5.5 *NGOs and International Law*

In the preceding paragraphs the influence of a global society as a whole was discussed. I now want to concentrate on the specific role NGOs play in law-making processes on the international level.

As mentioned before, the UN officially adopted a consultation relationship with NGOs. In this way certain NGOs have influence on the agenda of the UN. NGOs often redefined aspects of the agenda, both in public debate and formally in international meetings. Most notably they succeeded in adding human rights to the agenda (Willems, 1996). Beside this constant influence of NGOs, they participate directly in law-making processes as well. A good example of this is the development of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted on 20 November 1989 and entered into force on 2 September 1990. The result of NGOs' participation becomes clear looking at article 45 of the Convention, where reference is made to 'other competent bodies' besides state representatives and intergovernmental organisations: 'The Committee may invite the specialized agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund and other competent bodies as it may consider appropriate to provide expert advice on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their activities' (Van der Wolf, 1994: 123). A more recent example is the extensive participation of NGOs during the drafting process of the International Criminal Court Treaty (see Benedetti & Washburn, 1999).

Another form of direct influence of NGOs on international law is the submission of *amicus curiae* briefs to Human rights courts. In recent times this is more often the case. NGOs have frequently provided the (European) Court with background information, comparative legal analysis or interpretation of the law (Bianchi, 1998).

Finally, NGOs also play a part in the implementation of international law, both directly and indirectly. Direct involvement can be seen in the possibilities of submitting communications to established monitoring bodies, for example to the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights (Subcommission). Furthermore NGOs are allowed to provide information to several UN organs, including the Secretary-General and the Commission on Human rights. On request, NGOs also execute fact-finding missions in case of alleged human rights violations.

Indirect influence of NGOs on the implementation process stems from the publication of country or single-issue reports. These reports disseminate information about human rights violations and make monitoring bodies aware of violations of conventions.

### 3.5.6 *International Law and the Media*

The indirect influence of the media, by their agenda-setting role and their speeding up the process, was discussed above. This indirect role of the media as well as their direct role on international law are aspects I want to research in this thesis. In what way do the media frame their messages, so that they influence the framing of international law? I want to explore this question by looking at a specific expression used both by the media and by international law: ethnic cleansing.

To see if there is an influence of the use of the expression in international media and in international law, I will first try to determine when the expression came into use in both fields and how it has evolved over the following years. Furthermore, I want to look at the meaning of the expression given in both fields and try to find similarities. Finally, I want to look at the use of the expression in the documents of the ICTY. What exactly is meant by ethnic cleansing when the term is mentioned in indictments and are there similarities with the earlier use of the expression in the media?

## 4 Media Effects

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The media play a distinct role according to the model presented in the introduction to this thesis. As discussed in the previous chapter, the effects of globalization on the media show that news has become a commodity with consequences for the profession of journalism. Journalists become editors and reporters trained to serve the company's ideology, in other words: to remain good employees.

According to the model used in this research, however, the media influence both public opinion and politics. In this chapter I will look at the study of media effects. It should be noted that this field of research covers an enormous range of different subjects and there is little agreement on the nature and extent of media-effects. Only in laboratory environments is evidence found of changes of attitude towards certain issues after media exposure (see for example Comstock et al, 1978). One particular field of study into media-effects is the influence of media on public opinion and politics. However, no consensus about direct influences of media on politics has been reached as yet. Nevertheless, the study of media-effects in general is useful for the purpose of this research.

After a brief historical overview I will discuss three specific media-effect theories, useful for the following research. I will end with the discussion of a specific model used to look at media effects on politics in cases of humanitarian intervention.

### 4.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

People have always tried to find ways in which they could affect the public by sending messages to them. This can be visualised by the following communication model based on the classical communication model as presented in the introduction.

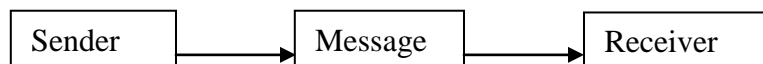


FIGURE 4.1 CLASSIC MODEL OF COMMUNICATION, BASED ON CUILENBURG ET AL., 1992.

In *Mass Communication Theory*, Denis McQuail (1992) distinguishes four phases of the study of communications: (1) the all-powerful media, (2) the powerful media put to the test, (3) rediscovery of the powerful media, and (4) negotiated media influence (McQuail, 1994: 329-331).

The first phase extends from the beginning of the century until the end of the 1930s when there was a common belief in the all-powerful media. The popularity of the press made scientist consider the influence that the press might have on the public. They concluded, due to the use of the mass media during the First World War for propaganda purposes and the use of the media by dictatorial states in the interwar period, that the media were immensely powerful. Research in this field was mainly focused on individuals in a laboratory environment and the impact of media coverage on the subject's beliefs, attitude, and opinions.

The second phase runs from the 1930s until the 1960s. In this phase much research was exercised concentrating primarily on the possible effects of particular programs, films or campaigns on the public. However, when research methods and the nature of research changed over time, research concentrated more on other variables, such as social and psychological characteristics, to explain effects of the media in a broader context. The research showed that the media played only a modest role in influencing the public; it was found to have a limited effect. Katz and Lazarsfeld were important representatives of this school of thought. Their studies of 'the two-step flow' in the 1940s stressed the importance of interpersonal networks. The media did not play a decisive role in the process of attitude and opinion formation. Rather, the influence of other people was crucial, especially the role of 'opinion leaders' as an intervening variable. The conclusion of Klapper in his overview of early research in this field illustrates this point of view: 'Mass communication does not ordinarily serve as a necessary or sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions through a nexus of mediating factors' (Klapper, 1960: 8).

With the arrival of television as a new tool of mass communications a new perspective on media effects emerged and scholars came to challenge the minimal effect theory, focusing instead on revised conceptions of social processes. Early research focused mostly on the degree of media exposure in relation to attitude, opinion, or behavioural changes. Later research differed in seeking to find more long-term effects of media in the field of cognition rather than attitude. Hence, other variables, such as cultural patterns, climates of opinion and ideologies, were taken into account as well. The media did have their certain effects, according to this school of thought,

but only under certain conditions. The broader social and cultural context in which the ‘message’ is delivered influences the way in which the receiver is affected by this message. In addition, the research focused on the shaping of the news before it was sent to the public.

The last phase, as classified by McQuail, can best be termed ‘social constructivist’ (McQuail, 1994: 331). This new view on media-effects partially overlaps with the older phases, but distinguishes itself in the following ways. Firstly, the media, by framing the news, ‘construct’ a certain reality and present this in a predictable and patterned way. Secondly, the receivers incorporate this constructed reality in their own view of social reality, which is shaped in interaction with the social context of the receiver. In this view the media are seen as mediators negotiating with the receiver about the actual meaning of the message they deliver.

#### 4.3 THREE MEDIA-EFFECT THEORIES

Three more specific theories, important for the research will be discussed in this section: the agenda-setting theory, the issue-ownership theory, and the framing theory.

##### *4.3.1 Agenda-Setting Theory*

The expression ‘agenda-setting’ was coined by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. The agenda-setting research is based on two propositions: (1) the media control the agenda by selecting issues, and (2) as a result of repeated coverage those issues are judged as important by the receivers (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The essence of this theory is that by selecting and reporting the news the press influences not so much what we think, but it tells us what to think about. Earlier research focused mostly on the second proposition: a question as to who sets the public agenda. The empirical answer to this question was that to a high degree it was the media who set the public agenda (see for example Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). More recently, attention has shifted towards the first proposition of the theory and the question as to who sets the news agenda. The empirical answer to this question is less straightforward. Research shows that it is not only the journalists themselves who set the agenda, but they also depend highly on available sources. Furthermore, major events, such as natural disasters, set the agenda even more strongly. Another important aspect of this goes back to what was previously discussed, namely globalization and the corresponding commercialisation of the media. The economic pressures on journalists and news agencies influence the agenda as well. Time pressure is increasing, deadlines

are coming sooner, and journalists have less time to frame the message. They tend to rely on easy accessible resources, which influence the news agenda to a considerable extent.

#### *4.3.2 Issue-Ownership Theory*

The issue-ownership theory, mostly used in political campaign research, presumes that parties which gain most attention in the media for their own issues will get the most votes. An issue becomes related to a certain party when the general public perceives it to emphasise this issue, i.e. there is a direct link between an issue and a party in the popular mind. Most issues are linked to parties due to historical cleavages like class and religion. An issue like social security reflects the interests of the lower classes and is owned by social-democratic parties. Not all issues can be divided between parties. There are issues, which are favoured by everybody, e.g. economic growth and full employment. Those so-called ‘valence issues’ support governing parties (Petrocik, 1996). Finally, new issues, such as that of asylum seekers, play an important role. Parties will try to ‘capture’ these new issues during election campaigns in order to gain extra votes.

In this theory, news is an important factor and gives a direct link to the agenda-setting theory as discussed in the previous section. By setting the public agenda, the media influence the order in which the public rank certain issues. The priming theory of Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder stresses the impact of news coverage on the weight assigned to a specific issue by the public. News can also play an important role in capturing a new issue (see Kleinnijenhuis et al, 1995, 1998). The public belief in a party’s ability to solve the problems accompanying a new issue will depend on the ability of the party to set the media agenda with respect to the new issue. This model is a primacy model and suggests that the public remembers the actor directly associated with the issue, i.e. it’s the first step that counts.

#### *4.3.3 Framing the News*

Framing stories in a certain way means defining and constructing their meaning. The study of news framing is multi-faceted, with several perspectives to consider. With the classical communication model in mind, three points of view can be distinguished from which the framing can be studied: the sender, the message and the receiver. In other words, the sender makes conscious or unconscious judgements before deciding on the content of the message. The sender

is guided by frames (or schemata) that organise the sender's belief system and forge his or her view of reality. As a result of these perspectives the message itself contains frames as well. This so-called media frame has been defined as: '[A] particular way in which journalists compose a news story to optimise audience accessibility' (Valkenburg et al, 1999: 550). Finally, the audience receives the message. Looking from this perspective a frame can be defined as: '[A] schema of interpretations that enables individuals to perceive, organize, and make sense of incoming information' (Valkenburg et al, 1999: 551).

There are numerous ways in which a journalist can frame a message, depending on the topic and the public. In this research a few dominant frames are useful to mention: the human interest frame, the historical frame, and the responsibility frame. The human interest frame presents individual stories from an emotional angle, such as suffering. It is a way of dramatising and personalising the news in order to retain audience interest (see Bennett, 1995). The historical frame presents stories evoking memories from historical events. The photograph of the skeletal men behind the barbed wire in a detention camp in August 1992 is an example of this type of frame. The responsibility frame is related to the question of who can be held responsible for causing or solving a problem.

#### 4.4 MEDIA-EFFECT AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

In the 1990s two opposite schools of thought are considering the media impact on foreign policies of governments and world politics, especially in relation to humanitarian crises: the *CNN-effect* versus the *manufacturing consent* school of thought.

The manufacturing consent school of thought argues that there is no real media power to influence policies, but that it is more the other way around. The media are influenced by governments and government policy. This school of thought can be divided in two distinct parts: the executive version and the elite version (Robinson, 1999). The executive version argues that the media are more or less following the official agenda of governments. Steve Livingston and Todd Eachus (1997) for example conclude from an analysis of the news coverage of CNN about the crisis in Somalia that the news was following the decisions made by diplomats instead of the other way around. They went even further in concluding that diplomats used the media to gain support for an intervention in Somalia. The same phenomenon occurred during NATO's intervention in Kosovo. The media had become one of the primary means of assessing the

effectiveness of the intervention. NATO's press strategy focused on claims that this was a new, moral warfare, and by doing this, gained public support for the actions (see also Seaton, 1999).

The elite version claims that the media confirm the interests of political elites as part of the political centre of power. Lance Bennett (1990, 1995) argues that complex issues are only reported in an official language without clear information as to what is going on and why. Critical responses are only professional duties of journalists and are mostly presented after politicians themselves attack a policy. Only when politicians are willing to openly discuss certain issues can the media present more diverse and competing views on the specific issue. The same is concluded by Jan Nederveen Pieterse in his analysis of media coverage of African crises: '[A] media circus of clichés which privileges whatever notions come floating up that are consistent with conventional wisdom, which are then endlessly and uncritically repeated' (Nederveen Pieterse, 1997: 80).

The 'CNN-effect' or 'CNN-curve' reflects the idea that modern mass media, with live coverage of events all over the world, could generate responses from public and politics. The media are seen as a trigger mechanism that will provoke immediate political response at the highest level. In his study of news coverage triggering Western intervention in Northern Iraq in 1991, Martin Shaw (1996) shows that the human interest frame used by the international media, focusing on suffering of Kurdish refugees, caused the establishment of so-called 'safe havens' in the area. The example, as mentioned earlier, of the negative impact of the CNN-effect is the coverage of a dead US soldier being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu on 3 October 1993. Those images are believed to have played an important part in the decision to withdraw from Somalia. As General Colin Powell commented: 'We had been drawn to this place by television images; now we were being repelled by them' (Badsey, 1997: 6).

Both schools of thought present two extremes: no influence versus a profound influence on government policies. However, other scholars argue that although a CNN-effect can occur, but it is unpredictable and only part of a more complex relationship of factors (see Badsey, 1997). As Strobel (1997: 5) notes: 'I found no evidence that the news media, by themselves, force US government officials to change their policies. But, under the right conditions, the news media nevertheless can have a powerful effect on the process'. These right conditions are taken into account in the media-policy interaction model of Piers Robinson.

#### 4.4.1 *The Media-Policy Interaction Model*

There is a general consensus on media impact in certain circumstances. Such a specific circumstance is the absence of a clear policy or consensus. As Robinson notes: '[N]ews coverage critical of executive policy is possible when – and perhaps only when – there exists elite conflict over policy' (Robinson, 1999: 304). According to his media-policy interaction model media influence on policy occurs when there exists: (1) policy uncertainty, and (2) critically framed media coverage that empathises with suffering people. In this situation, when a clear policy is lacking and politicians are uncertain how to deal with the situation, critical media coverage can influence their decisions. Therefore, during a humanitarian crisis policy makers can decide to intervene due to media driven public pressure or the fear of *potential* negative public reaction to government inaction. In this case a CNN-effect can occur. On the other hand, the model suggests that in cases of policy certainty the media cannot influence the policy-makers. On the contrary, in these situations the media will be used to gain public support for the policy and will serve to 'manufacture consent' for the government policy (Robinson, 1999).

Robinson applies this model to two case studies. His first study deals with the policy to defend the safe haven Gorazde in July 1995, by using air power, a week after the fall of Srebrenica. The second case study is the operation Allied Force (March-June 1999), an air campaign to force Serbian forces to withdraw from Kosovo. In the first study he concludes that critical news coverage, on the one hand, empathising with the victims and, on the other hand, critical towards Western policies influenced policy makers to action. In a situation of policy uncertainty there is an influence of news coverage on policy. The second study shows that in case of policy certainty, the media cannot have an impact on policy decisions. Even when news coverage in this case empathised with the victims and were critical towards Western diplomats, still no ground troops were sent into Kosovo (Robinson, 2000b).

This model shows an influence of media coverage on policy decisions in situations of humanitarian crisis. Therefore this model can be useful in regard to the specific research of this thesis.

## 5 Ethnic Cleansing

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The central question of this thesis is: ‘how have the international media influenced the development of international law through their use of the term ‘ethnic cleansing’?’ In this chapter I will answer this question in two separate ways. First of all, the indirect influence the media have on the development of international law. Such influence is indirect because it is achieved via the effects of the media on public opinion and consequently on politics. An indication of this influence is shown looking at the three media effect theories as set out in the previous chapter. Furthermore, I will consider two Resolutions adopted the Security Council as policies to deal with the atrocities committed in the former Yugoslavia. The influence of the media on these policies will be determined by using the policy-media interaction model of Robinson.

Secondly, I will discuss an indication of direct influence of the media on the development of international law. This involves the use of a new term in newspapers, which consequently found its way to legal documents. This influence is most evident in the discussion among international lawyers whether ethnic cleansing is the same as genocide.

The term ethnic cleansing is indisputably connected in the popular mind with the Bosnian war and, therefore, this chapter will begin with an overview of this particular conflict.

### 5.2 THE WAR IN BOSNIA

For a thorough understanding of the research topic, it is necessary to view the term ethnic cleansing in particular contexts, in this case the Bosnian war. A complete history of the conflict is not the primary focus of this research and therefore only the most significant dates are mentioned in the following outline<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For a good historical overview of the conflict see Noel Malcom’s (1994) *Bosnia, a short history*, or Laura Silber’s and Allan Little’s (1995) *The Death of Yugoslavia*, or Christopher Bennett’s (1995) *Yugoslavia’s bloody collapse: causes, course and consequences*.

## 1991

February/March	Uprising of Serbian extremists in Croatian Plitvice
March	Milosevic and Tudjman meet and agree to a plan, which divide Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia
May/June	Negotiations to solve problems with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker as mediator.
June 25	Slovenia and Croatia announce independence
June 27	JNA (Yugoslav army) forces move against Slovenia
July	JNA forces fight in Croatia. Seselj is talking about ethnical cleansing for the first time
August 2	First time the expression ethnic cleansing appears in <i>The Washington Post</i>

## 1992

February/March	Bosnian referendum on independence
March 27	Bosnian Serb declare independent Serbian Republic in Bosnia
April 5	War starts in Bosnia
May-July	The expression ethnic cleansing is mentioned rarely in international media in the news coverage of the Bosnian war.
August	Discovery of Omarska camp and other Serbian detention centres Widespread use of the expression ethnic cleansing as a Serbian war tactic against the Bosnian Muslims
August 14/15	Human Rights Commission meets and condemns the practice of ethnic cleansing in its final Resolution.
September	First report of Tadeus Mazowiecki, the special rapporteur of the Human Rights Commission on the Human Rights situation in the former Yugoslavia.
October 6	The Security Council condemns the practice of ethnic cleansing for the first time in a Resolution.

### **1993**

January-May	Negotiations and final rejection of Vance-Owen plan
January	Report of Mazowiecki condemning the use of rape in the practise of ethnic cleansing.
February	Security Council Resolution on the establishment of an International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.
March	Airdrops of food supplies in Northern Bosnia
May	The UN declares six areas in Eastern Bosnia to be Safe-havens for Muslims
May	War between Muslims and Croats starts in Central Bosnia. Mention is made in international media of ethnic cleansing by the fighting parties, mostly Croats.

### **1994**

February	Marketplace bombing in Sarajevo and Nato-ultimatum
March 1	First Nato-bombing ever
March	Stoltenberg-Owen plan announced and rejected
June	Contact Group plan announced

### **1995**

January	Milosevic rejects Contact Group plan
January-June	Contact Group tries without success to persuade Milosevic to recognise Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia
July 11	'Safe area' Srebrenica taken by Serbs; biggest ethnic cleansing operation kills at least 6,000 men.
August/September	Nato air strikes on Bosnian Serb objectives
November	Dayton (Ohio) peace talks
December 14	Signature of Dayton peace agreement in Paris

### 5.3 DEFINITION AND ORIGIN OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

In the 1990s a new expression became commonplace in the media: ‘ethnic cleansing’. Ten years later, the term is used with regard to all kinds of aggression perpetrated upon groups and individuals on the basis of religious or ethnic difference. The use of this term is not confined to journalists. It is also integrated into the vocabulary of politicians and international lawyers. It is for this reason that ethnic cleansing needs to be clearly defined as a theoretical term.

#### 5.3.1 *Definition of Ethnic Cleansing*

Ethnic cleansing has a variety of definitions. Indeed the term continued to change in its use and meaning even during the war in Bosnia. The Special Rapporteur of the United Nations (UN) on the Situation of Human Rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia, Tadeus Mazowiecki, defined ethnic cleansing in his third reports, on 17 November 1992 as: ‘[T]he elimination by the ethnic group exerting control over a given territory of members of other ethnic groups’ (Mazowiecki, 1992: 5). Later, in his sixth report, the Special Rapporteur argued that: ‘ethnic cleansing may be equated with the systematic purge of the civilian population based on ethnic criteria, with the view to forcing it to abandon the territories where it lives’ (Mazowiecki, 1994: 7).

On 26 October 1992 Boutros Boutros-Ghali appointed a commission of Experts to investigate the situation in former Yugoslavia. In their first interim report the Experts conclude that: ‘The expression ‘ethnic cleansing’ is relatively new. Considered in the context of the former Yugoslavia, ‘ethnic cleansing’ means rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area. ‘Ethnic cleansing’ is contrary to international law’ (Commission of Experts, 1993: 7).

In later studies, academics discussed ethnic cleansing from several perspectives, thus providing more new definitions of the term. Andrew Bell-Fialkoff (1993), in an historical approach to the practice of ethnic cleansing, acknowledges the difficulties involved in defining the term: ‘[A]t one end it is virtually indistinguishable from forced emigration and population exchange while at the other it merges with deportation and genocide.’ He continues with a more general definition: ‘Ethnic cleansing can be understood as the expulsion of an ‘undesirable’ population from a given territory due to religious or ethnic discrimination, political, strategic or ideological considerations, or a combination of these’ (Bell-Fialkoff, 1993: 113).

Ahmed Akbar (1995) discusses ethnic cleansing as a consequence of modernity and a changing world. He defines ethnic cleansing as: '[T]he sustained suppression by all means possible of an ethnically or religiously different group with the ultimate aim to expel or eliminate it altogether' (Akbar, 1995: 7).

The expression also found its way to the new technology. On a special homepage 'Ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia' ([www.wideopen.igc.org/balkans/ehnicl.html](http://www.wideopen.igc.org/balkans/ehnicl.html)) the following definition is given: 'Ethnic cleansing is a process in which an advancing army of one ethnic group expels civilians of other ethnic groups from towns and villages it conquers in order to create ethnically pure enclaves for members of their ethnic group.'

For a broad understanding of the term as well as the selection of certain keywords to be used later in this thesis, I will use the definition as given by Petrovic (1995: 345): 'Ethnic cleansing is a well-defined policy of a particular group of persons to systematically eliminate (sic.) another group from a given territory on the basis of religious, ethnic or national origin. Such a policy involves violence and is very often connected with military operations. It is to be achieved by all possible means, from discrimination to extermination, and entails violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.'

### *5.3.2 Origins of Ethnic Cleansing*

It is difficult to discover when and where the term was first used. Earlier research shows that in the 1980s the media in Bosnia were already mentioning 'ethnically clean territory', yet this was in reference to administrative and non-violent measures. The key propaganda message that emerged from the term ethnic cleansing in the 1980s, was the claim that Albanians in Kosovo had a 'secret plan' for the creation of an 'ethnically pure Kosovo'. Serbian intellectuals reacted to this 'threat' by presenting a memorandum, which was leaked to the press in September 1986. In this memorandum they stated: 'The Serbian people have a historic and democratic right to establish full national and cultural integrity independently, regardless of the republic or province in which they live' (Stokes, 1996: 279). In other words, the Serbian intellectuals were proposing to extend Serbia's influence into neighbouring republics.

The precise expression, however, is a translation of 'etnicko ciscenje' in Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian. As a noun the expression got its meaning in the Bosnian war. The term was most certainly used among soldiers in the JNA (Federal Yugoslav Army) to express the

tactic of conquering a new territory by ‘cleansing’ it of the enemies. The use of ‘ethnic’ in this case expresses the fact/perception that the enemy is of another ethnic or religious group (Petrovic, 1995).

#### 5.4 ETHNIC CLEANSING AND AGENDA-SETTING

The agenda-setting theory argues that the media, by selecting the stories they cover, set the political agenda as well as the public agenda. In other words: the media tell us what to talk or think about. In this section I will look at the role of the media in putting the term on the political and public agenda.

##### 5.4.1 *The International Media and Ethnic Cleansing*

Looking at the international media and its use of the term, the earliest article found in the database of Lexis Nexis is from the *Washington Post*, dated Friday 2 August 1991. This article states that: ‘Serbia, whose authoritarian regime combines hard-line Communist centralization with radical Serbian nationalism, has openly acknowledged helping the Serbs of Croatia, and the Croatian political and military leadership issued a statement Wednesday declaring that Serbia’s ‘aim...is obviously the ethnic cleansing of the critical areas that are to be annexed to Serbia.’

After the first article it took until the following year before the term was used again. The article mentioning ethnic cleansing was published on 4 January in *USA Weekend*. In this article, profiles were given of the main characters to the conflict as well as their victims. Ethnic cleansing is mentioned in the description of Major Cheko, a Serbian warlord who, ‘[A]fter leading ‘ethnic cleansing’ attacks on Muslims in eastern Bosnia...was arrested by Federal Yugoslav troops for a second time in early October.’

A week later the term is mentioned in an article in *Crain’s New York Business* (11-17 January 1992), discussing ethics in the financial world, ‘Citing the rise of neo-Nazism and xenophobia in Germany, as well as ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia...she asked securities firms to describe their efforts to combat discrimination and bigotry worldwide.’

The BBC Summary of World Broadcast mentioned the expression on 25 January 1992 when they quoted the Croatian politician Mate Granic: ‘Recently in the Knin, Drnis and Vukovar areas and in Baranja we have had processes of ethnic ‘cleansing’, that is, the aggressor is applying terror in an attempt to expel all the Croats from these areas.’

In February and March 1992, the term was not mentioned in the international media, but it appeared again on 14 April in a report of the aggression in Bosnia by the news agency *United Press International* which stated: ‘Western diplomats and government officials said it was ‘ethnic cleansing’ aimed at creating ‘pure’ Serbian areas.’

Maurice Carder of the Croatian Aid Organisation in Vienna wrote a letter to the English newspaper *Independent* on 20 April 1992. In his letter, he discusses the Serbian contribution to the conflict in Bosnia: ‘[The JNA] is applying exactly the same tactic as it did in Croatia (namely, taking as much territory as possible; pursuing a policy of ‘ethnic cleansing’ by driving out all of the non-Serb population).’

On 26 April the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis) published an article in which it describes the term as follows: ‘Ethnic cleansing is the evocative term one Western diplomat used to describe the latest fighting in now-dismembered Yugoslavia.’

In May 1992 the expression appears more frequently in international media. The *New York Times* published on 13 May a report of a Muslim Slav woman working in the broadcast center of Sarajevo. From her experience the campaign of ethnic cleansing was explained as follows: ‘[E]fforts by which extremist Serbs wish to intimidate and expel all but their ethnic kin from mixed neighbourhoods they have staked as parts of a self-declared Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.’

In the *New York Times* of 21 May 1992, the connection between the Serbian authorities and ethnic cleansing was first made, in the following way: ‘The Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic steps up his brutal bombardment of Bosnia’s capital Sarajevo, and his ‘ethnic cleansing’ of Serb-occupied territory.’

The *Independent* on 28 May 1992 portrayed Serbia as the ‘bad guy’ at that stage of the conflict, and connected ethnic cleansing explicitly to Serbian authorities: ‘True the policies of Zagreb have been misguided and intolerant. But the policies of Belgrade have been worse: Belgrade has incited violence in Bosnia, and has encouraged the ‘ethnic cleansing’ (in other words, the murder and deportation of non-Serbs) which has taken place in many parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.’

Already at this time the term is used in connection with other parts of the world. In the *Guardian* (29 May 1992), Hugo Young made the following comment: ‘If ‘ethnic cleansing’ must be stopped in Sarajevo, why should it be permitted in the multiple sub-regions of Russia?’

In June and July 1992, the expression was increasingly used in the international media, in discussing the situation and analysing the causes of the conflict. Furthermore, the term was used in relation to the newspapers' call on the 'international community' to take action. In the following graph and table, the use of the expression until February 1993 in the three newspapers of this research is shown.

GRAPH 5.1 NEWSPAPERS MENTIONING ETHNIC CLEANSING IN 1992

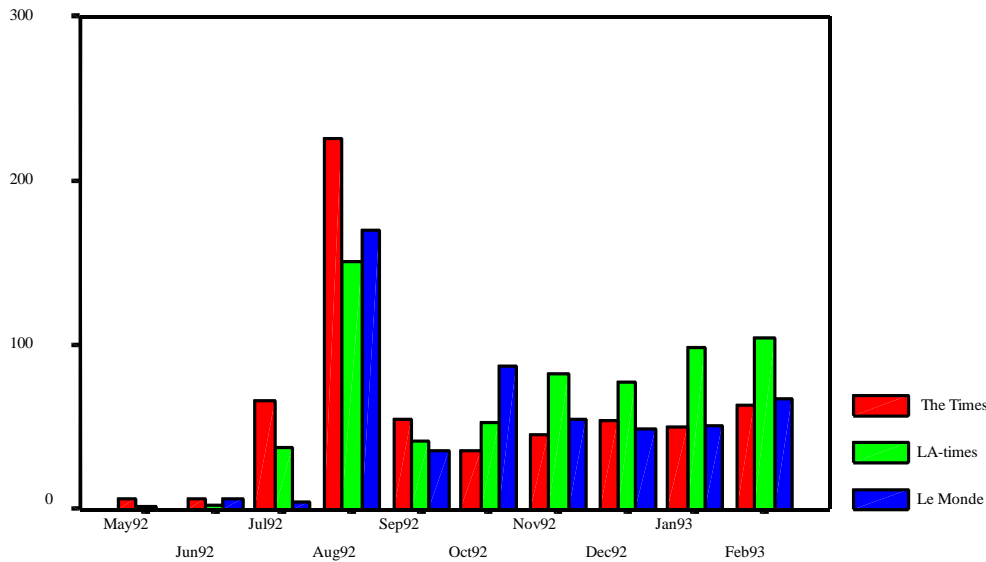


TABLE 5.1 NEWSPAPERS MENTIONING ETHNIC CLEANSING

	The Times		LA-Times		Le Monde		Total	
	N	In%*	N	In%*	N	In%*	N	In%
May '92	7	1.1	2	0.3			9	0.5
June '92	7	1.1	3	0.5	7	1.3	17	0.9
July '92	66	10.8	38	5.8	5	0.9	109	6.1
Aug '92	226	37.0	151	23.1	170	32.3	547	30.5
Sep '92	55	9.0	42	6.4	36	6.8	133	7.4
Oct '92	36	5.9	53	8.1	87	16.5	176	9.8
Nov '92	46	7.5	83	12.7	55	10.4	184	10.3
Dec '92	54	8.8	78	11.9	49	9.3	181	10.1
Jan '93	50	8.2	99	15.2	51	9.7	200	11.2
Feb '93	64	10.5	104	15.9	67	12.7	235	13.1
Total	611	100	653	100	527	100	1791	100

\*Percentage of the total sentences mentioning ethnic cleansing in the period May 1992-Feb 1993

The newspapers covered by this research started to use the term ethnic cleansing in May 1992. It is noteworthy that *Le Monde* only started using the expression in June 1992 and then only on rare occasions. In July, especially at the end of the month, the expression appears more frequently in

the newspapers. The *LA-Times* is notable for its substantial use of the term during this month. However, most of the references occur in August 1992, representing 30.5% of all references using the term that were made until February 1993. After this month the expression became well known and regularly used in the newspapers. The pattern of usage by the three newspapers differs considerably. As mentioned above, *Le Monde* started to use the term infrequently in June and July; in August, similarly to the other newspapers, its use of the term rose, culminating in a decrease in September. *Le Monde's* use of the expression in October was high in comparison with the other newspapers, as it devoted much attention to analysing the deteriorating situation in the camps in former Yugoslavia. *The Times* and the *LA-Times* have a similar pattern in their use of the expression. Nonetheless, the *LA-Times* pays more attention to ethnic cleansing in July and considerably less in August, compared to the other newspapers. At the end of the year, the *LA-Times* again devotes more attention to ethnic cleansing than *The Times*.

In the beginning of 1993 the term appears again more frequently in the news, when fighting continues and a report of the Special Rapporteur Mazowiecki reveals that rape is used in the ethnic cleansing campaigns. It seems that there are even so-called 'rape camps'. This leads to a fierce reaction of the French Minister for Foreign affairs, Roland Dumas, who states that these camps should be immediately freed, by military action. Furthermore, during these months the Vance-Owen peace plan is presented and negotiations start. The United States argue that it cannot support the plan because it would reward the Serbian government too much for their ethnic cleansing practices. The *LA-Times* in particular devotes much attention to the subject during these months.

#### 5.4.2 *The International Organisations and Ethnic Cleansing*

A similar pattern in usage of the expression can be found in the documents of the international organisations. In the following chart and table the use of the expression by international organisations until June 1993 is shown.

GRAPH 5.2 UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATIONS AND ETHNIC CLEANSING

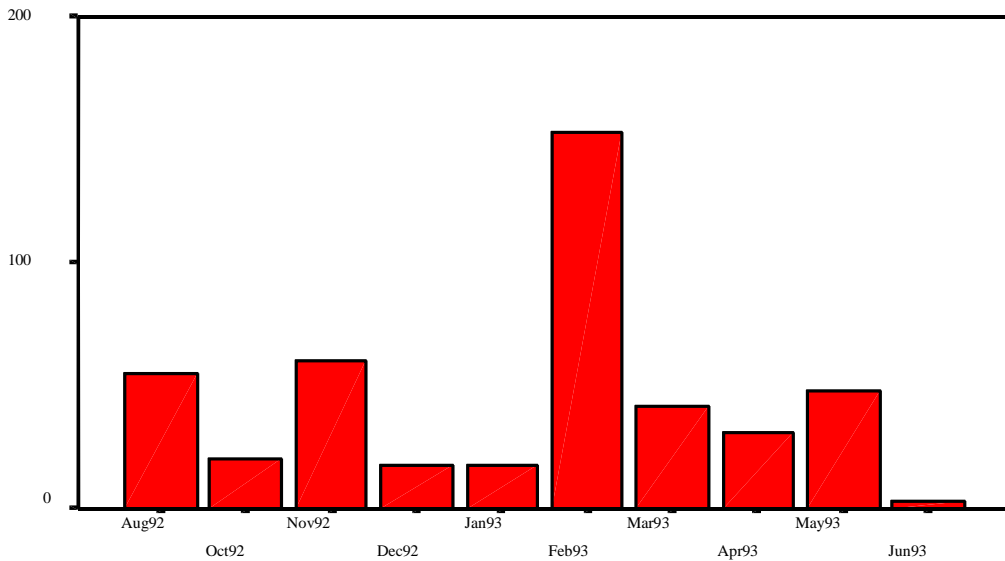


TABLE 5.2 UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATIONS AND ETHNIC CLEANSING

	General Assembly		Security Council		HR Commission		Third Committee		Special Rapporteur		Total	
	N	In %*	N	In %*	N	In %*	N	In %*	N	In %*	N	In %*
Aug 1992	8	11.3	2	3.6	15	6.5			38	28.1	63	12.1
Oct 1992			4	7.3					16	11.9	20	3.9
Nov 1992			5	9.1			26	100	29	21.5	60	11.6
Dec 1992	37	52.1	3	5.5	15	6.5					55	10.6
Jan 1993					18	7.8					18	3.5
Feb 1993			6	10.9	113	48.7			34	25.2	153	29.5
Mar 1993			2	3.6	40	17.2					42	8.1
Apr 1993	26	36.6	31	56.4							57	11.0
May 1993			2	3.6	28	12.1			18	13.3	48	9.2
Jun 1993					3	1.3					3	0.6
Total	71	100	55	100	232	100	26	100	135	100	519	100

\*Percentage of the total sentences mentioning ethnic cleansing in the period May 1992-Jun 1993

A week after the widespread use of the term ethnic cleansing in the international media, the expression also appears in official documents of the United Nations. A Resolution of the Security Council of 13 August 1992 states: '[The Security Council] strongly condemns any violations of international law, including those involved in the practice of 'ethnic cleansing'.' In every subsequent month, the Security Council Resolutions mention the expression, particularly in April 1993, during a discussion of the deteriorating situation in Srebrenica and consequently deciding on the control of flight prohibition in the airspace above Bosnia. In this month also the International Court of Justice deals with the question whether ethnic cleansing corresponds to

genocide, in Bosnia's application against Yugoslavia. On 16 April 1993, just a week after the Court's Order, the Security Council passed Resolution 819 (1993) in which it took note of the Court's Order and reaffirmed its condemnation of all the violations of international humanitarian law, in particular the practice of 'ethnic cleansing'.

On 13 August 1992, the Subcommission of the Human Rights Commission held a meeting condemning the practice of ethnic cleansing. A meeting of the Human Rights Commission on 14 and 15 August concerning the atrocities occurring in Bosnia immediately followed. At this meeting, Tadeus Mazowiecki was appointed as Special Rapporteur for the Human Rights situation in former Yugoslavia. One of his tasks was to investigate the practise of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. On 28 August 1992, he presented his first report, followed by numerous others over the next few years, until his resignation after the drama of Srebrenica.

The Human Rights Commission represents most of the assertions concerning ethnic cleansing (232, 44,7%), especially in February 1993 during the discussions about the Mazowiecki report dealing with systematic rape as a tool to achieve ethnic cleansing.

The General Assembly condemned the practises of ethnic cleansing for the first time at the end of August 1992. In their following Resolution of 8 December 1992 they went further than the Security Council by saying that ethnic cleansing was a form of genocide.

The Third Committee during their meeting at 26 November 1992 also made the comparison between ethnic cleansing and genocide, as well as the General Assembly two weeks later.

#### *5.4.3 The Media Sets the Agenda*

In this section a closer look is taken at the use of the expression ethnic cleansing in the newspapers and the documents of international organisations. The time scale runs from May 1992 until February 1993. This period was chosen because in February 1993 the Security Council decided to establish an International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia to deal with the war crimes committed in the pursuit of ethnic cleansing. Therefore the period is useful for investigation into a relationship between its use in newspapers and in documents of the UN organisations.

TABLE 5.3 USE OF ETHNIC CLEANSING IN DIFFERENT SOURCES

	The Times	LA-Times	Le Monde	Gen. Assembly	Sec. Council	Hr Com-mission	Third Comm.	Special rapp.	Total
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
May '92	7	2							9
Jun '92	7	3	7						17
Jul '92	66	38	5						109
Aug '92	226	151	170	8	2	15		38	610
Sep '92	55	42	36						133
Oct '92	36	53	87		4			16	196
Nov '92	46	83	55		5		26	29	244
Dec '92	54	78	49	37	3	15			236
Jan '93	50	99	51			18			218
Feb '93	64	104	67		6	113		34	388
Total	611	653	527	45	20	161	26	117	2160

The table clearly shows the agenda-setting role that the media played. The first use of the expression is found in the newspapers. Although, according to the same newspapers, Western diplomats were using the term among themselves, it did not appear in official documents before August 1992. At the end of July and beginning of August 1992, the international media were using the expression widely and this resulted in the use of the term in documents of the UN organisations, as discussed more in detail in the previous section.

### 5.5 ETHNIC CLEANSING AND ISSUE-OWNERSHIP

Louise Branson describes the use of the expression by the media in her article *All the warring factions turn to 'purification'*: 'Not since the Nazis described genocide as 'purification' has such a sterile phrase carried such sinister intent. The world's media, however, have embraced it. Some already use it without explanation to describe the forced evacuation of an enemy population and elimination of their culture. Even the United Nations Commission for Refugees admits to using it.' She writes furthermore that the term stems from the extreme Serbian nationalist Seselj, also leader of Serbian paramilitary groups. 'The expression was first used a year ago by Vojislav Seselj, an extreme nationalist Serbian politician whose paramilitaries were responsible for driving innocent people from their homes; he called it ciscenje.' (*The Sunday Times*, 26 July 1992).

The evolution of the use of the expression suggests that, while it was originally used by persons such as Seselj from the Serbian perspective, the term has acquired relatively neutral connotations: it was part of the warfare. Croatian diplomats and military leaders, however, used the term with its negative connotations when they condemned Serbian politicians for exercising a policy of ethnic cleansing in Croatia. This meaning developed further when Western diplomats

acquired the expression and brought it to the attention of the international media. When the conflict exploded with the war starting in Bosnia, the international media embraced the expression in order to describe the atrocities accompanying the war in Bosnia, especially after the discovery of Serbian detention camps. Although in certain articles reference was directly made to the situation in the Second World War and the policies of Nazi-Germany, and although journalists directly saw similarities to the crime of genocide, the expression ethnic cleansing was used to make a distinction between the two Wars. According to the *issue-ownership* model, as discussed in section 4.3.2, associations between an actor and an issue are decisive. The more an issue is covered in the news in connection with a certain actor, the more likely the public is to make these associations itself. The exact content of the issue is less important than the frequency of its appearance in the news.

According to this perspective, a reason for the introduction of the new term can be explained in the following way. Nazi-Germany was already the issue-owner of the expression 'genocide'. Although in several articles the connection between genocide and ethnic cleansing is made, it seemed that using genocide was a bit too strong a label for the atrocities going on. As Charles Krauthammer argues: 'Ethnic cleansing is brutal, indeed barbaric. It is systematic land-grabbing. But it is not genocide' (*LA-Times*, 13 December 1992). Hence, the international media embraced a new expression; this was mostly because the perpetrators introduced it, in order to create a new 'issue-owner' of ethnic cleansing, namely the (Bosnian) Serbs.

As argued above, the question of who is primarily mentioned in connection with ethnic cleansing is a matter of significance for the public. In the following table the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing according to the newspapers and the international organisations are mentioned. In the research, all individual perpetrators, if mentioned by name, are defined as distinct objects. However, to simplify the table, it is also possible to aggregate the individuals and present them as the three fighting parties: Serbs, Croats and Muslims. The next table shows this aggregated level. For a full report of all individuals committing ethnic cleansing see appendices 1, 2, and 3.

The Serbs are the group accused most frequently by all sources of committing ethnic cleansing. Striking in this respect is the difference between the United Nations organisations. The Human Rights commission accuses the Serbs in 62.8% of cases, whereas the Security Council and the Third Committee only ever mention the Serbs as the perpetrators. The General Assembly accuses

the Croats of committing ethnic cleansing in one sentence alone. Overall, the Croats are mentioned in 13.3% as perpetrators, and the Muslims in 2.1%.

TABLE 5.4 PERPETRATORS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

	Serbs		Croats		Muslims		Total
	Count	In%*	Count	In%*	Count	In%*	Count
The Times	181	82.6	33	15.1	5	2.3	219
LA-Times	211	88.4	23	9.2	6	2.4	270
Le Monde	184	90.2	19	9.3	1	0.5	204
Gen. Assembly	21	95.5	1	4.5			22
Sec.Council	6	100					6
HR Comm.	49	62.8	24	30.8	5	6.4	78
Third Comm.	6	100					6
Sp. Rapporteur	31	75.6	10	24.4			41
Total	799	84.6	110	13.3	17	2.1	846

\* Percentage of the total sentences mentioning perpetrators of ethnic cleansing

According to the newspapers, the Serbs are the main perpetrators. More than 80% of the references mention the Serbs. *The Times* mentions Croats as perpetrators in 15.1% of the cases, more than the *LA-Times* (9.2%) and *Le Monde* (9.3%). The latter mentions Muslims in connection with ethnic cleansing only once, whereas in *The Times* and *LA-Times* the Muslims are depicted in five sentences as perpetrators of ethnic cleansing.

The different periods as distinguished in the research, show that a substantive part of all assertions mentioning perpetrators of ethnic cleansing appear in the period May 1992 until February 1993. Knowing this, in combination with the fact that Serbs are mentioned most often as perpetrators of ethnic cleansing, the next table shows the amount of assertions in newspapers and documents of the United Nations organisations about the Serbs as perpetrators of ethnic cleansing.

TABLE 5.5 SERBS MENTIONED AS PERPETRATORS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

	The Times	LA-Times	Le Monde	Gen. Assembly	Hr Commission	Third Comm.	Special Rapp.	Total
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
May '92	2	1						3
Jun '92	2	1						3
Jul '92	11	10	1					22
Aug '92	36	32	32				6	106
Sep '92	14	9	8					31
Oct '92	13	9	16					38
Nov '92	14	22	15			3	6	60
Dec '92	14	21	12	3				50
Jan '93	10	27	11		3			51
Feb '93	21	32	17		16		10	96
Total	137	164	112	3	19	3	22	460

The table shows again the influence of the media on international organisations. The media are the first to mention the Serbs as culprits, followed by the Special Rapporteur and the other United Nations organisations. Furthermore, the table shows that the debate in the media is concentrated in August 1992, which underlines the idea that in this month the media created an ‘issue-owner’ for the term ethnic cleansing.

More detailed examination of the different periods (not presented in this table) shows that in most periods, this division is similar. Only in 1993 does a different picture appear. In this period the Croats are by far the most mentioned as perpetrators of ethnic cleansing. However, the Serbs, by introducing the expression and practice of ethnic cleansing, became the ‘issue-owner’ of the expression. In this way the media influenced public opinion as Swedish research of 1993 shows. In this research the inhabitants of a Swedish village *en masse* mentioned the Serbs responsible for a mass killing while in reality this atrocity was committed by Croatian forces (Findahl, 1998: 7).

## 5.6 ETHNIC CLEANSING AND FRAMING

‘How should journalists report what they see when public pressure to act is generated by television images of human suffering, but when there is no clear – or vital – national interest at stake? In this increasingly common situation, it is, however, evident that the media do have an impact on policy-making.’ (Seaton, 1999: 55). To activate a trigger mechanism journalists use certain frames. These frames are necessary to avoid a possible ‘compassion fatigue’ as Susan Moeller argues. The world has it all seen before and unless the pictures are horrifying enough, the public will stay indifferent.

By looking at different frames of presenting the expression ethnic cleansing distinction is made between the means used in the pursuit of ethnic cleansing and the results of ethnic cleansing. The following table shows the number of sentences each source devoted to describing the means and results of ethnic cleansing.

Approximately the same amount of sentences mention means as results, 52.8% and 47.2% respectively. However, there is a significant difference between the different sources. Newspapers concentrate more on results of ethnic cleansing, while the Human Rights Commission, the Special Rapporteur and the ICTY concentrate more on the tactics used to

achieve ethnic cleansing. The journalistic approach towards a situation contributes to the fact that the newspapers concentrate more on the outcomes of ethnic cleansing tactics. According to the framing theories as discussed in the previous chapter, journalists present the news according to certain frames. The results of ethnic cleansing provide the journalist with horror stories that can have an impact on public opinion and politics. This was recognised by media critic Walter Goodman when he suggested that cameras have the ability to communicate the reality of a news story: ‘Text can allow us to ‘imagine’ what the Bosnian camps must be like, but only photographic evidence can make our nightmares concrete’ (Goodman, 1992: 9).

TABLE 5.6 MEANS AND RESULTS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

	Means		Results		Total
	Count	In%*	Count	In%*	Count
The Times	61	38.9	96	61.1	157
LA Times	60	31.7	129	68.3	189
Le Monde	56	41.2	80	58.8	136
Gen. Assembly	40	62.5	24	37.5	64
Sec.Council			7	100	7
HR Comm.	126	76.4	39	23.6	165
Third Comm.			4	100	4
Sp. Rapporteur	66	90.4	7	9.6	73
Indictments	28	70.0	12	30.0	40
Judgements	14	73.7	5	26.3	19
Total	451	52.8	403	47.2	854

\* Percentage of the total sentences mentioning means or results

This attention of the media more on the results than on the means of ethnic cleansing is shown in the research of the Glasgow Media Group (1999) in an analysis of British television news coverage of the Rwanda refugee crisis of July 1994. According to this research, reasons for the conflict prior to the refugee crisis in Goma were hardly analysed in the media. Instead media focused on images of chaos and despair. In other words, human interest frames are used to evoke an outcry from the public ‘to do something’. The authors conclude, therefore, that the media influenced governments to give aid to the refugees, but did not pressure them to take action against the previous genocide causing the refugee problem (see also McNulty, 1999).

In the case of ethnic cleansing the articles, focusing more on the results of ethnic cleansing, are on the one hand presented according to the same human interest frame with stories about the suffering of numerous, mainly Muslim, civilians in camps as helpless victims in the hands of the brutal (Serbian) aggressor. ‘When we first got there we were given nothing to eat for

five days. After that we got bread and macaroni, but sometimes there was nothing for 52 hours. There were five barracks each with 670 men in them. We were lying on top of each other or just sitting there waiting to be beaten. Esad's grim tale confirms the emerging picture that the network of Serb detention centres was, and continues to be, brutal and murderous, but they are far from being the Nazi-style 'death camps' as some would have it' (*The Times*, 14 August 1992).

FIGURE 5.1 HUMAN INTEREST FRAMES

'Five little girls, bleeding and broken on a Bosnian street' (*LA-Times*, 2 August 1992)  
'Save the children' (*The Times*, 3 August 1992)  
'Mothers plead for places on convoy to safety' (*The Times*, 13 August 1992)  
'Refugees from Bosnian 'hell' prepare to meet the winter enemy' (*The Times*, 25 August 1992)

On the other hand, to make an even more profound impact on the public the historical frame was used with pictures directly referring to atrocities that happened in the Second World War. The headline 'A Holocaust parallel close to home' in the *LA-Times* of 23 August 1992 is another example. The article begins with the phrase: 'As horrific reports of 'ethnic cleansing,' sealed transports and even concentration camps emanate from Bosnia-Herzegovina, shocked Westerners have drawn the obvious analogy to Nazi atrocities.'

FIGURE 5.2 HISTORICAL FRAMES

'US likens Serb acts to Nazi crimes' (*LA-Times*, 5 August 1993)  
'Au courrier du monde Milosevic et Hitler' (*Le Monde*, 16 January 1993)  
'Au courrier du monde l'holocaust et la memoire' (*Le Monde*, 6 February 1993)  
'Holocaust in Bosnia' (*LA-Times*, 13 May 1993)

International organisations, on the other hand, approach the subject from a more judicial perspective. The Security Council, in its role of not taking sides in the conflicts, only mentions results and condemns the practice, without underlining the means, which produced the results.

The same applies to the Third Committee. The Special Rapporteur in his assignment to investigate the practice of ethnic cleansing goes into depth when he deals with the means used to achieve ethnic cleansing, as does the Human Rights Commission in discussing the reports of the Special Rapporteur and the actions that should be undertaken. The ICTY is concerned with the enforcement of international humanitarian law, applicable to the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Therefore, by looking for a way to prosecute or convict the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing the ICTY is also considering the means rather than the results of ethnic cleansing.

### *5.6.1 Means to Achieve Ethnic Cleansing*

Numerous tactics are mentioned in newspapers and reports about the war in Bosnia. In total 43 different tactics are mentioned in the different items. To construct these items in readable tables, terms with the same meaning are grouped in a few overlapping categories, representing the crimes against humanity as listed in Article 5 of the ICTY statute.

Murder includes the terms: ‘killings’, ‘execution’, and ‘extermination’

Rape includes the terms: ‘rape’, and ‘sexual abuse’

Deportation includes the terms: ‘deportation’, ‘driving out’, ‘expulsion’, and ‘forced leaving’

Imprisonment includes the terms: ‘detention’, ‘concentration camps’, and ‘kidnapping’

Torture includes the terms: ‘torture’, ‘beating’, and ‘slaughter’

Persecution includes the terms: ‘persecution’, ‘harassment’, ‘arbitrary arrest’, ‘intimidation’, and ‘threat’

Other inhumane treatment includes the terms: ‘inhuman treatment’, ‘shelling civilians’, ‘burning houses’, ‘depriving food’, and ‘extreme violence’

The table shows how the different sources mention these different means to achieve ethnic cleansing. For a full overview of all means mentioned, see Appendices 4 and 5.

As mentioned above, the international organisations are relatively more interested in the means used in the pursuit of ethnic cleansing than the results of the action. Rape is mentioned as the most important tactic (22.1%), followed by murder and inhumane treatment (21.8%). A headline

in *The Times* of 23 December 1992 stated ‘Churches say Serbs are using rape as a weapon’. This is later confirmed in a special report of the Special Rapporteur revealing that rape was used as a specific tactic in the pursuit of ethnic cleansing.

TABLE 5.7 MEANS TO ACHIEVE ETHNIC CLEANSING

	Murder		Rape		Deportation		Detention		Torture		Inhuman treatment		Total N
	N	In%	N	In%	N	In%	N	In%	N	In%	N	In%	
The Times	10	21.3	7	15.2	13	28.3			6	13.0	10	21.7	46
LA-Times	18	32.7	12	21.8	10	18.2	1	1.8	6	10.9	8	14.5	55
Le Monde	8	22.2	5	13.9	7	19.4	6	16.7	2	5.6	8	22.2	36
Gen. Assembly	3	12.0	11	44.0	2	8.0			5	20.0	4	16.0	25
HR Comm.	11	14.7	26	34.7	12	16.0			5	6.7	21	28.0	75
Sp. Rapporteur	7	20.0	5	14.3	6	17.1			4	11.4	13	37.1	35
Indictments	2	15.4			10	76.9					1	7.7	13
Judgements	6	46.2			2	15.4	1	7.7	4	30.8			13
Total	65	21.8	66	22.1	62	20.8	8	2.7	32	10.7	65	21.8	298

\* Percentage of the total sentences mentioning means

The ICTY in their indictments primarily mention deportation as a mean to achieve ethnic cleansing (76.9%). In their judgements, murder is the main tactic considered (46.2%). Newspapers give considerably less attention to rape as a tactic of ethnic cleansing than the international organisations; the *LA-Times* mentioning rape relatively more often (21.8%) than the other newspapers. In general, the *LA-Times* looks much more at the means used than both other newspapers.

The coverage of methods of ethnic cleansing by the different sources shows once again the influence of the media on the international organisations. The methods are first discussed in newspapers before being used in documents of the United Nations organisations.

### 5.6.2 Results of Ethnic Cleansing

All results of ethnic cleansing mentioned in the different articles and reports are also all distinguished in different categories. The same categories as in the previous section are used, including the following terms:

Murder includes the terms: ‘killings’, ‘massacres’, and ‘extermination’

Deportation includes the terms: ‘deportation’, ‘driving out’, ‘expulsion’, ‘forced evacuation’, ‘displacements’, ‘dislocation’, and ‘refugees’

Imprisonment includes the terms: ‘detention centres’, and ‘concentration camps’

Torture includes the terms: ‘torture’, and ‘beating’

Other inhumane treatment includes the terms: ‘destruction’, ‘extreme violence’, ‘disappearances’, and ‘missing persons’.

The table shows how the different sources mention these different results of ethnic cleansing. For a full overview of all results mentioned, see appendices 6 and 7.

TABLE 5.8 RESULTS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

	Murder		Deportation		Detention		Torture		Inhuman treatment		Total N
	N	In%	N	In%	N	In%	N	In%	N	In%	
The Times	7	11.7	32	53.3	9	15.0	8	13.3	4	6.7	60
LA-Times	10	11.5	60	69.0	3	3.4	9	10.3	5	5.7	87
Le Monde	9	19.1	21	44.7	4	8.5	11	23.4	2	4.3	47
Gen. Assembly	4	25.0	4	25.0	4	25.0			4	25.0	16
Sec. Council			2	100							2
HR Comm.	5	16.1	18	58.1	1	3.2	1	3.2	6	19.4	31
Third Comm.			2	66.7					1	33.3	3
Sp. Rapporteur	1	20.0	3	60.0			1	20.0			5
Indictments	1	16.7	1	16.7			3	50.0	1	16.7	6
Judgements	1	20.0			1	20.0	3	60.0			5
Total	38	14.5	143	54.6	22	8.4	36	13.7	23	8.8	262

\* Percentage of the total sentences mentioning results of ethnic cleansing

In 262 sentences, reference is made to results of ethnic cleansing. The newspapers are primarily talking about results whereas the international organisations do not look so frequently at this aspect of ethnic cleansing. Deportation is mentioned as the most important result of ethnic cleansing. In 54.6% of all sentences this, in its different forms, is mentioned as a result of ethnic cleansing.

With regard to the differences within the media, the *LA-Times* concentrates primarily on deportation (69.0%), ‘They [Bosnian Muslims] are would-be victims of ‘ethnic cleansing,’ ready to capitulate to Serb militants’ brutal efforts to drive them out as soon as they can scrounge the money to pay for their deportation’ (*LA-Times*, 25 February 1992), whereas *Le Monde* looks in a broader scope to the results of ethnic cleansing. This newspaper gives relatively more attention to torture (23.4%) and murder (19.1%) than both other newspapers. ‘En ex-Yougoslavie, seuls les Serbes ont un objectif politique l’empire serbe et une strategie la ‘purification ethnique’. Leur strategie militaire comporte donc le viol des femmes et des fillettes, la torture et le massacre des civils musulmans, de facon a provoquer la fuite massive de la population’ (*Le Monde*, 22 december 1992). Finally, *The Times* considers detention more frequently than all the other newspapers (15.0%) ‘Most abuses seem to have occurred in civilian

transit camps set up as part of the ‘ethnic cleansing’ operation rather than in prisoner-of-war camps...’ (*The Times*, 17 August 1992).

With regard to non-media organisations, the Human Rights Commission devotes a considerable amount of sentences to the results of ethnic cleansing, with a primary focus on deportation (58.1%). The General Assembly mentions deportation, murder, detention and inhumane treatment as a result of ethnic cleansing in all four reports. Looking mostly at results, the media discussed all results already in detail in August 1992. The international organisations followed again the international media in this respect. The Human Rights Commission and the Special Rapporteur mention the results in August 1992, followed by further discussion in the other organisations.

## 5.7 ETHNIC CLEANSING AND THE POLICY-MEDIA INTERACTION MODEL

‘Without the accounts from war correspondents and other journalists...it is very possible that there would not have been, at least not as early as 1993, an International Criminal Tribunal for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia. Their reporting was not the sole factor for this unexpected UN initiative. But with the reporting of a war that was so overridden by criminal elements, and where there seemed to be more attacks by combatants on civilians, than conventional clashes between the combatants themselves, the concept of war crimes began to take root, and so did the call for accountability’ (Arbour, 2000: 2).

In this section I will apply the policy-media interaction model to the data concerning the establishment of the ICTY, in order to find evidence of Louise Arbour’s statement. Furthermore, I will apply the model in the first weeks of August 1992 when the Security Council passed Resolution 770, which allowed the use of force by humanitarian relief actions. The policy-media interaction model argues that media influence on policy occurs when there exists: (1) policy uncertainty and (2) critically framed media coverage that empathises with suffering people.

### 5.7.1 *Policy Uncertainty*

Policy certainty means that there is a certain policy to deal with a certain issue. Measuring the specific policy uncertainty as outlined by Robinson (2000a) falls beyond the scope of this research. However, the discussion about the evolution of the term ethnic cleansing shows that in August 1992 the term came suddenly into widespread use. In that period, when the international

community was still hoping for a peaceful solution to the problem, there was no clear policy to deal with such an extreme and widespread occurrence of atrocities. In the months after the first discovery of the detention camps there remained policy uncertainty, mostly caused by political disagreement about the right strategy to take.

In January 1993, news coverage about ethnic cleansing increased and especially mentioned rape as a mean to achieve ethnic cleansing, as mentioned earlier. In a direct reaction to this news, the French minister of Foreign Affairs, Roland Dumas, called for military action, with or without other countries, to free the so-called ‘rape camps’. This again, resulted in a major political conflict about the right strategy to deal with the deteriorating situation in the former Yugoslavia. Furthermore the Vance-Owen peace plan was controversial, because it rewarded, according to the United States, the territorial gains from the Serbs, achieved by ethnic cleansing. Although the peace talks in this period were still going on, still calls for intervention appeared in the media. Therefore I conclude that the first precondition of this model is fulfilled.

### 5.7.2 Critically Framed Media Coverage

The second precondition in the model calls for critical framed news coverage that clearly empathises with suffering people, for example identifying them as ‘victims’ (Van der Gaag & Nash, 1987: 28-30). This type of framing, referred to here as *empathy* framing, contains implicit or explicit criticism of the inaction of politicians. Earlier the Serbs were already indicated as the main perpetrators of ethnic cleansing. The main victims of the crime are presented in the following table.

TABLE 5.9 VICTIMS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

	Serbs		Croats		Muslims		Total
	Count	In%*	Count	In%*	Count	In%*	Count
The Times	6	7.9	9	11.8	61	80.3	76
LA-Times	6	6.9	17	19.5	64	73.6	87
Le Monde	10	17.0	4	6.8	45	76.3	59
Gen. Assembly			2	28.6	5	71.4	7
HR Comm.	10	31.3	6	18.8	16	50.0	32
Third Comm.			3	75.0	1	25.0	4
Sp. Rapporteur	3	15.8	6	31.6	10	52.6	19
Total	35	12.3	47	16.6	202	71.1	284

\* Percentage of the total sentences mentioning victims of ethnic cleansing

As much as the Serbs were named as the main culprits (84.6%), so are the Muslims mentioned as the main victims of ethnic cleansing (71.1%). Some attention is given to Croatian civilians and

even less to the Serbian victims. As discussed earlier, the coverage tends to confirm an earlier created version of ‘reality’. So in the Bosnian war, where the Serbs had been the aggressors, stories of the murder of Serbian civilians were too ‘emotionally confusing’ for the public (Martin Bell, 1995, 271). This idea of simplification of stories is supported by research on American news coverage of the Bosnian war in 1991 and 1992. James Sadkovich concludes ‘Rather than encourage debate and analysis, the media have tended to look for easy solutions and present simple versions of reality.’ (Sadkovich, 1996: 134). Therefore it is easy to conclude that the media frames in the newspapers contained a clear picture of perpetrators, and victims and empathised with the victims.

FIGURE 5.3 EMPATHY FRAMES

‘Bosnie-Herzegovine: l'amertume des Musulmans vivant sous domination Serbe’ (*Le Monde*, 20 June 1992)

‘Muslims driven out at gunpoint’ (*LA-Times*, 6 July 1992)

‘Muslim youth claims Serbs killed one captive a day’ (*The Times*, 14 August 1992)

‘Fear and hopelessness grip Muslims in a Bosnian town’ (*LA-Times*, 17 August 1992)

‘Serbs offer Muslims choice between exile and jail’ (*The Times*, 17 August 1992)

Another necessary frame in the model is the accountability frame: the call for action from the international community to deal with the occurrence of ethnic cleansing. In the following table the assessments in this direction are presented. These sentences include assessments such as ‘The UN should take action to stop ethnic cleansing’.

TABLE 5.10 ACCOUNTABILITY FRAMES IN NEWSPAPERS

	The Times	LA-Times	Le Monde	Total
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
Aug '92	1	2	1	4
Sep '92				
Oct '92		1		1
Nov '92		1		1
Dec '92	1		1	2
Jan '93		1	1	2
Feb '93		1		1
Total	2	6	3	11

The table shows just a small number of sentences about accountability in direct connection with ethnic cleansing. This is caused by the initial method of the research. In section 5.7.3 I will discuss this in more detail by looking closer to the articles in the first two weeks of August 1992.

FIGURE 5.4 ACCOUNTABILITY FRAMES

‘UN must strengthen its hand to slap down the tyrants and killers’ ( <i>The Times</i> , 9 august 1992)
‘Will the West dare to fight?’ ( <i>The Times</i> , 26 August 1992)
‘L’hypothese d’une operation militaire internationale’ ( <i>Le Monde</i> , 5 August 1992)
‘Bosnia and conscience of the world’ ( <i>The Times</i> , 7 August 1992)
‘Groups urge bush to act on Bosnia’ ( <i>LA-Times</i> , 10 August 1992)
‘Fabius demande que l’europe intervienne pour arreter les massacres’ ( <i>Le Monde</i> , 13 August 1992)
‘Never again’ ( <i>LA-Times</i> , 3 January 1993)
‘Eagleburger condemns west's 'dithering' on Bosnia’ ( <i>LA-Times</i> , 15 January 1993)

A sign for media coverage in the direction of the establishment of a tribunal to deal with the crimes committed is the idea that ethnic cleansing is indeed an act against international humanitarian law. The following table shows the amount of assessments in the different articles and documents concerning ethnic cleansing as an act against humanity in the period until the ICTY was established together with assessments of ethnic cleansing being a war crime.

TABLE 5.11 ETHNIC CLEANSING MENTIONED AS AN ACT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

	The Times	LA-Times	Le Monde	Gen. Assembly	Security Council	Hr Commission	Third Comm.	Special rapp.	Total
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
Jul ‘92	1								1
Aug ‘92	4	2	2	1	1	1		2	13
Sep ‘92			1						1
Oct ‘92			1		1				1
Nov ‘92		1					3	1	6
Dec ‘92			1	2		1			4
Jan ‘93		1	1						2
Feb ‘93			3			4		2	9
Total	5	4	9	3	2	6	3	5	37

Here again it is shown that the media are first in making the assessment, which is then followed by the international community. Most assessments are made in August 1992, which indicates that the discussion is highly concentrated in this month, so far as the newspapers are concerned.

On 6 October 1992, the Security Council adopted Resolution 780 in which it expressed '[O]nce again its grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law occurring within the territory of the former Yugoslavia and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including reports of mass killings and the continuance of the practice of 'ethnic cleansing'.'

FIGURE 5.5 HEADLINES MENTIONING A WAR CRIME TRIBUNAL

'Human rights group calls for tribunal on Bosnian war crimes' (*The Times*, 13 August 1992)  
'US wants war crimes trials for atrocities in Yugoslavia' (*The Times*, 24 September 1992)

Furthermore, in the same Resolution the Security Council requests the Secretary-General to demand in August 1992 the establishment of a Commission of Experts to examine and analyse the situation and to look for evidence of grave breaches of the Geneva conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law. The Commission presents its final report in February 1993 in which the commission recommends the establishment of an international criminal tribunal to deal with the crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia. The option of an international tribunal to deal with ethnic cleansing was also presented in the media, and again before the option appeared in official documents of the international organisations as the following table shows.

The discussion of how to bring perpetrators to justice had already started in August 1992, 'German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has called on the conference to convene an international tribunal to try Serbian military and political leaders for 'genocide' against Bosnia's non-Serbs. He also reaffirmed his government's call for consideration of military intervention.' (*The Times*, 24 August 1992). The established Commission of Experts investigated the situation and the idea

of an international tribunal became more concrete after a few months of news coverage about atrocities, and in which the situation worsened immensely.

TABLE 5.12 THE TRIBUNAL MENTIONED AS MEAN TO DEAL WITH ETHNIC CLEANSING

	The Times	LA-Times	Le Monde	Security Council	Hr Commission	Total
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
Aug '92			1			1
Sep '92						
Oct '92	1		1			2
Nov '92			1			1
Dec '92	1		1			2
Jan '93			1		1	2
Feb '93	2	1	1	1	1	6
Total	4	1	6	1	2	14

Especially after a report of the Special Rapporteur, Tadeus Mazowiecki, revealing that rape is used as a mean to achieve ethnic cleansing, the call for a response of the international community became stronger. In an interview with *Le Monde*, Boutros-Ghali reacted on the statement of the French minister for Foreign Affairs, Roland Dumas, who wanted to free the so-called 'rape camps' with military intervention. The UN secretary is reluctant to agree with a military operation but is in favour for the establishment of an international tribunal: 'On parle de la creation d'un tribunal international pour condamner les auteurs de ces crimes de guerre. J'y suis personnellement favorable, sous reserve de l'accord du Conseil de securite' (*Le Monde*, 13 January 1993). In February 1993 the establishment of a tribunal is also part of a peace plan, designed by the United States in reaction to the Vance-Owen plan, which, according to the US, rewarded the Serbs and their ethnic cleansing policy. In discussing the plan, the *LA-Times* of 11 February 1993 states: 'All parties are called upon to stop the violence, with enforcement of a 'no-fly zone' over Bosnia, further actions to allow delivery of aid and creation of a war crimes tribunal at the United Nations.'

The continuation of the production of articles mentioning the atrocities in Bosnia and the lack of action from the international community made an even stronger measure necessary. Again, however, the media could not trigger an intervention in the beginning of 1993, due to the peace talk about the Vance-Owen plan that still seemed to reach for a peaceful settlement of the conflict 'Give Bosnia talks another chance, UN chief says' (*LA-Times*, 31 December 1992). However, with the continuation of the news coverage, the agenda-setting role of the media, the problems stayed on the political agenda. Therefore, it is arguable that news coverage did influence the

international community in taking another step: the establishment of the international criminal tribunal to bring the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing to justice.

### 5.7.3 August 1992

To apply the policy-media interaction model to a more concrete example, I will have a closer look at the articles prior to the Security Council Resolution 771 of Wednesday 13 August, in which the Council ‘Strongly condemns any violations of international humanitarian law, including those involved in the practice of ‘ethnic cleansing’.’ The Security Council allows furthermore in this Resolution the use of force in humanitarian relief missions.

The articles included in this research form only a selection of the total amount of articles published about the atrocities in Bosnia, namely the articles mentioning ethnic cleansing. Nevertheless, they can give an indication of the total news coverage and the frames employed during that period. The following table shows descriptions used in the articles in the period 1-13 August 1992.

TABLE 5.13 FRAMING IN THE NEWSPAPERS IN AUGUST 1992

	Articles	Historical frame	Accoun- tability	Human interest
	N	N	N	N
The Times	20	45	34	61
LA-Times	19	74	26	69
Le Monde	11	17	26	28
Total	50	136	86	158

Historical frames are determined by finding articles mentioning the following terms: Hitler, Nazi’s, Concentration camps, detention camps, death camps, Second World War and Holocaust. The times these terms are mentioned in the articles are presented in the second column. The third column presents the human interest frame, measured looking at the following descriptions: mentioning: Victims, refugees, and civilians. Finally the accountability frame in this respect is measured by the descriptions: Humanitarian intervention, military intervention, humanitarian action, and military action as a response needed to stop the atrocities. Although the measurement of those frames is quite subjective, it gives an indication of the content of the articles.

A closer look at the articles shows that the different frames can appear simultaneously. The accountability frames appear in the media in several ways, which are hard to measure exactly

without looking at every article separately. Already at 5 August 1992 Bill Clinton is quoted in the *LA-Times*: ‘I am outraged by the revelations of concentration camps in Bosnia and urge immediate action to stop this slaughter...The United States and the international community must take action. If the horrors of the Holocaust taught us anything, it is the high cost of remaining silent and paralysed in the face of genocide.’

Another example is the editorial commentary of *The Times* of 9 August 1992: ‘When Serbian forces stormed into eastern Croatia, destroying one town after another, the West was appalled, but did nothing. When Serbian artillery bombarded Dubrovnik, the Adriatic jewel of medieval Europe, the West said it was a scandal, but did nothing. As Serbs reduce Sarajevo to rubble mortaring its citizens as they queue for bread, murdering its orphans and attacking even its funerals the West continues to do next to nothing. Now there is incontrovertible proof, thanks to ITN, that Serbian ‘ethnic cleansing’ of Bosnian Muslims has revived techniques of torture and extermination that Europe thought it had buried forever in its Nazi past. That such things could happen twice in one century in this supposedly most civilised of continents has caused the slow burn of public dismay, shock, bewilderment and horror finally to turn to anger, outrage and a call for decisive action.’

The articles show news coverage that clearly empathised with the victims and contained responsibility frames towards the international community. Nevertheless, no signs were given for military intervention. However, it is arguable that the media coverage influenced politicians in their reaction to do something. On Wednesday August 13 the Security Council through Resolution 771 authorised the use of force during humanitarian aid missions. This can be seen as the same reaction as that classified in the research of the Glasgow Media Group (1999) in their analysis of the situation in Rwanda. Here again the media triggered the international community towards a direct action in order to deliver some relief to the victims of the aggression, but could not push the international community to intervene and stop the perpetrators. Only the results of a humanitarian crisis are solved, not the causes of the crisis. With this in mind it seemed that media influence can only extend to policies concerning humanitarian relief actions dealing with the outcome of a crisis, but cannot trigger strong measures to address the causes of a humanitarian crisis.

## 5.8 GENOCIDE, CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND ETHNIC CLEANSING

The term ethnic cleansing is not mentioned in the statute of the ICTY, which means that suspects cannot be prosecuted or convicted for the crime as such. Nevertheless, the expression entered international law, due to its widespread use, not only in newspapers, but also in political discourse and eventually in the documents of the ICTY. In June 1996 at a hearing about the indictment against Karadzic and Mladic before the ICTY an expert of the Prosecution was asked to give a definition of ethnic cleansing. He replied: '[E]thnic cleansing is a practice which means that you act in such a way that in a given territory the members of a given ethnic group are eliminated. It means a practice that aims at such and such a territory be, as they meant [sic], ethnically pure. So, in other words, that that territory would no longer contain only members of the ethnic group that took the initiative of cleansing the territory' (ICTY, 1996: 10).

### 5.8.1 *Genocide in International Law*

After the Second World War, Raphael Lemkin, the Polish-born adviser to the United States War Ministry, saw that the world was being confronted with a totally unprecedented phenomenon and that 'new conceptions require new terminology'. In his book, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, published in 1944, he coined the word 'genocide', constructed from the Greek 'genos' (race or tribe) and the Latin suffix 'cide' (to kill) to label the atrocities of the Second World War. According to Lemkin, genocide signifies the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group and implies the existence of a coordinated plan, aimed at total extermination, to be put into effect against individuals chosen as victims merely because they are members of the target group.

In Lemkin's view, the expression 'mass murder' that was being used at the time to describe what had happened was an inadequate description. It failed to account for the motive for the crime, which arose solely from 'racial, national or religious' considerations and had nothing to do with the conduct of the war. War crimes had been defined for the first time in 1907 in The Hague Convention, but the crime of genocide required a separate definition as this was 'not only a crime against the rules of war, but a crime against humanity itself' affecting not just the individual or nation in question, but humanity as a whole (Lemkin, 1944).

Genocide, as defined in the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, is the deliberate and systematic destruction, '[I]n whole or in part,' of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Genocide can include any of the following

acts: ‘Killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, forcibly transferring children of the group to another group’ (Van der Wolf, 1994: 36).

The definition of what constitutes a crime against humanity was established at the Nuremberg Trials. However, despite the significance of this, the jurists at Nuremberg had invented nothing new. Killing someone simply because he or she exists is a crime against humanity, it is a crime against the very essence of what it is to be human. Some particularly significant elements distinguish crimes against humanity from other established crimes in international law. A crime against humanity does not have to be committed exclusively in times of war and the victim can be of ‘any civilian population’, including the state’s own nationals. In the Statute of the ICTY, however, the crime had to be committed during war. Article 5 of the ICTY statute reads: ‘The International Tribunal shall have the power to prosecute persons responsible for the following crimes when committed in armed conflict, whether international or internal in character, and directed against any civilian population: (a) murder, (b) extermination, (c), enslavement, (d) deportation, (e) imprisonment, (f) torture, (g) rape, (h) persecution on political, racial and religious grounds, (i) other inhuman acts’ (Van der Wolf, 1994: 177).

Genocide is a crime on a different scale to all other crimes against humanity and implies an intention to completely exterminate the chosen group. Genocide is therefore both the gravest and the greatest of the crimes against humanity: Genocide is a conspiracy aimed at the total destruction of a group and thus requires a concerted plan of action. The classification of acts of genocide does not arise from the extent of the killings, nor their savagery or resulting infamy, but solely from the intention: the destruction of a group.

### 5.8.2 *Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide*

The previous sections show that ethnic cleansing is achieved by several serious crimes, which can be seen as crimes against humanity. The question remains, however, as to whether ethnic cleansing can be seen as a synonym for genocide. All sources use synonyms for ethnic cleansing in their articles or documents. The following table shows the synonyms used by the different sources.

TABLE 5.14 SYNONYMS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

	The Times	LA-Times	Le Monde	Gen. Assembly	HR Comm.	Third Comm.	Sp. Rapporteur	Total
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
Genocide	5	11	2	7	5	1		31
Barbarism	3	1	3					7
Deportation	1	2	2					5
Goal	1	6	5	2		1	3	16
Expulsion	2	1	1					4
Nazi times	5	2						7
Warcimes	4	2	2		1		1	9
Total	21	25	15	9	6	2	4	82

In 82 sentences a synonym for ethnic cleansing is used. The newspapers mention far more synonyms than the international organisations and concentrate primarily on the comparison with genocide. Ethnic cleansing as the ultimate goal of the war is mentioned in newspapers as well in the reports of the Special Rapporteur.

Looking more closely to the comparison of ethnic cleansing and genocide shows that *The Times* mentioned genocide as a synonym for what was happening in Bosnia for the first time on 8 August 1992 ‘Speaking from the heart of Slovenia’ (*The Times*, 8 August, 1992). Not all journalists, however, are convinced that ethnic cleansing is a synonym for genocide. Charles Krauthammer writes in his column in the *LA-Times* of 13 December 1992: ‘Ethnic cleansing is brutal, indeed barbaric. It is systematic land-grabbing. But it is not genocide’ (*LA-Times*, 13 December 1992).

The Third Committee was the first international organisation that mentioned genocide as a synonym for ethnic cleansing on the 26 of November 1992. The Human Rights Commission asked for an investigation into the similarities between ethnic cleansing and genocide in their Resolution of 1 December 1992: ‘[The Human Rights Commission] Calls upon all States to consider the extent to which the acts committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia constitute genocide, in accordance with the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.’ The General Assembly was clear on this point and mentioned ethnic cleansing as a form of genocide in its Resolution of 8 December 1992.

TABLE 5.15 GENOCIDE AS A SYNONYM FOR ETHNIC CLEANSING

	The Times	LA-Times	Gen. Assembly	HR Comm.	Third Comm.	Total
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
Aug '92	3	1				4
Nov '92					1	1
Dec '92	1	2	3			6
Jan '93	1	1				2
Feb '93		1		3		4
Mar '93				2		2
Total	5	5	3	5	1	19

Looking at the use of genocide as a synonym for ethnic cleansing more closely, it shows the same pattern as the use of the expression ethnic cleansing itself. The media started the comparisons between the two and this was followed by the international organisations. Although the number of newspapers used in this study is small, the selection is indicative of the use of the comparison in the international media in general.

FIGURE 5.6 HEADLINES MENTIONING GENOCIDE

‘Muslims in Bosnia fear genocide at Serb hands’  
 (*The Times*, 28 August 1992)  
 ‘Genocide in Bosnia’ (*The Times*, 24 October 1992)

The three previous sections show the influence of the international media on society, politics and international law. First of all, the presentation of the Serbs as being ‘issue-owner’ of ‘ethnic cleansing’ influenced public opinion. More important, however, all discussions relating to ethnic cleansing first appeared in newspapers, before they were mentioned in the documents of the several United Nations organisations. I will discuss how these discussions influenced the development of international law in the next section, in which I elaborate the debate between international lawyers about a distinctive place for the ‘crime of ethnic cleansing’ in the framework of international law.

## 5.9 ETHNIC CLEANSING AS A SEPARATE CRIME

The appearance of the new term in international law caused a serious debate between international lawyers about the position of the new term within the framework of international

law. The ICTY has not yet dealt with this question explicitly. However, the comparison is discussed in international law in the case ‘Bosnia v Yugoslavia’ before the International Court of Justice in September 1993. In this case, the ad hoc judge Lauterpacht presented a separate opinion in which he noted: ‘[T]he forced migration of civilians, more commonly known as ‘ethnic cleansing’, is, in truth, part of a deliberate campaign by the Serbs to eliminate Muslim control of, and presence in, substantial parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Such being the case, it is difficult to regard the Serbian acts as other than acts of genocide in that they clearly fall within categories (a), (b) and (c) of the definition of genocide’ (ICJ, 1993: 431).

The distinction between genocide and ethnic cleansing is a particularly strong point in this discussion. The expression ethnic cleansing has three distinctive characteristics in comparison with genocide: a territorial aspect, an aspect of deportation instead of extermination, and an aspect of defining the target group.

#### *5.9.1 Territorial Aspect*

The definitions of ethnic cleansing, as discussed in section 4.2.1, including the descriptions used in newspapers and documents of the international organisations, explicitly mention the relation between ethnic cleansing and (gained) territory. Whereas genocide concentrates on the destruction of a defined group of people, ethnic cleansing is executed after conquering a certain territory. The goal is not the destruction of a certain people but rather the purification of a certain territory of all other ethnic groups.

Already in the 1980s this connection was made in talk about ‘ethnically cleaned *territory*’. The use of the expression by the JNA forces also indicated a relation between captured territory and the actions. The connection between ethnic cleansing and territorial gain is also mentioned in the newspapers and in the international organisations, as shown in the following table.

Again the relationship is first mentioned in newspapers before it appeared in international documents. It seems that in 1992, particularly in August 1992, all elements of ethnic cleansing were discussed in international media and the meaning of the expression was determined from that time on.

TABLE 5.16 ETHNIC CLEANSING AND TERRITORIAL GAIN

	1992		1993		1994		1995		Total
	<i>N</i>	<i>In%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In%</i>	<i>N</i>
The Times	2	100							2
LA-Times	8	72.7	2	18.2	1	9.1			11
Le Monde	5	83.3					1	16.7	6
Gen. Assembly			1	50.0	1	50.0			2
Sec. Council			4	80.0	1	20.0			5
Total	15	57.7	7	26.9	3	11.5	1	3.9	26

In the indictments of the ICTY the connection is also made six times. The fact that deportation is mentioned primarily as a mean by which to achieve ethnic cleansing as well as the main result deriving from ethnic cleansing supports the relation between territory and ethnic cleansing. Even in the judgements of the ICTY the relationship appears. In the judgement in the trial of Tadic of 15 July 1999, relating to the Serbian attack on the village of Preijdor, it was stated that '[A] central aspect of the attack was a policy to rid the region of the non-Serb population by committing inhumane and violent acts against them in order to achieve the creation of a Greater Serbia...It is the Prosecution's submission that this policy of ethnic cleansing was carried out throughout Opština Prijedor against non-Serbs by various illegal means, including killings' (ICTY, 1999: par. 175). In this way the ICTY argues that ethnic cleansing is connected with the forced removal of people in a certain territory.

In the discussion of whether ethnic cleansing and genocide must be considered as similar crimes, this territorial aspect, however, is controversial. It is not necessarily distinct from genocide as the ICTY concluded in the judgement of Jelusic of 14 December 1999: 'The Trial Chamber notes that it is accepted that genocide may be perpetrated in a limited geographic zone....Moreover, the Trial Chamber adopted a similar position in its Review of the Indictment Pursuant to Article 61 filed in the Nikolic case. In this case, the Trial Chamber deemed that it was possible to base the charge of genocide on events, that occurred only in the region of Vlasenica. In view of the object and goal of the Convention and the subsequent interpretation thereof, the Trial Chamber thus finds that international custom admits the characterisation of genocide even when the exterminatory intent only extends to a limited geographic zone' (ICTY, 1999: par. 83).

### 5.9.2 *Deportation Instead of Extermination*

Another distinctive element of ethnic cleansing can be found in the purpose of the crime. Instead of extermination of a particular group, ethnic cleansing means removing *all* civilians not allied to

the predominant ethnic group in a conquered area. Hayden (1996: 734) mentions this distinction as well: '[G]enocide gains its moral force, and conceptual horror, precisely because of the exceptional nature of the Holocaust. Hitler wanted the Jews utterly exterminated, not simply driven from particular places. Ethnic cleansing, on the other hand, involves removals rather than extermination and is not exceptional but rather common in particular circumstances.' The same conclusion is taken by William Schabas (2000) '[I]t is incorrect to assert that ethnic cleansing is a form of genocide, or even that in some cases, ethnic cleansing amounts to genocide. Both, of course, may share the same goal, which is to eliminate the persecuted group from a given area. While the material acts performed to commit the crimes may often resemble each other, they have two quite different specific intents. One is intended to displace a population, the other to destroy it. The issue is one of intent and it is logically inconceivable that the two agendas coexist.'

### 5.9.3 *Defining the Target Group*

Another distinctive element comparing genocide and ethnic cleansing is the way in which the target group is defined. In the case of genocide the group is defined in advance as the specific group to destroy 'in whole or in part'. Ethnic cleansing, on the other hand, is exercised after conquering a certain territory in order to make this area ethnically homogeneous. This means the target group is not defined in advance, but 'happens to be' in the conquered territory. Neither is it a specific group that is targeted, but *all groups* not similar to the ethnic group conquering the area.

The conspiracy element is part of ethnic cleansing, as it is in genocide, because all citizens not allied to the conquering ethnic group should be removed according to its logic. However, the fact that ethnic cleansing is not necessarily a conspiracy against a specific defined humanity as a whole makes it different to genocide, although the means to achieve both can be the same. The aim of ethnic cleansing is different from the aim of genocide. Whereas ethnic cleansing is concentrating on the purification of a certain territory, genocide is aimed at the total destruction of a group.

These distinctive characteristics of ethnic cleansing have repercussions for the development of international law. At the very least, a reconsideration of the exact meaning and implications of the articles dealing with crimes against humanity and genocide should be a part of this

development. However, the consequences of the pressure for the allocation of a distinct category for the crime of ethnic cleansing in international law remain to be seen.

## 6 Conclusion

### 6.1 CENTRAL QUESTION

The central question examined by this thesis, as set out in the introduction, was the following:

*How have the international media influenced the development of international law through their use of the term 'ethnic cleansing'?*

As with all media-effect studies, hard causal relations between news coverage and developments in international law are not the outcome of this research. However, the research gives strong indicators of influence of the media on the use of the expression and its meaning in international law. This occurs in two separate ways, an indirect way and a direct way.

### 6.2 INDIRECT INFLUENCE

The indirect influence of the international media is shown according to three theories of media effects: agenda-setting theory, issue-ownership theory, and the framing theory, as well as in the policy-media interaction model.

#### 6.2.1 *Agenda-Setting Theory*

The agenda-setting theory argues that the media influence the agenda of public and politics by choosing which issues they present for public consumption. The research in this thesis shows the agenda-setting role of the media in connection with ethnic cleansing. The media in general have geared the use of the term. Coined by the Serbs themselves, the common use of the expression in the media made it a widespread term applying to events outside Bosnia as well. In this respect the media played an agenda-setting role. The research shows that only after the expression appeared in international media, did it also loom up in documents of international organisations and consequently found its way into international law.

#### 6.2.2 *Issue-Ownership Theory*

According to the issue-ownership theory a party can become the owner of a new issue after news coverage that links party and issue together. The content of the issue is not at stake, but rather

more important is the frequency with which the party and the issue are combined. This creates the direct link in the popular mind.

Ethnic cleansing was a new term and a new issue. The media influenced public opinion about the culprits of the war in Bosnia. By connecting the expression primarily to the Serbian forces, the media made this actor the 'issue owner' of the term. Where genocide has previously been related in the popular mind to Nazi-Germany, so ethnic cleansing has a direct association with Serbia.

Again, the sequence of linking primarily the Serbian forces to the term ethnic cleansing is similar to the sequence of the general term: first the linkage is made in the media, followed by the international organisations. Here again this development indicates an influence of media on international politics.

### *6.2.3 Framing Theory*

The theory of framing investigates the different ways in which the media present news stories and the impact that different forms of framing have on the receivers of the messages. Newspapers tend to focus more on dramatic stories, dealing more with the results of ethnic cleansing than the actual means, which were applied to achieve ethnic cleansing. The international organisations on the other hand, looking from a more legal perspective, concentrated more on the methods applied in the pursuit of ethnic cleansing.

### *6.2.4 Policy-Media Interaction Model*

Robinson's policy-media interaction model suggests that there is an influence of the media on policy decisions in situations where there is no policy certainty and where a critical media empathises with the victims and demands action from world politicians to solve the problem. In two separate parts this model can be applied to the work of this thesis. Firstly, it applies to the first two weeks of August 1992, when the detention camps were discovered, until the moment the Security Council adopted Resolution 771 in which it approved the use of force to deliver humanitarian aid to the victims. The research in this first case shows that even the widespread use of the term ethnic cleansing, in the context of horrifying stories, empathising with the victims could not trigger a military intervention in Bosnia. The frames used by the media were a combination of human interest frames and historical frames, the latter containing comparisons

with the Second World War and the German genocide on the Jewish population. Furthermore, accountability frames appeared, in which the international community was called to action. In this case, the media could only influence world leaders in respect of humanitarian action. The Security Council reacted quickly to adopt a Resolution, which allowed the use of force in delivering humanitarian aid, but there was no sign of any military operation to resolve the problems. In other words, the media could only trigger a reaction dealing the results of a crisis but not with the causes of it. Secondly, the model is applied to an examination of the establishment of the ICTY as a reaction to the atrocities. In the beginning of 1993 news coverage about atrocities increased dramatically, especially in connection with the conclusion of the Special Rapporteur that rape was used as a means to achieve ethnic cleansing. Here again, the media covered the atrocities according to the human interest frame and the historical frame. Testimonies of survivors of Serbian camps were presented and the call for action became even stronger than in August 1992. But, as in August, the media could not trigger an intervention. There was no policy certainty, but the hope for a peaceful settlement with the Vance-Owen plan was still alive.

It is still unclear how exactly the media influence policies towards action. Again, the research here indicates that the media, by focusing mostly on human interest frames can influence decisions in the field of humanitarian actions. Military actions, however, are harder to prove. The research of Robinson suggests an influence of the media on air power intervention (Robinson 2000b) in the decision to defend the Muslim enclave of Gorazde in 1995. However, the media influence in this case is doubtful. Indeed, there was policy uncertainty after the fall of Srebrenica as well as critical media coverage. The decision to intervene in Gorazde, however, was determined by guilt induced by a history of non-intervention by the international community during the previous three years, as well as the failure to defend Srebrenica. The last days before the actual fall of the enclave, the UN force present, asked several times for air support, but it never came (according to official reports, because the request was written on the wrong form). The lessons learned from previous years and especially from the last week could well be as decisive as the news coverage.

In the case of the air power intervention in Kosovo, the model stands, because there was policy certainty according to Robinson. The intervention only consisted of air power. Ground troops were not used, even when there was critical news coverage. However, as discussed before,

it is doubtful in the first place that the intervention in Kosovo was a humanitarian intervention, even if the world leaders called it humanitarian. The motives for the NATO bombing campaign, included many other elements, not purely humanitarian, like guilt over past inaction during the Bosnian war, concern over peace and security in the region, and Nato's credibility after so many threats to Belgrade.

Therefore I conclude that media influence on any kind of military intervention is doubtful. Looking at this research, even the most horrifying pictures and stories from the detention camps in August 1992 could not trigger the international community to military intervention. The only influence the media had on international policies concerning Bosnia in this period was the Resolution of the Security Council of 13 August 1992, allowing the use of force in delivering humanitarian aid for civilians.

Looking at the establishment of the ICTY as a policy, it may well be argued that the media did have an influence on this decision. The pictures of the atrocities committed in the several camps at least influenced the international community to nominate a Special Rapporteur and establish a commission of experts to investigate the situation. Later these investigations concentrated as well on legal aspects. The continuing news coverage of crimes committed against civilians in the pursuit of ethnic cleansing made that the issue, which remained on the political agenda. The agenda-setting role of the media is, therefore, the most important one in this respect. The fact that the world is continuously reminded about an issue is mostly due to constant media coverage. Therefore, it is arguable that the media have increased the speed of actions taken by the United Nations and especially by the Security Council. A direct influence on the actual content of those decisions is harder to prove, for many more - mostly political - factors play an important role as well.

The conclusion here in relation to the policy-media interaction model is that the research indicates that the influence of media on policies is mainly concentrated in the field of responses to humanitarian crises, but not on policies concerning the causes of a humanitarian crisis.

### 6.3 DIRECT INFLUENCE

The direct influence of the international media on the development of international law can be found in the meaning newspapers give to the expression and the debate among international lawyers that followed. In relation to the discussion on forming a separate category of 'crime of

ethnic cleansing' in the framework of international law, the media have played a multilayered role. First of all the tactics used in the pursuit of ethnic cleansing and the results of these actions were all mentioned in the media before they were discussed in the United Nations organisations. Likewise, the discussion of similarities between ethnic cleansing and genocide first appeared in newspapers. These discussions found their way to international lawyers, who are still debating the exact meaning of ethnic cleansing in comparison to that of genocide. Indeed, reinterpretation of the crime of genocide has arisen from the use of the term ethnic cleansing. For instance, as mentioned previously, the ICTY concluded recently that genocide can occur in a geographically limited zone - a distinctive feature of ethnic cleansing. However, the debate is still going on and the exact meaning of ethnic cleansing has not yet been set down in legal texts. Hence, the exact outcome of the discussion remains to be seen.

This research is the first content analysis explicitly concentrated on the term ethnic cleansing. It contributes to the discussion of the actual effects media can have on world politics in times of humanitarian crises, by showing the complex relationship between media and world politics. It shows that the statement of the UN secretary Boutros-Ghali, that the media is the 16<sup>th</sup> member of the Security Council is exaggerated. On the contrary, the power of the media is limited. Their influence lies especially in the agenda-setting role they can play. As the title of this thesis suggests, the media can introduce a new expression into international law discourse and even cause a discussion concerning the exact meaning of this new term. The media can set the agenda of world politics and keep an issue on the agenda by constant media exposure. By doing this, the media can force world politics 'to do something', but the actual content of that 'something' is beyond media influence.

#### 6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This research constitutes primary exploration research into the influence of the media on international law in a specific area. As mentioned earlier, it was not possible to integrate television as a medium in this particular research investigation. Research including television coverage mentioning the expression ethnic cleansing may contribute to this field of study by highlighting the role played by television in the evolution of the term.

Another aspect of the evolution of the term ethnic cleansing is the way in which the international media use repetition and creates 'hype' around a new term, thus bringing it into common usage. It is clear that in international media the discussions of ethnic cleansing were primarily concentrated in one month (August 1992). Subsequent to this, the expression appeared in the absence of quotation marks and was used regularly to describe the atrocities taking place in Bosnia and other parts of the world. Research, including both printed and electronic media, concentrating more on the differences between media forms, could show how these debates appeared in several media sources and how their use of the term became correlated and evolved.

The Policy-Media Interaction model is an interesting model to look at media-influences on policies in cases of humanitarian crises. However, this research has shown that this model needs further clarification with respect to the actual interaction between media and policies during humanitarian crises. Further research in this field can contribute to this clarification.

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## Appendix 1. Newspapers and Perpetrators of Ethnic Cleansing

The following tables show the main perpetrators of ethnic cleansing according to the newspapers, the international organisations and the ICTY. These tables are slightly different to the one presented in the actual research. In these tables the supporters of ethnic cleansing are also mentioned, most of them politicians. In the thesis only the actors who actually exercise the act are mentioned. The purpose of the research was to show the ‘issue-ownership’ of the Serbs regarding ethnic cleansing. These tables concentrate on differences between the sources.

	The Times		LA-Times		Le Monde		Totaal	
	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>
Belgrade	2	0.9	4	1.5	12	5.4	18	2.5
Bosnian Croats	4	1.7	1	0.4	1	0.4	6	0.8
Bosnian Serbs	8	3.4	16	6.2	12	5.4	36	5.0
Croats	30	12.9	22	8.5	18	8.0	70	9.8
Fighting Parties	3	1.3	4	1.5	1	0.4	8	1.1
Muslims	5	2.1	7	2.7	1	0.4	13	1.8
Serbs	155	66.5	176	68.0	146	65.2	477	66.6
JNA	1	0.4					1	0.1
Panic	2	0.9	1	0.4	4	1.8	7	1.0
Paramilitia Serbia	5	2.1	16	6.2	5	2.2	26	3.6
Seselj	4	1.7	1	0.4			5	0.7
Cosic					4	1.8	4	0.6
Izetbegovic					1	0.4	1	0.1
Karadzic	4	1.7	2	0.8	2	0.9	8	1.1
Milosevic	3	1.3	3	1.2	13	5.8	19	2.7
Tudjman					3	1.3	3	0.4
Arkan	5	2.1	4	1.5	1	0.4	10	1.4
Mladic	2	0.9	2	0.8			4	0.6
Total	233	100	259	100	224	100	716	100

\* Percentage of the sentencing that mentioned the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing

All three newspapers mention the Serbs as the main culprits. Distinction between Bosnian Serbs and Serbs are made, mostly by the *LA-Times*. *Le Monde* pays most attention to the diplomatic actors behind the scene (especially Belgrade and Milosevic), responsible for the ethnic cleansing campaign. This distinction is also shown looking at the amount of sentences mentioning ethnic cleansing as a policy. In *Le Monde* 45 sentences mention ethnic cleansing as a policy, while the *LA-Times* mentions this in 34 sentences and *The Times* in 23 sentences. Furthermore, the research distinguished military actors from diplomatic actors. Looking at the newspapers *The Times* and the *LA-Times* both mention far more military actors (67%) than *Le Monde* (47%).

## Appendix 2. International Organisations and Perpetrators of Ethnic Cleansing

The following table shows the different perpetrators of ethnic cleansing according to the international organisations.

	General Assembly		Security Council		HR Commission		Third Committee		Special Rapporteur		Totaal	
	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>
Belgrade					4	4.9					4	2.5
Bosnian Croats	1	4.5			11	13.6			2	4.9	14	8.9
Bosnian Govern.					3	3.7					3	1.9
Bosnian Serbs	10	45.5	6	100	15	18.5			10	24.4	41	26.1
Croats					13	16.0			8	19.5	21	13.4
Croatian Serbs	3	13.6			2	2.5					5	3.2
Fighting Parties					1	1.2					1	0.6
Muslims					2	2.5					2	1.3
Serbs	7	31.8			22	27.2	4	57.1	17	41.5	50	31.8
JNA	1	4.5			2	2.5	1	14.3	1	2.4	5	3.2
Mercenaries					2	2.5					2	1.3
Montenegrin							1	14.3			1	0.6
Paramilitia Serbia					4	4.9	1	14.3	3	7.3	8	5.1
Totaal	22	100	6	100	81	100	7	100	41	100	157	100

\* Percentage of the sentencing that mentioned the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing

All organisations focus more on military actors than on diplomatic actors. In 65% of all cases a military actor is mentioned as culprit. Another point of difference in comparison to the newspapers is that the international organisations in total are more specific in their distinction between Serbs and Bosnian Serbs. The Human Rights Commission mentions the most different actors in connection with ethnic cleansing, whereas the Security Council only mentions Bosnian Serbs. Individuals are not mentioned in the documents of international organisations, only the specific groups to which they belong.

### Appendix 3. The ICTY and Perpetrators of Ethnic Cleansing

Although ethnic cleansing is not mentioned in the statute of the ICTY, the expression is used in the indictments and judgements of the court. The following table shows those who are seen as the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing according to these documents.

	Indictments		Judgements		Totaal	
	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>
Belgrade			1	2.9	1	1.7
Bosnian Croats	2	8.7			2	3.4
Bosnian Serbs	3	13.0	6	17.1	9	15.5
Croats			4	11.4	4	6.9
Croatian Serbs			1	2.9	1	1.7
Muslims			2	5.7	2	3.4
Serbs	7	30.4	6	17.1	13	22.4
JNA	1	4.3			1	1.7
Paramilitia Serbia	2	8.7	1	2.9	3	5.2
Milosevic			1	2.9	1	1.7
Simic	2	8.7			2	3.4
Tadic	2	8.7	12	34.3	14	24.1
Zaric	2	8.7			2	3.4
Jelusic			1	2.9	1	1.7
Krstic	1	4.3			1	1.7
Talic	1	4.3			1	1.7
Total	23	100	35	100	58	100

\* Percentage of the sentencing that mentioned the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing

The ICTY mentions diplomatic actors in relation to ethnic cleansing more often than the other international organisations. In 41% of the sentences a diplomatic actor is accused of the crime and in 59% a military actor.

Individuals are explicitly mentioned as culprits in several indictments and judgements. The biggest case using the expression was the Tadic case. Therefore, he is often mentioned as perpetrator of ethnic cleansing.

## Appendix 4. Newspapers and Means to Achieve Ethnic Cleansing

In the research only a few types of methods used to achieve ethnic cleansing are presented. However, in the articles of the newspapers far more methods are mentioned as the following table shows.

	The Times		LA-Times		Le Monde		Total	
	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>
Arbitrary arrest					2	3.6	2	1.1
Beating	1	1.5	2	3.3			3	1.7
Burning houses			2	3.3	3	5.4	5	2.8
Depriving food	4	5.9					4	2.3
Destruction culture	2	2.9	1	1.6	5	8.9	8	4.5
Detention	4	5.9	1	1.6	3	5.4	8	4.5
Discrimination					1	1.8	1	0.6
Driving out	4	5.9	1	1.6			5	2.8
Execution	2	2.9	1	1.6	3	5.4	6	3.4
Expulsion	4	6.6	5	8.2	2	3.6	11	6.2
Harassment	1	1.5			2	3.6	3	1.7
Intimidation			1	1.6	1	1.8	2	1.1
Kidnapping	1	1.5					1	0.6
Killings	7	10.3	16	26.2	5	8.9	28	15.8
Looting	1	1.5					1	0.6
Persecution	1	1.5					1	0.6
Confiscation of property	2	2.9			2	3.6	4	2.3
Rape	7	10.3	11	18.0	4	7.1	22	12.4
Sexual abuse			1	1.6	1	1.8	2	1.1
Shelling civilians	4	5.9	2	3.3	2	3.6	8	4.5
Torture	5	7.4	3	4.9	2	3.6	10	5.6
Extreme violence	2	3.3	4	6.6	3	5.4	9	5.1
Concentration camps			1	1.6	6	10.7	7	4.0
Deportation	3	4.9	2	3.3	5	8.9	10	5.6
Exchange prisoners	2	2.9			2	3.6	4	2.3
Extermination	1	1.5	1	1.6			2	1.1
Forced leaving	2	3.3	2	3.3			4	2.3
Hatred	1	1.5			1	1.8	2	1.1
Propaganda			1	1.6			1	0.6
Slaughter			1	1.6			1	0.6
Threat			1	1.6	1	1.8	2	1.1
Total	61	100	60	100	56	100	185	100

\* Percentage of all sentences mentioning means to achieve ethnic cleansing

In total 31 different methods are mentioned in the newspapers. The table shows the substantial similarities between the newspapers. Also, a lot of synonyms are used to portray the atrocities differently, such as ‘driving out,’ ‘forced leaving,’ and ‘expulsion’ or ‘extermination,’ ‘killings,’ and ‘execution’.

## Appendix 5. International Organisations and Means to Achieve Ethnic Cleansing

The following table shows all the methods used to achieve ethnic cleansing that are mentioned in the documents of the international organisations.

	General Assembly		HR Commission		Special Rapporteur		Total	
	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>
Arbitrary arrest	2	5.0	2	1.6	2	3.0	6	2.6
Beating	2	5.0	1	0.8	2	3.0	5	2.2
Burning houses			2	1.6	1	1.5	3	1.3
Changes streets			1	0.8			1	0.4
Confrontation line			1	0.8			1	0.4
Depriving food			5	4.0	2	3.0	7	3.0
Destruction culture	2	5.0	6	4.8	5	7.6	13	5.6
Detention	2	5.0	8	6.3	3	4.5	13	5.6
Discrimination	1	2.5	5	4.0	2	3.0	8	3.4
Execution			7	5.6	2	3.0	9	3.9
Expulsion			6	4.8	1	1.5	7	3.0
Harassment			6	4.8	5	7.6	11	4.7
HR violation	4	10.0	3	2.4			7	3.0
Human shields			1	0.8			1	0.4
Inhuman treatment	2	5.0					2	0.9
Intimidation	1	2.5	6	4.8	2	3.0	9	3.9
Killings	3	7.5	4	3.2	5	7.6	12	5.2
Looting	1	2.5			1	1.5	2	0.9
Persecution			2	1.6			2	0.9
Confiscation of property			2	1.6	4	6.1	6	2.6
Rape	11	27.5	25	19.8	5	7.6	41	17.7
Replacement opposition			1	0.8	5	7.6	6	2.6
Robbery	1	2.5	1	0.8			2	0.9
Sexual abuse			1	0.8			1	0.4
Shelling civilians			11	8.7	7	10.6	18	7.8
Torture	3	7.5	4	3.2	2	3.0	9	3.9
Violation Int. Law			3	2.4			3	1.3
Extreme violence	2	5.0	3	2.4	3	4.5	8	3.4
Work dismissal			3	2.4			3	1.3
Deportation					1	1.5	1	0.4
Forced leaving	2	5.0	6	4.8	4	6.1	12	5.2
Threat					2	3.0	2	0.9
Total	40	100	126	100	66	100	232	100

\* Percentage of all sentences mentioning means to achieve ethnic cleansing

The international organisations distinguish 32 different methods used to achieve ethnic cleansing. Only the General Assembly, the HR Commission and the Special Rapporteur mention the methods used to achieve ethnic cleansing. They show much similarity with the newspapers in the use of terms. Rape is often mentioned as a methods used in ethnic cleansing. Although the

Special Rapporteur mentioned this fact as the first one in one of his reports, the General Assembly and the HR Commission mention it more often. The HR Commission mentions the most methods and is most specific as well.

## Appendix 6. Newspapers and Results of Ethnic Cleansing

The research showed that the newspapers focused more on the results of ethnic cleansing than on the means used to achieve it. However, the results of the activity of ethnic cleansing are mentioned in the newspapers far less frequently than all the the methods used. This is shown in the following table.

	The Times		LA-Times		Le Monde		Total	
	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>
Deportation	3	3.1			4	5.0	7	2.3
Destruction	4	4.2	1	0.8	1	1.3	6	2.0
Detention centres	9	9.4	3	2.3	4	5.0	16	5.2
Displacements	5	5.2	11	8.5	6	7.5	22	7.2
Driving out	8	8.3	19	14.7	1	1.3	28	9.2
Expulsion	9	9.4	24	18.6	7	8.8	40	13.1
Extermination			1	0.8	1	1.3	2	0.7
Forced evacuation	7	7.3	6	4.7	3	3.8	16	5.2
Killings	5	5.2	9	7.0	2	2.5	16	5.2
Massacres	2	2.1			6	7.5	8	2.6
Missing persons			3	2.3			3	1.0
Refugees	28	29.2	24	18.6	24	30.0	76	24.9
Resettlements			1	0.8			1	0.3
Territorial gain	8	8.3	15	11.6	8	10.0	31	10.2
Torture	8	8.3	9	7.0	11	13.8	28	9.2
Violence			1	0.8	1	1.3	2	0.7
Total	96	100	129	100	80	100	305	100

\* Percentage of all sentences mentioning results of ethnic cleansing

Sixteen different results are distinguished in the newspapers. Refugees are mentioned most often as a consequence of ethnic cleansing, with a mention in almost a quarter of all sentences discussing the results of ethnic cleansing. Expulsion and its synonyms are mentioned often as well as the territorial gain. The *LA-Times* was the newspaper that published the most sentences discussing the consequences of ethnic cleansing.

## Appendix 7. International Organisations and Results of ethnic cleansing

According to the research, the international organisations are more focussed on the means used to achieve ethnic cleansing than on the results of ethnic cleansing. However, they do mention many forms of the results of the crimes, as the following table shows.

	General Assembly		Security Council		HR Commission		Third Committee		Special Rapporteur		Total	
	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>In %*</i>
Beating	1	4.2									1	1.2
Deportation					3	7.7					3	3.7
Destruction	1	4.2			3	7.7	1	25.0			5	6.2
Detention centres	4	17.0			1	2.6					4	6.2
Dislocation					2	5.1					2	2.5
Displacements					8	21.0	2	50.0	2	29.0	12	15.0
Disappearances	1	4.2									1	1.2
Expulsion	2	8.3			1	2.6					3	3.7
Extermination	3	13.0			2	5.1			1	14.0	6	7.4
Forced leaving	2	8.3	2	29.0	4	10.0			1	14.0	9	11.0
Hatred					1	2.6					1	1.2
HR violation	3	13.0			1	2.6			2	29.0	6	7.4
Killing	1	4.2			3	7.7					4	4.9
Missing persons					3	7.7					3	3.7
Refugees	2	8.3			6	15.0					8	9.9
Resettlements							1	25.0			1	1.2
Territorial gain	2	8.3	5	71.0							7	8.6
Torture					1	2.6			1	14.0	2	2.5
Violence	2	8.3									2	2.5
Total	24	100	7	100	39	100	4	100	7	100	81	100

\* Percentage of all sentences mentioning results of ethnic cleansing

All international organisations mention the results of ethnic cleansing, although the Security Council, the Third Committee, and the Special Rapporteur discuss this subject relatively infrequently. The HR Commission mentions the results of ethnic cleansing most often. In contrast to the newspapers, the international organisations do not mention refugees as the main result of ethnic cleansing, but use terms such as ‘displacements’, ‘forced leaving’, and ‘expulsion’. It shows the differences in the presentation of facts between the international organisations and newspapers.

## Summary

This thesis has researched the origins and evolution of the expression ‘ethnic cleansing’, concentrating particularly on the scope of media impact with respect to the consequences of the appearance of a new linguistic term in world politics and international law. The influences of media on the development of international law appear to be two-sided: an indirect influence and a direct influence. The direct influence of the media can be seen in the introduction of a new expression in the discourse of international lawyers, resulting in a discussion about the exact meaning of this new term. The indirect influence of the media reflects the agenda-setting role the media plays and hereby setting the agenda of world politics. Furthermore, the media have an impact on public opinion by creating Serbia as the issue-owner of ethnic cleansing as well as by framing the articles in an extremely shocking way, resulting in a public out-cry to ‘do something’. Looking especially at the Policy-Media Interaction model during humanitarian crises, this research has shown that the media can only trigger intervention through its portrayal of the results of such crises, rather than the causes of it. In short, the influence of the media can specifically be found in the agenda-setting role they play. They can set the agenda of world politics and force politicians to ‘do something’ but they cannot influence the actual substance of this ‘something’.