

# ANNEX A

## LIST OF INTERVIEWS

	Cited as	Institutional affiliation of interviewee	Date of interview	Type of interview
1.	EU 1	DG Enlargement, European Commission	October 2013	Face-to-face
2.	EU_MS 1	Permanent Representation of EU Member State to EU	October 2013	Face-to-face
3.	EU 2	European External Action Service	October 2013	Face-to-face
4.	EU 3	European External Action Service	October 2013	Face-to-face
5.	EU 4	European External Action Service (retired official)	October 2013	Face-to-face
6.	EU_MS 2	Permanent Representation of EU Member State to EU	November 2013	Face-to-face
7.	EP 1	Member of the European Parliament	November 2013	Face-to-face
8.	EU 5	DG Enlargement, European Commission	November 2013	Face-to-face
9.	CS 1	European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) (NGO)	November 2013	Face-to-face
10.	Serbia 1	Mission of the Republic of Serbia to the EU	November 2013	Face-to-face
11.	CS 2	MediatEUr (NGO)	November 2013	Face-to-face
12.	Kosovo 1	Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo in Brussels	November 2013	Face-to-face
13.	EP 2	Member of the European Parliament	November 2013	Via phone
14.	CS 3	Civil Society Organisation, Kosovo	November 2013	Via phone

	Cited as	Institutional affiliation of interviewee	Date of interview	Type of interview
15.	Kosovo 2	Government of Kosovo	May 2015	Face-to-face
16.	CS 4 (2 interviewees)	Civil Society Organisation, Kosovo	May 2015	Face-to-face
17.	EU_MS 3	Embassy/Mission of EU Member State in Kosovo	May 2015	Face-to-face
18.	EU_MS 4	Embassy/Mission of EU Member State in Kosovo	May 2015	Face-to-face
19.	Kosovo 3	Kosovo Government Official	May 2015	Face-to-face
20.	CS 5	Civil Society Organisation, Kosovo	May 2015	Face-to-face
21.	Kosovo 4	Government of Kosovo	May 2015	Face-to-face
22.	Kosovo 5	Government of Kosovo	May 2015	Face-to-face
23.	EU_MS 5	Embassy/Mission of EU Member State in Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
24.	EU 6	European Union Rule of Law Mission Kosovo (EULEX)	June 2015	Face-to-face
25.	EU_MS 6	Embassy/Mission of EU Member State in Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
26.	OSCE	OSCE Mission in Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
27.	UN	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)	June 2015	Face-to-face
28.	EU_MS 7	Embassy/Mission of EU Member State in Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
29.	CS 6	International Crisis Group	June 2015	Face-to-face
30.	Kosovo 6	Member of the Assembly of Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
31.	Kosovo 7	Member of the Assembly of Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
32.	Kosovo 8	Government of Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
33.	EU_MS 8	Embassy/Mission of EU Member State in Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
34.	EU_MS 9	Embassy/Mission of EU Member State in Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
35.	USA	Embassy of the United States in Kosovo	June 2015	Face-to-face
36.	EU_MS 10	Embassy of EU Member State in Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
37.	Serbia 2	Government of Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
38.	CS 7	Civil Society Organisation, Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
39.	EU_MS 11	Embassy of EU Member State in Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
40.	CS 8	University of Belgrade	September 2015	Face-to-face
41.	EU_MS 12	Embassy of EU Member State in Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
42.	EU_MS 13	Embassy of EU Member State in Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
43.	EU_MS 14	Embassy of EU Member State in Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
44.	EU_MS 15	Embassy of EU Member State in Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face

	Cited as	Institutional affiliation of interviewee	Date of interview	Type of interview
45.	Serbia 3	Government of Serbia (retired official)	September 2015	Face-to-face
46.	CS 9	Civil Society Organisation, Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
47.	Serbia 4	Government of Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
48.	Serbia 5	Government of Serbia (retired official)	September 2015	Face-to-face
49.	EU_MS 16	Embassy of EU Member State in Serbia	September 2015	Face-to-face
50.	Montenegro 1	Government of Montenegro (retired official)	September 2015	Face-to-face
51.	EU 6	Delegation of the EU to Montenegro	September 2015	Face-to-face
52.	Montenegro 2	Government of Montenegro	September 2015	Face-to-face
53.	Montenegro 3	Member of the Parliament of Montenegro	September 2015	Written/via e-mail
54.	CS 10	Civil Society Organisation, Montenegro	October 2015	Via phone
55.	EU 7	European External Action Service (retired official)	July 2015	Face-to-face
56.	EP 3	Assistant to Member of the European Parliament	December 2015	Face-to-face
57.	CS 11	MediatEUr (NGO)	December 2015	Face-to-face
58.	EU 8	European External Action Service	December 2015	Face-to-face
59.	EP 4	Secretariat of the European Parliament	December 2015	Face-to-face
60.	EU_MS 17	Permanent Representation of EU Member State to EU	December 2015	Face-to-face
61.	EU_MS 18	Permanent Representation of EU Member State to EU	December 2015	Face-to-face
62.	EU_MS 19	Permanent Representation of EU Member State to EU	December 2015	Face-to-face
63.	EU_MS 20	Permanent Representation of EU Member State to EU	December 2015	Face-to-face
64.	Georgia 1	Embassy of Georgia in Brussels	December 2015	Face-to-face
65.	EU_MS 21	Permanent Representation of EU Member State to EU	December 2015	Face-to-face
66.	EU 9	European External Action Service	December 2015	Face-to-face
67.	Georgia 2	Government of Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
68.	EU_MS 22 (2 interviewees)	Embassy of EU Member State in Georgia Embassy of EU Member State in Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
69.	Georgia 3	Government of Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
70.	EU_MS 23	Embassy of EU Member State in Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
71.	EU_MS 24	Embassy of EU Member State in Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
72.	CS 12	Independent Researcher, Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
73.	EU 10	EU representation in Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
74.	EU_MS 25	Embassy of EU Member State in Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
75.	EU_MS 26	Embassy of EU Member State in Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face

	Cited as	Institutional affiliation of interviewee	Date of interview	Type of interview
76.	EU 11	EU representation in Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
77.	EU 12	EU representation in Georgia	March 2016	Face-to-face
78.	CS 13	Ilia University, Tbilisi	March 2016	Face-to-face
79.	EU 13	General Secretariat of the Council of the EU (retired official)	April 2016	Via phone

# ANNEX B

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

### *Interview Questions*

The questions were not relevant for all respondents. Depending on the interview partner and the specific conflict context, I changed the order of the main categories. In addition, formulations were adapted to specifically address the interview partners' institutional affiliation or background. Responding to the interaction with the interviewees, I also raised additional issues or asked about specific details of information provided by the interview partners, thus following the basic principles of semi-structured interviews. All interview partners were assured that any information gathered from the interview would be anonymised.

### *Initiation of the Mediation Effort*

- How come that the EU has initiated the mediation in the first place?
- What events have led to the initiation of the mediation process?

### *Format and Setting of the Mediation Process*

- To be able to better understand the mediation effort, could you briefly describe the format of the mediation process? (who participates in the mediation process? Are there plenary sessions/working groups, etc.?)
- Is there a concrete agenda for the talks? If so, how has the agenda of the talks been set?
- Are there any ground rules/basic principles for the negotiations?

### *Conflict Settlement*

- From your point of view, what issues have been settled during the mediation process?
- What issues have not been settled/not being addressed by the mediation effort?
- What is the state of implementation of the agreements reached through mediation?

### *Goal-Attainment*

- What is the EU's motivation to mediate between the conflict parties?
- What are the main goals of the EU acting as mediator in these negotiations?
- Has the EU achieved its goals concerning the mediation effort?
- From an EU perspective, what would be a preferred outcome of the mediation?

### *Mediator Leverage*

- What kind of leverage does the EU have towards the parties?
- What resources does the EU possess that could be used to incentivise or coerce the conflict parties towards agreement?
- Has the EU been sufficiently equipped in terms of institutional capacities, funds, and personnel to manage the mediation effort?

### *Mediation Strategy*

- How would you describe the EU's role in the mediation process?
- What tactics have the EU mediators adopted during the mediation process?
- Have EU mediators formulated possible solutions to the conflict issues/have EU mediators drafted agreements?
- In mediation research, we distinguish three ideal types of mediation strategies (briefly describing the core features of facilitation, formulation, manipulation). From your point of view, what ideal type describes best the EU's mediation behaviour?
- Does the EU make progress in the mediation process a condition of the conflict parties' future EU integration?

### *EU Policy Coherence*

- What is the role of the Member States in the context of the mediation effort?
- How does the coordination between the Member States and the High Representative/EEAS/EUSR look like?
- Have individual member states played a specific role in supporting the mediation process?
- Is the EU speaking with a single voice and sending coherent messages concerning the dialogue?
- How is the mediation effort organised on part of EU institutions? (which institutions participate in the management of the mediation process? How does the daily coordination between the different EU institutions on the mediation dossier look like?)

### *Mediator Coordination*

- Could you please describe how the coordination between the EU and the co-mediators looks like? (how often do you meet? Are there collectively defined rules and procedures for the coordination; to what extent do the co-mediators share information among each other?)
- What resources do the other co-mediators bring to the negotiation table? Have these resources been utilised by the other mediators?

- Have there been any tensions between the co-mediators on specific issues or procedures?
- What are specific challenges when it comes to mediator coordination?

### *Conflict Parties' Willingness to Compromise*

- Why did the conflict parties agree to participate in the mediation process?
- What are the conflict parties' goals and interests in the mediation process?
- What are the conflict parties' red lines?
- On what issues are the conflict parties' willing to compromise?
- What concessions have been made by the conflict parties?
- How would you evaluate the conflict parties' negotiation behaviour?

### *Conflict Parties' Internal Cohesiveness*

- How are the EU mediated talks perceived publicly in the respective conflict regions/countries?
- How do domestic political parties position themselves with regard to the mediation effort?
- To what extent does the government have the domestic support of the political parties/public for its negotiation behaviour?
- Are there any spoilers that seek to derail the mediation effort?

### *Concluding Questions*

- What potential lessons could be learnt from this case of EU mediation?
- Do you have any recommendations to whom I could/should also talk?



# INDEX

## A

### Abkhazia

- Abkhaz-Georgian War, 208
- Apsny Press, 184
- Archives without Borders, 183
- Bagapsh, S., 188
- Geneva Process, 174, 187
- refugees/IDPs, 18, 183, 187, 189, 208, 215, 221
- Russian-Abkhaz Treaty on Alliance and Strategic Partnership, 213
- Sukhumi, 175, 182–184, 194, 195, 206

### Agreed conclusions in the Belgrade

- Pristina dialogue
- on acceptance of university diplomas, 117
- on cadastral records, 117, 129
- on civil registry books, 115–117
- on customs stamps, 128, 248
- on integrated border management, 116, 128, 144

## Agreements

- Belgrade Agreement, 5, 17, 56, 58–64, 68, 74, 76–79, 82, 84, 87, 89–92, 94–99, 101, 102, 232, 235, 243, 244
- Brussels Agreement, 120–123, 150, 151, 153, 155, 159, 236, 249
- First Agreement Governing the Normalization of Relations, 18, 119, 120, 136, 232

## B

- Bagapsh, S., 188
- Belgrade Agreement, 5, 56, 58–64, 68, 75, 77, 79–82, 90–94, 96, 98–102, 235, 236
- Belgrade-Pristina dialogue
- association/community of Serb-majority municipalities, 116, 124, 129, 145, 151
- Asterisk Agreement, 148

- Brussels Agreement, 120, 123, 150, 236, 249
  - cadasters, 141, 156
  - civil registry, 115, 117, 141
  - conflict parties' internal cohesiveness, 32, 149, 157, 235
  - conflict parties' willingness to compromise, 32, 129, 156, 157, 234–236
  - conflict settlement, 12, 112, 115, 116, 122, 156, 232, 233, 235, 237, 243
  - customs, 115
  - energy supply issues, 121
  - EU mediation strategy, 236
  - EU policy coherence, 129, 238
  - Freedom of movement, 115–117, 125, 129, 137
  - high-level political dialogue, 113, 116, 119, 126, 127, 133, 141
  - Integrated Border Management, 116, 118
  - International Court of Justice advisory opinion, 111, 138, 149
  - judiciary, 122, 123
  - liaison officers exchange, 116, 120
  - normalisation of relations, 126, 135, 233
  - police integration, 116, 123
  - technical dialogue phase, 113, 114
  - Telecoms Action Plan, 123
  - university diplomas, 115–117, 129, 156
  - Brussels Agreement, 120–123, 150, 151, 153, 155, 159, 236, 249
  - Butmir Process, 5, 19
- C**
- Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)
    - CSDP mission, 7, 10, 195
- Lisbon Treaty, 2
  - Treaty of Amsterdam, 4, 6
  - Conclusions of the chair of the Belgrade-Pristina dialogue
    - Arrangements regarding energy*, 121
    - Arrangements regarding telecommunications*, 121
  - association/community of Serb-Majority municipalities, 120, 124
  - On liaison agreements, 121
- Conflict**
- conflict prevention, 2, 6, 9
  - conflict resolution, 8, 178, 194, 195, 201, 203, 204, 243
  - conflict settlement, 9, 11, 16, 17, 27–29, 31, 34, 36, 40, 46, 59, 62, 64, 79, 80, 91, 92, 97, 99, 115, 119, 122, 124, 147, 156, 178, 185, 190, 191, 195, 196, 199–201, 204, 209, 210, 212, 216, 217, 219, 241–243, 245
  - conflict transformation, 11, 233, 234
- Congruence method, 14
- D**
- Dayton Agreement, 70
  - Djukanovic, M., 54, 55, 71, 72, 75, 77, 85, 86, 90, 91, 93–95, 101, 102
- E**
- Effectiveness
- conflict settlement, 12, 17, 19, 27, 29, 31, 34, 40, 46, 64, 80, 91, 92, 112, 115, 122, 156, 178, 185, 190, 196, 200, 209, 210, 216, 217, 232, 241, 245

- conflict-specific perspective, 27
- EU foreign policy studies, 2, 3, 11, 26, 32, 44, 245
- EU-specific perspective, 27, 29
- goal-attainment, 19, 26, 27, 29–31, 34, 40, 46, 79, 97, 98, 112, 127, 147, 154, 156, 178, 187, 190, 195, 199, 200, 218, 237, 241, 245
- mediation research, 2, 25, 26, 32, 44, 245, 247
- EU enlargement policy
  - accession negotiations, 139
  - candidacy status, 136
  - SAA with Kosovo, 130, 137
  - SAA with Serbia, 130
  - Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), 82, 102, 130, 136, 147
  - Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP), 126, 134, 136
  - visa liberalisation, 147
- EU foreign and security policy
  - Amsterdam Treaty, 4
  - Ashton, C., 111, 114
  - Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), 1, 7
  - Council Secretariat, 57, 74, 81
  - Directorate-General for External Relations (DG RELEX), 81
  - European External Action Service (EEAS), 7, 10, 18, 114, 125, 132, 138, 140–142, 202, 242, 261
  - High Representative of the Union for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, 16
  - Lehne, S., 57, 76, 140, 143
  - Mogherini, F., 6, 18, 114, 122, 137
  - policy coherence, 3, 6, 19, 37, 38, 40, 46, 70, 84, 100, 156, 157, 199, 218, 219, 238
- Policy Unit of the Council Secretariat, 57
- Political and Security Committee, 8, 80, 81, 111, 138, 139, 202, 204, 249
- Solana, J., 4
- Working Party on Eastern Europe and Central Asia (COEST), 202
- Working Party on the Western Balkans Region (COWEB), 80, 81, 139
- EU mediation
  - Belgrade-Pristina dialogue, 2, 5, 6, 18, 32, 109, 112–114, 122, 127, 139, 156, 233, 236, 238, 244, 248, 249
  - Concept on Strengthening EU Mediation and Dialogue Capacities, 2, 6, 11, 247
  - European Parliament Mediation Support Service, 9
  - European Security Strategy (ESS), 6
  - four phases of EU mediation involvement, 3, 181
  - mediation effectiveness, 2, 3, 13, 15, 17, 19, 26, 27, 29–33, 38, 42, 44–46, 64, 70, 73, 79, 84, 96, 97, 99, 100, 124, 129, 131, 154, 156–158, 178, 185, 190, 199, 218, 219, 231, 232, 234–242, 245–247, 250
  - Mediation Support Team, 7, 8
  - Members of the European Parliament, 6
  - Presidency of the Council of the EU, 5, 10
  - Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, 6
- European Commission (EC)
  - Belgrade-Pristina dialogue, 6, 134–136, 248

- DG Enlargement, 114, 141, 159, 255
- Directorate-General for External Relations (DG RELEX), 81
- Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations (DG NEAR), 159
- economic harmonisation, 82, 84, 100
- Montenegro, 16, 67, 68, 70, 71, 78, 81, 82, 84, 101, 102, 244, 248
- Patten, C., 77, 82, 102
- twin-track approach, 82, 84
- European External Action Service (EEAS)
- Boura, A.M., 114
- Cooper, R., 114, 132
- EU Special Representatives, 7, 8
- Gentilini, F., 114
- Mediation Support Team, 7
- Mogherini, F., 18, 113, 242
- European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), 37, 192, 195, 198, 203, 243
- European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI), 191
- European Security Strategy (ESS), 6
- European Union Global Strategy, 9, 247
- EU Special Representatives
- European External Action Service (EEAS), 7, 114
- Klaar, T., 180, 181
- Léfort, P., 180, 181, 190, 197
- Morel, P., 177, 179, 180, 190, 197, 204
- Political and Security Committee, 8, 139
- Salber, H., 180, 181, 187, 197, 198, 206
- Special Representative for the Crisis in Georgia, 177, 179, 204, 205
- Special Representative for the South Caucasus, 18, 178, 202, 204, 220
- F**
- Facilitation-communication, 35
- Formulation, 11, 35–37, 56, 74–76, 78, 131–133, 137, 138, 158, 176, 196, 199, 201, 218–220, 235, 237, 242, 259, 261
- France, 80, 139, 177, 203, 220
- French Council Presidency, 175
- G**
- Geneva International Discussions (GID)
- box tree moth, 184, 190, 206, 248, 249
- conflict settlement, 12, 16, 178, 181, 185, 190, 195, 199, 217, 219, 232–234, 237, 243, 245
- EU mediation effectiveness, 2, 199, 217, 219, 236–238, 245
- EU mediation goals, 233
- EU mediation strategy, 199, 242, 248
- EU mediator coordination, 40, 178, 207–209, 238
- EU mediator leverage, 218
- EU policy coherence, 40, 201
- EU Special Representative for the Crisis in Georgia, 177, 204
- EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus and the Crisis in Georgia, 18
- Implementing Measures, 176, 177, 185–187

- Incident Prevention and Response Mechanisms (IPRMS), 181, 182, 184, 189, 195, 201, 208, 216, 217, 232, 243
- Karasin, G., 211, 213
- mediation format, 179, 188
- non-use of force, 18, 178, 181, 182, 184, 187, 190, 213, 215, 218, 236
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 181, 208
- prisoner swap, 184
- refugees/IDPs, 18, 176, 178, 181, 183, 184, 187, 190, 208, 218
- Sarkozy, N., 12, 176, 185
- Six-Point Plan, 176, 177, 179, 185–187, 211
- Georgia
- Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement, 192
  - EU Monitoring Mission, 177
  - European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), 192, 195, 198, 203, 243
  - Five-Day War, 175, 179, 212
  - Geneva International Discussions (GID), 6, 12, 177, 180, 182, 210, 220
  - Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, 174, 180, 183, 184, 188, 196
  - Georgian Dream, 211, 217
  - Georgian-Ossetian conflict, 174, 179
  - International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, 175
  - Ivanishvili, B., 211
  - OSCE Monitoring Mission in Georgia, 195
  - Saakashvili, M., 174–176, 182, 212
  - Shevardnadze, E., 174, 179
- United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), 174, 179, 195, 208
- I**
- Incident Prevention and Response Mechanisms (IPRMS), 182, 198, 209, 219
- IPRM Ergneti, 181, 182
- IPRM Gali, 181, 182, 185, 189, 221, 243
- International Court of Justice (ICJ), 18, 111, 113, 119, 138, 148
- advisory opinion on Kosovo’s unilateral declaration of independence, 138
- Interviews
- interview Questionnaire, 16, 259
  - semi-structured interviews, 14–16, 259
  - triangulation, 31
- J**
- Joint Control Commission, 174, 185
- Joint Peacekeeping Force, 174
- K**
- Kosovo
- Ahtisaari, M., 110, 113, 146
  - Belgrade-Pristina dialogue, 2, 5, 18, 32, 109, 112, 113, 115, 117, 120, 123, 127, 128, 130, 135–137, 139, 145, 148–150, 156, 236, 243, 244, 249
  - Comprehensive Proposal for Kosovo Status settlement, 146, 147

- European Union Rule of Law  
Mission in Kosovo (EULEX),  
111, 113, 115, 118, 132, 134,  
142
- Kosovo Liberation Army, 110, 154
- Kosovo Status Talks, 111, 113, 152,  
158
- North Kosovo, 112, 118–129, 138,  
140, 143, 144, 148–150, 155,  
156, 160, 232, 233, 236
- ‘standards before status’ policy, 66,  
110
- unilateral declaration of independ-  
ence, 18, 109, 110, 125, 143,  
145, 147
- L**
- Lehne, S., 57, 76, 140, 143
- Léotard, Francois, 4
- M**
- Mediation
- conflict settlement, 9, 11, 16,  
27–29, 31, 36, 40, 46, 62, 80,  
91, 92, 112, 115, 124, 156,  
178, 190, 195, 199, 201, 204,  
210, 216, 218, 233–235, 237,  
246
  - definition of EU mediation, 10, 11
  - definition of mediation, 11, 26
  - mediation effectiveness, 3, 13, 26,  
29, 33, 38, 40, 41, 45, 46, 79,  
84, 131, 206, 207, 210
  - mediation research, 2, 25, 26, 32,  
36, 40, 44, 245, 247, 261
  - mediation strategy, 3, 19, 32,  
34–37, 47, 70, 73, 80, 99, 101,  
129, 131, 156, 157, 178, 196,  
200, 218, 219, 234, 235, 237,  
241, 242, 246, 248
  - mediation success, 19, 26, 47, 157
  - mediation support, 5, 247
  - mediator coordination, 3, 19, 32,  
39, 40, 46, 178, 207, 209,  
210, 218, 219, 235, 238, 239,  
262
  - mediator leverage, 3, 19, 32, 34, 40,  
46, 47, 70, 99, 100, 129, 157,  
210, 218, 219, 235, 238
- Mediation research
- Beardsley, K., 25, 36
  - Bercovitch, J., 10, 26, 35, 41, 47,  
48, 196, 246
  - conditions of mediation effective-  
ness, 80
  - Kleiboer, M., 33, 45
  - mediation effectiveness, 2, 25, 26,  
32, 44, 245, 246
  - mediation success, 26
  - research gaps, 13
- Mediation strategy
- coercive measures, 36, 195, 242
  - facilitation, 35–37, 73, 74, 131,  
133, 196, 219, 235, 261
  - formulation, 35–37, 56, 131, 132,  
196, 199, 218, 219, 237, 242
  - incentives, 3, 36, 73, 99, 134, 195,  
199, 235, 236
  - leverage, 19, 32, 36, 47, 70, 73,  
100, 129, 131, 134, 137, 156,  
157, 178, 196, 199, 218, 219,  
237, 238, 242, 247, 248
  - manipulation, 35–37, 56, 73, 99,  
101, 112, 131, 132, 134, 137,  
196, 235–238, 240, 242
  - Zone of agreement, 34, 234
- Mediator
- coordination, 3, 7, 19, 32, 35, 39,  
40, 46, 178, 206, 207, 209,  
210, 218, 219, 235, 238, 239,  
261, 262
  - leverage, 3, 7, 19, 32–34, 36, 40,  
46, 47, 70, 99, 100, 129, 156,  
157, 178, 195, 196, 200, 201,

- 207, 210, 218–220, 235, 238,  
247, 260
- Medvedev, D., 176
- Milosevic, S., 54, 55, 61, 71, 72, 88,  
93, 110, 113
- Mogherini, F.  
Belgrade-Pristina dialogue, 6, 18,  
115, 122, 137
- Geneva International Discussions  
(GID), 6
- Iran, 6
- Montenegro  
Belgrade Agreement, 5, 17, 56,  
58–62, 64, 74, 76–78, 87, 89,  
91, 93, 95–100, 232, 235, 243,  
244
- Constitutional Charter, 18, 56, 58,  
60–64, 67, 68, 75, 77, 79, 87,  
89, 93, 96, 98–100, 232
- Djukanovic, 54, 55, 61, 71, 73, 75,  
85, 86, 91, 93, 94
- Lajcak, M., 59, 67, 69, 76, 78,  
84
- referendum, 17, 18, 53, 55, 56,  
58–60, 63–65, 67–70, 74, 76,  
78, 79, 85–87, 90–92, 94–101,  
232, 233, 235, 239, 243, 251
- referendum rules, 59, 63, 64,  
76
- Solana, J., 4, 17, 56–59, 66, 74–79,  
81–83, 86, 100, 233
- Movement for Self-Determination  
(LVV), 152–154
- N**
- Nobel Peace Prize, 1
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
(NATO), 4, 54, 110, 113
- KFOR, 110
- Kosovo bombing campaign, 54
- Norwegian Nobel Committee, 1
- P**
- Pardew, J., 4
- Plausibility probe, 246  
analytical framework, 246
- Eckstein, H., 15
- Process tracing  
Beach, D. and Pedersen, R.B., 15
- hypotheses, 14, 15, 46
- mechanisms, 14, 15
- theory-testing process tracing, 15
- triangulation, 15
- R**
- Russia  
Medvedev, D., 176
- Russian support for Abkhazia and  
South Ossetia, 14, 173, 176,  
179, 193–195, 203, 210–212,  
215, 217, 236, 242
- Russian troops deployments in  
Abkhazia and South Ossetia,  
176, 212, 213
- Russia's stance on the non-use of  
force, 183, 212, 215
- Russia's willingness to compromise  
in the GID, 206
- S**
- Saakashvili, M., 179
- Serbia  
Bosnian Serbs, 4
- Djindjic, Zoran, 55, 57, 72, 76, 88,  
89, 91, 98
- EU membership prospect, 89, 234
- European integration, 131
- Kosovo Serbs, 144, 150, 151, 155,  
160, 239
- Kosovo war, 54
- Kostunica, Vojislav, 55, 149
- Milosevic, 54

- Nikolic, T., 149  
 Tadic, B., 143  
 Vucic, A., 122
- South Ossetia  
 borderisation, 189  
 Five-Day War, 175, 212  
 Georgian-South Ossetian conflict, 174, 212  
 Russian-South Ossetian Treaty on Alliance and Integration, 213  
 Russian troops, 175, 176, 212, 213  
 Tskhinvali, 175, 182, 183, 194, 206
- T**  
 Tadic, B., 89, 143, 149, 150  
 Timoshenko, Y., 9
- U**  
 United Nations (UN)  
 Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 181, 182, 208  
 UN General Assembly, 111–113, 134, 183, 208, 221  
 UN General Assembly resolution 64/298, 113, 134  
 United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), 174, 195, 208  
 UN Mediation Support Unit, 8  
 UN Special Envoy, 110, 113, 146, 181
- V**  
 Vance, C., 4
- Y**  
 Yanukovych, Viktor, 5  
 Yugoslavia, 3, 4, 75, 80, 88  
 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 17, 54, 56, 58, 59, 63–66, 70–72, 83, 85, 89, 93, 94, 97, 101, 110, 232, 234  
 Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 4, 53, 70, 109  
 Yugoslav People's Army, 4  
 Yushchenko, Viktor, 5
- Z**  
 Zone of agreement (ZOA), 34–36, 42, 43, 90, 98, 148, 157, 178, 195, 200, 215, 216, 218, 219, 234–237