

## Analysis Of Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Conflict

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### Abstract

*The Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict in 1992 was a war that had its roots in the ethnic conflict (1992–1995) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a former Yugoslav Republic with a multiethnic population consisting of Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), Serbs, and Croats. The Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict was a Non-International Armed Conflict (NIAC) which turned into an International Armed Conflict (IAC). Factors causing conflict include ethnic and religious differences, the death of President Josip Broz Tito, the political policies of President Slobodan Milosevic, strategic areas, competition for natural and industrial resources, recognition of independence by the European Community and international organizations, and the economic crisis. International organizations that participated in ending the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict include the UN, UNPROFOR, NATO, IFOR, SFOR, NAC, SHAPE, COMARCC, OIC, and NAM. After years of fierce fighting involving the three groups, Western countries, with the support of NATO, implemented a final ceasefire negotiated in Dayton, Ohio, USA, in 1995. This research uses qualitative research methods. Data presentation is carried out descriptively based on a comprehensive literature study from books, journals, and news to examine an event that has occurred objectively using existing theoretical approaches.*

**Keywords:** *Bosnia and Herzegovina, International Armed Conflict, Non-International Armed Conflict, Analysis Conflict*

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## INTRODUCTION

The emergence of conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be separated from the disintegration process in Yugoslavia. As is known, Bosnia is one of several small countries that emerged from the breakup of Yugoslavia. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia split in 1991–1992, into the Republic of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro. On April 6, 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized as an independent country by the European Community, while its Independence Day was March 1, 1992, when it became independent from Yugoslavia. The government system used is parliamentary democracy. The country's capital and central government city are located in Sarajevo. Bosnia-Herzegovina consists of an alliance of two main regions, namely the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country's name consists of two words, namely Bosnia and Herzegovina. The word "Bosnia" is taken from the name of the river, namely the Bosnia River. While, "Herzegovina" is named for Herzeg Steveno Kasic, the name of the ruler of this region in the 15th century.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is located in the middle of the Balkan Peninsula in southeastern Europe. The Balkans are a peninsula on the European continent that is the boundary between West and East. The Balkan Peninsula is also the road from Central Europe and Eastern Europe to the Mediterranean Sea, which is a stepping stone for Europe to the Middle East, which is why the Balkans are important for European countries. The Balkan countries include Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and parts of Turkey (Constantinople and surrounding areas).

This position allows Bosnia-Herzegovina to be inhabited by various ethnicities, religions, and cultures. The three main ethnic groups inhabiting Bosnia-Herzegovina are Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Serbs. Likewise, its strategic location meant that the large

kingdoms around Bosnia-Herzegovina constantly fought for power and competed to establish hegemony, including the Ottoman Turkish dynasty.

The expansion of European territory by the Ottoman Turkish dynasty was marked by the conquest of the Balkan region. The Ottoman Turks began to establish power in the Balkans in 1453. The Ottoman Turks succeeded in controlling the territories of Greece, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Albania. The Ottoman Turks controlled Bosnia-Herzegovina for more than four centuries and only ended in 1878 after Serbia, assisted by the forces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, succeeded in defeating the Ottoman Turks. Bosnia-Herzegovina was then taken over by the Austro-Hungarian Empire and became part of that kingdom until 1918. After World War I, Bosnia-Herzegovina became part of a Serbian-controlled kingdom until 1929 and also part of a Serbian-dominated federation until 1929. 1992 (Sumartini, 2014).

The majority of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina is Muslim, reaching 45% of the total population of Bosnia-Herzegovina. About 31% of Orthodox Christians are of Serbian ethnic descent. The remaining 18% of Catholics are descendants of ethnic Croats who once lived under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict was triggered by the desire of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina to become independent from Serbian territory. Bosnia-Herzegovina, under the leadership of Ali Izzer Begovic, declared independence on March 1, 1992. This independence was a domino effect of the release of countries allied with Yugoslavia after the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, such as Slovenia and Croatia. Politically, the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina was driven by injustice in the government, which was controlled by ethnic Bosnian Serbs (an ethnic minority who nevertheless had power). Bosnia-Herzegovina also received international recognition and became a member of the United Nations (UN) on May 22, 1992 (Grant, 2009, p. 226).

This independence was opposed by the Serbian people, who still wanted Bosnia to remain within Serbian territory. In the referendum, almost no Serbs voted. Apart from wanting to maintain the unity of the territories that were previously part of Yugoslavia, this opposition was based on the existence of natural resources owned by Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Radovan Karadzic from the Bosnian Serbs, who coordinated with Slobodan Milosevic from Serbia, then cornered the position of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina until they were helpless. Seeing the weak protection that ethnic Muslims have, ethnic Croats who previously supported the formation of a Croatian Muslim federation no longer support this idea. Ethnic Croats argue that working together with ethnic Muslims will only bring losses if they are excluded (Astrid & Nadif, 2011).

The conflict also developed into an ethnic conflict. The conflict escalated when Serbia heavily bombarded the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo, and other cities after Bosnia-Herzegovina proclaimed independence in April 1992. Attacking the countries of the former Yugoslavia became an option for Serbia when the federation could no longer be maintained.

The large number of ethnic Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the territory occupied will be enough for Serbia to realize its ambition of rebuilding Greater Serbia by incorporating it into the remaining former Yugoslav federation. Bosnia-Herzegovina's weak defense, coupled with Serbia's revenge against Bosnia-Herzegovina's ethnic Muslims, made Serbia attack Bosnia-Herzegovina blindly. Bosnia-Herzegovina experienced torture and ethnic cleansing due to its condition as Muslims who were a product of Ottoman Turkish rule.

Bosnia-Herzegovina guerrillas were captured and tortured in camps. Women also became victims of planning in this conflict. Data states that the victims of this conflict reached 200,000 people. This conflict has not subsided, even though in early 1993 the UN peacekeeping force, consisting of soldiers from the United States, Britain, and France, carried out the Peacekeeping Operation (UN-PKO). (Siska Amelia, 2014).

Serbia was only willing to comply with the UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) after intensive air strikes by NATO. Along with the air attack, marathon negotiations were held in Geneva, New York, and Dayton. Finally, this conflict could be stopped by forming a federation of third parties through the Dayton Agreement, which was agreed on November 21, 1995, in Dayton, Ohio. During the Bosnia-Herzegovina War, around 100,000 (one hundred thousand) people died, and more than 2.2 million people were left homeless. Data from the Ministry of Interior of Bosnia-Herzegovina shows that there are 50,000 (fifty thousand) Bosnian-Herzegovina women who were raped, while the European Union and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) respectively stated that there are 20,000 (twenty thousand) and 12,000 (twelve thousand) Bosnian-Herzegovina women who were raped.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a qualitative descriptive method, namely a philosophy-based method, to examine the state of the research object, with the researcher as the main instrument (Sugiyono, 2013). The aim is to provide analytical explanations by explaining, recording, analyzing, and interpreting matters relating to the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict.

The type of data that will be used by the author is secondary data. Secondary data can be obtained from indirect sources in the form of books, journals, papers, newspapers, articles, the internet, or other references related to the problems discussed. The data collection technique that will be carried out is library research, namely collecting a number of pieces of literature from various sources that are related to the problem being discussed. The literature is in the form of books, documents, journals, magazines, newspapers, and internet sites that are valid or certain.

The writing method used by the author is a deductive method, namely that the author tries to describe in general the problem being studied, and then draws specific conclusions. The author will explain in general about the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict and explain the sources of the conflict, conflict actors, and conflict resolution. Then the author will conduct a discussion to draw conclusions.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Conflict Analysis

#### Types of Conflict

There are two types of armed conflict: International Armed Conflict (hereinafter abbreviated to IAC) and Non-International Armed Conflict (hereinafter abbreviated to NIAC). Based on the parties involved in the armed conflict, IAC itself is divided into two types: pure IAC, which occurs between two or more countries, and pseudo-IAC, where the parties are non-state parties. Meanwhile, for NIAC, the parties to the conflict are the legitimate government armed forces and organized armed groups. The Geneva Convention I of 1949 states that the definition of IAC is the same as war between countries, where the subject of the conflict is the state (DCAF & Geneva Call, 2015). Meanwhile, NIAC is an armed conflict where the conflict is in an area involving state armed forces and rebel groups.

Ralf Dahrendorf said that conflict can be divided into four types, namely as follows: (1) Conflict between or that occurs within social roles, or what is usually called role conflict Role conflict is a situation where individuals face conflicting expectations from the various roles they have. (2) Conflict between social groups (3) Conflict between organized and unorganized groups

(4) Conflicts between national units, such as between political parties, between countries, or international organizations.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict is a local conflict between the indigenous people of Bosnia-Herzegovina who want full independence for the country of Bosnia-Herzegovina in accordance with the referendum held by the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, this was then strongly opposed by ethnic Serbs. So this conflict then became an inter-ethnic conflict, namely between the Serbian ethnic group and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian ethnic group, which indeed had many differences, especially regarding beliefs. This conflict then grew bigger considering that there were efforts by ethnic Serbs supported by the army and their president to carry out ethnic cleansing against the ethnic people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Based on the explanation above, the type of conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina was an NIAC-to-IAC conflict. It can be said that the NIAC conflict occurred at a time when there was no recognition by the European Community of the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina on April 6, 1992. This was because at that time, Bosnia-Herzegovina was still part of the territory of Yugoslavia, which was still the same country as Serbia and Croatia. Then, there was a split due to the civil war due to ethnic and religious differences in Yugoslavia, which then became three parts, namely ethnic Bosnians who were Muslims, ethnic Croats who were Catholics, and ethnic Serbs who were Orthodox Christians.

After that, the conflict turned into IAC because the civil war caused each ethnic group and religion to liberate themselves as countries, namely the country of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the country of Croatia, and the country of Slovenia, which have been recognized by the international community (the European Community, the United States, and other countries) as independent and sovereign countries. Meanwhile, Serbia formed the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia on April 27, 1992, with Montenegro but did not receive international recognition like the other breakaway regions of Yugoslavia. Therefore, the conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina turned into an IAC because of elements of intervention from external countries, namely Serbia and Croatia. At this time, Serbia had become a country called the Republic of Serbia.

### **Source of Conflict**

There are several sources of conflict in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, namely as follows:

#### **1. Ethnic and Religious Differences**

Yugoslavia is one of the most multi-religious and multi-ethnic countries because no religion or ethnicity forms an absolute majority. There were 3 (three) largest ethnicities at that time in Yugoslavia (before it broke apart) namely Bosniaks (Ethnic Bosnians who were generally Moslem), Serbs (Ethnic Serbs), and Croats (Ethnic Croats). Meanwhile, in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself there are also several ethnicities, the Central Bureau of Statistics of Bosnia-Herzegovina based on the 1991 census estimates religious affiliation as follows: Bosnia and Albania are 48% Muslim, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro are 34% Orthodox Christian, Slovenia and Croatia is around 17% Catholic Christians, and other ethnicities, around 1% are Protestant Christian, Jewish, Atheist, and so on.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is also known as the place where "East meets West", namely the Ancient Roman Empire, which split into the Catholic Christian Western Roman Empire and the Orthodox Christian Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire. Apart from these two influences, at the end of the 13th century, Islamic influence was brought by the Ottoman Turkish dynasty, which succeeded in controlling the Balkan Peninsula after defeating Serbia in the battle in Kosovo and spreading Islam in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Ottoman Turks' long rule in Bosnia-Herzegovina had a lot of impact on the lives of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Ottoman Turks treated the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina well, so this actually made the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina convert to Islam voluntarily. The people of Bosnia-Herzegovina who were willing to convert to

Islam were favored by the Ottoman Turkish rulers, causing jealousy among the ethnic Serbs who were Orthodox Christians.

The jealousy grew bigger until it turned into deep-rooted hatred. Serbia always tried to expel the Ottoman Turks from the Bosnia-Herzegovina region by carrying out various rebellions. Serbia absolutely does not want to be compared to the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina because they feel superior. This is what gave rise to the term "ethnic Bosnian Muslims" to differentiate between Serbian Orthodox Christians and Croatian Catholic Christians as well as Muslims. Serbia also gave the name "Atrak" to the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which means Ottoman Turks. In fact, the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina are descendants of ethnic Serbs and ethnic Croats who chose to embrace Islam.

Ethnic and religious differences are the main factors causing the armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not only caused by inter-ethnic conflict but also by prolonged inter-religious conflict. Apart from that, Serbia's past revenge against the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina was also the cause of armed conflict because the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina helped the Ottoman Turks control the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, the main source of armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is ethnic and religious differences (especially between ethnic Serbs and ethnic Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina). Apart from that, historical factors were also the cause of hatred between ethnic Serbs and ethnic Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the Ottoman-Turkish occupation.

## 2. Death of President Josip Broz Tito

Starting from the first President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, who tried to rebuild the country's brotherhood under the banner of communism, which became known as "Unity and Fraternity". This term became a doctrine for the development of inter-ethnic harmony in the Yugoslav region (Syamsul Hadi, 1997:31). President Josip Broz Tito tried to form a strong (centralistic) central government, but each state was given the freedom to organize its own government. This aims to create a balance of power between states.

One-party political policies and a centralized economic system received protests from the states of Slovenia and Croatia. This is because Slovenia and Croatia are the richest states compared to other states. Both states felt exploited by the Yugoslav central government. To overcome this, a new constitution was formed in 1974, which was a compromise between the central government and state governments with decentralization of power. Therefore, the central government only holds power in the fields of defense, economics, and foreign relations, while other matters are left to the states.

After President Josip Broz Tito died in May 1980, Yugoslavia faced serious economic problems, weakening the central government. The authority of the central government also decreased because the presidency was regulated on a rotating basis by the states. Therefore, there is no national figure who is strong enough and able to overcome domestic problems, so each country then struggles for power. Thus, the death of Josip Broz Tito also became one of the sources of the emergence of armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Yugoslavia no longer had a unifying figure.

## 3. Political Policy of President Slobodan Milosevic

Nine years after the death of President Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia was led by Slobodan Milosevic, who was elected through an inter-state presidential rotation system and also came from Serbian ethnicity. The emergence of the nationalist leader of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, at the helm of the Yugoslav Federal Government also marked the emergence of Serbian nationalism. For other ethnic groups, this was seen as a threat, given Serbia's ambition to create a 'Greater Serbia'. This is done by creating a policy of eliminating the practice of presidential rotation between state representatives and replacing it with a national-scale presidential election system that every individual can participate in. If implemented, this

will make it easier for ethnic Serb candidates to win elections easily because Serbs are the ethnic group with the largest population in Yugoslavia.

Slobodan Milosevic's wishes received strong protests from other countries. The impact of dissatisfaction with the policies of the central government led by the Slobodan Milosevic regime was that Yugoslavia experienced disintegration. It started in 1991, when Slovenia and Croatia decided to separate from Yugoslavia and establish their own countries. The independence of Slovenia and Croatia was then followed by the country of Bosnia-Herzegovina holding an independence referendum in 1992. However, the central government, which does not want to lose any more territory, considers the referendum held in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be invalid. The Yugoslav central government then armed the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and sent the Yugoslav National Army or Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija (JNA) to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Based on this, it can be understood that the political policies issued by Slobodan Milosevic's government tended to benefit Serbia, giving rise to dissatisfaction from other ethnicities, which resulted in the countries wanting to separate from Yugoslavia.

#### 4. Strategic Area, Natural Resources, and Many Industrial Factories

When Bosnia-Herzegovina was still part of Yugoslavia, it was a vital region because it was located in the middle of Yugoslavia. To the north, it borders Croatia; to the south, it borders Montenegro; to the west, it borders Croatia; and to the east, it borders Serbia. Not only does it have a strategic location, but it also has natural resources in the form of coal, iron ore, antimony, bauxite, copper, lead, zinc, chromite, cobalt, manganese, nickel, clay, gypsum, salt, sand, wood, and hydropower (CIA GOV, 2022).

Apart from strategic areas and natural resources, Bosnia-Herzegovina also has many industrial factories, especially weapons industries, which are located in the country's regions. The large number of factories in the Bosnia-Herzegovina region cannot be separated from the role of President Josip Broz Tito. President Josip Broz Tito built factories in the Bosnia-Herzegovina region during the Cold War with the aim of anticipating that one day his country would be invaded by an Eastern Bloc member country, so President Josip Broz Tito ordered the construction of a large weapons arsenal in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Industrial factories in Bosnia-Herzegovina are as follows: (1) Artillery and Mortar Weapons Factory in Novi Travnik, (2) Tank/armored vehicle factory in Bosanski Brod, Oil Refinery in Slavonski Brod, (3) Aluminum and Aircraft Factory Flying in Mostar, (4) Chemical Factories in Sabac and Tuzla, (5) Small Arms Factory "Pretis" in Vogasca (near Sarajevo), (6) Weapons and Ammunition Factory "Igman" in Konjic, (7) Chemical Factory, Machinery, Mines, Coal and Lignite Mines in Tuzla, (8) Iron and Steel Factory in Zenica, (9) Rocket Oil, Explosives, Gunpowder Factory in Vitez, (10) Ammunition Factory in Gorazde, (11) Battery Factory in Luskovac, (12) Military Equipment Factory in Foca and Capljina and others. The city where the factories and mining areas are located above is generally under the control of ethnic Muslims and ethnic Croats, so at that time it was an area of power struggle (trouble spot).

Seeing the strategic area, the wealth of natural resources, and many industrial factories located in cities in the Bosnia-Herzegovina region, it is clear that the Yugoslav central government does not want to lose the Bosnia-Herzegovina region. Thus, the armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is one of the armed conflicts that took a long time to resolve. The desire to own natural resources is one of the sources of conflict and the cause of the long-armed conflict in the Bosnia-Herzegovina region. Which is then protected by the UN, namely the United Nations Protection and Force (hereinafter abbreviated to UNPROFOR) to prevent the destruction of these crisis areas.

#### 5. Recognition of an Independent State by the European and International Community

The European Community group, which had been involved in the disintegration process of the former Yugoslavia in the face of the Slovenian and Croatian movements proclaiming their independence, intervened again by advising Slovenia and Croatia to suspend their independence and not take any steps for three months as a reaction to the decision to proclaim independence. The attitude of European Community received a strong reaction from the Serbian bloc and rejected suggestions from the European Community because it was considered to threaten the outbreak of civil war because no agreement would be reached during the postponement period. On the other hand, Croatia and Slovenia continue to press for international recognition, especially from the European Community.

Meanwhile, the European Community established an Arbitration Commission to examine the feasibility of the wishes of the former Yugoslav Republics to gain recognition. The results of the research were determined to have reached the desk of the Chair of the European Community no later than January 15, 1992, but before the Arbitration Commission had completed its work on December 23, 1991, Germany suddenly declared its recognition of Slovenia and Croatia as sovereign and independent countries. Germany's earlier recognition was eventually followed by other European countries and countries sympathetic to the Republic's democratization process in other parts of the world.

On January 15, 1992, the results of the work of the European Community Arbitration Commission stated that Slovenia and Macedonia had met the requirements for recognition, Croatia had not met the requirements before changing its Constitution governing its ethnic minorities, while Bosnia and Herzegovina would receive recognition after holding a referendum in its territory. In contrast to the work of the European Community Arbitration Commission, which stated that Slovenia and Macedonia were eligible for recognition, it turns out that Slovenia and Croatia were immediately recognized by European Community countries, while Macedonia was actually postponed due to Greek protests over the use of the name Macedonia as the name of the country.

Subsequent international political developments have encouraged other countries to recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. The peak of foreign countries' recognition of Croatia and Slovenia was the United States' recognition of Slovenia and Croatia on April 6, 1992, which also encouraged countries and international institutions to recognize Croatia and Slovenia.

#### 6. Economy Crisis

The economic crisis that hit Yugoslavia in the 1980s was a consequence of Yugoslavia's past. When President Josip Broz Tito came to power, he implemented a market economic system, or self-managed economic system, which generally develops in liberal countries. The situation was even more complicated for ethnic Serbs because sanctions imposed by the UN on Yugoslavia had plunged Yugoslavia into an economic crisis.

#### **Actors of Conflict**

Conflict actors are divided into 2 (two), namely State Actor (SA) and Non-State Actor (NSA). An NSA is defined as any organized group with a basic command structure operating outside the control of the state that uses force to achieve political or alleged political objectives (Geneva: Geneva Call and The PSIO, 2007). Such actors include 'rebel groups' and governments of entities that are not (or are not widely) recognized as states. Non-State Actors can include corporations, media organizations, businesses, popular liberation movements, lobby groups, religious groups, aid agencies, and violent non-state actors such as paramilitary forces.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict is a conflict that involves several parties, both international and national because this war is an accumulation of previous conflicts. During the war between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats in 1992, the first parties involved were Bosnian

Serbs and Bosnian Croats, then the war broke out between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, then over time the Bosnian Croats formed a coalition with Bosnian Muslims to fight the Bosnian Serbs. This is because the Muslim-Croatian side received assistance from the regular army of the Republic of Croatia which is estimated at around 40,000 people and foreign troops.

Until the formation of a federation of Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats based on an initiative from the United States in March 1994. Although ethnic Muslims and Croats have formed a coalition, in principle the two groups have different interests in the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The alliance of Bosnian Muslims with Bosnian Croats only sought to achieve their respective goals. Bosnian Croats have aspirations to unite Bosnia and Herzegovina with Croatia or to separate areas where there are ethnic Bosnian Croats and then join the Republic of Croatia. Then there was UN and NATO intervention in resolving the conflict that occurred.

Based on this, the conflict actors that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina between the Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats can be categorized from Non-State Actors (NSA) to State Actors (SA). This is because these three ethnic groups have declared their independence as a result of the split of Yugoslavia, where each of them inhabited the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia. The emergence of the nationalist leader of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, at the helm of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia also marked the emergence of Serbian nationalism to become the ruling leader in the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina region.

The NSA in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict included ethnic Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, then there was the International Organization namely the European Community (ME) which played a role in recognizing the sovereignty and independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the UN (United Nations), NATO (Atlantic Defense Pact North), OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference), ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross), UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees), and International Mass Media. Meanwhile, SA in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict is the State of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the State of Croatia, the State of Serbia, Turkey and the United States.

### **Military/Non-military Intervention in Armed Conflict**

The term intervention is defined as an activity carried out by a country, a group within a country, or an international organization that forcibly interferes in the internal affairs of another country. Intervention is an action carried out intentionally by a country, a group of countries, or an international agent against the policies or practices of another country or group of countries where the country or group of countries subject to the action does not agree (Coady, 2002). Intervention is the intervention of a country into the internal problems of another country with the aim of maintaining or changing the existing situation.

There are two types of intervention: Military Intervention and Humanitarian Intervention. Military Intervention does not necessarily involve humanitarian (non-military) issues, but Humanitarian Intervention is often preceded by Military Intervention. Humanitarian intervention is also distinguished from humanitarian action.

Military intervention is where a country, group within a country, or an international organization uses coercive methods with military force to punish other countries because they are considered to be endangering international security without being accompanied by humanitarian relief. Here, the emphasis on military intervention is only on the methods adopted, not the goals to be achieved.

Humanitarian Intervention in general is an effort to prevent or stop serious violations of Human Rights by certain forces (diplomatic and military) in a country, either with or without the country's consent (the country is experiencing internal conflict). When a humanitarian problem occurs in a country that constitutes a serious violation of human rights, the international community is justified in taking intervention. It can be concluded that Humanitarian Intervention contains 3 (three) main elements: the use of military force (method), stopping violations of

human rights (objective), and being carried out without the permission of the country concerned (procedure).

If Humanitarian Intervention often uses coercive methods, then Humanitarian Action uses non-coercive or non-violent methods. Humanitarian Operations is a term used by humanitarian workers and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for actions that are altruistic, non-political, and concerned with the benefit of the people. Humanitarian operations are usually carried out by international NGOs such as UNHCR, ICRC, and so on. However, the State is sometimes also involved in carrying out humanitarian activities such as health, food distribution, infrastructure reconstruction, education, and so on. Look at Figure 1 below:



Figure 1. Humanitarian Intervention

Humanitarian interventions carried out by the UN do not violate the political freedoms of a country. This action only aims to restore human rights in a country experiencing conflict. Every country and its residents still have political freedom. On this assumption, humanitarian intervention does not violate the UN Charter. This humanitarian intervention is carried out collectively based on a UN mandate and aims to overcome humanitarian problems. This is in accordance with Article 50 of the UN Charter which regulates one form of intervention. Where this intervention is carried out with the aim of resolving existing problems. Furthermore, intervention in the context of self-defense is contained in Article 51 of the UN Charter.

The armed conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina is one of the armed conflicts that took a long time to resolve. This is protected by the UNPROFOR to prevent the destruction of these crisis areas. The UN also collaborates with local and international NGOs to provide health services and food needs for ethnic Bosnian Muslims and other victims. The UN has made efforts to eliminate or stop inter-ethnic conflicts by enforcing law and ordering civil wars, eliminating local armed groups, and pressuring Serbia to impose sanctions in the form of an embargo for committing human rights violations.

Apart from referring to a number of moral grounds, the intervention carried out by the UN in the Yugoslav conflict was based on a UN Security Council Resolution. One form of this resolution was the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia which was formed based on UN Security Council Resolution Number 827 of 1993. The UN also contributed by issuing UN Security Council Resolution 1244 on 10 June 1999 explaining that Kosovo was placed under UN administration with the task of forming an interim government for Kosovo, so that the people of Kosovo would receive broad autonomy and self-government.

Apart from UNPROFOR, UN Troops are involved with the mandate to support Humanitarian Operations through UNHCR and ICRC. UNHCR and ICRC are organizations that are very serious about working together to carry out Humanitarian Operations, including human rights violations. UNHCR is tasked with the issue of civilian victims who are displaced and leaving conflict areas, while the ICRC is tasked with dealing with people affected by war in open conflict situations. As time went by, humanitarian crises increased which led to UNHCR being included in the work of the ICRC and vice versa, this was seen as a complementary collaborative relationship.

Other international organizations to stop the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict include NATO, IFOR (Implementation Force), SFOR (Stabilization Force), NAC (North Atlantic Council), SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe), COMARCC (Commander

Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps), OIC, and NAM. NATO in collaboration with UNPROFOR ground operations conducted a sustained air campaign called Operation Deliberate Force to weaken the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) which was threatening and attacking the UN-designated safe zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Operation Deliberate Force was carried out from 30 August to 20 September 1995 involving 400 aircraft and 5,000 personnel from 15 countries.

As a result of Operation Deliberate Force, the warring parties met in Dayton, Ohio in November 1995 and signed the Dayton Peace Accord (hereinafter abbreviated to DPA). In this agreement, NATO agreed to provide 60,000 peacekeepers in the safe zone. The NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) was deployed in December 1995 to implement the military aspects of the DPA. The 60,000-strong IFOR force was deployed for one year. IFOR leadership is headquartered in Zagreb, Croatia.

A year later it was replaced by the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR). SFOR helped maintain a safe environment and facilitated the country's reconstruction following the 1992-1995 war and remained in Bosnia-Herzegovina until 2004. SFOR initially consisted of 31,000 troops. By early 2001, they had been reduced to 19,000 and, in the spring of 2002, the decision was taken to reduce the force to 12,000 by the end of 2002. By 2004, they numbered 7,000.

As for all NATO operations, political control and coordination is provided by the NAC, NATO's senior political decision-making body. Strategic command and control is carried out by NATO Allied Headquarters in Europe (SHAPE) in Mons, Belgium. Lieutenant General Michael Walker, Commander of Allied Command's European Rapid Reaction Corps (COMARRC) acted as Commander for IFOR's land component throughout the operation.

### **Conceptual Perspective of Peace & Peace Missions**

The UN Peace Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH) is a peacekeeping mission established by the UN in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This mission was established based on UN Security Council Resolution Number 1035 on December 21, 1995, following the end of the UNPROFOR mission in Yugoslavia. UNMIBH completed its mandate on December 31, 2002, and was subsequently replaced by the European Union Police Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, this resulted in the emergence of refugees and displaced people in Europe. Therefore, UN troops were involved with a mandate to support humanitarian action through UNHCR, ICRC, and UNPROFOR.

In carrying out peace missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, international peace organizations are very serious about investing considerable resources in their efforts to resolve crises/conflicts in this region. This can be seen in the deployment of European Union monitors, UN peacekeepers, human rights pioneers, human rights and humanitarian activists, as well as international administrators in the region to carry out their respective duties with high dedication (Wellee, 1996).

Indonesia sent a Peace Force called the Garuda XIV Contingent Force, consisting of 25 members assigned to maintain peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and also provide medical assistance and medicine. Apart from that, the UN called on Serbia to withdraw its troops from the Bosnia-Herzegovina region and asked for negotiations to end the conflict.

### **Peace Enforcement & Peacekeeping**

Peace Enforcement is the authority of the UN Security Council based on the UN Charter to determine whether an action constitutes a threat to peace or an act of aggression. In dealing with this situation, based on Article 41 (Chapter VII) of the UN Charter, the UN Security Council has the authority to decide on the application of economic, political, or military sanctions. Chapter VII, which oversees Article 41 of the Charter, is also known as the "teeth" of the United Nations. Peace Enforcement in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict was the establishment of the

International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia, which was formed based on UN Security Council Resolution Number 827 of 1993.

A Peacekeeping Operation (UN-PKO) is an operation involving military personnel but without striking power that is under the supervision of the UN to help maintain or restore international peace and security in conflict areas. This operation is voluntary and based on willingness and cooperation. In their implementation, peace operations do involve the use of military personnel, UN police, and civilian personnel, but they achieve their objectives without the use of armed force, which is different from the definition of UN enforcement contained in Article 42.

The formation of UNPROFOR is a Peacekeeping Operation (UN-PKO) step carried out by the UN Security Council. Peacekeeping is the process of stopping or reducing acts of violence through military intervention, which carries out the role of neutral peacekeepers, this aims to prevent open war from breaking out again between the conflicting parties by deploying troops to maintain peace in conflict areas in order to carry out a ceasefire and protect civilians from becoming victims of war. The ceasefire carried out by the parties involved in the conflict needs to be maintained and monitored so that open war does not recur, and there is a need for de-escalation of the conflict between the parties involved.

UNPROFOR is a peace operation to reduce the level of conflict escalation by sending peacekeeping troops with a strength of 30,953 troops plus 4,410 people from support units and 274 military observers stationed in various conflict-prone areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The troops consisted of the United States, Germany, England, France, and Indonesia, members of UNPROFOR. Apart from that, the UN asked its member countries to help, either through peacekeeping assistance or humanitarian assistance.

NATO, in collaboration with UNPROFOR ground operations, conducted a sustained air campaign called Operation Deliberate Force to weaken the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), which was threatening and attacking the UN-designated safe zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Operation Deliberate Force was carried out from August 30 to September 20, 1995, involving 400 aircraft and 5,000 personnel from 15 countries.

### **Peacebuilding & Peacemaking**

Peacebuilding is an action to identify and support structures that strengthen peace to prevent a conflict that has been reconciled from turning into a conflict again. Peacebuilding was born after the conflict occurred. This method can take the form of a concrete cooperation project that connects two or more countries that are beneficial between them. This not only contributes to economic and social development, but also fosters trust, which is a fundamental condition for peace. In the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, this resulted in the emergence of refugees and displaced people in Europe. Therefore, UN troops were involved with a mandate to support humanitarian operations (humanitarian action) through UNHCR, ICRC, and UNPROFOR.

Peacemaking is an action to bring disputing parties to mutual agreement, especially through peaceful methods as contained in Chapter VI of the UN Charter. The UN's goals in this case fall between the tasks of preventing conflict and maintaining peace. Between these two tasks is the obligation to try to bring the parties to a dispute towards agreement by peaceful means. In its role here, the UN Security Council only provides recommendations or suggestions regarding appropriate ways or methods of resolution after considering the nature of the dispute. In the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, the UN Security Council issued 8 (eight) UN Security Council Resolutions from September 25, 1991, to May 15, 1992. Attacks on UNPROFOR members marked the worsening of this condition, such as peacekeepers, ICRC members, and ceasefire violations. weapons, and the expulsion of civilians who were not ethnic Serbs (Sefriani, 2000).

### **DDR (Demilitarization, Disarmament, Reintegration)**

Demilitarization is the process by which armed forces (government and/or opposition or factional forces) reduce or completely disband as part of a broader transformation from war to peace. Typically, demobilization involves the assembly, deployment, disarmament, administration, and discharge of former combatants, who may receive some form of compensation and other assistance to encourage their transition to civilian life. In the late Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, the UN had difficulty estimating the total number of combatants due to the complexity of the conflict and the lack of records of the size of armies or combat units.

Disarmament is the collection, control, and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives, and light and heavy weapons from combatants and often also from the civilian population. This includes the development of responsible weapons management programs. This is important in order to stabilize the post-conflict situation until it becomes normal, reducing the possibility of new conflicts or new violence, either due to war re-emerging or remnants of conflict owned by the perpetrators of past conflicts, and so on.

Reintegration or reintegration programs are assistance measures provided to former combatants that will increase the potential for economic and social reintegration of them and their families into civil society. Reintegration programs can include cash assistance or compensation in kind, as well as vocational training and income-generating activities.

It can be concluded that in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, the implementation of DDR was deemed not to have been implemented well after the signing of the DPA because the agreement did not clearly or explicitly contain DDR. In particular, the DPA does not contain specific details and a long-term perspective on the DDR process, which shows the political fragility in the formulation of the agreement and shows that the agreement only aims to stop violence (negative peace). As a result, international organizations did not pay attention to the details of the post-conflict DDR process in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Pietz, 2004).

### **Disputes Settlement**

In the end, all parties reached a peace agreement called the Dayton Peace Accord (DPA), including the role of the UN, NATO, and other international actors involved in the crisis in the Bosnia-Herzegovina mission (Wellee, 1996).

The DPA is an agreement formulated and agreed to end the war in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict. The DPA is a peace agreement reached at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio, United States (November 21, 1995) and officially signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. The agreement consists of 11 Articles and 11 Annexes, with attachments that regulate substantive matters such as issues relating to military aspects, regional stability, boundaries between entities, elections, the constitution, and refugee issues (Pietz, 2004). The warring parties took part in the Dayton talks under the auspices of the United States, United States and NATO. The negotiations were then signed by all parties with the following agreement (Masnun, 2017):

1. Bosnia-Herzegovina remains one country internationally;
2. The capital city of Sarajevo remains united under the Bosnian-Croatian Muslim Federation and several autonomous administrative regions of Bosnian Serb control;
3. Radovan Karadzic and General Mladic are considered war criminals by the International Court of Justice and should not serve;
4. Refugees return to their place of origin; And
5. Elections will be held between 6-9 months after the signing of the Paris Agreement.

### **Discussion**

The conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina had an impact on the emergence of refugees and displaced people in Europe. This population movement was one of the

consequences of the war due to the practice of exterminating certain ethnic groups. This is one of the most complex humanitarian problems that has ever occurred in Europe. Violations of humanitarian principles, systematic denial of humanitarian access, and a very dangerous level of risk to public security then became the reasons for carrying out humanitarian operations in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict (Young, 2001).

Therefore, UN troops were involved with a mandate to support humanitarian operations through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). UNHCR and ICRC are 2 (two) organizations that are very serious about working together to carry out operations to address humanitarian problems, including human rights violations that occurred as a result of the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict. In carrying out its activities, UNHCR focuses more on the issue of civilian victims who have to flee and leave conflict areas, while the ICRC is more dedicated to people affected by war in open conflict situations.

However, the humanitarian crisis was increasing, which then led to UNHCR being included in the work of the ICRC and vice versa. The UNHCR has concluded that the ICRC does not have sufficient capacity to address this increasingly complex problem. The intensifying humanitarian crisis has caused these two organizations to develop a complementary collaborative relationship (Young, 2001).

Ethnic Croats and Serbs widen their territorial control in the Bosnia-Herzegovina area. Serbia itself is supported by the Yugoslav National Army (JNA), which already controls 70% of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was previously dominated by ethnic Bosnian Muslims. As a result of this conflict, the Muslim-Bosnian ethnic group decreased to only 32% of the population. Then the conflict became worse when genocide or ethnic cleansing occurred. Apart from the 3500 children who had been killed due to the Serbian attack on the capital, Sarajevo, the Serbian action also resulted in 480 men being killed. This action drew criticism from the international community, considering this action to be "ethnic cleansing". Until the end of the conflict, approximately 200,000 people died.

The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina when the conflict arose was that there was a ceasefire between the troops of the three ethnic groups in conflict. Much of Bosnia-Herzegovina is already under military control. It was proven that there was a lot of weaponry, command, and high-ranking military personnel, including General Ratko Mladic. Ethnic Croats (Croats) have created a security fence by creating an army called the Croatian Defense Council (Hrvatsko Vijeće Obrane, HVO) which served in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Then, ethnic Bosniaks (Native Bosniaks) formed an army called the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Armija Republike Bosne I Hercegovine). The army also contributed non-Bosnians to their ranks, which would increase the strength of the army's fortifications.

Until early 1993, the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina had still not subsided even though the UN peacekeeping force consisting of soldiers from the United States, Britain and France had carried out peacekeeping operations. The massacre of thousands of ethnic Bosniaks in Srebrenica in July 1995 also made this conflict even more prolonged. And causing the dynamics of the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict to increase. Some 8,000 ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovinas, most of whom were men and boys, were massacred in the most barbaric act in European history. The massacre took place when Serbian troops attacked a safe area under UN protection, namely Srebrenica. The Dutch troops guarding there were unable to do anything. The masterminds of the massacre were Radovan Karadzic, who was then the leader of the Bosnian-Serb war, and General Ratko Mladic. This massacre began when refugees of Bosniak ethnicity fled to the Srebrenica area. These refugees thought that the Srebrenica area was a safe area because it was guarded by NATO troops. However, it turned out that it was just a trick by the Serbian Army to

carry out mass murder against ethnic Bosniaks. In this area, mass graves of ethnic Bosniaks were discovered who were buried en masse by the Serbian Army.

Several international organizations have made efforts to build cooperation to stop the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, including NATO, IFOR, SFOR, NAC, SHAPE, and COMARRC. NATO conducts its first major crisis-response operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) was deployed in December 1995 to implement the military aspects of the DPA, and was replaced a year later by the Stabilization Force (SFOR). The environment was safe and facilitated the reconstruction of the country after the 1992–1995 war (NATO, 2019).

IFOR leadership is based at its operational headquarters in Zagreb, Croatia. Following the handover to SFOR in December 1996, the command structure, as directed by the North Atlantic Council (NAC), the scope of the organization was later expanded to include SFOR deputy commanders, operational deputy commanders, and division commanders at each head. Multinational Task Force (MNTF), which reaches 1800–2000 troops (NATO, 2019). As for all NATO operations, control, and political coordination are provided by the NAC, which is NATO's senior political decision-making body for ending the conflict between Bosnia and Herzegovina. Strategic Command and control is carried out by Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe NATO (SHAPE) in Mons, Belgium.

Peace is described as a condition of happiness, harmony, justice, health, and all other ideal conditions in human life that lead to a goal in achieving life (Galtung & Weber, 2007). In terms of the conceptual perspective of peace in the context of a country, it cannot be separated from the welfare and security provided to all people in a country. Terms from a conceptual perspective regarding peace carried out in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict by implementing a reform government, reforming the security sector, holding elections after the conflict, voicing human rights, returning refugees, and finally empowering civil society. These points are the basic instruments for achieving peace after the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict occurred.

In carrying out the peace mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, international organizations are very serious about investing quite a lot of resources in efforts to resolve the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This can be seen in the deployment of European Union observers, UN Peacekeeping Forces, Human Rights, and Humanitarian Rapporteurs and Activists, as well as international administrators in the region, to carry out their respective duties with high dedication (Wellee, 1996).

In addition, UNPROFOR was deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina to build and maintain peace. The peacekeeping mission in this conflict was specifically focused on establishing safe areas to end the conflict and violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The formation of the Rapid Reaction Force and large-scale air strikes were carried out as part of the UN missions, which then ended with a ceasefire (Wellee, 1996). The armed attack carried out by the UN and NATO is considered capable of bringing Bosnia-Herzegovina to a condition of peace that can last for a long time.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) is also working for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The OIC appeared to hold negotiations several times. OIC member countries are also ready to supply weapons to Bosnia. It seems that if the West does not actually act, OIC members will not just talk in negotiations. It is certain that arms deliveries and intervention from OIC members will soon take place, which will ignite a bigger war.

Indonesia and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) President Izetbegovic took the time to visit Jakarta to ask for help from Indonesia. Tarmizi Taher, the Minister of Religion who was serving at that time, stated that he could only provide prayer assistance for the struggle of the Bosnian people. President Soeharto's reluctance to send troops was because Indonesia did not want to be considered an Islamic country by the world. President Soeharto, who was in office at

the time, finally sent the Garuda XIV Contingent troops led by Lt. Col. Eddi Budianto. The number and capabilities of the Indonesian troops are not much, but at least they have shown solidarity with fellow Muslims.

In the end, all parties reached a peace agreement called the DPA, including the role of the UN, NATO, and other international actors involved in the crisis in the Bosnia-Herzegovina mission (Wellee, 1996).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation outlined above, conclusions can be drawn as follows; That the beginning of the conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina was a conflict that originated from the breakup of Yugoslavia into several countries due to ethnic and religious differences in the Republic of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Based on the type of conflict, the conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina was a NIAC to an IAC. It can be seen that there are more than two sovereign countries involved in this conflict, thus fulfilling the elements that make this conflict a type of IAC.

The sources of conflict that occurred in the Bosnia-Herzegovina War were 4 main reasons, namely ethnic and religious differences, the death of President Josip Broz Tito, Political Policy of President Slobodan Milosevic, Strategic Areas, Natural Resources, and Many Industrial Factories, Recognition Independent States by the European and International Community, and the Economic Crisis. Actors in the conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina between ethnic Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats can be categorized from NSA to SA. International organizations that participated in ending the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict include the UN, UNPROFOR, NATO, IFOR, SFOR, NAC, SHAPE, COMARCC, OIC, and NAM.

The implementation of DDR is considered to have not been carried out well after the signing of the DPA because the agreement does not clearly or explicitly contain DDR. In the end, the conflict was resolved with the DPA. The war can be stopped by forming a three-party federation through the DPA which was agreed on November 21, 1995, in Dayton, Ohio, and officially signed in Paris on December 14, 1995.

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