Peace Efforts in Conflict: Case Analysis of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Conflict

Muhammad Fauzar Rivaldy¹, M. Adnan Madjid², Endro Legowo³

1,2,3 Peace and Conflict Resolution Department
Republic of Indonesia Defense University
Jakarta, Indonesia

Abstract:- The conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina has stolen great attention from Europeans, the prolonged and very complicated conflict turned out to be a development which in the end succeeded in bringing about a peace between countries which was basically wanted and expected by the whole world, efforts Peace that has been carried out by many countries to reconcile conflicts that have occurred has gone through various processes, ranging from conflicts that occur between ethnic groups, then added to the economic crisis, which ultimately affects the leadership crisis. Then efforts to militarize to non-militarize peacekeepers have also been carried out, consuming a lot of budget, consuming a lot of energy in order to achieve a peace between conflicting actors. The development of cooperation has also been carried out to make the country more ideal, constitutionally in Annex 4 of the Dayton Agreement to form a federal state consisting of two entities: the Republic of Srpska (RS), which is mostly inhabited by Serbs, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH)., which is mainly inhabited by Bosniaks and Croats and is also divided into several cantons, eight of which are dominated by one of the two groups. This division of constitutional competence reinforces the deep weakness of the central state and provides the two entities with a marked state-like quality where responsibility rests with the entities.

Keywords:- Peace; Conflict; Reconciliation.

I. INTRODUCTION

Internationally, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been recognized as an independent country by the European Community on April 6, 1992. Bosnia's population is predominantly Muslim with a percentage of 45% of the total population of Bosnia. About 31% of Orthodox Christians are of Serbian descent. The remaining 18% Catholics are descendants of ethnic Croatians who had lived under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Kingdom [1]. Geographically, Bosnia has a strategic location in the context of economic and political activities so that the large kingdoms around Bosnia constantly struggle for power and compete to instill hegemony [2].

Bosnia was taken over by the Austro-Hungarian Kingdom and became part of the kingdom until 1918 when Bosnia was previously controlled by the Ottoman Turks. While under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Kingdom, Bosnia was involved in 3 major events that triggered the outbreak of World War I. After World War I, Bosnia became part of a Serbian-controlled empire until 1929 and also part of a Serbian-dominated

federation until 1992. Turkey's long rule in Bosnia, had a lot of impact on the lives of the Bosnian people. Turkey treats the Bosnian people well, so this actually makes the Bosnian people convert to Islam voluntarily. Bosnians who are willing to embrace Islam are embraced by the Turkish authorities, causing jealousy for the Orthodox Serbs [1].

On March 1, 1992, Bosnia and Hezergovina decided to become a sovereign state through a referendum. The proclamation of Bosnia and Hezergovina gained international recognition and on 22 May 1992 they officially became a member state of the United Nations. The Bosnian proclamation was rejected by ethnic Serbs. Under the leadership of Rodovan Karadzic and Slobodan Milasevic, ethnic Serbs attempted to thwart the creation of a Bosnian state. In mid-1992, ethnic Serbs began to launch attacks on major Bosnian cities. This attack incident in its development became an attempt to genocide against ethnic Bosnian Muslims [2].

The peak of the Bosnian war occurred in July 1995. Ethnic Serbs carried out a mass massacre of more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslim civilians on July 11-22, 1995. The United Nations and NATO as an international security organization attempted to resolve the Bosnian War. From August to September 1995, the United Nations and NATO carried out massive air strikes to stop the atrocities of ethnic Serbs. The Bosnian war ended through the Dayton peace treaty which was held on November 21, 1995. The Dayton Agreement regulates the division of Bosnian territory into two countries, the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia-Hezergovina [2].

II. METHODOLOGY

This study uses qualitative research methods, where in research with qualitative methods, the main instrument in conducting a data collection to data interpretation is the researcher himself. This research is carried out by assessing according to the context, based on data that comes from written and credible sources, such as newspapers, scientific articles, and research that has been done previously. In this research, it was carried out in several stages, first, by examining an issue that was visible so that a gap emerged as one of the problems which in the end was carried out research on the gap, secondly, by using theories that were closely related to the existing problems. in this study, and the third is drawing conclusions on the research that has been done.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Type of Conflict

Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions on International Armed Conflicts is the same as the traditional concept of war between two or more countries. Then in additional protocol I article 1 article 4 armed conflict is a group that opposes the domination of colonialism and the position of foreigners and the regime in an effort to determine the fate of the group. Meanwhile, non-international armed conflict in Article 3 of the Geneva Convention is a conflict that occurs in the territory of one country. In additional protocol II, article 1, article 1, armed conflict in a country occurs due to the disobedience of the armed forces or other organized armed conflict. From the definition and explanation of the types of international and non-international armed conflicts, the conflict that occurred in this case is included in the type of international armed conflict. Because this conflict involves many countries.

B. Source of Conflict

The sources of conflict that occurred in the case of Bosnia are divided into several types:

> Ethnic Conflict

The inter-ethnic conflicts that occur in the Balkans are known for their violent and warlike nature. This is a result of the development of each of the South Slavic groups, so that the Balkan Peninsula region is constantly being fought by the great powers in Europe. It can be seen from Yugoslavia, which since its establishment has been marked by various disputes, especially between Croatia and Serbia [1].

> Economy Crysis

The economic crisis that hit Yugoslavia around the 1980s was a consequence of Yugoslavia's past. When Tito came to power, he implemented a market economy system or a self-managed economic system which generally develops in liberal countries, the situation is even more complicated for ethnic Serbs because the sanctions imposed by the United Nations on Yugoslavia have made Yugoslavia hit by an economic crisis [3].

➤ Leadership Crisis

The Communist Federation of Yugoslavia was founded on the hard work of five communist warriors. They are Joseph Broz Tito from Croatia, Edward Kardelj from Slovenia, Alexander Rankovic from Serbia, Milovan Djilas from Montenegro, and Mosa Pijade, a Jew. None of the communist warriors Tito's associates were successfully nurtured and prepared to replace him in order to maintain the stability of Yugoslavia .

> Influence of Eastern European Countries

Both the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia collapsed at about the same time. The Soviet Union collapsed on December 31, 1990 and in the following years one by one the republics of Yugoslavia separated from the Yugoslav federation. Yugoslavia is an ethnically diverse country that is part of the South Slavic family of peoples. The proportions of each ethnic group inhabiting Yugoslavia are Serbs (36.3%), Croats (19.7%), Bosnians (8.9%), Slovenes (7.8%), Albanians

(7.8%), Macedonia (6.0%), and Montenegro (2.5%). Each ethnic group occupies a different area according to the development experienced by each ethnic group. Yugoslavia is increasingly finding it difficult to find solutions to all the problems it is facing [1].

C. Actor of Conflict

This conflict involved several parties, both international and national, because this war was an accumulation of previous conflicts, during the war between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats in 1992, the first party those involved were Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, then a war broke out between Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, then over time the Bosnian Croats formed a coalition with Bosnian Muslims to fight against Bosnian Serbs. because the Muslim-Croat side received power assistance from the regular army of the Croatian Republic which was estimated at around 40,000 people and foreign soldiers (Mujahidin) [4].

Until the formation of a federation of Bosnian Muslims with Bosnian Croats based on an initiative from Washington 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 Herzegovina. The alliance of the Bosnian Muslims with the Bosnian Croats is only an attempt to achieve their respective goals. The Bosnian Croats have aspirations to unite Bosnia Herzegovina with Croatia or to separate areas where there are ethnic Bosnian Croats and then join the Croatian Republic. Then there was the intervention of the United Nations and NATO in resolving the conflicts that occurred [4].

D. Military/Non-Military Intervention in Armed Conflict (Context, Humanitarian Assistance)

The United Nations as Peacekeeping has made various efforts to resolve the Bosnian war conflict, the first attempt by the United Nations was to order the Serbs to stop carrying out a ceasefire or to ask the Serbs to finish carrying out the genocide against ethnic Bosnian Muslims, also to appeal to both sides to do not attack each other [5].

In 1990 the United Nations as an International Organization not only acted as Peacekeeping for the Serbs, but they carried out humanitarian activities during the conflict. The United Nations worked with local and international NGOs to provide medical supplies as well as food needs to ethnic Bosnian Muslims. Then the United Nations made efforts to eliminate inter-ethnic community disturbances, and establish law and order in civil war, abolish local armed groups and pressure the Serbian side to impose sanctions in the form of an embargo for committing human rights violations and defending the state in Yugoslavia that wanted to secede with become an independent country. This was all done as a form of the role of the United Nations as Peacekeeping [6].

NATO as an international organization that was formed when the cold war occurred, has the responsibility to maintain the stability of peace and security of its member countries in the north Atlantic region, to continue the efforts of the United Nations in resolving the Bosnian war conflict. In this case, the United Nations has not been able to overcome the conflict that

occurred in Bosnia, which is a state of Yugoslavia, which took part in wanting to become an independent country and wanted to get out of the federation of Yugoslavia. The source of the division between the states of Yugoslavia comes from cultural and ideological conflicts, which means that the intensity of conflict from these sources often results from political, social, religious and cultural differences as well as differences in the value system of national and state life [7].

So that this is the fundamental factor of Bosnia's desire to secede for independence and at that time they were under attack from Serbia because they had different religious beliefs. By looking at what happened, the NATO members suggested taking more decisive action than just imposing an embargo on Serbia. On February 10, 1994, NATO issued an ultimatum, which is a good start for the seriousness of the International Organization in resolving conflicts, especially in this case, namely the ethnic Muslim conflict between Bosnia-Herzegofina as a state of Yugoslavia [7].

NATO carried out airstrikes against Serbia three times during 1994, the first on March 1, 1994, the second on April 10 and 11, 1994, and the last in November 1994. However, NATO's airstrike efforts did not result in any success. Serbia was afraid and kept its troops in the Bosnian region and continued to carry out attacks on ethnic Bosnian Muslims, until in the end NATO and UN troops again attacked by sending 60 warplanes to attack the Serbian military headquarters in Bosnia on August 30, 1995 and continued until mid-June. September [8].

The attacks carried out by NATO caused Serbian troops to stop attacking ethnic Bosnian Muslims. NATO as the mediator is monitoring the negotiations. With the help of supervising mediation in every negotiation from the NATO side, the representatives representing the NATO side were Richard Charles Albert Holbrooke and Wesley Kanne Clark, Sr., a high-ranking diplomat and retired Army General, both from the United States [7].

E. Development Cooperation

After the Dayton Peace Accords ended the 1992-1995 war, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) stood at a crossroads: the path of peace and reconciliation on one side; the road to ethnic divisions and conflict on the other. There are two points in development, the first relates to politics, constitutionally in Annex 4 of the Dayton Agreement to form a federal state consisting of two entities: the Republic of Srpska (RS), which is mostly inhabited by Serbs, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH), which is mainly inhabited by Bosniaks and Croats and is also divided into several cantons, eight of which are dominated by one of the two groups. This division of constitutional competence reinforces the deep weakness of the central state and provides two entities with marked statelike qualities where responsibility rests with the entity, including the right to collect, administer, and redistribute tax returns, and to maintain military and police personnel. separate and special relations with Croatia and Yugoslavia. The central state, on the other hand, lacks the most basic of state characteristics, namely the monopoly of violence and taxation [9].

The second relates to socio-economics. At the end of the war, the economic situation in Bosnia was very bad. The World Bank estimated the total damage at US\$50-70 billion. More than half of the buildings were damaged, and most of the power, road, rail and telecommunications networks were severely affected. GDP has sunk 80 percent compared to 1990 levels, and by 1997 was as low as US\$500 per capita. Industrial production had fallen by 90 percent from pre-war and much of its property was damaged [9]. An economic, financial and fiscal system divided along ethno-nationalist lines, with different currencies used in the three states, thus formed border quasi-customs within Bosnia. Since the strategic shift to institutionalization in 1999–2000, economic interventions, notably by the World Bank, IMF and OHR, have been directed at creating a resilient business and investment environment and promoting macroeconomic stability as a basis for economic growth. Strict budgetary discipline, effective taxation and structural adjustment have become the main goals that guide the policies of international actors [9].

The country's stability was and remains important to the future of Europe and to US interests in the region. To this end, the United States has sought to help BiH develop the foundations for a pluralistic and democratic society and a strong and thriving free market economy. Fighting corruption remains a key challenge and is closely linked to the need for ongoing reconciliation. Politicians often use fear of other ethnic groups as a way to cover up ongoing corruption. USAID's program focuses on assisting BiH to achieve the economic and social reforms needed to implement the EU Reform Agenda.

USAID's goal for Country Development Cooperation Strategy (CDCS) 2020-2025 is to support the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina to hold their governments accountable, participate in strong and legitimate economies, and value and promote inclusive societies. USAID hopes to refocus civil society on building constituents and increasing the active role of men, women, youth, and members of marginalized groups in their communities and in political life. USAID's strategic approach centers on strengthening outreach and coordination with other donors, particularly the EU, which will enable a growing number of reform figures in government to make real progress on the reforms needed for further Euro-Atlantic integration in the country [10].

The key to the realization of this strategy is the achievement of two development goals (USAID, 2021): (1) strengthening government accountability to citizens, USAID will tackle corruption with coordinated intervention through legislation, the judiciary, the media, and civil society. USAID will use a dual approach to building solid citizen-government relationships based on trust and transparency. USAID will support citizens' efforts for a more democratic and transparent decision-making process, and this will improve the government's response to citizen demands.

Then (2) improvement of socio-economic conditions. These development goals will enable USAID to support Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) to take charge of its

development and increase its commitment and capacity on its journey to self-reliance. USAID will help BiH national governments more effectively address key issues and needed reforms by strengthening BiH's rule of law, investigative journalism, and citizen surveillance, while working to empower the judiciary to prosecute high-profile corruption cases. While enhancing formal public structures to combat corruption, USAID will leverage stronger and more active citizenship for surveillance and a team of brave and determined investigative reporters to build a strong anticorruption bloc. USAID will also promote strong and sustainable citizen activism against corruption by empowering and promoting civil society as a credible anti-corruption force. Supporting EU regulatory-compliant reforms, promoting effective approaches to preventing corruption, and enabling an investor-friendly framework will assist anti-corruption efforts [10].

F. Conceptual Perspective of Peace & Peace Mission

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 an achievement of life (Galtung & Weber, 2007). In terms of the conceptual perspective of peace in the context of the state, it cannot be separated from the welfare and security provided to all people in a country. in terms of conceptual perspective on a peace that was carried out in the Bosnia Herzegovina conflict by carrying out government reforms, reforming the security sector, holding elections after the conflict, promoting human rights, returning refugees, and finally empowering civil society [11]. These points are the basic instruments in achieving a peace after the conflict occurs.

In terms of peacekeeping missions, peace interventions carried out by the United Nations and NATO are carried out to carry out peace making and peace building. In the event that the intervention is carried out, in the end it reaches a peaceful peace, which is called "The Dayton Peace Agreement". In this case the implementation of the Dayton agreement is related to the instruments in the peace concept carried out by the United Nations and NATO.

G. Peace Building & Peace Making

The "Peace Agenda" formulates a new policy to strengthen UN capacity and consists of four elements. It is preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building. Preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; Peacemaking and peacekeeping are necessary to stop conflict and maintain peace once it is obtained. If successful, they strengthen post-conflict peacebuilding opportunities, which can prevent the recurrence of violence between nations and peoples. Therefore, "peace building refers to the conditions that will enhance the transition from a state of conflict to coexistence and thereby contribute to the sustainability of peace" [12]. As explained in the "Peace Agenda", peace building requires ways to strengthen institutions to "consolidate self-confidence and well-being" among people [13].

In terms of peace building in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, the first is related to Government reform, and security

sector reform, in terms of governance reform, one of the fundamental problems of BiH is that the temporary Federation, particularly the Bosnians, is trying to strengthen the government. Central and State institutions of the Republic of Srpska have a tendency towards a loose federation (Latif, 2005). Moreover, a report from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in BiH summarizes the main problems of BiH as constant internal contests about the role of central authority, lack of unified political will and unchanging bureaucratic behavior patterns of administration at all levels [14]. On paper, Dayton appears to provide crucial post-war security and to bridge the nation's unifying dilemma, and ensure minority protection through institutional safeguards. However, this particular feature of BiH has many difficulties. The decentralized BiH governance structure was not introduced as an instrument for the system as usual, but as an instrument to protect ethnic interests and create the foundation for postwar political stability [11]. Then in this context, government reforms, constitutional reforms, democracy, military, police, and judicial reforms have also been carried

H. Peace Enforcement & Peace Keeping

In terms of doing Peace Enforcement and Peace Keeping, the other Dayton Annexes focus on the non-military aspects of peace enforcement. David Chander argues that (Latif, 2005): "Civil annexes, which comprise five-sixths of the Dayton Accords, involve a wide range of activities in which international organizations are mandated to play a key coordinating role. This includes economic reconstruction, the establishment of political institutions, the enforcement of human rights and the holding of elections. In order for this regulatory power to have legality under international law, the mechanism was incorporated into the Dayton Agreement."

The next Annex after the military is Annex 3, which allows the OSCE to regulate and control elections in BiH. Annex 4 establishes the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Appendix 5, Arbitration establishes both entities to resolve disputes among themselves. It is the only annex that gives locales the authority to sort their own affairs. Annex 6 is an agreement on human rights which mentions respect for basic rights and freedoms and incites the establishment of a Human Rights Commission. Following Annex 7 which incorporated the issue of refugees and displaced persons, and established a Commission which was also authorized to decide property claims. Annex 8 regulates the agreement on the commission to preserve national monuments. Annex 9 of Dayton consists of: agreements on Bosnian public companies [11].

The last two annexes to the Dayton Peace Accord, Annexes 10 and 11 focus on implementing the civil aspects of the peace agreement. Annex 10, agreement on civilian implementation, creates an Office of the High Representative to coordinate international agencies and facilitate the efforts of local people. Article II of Annex 10 lists the mandate of the High Representative "to monitor the implementation of peace, to maintain close relations with the Parties to enhance their full compliance, to coordinate the activities of civil organizations and institutions for their efficient implementation, to facilitate

the resolution of difficulties in relation to civil implementation. , to participate in meetings of donor organizations, to report regularly on progress in the implementation of the peace agreement and finally to guide the Commissioner for International Police Duty applicable in Annex 11 of the General framework Agreement." The final annex, Annex 11 envisages the creation of a United Nations International Police Task Force (IPTF) to be responsible for civil law enforcement [11].

I. DDR (Demilitarization, disarmament, reintegration)

The security sector involves military and police forces, judicial structures and civil control mechanisms over the above institutions. In this regard, disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating ex-combatants into civilian life is an integral component of peace-building [15]. Although demilitarization and heavy-handed disarmament of communities is not easy, it is important because reconstruction cannot be successfully realized with fear of causality. Thus, the neutralization and release of ex-combatants is very important both in terms of building environmental security and the rule of law [11].

In this case military reform was carried out, in which the NATO Forces known as the Kosovo Forces (KFOR) entered Kosovo leaving the Serbian military and police forces and then deployed in a manner to keep them out to demobilize the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and armed Kosovar Albanian groups. others [11]. In contrast to the Bosnian Serb military in 1995, Yugoslav troops left Kosovo due to negotiated deals instead of military engagement with their enemies. Therefore, securing the Yugoslav armed forces in Kosovo did not pursue the Dayton-type demobilization agreement. UNSCR 1244 requires that all military and police forces of Yugoslavia withdraw from the territory and that all local forces be demilitarized. The agreement on the demilitarization of the KLA that NATO and KLA commanders reached in June 1999 envisaged its eventual transformation from the KLA into a civil defense force [11]. Then in terms of reintegration of civil society, it became one of the channels for the international community to resolve ethnic tensions in Bosnia. Different civil societies are "described as arenas where tolerance for others is achieved through exchange, dialogue and compromise, facilitating and sustaining the process of reintegrating the state into political unity [16].

Annex VII of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina requires the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina to create "political, economic and social conditions conducive to the harmonious return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons, without preference for any particular group" (Latif, 2005). It interprets that Dayton "requires signatories to create the conditions necessary for peaceful repatriation and reintegration, including a commitment to various confidence-building measures [17].

J. Settlement of Dispute

Preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; peacekeeping and peacekeeping is necessary to stop conflict and maintain peace once it is obtained. If successful, they strengthen post-conflict peacebuilding opportunities, which can prevent the recurrence of

violence between nations and peoples. Therefore, "peace building refers to the conditions that will enhance the transition from a state of conflict to coexistence and thereby contribute to the sustainability of peace" [12]. In terms of dispute resolution in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, Annex 5, the Arbitration stipulates both sides to settle disputes among themselves. It is the only annex that gives local authorities the authority to sort out their own affairs.

In addition, in 1997 the powers of the High Representative were expanded in Bonn. Bonn's power is exerted "when" Formal and procedural disputes in state institutions often lead to deadlocks, delaying the passage of laws needed for the institutional reform agenda [11]. Then the intensification of disputes throughout 1998-99 finally forced the international community to intervene as did Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the draft Rambouillet Accord based on the Dayton Peace Accord motif was rejected by Serbia. When President Milosevic viewed the threat of NATO bombing as a bluff, NATO felt obliged to intervene to maintain its credibility.

IV. CONCLUSION

Basically the conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovia is a conflict that can be said to be a conflict that originally came from the Kingdom of Yoguslavia which eventually split and formed its own countries which legally have their own sovereignty. However, there was a disapproval of Serbs who eventually attacked Bosnia-Herzegovina after Bosnia proclaimed itself on April 6, 1992. Serbia also carried out ethnic cleansing of Muslims and ethnic Croats in an attempt to rebuild Greater Serbia in the former Yugoslavia. The United Nations and NATO could not stop Serbian atrocities. Serbia was only willing to comply with the United Nations and NATO after intensive air strikes by NATO. Along with the airstrikes, marathon talks were held in Geneva, New York, and Dayton.

The war can be stopped by forming a federation of the three parties through the Dayton Agreement which was agreed on November 21, 1995 in Dayton, Ohio. By type, it can be seen that there are more than 2 sovereign states involved in this conflict, so that it fulfills the elements to make this conflict into an international armed conflict type as based on article 2 of the Geneva Convention on International Armed Conflict, which is the same as the traditional concept of war. occurs between two or more countries. Then in additional protocol I article 1 article 4 armed conflict is a group that opposes the domination of colonialism and the position of foreigners and the regime in an effort to determine the fate of the group.

Then also the source of the conflict that occurred in the Bosnia-Herzegovina war was none other than a social jealousy which in the end was manifested and realized into an ethnic group that caused inter-ethnic discrimination. into a non-international armed conflict in article 3 of the Geneva Conventions as a conflict occurring in the territory of one of the countries. However, if we look holistically and holistically, this conflict is an international armed conflict, because of the UN and NATO intervention in making peace efforts that occurred in this conflict.

In terms of making peace efforts, this cannot be separated from the activities of peace keeping, peace making, peace enforcement, and peace building. Efforts have been made to carry out government reforms, in order to become a more democratic country, as well as humanitarian assistants as a form of humanity carried out by international organizations. In terms of reform, it is not only government reform by prioritizing Security Sector Reform, but also Military Reform so that demilitarization is carried out, by disarming people who have weapons, this aims to achieve success in social reintegration in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict.

The conflict that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina was an international armed conflict that involved more than 2 sovereign countries and carried out the deployment of military forces to the war zones, and this conflict also stems from discrimination that occurs, due to jealousy between ethnic groups, which cannot be overcome by the government which causes a leadership crisis, to an economic crisis, peace efforts have been carried out several times by several international organizations, ranging from the European Community, the United Nations, the OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference), and also the role of Indonesia with the nonaligned movement attempted to reconcile the conflict area by sending troops of the XIV Garuda Contingent, which in the end the conflict was resolved with the Dayton Agreement.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Sumartini, S. (2014). Perang Bosnia: Konflik Etnis 1991-1995. Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta.
- [2]. Prabowo, G. (2020). Terjadinya Perang Bosnia (1992-1995). Jakarta: Kompas.com.
- [3]. Tawon, R. E. (2015, Maret 27). Republik Eusosialis Tawon. Retrieved Juni 14, 2021, from Republik Eusosialis Tawon: https://www.retawon.com/2015/03/perang-bosnia-banjir-darah-dijantung.html
- [4]. Surabaya, U. (2016, April 15). UM Surabaya. Retrieved Juni 14, 2021, from UM Surabaya: http://p2k.um-surabaya.ac.id/ind/2-3045-2942/Perang-Bosnia_38713_um-surabaya_p2k-um-surabaya.html#:~:text=Perang%20Bosnia%20(Perang%20Bosnia%20dan,Serbia%20dan%20Montenegro)%20begitupula%20Kroasia
- [5]. Sulistyati, S. B. (2013). Peranan Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa dalam menyelesaikansengketa Bersenjata antara Serbia-Bosnia. *Repository Universitas Surabaya*, 42.
- [6]. Sudira, I. N. (2015). Nuansa Baru Peranan PBB dalam Menjaga Perdamaian Selepas Perang Dingin: Perspektif Resolusi Konflik. *Jural Ilmiah HubunganInternasional*.
- [7]. Fachreji, F. (2021, Juni 18). *ir corner*. Retrieved Agustus 10, 2021, from ir corner: https://www.ircorner.com/perang-dan-intervensi-internasional-studi-kasus-perang-bosnia-dan-serbia/
- [8]. Trimurti, A. ". (2000). Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia menurut Hukum Internasional (Studi Kasus Bosnia-Herzegovina). *Repository Unair*.

- [9]. Guevara, B. B. (2009). States of Conflict: A case study on peace-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Institute for Public Policy Research, 9-10.
- [10]. USAID. (2021, Maret 17). USAID From The American People. Retrieved Agustus 10,2021, from USAID From The American People: https://www.usaid.gov/bosnia/cdcs
- [11]. Latif, D. (2005). Peace Building After Humanitarian Intervention: The Case of Bosniaand Herzegovina. *The Middle East Technical University* (p. 76). The Middle East Technical University.
- [12]. Moshe, M. (2001). Peace building: a conceptual framework. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 10 (1), 14.
- [13]. Ghali, B. B. (1992, Juni 17). *An Agenda for Peace*. Retrieved Agustus 11, 2021, from United Nation: http://www.un.org/plwebcgi/idoc.pl
- [14]. UNDP. (2003). Human Development Report/Millennium Development Goals 2003. UNDP, 26.
- [15]. Hippel, K. V. (2000). Democracy by Force-A Renewed Commitment to Nation Building. Washington Quarterly , 23 (1), 103.
- [16]. Belloni, R. (2001). 'Building Civil Society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Human RightsWorking Paper*, 3.
- [17]. Cousens, E. M., & K.Cater, C. (2001). Towards Peace in Bosnia Implementing the Dayton Accords. 72.