



**T.C.
ZONGULDAK BULENT ECEVİT UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION**

MASTER THESIS

**MORAL DILEMMAS IN HUMANITARIAN AIDS
IN CIVIL WARS**

Sedanur KARAKOÇ

Zonguldak 2023

**T.C.
ZONGULDAK BULENT ECEVIT UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION**

MASTER THESIS

**MORAL DILEMMAS IN HUMANITARIAN AIDS
IN CIVIL WARS**

**BY
Sedanur KARAKOÇ**

**Supervisor
Assist, Prof. Rahman DAĞ**

Zonguldak 2023

SCIENTIFIC ETHICS STATEMENT

I hereby declare that I comply with scientific ethics and academic rules at all stages of the Master's Thesis, that I refer to every quotation I use directly or indirectly in the study, that the works I benefit from are those shown in the bibliography, and that my writing and publishing are in accordance with the institute's thesis writing and publishing guidelines.

Sedanur KARAKOÇ

31.05.2023

T.C.
ZONGULDAK BULENT ECEVIT UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

APPROVAL OF THE THESIS

The THESIS DEFENSE EXAM related to the MA thesis titled "**Moral Dilemmas In Humanitarian Aids In Civil Wars**" prepared by Sedanur KARAKOÇ, number 205282116014, in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration of our Institute, will be held on Wednesday, 14/06/2023, in accordance with the Graduate Education and Examination Regulations. It was held at 10:00, and at the end of the answers to the questions asked, the approval of the thesis was decided MAJORITY VOTES/UNANIMOUSLY.

Prof. Dr. Özcan SEZER
Head of the Examining Committee

Assoc. Prof. Rahman DAĞ
(Supervisor)
Member

Assoc. Prof. Özgür TÜFEKÇİ
Member

I certify that the above signatures belong to the aforementioned faculty
members.

14 / 06 / 2023

Assoc. Prof. Yücel NAMAL
Director of the Institute of Social Sciences

ABSTRACT

Institution : ZBEU, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of
Political Science and Public Administration

Thesis Title : Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Aids in Civil Wars

Thesis Author : Sedanur KARAKOÇ

Thesis Adviser : Assoc. Prof. Rahman DAĞ

Type, Year : MA Thesis, 2023

Number of Pages : 106

Throughout history, many concepts have constantly changed with new developments and have taken their current form. The concepts of war and humanitarian aid are also concepts that have changed and transformed over time. Civil wars, which have arisen for various reasons, are among the causes of great humanitarian crises in today's world. In order to prevent humanitarian crises, various humanitarian aid activities are observed in civil war regions. It has been observed that the humanitarian aid activities carried out to prevent humanitarian crises actually deepened the crisis in some cases and increased the duration and severity of the civil war. The deepening of crises and the negative effects of war on humanitarian aid activities are based on moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities for various reasons. Even if a humanitarian aid activity is carried out with good intentions and for a good purpose, it can increase the severity of the crisis instead of contributing to the solution of the crisis as a result of moral dilemmas for various reasons. Based on this situation, in this thesis, the moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities in civil wars will be examined through the example of the civil wars in Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen, and the moral dilemmas and their causes will be determined.

Keywords: Civil War, Humanitarian Aid, Moral Dilemma, Humanitarian Aid Organizations.

ÖZET

Kurum	: ZBEÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Anabilim Dalı
Tez Başlığı	: İç Savaşlarda İnsani Yardımlarda Yaşanan Ahlaki İkilemler
Tez Yazarı	: Sedanur KARAKOÇ
Tez Danışmanı	: Doç. Dr. Rahman DAĞ
Türü, Yılı	: Yüksek Lisans, 2023
Sayfa Adedi	: 106

Çeşitli nedenlerle ortaya çıkan iç savaşlar, günümüz dünyasının en büyük insani krizlerinin yaşanmasına neden olmaktadır. Yaşanan insani krizleri önlemek amacıyla iç savaş bölgelerinde çeşitli insani yardım faaliyetleri görülmektedir. Krizi önlemek amacıyla yapılan faaliyetlerin aslında bazı durumlarda krizi derinleştirdiği, iç savaşın süresini ve şiddetini artırdığı görülmüştür. İnsani yardım faaliyetlerini krizi derinleştirmesi ve savaşı negatif yönde etkilemesi, insani yardım faaliyetlerinde yaşanan ahlaki ikilemlere dayanmaktadır. Bir insani yardım faaliyeti iyi bir niyetle, iyi bir amaç için yapılıyor olsa bile çeşitli nedenlerle ahlaki ikilem yaşanması sonucunda krizin çözümüne katkı sağlamak yerine krizin şiddetini artırabilmektedir. Bu durumdan yola çıkarak, bu tez çalışmasında iç savaşlarda yer alan insani yardım faaliyetlerinde yaşanan ahlaki ikilemlerin savaşların süre ve şiddetini ne yönde etkilediği Ruanda, Bosna, Nijerya, Afganistan ve Yemen iç savaşları örneği üzerinden incelenerek, yaşanan ahlaki ikilemler ve nedenleri tespit edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İç Savaş, İnsani Yardım, Ahlaki İkilem, İnsani Yardım Kuruluşları.

PREFACE

This study, which examines how the ethical dilemmas experienced during humanitarian aid activities in civil wars affect the duration and intensity of wars, has received contributions from many individuals from the beginning to the end. Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Rahman DAĞ, who supported and motivated me whenever I am confused during the completion of this study. I also extend my thanks to Assoc. Prof. Kamil DEMİRHAN, who assisted me in the initial stages of my thesis, guiding me on how to proceed. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the professors who have contributed to my education and academic studies at Çankaya University and Bülent Ecevit University. I would also like to thank my jury members Prof. Dr. Özcan SEZER and Assoc. Prof. Özgür TÜFEKÇİ, for their valuable time and reviews.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to my mother, Hülya KARAKOÇ, and my father, Erol KARAKOÇ, who have provided me with unwavering support both financially and morally throughout my journey. I would like to thank my sister, Şule KARAKOÇ, and my brother, Efe Erdem KARAKOÇ, who have been there for me and supported me every step of the way, just as they have in every aspect of my life. Without their support, none of my achievements would have been possible. I would also like to individually thank all my friends who have supported me and shown patience throughout this journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZET	v
PREFACE.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	x
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Research Method	5
1. HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF CIVIL WAR.....	8
1.1. Old Wars Concept.....	9
1.2. New War Concept.....	11
1.2.1. Civil War	15
1.2.1.1. Causes of Civil Wars	18
1.2.1.1.1. The Relationship between Civil War and Natural Resource	19
1.2.1.1.2. The Relationship between Civil War and Geography	21
1.2.1.1.3. The Relationship between Civil War and Politics.....	22
1.2.1.1.4. The Relationship between Civil War and Economy ...	23
1.2.1.1.5. The Relationship Between Civil War and Ethnicity ...	25
1.2.1.2. Consequences of Civil Wars	25
2. THE CONCEPT OF HUMANITARIAN AID	30
2.1. Humanitarian Aid Concept	30
2.1.1. Emergence of the Concept of Humanitarian Aid	32
2.1.2. Evolution of the Concept of Humanitarian Aid.....	33
2.2. Principles of Humanitarian Aid	34
2.2.1. The Principles of Humanity.....	34
2.2.2. The Principles of Impartiality	35
2.2.3. The Principles of Neutrality	36
2.2.4. The Principles of Independence	36
2.3. Humanitarian Aid Actors.....	37
2.4. Humanitarian Aid Organizations	39
3. HUMANITARIAN AID ACTIVITIES IN CIVIL WARS	42
3.1. Humanitarian Aid in Civil Wars	42
3.2. Risks of Humanitarian Aid Organizations and Activities	48
3.3. Rwanda, Bosnian, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen Cases	51
3.3.1. Rwanda Civil War	54
3.3.1.1. Humanitarian Aid in Rwanda Civil War	55
3.3.2. Bosnian Civil War	56

3.3.2.1. Humanitarian Aid in the Bosnian War	57
3.3.3. Nigeria Civil War	60
3.3.1.1. Humanitarian Aid in the Nigerian War	61
3.3.4. Afghanistan Civil War.....	62
3.3.4.1. Humanitarian Aid in Afghanistan War.....	64
3.3.5. Yemen Civil War.....	66
3.3.5.1. Humanitarian Aid in the Yemen Civil War.....	69
4. MORAL DILEMMAS OF HUMANITARIAN AID IN CIVIL WARS	72
4.1. Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Aids.....	74
4.1.1. Moral Dilemmas by Humanitarian Principles	75
4.1.2. Moral Dilemmas by Instrumentalization of Humanitarian Aid.....	77
4.1.3. Moral Dilemmas by Discrimination	78
4.1.4. Moral Dilemmas by Aid Workers	79
4.1.5. Moral Dilemmas by Humanitarian Aid Organizations.....	81
4.1.6. Moral Dilemmas by Donations and Donors	85
4.1.7. Moral Dilemmas by Coercion and Threats.....	86
4.1.8. Moral Dilemmas by Structure of the Helped Society.....	86
CONCLUSION.....	91
REFERENCES.....	95
BACKGROUND	106

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Civil Wars and Moral Dilemmas.....	89
---	----



ABBREVIATIONS

CARE	: Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
COW	: The Correlates of War
ISIS	: Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
GCC	: Gulf Cooperation Council
ICRC	: International Committee of the Red Cross
INGO's	: International Non-governmental Organizations
MSF	: Doctors Without Borders
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO's	: Non-governmental Organizations
OECD	: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OXFAM	: Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
RCRC	: Red Cross Red Crescent
RPF	: Rwanda Patriotic Front
SERBOFOR	: Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Serb Protection Force
UN	: United Nations
UNICEF	: International Children's Emergency Fund
UNOCHA	: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNPROFOR	: United Nations Protection Force
UNRWA	: United Nations Relief and Works Agency
USA	: United States of America
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WFP	: World Food Program

INTRODUCTION

From the first human to the present, people have had conflicts in various ways for various reasons, and people have acted with the urge to help people in need throughout history. As a result of conflicts and wars because of various disagreements, a helping hand was extended to wounded soldiers and people in need during such crisis periods. Concepts such as philanthropy in major religions, especially in Islam and Christianity, played an important role in the first humanitarian aid movements. For example, in early Christianity, charity was seen as a responsibility. In Islam, the tradition of zakat and helping others have an important place (Davey, Borton & Foley, 2013, p. 5). Although the exact date of the first humanitarian aid is not known, the first known international aid is accepted as military aid. Although today humanitarian aid is generally thought of as a response to natural disasters such as disasters and man-made disasters such as wars, in the past it has emerged purely as assistance to soldiers in military conflicts. Assistance was provided to wounded soldiers and civilians during the Battle of Solferino by Henry Dunant, and a permanent aid agency was proposed for further assistance. As a result of this process, the Red Cross was established in 1863, and one of the first international aid organizations emerged. In the first Geneva Convention of 1864, the Red Cross was authorized to provide impartial and neutral assistance to civilians and soldiers affected by conflict (Cullingham & Harris, 2008, p. 1). Again, the 1876-1879 North China Famine, which was experienced in this period, is accepted as the first organized international humanitarian aid and also the beginning of the first monetary aid (Rysaback-Smith, 2015, p. 6).

While humanitarian efforts were initially led by governments and focused almost exclusively on the health and needs of armies, they have evolved over time to provide protection and care for all citizens affected by conflict (London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2016). While it is unclear exactly when and why the concept of humanitarianism evolved into transboundary activities, the establishment of the ICRC in 1863 as the world's first official international humanitarian organization is considered the breaking point. In the middle of the 19th century, humanitarian activity by states and private individuals turned into a more organized movement through policies and activities on a global scale (Anderson, et al. 2014, p. 10).

While many concepts have changed in the historical process, on the other hand, they have remained basically the same. Although these concepts, which have an important place in the literature of international relations such as war, civil war and humanitarian aid, have changed with various developments, they have always maintained the same goals. As of the century we live in, the concepts of war and humanitarian aid have begun to come to the fore. The reason for this can be cited as the humanitarian aid activities to alleviate the armed conflicts, wars and humanitarian crises experienced in different ways in different parts of the world, especially with the changing understanding of war in the last thirty years. Today, conflicts have been experienced due to various reasons such as the increase in ethnic and religious groupings, decrease in natural resources, and increase in income distribution are becoming more and more different from the old wars between states. The changes in the causes of war have urged to change in understanding of war. In Mary Kaldor's words, "new war", has become a situation in which the rules and borders of war have changed, wars are not between two states, but within the state, between groups against the state and the state, open to foreign intervention, civilian deaths are at the forefront has arrived.

When we look at the complexity of the conflicts, especially in Central Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa, as of the end of the 1980s, it is seen that these wars are different from the wars between states and therefore their results are different and more severe. The changing understanding of war and ascending conflicts increase the need for humanitarian aid. In the last decade of the 20th century, it is seen that humanitarian aid became an increasingly prominent concept with the wars in Eastern Europe and Africa, albeit in different parts of the world. In the 21st century, the need for humanitarian aid has increased gradually after conflicts and civil wars in Central Asia, Africa and the Middle East as a result of the Arab Spring. Conflicts in many countries in different geographies, especially in Syria, Somalia, Afghanistan, Ukraine and Yemen, harm civilians and cause even basic needs to become unmet. The struggles of humanitarian organizations are seen in these regions where people are internally displaced and simultaneously trying to fight problems such as hunger, health, and security.

In the 21st century, the concepts of freedom, rights and aid have become concepts that we encounter very often. As a result of the World War II and its aftermath, the prominence of the concepts of human rights and humanitarian aid has increased, and there is a recently increasing awareness on these issues as a result of both natural disasters and human events such as wars and conflicts. The concept of civil society, which was used identically with the state from Ancient Greece to the 18th century, developed as a result of globalization and various disasters and wars (Aslan, 2010, p. 209). The increase in the need for humanitarian aid due to natural disasters and wars has led to the emergence of non-governmental organizations engaged in humanitarian aid activities on a national and international scale, and these organizations to work within the framework of a plan. With the establishment of more than 200 organizations established in 4 years after the Second World War, there has been a sudden and unprecedented growth in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Rysaback-Smith, 2015, p. 6). Thanks to NGOs, aid has started to become more global and shift from Europe to less developed parts of the world with increasing developments in transportation and communication. Since non-governmental organizations have the ability to act independently from the state, they have the ability to provide aid that the state does not provide or cannot do due to legal restrictions. As a result of various political and social events around the world since the 1980s, the rapidly increasing NGOs have created a wide network of volunteers. Many national and international humanitarian organizations, especially the International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations, are seen in conflict zones. Humanitarian aid organizations, no matter how large their numbers, activities and funds are, are not alone enough to end conflicts and wars. Although the concept of humanitarian aid has begun to be discussed more in both national and international dimensions in recent years, the scope and effectiveness of aid are discussed.

The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the effects of humanitarian aid activities on the duration and severity of civil wars by addressing the impact of civil wars. The hypothesis of this thesis will be examined through humanitarian aid activities and results in Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen Civil Wars, where the duration and severity of civil wars have the potential to increase as a result of various moral dilemmas in humanitarian aid activities. In short, based

on the various analyses made above, the problems created by the humanitarian aid activities in civil wars and the causes of these problems are mentioned. These problems have been addressed from various perspectives in the literature, but they have not been addressed from a holistic perspective. The contribution of this study to the literature is to reveal, with a holistic perspective, the principles, means and purposes of humanitarian aid, which is vital in civil wars, instead of helping to alleviate humanitarian crises, in some cases, by increasing the severity and duration of conflicts, affecting more people from the civil war and deepening the dimension of the humanitarian crisis. In this way, the moral dilemma that emerged by evaluating the problems created and to be created by humanitarian aid through different civil wars will be included. This dilemma and its solution will then be discussed. In this way, with this thesis, it is aimed to fill the gap in the literature about the moral dilemma created by humanitarian aid can bring harm as well as benefit.

The questions to be answered in this study are “Does humanitarian aid affect the duration and severity of civil wars? Which elements of humanitarian aid affect the duration and severity of the conflict? Is humanitarian aid exacerbating the crisis while trying to prevent it? Why do humanitarian activities cause a moral dilemma? What are the moral dilemmas in humanitarian aid?” The reports of humanitarian aid organizations operating in the field were determined as a result of researches by examining the reports and articles of aid workers and various experts who have worked in the field for many years.

The study consists of a total of 4 main parts. The roadmap followed in this study to analyse the hypothesis put forward above is as follows: In the first part of the study, the concept of war was first examined. The aim of examining the war studies in the literature is to provide a perspective to understand the new civil wars that have emerged with the changing understanding of war. For this reason, the works and thoughts of people who contributed to war research and caused important transformations, starting with Carl von Clausewitz, are included. For this purpose, the old and new war concepts were discussed and the relationship between the concept of civil war and globalization was evaluated through various civil wars. Causes of wars throughout history; There have been elements such as ethnicity,

religion, sect, natural resources (Şahin, 2019, p. 1). Although the concept of war has changed over time, its causes have remained the same in general terms.

In the second part of the study, the concept of humanitarian aid is discussed. The development of the concept of humanitarian aid in the historical process and the universal definitions of the concept are mentioned. The role of humanitarian aid in civil wars is examined by giving place to humanitarian aid actors and principles.

In the third chapter, humanitarian aid activities in Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen Civil Wars are discussed and how humanitarian aid affects the severity and duration of civil wars and the moral dilemma experienced in humanitarian aid activities are examined.

In the fourth chapter, the concept of moral dilemma is discussed and moral dilemmas experienced during humanitarian aid activities and their causes are mentioned. In addition, moral dilemmas in humanitarian aid activities and their results were evaluated through the examples of civil wars discussed in the third chapter. Instrumentalization of humanitarian aid, inequality between groups and the dilemma created by the principle of impartiality or neutrality, which is one of the humanitarian aid principles, the dilemmas caused by humanitarian aid organizations, aid workers and funders, the structure of the society being helped, the moral dilemmas created by threats and coercions will be examined under these headings. It has been discussed through examples whether it prolongs the conflict and increases the violence of the conflicts.

Research Method

In this thesis, one of the qualitative research methods, “trace/process monitoring” method was used. This method is a research method that examines a single condition or a small number of cases, generally examining causal mechanisms. It is thought that the moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities in different civil wars and the effect of aid on the duration and severity of the war will be understood more clearly thanks to this method, which was chosen because it is a method for the purpose of ensuring the reliability of data collection and sampling. With this method, the relevant literature was examined in detail and in this direction, articles, books, and news bulletins published in English and

Turkish languages were researched based on three basic concepts: "humanitarian aid, civil war and moral dilemma". During this research, the concept of humanitarian aid was examined in terms of civil wars within the framework of the research question and research problem, and the research was continued in a more limited framework. Likewise, moral dilemma has been examined in terms of humanitarian aid activities rather than its general meaning. The reference lists of the articles and books examined in this way were also examined. Thematically organized sources were analysed qualitatively.

In the study, it was tried to benefit from primary sources as much as possible. Humanitarian organizations and aid workers working in civil war environments have difficulties in meeting ethical obligations and humanitarian principles. A systematic literature review was conducted to better understand the types of difficulties experienced in these contexts. Since the subject of the research is examined in depth in the context of civil war and humanitarian aid and dealt with within the framework of moral dilemmas, civil wars, which cause great humanitarian crises and debates, were preferred in the study. In this context, the Civil Wars of Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen were chosen. The main reason for this preference is the thought that humanitarian aid in these wars brought more harm than good, despite the fact that it was lived in different geographies at different times.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the humanitarian aid activities carried out in various civil wars and to determine the effect of moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities on the duration and severity of the war.

At this point, in selected civil wars:

- Humanitarian aid activities,
- The impact of humanitarian aid activities on the severity of the war,
- The impact of humanitarian aid activities on the duration of the war,
- What kind of moral dilemmas are experienced in humanitarian aid activities,

place is given.

Unlike previous studies, it was preferred to consider the concepts of "civil war", "humanitarian aid" and "moral dilemma", which are on the agenda both in daily life and academic life. Again, the research question of the thesis is “Do the moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities during civil wars affect the duration and severity of wars?” Since it is a question, the position of humanitarian aid activities in civil wars, how they affect the duration and severity of the war has been discussed and examined in the context of moral dilemmas.

Another limitation of the research is that the research was conducted in a limited time and that some information to be examined and some people to be interviewed could not be reached within this period. In addition, the limitations of the study include the fact that the research only includes English and Turkish sources, and that all ethical and humanitarian difficulties experienced by organizations have not been reported in the literature.

1. HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF CIVIL WAR

Throughout the history of humanity, societies have struggled against other societies to protect or expand their living spaces (Şahin, 2019, p. 1). Like every concept that has been transformed over time, it has survived to the present day by being affected by various historical events in the war. In this section, which is the first part of the thesis, the concept of war has been dealt with in the historical process with old and new warheads. Then, a detailed study of the civil war with its causes and results was made and literature in this field were included. Traditional warfare is an important research topic in different disciplines; It takes place in the literature with new war types, shaped by developing technology, transforming international order and changing power balance. *“With the exception of some exceptional periods of peace, war has been a frequently used foreign policy tool. The First and Second World Wars, which can be said to have been started by revisionist states that are not satisfied with the current situation, have also shown humanity how destructive war is”* (Karabulut, 2017, p. 116). Therefore, the concept of war, which is an important concept, has been discussed many times by different academic circles from different perspectives.

When the literature is examined in order to understand the wars in the past and today, it is seen that Clausewitz's work on War laid the first foundations of the concept of war in the modern sense. The concept of war has been discussed in two groups as traditionalist and behaviouralist in terms of analysis. Behaviouralists used quantitative methods while traditionalists studied qualitatively. One of the first to analyse the phenomenon of war with quantitative data was Quincy Wright. In addition to Wright, data-based studies of David Singer and Melvin Small have an important place in war analysis (Şahin, 2019, p. 1). Wars are divided into different types according to the weapon used, their level, purpose and belligerents (Sokullu, 2019, p. 4).

The historical development of the concept of war has been examined from different perspectives and has begun to be named in different ways. When we approach from the past to the present, it is seen that there are approaches that suggest that the concept of war cannot be explained by the old actors. In many studies, especially Mary Kaldor's work in which she distinguishes between old and

new wars, it is seen that wars based on land and between states in the past have been replaced by wars for various reasons other than land and with new concepts involving non-state actors. The concept of war, which has an important social place throughout history, is a very comprehensive and complex concept (Çakırca, 2019, p. 84). For this reason, this concept, which does not have a precise definition, has been defined in different ways by different academic circles. While war is violence between states according to Kaldor, it is the use of force by the warring parties according to Grotius (Grotius, 1625). According to the famous thinker Ibn Khaldun, while the concept of war is based on the feeling of revenge against other groups in groups with an identity, according to Kant, war is the source of all evil and moral corruption (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2013). According to Wallerstein, war is the expansionist and regulatory activities of the great powers in order to maintain the free market economy (Wallerstein, 1993, p.2), while according to Hedley Bull, war is an organized act of violence against each other by different political parties (Bull, 1977, p. 184). According to General Carl von Clausewitz, who examines the war with all its elements, war is "the continuation of politics by other means" (Clausewitz, 2020, p. 94). This definition of Clausewitz has a feature that explains all the wars that took place throughout history. Clausewitz, who sees war as an interstate activity that is planned and implemented in line with the political goals and strategies of states, has not only dealt with the concept of war in a scientific framework, but also exhibited a philosophical perspective in order to understand the logic of war (Ereker, 2004, p. 27).

1.1. Old Wars Concept

The concept of war has become an important concept for the discipline of international relations by directing the flow of history since ancient times. Clausewitz's book *On War* has an important place when talking about the concept of war, which is one of the most discussed concepts in terms of its results and effects for centuries. Despite the definitions that include today's wars with his analysis, Clausewitz's definitions of war are mainly discussed within the scope of traditional war definitions. For him, war is an activity. This activity is both an act of using force to defeat the enemy in a large dual arena, and a political action that imposes the will of the party and defeats it (Çakırca, 2019, p. 87). War arises as a result of politics, but from the moment it arises, it becomes politics itself. Wars never stop

because all actions in war are the result of different political aims. The parties have their own political aims and they do not give up on these aims/interests. This naturally creates a cycle of violence (Çakırca, 2019, p. 93). When we look at the wars and conflicts that are taking place today, we can clearly see this. Regional or global powers that are not the main parties to the war can suddenly become involved in the war in various ways for their political interests. For this reason, we can say that the old war concept has some basic features with today's understanding of war.

Clausewitz defines a triple war and calls it a "trinity". According to this trilogy, war both changes its features according to changing situations like a chameleon and has some distinctive features. *"Primitive violence, hatred and enmity; the identity of a political tool subject to coincidence and probabilities, and finally to reason"* (Sevim, 2022, p. 3). The first of these three features concerns the people, the second concerns the commander and his army, and the third concerns the government. Creveld (1986) makes a critique at this point in his article "The Eternal Clausewitz". He states that this system is too narrow and state-centred for today's wars. It therefore proposes five principles for the study of new wars involving non-state actors. The first is who the parties to the war are. The second is what the cause of the war was. The third is how the war is fought, what the strategy and tactics are, while the fourth is what the war is for. Finally, while examining the question of why the war was waged, it is aimed to examine the factors that encourage participating in a war (Sevim, 2022, p. 3). According to Creveld, Clausewitz's approach to war is not suitable for this age, it has lost its validity. Creveld, one of those who introduced the concept of "IV. Generation War", he states that with the new type of war that emerged after the World War II, states were replaced by non-state units that were irregular, targeting civilians and emphasizing asymmetrical attacks (Creveld, 1986, p. 58). Until the 1990s, the war was examined theoretically from a Clausewitzian point of view, with the introduction of the concept of "new war", the elements used in examining the concept of war began to change.

Globalization has a great importance in the evolution of the concept of war. The reason for this is the relativization of the concept of state with globalization, technological advances, the development of weapons and communication systems

and the change of national interests. (Çakırca, 2019, p. 94). According to Creveld, it is very difficult for some academic circles to understand and explain today's wars with rational and utilitarian approaches (Creveld, 1986, p. 39). The reason for this is that today's conflicting parties are not limited to states only. Today, there are non-state actors. Low-intensity wars have begun to replace conventional wars. Mary Kaldor defines new wars as wars between state and non-state actors and says that the cause of these wars should be sought in changes in sociological and political conditions (Kaldor, 2005, p. 491).

Contemporary conflicts proceed in the same way as hatred, enmity, and the resulting violence, which is seen as a natural state. For Clausewitz, blind violence, probability calculations, and political vehicle identity are present in every war, even if their intensities and the form of interaction between them change (Çakırca, 2019, p. 89). In new wars, the conflicting actors also have a goal-means relationship. For example, although they are non-state actors, terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS also seem to have political aims and methods. The political goals of the parties and their strength are the main reasons that determine both the war plan, the war strategy and the duration of the war today. War arises as a direct result of politics, and after it has begun, war still becomes politics itself.

1.2. New War Concept

Traditional warfare, which is an important research topic in different disciplines; It takes place in the literature with new war types, shaped by developing technology, transforming international order and changing power balance. The Cold War period, which lasted from the Second World War to 1991, can be regarded as a "period of relative peace" as in the European Harmony System (Kalyvas & Kenny, 2010, p. 4). Although there was no hot conflict between the USA and the USSR or their sides during this period, various wars took place for various reasons during the Cold War period. For example, due to the decolonization process, many countries witnessed a war of independence during this period. After this period, which was accepted as a period of relative peace, the phenomenon of war re-emerged. In this period, the "New World Order" emerged as a result of the USA becoming the only global hegemony of the world in the post-Cold War era. With this new order, old wars have been replaced by new wars that cause the death

of more innocents and disrupt the peace of the society (Dağ and Tüfekçi, 2022, p. 21). This "New World Order", which is also described as a unipolar structure, can be considered the beginning of new wars. The war launched against Iraq in 1991 gave the first signals of the emergence of wars of a very different kind than in other periods in history. It can be said that "ethnic wars" that emerged in the post-Cold War period, especially in the Balkans, left their mark on the period. As a result of the events in Africa and Eastern Europe in the 1990s, a form of war that differs from traditional wars in many respects and becomes global in every respect has emerged (Kaldor, 2013, p. 2). Kaldor has introduced a different type of war, which differs from this traditional war, into the literature with the concept of "new war". Rwanda and Bosnia in the 1990s; When we came to the 2000s, it is possible to see all the features of the new understanding of war in all these wars with the Arab Spring. Ethnic wars in the Caucasus and African regions, as well as the Balkans, have brought up concepts such as the law of war and war ethics due to very inhuman practices. As a result, it is seen that international law has been brought to the fore in order to investigate and punish violations of war law. It can be said that the unipolar system led by the USA has quite devastating consequences in the context of wars. The absence of any element to balance the USA caused the USA to play a role as an arbitrator in the wars that took place at that time. The most concrete examples of this are that the wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina and later in Kosovo were ended only with the involvement of the USA (Babuna, 2014, p. 2). One of the most important breaking points in the transformation of the phenomenon of war is undoubtedly the terrorist attacks of September 11th. The "War on Terror" discourse, proclaimed by the then American President George W. Bush, caused the phenomenon of war to be reshaped in a completely different way. The use of the rhetoric of war on terror instead of the fight against terrorism has revealed that sub-state units have become one of the most important parties of the war.

In recent years, along with ethnic-based wars or terrorism, religious and especially sectarian-based "Proxy Wars" have been observed. Proxy wars can be explained as a low-cost and less risky type of war for weak states and states that persuade other groups to fight for their own interests. (Karabulut & Oğuz, 2018, p. 78). It is possible to make different definitions of proxy wars. Different states did not fight directly in different geographies; but it can be described as a type of war

that triggers third parties to fight. The best example of proxy wars can be given as *"the competition between the USA and the USSR during the Cold War period was transformed into wars in different countries; however, no US or USSR soldiers were actively involved in these wars"* (Varlık, 2013, p. 47).

This new conceptualization of war, which was put forward in the process of the Arab Spring and especially with the example of Syria; It has begun to enter the literature in order to explain the indirect war that states wage with each other over terrorist organizations. Another of the best examples that can be given to new wars is the Hybrid War, which Russia implemented in the crisis with Ukraine. Hybrid warfare, also called hybrid or mixed warfare, has emerged as a very complicated type of war that includes all kinds of means to wear out the other side, especially the technological possibilities that emerged with the globalization process.

With the emergence of the concept of "new war", it is seen that the parties in the wars are non-state actors. *"Low-intensity conflicts have replaced conventional wars, in this case weakening states."* (Karaosmanoğlu, 2011, p. 11). It is important at some point to distinguish between the old and the new in order to develop a strategy against the wars. Wars have undergone some changes in the historical process, but according to Kaldor, these changes are due to changes in sociological and political developments rather than technological and tactical changes (Kaldor, 2005, p. 491). Although it is seen by some academic circles that wars today express a certain differentiation with technological developments, in the arms industry and changes in the qualities of the conflicting actors; It is claimed that the logic and philosophical essence of war has not changed and new wars can be understood with Clausewitz's paradigm (Çakırca, 2019, p. 99). In other words, it would not be wrong to say that Clausewitz's approaches to war are largely valid today. According to a substantial majority, wars in the early modern period, when states were not yet powerful, are related to the concept of new war.

Kaldor states that conflicts between states, which he describes as old wars, can always reoccur, and that everything repeats itself in history. Kaldor uses the concepts of old and new warfare by separating current wars from past ones. The basis of this distinction is based on the complex conflicts that took place in different parts of the world, especially in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, East and Central

Africa in the 1990s. Claiming that a new organized violence emerged in the last decade of the twentieth century, Kaldor called this type of violence the new war (Kaldor, 2013, p. 2). He states that in these wars the distinction between inside and outside is blurred, they are both global and local. While the concept of new war is generally considered as the same concept as the concept of civil war in the literature, Kaldor states that new wars are different from civil wars as well as from classical wars between states, emphasizing that the concept of new war is different from the concept of civil war. The actors of the new wars are very diverse. There are both state and non-state actors. It is noteworthy that violence is generally directed at civilians here. This leads to the unknown number of casualties, which is another feature of new wars. The fragility of states, various identity policies and several economic reasons are the foundations of new wars. Especially today, the excessive identity politics and the global weakening of the states, together with the economic crises experienced throughout the world, increase the risk of new wars day by day. What happened in Bosnia, Iraq, Somalia, Pakistan or Afghanistan is not fundamentally different. All of them are examples of new warfare.

With the increase in war types in the historical process, war terminology has enriched and new war theories such as new war types have begun to be discussed. For example, although the just war theory is a theory based on a long historical process, it has started to be discussed more with the increase in civilian deaths with the two world wars in the 20th century. A just war is about historical rules or agreements applied in various wars throughout history. The just war theory is based on three moral principles, in order: *jus ad bellum*; *jus in bello*; *jus post bellum*.

Jus ad bellum refers to the just cause and intention of starting the war, the authority and legitimacy of the political authority that decides the war to fight as the last, final and inevitable remedy. In short, if there is an enemy threat, it means that the conditions for war have been created. While *jus in bello* is a principle about what happened during the war and mostly about not harming civilians, *jus post bellum* refers to the moral principles that should be followed after the war ends at the end of the war. For a war to be a 'just' war, it must be declared openly by the full sovereign authority, a valid reason for the war (defense of the common good, retaliating against a great injustice, etc.), the just aim of the belligerent state, and

the aim of the war must include the establishment of a just peace. (Dinçer, 2018, p. 111). It is not possible to think of the wars that are taking place today apart from the concept of globalization and expansionist policies. It is inevitable for a state to consolidate its presence and pursue political and economic projects in a country that has entered under the pretext of humanitarian intervention. In the Iraq and Gulf Wars, it was clearly seen that the just war did not have a humanitarian purpose (Baloğlu, 2019, p. 38).

1.2.1. Civil War

Throughout history, wars have appeared in various forms. The number of civil wars, which is one of the war types, has increased gradually, especially after 1945. Civil wars occur as a result of different internal dynamics in different parts of the world. The region, its position in the international arena and the developments around the world play a role in the emergence of internal conflicts. In addition to these, important underground and aboveground natural resources are another important reason for internal conflicts to find support (Raleigh et al., 2010, p. 33).

In today's world, wars are handled as proxy wars, asymmetric wars, hybrid wars or civil wars (Çona, 2018, p. 15). In all these types of war, instead of the soldiers of the two states, different groups of different ethnic, religious and political views are fighting within the country, and these groups are generally supported by foreign powers in various ways. When we look at civil wars, although there are different causes and consequences for each country, civil wars are mainly caused by various events contrary to democracy such as economic, political, ethnic and sectarian problems and various rights violations (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 151). Civil wars, especially after the Cold War, exceeded national borders and gained international dimensions. Although civil wars seem to depend mainly on internal dynamics, we clearly see that various non-state actors play a role. External actors can cause a civil war, as well as increase the intensity of the conflict during the war with various hegemonic goals. For this reason, it would be wrong to consider a civil war only as an internal conflict. Contrary to the traditional war, the civilian population suffers the most in civil wars.

More than one organization with different ethnic, religious or political views may fight each other or the state that can no longer fulfil its obligations. Usually,

such wars can turn into proxy wars. Russia, Iran and the USA in Afghanistan, Syria and Libya, and Saudi Arabia and Iran in Yemen are the best examples of this situation. In each of these wars, the conflicts between two or more groups, which were separated for various reasons within the country, became complicated over time as the groups received support from external actors such as different regional or global powers, and the civil war was no longer between the citizens of those countries and became an inextricable problem (Karakoç, 2022, p. 82). While there are foreign interventions due to various similar reasons in almost all of the civil wars today, it is not possible to say that there is no foreign intervention, especially in the civil wars in the Middle East (Çendek and Öрки 2019, p. 46).

There are some new features of "new wars", a concept that started in 1945 and gained momentum in the 1990s and was used by Mary Kaldor in 1999. For example, there is an escalation in civilian deaths in new civil wars. *"While almost 90% of those who died in the wars until the first quarter of the 20th century were soldiers, the civilian casualties reached 80% in the new war picture that emerged when we came to the end of the 20th century"* (Erkiner, 2019, p. 47). The reason for this is that these wars take place within the state itself and it becomes difficult to distinguish between soldiers and civilians (Erkiner, 2019, p. 47). Compared to the traditional war, the number of child soldiers is also higher (Sağıroğlu, 2022, p. 39). There are certain definite rules, such as the prohibition of killing prisoners and civilians in wars between states. Failure to comply with these rules may result in accountability. However, although these rules are still valid in civil wars, we see that these rules are not followed. Wars have become cheaper today because in civil wars, more accessible light weapons are used, not heavy weapons such as tanks, aircraft and ships (Erkiner, 2019, p. 48). Civil wars last longer than wars between states. There are various reasons for this. First of all, when the foreign powers support one of the parties in the civil wars, and another foreign power supports the other side, the conflicts increase and the wars last for decades. The second important reason is the commercialization of war. Wars have become privatized and commercialized, leaving the monopoly of the states. *"Warlords, child soldiers, mercenary companies have become new actors who undertake the war"* (Oba, 2019, p. 29). In addition to these, wars have become commercial due to the aims of some leading states in the arms industry that support or do not support wars in civil

wars, such as selling more weapons. In regions where the war is actively taking place, smuggling types such as human, weapons and drug smuggling dominate. In addition to all these, regions where civil wars take place have great importance in arms sales. Contrary to the traditional war, even if the civil war ends, it takes many years for peace to come. When wars between states are over, temporary or permanent peace conditions come into question. However, in civil wars, serious crimes such as ethnic cleansing and mass rape are committed (Erkiner, 2019, p. 49). Although this situation occurs in many wars, it draws attention in the Bosnian War with its systematic and planned execution (Kaldor, 2013, p. 54). Even if the war is over, these massacres are not erased from the memories and the hostilities of these groups living within the same borders arise at every opportunity and it is almost impossible to live together. Civil wars, unlike traditional wars, are specialized. In the past, while the soldiers of the states fought in the wars, various war companies are seen in the new wars. The soldiers belonging to these companies think about their financial gains and carry the war to terrible dimensions with various violations (Sağıroğlu, 2022, p. 42). In new wars, there is no distinction between internal and external wars (Kaldor, 2013, p. 54). Before the Second World War, the concepts of war and state could be thought of as a whole, because wars were usually fought between states until this period. With the understanding that changed with the destruction experienced in the war, the wars between states decreased, and the wars of non-state actors against states increased. In other words, while non-state political actors began to take the place of political actors organized as states, civil wars took the place of wars between states (Erkiner, 2019, p. 46).

The Corralates of War (COW) Project is important for understanding civil wars. As a result of the project, a total of 997 civil wars were identified between 1816 and 2014. In the study, various criteria were specified to determine civil wars. With this criterion, it can be listed as follows: *“First of all, two separate groups or state and non-state groups must use violence in order to control the state. Secondly, although this issue is debatable, the death toll in this internal conflict should have been at least 1000 people, and lastly, at least 100 people from both groups should be killed (including civilians killed by the rebel group). In addition to these, according to some, there are various actions in the big cities of the country, the*

active participation of the existing government and the army, and the effective resistance of both groups / parties” (Özdoğan, 2021, p. 1).

The years between the 1960s and 1990s were the years when the most civil wars were seen in the world. The regions with the most civil wars are Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, respectively (Fearon & Laitin, 2003, p. 7). When we look at the 1990s, there were various internal conflicts in many different parts of the world, especially in Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. When we look at the 2000s, civil wars took place in Afghanistan, Myanmar, Egypt, South Sudan, Congo, Somalia, Uganda, Libya, Syria, Yemen and many other countries (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 153).

1.2.1.1. Causes of Civil Wars

When analysing civil wars, it has been revealed that situations such as discrimination and violation of social and economic rights act as a cause of conflict by creating deep grievances and group identity that can motivate collective violence (Thoms & Ron, 2007, p. 674). Civil wars occur mainly in the literature for three reasons. First, people living in a certain part of the country feel excluded and oppressed. Second, there are various political differences. The third is the dominance of different religious ideas (Özdoğan, 2021, p. 3). Looking at the wars that took place in the years after the Cold War, it is seen that Asia, the Middle East and Africa come to the fore as a region. The reason for this is that there is a suitable environment for the above-mentioned three main reasons for civil wars to break out in these regions (Özdoğan, 2021, p. 3). In addition, it is known that there are civil wars in Europe, the Middle East and America for these reasons.

Thoms and Ron (2007) defines violations of civil and political rights as direct triggers of conflict. Repressive regimes in which privacy rights are abused carry the risk of civil war. Denial of political participation rights is associated with internal conflicts as full democracies experience less conflict. Yet democratization itself is dangerous because regime transition is also an important conflict risk factor (Thoms & Ron, 2007, p. 674).

Some civil wars depend on the quality of state institutions and bureaucracy, the state's capacity to collect taxes and fight corruption. A government's share of

the economy as well as the way it spends the taxes, i.e., whether it provides its supporters with predominantly public or private goods, is also important for violent protests (Bethke & Bussman, 2011, p. 1). If a portion of the population feels politically disenfranchised or economically disadvantaged, they develop a high potential for frustration that can accumulate in violent protests and even armed riots. Therefore, it is important that violent mass unrest and armed violence are portrayed as a motivation of protests and insurgents to eradicate political and socioeconomic inequalities and discrimination (Bethke & Bussman, 2011, p. 2). A financially and organizationally weak central government cannot ensure the security of its population. This, in turn, could lead to rebellion and later civil war. Some studies have associated high military spending with a high risk of civil war (Henderson & Singer 2000). State oppression and social inequality facilitate unrest and oppositional behaviour (Bethke & Bussman, 2011, p. 2).

For Clausewitz, war does not have a sudden and sudden character. When we look at today's wars, the reasons for their emergence, and the economic, social and political conditions in detail, it is seen that the war does not appear out of nowhere and is the result of a process or frictions (Çakırca, 2019, p. 98). As there are many factors that trigger civil wars, there are also many factors that shape the course of these wars. The geographical location and characteristics of the country where the war took place, its richness of natural resources, some human characteristics, its relations with neighbouring countries and its characteristics with regional and global powers are the elements that have an important place in the shaping of the civil war (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 155). Basically, in the literature, these are discussed in the political, economic and social framework. In this study, these elements will be examined within the framework of the relationship between natural resources, geography, politics, economy and ethnicity. First of all, the effects of natural resources such as diamonds, oil, valuable raw materials and stones, which are the cause of most of the civil wars in Africa and the Middle East, will be discussed.

1.2.1.1.1. The Relationship between Civil War and Natural Resource

Valuable resources, which are one of the factors that trigger civil wars, increase the hegemony's desire to dominate the region and the effect of foreign

intervention. This factor alone is not enough to start a civil war. The economic, political and social tensions existing within the country are a great opportunity for the hegemons. Again, ethnic and religious diversity, oppressive government, poverty and a corrupt system increase the appetite of the hegemons by increasing the risk of civil war, protest and conflict against the government. In addition to all these, the fact that ethnic and religious groups are large in countries with large populations can cause conflicts or civil wars by activating ethnic groups outside the borders of the country (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 154).

Studies have concluded that countries with abundant natural resources, called resource curse, are more likely to experience weak economic growth and limited development than countries with less natural resources, and there is a link between civil war and valuable natural resources (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 162). Natural resources have a motivating effect on conflicts in societies experiencing civil war. It is accepted that oil has a disruptive effect. Corruption deprives citizens of oil-rich countries of incomes that can enjoy economic growth and social welfare. It is argued that the curse of natural resources weakens political competition and deprives human rights (McLauchlin, 2021, p. 323).

In countries with natural resources, violence is not only related to local dynamics, but also to the global chain of production and consumption (Le Billon, 2008, p. 349). In countries with important natural resources, foreign powers are especially involved in the process. States often support the internal conflicts in these countries, such as weapon support, by indirectly participating in the wars rather than directly intervening in the wars (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 154). It attracts the attention of western powers and international companies in Africa and the Middle East.

It is seen that an ethnic or religious group trying to increase its political power over the state or to establish its own independent administration generally occupies an important resource area. In these regions, armed groups are likely to choose to increase violence in order to obtain high levels of resources and maintain access to resources. In this case, it becomes difficult to end the civil wars. In addition, resource wealth can transform existing low-intensity conflicts into high-intensity conflicts. Some civil wars may last for years or even decades (Harunoğulları, 2021,

p. 162). As a result, countries with significant oil and natural gas are prone to political and social turmoil (Klare, 2001, p. 58). Looking at the wars in the last thirty years, it is seen that most of them are countries rich in resources.

Civil wars in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Angola are similar. Thousands of people lost their lives and hundreds of thousands had to leave their homes. The aim of the groups in the civil war is to keep the valuable natural resources of the countries (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 164). Resource-rich places are recognized as areas of strategic insecurity. The richer the resources, the higher the probability of the parties to the violence to compete with each other. Especially since foreign interventions are made in areas with rich natural resources, civil wars and conflicts in these geographies can last for decades. As a result, the risk of civil war in oil-exporting countries is almost twice that of other countries.

1.2.1.1.2. The Relationship between Civil War and Geography

Like natural resources, the geopolitical position of the country and the characteristics of the country's geography are also an important factor for states to maintain peace and security or to host a conflict and be exposed to interventions. For example, its position at the point where the conflicts in Yemen have reached is important. Connecting the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden, Bab'ul Mandeb also separates Africa from the Arabian Peninsula. Within a year, 8% of the oil transported by sea passes through the strait it owns (Star, 2015). It is one of the most important maritime trade routes in the world, connecting the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia to the Mediterranean and Europe via the Suez Canal. In addition, the strait is considered important for "building power" over countries such as Egypt and Sudan, especially the Horn of Africa countries. Due to the economic activity experienced on a global scale, the race to own the world's resources or to have a say in resources is increasing day by day. For this reason, the struggle for control over the reserve areas continues in rich natural resource areas such as Africa, the Middle East and the Caucasus. *"What is known about the influence of geography on civil war is as old as the art of war. Certain geographical conditions such as trade routes, raw material resource areas, water resources, and fertile lands have a significant impact on the initiation and spread of wars"* (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 166).

Studies of civil war and geography have concluded that civil wars are more likely to occur far from the capital, in sparsely populated areas near national borders. This is because there are areas where political control of the central government is more costly and where political power rents are higher for separatists (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 52). According to Fearon and Laitin, rough terrain increases the likelihood of civil war (Fearon & Laitin 2003, p. 79). In countries with sparsely populated and mountainous areas, the probability of civil war is higher (Bethke & Bussman, 2011, p. 31). The location of natural resources, the geographical settlement patterns of ethnic groups are important in terms of the emergence and duration of civil wars (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 151).

1.2.1.1.3. The Relationship between Civil War and Politics

In a broad sense, the concept of politics and the possibility of civil war are related. At this point, what the government did or did not do; What they have or don't have is very important. The state's weak institutions alone are not sufficient for internal conflict. But it is related (Bethke & Bussman, 2011, p. 6). Many reasons such as government intervention, suppression of opposition, ignorance of human rights, corruption, decisions taken for the benefit of a certain group can be considered as an important factor in the outbreak of civil war.

Government intervention has an impact on the civil war. Less government intervention reduces ethnic conflict. It is possible to see the reality of this argument in the wars in the Middle East. The state, which uses its control mechanisms excessively, causes unrest among the people. State control is associated with civil war. For this reason, the lack of control mechanism can increase or decrease the risk of civil war.

If a state provides security and wealth, it can secure the support of the population (Bethke & Bussman, 2011, p. 11). Whether it spends its resources for the benefit of the elite or for the benefit of the general population should have an impact on what kind of internal unrest we observe. Maintaining power, ensuring stability, and creating socioeconomic prosperity are the most important goals of a capable state (Bethke & Bussman, 2011, p. 11). With its spending policy and spending priorities, a government can provide welfare to the population and thus neutralize the grievances that prevail in society. Social security and welfare

spending or government consumption in developing countries can reduce the negative consequences of globalization and contribute to social cohesion (Rodrik, 1997, p. 19).

1.2.1.1.4. The Relationship between Civil War and Economy

Economic hardship and unemployment cause people to join armed groups. Civil wars in Africa are an example of this situation. When the inadequacy of political culture is added with poverty, wars, conflicts and crimes become common. Armed groups, drug trafficking, human trafficking, child abduction, etc. Even if the economic situation of the country is bad, they can earn large incomes by carrying out activities. What happened in Colombia is the best example of this (Özdoğan, 2021, p. 3).

Social turmoil in developing or underdeveloped countries due to many reasons such as income inequality, limited access to basic needs, unemployment, the dominance of a certain ethnic group, injustices in the field of law, and political instability pave the way for civil wars (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 156). For this reason, it is accepted that there is a high risk of civil war or armed conflict in countries with a weak economy. Another reason for this is that as a result of the low opportunity cost of conflict in poverty-stricken regions, the rebels find people to fight for them with lower costs.

If the economic allocation is left to the market, it is more difficult to direct resources to an individual or group. Thus, there is less incentive for the state to take control (Steinberg & Saideman 2008, p. 236). *“Factors in developing countries that tend to be associated with resource abundance, such as slow economic growth, corruption, authoritarian rule, create unstable domestic policies. The economic decisions taken with these policies and the natural resources that are tried to be extracted become fragile and weak against the fluctuations in the international market”* (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 156). The unequal distribution of income and resources, unemployment and poverty in underdeveloped countries contribute to the start and spread of a civil war. In addition, the seizure of lands containing strategically important valuable natural resources can be extremely important for groups. Since the wealth of natural resources held by the weak party will contribute to its financing, it may prolong the duration of the conflict and it may be preferable

to fight instead of negotiation. Rich resource areas can affect the intensity of conflict.

When we look at the relationship between the economy and civil war, it is stated that there is a relationship between purposes such as personal interests, wealth increase and civil war. It focuses on the effects of war on factors of production (population and capital) and it is said that a rapid recovery after war is possible, but the effects of war on human capital (including education, nutrition and health) are generally considered to be more permanent (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 7).

Rising import prices suppress the real wage, increasing the risk of conflict, while higher export prices increase the size of attractive armed groups on the government revenue pie, leading to greater risk of conflict (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 10). Another economic reason for civil war to break out is that there are financial incentives to motivate participation. Incentives include money, opportunities to loot important resources, and promises of various rewards (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 17).

There are various correlations regarding the start of the civil war. Low income, slow growth, unmet economic expectations are the main reasons. It is claimed that a 5% decrease in income growth increases the probability of a civil conflict in regions like Africa by up to 10 percent or even 50 percent in the next year. He finds strong relationships between local economic conditions and the risk of civil war. A study in Indonesia found positive correlations between village-level communal violence and local unemployment, economic inequality, and natural disasters. (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 49). The inability to produce crops due to weather events such as excessive rainfall may cause conflict and conflict among rural populations. This can also increase the risk of civil war as it will reduce government revenues and state capacity. Increases in commodity prices may increase government revenues, and increased government revenues may cause a civil war by making it attractive to seize the state (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 36). More diamond wealth causes more armed conflicts. This is evident in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. For example, in Sierra Leone, a poor country, natural resources triggered the violence of the war. Not only natural stones such as

diamonds or energy resources such as oil, but also some agricultural products or plants used in drug production can cause violence to emerge or increase in these regions. For example, as a result of the increase in world cocaine prices, it was observed that the violence of civil conflict increased in the coca-growing regions of Colombia compared to other parts of the country (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 53).

1.2.1.1.5. The Relationship Between Civil War and Ethnicity

Most of the civil wars that emerged after the Second World War are internal conflicts for the purpose of independence or regional autonomy (Harunoğulları, 2021, p. 156). The fact that they live in lands such as forests and areas with valuable natural resources increases the risk of civil war. In addition, various discriminations made by the state against minorities living within the borders of the country increase the risk of civil war. These reasons not only increase the risk of civil war, but also affect the duration or spread of the civil war for many years.

Ethnic nationalism is popularly seen as the leading source of intergroup civil conflict (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 20). It has been determined that at least 100 of the 709 ethnic minority groups identified worldwide engaged in an ethnic-based revolt against the state between 1945 and 1998 (Fearon, 2004, p. 275). It can be said that the common language and traditions facilitate the organization. They may have a production advantage that increases the urge to unite among ethnically homogeneous groups. As a result of all these, it is seen that the common language, religion and tradition carry the risk of unification among different segments and rebellion against the government.

1.2.1.2. Consequences of Civil Wars

Civil wars have various political, social and economic causes as well as political, social and economic consequences. It can affect individuals, a group within the country, the country's resources and even future generations. Various situations experienced during civil wars can damage the economy as much as conventional wars. The wearisome and long duration of the war puts the economic situation in great uncertainty. For example, due to the civil war, investments may come to a standstill and capital may erode. Since civil wars can take place in important different regions of the country, especially in the capital, the economic

burden of the war is not only in the military sense. An unsustainable economic system, damaged cities is devastating for the country's economy.

The accuracy of the death figures in civil war zones is quite high, although not certain. For example, the estimated numbers in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Sudan are shocking. The excessive civilian deaths as a result of the civil war cause another civil war outcome. This is economy after all. Because as a result of the war, deaths especially in the number of young men slow down the production network. In addition, war also destroys physical infrastructure and cities. In short, the civil war has a heavy economic legacy.

Like civil wars, its consequences are contagious. Refugee influxes as a result of the civil war, epidemics, lawlessness and illegal trade of drugs, weapons and natural resources can spread to neighbouring countries (Blattman & Miguel, 2019, p. 3). These economic problems increase the gap between rich and poor countries day by day. While weak states often become weaker after civil wars. As a result of a civil war, ethnic tension may increase and cause a different conflict environment. Migrations can facilitate various types of smuggling. *“In this case, it may provide a new insurgent pool of soldiers”* (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 43).

The destruction of human and physical capital affects national income growth and future developments. Understanding the economic legacy of conflict is also important for post-conflict recovery. (Blattman & Miguel, 2010, p. 56). In Rwanda, 20% of the population fell into poverty as a result of the civil war. As a result of such poverty, the probability of some countries to reach lasting peace decreases. As a result of civil wars, people are affected both directly and indirectly. They die or are maimed through famine and disease.

This situation has many individual and social consequences. Even years after the civil war, the economically affected population is still affected by its consequences. For example, *“They found that young children suffering from war-related malnutrition in Zimbabwe are significantly shorter as adults, which can affect their lifetime labour productivity”* (Alderman, Hoddinott & Kinsey, 2006, pp. 2-9). As a different example, the work and social lives of these children are

affected in the future, as the possibility of getting an education decreases during the civil war.

In settings where a large proportion of male youth are actively involved in warfare, the collective economic effects are significant. The conflict has significant implications for education, employment, and health for civilians, including armed group participants and internally displaced persons (Blattman and Miguel, 2010, p. 64). The stable state in which post-conflict society returns is a function of the main determinants of growth: technology, institutions and social organization. In Germany, Japan, and Vietnam they achieved a rapid return to the aforementioned pre-war labor and capital levels.

It is possible for citizens and government to recover as wars between states are fought against foreign armies. In civil war, because winners and losers live together in the same society, the government may lose legitimacy and the number of political and social divisions may increase. The psychological legacy of civil wars should not be ignored. Psychologists have found that victims of violence are often resilient. Greater political activism appears to be emerging among groups such as Holocaust survivors and Palestinian bombing victims (Blattman & Miguel, 1999).

Some studies show that population and physical capital can fully recover quickly after the war, within two decades. However, this recovery seems to depend on maintaining and even improving political stability and institutions, as in Japan, Germany and Vietnam (Blattman & Miguel, 2010:67). Those who participated in the war, as well as those who only witnessed the war, are affected by this situation in various ways. They lose their education, jobs, homes, earnings, and families. It is important to find definitive answers to these problems after the war. Finding definitive answers to these problems is often a gruelling and lengthy process, in which humanitarian aid is of paramount importance. International policy makers often try to solve these problems through approaches such as foreign aid or humanitarian aid. There are various ways to save the country and civilians after the civil war. For example, international aid organisations, governments and NGOs. The results of civil wars with foreign intervention are often worse. It has more long-term political and economic consequences.

Considering all these results, it becomes clear that governments should implement appropriate policies especially for income inequality, unemployment and ethnic discrimination. For example, it is thought that making various insurances and taking precautions so that underdeveloped countries are dependent on agriculture and people are not affected by floods and droughts will reduce the risk of civil war.

1.3. Evaluation

While it is accepted that traditional warfare was dominant in the period from the formation of nation-states to the end of the Cold War (Oğuz, 2017, p. 528), it is accepted that war has evolved with the change of war methods and the development of weapon technology after the end of the Cold War (Osinga & Lindely-French, 2010, p. 22). Traditional, or in other words ancient wars, are force-based wars in which the enemies use a variety of conventional weapons.

When we look at the wars that took place in the last decade of the 20th century, the majority of them are the conflicts in which the states live. In other words, it can be said that almost 90% of the wars in recent years are civil wars. Looking at the wars fought in the fifteen-year period after the Cold War, it is seen that Asia and Africa come to the fore as a region. The reason for this is that there is a suitable environment for civil wars to break out in these regions. While these were followed by the continent of Europe and America, it can be said that civil wars were generally experienced in the Middle East as of the 2000s.

It can be said that the end of the bipolar balance in the global system affects almost all regions of the world. In the risky regions that existed before, the problems continued to grow with this period. The great powers' introversion and focusing on their own problems caused them to be inadequate in preventing wars that emerged in crisis areas. For this reason, armed or unarmed local groups in these regions have strengthened their sovereignty and power, even if it is illegal. Many of these groups have caused great massacres in certain periods. An example of this situation is the massacres that took place in Bosnia in 1992-1995.

While there are a number of distinctive reasons for an escalation in civil wars after the Cold War period, there are common reasons in the vast majority of them.

According to Dan Smith, these common causes can be listed as follows. The first is that insincerity from one of the parties causes distrust. The second is the disappointment of one of the parties, that is, an insecurity with the realization of an unexpected activity from the other party. Third, the agreement is no longer possible, that is, diplomatic solutions do not yield results, or the parties want this conflict to be resolved by war rather than diplomatic methods. The last one is the continuation of various problems such as instability, corruption or discrimination, and thus the ongoing crisis. With these four items, we can briefly express the common causes of civil wars in different parts of the world. In addition, natural resources, geopolitical location, ethnic and religious structure, economic reasons are accepted as effective reasons for the occurrence and failure of civil wars.

In civil wars, it is more difficult to prevent the spread of increased turmoil and chaos, especially with the support of non-state groups by other states, international society and organizations. The disintegration of existing states with the support of non-state groups, the emergence of new areas of violence, the violation of borders and the increase in illegal acts. As a result, when we look at the process from 1960 to the present, it is seen that there have been many civil wars. Accordingly, the number of studies on the causes and consequences of civil wars has been increasing rapidly in recent years. The number of studies and analyses on civil wars is not sufficient, since the causes and patterns of civil wars vary from country to country, and it is difficult to collect data in hot conflicts. There is a need for more detailed analysis and analysis of the causes and consequences of the civil war, and therefore more data.

2. THE CONCEPT OF HUMANITARIAN AID

Just as many concepts in social sciences do not have a single definition, the concept of humanitarian aid does not have a single definition. Humanitarian aid includes working on behalf of saving lives, alleviating suffering, restoring human dignity and supporting people (Ceren, 2021, p. 295). Another definition of the concept of humanitarian aid has been made as “*working to take material and moral measures to reduce the suffering of people who have been harmed after human and natural disasters*” (Şahin, 2019, p. 1). When we look at the definitions of the concept of humanitarian aid, it is seen that all of them are mainly based on protecting human life and making emergency interventions.

2.1. Humanitarian Aid Concept

The concept of humanitarian aid can be confused with concepts such as "humanitarian intervention" and "development aid". In fact, these concepts are quite different from each other. For example, “*While the primary objective in humanitarian aid is to prevent human loss and meet the basic needs of the survivors, development aid is provided to restructure elements such as infrastructure damaged for various reasons, and development aid to restructure a country's infrastructure and economy. In humanitarian aid, it is aimed to minimize all the negativities that directly affect human life, within the framework of civilian measures, while in humanitarian intervention, military measures are used to prevent peace threats and human rights violations.*” (Amini, 2017, p. 217).

In order to better understand the concept of humanitarian aid, it is necessary to look carefully at some important events in history. For example, Solferino War, Crimean War, I and II. World Wars, the Somali, Rwanda, Bosnian Wars in the 1990s; Natural disasters in Indonesia and Haiti in the 2000s are turning points for humanitarian organizations and their activities. Every year, the humanitarian aid sector is growing rapidly and accordingly, the number of humanitarian aid organizations and the budgets allocated to their activities increase exponentially (Barnett, 2011, p. 3). Today, although the support for humanitarian aid is increasing day by day, unfortunately only goodwill and the sense of helping are not sufficient for humanitarian aid activities (Barnett, 2011, pp. 2-3). Insufficient funding for activities is one of the biggest problems for humanitarian aid. Yemen, where

millions of people are on the verge of starvation as a result of insufficient funding, is one of the most dramatic examples of this situation. Even if there are adequate funds, aid might not be delivered in regions where civil wars take place due to reasons such as blockade and active conflicts.

As a result of civil wars, both civilians and states become unable to meet the security and basic needs of civilians due to various reasons, especially the economy. This is where humanitarian aid comes into play. The humanitarian activity of a state or a humanitarian organization must comply with international humanitarian law. This concept, which has various uses such as "humanitarian aid", "humanitarian relief", "humanitarian assistance" or "relief activity", is basically realized in crises such as armed conflicts, health pandemics and natural disasters (ILO, 2022, p. 7). The main reason that makes it difficult to make a precise definition of the concept is the difficulty in determining which goods and services are included in humanitarian aid (Durmaz, 2021, p. 4). Fundamental needs such as food, health and shelter are included in the definition, especially the UN organs, the ICRC and the International Humanitarian Law Institute. However, materials such as weapons and military ammunition that could harm civilians were not included in the scope of humanitarian aid and were found to be contrary to international law (Vukas 2003, p. 3).

In order for humanitarian aid activities to be carried out, various conditions must be met. Confidence of the conflict parties, the civilian population and the regional and global powers, especially the neighbouring countries, must be ensured. In this way, humanitarian aid activities can be carried out in a safer and more effective way. It is necessary to determine the needs of the needy group, to find the best ways to reach the target audience, and to determine what can and cannot be included in the aid activity by negotiating with various actors of the conflict and to convince them (Durmaz, 2021, p. 24).

In this chapter, the concept of humanitarian aid will be examined in terms of humanitarian aid activities for civilians in civil wars. The concept, which has a legal history of approximately 150 years, will be examined mainly by giving place to when the concept emerged, its development, its current situation, and the principles, actors and tools of humanitarian aid.

2.1.1. Emergence of the Concept of Humanitarian Aid

Although the history of the concept of humanitarian aid is not known precisely, it is assumed that it is a concept as old as the history of humanity. On this basis, the responsibility of doing something individually is accepted. A large area from the individual's responsibility of helping individuals to collective aids has led to the emergence of the humanitarian aid system. There are different applications of humanitarian aid activities in the history of religions, especially Christianity and Islam. In many religions, helping each other has an important meaning (Durmaz, 2021, p. 8). Despite all this, it is accepted that the first organized humanitarian aid activity was carried out in China in the 1870s, during a great drought that caused the life of millions of people.

It is seen that the aid provided as a result of war or natural disasters from the first periods of history to the middle of the 19th century did not take place within a certain organizational framework and did not have definite rules, and the aid provided in this process was mostly individual and temporary aid. In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, it is seen that individuals, for different reasons, in different regions of Europe, carried out various aid activities individually, without being affiliated with a certain organization. With the establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which operates around the world in order to help those affected by armed violence and conflicts and to spread the laws that protect the victims of war, in 1863, humanitarian aid activities began to be carried out under an organization. (ICRC, 2018). The authority of the ICRC, which is considered an independent and impartial organization, was defined in the 1949 Geneva Conventions. Tens of thousands of people work for the organization in more than 80 countries. The ICRC funds its activities mostly from voluntary donations from governments and National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. In the years following the establishment of the ICRC, the Turkish Red Crescent was established in 1868. Especially in the wars in this period, the aid activities of the ICRC and the Red Crescent on health are at the forefront. They have endeavoured to care and protect the civilian population affected by the war.

2.1.2. Evolution of the Concept of Humanitarian Aid

In order to understand humanitarian aid activities in civil wars, it is important to examine the development of humanitarian aid activities from past to present. In this way, by seeing the development of humanitarian aid in the field and legally, it will be understood how the humanitarian organizations that are active today emerged and how they have survived until today. At this point, the contribution of various events such as natural disasters and wars to humanitarian aid and the place of humanitarian aid activities in international humanitarian law will be discussed. Many events especially natural disasters and wars have been influential in the period until the humanitarian aid activities reached their current position (Durmaz, 2021, p. 7). While the development of the humanitarian aid field is discussed in the literature, especially the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Humanitarian aid activities in I. and II. World Wars are considered as breaking points. Especially, there has been an increase in modern humanitarian aid activities in Cold War Era and After Cold War Era. Although humanitarian aid has existed throughout human history, the concept of modern humanitarian aid has truly emerged since the second half of the 20th century. The complex progression of wars and the emergence of events largely in response to armed conflicts has led to the development of modern humanitarian aid (Rysaback-Smith, 2015, p. 5). Modern humanitarian aid is provided by many organizations and actors, unlike individual aid before the 20th century.

It is inevitable that states and societies will transform, as well as the transformation of institutions and organizations. While everything changes rapidly in today's world, the humanitarian aid sector is also affected by this change. In today's world, people in different parts of the world need humanitarian aid for different reasons. However, countless groups of people struggle to minimize or eliminate this condition. Humanitarian aid has become one of the most important issues in today. The reason for this is the conflicts in various parts of the world, many people are unable to meet their basic needs. The fact that the number of armed conflicts in the world is high, the number of people in need of help is high, the effect of aid activities on the course of the conflict and various violations causes this concept to come to the fore.

The Basic Humanitarian Standards for people affected by crises such as war and disaster are made up of nine commitments. These commitments include expectations from humanitarian organizations.

2.2. Principles of Humanitarian Aid

The concept of humanitarian aid, which dates back to ancient times, has been reconsidered within the framework of lived experiences and new complex wars. Humanitarian aid, which has temporary and flexible rules, has been shaped within the framework of some principles. Today, there are four basic principles covering all humanitarian aid activities. These are humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence (Core Humanitarian Standard, 2014, p. 8). For the first time, the ICRC made the definition of these principles, which did not have a definite definition before, by including three more principles in 1986 (Durmaz, 2021, p. 23). By following these principles, humanitarian aid workers ensure that humanitarian aid reaches those in need safely. In this way, humanitarian aid workers, those in need and aid materials are not harmed. By adhering to these principles, the trust and approval of the parties to the conflict, civilians affected by the conflict and other states is ensured. Thus, prejudices against humanitarian aid are destroyed and the acceptance of activities becomes easier (Durmaz, 2021, p. 23).

The principled approach that emerges from these principles is essential for the acceptance and functioning of humanitarian actors on the ground, often in complex political and security contexts (The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid, p. 6).

2.2.1. The Principles of Humanity

The principle of humanity is defined as *"protecting all victims by intervening in human suffering wherever they are in the world, while respecting their rights and dignity"* (UNOCHA Glossary of Humanitarian Terms in Relation to the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, 2004, p. 15). With this principle, it is aimed to provide respect to people by protecting life and health. At the heart of helping civilians affected by conflict is their humanity. Therefore, mutual understanding, cooperation and lasting peace among all peoples, regardless of language, religion or race, were encouraged (Handbook of The International Red Cross and Red

Crescent Movement, 2008, p. 2). This principle was born out of the desire to help the wounded indiscriminately on the battlefield. With the principle of humanity, especially the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, with all their capacities, it is aimed to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever they are. The principle of humanity is at the heart of the idea of providing goods and services necessary for the survival of civilians who cannot meet their basic needs, especially food and shelter, due to armed conflict (Durmaz, 2021, p. 23).

The principle of humanity is defined as paying special attention to the most vulnerable segments of the population, wherever human suffering is experienced. Accordingly, the dignity of all victims should be respected and protected without discrimination (The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid, p. 6).

2.2.2. The Principles of Impartiality

The principle of impartiality is defined in UNOCHA's dictionary as “the provision of humanitarian aid without discrimination on the basis of ethnic identity, gender, nationality, political thought, race and religion” (UNOCHA Glossary of Humanitarian Terms in Relation to the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, 2004, p. 15). In the common points of Article 3 of the Geneva Convention and Article 10 of the 4th Geneva Convention, it is seen that it is a requirement for humanitarian organizations to be impartial in different ways.

Impartiality means that humanitarian assistance should be provided only on the basis of need, without distinction between or within affected communities (The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid, p. 7). The principle of impartiality has two distinct elements. These are non-discrimination and proportionality. The non-discrimination element includes not making any discrimination based on the religious, ethnic or social group of the person to be assisted. Assistance should be provided in an objective manner, without involving subjective judgments. It should not be decided whether or not aid should be given based on subjective decisions such as good or bad, guilty or innocent, deserving or not (Mackintosh, 2000, p. 8). The element of proportionality means that the required aid and the amount of aid are proportional. In other words, it means providing as much help as needed (Durmaz, 2021, p. 25).

2.2.3. The Principles of Neutrality

The principle of neutrality, which is seen as a natural consequence of the humanitarian principle, is defined in the UNOCHA dictionary as: “*Humanitarian assistance is the provision of non-partisanship or hostility to political, religious and ideological debates.*” (UNOCHA Glossary of Humanitarian Terms in Relation to the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict, 2004, p. 15). It basically means that humanitarian aid should not favour either party in an armed conflict or other dispute (The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid, p. 7). With this principle, which emphasizes the need to stay away from religious, political or ideological purposes, it is aimed to give aid to civilians regardless of one side. Aid given to the parties by not complying with this principle means supporting one party. As a result, the safety of both aid activities and aid workers is endangered. According to humanitarian law, humanitarian aid can only be given to civilians (Dinstein, 2020, p. 77). The European Commission published the European Humanitarian Aid Consensus in the booklet, which contains details about the principle of impartiality, “Humanitarian aid should be provided on the basis of pure needs, without any discrimination between or within the populations in need.” (EC, 2014, p. 1).

2.2.4. The Principles of Independence

According to the UN definition, “*Humanitarian objectives should be separate from any political, economic, military or other objectives.*” (Olido, Chandiga, Ocaya, Mugaria & Kansiime, 2022, p. 4). The sole purpose of humanitarian aid should be to prevent or reduce human suffering in humanitarian crises. In this case, respect for independence means that humanitarian goals are independent of political, economic, military or other goals. This principle aims to ensure that the sole purpose of humanitarian aid remains to alleviate and prevent the suffering of victims of humanitarian crises (The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid, p.7).

At this point, the principle of independence is only concerned with the implementation of humanitarian activity. In other words, there is no question of non-compliance with the laws of the countries to which the national humanitarian aid organizations are affiliated (Durmaz, 2021, p. 28). However, it should not be

forgotten that these organizations are bound by all the rules of international law regarding humanitarian aid.

The main reason for the emergence of this principle is that humanitarian aid is mostly done by states for military or political purposes. At this point, the principle of independence is intended that humanitarian aid does not accept the policies or views of any state or organization (ICRC, *The Fundamental Principles of the ICRC Movement: Ethics and Tools for Humanitarian Action*, p. 56). Thus, it will be ensured that the policy and goals of any actor in humanitarian aid are not served. There are many factors that affect the principle of independence. For this reason, in order to act in accordance with the principle of independence of humanitarian aid organizations, they should provide security and controls regarding humanitarian aid activities (Durmaz, 2021, p. 28).

2.3. Humanitarian Aid Actors

The international humanitarian aid system is a structure composed of different actors with certain norms and rules. This structure consists of two sides, donors and beneficiaries. The connection between the parties is established by humanitarian aid organizations. While humanitarian aid activities are carried out, various actors such as state funds, individual donors and civil institutions play a role in this process (Bakır, 2018, p. 1). These actors are called humanitarian actors. Humanitarian actors are defined as a wide range of organisations, institutions and inter-agency networks that come together to ensure that international humanitarian assistance is channelled to places and people in need (Humanitarian Coalition). These actors take place in different sources with different names and groupings. According to OCHA's grouping, humanitarian actors include the UN, the ICRC Movement, regional intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, auxiliary Governments, foreign military and the private sector. According to Taylor B. Seybolt, humanitarian actors are divided into four groups. These are the UN, donor governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) (Seybolt, 1997, p. 10). Çokadar, on the other hand, divided the humanitarian aid actors into two classes as “established” and “emerging” actors. In this classification, while the established actors are "official and financial institutions such as the United Nations (UN), international non-state

organizations such as the Red Crescent and the Red Cross, and development agencies", local, national and international civil aid organizations are included in the rising actors class (Çokadar, 2021, p. 1).

We can basically consider the humanitarian aid actors, which can be classified in different ways in the literature and intervene in humanitarian crises that arise as a result of various events such as natural disasters and wars, as governments, international organizations, non-governmental organizations and the private sector. If we take the governments as one of the humanitarian aid actors, we see that governments are at the center of humanitarian aid. Governments can engage in various humanitarian aid activities in their own countries or in other countries in situations such as disasters and wars. Helping, donor governments can provide humanitarian assistance directly through their Ministries of Foreign Affairs or through global or regional organizations, particularly the UN (UNOCHA).

Another humanitarian aid actor is international organizations. International organizations play an important role in the humanitarian system. *"In humanitarian emergencies where the national government is unwilling and/or unable to deliver humanitarian aid to those affected, international support is needed"* (Humanitarian Coalition). This international support is carried out through international organizations. International organizations such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the Red Cross and Red Crescent, the International Red Cross, UNICEF, and the World Food Program ensure that humanitarian aid activities are carried out both directly and in coordination with other organizations.

Another humanitarian aid actor is non-governmental organizations (NGOs). NGOs play an important role in humanitarian efforts, including independent charities, religious organisations, voluntary groups and other community-based organisations. Civil society actors can be divided into two categories: national NGOs and international NGOs (INGOs). (UNOCHA). National and international NGOs can be secular or faith based. National NGOs are non-governmental organizations operating within the national borders of their countries. These NGOs often operate in partnership with UN agencies and larger international NGOs. International NGOs, on the other hand, include humanitarian and multitasking organizations that operate internationally, working independently to provide

humanitarian aid. International NGOs with offices in different parts of the world regularly receive funding from donor governments, private foundations and companies.

And another humanitarian aid actor is the private sector actors. These actors (e.g., companies) provide direct or indirect assistance in humanitarian crises, in the form of cash or material assistance. Private sector actors are an essential part of local communities affected by humanitarian crises and have long operated in humanitarian emergencies using their expertise, resources, channels (UNOCHA).

In short, humanitarian actors are generally classified as governments, international organizations, NGOs and the private sector. The sole purpose of these actors with different names and definitions is to manage humanitarian emergencies, reduce their effects, minimize damages and save human lives by working together in humanitarian aid activities. Coordination is always paramount in maximizing humanitarian efforts to meet the needs of communities affected by any humanitarian disaster, whether caused by natural disaster or war. For this reason, all these actors must work together in coordination to combat humanitarian crises.

2.4. Humanitarian Aid Organizations

Humanitarian aid organizations, one of the humanitarian aid actors, have an important place in the humanitarian aid system. There are many humanitarian organizations around the world, including at the international, regional and national scale. When events such as natural disasters and wars occur, societies are affected, their daily lives are interrupted, and they may become unable to meet even their basic needs. At this point, humanitarian aid activities come into play. Undoubtedly, humanitarian aid organizations are the most important executives of humanitarian aid activities. The main purpose of humanitarian organizations is to operate in the fields of food, health, education and development to save lives and alleviate people's suffering during and after the humanitarian emergency, regardless of the cause of the humanitarian emergency. For this purpose, there are humanitarian aid organizations of various scales. These organizations include intergovernmental organizations and agencies such as the United Nations (UNHCR, UNICEF, UNRWA, etc.), with their different programs and funds, and organizations such as Doctors Without Borders (MSF), Cooperative for Assistance and Relief

Everywhere (CARE), Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM), Save the Children, International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. While these organizations may be involved in different parts of the relief activities, they generally search, collect and transport the wounded and sick, the missing and the dead; providing medical treatment to the wounded and sick; helping prisoners of war; and helping the civilian population by providing humanitarian aid (ICRC Glossary).

Although the 1949 Geneva Convention is not directly aimed at aid organizations, it is important for aid activities and therefore aid organizations, as the principles and rules set by the Convention, the justifications for providing aid, and the obligations to allow aid (Rysaback-Smith, 2015, p. 7). In order for humanitarian aid organizations to carry out aid activities, they must be recognized by the government of the country in need and must be informed and approved before the aid activity. In addition, humanitarian aid organizations should act by taking into account the principles of universality and volunteerism, especially humanitarian aid principles such as impartiality, humanity, neutrality and independence (Katıman, 2015, p. 387).

The Basic Humanitarian Standards for people affected by crises such as war and disaster are made up of nine commitments. These commitments include expectations from humanitarian organizations. These are as follows:

- 1) Humanitarian aid should appropriate and relevant,
- 2) Humanitarian aid should effective and timely,
- 3) Humanitarian aid should make strong to local capacity and prevent their negative effect,
- 4) Humanitarian aid should be based on communication, participation and feed-back,
- 5) Being open to and responding to complaints,
- 6) Humanitarian aid is coordinated and complementary,

- 7) Humanitarian aid actors must constantly learn and develop,
- 8) Humanitarian aid workers should do their job effectively and should be treated equally,
- 9) Resources should be used appropriately.

Core Humanitarian Standards include Nine commitments, supporting quality criteria, various key activities, institutional responsibilities. Especially Supporting Quality Criteria and Institutional Responsibilities (Core Humanitarian Standards, 2018, p. 5).

Humanitarian aid personnel have a number of responsibilities to ensure that humanitarian aid is consistent and accountable. There are policies, processes and systems that organizations should have to ensure this situation. The Basic Humanitarian Standards has an important role to play in the quality and accountability of humanitarian aid (Core Humanitarian Standards, 2018, p. 6).

As long as organizations comply with the TIS and apply these standards to themselves, they can manage an effective humanitarian process. The main motivation in responding to any crisis is to save lives, reduces people's suffering and ensure the right to dignified life (Core Humanitarian Standards, 2018, p. 8). Humanitarian aid organizations act with this motivation. Humanitarian Organizations accept that humanitarian imperative comes first and thus provide humanitarian aid indiscriminately wherever it is needed. For this purpose, humanitarian aid is directed by four general principles (neutrality, impartiality, independence, humanity). These principles are important to alleviating human suffering and for the basics of humanitarian aid studies.

3. HUMANITARIAN AID ACTIVITIES IN CIVIL WARS

3.1. Humanitarian Aid in Civil Wars

Various humanitarian aid activities have become quite common in different geographies of the world, especially during the rapidly increasing civil wars after the Cold War. Although the humanitarian aid system has an important role, it has also some problems and negative effects. Moreover, it is stated that it is insufficient in solving humanitarian crises because the necessary transformations cannot be realized (Bakır, 2016, p. 1). In the literature, there are arguments that fundamental changes should be made in order to re-establish the humanitarian aid system. There are various opinions such as that humanitarian aid is mostly under Western control, adequate financing is not provided, humanitarian aid principles are not acted upon, on-site and timely aid is not provided, aid is not protected and cannot be delivered to the right people. Considering the situation of humanitarian aid in civil wars based on these considerations, it is seen that humanitarian aid is insufficient or unsustainable for various reasons. At the beginning of these reasons is the claim that humanitarian aid has different purposes in some cases. These purposes may include providing support to one of the parties to the war, ignoring the principles and foundations of humanitarian aid. First, the assumption that humanitarian aid prolongs civil wars is based on the assumption that humanitarian aid is smuggled and used for the benefit of the war parties instead of the needy. In these cases, the duration of the wars is prolonged and their intensity increases. The situation of transferring the aids to the people they consider close to them or being stolen by the people who provide humanitarian aid has been experienced in many civil wars.

Despite the increased humanitarian aid and some positive results, the idea that aid can actually cause more deaths and conflicts than it seems has become a dominant thought in the literature. It is seen that the images that emerged as a result of the civil wars in countries such as Rwanda, Bosnia, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, Afghanistan and Nigeria support this idea. In this direction, an analysis will be presented in line with the thought of whether the humanitarian aid activities in the Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen civil wars contributed to prolonging the war.

It is seen as a paradox that a humanitarian aid activity with good intentions prolongs the war. This paradox is defined as “*the fundamental paradox of human activity*” (Narang 2015, p. 185). “*Humanitarian aid aimed at alleviating suffering can perpetuate conflict and unintentionally prolong suffering*” (Terry, 2002, p. 27). The claim that humanitarian aid prolongs the conflict is based on the belief that it fuels war by providing resources to rival parties and directly or indirectly provides the material resources needed to finance an insurgency (Narang 2015, p. 185). Although it is obligatory for fighters to distinguish themselves in terms of international law, rebels without uniforms mix with civilians and this causes humanitarian aid such as food and medical supplies to fall into the hands of the rebels. Because humanitarian aid workers have difficulty in distinguishing between civilians and warriors. Examples of this situation can be given from many civil wars, especially humanitarian aid activities in the Bosnia and Rwanda Wars, which will be covered in detail in the following sections.

In addition to the humanitarian aid activities that increased after the Cold War, especially in the 1990s, the international community provided billions of dollars in aid to help refugees and internally displaced persons during the Rwandan and Bosnian Civil Wars. In the early 2000s, these aid strategies intensely continued in places such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and sub-Saharan Africa. As of 2010, these activities started to be carried out mainly for the civil wars in the Middle East countries (Berman, Shapiro & Felter 2011). Many analysts argue that there is a direct link between humanitarian aid and the duration of the civil war. Although humanitarian aid is of vital importance for the civilians damaged in civil wars, it also receives various criticisms for the reasons mentioned above. One of the most popular criticisms, after criticisms of the inadequacy of humanitarian aid, is that it may unintentionally prolong the conflict. For example, it has been claimed that the humanitarian aid provided after the events in Rwanda, Bosnia, Tajikistan, Somalia, Chechnya, Afghanistan and Cambodia supported the war parties and prolonged the war (Narang, 2015, p. 184). Tens of thousands of people died in the regions created to provide aid in the Bosnian Civil War, and more than half of the humanitarian aid was in the hands of soldiers instead of civilians, the claim that aid workers helped Hutu forces in the Rwandan Civil War, Aid in Nigeria again fell into the hands of the warring parties. It is claimed that humanitarian aid activities prolong the war

and even increase the severity of the war, for many reasons such as the seizure of aid by bandits in Somalia, and the seizure of tons of food and other equipment by the warring parties in Liberia.

Another thought related to humanitarian aid activities, which is thought to prolong the war, is that states become dependent on aid as a result of humanitarian aid activities. Again, there are many examples of civil wars that support this idea. For example, the Cambodian and Afghan Civil Wars support these claims. Although it is stated that aid organizations prevent the world's weakest states from collapsing in the short term, conflicts flare up as governments' ability to stand on their own is often hindered despite all the good the organizations do in the long run. As a result, a cycle of addiction takes place. In addition, the events and decisions of aid organizations rather than the government, and the fact that there are too many and too different voices harm the state mechanism (Cohen, Kupcu & Khanna 2008, p. 74).

According to researches, almost 80% of all social services in Afghanistan are provided through contracts with international aid organizations (Cohen, Kupcu & Khanna 2008, p. 74). This situation reveals a different dimension of humanitarian aid. It is stated that humanitarian aid organizations stand in the way of governments to provide services, which are their main duties, and that they increasingly assume the basic state functions that ensure the health, welfare and safety of citizens, and at this point, these organizations are the "neo-colonialists" of the 21st century. Although it is thought to hold the society together in weak states, the dependence of these weak states on foreigners is deepened. They play vital roles, for example, by providing vital health services that governments cannot fulfil, educating children, and providing access to food and clean water. As a result, many of these states fail to develop the skills necessary to effectively govern their countries, leading to internal conflicts (Cohen, Kupcu & Khanna 2008, p. 74). The uprisings that arise with the claim that the government does not fulfil its duties may cause a civil war to break out or prolong the existing civil war.

The expanding budgets of humanitarian organizations are seen by some academic circles as a power shift. When looked at the 90s, the services provided by humanitarian aid organizations come to the fore instead of governments in Africa.

It is claimed that the amount of aid provided through humanitarian aid organizations has increased more than three times. It is seen that the budgets of many humanitarian aid organizations such as CARE, Save the Children, Doctors Without Borders, one of the international aid organizations, have been increasing rapidly every year since the end of the 90s. According to some experts, these organizations that roll up their sleeves and get to work in every field where help is thought to be needed are neo-colonialists. Although this claim is excessive, we are faced with the possibility that these institutions, which are ready for help in every field, may further weaken the authorities of the already weak governments in civil wars. The rebuilding of a family's house whose home was damaged as a result of the civil war, by humanitarian organizations, and the vaccination of children whose vaccination time has come again by humanitarian aid organizations may cause the government not to take any steps to meet the needs of its citizens, although it seems good from a humanitarian point of view. In addition, humanitarian aid in weak states can lead to the growth of regional powers and the emergence of new conflicts across the country.

It is a prevailing thought that there should be coordination among humanitarian actors rather than competition. Accountability should be ensured as well as adherence to humanitarian principles. Otherwise, when accountability is ignored, incidents such as providing assistance to Hutu militias in Rwanda on contrary to the principle of neutrality may be repeated. Adhering to the principles of humanitarian aid and ignoring accountability contributed to the prolongation of civil wars in the past. At this point, the reasons for mentioning humanitarian aid organizations as neo-colonialists emerge. The basis for this is competition between aid agencies, insufficient accountability, and the fact that weak states that are collapsing are doing more harm as they struggle to survive. What happened in countries such as Rwanda, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Libya are the biggest examples of these.

As a result of a study, it was determined that 90% of the countries that experienced a humanitarian crisis in 2014 are still experiencing the same crises today (Bernett 2016, p. 2). Despite billions of dollars of humanitarian aid, it has been observed that there has been no change in the situation of people in need. The

casualties in the ongoing conflicts, especially in Syria, South Sudan, Somalia, Libya, Nigeria and Yemen, are proof of the failure of the international community and humanitarian aid. Intervention of the humanitarian crisis experienced in civil wars by providing only basic shelter, food and health aid is the basis of this failure.

In civil wars, the distrust among the social segments and political reasons causes people to think that the aid to the victims is for some political benefits. Most of the promises of aid to alleviate humanitarian crises in the civil wars in the Middle East, Africa and Asia are political in nature and almost half of them are only realized.

The fact that some states are at the forefront of the humanitarian aid system has led to a certain group of people benefiting from humanitarian aid. *“Between 2009 and 2014, UN agencies and non-governmental organizations received 81% of humanitarian funds sent by Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) governments, while non-governmental organizations received only 0.2% of aid funds.”* (Bakır 2016, p. 10). As a result, UN agencies and NGOs both gain significant power and create a monopoly in the system by holding humanitarian aid resources. This situation prevents reaching different victim groups. In fact, some of these aid organizations have become so powerful that they can carry out activities independently or against these governments in countries with weak governments such as Afghanistan, Somalia and South Sudan (Bennett et al, 2016, p. 7).

For these reasons, Western aid organizations in many countries in Africa and South Asia have become criminals due to their illegal activities because large humanitarian organizations do not have the motivation to share the power and responsibilities of the aid materials and funds they hold with other organizations (Bakır 2016, p. 10). This is another negativity for humanitarian aid in civil wars. In addition, it has been determined that the leading organizations among the humanitarian aid organizations have made most of the agreements they have made with other organizations in the countries where the civil war has taken place, in line with their own interests.

Many humanitarian organizations use the funds for their own expenses. This situation leads to many negativities. For example, the fact that humanitarian aid organizations that are not experts in their fields work only to obtain funds causes a waste of resources and puts those in need in a difficult situation (Bakır 2016, p. 12). In addition, it is another problem that aid organizations do business according to documents, not according to the results of their services in the field. Humanitarian aid has been seen as largely determined goods and services rather than people's needs and wishes, and the main purposes of humanitarian aid have been ignored (Bakır 2016, p. 13). Although the humanitarian aid system includes the principles of impartiality, independence, impartiality and humanitarian law, it has been observed that humanitarian principles are affected by political and security concerns in the activities carried out so far. Although this was done to prevent humanitarian organizations from being exposed to insecure and high risks in their operations and to reach those in need, the result was not like this.

The humanitarian aid system is a structure composed of different actors working according to certain norms and rules. The parties to this structure are the donors and the people who benefit from the aid. It is the humanitarian aid organizations that establish the connection between these two parties. Many actors such as state funds, individual donors, and civil institutions play a role in this process. The humanitarian aid field, which is a very rich field in terms of actors and activities, includes various discussions.

The use of aids for people affected from civil wars to gain economic or political power and for the interests of individuals or groups has revealed various debates about humanitarian aid (Bakır, 2018, p. 1). Due to the fact that there is a weak law and a corrupt political and social structure. In these countries where a civil war broke out, the humanitarian aid given for these reasons poses a dilemma. Therefore, humanitarian aid organizations are under suspicion. Humanitarian organizations has established various procedures regarding accounting, procurement, asset and personnel management and its own monitoring, evaluation and audit functions (Bakır, 2018, p. 1).

3.2. Risks of Humanitarian Aid Organizations and Activities

There are many factors within the scope of the inadequacy of humanitarian aid and prolonging the war. There are various intentional and unintentional losses in the processes of supplying, storing or distributing humanitarian aid. Aid workers in crisis areas can use aid projects to benefit themselves or their families (Bakır 2018, p. 2). Irregular militias or official armed forces that manage checkpoints in areas where humanitarian aid is urgently needed may request cash or similar payments from aid convoys. Humanitarian aid from international humanitarian organizations may be requested to be delivered to the host state or to groups prioritized by governments. As in all matters, corruption such as nepotism can occur in the selection of aid workers and the distribution of aid.

It can be said that there are three factors that trigger these undesirable situations that are likely to be in the humanitarian aid system (Bakır 2018, p. 1). These motivations can be titled as rationalization, opportunism, and coercion. These risks surrounding humanitarian aid have a devastating effect on the system as they weaken the link between the donor and the needy.

According to the first factor, rationalization, being in need or not having enough financial support to survive may see the difficult situation they experience as a sufficient reason for corruption, both for those in the aid sector and for those who control the transitions to which humanitarian aid will be provided (Bakır. 2018, p. 2). The second consequence of rationalization is that the overspending of humanitarian aid workers tends to exploit or steal aid from those in need trying to survive in crisis geographies. According to some studies, people living in civil war regions see the funds sent as "externally sourced" or "money from the rich", causing people working in such regions to resort to illegal acts such as corruption, bribery or extortion. The second factor, opportunism, is humanitarian. It may occur with the weakening of administrative controls due to pressures such as the rapid delivery of aids to the region due to their urgency in order to alleviate the crises. Inadequate controls and sanctions on aid can cause people involved in the humanitarian system to abuse aid. The last factor, repression, is trying to hide this mistake by force, threats or blackmail as a result of the abuse of humanitarian aid.

When we look at the humanitarian aid made in the civil wars around the world, it is not seen that all of the aid reaches those in need. In different civil wars, it is seen that humanitarian aid is seized, stolen and even sold to buy weapons in different ways. For example, in 1994 more than 120 vehicles, communications equipment, and US\$5 million worth of supplies, including thousands of tons of food, were stolen from aid organizations in Liberia (Terry, 2002, p. 39). This was marred by factions stealing US\$20 million worth of equipment from the United Nations and non-governmental organizations in Monrovia, the Liberian capital, in 1996 (Atkinson, 1997, p. 21). Over time, the warring factions became increasingly complex. Some even set up local NGOs to control the distribution process (Prendergast and Scott, 1996). In Somalia, where the amount of food stolen ranges from 20% to 80%, bandits registered fake villages and forced real villages to sign for food that never came (Narang, 2015, p. 185). Refugee camps and places of aid can be used as safe havens for rest, recovery and recruitment (Terry 2002, p. 40). For example, it is argued that safe zones and humanitarian aid prolong the war in the Bosnian War. It is stated that there is a systematic relationship between the protected refugees and the continuation of the civil war (Salehyan, 2007, p. 2008).

Humanitarian aid can prolong the civil war by freeing the parties of the war from some of the burdens of continuing the war. Existing local resources can be used to continue the war when aid meets most of the civilian needs (Narang, 2015, p. 191). It is argued that the reason for Israel's blockade of the UN convoys departing for Gaza is that international aid saves Hamas from other domestic costs and gathers strength for the war. In other words, without humanitarian aid, Hamas might have to use its resources for the public good rather than conflict (Narang, 2015, p. 186). It can prolong the conflict when the various interests of humanitarian and humanitarian organizations create a local war economy dependent on the continuation of the conflict or join it, as in the case of Liberia. *“Government or militia leaders may benefit from visas, import duties, airport and port fees, and other administrative fees when humanitarian aid enters the country”* (Narang, 2015, p. 191). In the case of Liberia, Liberian leader Charles Taylor demanded that 15% of humanitarian aid be paid as import duty (Terry, 2002, p. 39). In addition, local forces may be needed to protect humanitarian aid. It is very common that guards are hired from militias for security purposes (Sommer, 1994, p. 14). In

addition to security, humanitarian organizations also recruit local staff for accommodation and offices. Local industries may emerge, depending on the state of the war, from the arrival of humanitarian aid to its distribution. In short, it is argued that humanitarian aid can prolong the conflict in four ways by reducing other costs: First, by directly or indirectly financing the material resources needed by a civil war. The second is to create safe areas that protect warring parties from attacks. Third, to isolate warring parties from the costs and political burden of continuing the war. And finally, creating new areas of economic interest depending on the civil war.

All these humanitarian aid results have been experienced many times over in different ways in different civil wars. Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen will be examined in more detail as they are civil wars with these consequences.

Humanitarian aid organizations fulfil many functions like a state in their region. This raises a different problem. Also, according to Lischer, "*The legitimacy provided by humanitarian activities can increase the strength of an insurgent group, regardless of the cash value of aid*" (Lischer 2003, p. 84), that is, humanitarian aid makes a definite contribution to the war economy. Humanitarian aid can provide legitimacy to combatants. It is important how humanitarian aid organizations convey the parties of the crisis in the international arena. For example, humanitarian aid to refugees in Rwanda included Hutu militants, causing the perception that the militants were refugees in need of help. This situation not only strengthens Hutu militants in matters such as nutrition and health, but also ensures that their political goals gain legitimacy in the international arena. In the Angolan Civil War, humanitarian aid was used many times by the government to strengthen itself politically. Thus, the public thought that people were given by the government, not by humanitarian organizations.

Humanitarian aid organizations often have to negotiate with the rebels in order to reach people in need (Lischer, 2003, p. 83). This means the recognition of the rebels and strengthens the reputation of the rebels. At this point, humanitarian workers face a dilemma, but they have to accept this situation in line with the principles of impartiality and in order to reach more real refugees. Otherwise, they

will either have to stop their work or become a target. This leaves humanitarian workers in a dilemma, and they are often able to take action in favour of the insurgents with the thought of preventing further hunger, disease and death. There are four mechanisms: feeding militants, sustaining and protecting the militants' supporters, contributing to the war economy, providing legitimacy to combatants. These four mechanisms do not apply to all civil wars. It is important to determine the origin of the civil war in order to determine the possibility of using humanitarian aid as a source of war and to act accordingly. The political cohesion and level of organization of people who have become refugees are directly proportional to their use of humanitarian aid as a war tool (Lischer, 2003, p. 86).

Lischer divides the refugees into three groups and names these groups as situational refugees, persecuted refugees and refugees exiled by the state, respectively. These groups are classified according to the possibility of using humanitarian aid as a war tool. The reason these people leave their homes, their level of political organization, and their need to return home reveals their tendency to use humanitarian aid as a means of warfare (Lischer, 2003, p. 86).

3.3. Rwanda, Bosnian, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen Cases

The 20th century has witnessed numerous civil wars caused by conflicts between different ethnic groups. Most of them took place right after the Cold War period and still continue to be experienced today. In connection with these civil wars, there has been a great increase in the number and activities of humanitarian aid and humanitarian organizations. With this increase in humanitarian aid, different problems and questions have arisen. It has been claimed that humanitarian aid has a negative effect in some civil wars. Based on these claims, the results of humanitarian aid in the civil wars in Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen will be discussed.

It is argued that the negative consequences of international humanitarian aid are generally due to operational problems (Lischer, 2003, p. 81). Political ties have an important place in humanitarian aid as in all other matters. The level of refugee group politicization or political cohesion of the humanitarian crisis informs whether humanitarian aid prolongs the war. An overly politicized group may see humanitarian aid as a resource to further their political and military goals against

the sending state. In addition, an overly politicized group can rally power by using humanitarian aid for its own political ends. The best example of this situation is certainly Rwanda. The second important aspect of the political affiliation is the managerial response to the crisis. In the absence of state-imposed security, militants are more likely to use humanitarian aid as an instrument of war. The principle of certainty of humanitarian aid and officials causes the movement to experience some problems at this point. The effects of humanitarian aid can often have political or military repercussions, even if it is not necessarily humanitarian (Lischer, 2003, p. 82). they are not willing enough to protect the aid of painters. At this point, security should be increased so that humanitarian aid is not stolen, and misused. Many private security guards can be hired, or local policemen trained to secure their previous statements (Lischer, 2003, p. 82).

“There are four main mechanisms through which humanitarian aid in refugee crises can exacerbate conflict. Humanitarian aid can feed militants; sustain and protect the militants’ supporters; contribute to the war economy; and provide legitimacy to combatants” (Lischer 2003, p. 82). The first mechanism, the militant feeding mechanism, involves deliberate and unintentional feeding of militants. Unintentional humanitarian aid may be given to militants among other refugees in the refugee camp. At this point, humanitarian aid workers need to know the region they come from for help and the events that have taken place. For example, humanitarian workers who came to Rwanda for humanitarian aid activities did not know about the genocide and the Hutu-Tutsi conflict. As a result of this, Hutus made their propaganda by making use of aid in refugee camps by pretending to be victims and carried out more arms collection and organizing activities. While some humanitarian organizations provided humanitarian aid to the militants in line with the principle of neutrality in the camps set up for Hutus who came to Zaire from Rwanda, some deliberately provided food because they thought the Hutu militants would steal the refugees' food (Lischer, 2003, p. 83).

It is claimed that Fabrizio Hochchild, one of the officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, defended the aid given to Hutu militants in Rwanda and said, *"Even criminals need to be fed"* (Lischer, 2003, p. 83). Based on this idea, we can see the paradox more clearly in the humanitarian aid system.

In civil war zones where humanitarian aid is in good standing, militants can get help to protect their supporters or their families, even if they can't get help for themselves. In this way, they gain strength for war again. In addition, these militants provide the continuation of their support by meeting the needs of their supporters in an easy way. At this point, while aid organizations help civilians, warring parties generally begin to gain more military strength. We can clearly see that Hutu militants in Rwanda got stronger and attacked as a result of using humanitarian aid in refugee camps in various ways. Militants can directly benefit from humanitarian aid, and they can also use these aid resources to finance conflicts. It is common for militant leaders staying in refugee camps to tax food and vital supplies, or to control and direct aid distribution processes (Lischer 2003, p. 84) Hutu militant leaders living in refugee camps for refugees from Rwanda to Goma and Zaire. They kept the aid for themselves by showing the number of them more. As Médecins Sans Frontières Secretary General Alan Destexhe puts it, *"Food represents power, and militant leaders divert substantial supplies into war preparations"* (Cooley & Ron, 2002, p. 30).

Militants can raid food and drug stores and international aid units. It is claimed that an average of \$100 million in aid resources are stolen every year. For example, in the 1990s, it is claimed that \$ 20 million of humanitarian aid was stolen during the Liberian Civil War. Although humanitarian aid activities in the country were restricted on this claim, it is not difficult to guess that the stolen materials were used by the war supporters. While one group of humanitarian workers argues that this includes only an insignificant fraction of aid, whatever the cash value of aid may be, it increases the strength of the rebels in civil wars.

Considering the situation of humanitarian aid in civil wars, it is seen that humanitarian aid is insufficient or not sustainable for various reasons. The vast majority of humanitarian aid is sent to conflict zones to provide essential resources such as food, shelter and medical supplies for those affected by the civil war. However, when we look at the recent past, it is thought that these humanitarian aids in the Rwanda and Bosnian Civil Wars prolonged the war. Recently, there has been an increasing view that humanitarian aid can prolong civil wars. When we look at the 1990s, it is seen that there were a number of events supporting this debate. The

Rwandan Civil War between 1990-1994, the Bosnian Civil War between 1992-1995, the Nigerian Civil War between 1967-1970, the Afghanistan Civil War between 2001-2021 and the Yemen Civil War between 2014-present form the basis of this discussion. In all three wars, there are still many debates in terms of humanitarian aid. Because, in the genocide that took place in Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen international actors had a negative impact on the progress of the process. From this point of view, it will be useful to take a closer look at what happened in these three civil wars to understand these debates.

3.3.1. Rwanda Civil War

As in many other civil wars, the existence of different ethnic groups within the country and discrimination between these groups constitute the basis of the war in the Rwandan Civil War. This civil war, which emerged as a result of the grudge and hatred between the Hutus, who still make up almost 85% of the country, and the Tutsis, who are the remaining minority, is also one of the biggest genocides in the world. In order to understand this civil war process that led to the genocide, it is necessary to look at the colonial period of Rwanda.

In Rwanda, which was a Belgian colony from the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, privileges were granted to Tutsi people as in the pre-colonial period (Altan, 2003, p. 106). As a result of all these, given that the independence movement initiated by the Hutus in 1959, hundreds of Tutsis were killed and most of them migrated to neighbouring countries. Again, in the process that started with the Hutus coming to power in 1973, many Tutsis fled to Uganda. In the 1990s, the Tutsi people declared war on the Republic of Rwanda by establishing the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1987 in Uganda, where they fled as a result of the discrimination and mass killings they were exposed to. This is how the history of Rwanda was formed by blood and conflict.

Ethnic, political and economic discrimination, which is among the main causes of every civil war, has also been the main cause of the Rwandan Civil War. The escalation of the problems in the surrounding countries, especially in Burundi and Uganda, the continuation of the effects of the colonial period, and most importantly, the privileges due to ethnic differences caused a civil war that amounted to genocide in Rwanda. It is known that as a result of the civil war in

Rwanda in a short period of three months in 1994, approximately 800,000 people were killed, and thousands were injured. Millions of people fled to neighbouring countries, with most of the remaining internally displaced.

3.3.1.1. Humanitarian Aid in Rwanda Civil War

Hundreds of thousands of Tutsis and moderate Hutus were massacred by radical Hutus after the genocide initiated by Hutus against Tutsis on April 6, 1994. After that, the Tutsi army targeted the Hutus, while almost 2 million Hutus left the country within a few weeks and came to the Ugandan border (Polman, 2014, p. 20). Although this situation was portrayed as refugees who had to flee the country in the international media, in fact, this group mostly included prominent leaders of the genocide and radical Hutus.

As stated by humanitarian organizations from different parts of the world, the nutritional and health conditions of the refugees were in excellent condition (Polman, 2014, p. 28). With such an environment, Camp Goma had become a headquarters for the Hutu. Refugees who were well fed and immunized against diseases became a good resource for the Hutu army (Polman, 2014, p. 29).

Before the genocide, Rwanda received great aid from 1988 to 1991. These aids were supplemented by humanitarian aid, which increased in 1992 and 1993 as the civil war between the Government and Tutsi-dominated rebels intensified and displaced large numbers of people (Browne, 1999). These levels of aid were maintained until the genocide. Some observers have argued that this aid, in support of the Government's policies, may have contributed to the conditions that incubated the genocide. Rwandan society is a society of high levels of inequality, marginalization and ethnic prejudices. The failure of humanitarian aid to act in the face of the developing genocide is an important problem. There is a consensus that appropriate interventions by the international community can prevent the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives. Within a hundred days, this country self-destructed with humanitarian aid.

After the genocide, a large amount of humanitarian aid was transferred to Rwanda. But these aids did not relieve the pain of the genocide. Through aid, the economy and physical infrastructure have been rebuilt. Some donors, historically

close to the previous Hutu regime, are reluctant to engage with a Tutsi-dominated Government. Help should be more objective. More stringent criteria should be applied to humanitarian programs, and these criteria should be evaluated according to the criteria of reconciliation, not division. Projects that spread their benefits unevenly among ethnic groups, such as educational grants that favour one group over another, should be avoided.

“During the 1994-96 refugee crisis in Zaire, the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide set up military training bases adjacent to the Rwandan Hutu refugee camps. Militants stockpiled weapons, recruited and trained refugee fighters, and launched cross-border attacks” (Lischer, 2003, p. 79).

In late 1996, militant groups strengthened by humanitarian aid in and near the camps led to Rwanda's invasion of Zaire and attacks on innocent refugees as well as Hutu militants. In the process, international humanitarian organizations regularly delivered food and supplies to refugee camps and military bases.

Between 1994 and 1996, international donors spent \$1.3 billion on this internationally supported refugee population, which includes unrepentant genociders. As a result of the massive misuse of humanitarian aid in the Rwandan refugee camps, it has emerged that humanitarian aid has negative effects and consequences (Lischer 2003, p. 80). At this point, it is seen that there is not a single organization to be blamed, on the contrary, many humanitarian organizations in the region seem partners in the crime. In addition, research has found that organizations are motivated to commit this crime by the same incentives that often affect other organizations.

The international community could not prevent the genocide in Rwanda, could not use sufficient force to stop the genocide, and failed to deliver humanitarian aid to those in need. As a result, it was clearly seen that humanitarian aid in the Rwandan Civil War caused the war to prolong.

3.3.2. Bosnian Civil War

Bosnia and Herzegovina, which contains many different elements in the Balkans, has gone through some troublesome processes due to this complex structure. The war between Serbs and Bosnians, which is considered among the

greatest tragedies in the last period of the twentieth century, has caused many destructions in the region. It is seen that all the possibilities of international law in Bosnia are used through diplomatic methods, the intervention of international organizations and international judiciary. However, the success of these facilities in preventing conflicts was controversial (Çakırca, 2020, p. 561). It is useful to look at the history of Yugoslavia to understand the civil war that broke out and the process that developed with the humanitarian aid that followed.

Established with the constitution adopted in 1946, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a union consisting of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia and Kosovo. Yugoslavia had a structure that contained different identities together (Öner, 2013). In the 1990s, with the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina emerged as independent states. With the end of the war, states turned to the goal of establishing independent units consisting of ethnic structures as much as possible instead of federative structures. In the countries that left Yugoslavia, the idea of gathering the Serbs under a single roof among the Serbs who became a minority has become dominant (Emiroğlu & Çakır, 2008). Serbian nationalism was on the rise and the dream of a Greater Serbia was revived. Bosnia and Herzegovina, which declared its independence in 1991, is a region that has been under conflict since 44% of the population is Bosnian, 33% is Serbs, and 18% is Croats (Moore, 1992). With the declaration of independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991, a civil war started, which quickly took on an international structure with the conflicts between ethnic elements. Many humanitarian aid organizations took an active part in the region during the Bosnian War that lasted between 1992-1995. However, there is a paradox about this humanitarian aid, as in the Rwandan Civil War.

3.3.2.1. Humanitarian Aid in the Bosnian War

With adverse conditions, blockades and attacks on aid workers that made it difficult to deliver humanitarian aid, the need for humanitarian aid was overwhelming, but the incoming aid fell on the black market or was destroyed so that Bosnian Muslims could not use it (Human Rights Watch, 1994). UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and all humanitarian aid workers

in the region were faced with a politically and morally sensitive dilemma. It is a wide field that includes initiatives and decisions of international organizations for the resolution of the Bosnian Civil War, aid activities of humanitarian aid organizations, UN Security Council Resolutions and the activities of the peacekeeping force it established, to some military interventions of NATO (Pazarcı, 1996, p. 381).

Based on the articles in the 7th chapter of the UN Charter, UNPROFOR has been created and authorized with the authority to use force in order to distribute humanitarian aid and to use it in cases where urgent intervention is required in the region. However, the peace force (UNPROFOR), which was created to provide humanitarian aid and security, was seen and named as the Serb Protection Force (SERBOFOR) by Bosnian Muslims (Bora, 1996). The reason for this is the problems experienced in delivering aid to those in need and ensuring general security, and the Serbians become stronger thanks to this.

It is estimated that the number of NGOs in the region in the 1990s was around 1500 (Semercioğlu, 2017, p. 1354). But as the international community could not solve the problem in Bosnia, the chaos and conflicts increased exponentially. In March 1993, Bosnian Serb forces attacked many cities, including Srebrenica, on the one hand, causing loss of life and property in the region, on the other hand, the conflicts seriously hindered the humanitarian aid work of the UN (Yürür, 2007, p. 75).

During the war, while many people got rich by black market and profiteering, many politicians also took advantage of their position and increased their assets. It is claimed that the money sent from abroad for aid was confiscated by some people and not delivered to their places (Yürür, 2007, p. 120).

As a result of attacks against humanitarian organizations and UNPROFOR members, aid convoys and planes, humanitarian aid fell into the hands of the genocidalists, not the people in need (UNHRC Press Releases 2004, p. 148). As a result, humanitarian aid in the Bosnian Civil War extended the war and provided support to the parties of the war (Narang, 2014, p. 185).

It is not possible to talk about the success of humanitarian aid in the Bosnian Civil War. Because the actions of the international community are controversial (Bradley, 2018). Because the genocide in Srebrenica took place in one of the UN safe zones. It is also claimed that food aid prolongs the war and genocide. As a result of aid or aid to both victims of war and aggressors, the duration of war and suffering has been prolonged (Bradley, 2018).

It has been reported that Bosnian Serb authorities embezzled humanitarian aid in the Banja Luka region (Human Rights Watch, 1994). As a result of interviews with some refugees by Human Rights Watch, it was seen that humanitarian aid was not given to non-Serbs in the region (Human Rights Watch, 1994). It has been said that some humanitarian organizations first delivered the aid to the Serbian refugees and the leftovers were distributed to the others. It is said that the Serbs constantly ask for help and threaten these humanitarian aid organizations when they can't get help. It was stated that there are food and medicines belonging to the Red Cross in all shops, markets and pharmacies in the Banja Luka region, so Serbs easily benefit from them. It was said that men in camouflage uniforms were selling ICRC products in the markets and that no one dared to go here and get the aid because the humanitarian aid delivered to the neighbourhoods was left at the municipal barracks. As a result, it was stated that Serbian soldiers, as well as Serbian civilians, received all kinds of materials they needed, and the rest were set on fire so that they would not be used. Because local charities are afraid to distribute the materials themselves (Interview with representatives of Human Rights Watch, 1994.)

Thousands of people and tons of food, weapons and other supplies, protected from Serbian shelling and sniper fire by the 800-metre narrow and damp tunnel outside of UN controls and siege lines, pass through each day, providing both a vital lifesaver for the city and a tremendous opportunity for black traders (Andreas, 2008). In Sarajevo, the abuse of aid, clandestine trade, and corruption by peacekeepers prolonged the duration and severity of the war. At this point, like the Rwandan camps in Zaire and Goma, a rapidly growing global humanitarian aid industry was formed in Sarajevo (Andreas, 2008).

What happened in Bosnia is one of the examples of how humanitarian aid prolongs the war in civil war zones. Humanitarian diversion, embargoes,

corruption, the aid industry, and war profiteering came together in the example of the Bosnian Civil War (Andreas, 2008). In Bosnia, where we see the dilemmas, contradictions and undesirable results of humanitarian aid activities in civil wars, we can clearly see that aid aimed at ending the conflict is paradoxically included in the war economy. According to many observers, humanitarian intervention and humanitarian aid in Bosnia prolonged the war and claimed to have been extended. But the reason for this is not only official aid, but also the falling of aid to the black market and the development of the war economy for such reasons (Young, 2001, p. 791).

3.3.3. Nigeria Civil War

The Nigerian civil war is only one of the post-colonial civil wars, as in many African and Middle Eastern countries. In Nigeria, which gained its independence from England in 1960, ethnic and religious differences emerged more after this independence. Because more than 500 ethnic groups live in Nigeria (Abubakar, 2016, p. 4). About 55% of the population is Muslim and is concentrated in the north of the country. 35% of the population is Christian and the Christian population is concentrated in the south. As a result of these ethnic and religious differences, uprisings started, which usually resulted in military coups. In this chaotic environment, Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, who was serving as the Governor of Eastern Nigeria, declared the independence of Biafra on May 30, 1967 (Bayram 2013, p. 220). The Nigerian Government under Yakubu Gowon, who did not accept the sovereignty of Biafra, sent soldiers to the region. After this shipment, the Nigerian Civil War started with Biafra's response (Uzokwe, 2003, p. 14). The Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafra War, lasted between 6 July 1967 and 13 January 1970 (Abubakar, 2016, p. 11).

In Nigeria, one of the world's major oil exporters, most of the oil was located in the Biafra region. This was another issue of conflict between the Nigerian Government and Biafra. The Nigerian Government demanded weapons from England after the Nigerian Government blocked the oil exports by blockading Biafra, and England, which supplied some of its oil from Nigeria, demanded that the blockade be lifted. Although the military success of the Biafrans by invading Mid-West Nigeria and Benin made the British Government reconsider the issue, it

was decided to continue supplying arms to the Nigerian government (Childs, 2006, p. 119). While England supported the Nigerian Government in this way, France also supported Biafra by shipping weapons to Biafra. Fragmentation of Nigeria would be in France's interest because it could get a larger share of the oil in the region. France presented Biafra as "a nation caught between freedom and genocide", which has experienced human tragedy for a long time. The propaganda in question both found supporters in the eyes of the British public and was supported at the political level. However, when it was understood that the civil war was developing in favour of Nigeria with the support of the British Government, France gradually disintegrated from Biafra (Bayram 2013, p. 221). As a result, the emergence of a separatist movement in Biafra, its suppression by the central government, and the policies pursued during foreign support largely played a role in the oil reserves in the region. Considering the political power configuration of the period, it is seen that the Biafra crisis resulted in a short period of three years in line with the energy geopolitical interests of England (Abubakar, 2016, p. 3)

3.3.1.1. Humanitarian Aid in the Nigerian War

The Biafra War has an important place in the changing structure of the humanitarian aid sector at the end of the 1960s (Desgrandchamps, 2012, p. 1409). Likewise, the ICRC was of great importance in the Battle of Biafra. Humanitarian organizations were working to provide food aid to civilians in both Nigeria and Biafra, especially for the famine that started in 1968, but The Nigerian Government wanted to control the aid. Because there was the thought that weapons with the aid came the weapons (Desgrandchamps, 2012, p. 1419). In line with the principle of neutrality, there were organizations that helped not only the Biafran side but also the Nigerian side. The main reason for this situation is political purposes. At this point, we clearly see that humanitarian aid includes political causes and consequences.

The steps taken by humanitarian organizations to save more people may have negative consequences in some cases. For example, in Nigeria, aid negotiations with the Government were affected as a result of the ICRC's hasty aid without informing the Nigerian Government (Desgrandchamps, 2012, p. 1416). In addition, in some cases, humanitarian aid activities went beyond their real purpose. For

example, Gabon recognized Biafra and sent weapons along with humanitarian aid. As a result, the Nigerian Government asked for the aid to be stopped, and the aid was moved east and deteriorated. The amateur behaviour of humanitarian organizations also negatively affected Biafra aid. Humanitarian aid organizations compete with each other and include militants in the humanitarian aid network (Desgrandchamps, 2012, p. 1423).

The parties to the conflict had different views on humanitarian aid. While the Biafran government saw this as a pleasing development, the Nigerian government saw humanitarian aid as support for an insurgency (Omaka, 2014, p. 5). The cause of conflicts between humanitarian organizations and the Nigerian government is political goals. For this reason, the Nigerian Air Force constantly harassed the planes that brought relief supplies to Biafran Airport. Disagreement over what constitutes humanitarian aid and the Nigerian government's attempts to halt humanitarian aid have allowed the free flow of relief supplies, thus increasing the alarming death rate from starvation (Omaka, 2014, p. 5). While the Nigerian government used hunger to force Biafra to surrender, the Biafran government thought that the hunger crisis could influence the world powers to force the Nigerian government to accept the peace deal. According to Ntieyong Akpan, Chief Secretary of the Biafran Government, the Nigerian government's humanitarian aid contributed to prolonging the war.

Humanitarian aid was also provided to both Nigeria and Biafra during the conflict. In the Nigerian War, the humanitarian and military and political aspects of the war were intertwined. Both Nigerian authorities saw hunger as a legitimate means of war that could force Biafra to surrender to Nigerian authority (Omaka, 2014, p. 17). Biafran leaders felt that the horrific pictures of starving Biafran children shown on television could garner international support for the Biafran cause. The argument that the humanitarian crisis is directly related to politics is a good example for the Biafra Civil War.

3.3.4. Afghanistan Civil War

Afghanistan has been in a civil war since 1979. This war started when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979. After the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, it aimed to establish a communist regime in the country. However,

this invasion was opposed by the people of Afghanistan and many opposition groups emerged. These opposition groups fought to get the Soviet Union out of Afghanistan. Due to the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the decision to withdraw from Afghanistan in 1989, conflicts began between opposition groups. Among these opposition groups, the most prominent group is the Taliban. These conflicts between the groups have caused the death, displacement and great destruction of many people in Afghanistan.

After the incident on September 11, 2001, in Afghanistan, which has become a country full of turmoil, American planes carried out air strikes against the Taliban, under the name of fighting terrorism, one month later. After these airstrikes, military and civilian aid workers from more than sixty countries came to Afghanistan for the restructuring of the country (Polman, 2014, p. 128). Conflicts still continue in Afghanistan today. Due to these conflicts, the people of Afghanistan are still in a great humanitarian crisis. According to estimates, 2 trillion dollars were spent on war and a new order, and this amount includes untraceable money. For example, according to the US Congress report, 19 billion dollars of the budget allocated for reconstruction between 2009-2019 is lost (BBC, 2021). It is known that humanitarian aid and money spent cause a dilemma. It is argued that humanitarian aid in the Afghan Civil War negatively affected the course of the war. One month after September 11, 2001, American planes carried out air strikes against the Taliban in Afghanistan, claiming to fight against terrorism. After these airstrikes, military and civilian aid workers from more than sixty countries came to Afghanistan for the reconstruction of the country (Polman, 2014, p. 128). Simultaneously, a humanitarian aid dilemma has emerged in Afghanistan. The principle of neutrality, instrumentalization or politicization of aid, and the transformation of aid into an industry have negatively affected the war by causing humanitarian aid in Afghanistan to create a dilemma. Confusion over humanitarian aid and humanitarian workers in many civil war zones also exists in Afghanistan. The thought that there are political and military purposes behind the aid causes the aid to be stolen or the people who receive the aid to be killed. International military forces disguised as aid workers and driving white cars made humanitarian aid difficult in Afghanistan. Assistance was instrumentalized by telling those who gave information about the Taliban and Al Qaeda that they would get better aid materials

(Terry, 2011, p. 175). Civilians in need have been most affected by the instrumentalization of aid. As a result of the cooperation of civilians in return for aid, the rebels launched attacks on the villages that accepted the aid.

3.3.4.1. Humanitarian Aid in Afghanistan War

In Afghanistan, which is among the five most violent countries for humanitarian aid workers, the impact of humanitarian aid on the war is discussed. *“The Taliban chooses where and to whom aid goes and intervenes in humanitarian aid by demanding payment or 'taxation' for access”* (The New Humanitarian). While it is important for aid agencies to remain neutral and impartial, the relationship with the Taliban must be maintained so that the public does not suffer further (Taye, 2021). This creates a different dilemma. Aid agencies are expected to meet various conditions such as neutrality, respect for Afghan culture and pay taxes, and be officially registered with the Taliban. Aid organizations perceived by the Taliban as impartial and independent. It has more access and security (Jackson, 2013) It is also known that the Taliban has increased its attempts to intervene in the distribution of humanitarian aid, demanding the recruitment of personnel selected by local authorities and the implementation of projects preferred by the local government (Shapour, 2022).

It is not just about the Taliban that humanitarian aid poses a dilemma. Before the Taliban took control, the improper use of international aid by the Kabul administration and its involvement in corruption contributed to the collapse of the country's economy. For example, in the Kabul Bank incident in 2011, it was revealed that millions of dollars were embezzled by many deputies and cabinet members (Kılıç, 2022, p. 2). These corruptions in aid caused the Taliban to find support.

As another issue, some organizations such as the ICRC have implemented Henry Dunant's idea of rescuing the wounded in Afghanistan, regardless of which side is military (Terry, 2011, p. 181). Everyone has been helped, regardless of injured militia, opposition supporters and innocent civilians. It is even known that the ICRC gave first aid training to the Taliban in Afghanistan so that fewer people died. As a result, it is seen that donor governments instrumentalize aid in

Afghanistan and the neutrality of humanitarian aid has a negative effect on the civil war (Terry, 2011, p. 185).

According to most humanitarian workers, communicating with bad people is as important as communicating with good people for humanitarian activities to take place. In addition to cooperation with the government in Afghanistan, there is a prevailing opinion that if there is no cooperation with the rebels or the opposition in order to deliver aid to some regions, people in need cannot be reached (Terry, 2011, p. 186). Donors are in a difficult dilemma in Afghanistan. Humanitarian aid organizations are trying to communicate and make agreements with the Taliban in order to bring aid to innocent people without accepting the legitimacy of the Taliban (Shapour, 2022). As a result of some bias under neutrality, some humanitarian organizations have increased the severity of the crisis by jeopardizing the delivery of humanitarian aid to those in need by damaging their credibility against opposing forces in Afghanistan. In this way, they had difficulties in aid activities in safe areas (Terry, 2011, p. 187). Humanitarian aid, which includes a political and military strategy, may cause more civilian casualties and further hostility of the rebels (Terry, 2011, p. 188). For an Afghan, humanitarian activity is seen as a means to win the war.

Theft of the emblems of humanitarian organizations such as the Red Cross and Red Crescent, and the use of aid facilities, vehicles and personnel for different purposes endanger humanitarian aid activities and increase the tendency of the other party to violence (Terry, 2013, p. 26). The instrumentalization of aid against terrorism has caused problems for aid organizations in Afghanistan and other countries (Terry, 2013, p. 37). It is stated that aid in Afghanistan only helps gangsters and fighters, while hurting innocent victims more (Polman 2010). Polman criticizes aid organizations for blindly supporting the warring parties in line with the principle of neutrality and for their problematic behaviour on neutrality.

Humanitarian aid in Afghanistan has created both a dilemma and a war industry. Up to 80% of all available social services in Afghanistan are provided through contracts with international aid agencies (Cohen, Kupcu & Khanna, 2008, p. 74). According to the World Bank data, while development assistance in Afghanistan was 49% of the gross national income in the 2010s, it is seen that it is

equivalent to 22% of the country's gross national income in 2022 (Kılıc, 2022, p. 2). Humanitarian work in Afghanistan poses a dilemma. The humanitarian dilemma involves the risk that humanitarian aid efforts in a country may have effects that may disrupt the country's economic, social and political structure, while achieving the purpose of helping local people.

Aid workers and international observers argued that safe zones created to provide relief services actually prolong conflicts, resulting in the deaths of around 20,000 people around relief zones (Narang, 2015, p. 184). The Afghan government manages only a third of the several billion dollars in aid that flows into the country each year. The rest are managed directly by private donors, development agencies and humanitarian organisations.

The fact that humanitarian aid is part of the US-led response in Afghanistan, with military forces rebuilding schools, digging wells, and providing food and medical aid, is also a problem for humanitarian aid, influencing the course of the war. Because humanitarian aid projects are used as a tool to achieve military goals in Afghanistan (Wortel, 2009, p. 799). Humanitarian aid, including food aid, is used as a weapon of war. Because some militants who see aid are less likely to shoot the soldiers (Wortel, 2009, p. 799). As a result, there is a distribution of aid in Afghanistan where neutrality and impartiality are no longer valid.

3.3.5. Yemen Civil War

No matter where in the world, the need for humanitarian aid in civil wars is always great. On the basis of this, there are some economic problems in regions that are already experiencing civil war, the limited access of many people to basic needs and the worsening of the situation with the war. Regions that are already poor or have income inequality are at higher risk of civil war and humanitarian assistance is more needed. There are various reasons and processes for the outbreak of a civil war. The basis of the civil war in Yemen actually dates back to the foundation years. The transition period that started with the withdrawal of Ali Abdullah Saleh from power in November 2011 led to some conflicts. As a result of these conflicts and the emergence of public protests, the process leading to the Yemen Civil War began, step by step. As in all Middle Eastern countries, conflicts and protests in

Yemen, which took place during the Arab Spring, have a historical background (Kurt, 2015, p. 8). Years of authoritarian rule, separatist groups, deep poverty, income inequality are the main causes of the civil war. The poverty that existed before the start of the war increased exponentially with the civil war. Causes such as excessive rainfall and drought caused by the climate of the region, combined with the effects of poverty and civil war, caused many people in Yemen to be in need of help.

With the Armistice of Mudros, signed on October 30, 1918, the last Ottoman soldier left Yemen and two different countries emerged as North and South (Koca, 2021, p. 225). Although steps were taken to unite two different Yemen throughout the 1970s, none of them were successful. North and South Yemen, which were states in different periods and progressed with different internal dynamics and actors until unification in 1990, could not become a united but integrated Yemen State in 1990. North and South Yemen united on May 22, 1990, renamed the Republic of Yemen, and the first President was Ali Abdullah Saleh, the former president of North Yemen, with the 1993 election, and remained in power until 2011. Located in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, the country is surrounded by Saudi Arabia in the north and Oman in the east, the Gulf of Aden in the south and the Red Sea in the west. Although the population of Yemen is not known exactly due to the civil war, it is estimated to be around 30 million. The majority of the population consists of Arabs. Of the 99.1% Muslim population, 65% of the Yemen population is Sunni, 35% is Shia and Zaydi. Although Zaydis are defined as Shiites, they differ from other Shiites in some respects, and the Zaydis, who are called Houthis in Yemen and mostly live in the north of the country, make up the majority of the Houthis (CIA The World Factbook, 2021). The capital, Sana'a, is considered the religious center of the Houthis. Therefore, it is of great importance in the civil war. Civil war in Yemen, which has been in constant conflict since its establishment, started in 2015 and still continues today.

With the effect of the Arab Spring in 2011, popular uprisings started in Yemen against President Ali Abdullah Saleh, who has been the leader of the country since the establishment of the country. As a result of the riots, Salih handed over his powers to his deputy, Abdurabbu Mansur Hadi. The transition process

under the guarantor of the United Nations (UN) and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) continued under the leadership of Hadi. While there was a government crisis in this process, Houthi militants entered the capital Sana'a in September 2014, took the city under their control and began to advance towards important southern cities.

The Yemen Civil War, which started in 2015 and continues as of 2023, has many causes. Among these reasons, there is the inability to solve some social, economic and political problems that increased after the Arab Spring. The proxy wars of Iran and Saudi Arabia are effective in the outbreak of the war and the fact that a definite ceasefire has not been achieved today. Due to the blockade of important areas by the Saudi coalition on the one hand and the Houthi militias supported by Iran on the other hand, by air, land and sea, as of March 2022, 23.4 million of the 31.9 million population are in need of humanitarian aid and 4 million people are displaced in Yemen. There is a humanitarian crisis (UN 2022).

The basis of the humanitarian crisis in Yemen is that the people are from different sectarian groups. The involvement of Sunnis in the administration and the inequality in access to resources are based on the outbreak of civil war as a result of the struggles for supremacy between the groups and the interventions of Iran and Saudi Arabia (Karakoç, 2022, p. 86). *"Having a strategic location with the Gulf of Aden-Bab'ül Mandeb Strait-Red Sea-Suez Canal, Yemen has experienced direct or indirect interventions by many different regional and global actors since its establishment"* (Arslan, 2015, p. 33). In Yemen, which has a limited capacity and is one of the poorest countries in the region, the state mechanism has become inoperable with these interventions.

With the support of the USA, Saudi Arabia and neighbouring countries launched air operations called "Decisive Storm" against Iran-backed Houthi militias in Yemen. Due to various conflicts in both air and land, millions of people had to leave their homes and migrate to other places (Semin, 2017, p. 96). According to UN data, as of March 2022, more than 4 million Yemenis have been displaced and have started to live in tent cities and camps temporarily established (UNHCR, 2022). According to UN data, more than 80 percent of the population needs humanitarian aid to meet their basic needs (UN, 2022). Due to the blockades, the

people cannot access not only food, but also fuel, education and health services. In many places, there are long-term power outages due to energy and fuel problems.

3.3.5.1. Humanitarian Aid in the Yemen Civil War

As in many civil wars, humanitarian aid has turned into a black hole in Yemen. Both sides of the conflict are manipulating food distribution to starving Yemenis (Guardian, 2019). Theft of aid by militias, its sale on the black market; It is known that humanitarian aid has a negative impact on the war in Yemen due to the main reasons such as taking sides by some aid organizations, blockades, and the formation of the war industry.

Aid workers are forced by warring parties to direct food baskets to specific members who use them for economic or political gain (Elayah, Gaber & Fenttiman, 2022, p. 8). It turned out that some aid workers had known for months that armed groups were diverting food, manipulating data on malnutrition surveys, and diverting food aid to areas they controlled. It has been observed that the number of humane foods sold on the open market in the capital has increased and been misused. It is stated that due to the existence of food distribution centres that abuse food stocks, approximately 60 percent of people do not receive the assistance they deserve. It was revealed that the food was illegally taken out of the warehouse and distributed or sold to people who were not authorized to receive the goods (Guardian, 2019).

In the city of Taiz, as a result of organizational turmoil and theft, 5,000 sacks of rice were looted from a charity warehouse, and 110 sacks of grain were looted from a relief truck trying to pass through the mountainous regions (Michael, 2018). It is known that thousands of families in Taiz are not able to receive international food aid. This is because these aids are intercepted by Saudi and allied armed forces. It is claimed that the military, which is supposed to protect the aid, is looting the aid (Michael, 2018). Large amounts of food enter the country, but it does not reach the people who need it most. In some parts of the country, conflicts, barricades and bureaucratic obstacles reduce the amount of aid that comes in, and even though it does in most regions, it still does not reach the hungriest families.

There are major imbalances in the aid process. Most of Yemen's population is under the control of armed Houthis, who confiscates humanitarian aid before it reaches the intended people. In addition, weak Government institutions and bureaucratic barriers hinder the travel and movement of aid workers (Reliefweb, 2021). The Houthis control a large part of northern and western Yemen, where more than 70 percent of the country's population lives (Michael, 2018). Houthi rebels are acting aggressively to control the flow of food aid, threatening aid workers with arrest or deportation, demanding trucks pay taxes, and setting up checkpoints. UN experts state that the Houthis diverting state revenues to finance their own war effort stifles economic activity (Hananian, 2021). It is known that every month in Sana'a, at least 15,000 food baskets that the education ministry should provide to hungry families are instead diverted to the black market or used to feed front-line Houthi militias (Michael, 2018).

It is known that food items with the logos of WFP and other global aid groups are sold in markets in both the Houthi and coalition regions. Local shopkeepers complain that they can no longer sell their products as food aid supplies fill the market. Although these aid materials are of lower quality, they are below average market prices, putting local food producers and sellers in a difficult position. This aggravates the already disastrous economy (Elayah, Gaber and Fenttiman 2022, p. 8).

Humanitarian aid is an important source of funding for armed groups and plays a major role in the development of the war economy in Yemen (Elayah, Gaber and Fenttiman 2022, p. 3). The militias are trying to thwart humanitarian aid in order to contain the humanitarian campaign and get a share of the billions of dollars in aid. There are various politicized NGOs that channel funds to specific regions or specific groups for political and military advantage. These actions of NGOs expand the war economy rather than reduce the effects of war on the poor (Elayah, Gaber and Fenttiman 2022, p. 1).

It has been declared by the World Food Program that 1,200,000 kg of food never reaches its destination and is sold by different groups (Kiley, Sirgany & Laine, 2019). The fact that food aid, whether free or subsidized, is below local prices also negatively affects the local food and agricultural market. This ultimately

increases the number of people in need of humanitarian aid, as farmers and others working in the same production cycle lose their sources of income due to imported foodstuffs, lowering prices and demand for locally grown produce (Elayah, Gaber and Fentiman 2022, p. 7).



4. MORAL DILEMMAS OF HUMANITARIAN AID IN CIVIL WARS

In this section, moral dilemmas and various concessions that arise while acting in order to eliminate victimization in humanitarian aid activities will be examined. This review will discuss whether moral dilemmas and compromises are the dark side of humanitarian aid and whether they prolong the duration and severity of civil wars. The increased participation of aid organizations during the war and the various situations they experience during humanitarian aid activities can lead to a moral dilemma (Slim, 2002, p. 244). Therefore, the length and severity of these difficult situations and conflicts for humanitarian workers is the main reason for this review.

Moral dilemmas are not a new problem for charities. This is because ethical issues are inherent in humanitarian activity. For example, there are parameters such as moral dilemmas, especially humanitarian aid being a limited resource, distribution, the role of other actors, prioritization in the context of available resources, and the costs and benefits of certain interventions to an organization (Clarinval, 2014, p. 2). For this reason, it can be said that there are moral dilemmas in many civil wars involving humanitarian aid activities. Almost all civil war aid activities in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s had moral dilemmas for various reasons. For example, it would not be wrong to say that there is a common moral dilemma in Nigeria, Rwanda, Bosnia, Afghanistan and Yemen, which are examples of civil wars in the last 50 years. As a result of increasing civil wars and increasing humanitarian aid activities in proportion to this, various experts have determined that humanitarian aid activities are "right or wrong?", "good or bad?" They started to discuss the issue from a moral point of view. The issues why humanitarian aid organizations experience moral dilemmas in wars and how they can reduce this dilemma have been discussed and various initiatives have been made in this regard. In conclusion, the *"Mohonk Criteria for Humanitarian Aid in Complex Emergencies (1994) produced by the World Conference on Religion and Peace; and the so-called Principles of Providence (1993) from the Humanitarianism and War Project at Brown University were prepared. In Europe, the Code of Conduct for the International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent and NGOs in Disaster Relief (1994) originated in Geneva and has now*

been signed by more than 100 international NGOs.” (Slim, 2002, p. 246). However, despite all these principles, rules and criteria, it is seen that there are still dilemmas.

In the literature, the moral dilemmas and causes of humanitarian aid activities have been handled in different ways. Discrimination, establishment policies, misuse of the principle of impartiality, corruption, donors' interests and conditions are shown as the causes of moral dilemmas experienced during humanitarian aid. When we look at the literature in more detail, for example, Schwartz et al., in their article titled "Ethics in Humanitarian Aid Work: Learning from the Narratives of Humanitarian Health Workers", as a result of studies conducted in Africa, Asia, Central America, Eastern Europe and the Caribbean at different times, the problem arising from ethical difficulties has four main points. These are, in order, resource scarcity and resource allocation problem; political, historical, social and economic problems, problems arising from the policies and agendas of humanitarian aid organizations, are problems related to workers (Schwartz, 2010, p. 47). In addition, Clarinval and Andorno stated in their article “Challenging Operations: An Ethical Framework to Assist Humanitarian Aid Workers in their Decision-making Processes” that the reason for moral dilemma is primarily the authorities, responsibilities, expertise, capacity, influence and policies of organizations; then they show the structure of the country and finally the decision-making processes of aid workers (Clarinval & Andorno 2014, p. 2). As a result of all this literature review, in this study, the causes of moral dilemmas in civil wars will be divided into 8 items and examined under 8 different headings. These are, in order:

- 1- Moral dilemmas by humanitarian principles,
- 2- Moral dilemmas by the instrumentalization of humanitarian aid,
- 3- Moral dilemmas by discrimination,
- 4- Moral dilemmas by aid workers,
- 5- Moral dilemmas by humanitarian organizations,
- 6- Moral dilemmas by donations and donors,
- 7- Moral dilemmas by coercion and threats,

8- Moral dilemmas by the structure of the society that is being helped.

4.1. Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Aids

International humanitarian law and Human Rights Law are an important element in making ethical decisions of humanitarian aid organizations. As civil wars create an environment where the rules of law are not enforced, humanitarian organizations face more moral choices in these environments. As mentioned above, there are many reasons for moral dilemma. Before the causes of moral dilemma, it is necessary to look at what the concept of moral dilemma is and its importance in the concept of humanitarian aid. In addition, it will be examined how these moral dilemmas experienced during humanitarian aid activities affect the duration and severity of the civil war.

Moral dilemma is defined as situations in which all possible actions are otherwise binding, and some moral principles are violated (Blackburn, 1994, p. 250). In other words, a moral dilemma is when one of two wrong decisions is chosen, or the lesser wrong one. At this point, since a wrong decision is seen as the right decision for the moment, it is thought to contribute to the solution of the existing problem, but this situation, which should cause relief due to decision-making, on the contrary, appears as a disturbing situation. The results of the research conducted with aid workers in different civil war zones, in different aid organizations and in different tasks, also show that these dilemmas are a difficult situation for aid workers, even after years.

The state of experiencing a moral dilemma can vary from region to region and from institution to institution. However, the size of the moral dilemma experienced also varies. The aims and principles of the humanitarian aid organization, the situation of the aid workers, the situation of the region where the activities are carried out and the people of the region, the severity of the war, the goals and policies of the donors affect the rate of encountering moral dilemmas. For this reason, in case of moral dilemma, the difficulty of the environment in which the decision is made, the intention, capacity, knowledge of the organization and the effort to prevent the moral dilemma can be looked at. For example, a charity providing food aid may have a moral responsibility depending on whether it feeds its target audience well or badly. In other words, it is not considered to have a moral

responsibility in matters such as the continuation of violence, prolonging the war or contributing to the war economy (Slim, 2002, pp. 251-252). Therefore, the most important thing for a humanitarian organization is undoubtedly goodwill and capacity. Even in a negative situation, if one acts in good faith or the charity cannot do more than its capacity, it cannot be held morally responsible, and this situation cannot be included in a moral dilemma (Slim 2002, p. 253).

Today, ethical problems and conflicting values encountered in humanitarian aid are still avoided to be defined and named clearly in humanitarian discourse. Generally, ethical issues tend to be reduced to geopolitical or management issues (Darcy & Hofmann, 2003, p. 47). In a civil war, the humanitarian organization has limited reach and helping people in this way is difficult to maintain the critical balance between the principles of goodness and justice. It is sometimes not possible to verify whether aid reaches those in need. Since this situation cannot be verified, should the aid activity be stopped, or should it be continued with the thought that it can reach a handful of real needy people? This involves a great moral dilemma. The ethical decision-making process should not be neglected. Sometimes decisions can be discriminatory, distorting assessments and affecting results (Clarival & Andorno 2014, p. 2).

Many reasons can be effective in the moral dilemma experienced in humanitarian aid activities in a civil war. For this reason, ethical issues should not be reduced to management and geopolitical issues only (Clarival & Andorno 2014, p. 2). All the factors causing the moral dilemma should be clearly identified and solutions should be produced for each identified dilemma.

4.1.1. Moral Dilemmas by Humanitarian Principles

The principles of humanitarian aid are the most important values for the equal, healthy and safe conduct of humanitarian aid activities. In most cases, these values are not applicable. For example, when saving someone's life and personal security conflict, aid workers may choose to avoid helping because of a lack of security (Hammond, 2012, p. 2). According to Calain, *"humanitarian principles are often misrepresented as primary sources of legitimacy"* (Calain, 2012, p. 56) Because sometimes doing the "right thing" requires more than goodwill. It is important to make careful evaluation at this point. For this reason, humanitarian

actors should study these issues in detail so that the decision-making process in this and similar situations can be consistent and fair.

All four humanitarian aid principles are important for the moral dilemma, but when looking at civil wars, it is seen that there are mostly problems with the principle of neutrality. Humanitarian aid activities carried out in line with the principle of impartiality can sometimes cause more damage than they actually are and cause more loss of life and property. For example, a charity that tries to remain neutral can increase the duration and intensity of the war by providing aid to both sides of the war with its aid. The best example of this has undoubtedly occurred in Rwanda. In the refugee camps in Rwanda, aid was given to radicals and militants in line with the principle of neutrality. As a result, a great disaster occurred. Some aid workers, in good faith and on the principle of impartiality, chose to help regardless of their side or what they stood for simply because they were human, and saving the lives of a group of radicals set the stage for a genocide in which tens of thousands were massacred. Based on this situation, it can be thought that humanitarian aid activities will harm and not giving aid to those in need will have a better result. But this thought can also cause much harm and trouble. For this reason, it is of great importance to make decisions in accordance with the structure of the field, taking into account all humanitarian aid principles. Although the principle of impartiality is an important humanitarian aid principle, it is the least applied principle in practice by aid organizations (Schweizer, 2004, p. 551). This principle needs to be re-evaluated in a field-appropriate way.

Some values, such as impartiality, independence or religious beliefs, represent the core views of a charity. But these are not enough. Accountability is important in transparency and needs-based approaches. Some researchers object to the applicability of values such as impartiality and neutrality (Slim, 1997, p. 342). The reason for this is that during the humanitarian aid activities in many civil wars, especially in Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen neutrality and impartiality increased the duration and severity of the war. On the contrary, in Afghanistan, the principle of neutrality is seen as an appropriate tool to provide access to people in need (Terry, 2010, p. 14). In short, whether the principles of

humanitarian aid cause a moral dilemma or the effect on the duration and severity of the war may be different according to different countries and different situations.

4.1.2. Moral Dilemmas by Instrumentalization of Humanitarian Aid

The definition of the concept of instrumentalization is quite inclusive. The reason for this is that the concept of instrumentalization is as old as the concept of humanitarian aid, and everyone and everything can be a part of instrumentalization in humanitarian aid activities (Donini, 2012, p. 1169). While donors instrumentalize charities to advance their political and strategic interests, charities instrumentalize those in need to raise money by showing the hardships and suffering experienced by victims. In addition, victims may seek to extend their victim status to gain longer access to resources. Again, warlords and militias instrumentalize the suffering of local people for their own benefit. As a result, they gain income and status by looting the aid received by the local people. It is thought that as long as the concept of humanitarian aid exists, instrumentalization will also exist. According to some, humanitarian aid activities are also a part of instrumentalization because individuals may want to ease their own conscience, be accepted by the society or help because of their beliefs (Donini, 2012, p. 1171).

Some deliberately use aid activities to instrumentalize humanitarian aid activities. According to some researchers, great powers are involved in humanitarian aid activities for their own interests. For example in 19th century some major powers were also involved in various humanitarian aid activities. This situation is no different today. In many civil wars, especially in Nigeria, Bosnia, Rwanda, Afghanistan and Yemen, it is seen that the world's leading countries or some international organizations support humanitarian aid activities in the region for their own special interests or are directly on the field. This is a clear example of the instrumentalization of humanitarian aid activity. The geographical location, natural resources, ethnic and religious structure of the region increase the possibility of instrumentalization of aid.

It is seen that there is more than one actor in instrumentalization. The most important of these is undoubtedly the humanitarian aid actors. Humanitarian actors can instrumentalize their relief activities, using people's suffering to increase their budget and visibility. According to Antonio Donini, there is a relationship between

the existence of great powers that instrumentalize aid activities and the difficulty of delivering aid to those in need (Donini, 2012, p. 1170). This relationship is inversely proportional. While many actors benefit from the instrumentalization of humanitarian aid activities, those in need, who are the main subject of aid, cannot benefit from this instrumentalization. On the contrary, those who suffer the most from this instrumentalization process caused by different elements of the humanitarian aid ecosystem are those in need.

Humanitarian principles play an important role in instrumentalizing aid activities. Although the principles of humanitarian aid are a separate moral dilemma, it can be said that instrumentalization is definitely seen in humanitarian aid activities where there are no principles of humanitarian aid. Instead of an impartial, neutrality, independent humanitarian aid, there may be a more ambitious, biased, instrumentalized humanitarian aid activity that deviates from its purpose.

“Whether you are being manipulated by the Sudanese regime or by coalition forces in Afghanistan, you are always a tool of war,” Polman said (Anthony, 2010). For this reason, it is necessary for humanitarian workers to learn to stay out of instrumentalization policies. On the contrary, although instrumentalization in humanitarian aid activities is generally thought to be bad in the literature, instrumentalization is seen as a good situation by the thought that very few people can lead to the goal (Donini, 2012, p. 1172). For example the history of instrumentalization in Afghanistan is very long. This process starts from the 1980s. For example, humanitarian aid activities in Afghanistan after 2001 changed form and sides due to some organizations. In other words, some humanitarian organizations have become a part of American soldiers and therefore American policy (Labbe, 2013).

4.1.3. Moral Dilemmas by Discrimination

Ethnic, religious and racial privileges can be seen in some aid activities. Discrimination is a major challenge in the delivery of humanitarian aid and can lead to numerous moral dilemmas for aid providers. Contrary to the principle of impartiality, giving aid only to certain people prevents the fair distribution of aid. The importance of the principle of impartiality emerges at this point. A fair distribution that respects human dignity and that the principle of impartiality is

properly applied can eliminate moral dilemmas arising from discrimination. Aid workers and aid organizations can organize training programs to prevent discrimination and develop strategies that include close monitoring and evaluation of aid activities and a measured relationship with local communities. To understand the discrimination experienced in humanitarian aid activities in civil wars, it is necessary to consider all the complex political, social and economic contexts in which aid is given.

Due to moral dilemmas arising from discrimination, humanitarian aid activities in the war zone result in a negative change as opposed to a positive one. In cases where discrimination is high, it is highly likely that the duration and severity of the war will be triggered. Moral dilemmas resulting from discrimination can take different forms. The cause of discrimination could be donors, charity, aid worker or warlord and militias. A donation sent impartially by a donor may only be distributed to a select audience by a biased charity that feels ethnically, religiously or racially affiliated with one party. Similarly, at a critical moment, the aid that comes in an impartial way can choose the side with similar characteristics, such as ethnic or religious, and deliver humanitarian aid to them. In some war zones, warlords or local officials may ask aid organizations and workers to discriminate. When charities or their workers do not accept discrimination, persons seeking discrimination may not allow passage or may demand various taxes. In the face of this situation, the organization and workers may experience a moral dilemma and then accept the condition of discrimination, with the thought that help will not be able to reach those in need. In this case, it is of great importance to evaluate the results well.

4.1.4. Moral Dilemmas by Aid Workers

Personal characteristics and ethical values of aid workers may cause moral dilemmas to emerge during humanitarian aid activities. There may be conflicts between the ethics of humanitarian activity and the ethics of aid workers, and aid workers may have to choose between the two. Because aid workers, who are individuals, have two separate identities, professional and personal (Broussard et al., 2019, p. 1). These two separate identities present aid workers with various ethical challenges. Aid workers must be informed and prepared for the ethical

challenges they will face in the field. Similarly, they should be aware of unequal social, political and economic barriers and hierarchical structures that can be encountered in all areas of aid activity (Schwartz, 2010, p. 51). In order to reduce the moral dilemma, various trainings such as professional ethics training can be given. Ethics training ensures that managers and other workers responsible for humanitarian activities are less likely to have moral dilemmas. In some cases, it's really hard to make a decision and not have a dilemma. The war environment is a compelling element in itself and has negative effects on the decision-making process of aid workers. As a result of various studies, it has been determined that a fully trained ethicist who will help as a mediator to guide the decision-making process will contribute to the solution of this problem (Clarival, 2014, p. 11). Professional ethics education is important, but it has been seen that this alone is not enough in the field (Schwartz, 2010, p. 52). For example it can be said that hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives in Rwanda in a short time like 100 days, due to the initiative and wrong ethical evaluations of the aid workers.

In some cases, it has been observed that during humanitarian aid activities, it was necessary to choose between those in need. In addition, it has been observed that there is an obligation to choose between the needs of the current needy and the needs of the future needy. Having to make a choice is morally difficult and complex. Good intentions and skills alone are not enough. These insufficient features can also be perceived as misdirection and cooperation (Schwartz, 2010, p. 52). Humanitarian aid workers are faced with a dilemma about how to maintain their values in such an environment. In various studies, interviews and surveys conducted with humanitarian aid workers have shown that even years later, people have difficulties in deciding how to make decisions when these dilemmas are experienced again today. Humanitarian workers may be torn between their own values and cultural norms, or between their values and principles of assistance.

In many countries where civil wars are experienced, there are different cultures and therefore different understandings. As a result of these differences, many problems have been experienced in humanitarian aid activities and various dilemmas have emerged. For example, while a humanitarian worker is generally expected to give priority to women and children, in some civil war zones, men are

expected to be helped due to cultural relativism (Schwartz, 2010, p. 48). It's hard not to have a moral dilemma where you don't have a say in who gets helped first. By rejecting this cultural relativism and choosing to help women, both the aid worker himself, the organization he is affiliated with, and other people in need may be harmed. In such situations, aid workers may experience a dilemma between their professional roles and cultural norms (Schwartz, 2010, p. 51).

Aid workers may be faced with sudden and difficult decisions such as whether to practice beyond their training scope due to staff shortages, how to deliver care when resources are limited or unreliable, and who to prioritize when there are resource or security constraints (Broussard et al., 2019, p. 2). They may also face challenges such as how to take care of both victims and perpetrators, how to maintain impartiality.

The personal political views of aid workers can influence the organization's perceptions of objectivity. As a result, there may be a moral dilemma in aid activities. The fact that each aid worker has a different background, education degree, personal characteristics and worldview can also affect the objectivity of aid activities and cause moral dilemmas. Ultimately, every aid worker is an individual, and between the warring parties there is a side to which each individual feels close.

The resolution of these moral dilemmas arising from humanitarian workers demonstrates the need to strengthen the decision-making process of humanitarian workers. Tens of thousands of aid workers are deployed worldwide each year, and too many doctors, civilians, and members of religious groups participate in international disasters as amateurs (Kivlehan and Kayden, 2022, p. 1). Amateur aid workers have higher rates of moral concept survival. For this reason, aid workers should be informed in more detail about the difficulties and moral dilemmas they may encounter before they are sent to the field.

4.1.5. Moral Dilemmas by Humanitarian Aid Organizations

Humanitarian aid organizations are of great importance for the realization of humanitarian aid activities in a certain order. A well-documented and transparent decision-making process, allowing and evaluating the appropriateness of the decision to be reviewed and questioned, can prevent charities from experiencing

moral dilemmas (Clarinval and Biller-Andorno 2014, p. 9). Humanitarian aid organizations may experience moral dilemmas during humanitarian aid activities for various reasons. Because maintaining neutrality in a civil war environment and not subjecting aid workers to violence, threats or coercion is a difficult task. Humanitarian organizations operating in resource-scarce environments may find it difficult to remain neutral while allocating resources and maintaining safe access to those in need. Organizations may appear to endorse their ideology or political views if they benefit from the access or security services of partisan groups, or if they have to work with local people (Broussard et al., 2019, p. 9).

For aid workers, there are various difficulties created by the mandate, agenda, policies and actions of aid organizations (Schwart, 2010, p. 49). These difficulties cause moral dilemmas. Focusing on results, different goals of the organization, competing with other organizations, where resources come from, and allocation processes are other reasons that lead to moral dilemmas. Because humanitarian organizations are made up of individuals, they can often have mixed goals and feelings, like an individual. Being at the forefront of compassion can lead to wrong decisions during humanitarian activities. In Rwanda, for example, this was seen very clearly, and the moral dilemma caused by this situation intensified the war. Charities, like individuals, can try to prove their existence, or they can compete with other organizations to give more help and reach more people. It is known that this situation causes aid to fall into the hands of the wrong people in many civil wars and increases the duration and severity of the war. For this reason, aid organizations should reconsider various ethical values before starting aid activities. In order not to cause any harm to the needy, it should evaluate the past experiences, examine the benefits and risks of the activities on the beneficiaries in depth. Some charities face moral dilemmas in the resource allocation process. At this point, aid organizations should choose their donors well in order to distribute aid equally and transparently. A charity that lacks transparency has a clogged decision-making process and increases the risk of harming its beneficiaries. For this reason, some criteria should be used when making decisions about aid organizations. These are urgency, necessity, population size, success of the activity, political and economic concerns (Clarinval and Biller- Andorno 2014, p. 9).

Some charities make top-down decisions behind closed doors without considering those on the ground. If the expert staff in the relevant countries cannot be involved in the decision-making process, there will be a lack of transparency and accountability. In order to avoid moral dilemmas, ethical frameworks and principles should be taken into account in the decision-making process. Again, a common platform can be established to reduce moral dilemmas. Everyone in the aid system should take part in the platform, from donors to aid workers working in the field. Because a charity organization is not just about its workers. The structure of the region in which it is located can be influenced by many actors, including donors and other organisations. An ethics expert should be included in such a platform. In this way, the ethicist will supervise the discussion and provide ethical training to the actors (Clarínval and Biller-Andorno 2014, p. 8). In short, there are institutional requirements for high ethical standards in humanitarian organizations. These institutional requirements are ethicists, values, discussion platforms, standards and principles.

Humanitarian organizations have limited capacities, which often leads to prioritization of populations in acute crisis. Today, humanitarian aid organizations are in an effort to exist and race. Humanitarian organizations, which are more involved in the field than in the past, deal more directly with belligerent forces and sometimes with abusive authorities. The relationship established between humanitarian aid and politics can prevent humanitarian organizations from being impartial and independent. Moral dilemmas are experienced as a result of the impediment of impartiality and independence.

There are sometimes gaps between the humanitarian aid provided by organizations and the needs of those in need. Because while the needs of the needy are more, the amount provided by the aid organizations may be less, or the already small amount of aid may be given to war networks or militants. Many humanitarian workers are also aware that the service they provide is actually not enough. However, it is known that sufficient donations cannot be collected in many humanitarian aid activities. Some aid organizations continue aid activities for their own policies instead of focusing on the real needs of the region (Schwart, 2010, p.

52). As a result, aid workers are unable to meet the needs and suffering of people on the ground.

Organizations may encounter many ethical challenges in conflict environments, the most important of which is undoubtedly providing a good aid activity, protecting their workers and minimizing undesirable harms (Brossard et al., 2019, p. 1). Even as organizations try to fulfill their mission of being helpful, they may encounter difficulties. Organizations may fear that providing assistance may unintentionally perpetuate conflicts, resulting in a moral dilemma. Sub-optimal outcomes have been achieved, with lack of training for aid workers leading to inadequate or inappropriate care for vulnerable populations, forcing them to make tentative decisions about prioritization. It is often impossible to treat all those in need equally or to reach those who need it most. In dangerous situations, it may not be possible to distribute aid equally and according to needs. In this case, it may result in a moral dilemma, resulting in assistance being provided only to those in safe zones.

The principle of impartiality is of great importance for a charity. For example, when a charity works closely with a local community, for the other party, the charity is considered one party to the conflict. In some cases, aid organizations may have to direct their workers to safer and more accessible areas for security reasons, in which case a moral dilemma about impartiality arises. There may also be moral dilemmas regarding the principle of independence, which is another humanitarian aid principle. For example, conducting a study with a government agency about charity activities may lead to different opinions about the independence of the organization. Finally, a lack of coordination between organizations can lead to a moral add-on. Disorganization and lack of solidarity in identifying community needs cause moral dilemmas from charities. In some cases, humanitarian organizations may not feel that they are in solidarity with the local population. The reason for this may be different perceptions of the humanitarian organization regarding the population served, for example, not religion, race, culture. All these factors cause moral dilemmas (Brossard et al., 2019, p.10).

Many humanitarian organizations are aware of the challenges and pitfalls they face but do nothing against the moral dilemma. The principle of impartiality is

an important humanitarian aid principle, but according to research it is the least applied principle in practice by aid organizations (Schweizer, 2004, p. 551). Discussions about the increase in the duration and intensity of humanitarian aid activities in civil wars confirm this situation.

4.1.6. Moral Dilemmas by Donations and Donors

One of the most important components of humanitarian aid activities is undoubtedly donors. While donors ensure the sustainability of humanitarian aid activities, they can also cause aid misuse and more deaths. In other words, donors may cause moral dilemmas in humanitarian aid activities. Donor; can be a company, a government, an organization or an individual. Usually, donors have a side that they feel close to in a war environment, or the donor may have an interest. For example, a donor government is willing to finance aid in countries that are geographically close to it and that suit its political and economic interests. Because they are very biased in this regard in line with their interests.

The way and processes in which donations are allocated can affect the transparency of aid and cause more harm to people in need (Clarival & Biller-Andorno 2014, p. 2). Humanitarian aid has limited capacities, which often leads to prioritization of populations in acute crisis. This leads to a moral dilemma. Another moral dilemma regarding the budget issue concerns which activity to transfer the budget to. While some humanitarian activities create media coverage, they may actually provide less benefit to those in need. Yet another aid activity may provide significant support to those in need, even if it does not make a sound in the media. Charities should then actually work to fund the second activity and donors should fund the second activity. But in this case, we see that there is a moral dilemma and that the fund is transferred to non-emergency relief activity. Sometimes it can be thought that more help can be obtained through the media in the long run, and as in this example, this can lead to a moral dilemma. Sometimes, moral dilemmas can be experienced due to urgency, need, size of the population, the success of the aid activity, and political concerns while deciding on the budget. Budget decisions taken behind doors, regardless of activities on the ground, can negatively affect humanitarian activities and compromise the transparency of humanitarian activities (Clarival and Biller-Andorno 2014, p. 3). Moral dilemmas arising from donors can

be seen in humanitarian aid activities in all civil wars. The most recent example is undoubtedly the Yemen Civil War. The sharp separation of two different groups, Shiite and Sunni, and the fact that some aid organizations support one of the parties, prevent humanitarian aid from reaching those in real need.

4.1.7. Moral Dilemmas by Coercion and Threats

Helping populations in areas with limited access, such as civil war zones, must consider the critical balance between the principles of kindness and justice. Due to the lack of security in these areas, aid agencies cannot verify whether all of their aid reaches the population successfully. Because there are coercion and threats by various radical groups in such regions. In the presence of coercion and threats, humanitarian organizations may experience a moral dilemma and stop their aid activities in these regions.

Combined with scarce resources or political reasons, aid workers may face a great challenge and a corresponding moral dilemma. An example of this has been seen in many civil wars. Aid organizations that already have scarce resources may face threats and difficulties in the distribution of these resources. Threatening and challenging attacks can be a deterrent, causing a moral dilemma about expanding humanitarian aid to where it is most needed (Brossard et al., 2019, p. 2). Coercion and threats affect impartiality and create external pressure on aid. With this pressure, giving aid to the fighters or a certain group may cause the conflicts to prolong. In this case, aid can be limited to delivering aid only to people living in safe areas.

Violent threats, kidnapping, torture and murder of humanitarian workers; The blockade and the theft of materials and supplies, and the elimination of access to facilities greatly hinder humanitarian activities (Brossard et al., 2019, p. 4). As a result of all this, humanitarian organizations face a moral dilemma and may stop helping those in need for their own and other aid workers' lives.

4.1.8. Moral Dilemmas by Structure of the Helped Society

In many countries where civil wars are experienced, there are different cultures and therefore different understandings. As a result of these differences, many problems have been experienced in humanitarian aid activities and various

dilemmas have emerged. For example, a pregnant woman and a man need help in a remote part of Africa. While women and children should usually be given priority in this situation, due to society's understanding, the man is helped in this example because the understanding in the region is that *"Men are what we need and therefore men should be given priority."* (Schwartz, 2010, p. 48). It's hard not to have a moral dilemma where you don't have a say in who gets helped first. By rejecting this cultural relativism and choosing to help women, both the aid worker himself, the organization he is affiliated with, and other people in need may be harmed. Depending on the culture of the society being helped, the result of aid activities may have worse consequences for the people who are helped. In such situations, aid workers may experience a dilemma between their professional roles and cultural norms (Schwartz, 2010, p. 51).

Aid workers may have to conform to the customs, cultures and norms of the country in which they work. This creates a moral dilemma. In the face of this situation, the aid worker has to make a choice between his own truth and the truth of the society he is in. Political and security restrictions may be imposed on humanitarian organizations by one or both warring groups. As a result, aid workers may accept the wishes of the parties in order for aid to be delivered in some way, and thus a moral dilemma may be experienced in aid. Various factors, such as the culture and beliefs of the region where the aid activity is carried out, may also cause moral dilemmas for humanitarian aid activities. In extreme patriarchal societies, various difficulties may arise during humanitarian activities, and this may present humanitarian organizations and aid workers with a moral dilemma. At this point, humanitarian aid principles should not be forgotten while respecting local norms. In some cases, this may seem unlikely, and the aid worker may be in a great dilemma. For example, while a humanitarian aid worker working in the field of health generally starts with women and children, in some regions, priority may be given to male patients instead of women and children, since men are dominant in some regions (Schwartz, 2010, p. 48). Even who is in the priority group can change from society to society and according to gender structure. Humanitarian aid workers are faced with a dilemma about how to maintain their values in such an environment. In various studies, interviews and surveys conducted with humanitarian aid workers have shown that even after years, people have difficulties

in deciding how to make decisions when these dilemmas are experienced again today.

Cultural norms and situational constraints between the helper and the assisted party lead to moral dilemmas. Since aid workers predominantly have western cultures and beliefs, they experience the dilemma of whether to act inappropriately or not (Schwartz, 2010, p. 52). The question of what to accept and what to reject also creates a dilemma for them. Some workers prefer to reject these norms rather than accept them, and in some cases, this can be dangerous for those in need. Aid workers should have prior knowledge that they may face a dilemma between their own value framework and the value framework of their community. A commitment to involving local communities in planning and relief efforts helps identify and minimize potential harm and unintended consequences, as well as fostering respect for cultural norms (Broussard et al., 2019, p. 1).

It is possible to see most of these moral dilemmas mentioned above in the civil wars mentioned in the third chapter. In order to clearly see which moral dilemma is experienced in which civil war, the following table has been created as a summary.

Table 1.1: Civil Wars and Moral Dilemmas

Civil Wars Moral Dilemmas	Rwanda Civil War	Bosnia Civil War	Nigeria Civil War	Afganistan Civil War	Yemen Civil War
Humanitarian Principles	Hutu militants benefit from assistance in line with the principle of neutrality.	Giving more aid to Serbian militants, ignoring the principle of neutrality.	In line with the principle of neutrality, there were organizations that helped both the Biafran and Nigerian sides.	Assisting the Taliban in various ways in line with the principle of neutrality.	Making a distinction between Shiite and Sunni while the aid is distributed.
Instrumentalization	Aid supplies were used by the Hutus as a means of warfare.	Aid supplies were used by the Serbs as a means of warfare.	Countries such as England and France have instrumentalized aid for their political interests.	In particular, America has instrumentalized aid for its political and military interests.	Saudi Arabia and Iran instrumentalize aid due to various interests.
Discrimination	-	It is thought that there is discrimination in helping Serbs.	Due to political and economic interests, countries such as England and France supported Biafra and sent more aid to Biafra.	It is claimed that priority is given to those who provide information about some opposition groups such as the Taliban.	Due to the Shiite and Sunni conflict, both groups are helping their side.
Aid Workers	As a result of the initiative of the aid workers, humanitarian aid was given to the Hutu, the Hutus became stronger and more people lost their lives.	Due to the security concerns of the aid workers, the aid was handed over to the Serbian militants.	It is known that amateur behaviors and rivalries of humanitarian aid workers cause militants to be included in the humanitarian	Aid workers are known to cooperate with rebels or opposition to deliver aid.	It is known that some aid workers hide for various reasons that aid is diverted and data on malnutrition surveys are manipulated.

			an aid network.		
Humanitarian Organizations	Human aid organizations have also housed Hutu militants in refugee camps in line with the principle of neutrality.	It is known that some humanitarian organizations first delivered aid to Serbian refugees for various reasons, and the rest distributed them to others.	The steps taken by humanitarian organizations to save more people have negatively impacted aid negotiations and aid activities.	It is known that aid organizations are in contact with the Taliban in order to prevent further harm to the public.	It is known that some aid organizations take sides or are compelled to do so for reasons such as security and continuity of assistance.
Donations and Donors	Due to a number of political interests, donors have made biased donations.	In terms of religion and origin, donors tended to fund the party they felt close to.	Donors have tended to donate more to Biafra, especially due to economic interests.	It is known that more aid is provided to some groups for various reasons, especially military and political interests.	For sectarian reasons, donors tend to help groups of their own sect.
Coercion and Threats	There have been threats and coercion by rebel Hutu leaders to reduce and stop aid.	It is known that the Serbs force the humanitarian aid organizations to get help and threaten them when they can't get help.	The Nigerian Air Force constantly harassed planes carrying aid supplies to Biafran Airport.	It is known that the distribution of humanitarian aid was interfered with by threats and pressure as a result of not recruiting the personnel selected by the Taliban and not implementing the preferred projects.	Aid depots are emptied and aid is misused, especially because of the threats and coercion of the Houthi militias on aid organizations and aid workers.
Structure of Society	-	-	-	It is known that the Taliban opposes the work of female aid workers and poses various difficulties.	-

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, first of all, the changing understanding of war and civil wars were mentioned, then the emergence and development of humanitarian aid activities were discussed. By categorizing the moral dilemmas experienced by humanitarian aid organizations, it is determined that humanitarian aid activities affect the duration and severity of the war, and it was aimed to eliminate the problems that may arise as a result of moral dilemmas. Today, everything is changing rapidly. Humanitarian aid activities, like the understanding of war, are changing rapidly. Even if the basic principles and principles regarding humanitarian aid activities remain the same, they should be detailed with the problems experienced.

Ethical problems can be encountered at every stage of humanitarian aid activity. Discussing the causes and solutions of moral dilemmas is not easy and straightforward. It has been seen in the examples of Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen that humanitarian aid activities increase the duration and severity of wars. As a result of this study, it was revealed that even if a humanitarian aid activity is carried out with an innocent purpose, it can contribute to the duration and violence of the civil war. Ethical principles such as deciding who receives limited aid, usefulness and non-harm, or equality and needs are important in whether moral dilemmas arise.

The state of experiencing a moral dilemma can vary from region to region and from institution to institution. However, the size of the moral dilemma experienced also varies. The aims and principles of the humanitarian aid organization, the situation of the aid workers, the situation of the region where the activities are carried out and the people of the region, the severity of the war, the goals and policies of the donors affect the rate of encountering moral dilemmas. It is important to understand the ethical dilemmas, challenges, weaknesses and other similar feelings that humanitarian workers face. The moral dilemma that arises at any stage of the humanitarian aid activity causes the aid activities in the field to do more harm than good and increase the duration and severity of the war.

Humanitarian activities, like civil wars, also change over time. Therefore, moral dilemmas and humanitarian aid principles should be reviewed with

innovative approaches. In a humanitarian aid activity, all the reasons that will cause moral dilemma should be determined in advance and appropriate measures should be taken. Moral dilemmas in past aid activities must be identified and innovative solutions must be found to prevent them from recurring. Humanitarian aid can often be perceived as political in nature, but directly engaging in military and political interventions under the guise of humanitarian aid causes suspicion against humanitarian activities and organizations. In order to avoid such a problem, the principle of impartiality, which is one of the humanitarian aid countries, must be correctly understood and applied correctly. Moral dilemmas are seen as important obstacles to aid activities. In order to avoid moral dilemmas, humanitarian aid workers should be trained, their activities in the field should be regularly monitored and their difficulties should be examined. For a humanitarian activities to be truly beneficial and not increase the duration and severity of the war, it must be aimed at eliminating any situation that may cause moral dilemmas. Civil wars have a complex environment. Therefore, decisions taken during a civil war can be complex. But a humanitarian organization and humanitarian worker must find a way to overcome these complex challenges. At this point, different methods should be evaluated for moral decision making.

According to Slim, there are several ways to avoid moral dilemmas. Aid organizations should analyze their situation well and then make a choice by negotiating the situation. Because a choice that is far from analysis and negotiation leads to morally wrong and irresponsible activity (Slim, 2002, p. 249). Humanitarian organizations and aid workers must plan for the challenges they will face, including self-sufficiency, coping with unsafe environments and emotional stress. There is not yet a clear framework that can help aid workers identify current moral dilemmas and support them in their decision-making processes. But moral dilemmas can be minimized with the help of experienced ethicists. In this way, humanitarian aid activities will be prevented from increasing the duration and severity of the war. Few resources are available for humanitarian workers seeking ethical guidance on the moral dilemma. To address this lack of knowledge, prompt and accurate steps must be taken to support humanitarian workers in ethical decision making and to respond to issues on the ground.

Humanitarian activity takes place in a complex and challenging environment with multiple relationships. Being able to do a proper humanitarian activity can be very difficult under such conditions and can lead to moral dilemmas. While the reasons for experiencing moral dilemmas in aid activities may be hierarchical and sometimes cultural reasons, sometimes more general and sometimes more specific reasons. As a result of this study, it was determined that there are 8 reasons for moral dilemmas. These were examined in detail under the headings of humanitarian aid organizations, humanitarian aid workers, the social structure of the country, donors, humanitarian aid principles, threats and coercion, discrimination, and instrumentalization of aid. Some elements necessary for humanitarian aid may in some cases do more harm than good. For example, moral dilemmas as a result of humanitarian aid principles, which are necessary for humanitarian aid, have led to the death of more civilians and the deepening of the crisis in many civil wars, especially in Rwanda. In the third chapter, this situation is discussed in detail with examples. In short, moral dilemmas do not have a single cause, and if necessary precautions are taken for all these reasons, the dilemmas experienced can be reduced. In this way, the negative impact of humanitarian aid activities on the duration and severity of the war is eliminated. For example the decision-making process is very important in humanitarian activity. At this point, humanitarian aid workers need to receive a good education. Since decisions are sometimes taken quickly, the results cannot be predicted clearly. As a result, aid activities may cause more harm than good. Decisions should be made in a transparent manner and attention should be paid to accountability. To ensure this, humanitarian aid countries must be taken into account. The problems experienced in the field in the past should be evaluated and analysed in a good way. Thus, the same moral dilemmas can be avoided. At this point, various professionals and ethicists are needed.

Humanitarian aid activities have played a major role in natural disasters and human events throughout history. Humanitarian aid activities have been on the agenda a lot, especially in events with complex causes and consequences such as civil war. Concepts such as humanitarian aid, aid, humanitarian aid activities generally connote good things. Because of these good connotations, it is often not remembered that humanitarian aid activities contributed to the prolongation of the

duration and the increase in the severity of civil wars. It has been understood that the duration and severity of the war may increase, especially as a result of the Rwanda and Bosnian Civil Wars and humanitarian aid activities.

The moral dilemmas experienced during humanitarian aid activities are not only caused by the humanitarian aid organization or its workers. Moral dilemmas may be experienced by different actors for different reasons at different stages of humanitarian aid activity. Aid activities are carried out in a difficult period of violence perpetrated by warring groups. In this process, various measures should be taken in order to avoid moral dilemmas. Because, regardless of the reason, it is seen that moral dilemmas in humanitarian aid activities increase the duration and severity of the war. Increasing duration and severity of war means more deaths and more humanitarian crises. For example, humanitarian aid activities, which are tried to be carried out impartially, can be shown as the cause of the great genocide in Rwanda. As Linda Polman said, without humanitarian aid, the Hutu war would probably have stopped pretty quickly (Anthony, 2010). The same is true in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Nigeria, and Yemen. From Ethiopia to Rwanda to Afghanistan, international aid work only helps gangsters and fighters, while innocent victims suffer. As a different example, it has been seen that aid efforts in response to the famine caused by the war in Ethiopia worsened a bad situation (Polman, 2010, p. 154).

The most basic reason for experiencing a moral dilemma in a humanitarian aid activity is not taking lessons from the past and not forming the appropriate decision-making process. For this reason, ethical rules should be encouraged for all actors involved in this activity in order to carry out this activity correctly. Otherwise, humanitarian activity may worsen the situation instead of solving and improving the difficulties faced by those in need. In addition to ethical rules, aid workers should be well trained and each stage of aid activities should be followed by an independent organization.

REFERENCES

- Alderman, H., & Hoddinott, J. & Kinsey, B. (2006). Long Term Consequences of Early Childhood Malnutrition. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 58(3), 2-9. Retrieved from <https://sci-hub.se/https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpl008> July 13, 2022.
- Altan, Ö. (2003). Ruanda ve Bumerang Öyküleri: Bir Daha Asla?. *Aynımız, Aynamız: Afrika, Birikim Dergisi, Kasım-Aralık*, 175-176, 106. Retrieved from <https://mysite.ku.edu.tr/ozaltan/wp-content/uploads/sites/47/2015/03/Ruanda-ve-Bumerang-%C3%96yk%C3%BCler.pdf> December 22, 2022
- Amini, K. (2017). *İnsani Yardımların Etkililiği*. Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Nevşehir: Hacı Bektaş Veli Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 217. Retrieved from http://acikerisim.nevsehir.edu.tr/bitstream/handle/20.500.11787/292/kaiwana_aminitez.pdf?sequence=1&disAllowed=y on May 20, 2023.
- Anderson, M., & Becknell, K., & Taliano, J. (2018). History of Humanitarian Emergencies. *Health in Humanitarian Emergencies: Principles and Practice for Public Health and Healthcare Practitioners*, Cambridge University Press. 2018b, 10. Retrieved from https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/C13A659A62BBB475419E09E5F4DD416C/9781107062689c2_9-24.pdf/history-of-humanitarian-emergencies.pdf December 17, 2022.
- Andreas, P. (2008). Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo. *Wilson Center*. Retrieved from <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/353-blue-helmets-and-black-markets-the-business-survival-the-siege-sarajevo> October 19, 2022.
- Anthony, A. (2010). Does Humanitarian Aid Prolong Wars? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2010/apr/25/humanitarian-aid-war-linda-polman> February 25, 2023.
- Arslan, İ. (2015). Yemen: İstikrarsızlaştırılan Bir Ülkede Bölgesel/Küresel Güç Mücadelesi. *Üsküdar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 1(1), 33. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/uskudarsbd/article/445807> January 4, 2023.
- Aslan, S. (2010). Sivil Toplum: Kavramsal Değişim ve Dönüşüm. *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 9(33), 209. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/esosder/issue/6147/82531> December 21, 2022.
- Babuna, A. (2014). European Integration, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Stability in the Western Balkans: A New Strategy. *Perceptions: Journal of International*

- Affairs*, 19(2), 2. Retrieved from <http://sam.gov.tr/pdf/perceptions/Volume-XIX/Summer-2014/01-32-aydin-babuna.pdf> November 17, 2022.
- Bakır, Z. (2018). Etkin İnsani Yardım ve Şeffaflık. *İNSAMER*, 1, 1-13. Retrieved from https://www.insamer.com/tr/etkin-insani-yardim-ve-seffalik_1606.html December 21, 2022.
- Baloğlu, A. B. (2019). Küreselleşmenin Savaşları ve Buharlaşan Adil Savaş Kuramı. *Muhafazakar Düşünce Dergisi*, 15(56), 38.
- Barnett, M. (2011). *Empire of Humanity*. In *Empire of Humanity*. Cornell University Press. 2-3.
- Bayram, M. (2017). Enerjeopolitik Müdahaleler ve Afrika'daki İç Savaşlar: Nijerya, Angola ve Sudan Örnekleri. *Kırıkkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 7(1). 220-221. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/274043> January 2, 2023.
- Bennett, C., & Foley, M., & Pantuliano, S. (2016). Time To Let Go: A Three-Point Proposal To Change The Humanitarian System. *HPG Briefing*. April. Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute, London. 7. Retrieved from <https://odi.org/en/publications/time-to-let-go-remaking-humanitarian-action-for-the-modern-era/> February 19, 2023.
- Bethke, F., & Bussmann, M. (2011). Domestic Mass Unrest and State Capacity. In *Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association*. 1-31.
- Blattman, C., & Miguel, E. (2010). Civil War. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 48(1), 3-57.
- Broussard, G., & Rubenstein, L. S., & Robinson, C., & Maziak, W., & Gilbert, S. Z., & DeCamp, M. (2019). Challenges To Ethical Obligations and Humanitarian Principles In Conflict Settings: A Systematic Review. *Journal of International Humanitarian Action*, 4(1), 1-13. Retrieved from <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/s41018-019-0063-x> May 01, 2023.
- Browne, S. (1999). Aid and Conflict in Rwanda. *UNUWIDER*. Retrieved from [https://www.wider.unu.edu/publication/aid-and-conflict-rwanda#:~:text=Nine%2Dtenths%20of%20the%20population,\(approximate ly%20%2450%20per%20capita\)](https://www.wider.unu.edu/publication/aid-and-conflict-rwanda#:~:text=Nine%2Dtenths%20of%20the%20population,(approximate ly%20%2450%20per%20capita)) March 16, 2023.
- Bull, H. (1977). *War and International Order*. UK: Macmillan Education. 187.
- Çakırca, B. (2020). Uluslararası Hukukun Eksik Uygulanışına Bir Örnek: Bosna-Hersek'te Uluslararası Hukukun Müdahaleleri. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 15(2), 561.
- Çakırca, B. (2019). Savaşı Siyaset İle Okumak: Clausewitz Paradigması Ne Söyler? *Muhafazakâr Düşünce Dergisi*, 15(56), 84-99. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/muhafazakar/issue/47217/594580> June 03, 2022.

- Calain, P. (2012). In Search of the 'New Informal Legitimacy' of Médecins Sans Frontières. *Public Health Ethics*, 5(1), 56.
- Çendek S., & Örki A. (2019). Arap Baharı Sürecinde Libya, Suriye ve Yemen'de Yaşanan İç Savaşlar: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Çözümleme. *ESBA*, 10(1), 46. Retrieved from <https://esbadergisi.com/images/sayi18/4arap-bahari-surecinde-libya-suriye-yemen.pdf> May 22, 2022.
- Ceren, A. (2021). Afetler ve İnsani Yardım Faaliyetleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. *Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 23 (2). 295. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ahbvuibfd/issue/64683/879844> December 26, 2022.
- Clarival, C., & Biller-Andorno, N. (2014). Challenging Operations: An Ethical Framework To Assist Humanitarian Aid Workers In Their Decision-Making Processes. *PLoS Currents*, 6, 2-8. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4073807/#ref18> April 11, 2023.
- Clausewitz C. V. (2020). *Savaş Üzerine*. 94. Alfa Yayınları. İstanbul.
- Cohen, M., & Kupcu M. F., & Khanna P. (2008). The New Colonialists. *Foreign Policy* 16, 74.
- Çokadar, S. N. (2021). İnsani Yardımda Yeni Düzene Doğru. *İNSAMER*. 1.
- Çona, Ö. (2018). Vekalet Savaşları-Suriye Krizinde Uluslararası Güç Mücadelesi. Nobel Yayınları. Ankara. 15.
- Cooley A., & Ron, J. (2002). The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action. *International Security*, 27(1), 30.
- Core Humanitarian Standards. (2018). *Reliefweb*, 5-8. Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/report/world/core-humanitarian-standard-quality-and-accountability-updated-guidance-notes-and?gclid=CjwKCAjw9pGjBhB-EiwAa5jl3Kpl8Mcl-EDQca1xUMIWQZPyqXxMSURd_TzEhpZtz9c68IPaU_3BhoC944QAvD_BwE July 21, 2022.
- Creveld, M. (1986). *The Eternal Clausewitz*. I. M. Handel (Der). Clausewitz and Modern Strategy, London: Frank Cass. 35-50.
- Cullingham, K., & Harris, D. (2008). Henry Dunant's Vision and the Power of Humanity. *The Proceedings of the 17th Annual History of Medicine Days*. Retrieved from https://prism.ucalgary.ca/bitstream/handle/1880/47479/2008_HMD_Cullingham.pdf?sequence=1 March 21, 2023.
- Dağ, R., & Tüfekçi, Ö. (2022). *Introduction to Trends and Transformations in World Politics*. Trends and Transformation in World Politics. Oxford. 21.

- Davey, E., & Borton, J., & Foley, M. (2013). A History of The Humanitarian System: Western Origins and Foundations. 5. Retrieved from <http://www.Odi.org/publications/7535-global-history-humanitarian-action> February 12, 2023.
- Desgrandchamps, M. L. (2012). Organising the Unpredictable: The Nigeria–Biafra War and Its Impact on The ICRC. *International review of the red cross*, 94(888), 1409-1423.
- Dinçer, M. (2018). Just War Theory İn International Relations: Implementation Of Just War Model Of St. Thomas Aquinas To The Fourth Crusade. *Balkan Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(14). 111. Retrieved from <https://acikerisim.nku.edu.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.11776/2972/8.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> June 14, 2023.
- Dinstein, Y. (2000). The right to humanitarian assistance. *Naval War College Review* 77. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44638892> November 21, 2022.
- Donini, A. (2012). The Golden Fleece: Manipulation and Independence in Humanitarian Action. *ICRC*, 147, 1169-1172. Retrieved form <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/review/2012/irrc-887-book-review-donini.pdf> December 16, 2022.
- Durmaz, F. (2021). *Uluslararası İnsancıl Hukukta İnsani Yardım*. Onikilevha Yayıncılık. 4-28.
- EC. (2014). European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid. *Europa*. 1. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/thematic/consensus_en.pdf September 14, 2022.
- Elayah, M., & Gaber, Q., & Fenttman, M. (2022). From Food To Cash Assistance: Rethinking Humanitarian Aid in Yemen. *Journal of International Humanitarian Action*, 7(1), 1-8.
- Ereker, F. A. (2004). İlkçağlardan Günümüze Haklı Savaş Kavramı. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 1(3), 27.
- Erkiner, E. (2019). *Küresel İç Savaş ve Türkiye*. İzan Dağıtım, İstanbul. 46-50.
- Fearon, James D. (2004) Why do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others? *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3), 275.
- Fearon, James D., & David D. Laitin. (2003). Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review*, 97(01), 75–90. Rterieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3118222.pdf?casa_token=JeOdCpPJ5PcAAAAA:d-kPtcvepQUx1jYXHKemlsfw-IDy_mgZ6LsmKl71dqDUsp21L85ERtARZV_PPZ4gyixU-M2Q46-chAhIKyq4iehhOPNVJrxSVjL-D1eutvWnKfbesAAq September 20, 2022.

- Grotius, H. (1625). *The Rights of War and Peace* (1901 ed.). M. Walter Dunne. Retrieved from <https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/grotius-the-rights-of-war-and-peace-1901-ed> April 27, 2022.
- Guardian. (2019). Yemen: Houthi Rebels' Food Aid Theft Only Tip Of Iceberg, Officials Say. *Theguardian*. January 2, 2019. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/jan/02/aid-officials-aware-for-months-of-widespread-food-aid-theft-in-yemen> January 19, 2022.
- Hanania, R. (2021). US Concerned About Houthis Stealing Humanitarian Aid. *Arabnews*. June 3, 2020. Retrieved from <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1824661/middle-east> April 15, 2023.
- Handbook of The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. (2008). *International Federation Of Red Cross And Red Crescent Societies*. Retrieved from <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/publications/icrc-002-0962.pdf> January 15, 2023.
- Harunoğulları, M., (2021). Doğal Kaynaklar Ekseninde İç Savaşın Coğrafyası. *Doğu Coğrafya Dergisi* 26(45), 151. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/1314316> April 30, 2022.
- Hegre, H., & Sambanis, N. (2006). Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(4), 508-535.
- Henderson, E.A., & Singer, D. (2000). Civil War in the Post-Colonial World, 1946-92. *Journal of Peace Research* 37(3), 275-299. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/425346?read-now=1&seq=13#page_scan_tab_contents May 22, 2023.
- Humanitarian Coalition. *The Humanitarian System*. Retrieved from <https://www.humanitariancoalition.ca/the-humanitarian-system> March 22, 2023.
- ICRC. (2018). *International Committee of the Red Cross*. Retrieved from <https://www.icrc.org/en/who-we-are#:~:text=Established%20in%201863%2C%20the%20ICRC,that%20protect%20victims%20of%20war>. September 13, 2022.
- ILO. (2022). *Dealing with Crises Arising from Conflicts and Disasters*. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_dialogue/---actrav/documents/publication/wcms_840864.pdf August 11, 2022.
- Jackson, A. (2013). For Humanitarian Workers, the Taliban Is a Key to Access in Afghanistan. *The Global Observatory*. Retrieved from <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2013/02/for-humanitarian-workers-the-taliban-is-a-key-to-access-in-afghanistan/> May 22, 2023.
- Kaldor, M. (2005). Old Wars, Cold Wars, New Wars, and The War on Terror. *International Politics*, 42, 491.

- Kaldor, M. (2013). *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, 3rd edition, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Kalyvas, S. N., & Kenny, P. D. (2010). Civil wars. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. 4.
- Karabulut B. and Oğuz Ş. (2018), Proxy Warfare in Ukraine. *Savunma Bilimleri Dergisi*, 17, 78.
- Karabulut, B. (2017). Uluslararası İlişkilerde Savaş Olgusunun Yaşadığı Dönüşüm: Hibrit Savaş ve Rusya Örneği. *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, 55, 116. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319697162_Uluslararası_Iliskiler_de_Savas_Olgusunun_Yasadigi_Donusum_Hibrit_Savas_ve_Rusya April 13, 2023.
- Karakoç, S. (2022). Yemen İç Savaşı'nda Birleşmiş Milletler Çatısı Altında Gerçekleştirilen İnsani Yardım Faaliyetleri ve Etkileri. *Middle East Perspective* 1(1), 82-86. Retrieved from https://ankarabilim.edu.tr/assets/images/files/mep_t%C3%BCm%20dergi-1.pdf#page=82 July 17, 2022.
- Karaosmanoğlu, A. L. (2011). Yirmibirinci Yüzyılda Savaş Tartışmak; Clausewitz Yeniden. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 8(29), 11.
- Katıman, Esra. (2015). “Yardım Kuruluşu Olmanın Ötesinde Bir Örgüt: Uluslararası Kızılhaç Komitesi”, *Türkiye Barolar Birliği Dergisi*, 116, 387.
- Kiley, S., & Sirgany, S. E., & Lainé, B. (2019). CNN Exposes Systematic Abuse of Aid in Yemen.
- Kılıç, M. (2022). Afganistan’da İnsani Durum. *İNSAMER Analiz*. 2. Retrieved from <https://www.insamer.com/tr/uploads/pdf/afganistanda-insani-durum.pdf> on May 20, 2023.
- Kızılay, Ş. (2020). İnsani Yardım Konusunda Öncü Ülkeler, *Uluslararası Politika Akademisi*.
- Kızılay, Ş. (2021). Değerleri ve Aktörleriyle Türkiye’nin İnsani Yardım Politikası. *UPA Strategic Affairs*, 2, 188. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/1945388> November 15, 2022.
- Klare, M. T. (2001). *Natural Resources Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*. New York: Metropolitan Books. 58.
- Koca, N. (2021). Yemen’de Çatışmalı Süreç ve Dinamikleri. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 39(2). 223-235. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Nazli-Koca-2/publication/352996665_Yemen'de_Catismali_Surec_ve_Dinamikleri_Conflicting_Process_in_Yemen_and_Its_Dynamics/links/60e3277492851ca94

4aaf2a8/Yemende-Catismali-Suerec-ve-Dinamikleri-Conflicting-Process-in-Yemen-and-Its-Dynamics.pdf December 12, 2022.

- Labbe, J. (2013). Interview with Antonio Donini on Manipulation and Independence in Humanitarian Action. *The Global Observatory*. Retrieved from <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2013/02/interview-with-antonio-donini-editor-of-the-golden-fleece-manipulation-and-independence-in-humanitarian-action/> May 20, 2022.
- Le Billon, P. (2008). Diamond Wars? Conflict Diamonds and Geographies of Resource Wars. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 98 (2), 349.
- Lischer, S. K. (2003). Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict. *International Security*, 28(1), 80–84.
- London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, (2016). The Evolution of Humanitarianism Throughout Historical Conflict. Retrieved from <https://www.lshtm.ac.uk/research/centres/centre-history-public-health/news/2017-2> April 19, 2022.
- Mackintosh, K. (2000). Principles of Humanitarian Action in International Humanitarian Law: Study 4 in the Politics of Principle: The principles of humanitarian action in practice. In *Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG). Overseas Development Institute (ODI)*, 5, 8. Retrieved from <https://www.cmi.no/file/1865-The-Principles-of-Humanitarian-Action-in-International-Humanitarian-Law.pdf> May 29, 2023
- McLauchlin, T. (2021). Quagmire in Civil War. By Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. *Perspectives on Politics*, 19(1), 323. Retrieved from <https://sci-hub.se/10.1017/S1537592720004314> May 12, 2022
- Michael, M. (2018). AP Investigation: Food aid stolen as Yemen straves. *APNews*. Retrieved from <https://apnews.com/article/famine-bcf4e7595b554029bcd372cb129c49ab> January 2, 2023.
- Özdoğan, M. (2021). İç Savaş: Nedenleri, Özellikleri, Maliyetleri. 3. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/352006671_Ic_Savas_Nedenleri_Ozellikleri_Maliyetleri April 15, 2022
- Narang, N. (2015). Assisting Uncertainty: How Humanitarian Aid can Inadvertently Prolong Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly*. 184–195. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43868851> May 20, 2023.
- Oba, A. E. (2019). Savaş ve Barışa Siyasal Felsefe Açısından Bakmak: 21. Yüzyıl Barış Yüzyılı Olabilecek Mi? *New World Architecture Of Economy and Security*. 29. Retrieved from [https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/yeni_dunya_ekonomi_ve_guvenlik_mi_marisi_IGK2019_5_\(4\)_1\).pdf](https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/yeni_dunya_ekonomi_ve_guvenlik_mi_marisi_IGK2019_5_(4)_1).pdf) 2a5dcbb5-c0bc-4fc8-99bf-8b6d02b2c49a.pdf June 15, 2022

- Oğuz, Ş. (2017). Is Hybrid Warfare Really New?. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 72(3), 525-540. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/345212> June 23, 2022.
- Olido, K., & Chandiga, I., & Ocaya, P., & Mugaria, D., & Kansiime, C. (2022). Adherence to Humanitarian Aid Principles and the Conditions for Refugee Settlements in Northern Uganda: Evidence from Humanitarian Aid Agencies in Adjumani District. *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work*, 4.
- Omaka, A. O. (2014). The Forgotten Victims: Ethnic Minorities in the Nigeria-Biafra War, 1967-1970. *Journal of Retracing Africa*, 1(1).
- Osinga F., & Lindely-French J. (2010), Leading Military Organizations in the Risky Society: Mapping the New Strategic Complexity, Soeters, Joseph, Paul C. van Fenema and Robert Beers (Ed.), *Managing Military Organizations: Theory and Practice* (London and New York: Routledge):22.
- Pazarcı, H. (1996). Bosna-Hersek Sorununda Uluslararası Yargının Rolü. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 51(01). 381. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/36397> January 14, 2023.
- Polman, L. (2014). *Kriz Kervani*. Paloma Yayınevi. 128.
- Raleigh, C., Witmer, F. & O'Loughlin, J. (2010). A review and assessment of spatial analysis and conflict: The geography of war. In: Denmark, Robert A (ed.) *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, 10. 33.
- Reliefweb. (2021). Failure in Delivering Aid for Yemenis the Worst International Response to a Humanitarian Crisis, Civil Society Briefers Tells Security Council. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/yemen/failure-delivering-aid-yemenis-worst-international-response-humanitarian-crisis-civil> October 9, 2022.
- Rodrik, D. (1997). Globalization, Social Conflict and Economic Growth. In Conferencia de Raúl Prebisch. Ginebra. 24. 19. Retrieved from <https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/prebisch8th.en.pdf>
- Rysaback-Smith, H. (2015). History and Principles of Humanitarian Action. 6-7. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4910138/pdf/main.pdf> September 13, 2022.
- Sağiroğlu, C. (2022). Yeni Savaşlar ve Çocuk Askerler. *Anemon Muş Alparslan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 10(1), 39-42.
- Schwartz, L., & Sinding, C., & Hunt, M., & Elit, L., & Redwood-Campbell, L., & Adelson, N., & DeLaat, S. (2010). Ethics in humanitarian aid work: learning from the narratives of humanitarian health workers. *AJOB Primary Research*, 1(3), 47-52. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/244886786_Ethics_in_Humanitarian_Aid_Work_Learning_From_the_Narratives_of_Humanitarian_Health_Workers April 22, 2023.

- Schweizer, B. (2004). Moral Dilemmas for Humanitarianism in The Era Of Humanitarian Military Interventions. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 86(855), 547-564. Retrieved from https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/irrc_855_schweizer.pdf March 23, 2023.
- Semercioğlu, H. (2017). Bosna Hersek'te Yaşanan Boşnak-Sırp Çatışmasının Analizi. *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 16(63), 1354.
- Semin, A. (2017). Yemen Krizinde Suudi Arabistan ve İran'ın Bölgesel Güç Mücadelesi. *Bilge Strateji* 9. 96. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/677954> February 12, 2022.
- Sevim, U. K. (2022). Is Clausewitz's Thinking Still Relevant? *TASAM*. 3. Retrieved from https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/Utku_Kaan_Sevim_Stajyer_pdf_2f83deb8-2589-4992-846e-0cc3a984daaf.pdf April 30, 2022.
- Seybolt, T. B. (1997). Coordination in Rwanda: The Humanitarian Response to Genocide and Civil War. *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*.
- Shapour, R. (2022). Donors' Dilemma: How to provide aid to a country whose government you do not recognise. *Afghanistan Analysts Network*. Retrieved from <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/en/reports/international-engagement/donors-dilemma-how-to-provide-aid-to-a-country-whose-government-you-do-not-recognise/> May 19, 2023.
- Slim, H. (1997). Doing The Right Thing: Relief Agencies, Moral Dilemmas and Moral Responsibility in Political Emergencies And War. *Disasters*, 21(3), 244-257.
- Sokullu, E. C. (2019). Savaş Türleri. Güvenlik Yazıları. 4. Retrieved from https://trguvenlikportali.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/SavasTurleri_EbruCananSokullu_v.1.pdf May 23, 2022
- Sommer, J. G. (1994). Hope Restored? Humanitarian aid in Somalia 1990-1994. *RPG Refugee Policy Group, Center for Policy Analysis and Research on Refugee Issues*. 14.
- Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2013). The Concept of Evil. Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/concept-evil/> May 19, 2023.
- Star, (2015). Yemen Neden Bu Kadar Önemli. *Star*. Retrieved from <https://www.star.com.tr/dunya/yemen-neden-bu-kadar-onemli-haber-1014210/> April 23, 2022.
- Steinberg, D. A., & Saideman, S. M. (2008). Laissez Fear: Assessing the Impact of Government Involvement in the Economy on Ethnic Violence. *International Studies Quarterly*, 52(2). 236.

- Şahin, H. (2019). *Türkiye'nin Çatışma Bölgelerine Yönelik İnsani Yardım Politikaları: Suriye Örneği*. Yayınlanmış Yüksek Lisans Tezi. İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, Orta Doğu ve İslam Ülkeleri Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, İstanbul.1.
- Taştekin, F. (2021). Taliban, 11 Eylül ve ABD İşgali: Afganistan Bugüne Nasıl Geldi?, *BBC*. Retrieved from. <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-57733786> May 20, 2023.
- Taye, S. (2021). The Dilemma for Humanitarian Principles and the Taliban. *Centre for Humanitarian Leadership*. Retrieved from <https://centreforhumanitarianleadership.org/the-centre/news/the-dilemma-for-humanitarian-principles-and-the-taliban/> May 20, 2023.
- Terry F. (2010). The International Committee of the Red Cross in Afghanistan: Reasserting the Neutrality of Humanitarian Action. 14.
- Terry, F. (2013). Violence Against Health Care: Insights From Afghanistan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 95(889), 23-39.
- Teyyare, E. and Sayaner, K. (2017). Suriye İç Savaşı Sonrası Ortaya Çıkan Göç Hareketinin Kamusal Mallar Teorisi Çerçevesinde Değerlendirilmesi. *Bartın Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 8(15). 447. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/bartiniibf/issue/30498/329761> June 17, 2022
- The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid. 6-7. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/media/publications/consensus_en.pdf February 1, 2023.
- Thoms, O. N. T., & Ron, J. (2007). Do Human Rights Violations Cause Internal Conflict? *Human Rights Quarterly*, 29(3), 674. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20072818> December 1, 2022.
- UNOCHA Glossary of Humanitarian Terms in Relation to the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict. (2004). 5. Retrieved from https://inee.org/sites/default/files/resources/OCHA_2003_Glossary_of_Humanitarian_Terms_in_relation_to_the_Protection_of_Civilians_in_Armed_Conflict.pdf December 21, 2022.
- Varlık, A. (2013). Savaşı Tanımlamak: Terminolojik Bir Yaklaşım. *Avrasya Terim Dergisi*. 1(2). 47.
- Vukas, M. B. (2003). Sixteenth Commission. Humanitarian Assistance. *Archiv des Völkerrechts*, 42(3), 3. Retrieved from https://www.idi-iil.org/app/uploads/2017/06/2003_bru_03_en.pdf January 18, 23.
- Wortel, E. (2009). Humanitarians and Their Moral Stance in War: The Underlying Values. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 91(876), 779-802. Retrieved from <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/irrc-876-wartel.pdf> May 15, 2023.

Wallerstein, I. (1993). The world-system after the cold war. *Journal of Peace Research*, 30(1), 1-6.



BACKGROUND

Name and surname : Sedanur KARAKOÇ

Foreign Languages Known : English

Degree	Department/Program	Univesity	Year
Licence	Political Science and International Relation	Cankaya University	2015-2020
Licence	Translation and Interpreting	Cankaya University	2017-2020
Master of Science	Political Science and Public Administraion	Bulent Ecevit University	2020-2023

Articles Published in National Peer-Reviewed Journals:

- 1- Karakoç, S. (2022). Sosyal Demokrasi Partisi (SODEP). Akademik Aç1, 2(1), 38-64.
- 2- Karakoç, S. (2022). Yemen İç Savaşı'nda Birleşmiş Milletler Çatısı Altında Gerçekleştirilen İnsani Yardım Faaliyetleri ve Etkileri, *Middle East Perspective*, 1(1), 79-99.