

E-ISSN : 3023-4417

Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi
Article Type : Research Article

Yıl: 2023 Sayı: 1

NOUS
Academy
Journal
PHILOSOPHY, POLITICS & RELIGION

Yayın Tarihi/Date Published: 15.10.2023

Geliş Tarihi/Date Received : 18.09.2023

Kabul Tarihi/Date Accepted : 10.10.2023

Year: 2023 Issue: 1

Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Aid Activities *İnsani Yardım Faaliyetlerinde Yaşanan Ahlaki İkilemler*

Sedanur Karakoç

Sakarya Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü, Doktora Öğrencisi
Sakarya University, Institute of Social Sciences, International Relations, Ph.D. Candidate
sedakarakoc9@gmail.com
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7635-2032>

Atıf/Citation

Karakoç, Sedanur. "Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Aid Activities". *Nous Academy Journal* 1 (2023), 63-84. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10012531>

Etik Beyan/Ethical Statement

Bu çalışma Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit Üniversitesi'nde 2023 yılında tamamlanan "Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Aids in Civil Wars" başlıklı yüksek lisans tezinden üretilmiştir. This study is based on the M.A. thesis titled "Moral Dilemma of Humanitarian Aid in Civil Wars" completed in 2023 at Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University.

CC BY-NC 4.0



Bu makale Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License altında lisanslanmıştır.

This paper is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License

İntihal/ Plagiarism

Bu makale, iThenticate yazılımı ile taranmış ve intihal tespit edilmemiştir.

This article has been scanned by iThenticate and no plagiarism detected.

Araştırma & Yayın Etiği/Research & Publication Ethics

Bu makale en az iki hakem tarafından incelenmiştir. Yayın etiği ihlalleri yazarın sorumluluğundadır.

This article has been reviewed by at least two referees. Violations of publication ethics are the responsibility of the author(s).



Abstract

Although humanitarian aid activities aim to relieve suffering and improve the existing situation, in some cases this goodwill can do more harm than good. There are moral dilemmas experienced for various reasons on the basis of this. A humanitarian action in a civil war may experience a moral dilemma for various reasons, and this dilemma may lead to various bad consequences. As a result of all these, the duration and severity of the civil war may increase. In this study, moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities in civil wars will be discussed. Moral dilemmas will be examined, and their causes and consequences will be evaluated. The moral dilemmas experienced in the selected civil wars and how the duration and severity of the war were affected as a result of these dilemmas will be examined. In this context, moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities in civil wars, especially in Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan, and Yemen Civil Wars, will be discussed.

Keywords: International Relations, Humanitarian aid, Humanitarian aid activities, Civil war, Moral dilemma, Humanitarian aid organizations

Öz

Hayati önem taşıyan insani yardım faaliyetleri yüzyıllardır gelişerek devam etmekte ve afetler, savaşlar gibi olağanüstü zor durumlarda insanların temel ihtiyaçlarını sağlamak amacıyla çeşitli aktörler tarafından hayata geçirilmektedir. Son yüzyılda, değişen savaş anlayışı ve ortaya çıkan yeni savaş kavramı ile insani yardım faaliyetleri önemli bir tartışma konusu haline gelmiştir. Acıları dindirmek, var olan durumu iyileştirmek ve insani bir krizin ortaya çıkmasının önüne geçmek gibi iyi bir amaç taşıyan insani yardım faaliyetlerinin bazı durumlarda bu iyi niyetlerinin, yarardan çok zarar getirebileceği anlaşılmıştır. Bu durumun temelinde insani yardım faaliyetleri sırasında çeşitli nedenlerle yaşanan ahlaki ikilemler yer almaktadır. İnsani yardım faaliyetleri tarafsızlık, bağımsızlık, insancılık ve ayırım gözetmeme ilkelerine dayanmaktadır fakat iç savaşlar sırasında bu ilkelere sadık kalmak zor olabilmektedir. İnsani yardım faaliyetlerinin nasıl ve neden olumsuz bir sonuç doğurduğu iyi analiz edilmelidir. Bir iç savaşta yapılan bir insani yardım faaliyetinde çeşitli nedenlerle ahlaki ikilemler yaşanabilir ve bu ikilemler çeşitli kötü sonuçlar ortaya çıkmasına neden olabilir. Tüm bunlar sonucunda ise iç savaşın süresi ve şiddeti artabilir. Böylece daha az insanın zarar görmesi hedeflenirken ahlaki ikilemler sonucunda daha fazla insanın zarar gördüğü bir ortam oluşabilmektedir. Bu durum son 50 yılda yaşanan iç savaşların neredeyse tamamında görülmüştür. Ruanda, Bosna, Nijerya, Afganistan ve Yemen İç Savaşları'nın her biri farklı coğrafyalarda olsa da benzer ahlaki ikilemleri görmek mümkündür. Ahlaki ikilemin yaşanmasına neden olan pek çok faktör bulunmaktadır. Örneğin insani yardım kuruluşları ya da insani yardım çalışanları, bağışçılar, yardım edilen toplumun yapısı, insani yardım ilkeleri, tehdit ve zorlama, yardımın araçsallaştırılması gibi unsurlar yardım faaliyetleri sırasında ahlaki ikilem yaşanmasına neden olabilmektedir. İnsani yardım ilkelerinden biri olan tarafsızlık ilkesinin sahaya göre yeniden değerlendirilmemesi sonucunda Ruanda'da savaşın bir soykırıma dönüşmesine zemin hazırlanmışken, ayrımcılık nedeniyle Bosna'da yardımların öncelikle Sırlara dağıtıldığı ve Sırp militanlarının güçlenerek savaşın şiddetini artırdığı görülmüştür. Afganistan ve

Nijerya'da yardımlar siyasi nedenler ile araçsallaştırılırken, Yemen'de Husi milislerinin zorlama ve tehditleri sonucunda ahlaki ikilem yaşayan yardım çalışanları nedeniyle yardımlar, ihtiyaç sahiplerine ulaştırılamamıştır. Tüm bu örnekler sonucunda ise yaşanan insani krizler daha da derinleşerek daha fazla insanın ölümüne, yaralanmasına ve aç kalmasına neden olmuştur. İnsani Yardım faaliyetleri sırasında yaşanan ahlaki ikilemlerin tamamen önüne geçilmesi zor olabilir fakat en az seviyeye indirilebilir. Yaşanan ahlaki ikilemleri en aza indirmek için çeşitli adımlar atılmalıdır. Değişen dünya ile birlikte değişen savaş ve yardım kavramları iyi analiz edilerek yardım faaliyetlerinde ahlaki ikilemler en aza indirilmelidir. Bu noktada geçmişten ders çıkarmak, yardım verilecek bölgenin ve insanının iyi analiz edilmesi, yardım çalışanlarının ev bağışçıların seçiminde dikkatli olunması, doğru karar verme sürecinin sağlanması ve etik eğitim büyük önem taşımaktadır. Dikkat edilmesi gereken bu noktaların eksikliğinde iyi niyetle yapılan bir faaliyetin yarardan çok zarar getirdiği artık bilinmektedir. Bu çalışmada, iç savaşlarda yapılan insani yardım faaliyetlerinde yaşanan ahlaki ikilemlere değinilecektir. Ahlaki ikilemler incelenerek nedenleri ve sonuçları tartışılacaktır. Seçilen iç savaşlarda yaşanan ahlaki ikilemler ve bu ikilemler sonucunda savaşın süre ve şiddetinin nasıl etkilendiği incelenecektir. Bu çerçevede Ruanda, Bosna, Nijerya, Afganistan ve Yemen İç Savaşları başta olmak üzere son 50 yılda yaşanan çeşitli iç savaşlarda yapılan insani yardım faaliyetlerinde yaşanan ahlaki ikilemler ele alınacaktır. Ardından ise iç savaşlarda yapılan insani yardım faaliyetlerinde yaşanan ahlaki ikilemlerin nasıl çözüleceği tartışılarak yardım faaliyetlerinin savaşın süre ve şiddetini artırmasının nasıl önüne geçilebileceği analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası İlişkiler, İnsani yardım, İnsani yardım faaliyetler, İç savaş, Ahlaki ikilem, İnsani yardım kuruluşları

Introduction

International humanitarian law and Human Rights Law are important elements in humanitarian organizations' ethical decision-making. Because civil wars create an environment where the rules of law do not apply, humanitarian organizations face more moral choices in these environments (Tüfekçi, 2018). 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. Moral dilemma is defined as situations where all possible actions are otherwise binding, and some moral principles are violated. In other words, a moral dilemma is a situation where one of two wrong decisions is chosen, or the less wrong one. At this point, a wrong decision is thought to contribute to the solution of the existing problem because it is seen as the right decision at that moment, but this situation, which should cause relief due to decision-making, turns out to be a disturbing situation.

Violent conflicts in civil wars lead to humanitarian crises. Various actors engage in humanitarian aid activities to solve these crises, and some moral dilemmas occur during these activities. As a result of the moral dilemmas experienced, it is seen that the duration and severity of the war increases and, accordingly, the humanitarian crises deepen. Although humanitarian aid activities have an important role in civil wars, failure to carry out the necessary work for the changing war and aid system creates some problems and negative effects. It is stated that as a result of the failure to achieve the necessary transformations in aid activities, the activities are insufficient to solve the crises (Bakır, 2016, 1 The fact that humanitarian aid is largely under Western control and sometime conditional for political purposes (Dag, 2016), not being able to provide sufficient financing, ignoring impartiality while providing financing or aid, not complying with humanitarian aid principles, not providing aid in place and on time, not protecting aid and not delivering it to those in need cause major problems.

Moral dilemmas often cause humanitarian aid to be used for the benefit of the parties to the war rather than those in need. As a result, the duration of wars becomes longer and their violence increases. The fact that increasing humanitarian aid activities may actually cause more deaths and conflicts than it seems is seen in the civil wars in many countries such as Rwanda, Bosnia, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Yemen. Accordingly, in this article, an analysis will be presented in line with the idea of whether the moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities in civil wars such as Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen contributed to the prolongation of the war.

It is thought that thanks to the "process monitoring" method, which was chosen as a method to ensure the reliability of data collection and sampling, the moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities in different civil wars

and the impact of aid on the duration and severity of the war will be more clearly understood. With this method, the literature was examined in detail and, accordingly, extensive research was conducted on the reports of various aid organizations, articles, books and news sites within the framework of the concepts of "humanitarian aid", "civil war" and "moral dilemma". The subject of the research is the moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities during civil wars. In this context, the Civil Wars of Rwanda, Bosnia, Nigeria, Afghanistan and Yemen were examined. The reason for choosing these civil wars is the idea that although they occurred in different geographies in different periods, humanitarian aid in these wars brought more harm than good. The aim of this study is to examine the humanitarian aid activities carried out in various civil wars and to determine the impact of moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities on the duration and severity of the war.

Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Aid Activities

The increasing participation of aid organizations during the war and the various situations they experience during humanitarian aid activities can lead to moral dilemmas (Slim, 2002, 244). Moral dilemmas are not a new problem for charities. This is because ethical issues are inherent in humanitarian action. For example, there are parameters such as moral dilemmas, particularly the fact that humanitarian aid is a limited resource, distribution, the role of other actors, prioritization within the contexts of available resources, and the costs and benefits of certain interventions to an organization (Clarival, 2014, 2). It would not be wrong to say that there is a common moral dilemma problem in Nigeria, Rwanda, Bosnia, Afghanistan and Yemen, which are examples of civil wars in the last 50 years. As a result of the increasing civil wars and the correspondingly increasing humanitarian aid activities, various experts ask whether humanitarian aid activities are "right or wrong?", "good or bad?" They started to discuss the issue from a moral perspective. The issues of why humanitarian organizations experience moral dilemmas in wars and how they can reduce this dilemma have been discussed and various initiatives have been taken in this regard. As a result, the "Mohonk Criteria for Humanitarian Assistance in Complex Emergencies produced by the World Conference on Religion and Peace (1994); and the so-called Principles of Providence (1993), from the Humanitarianism and War Project at Brown University. In Europe, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and the Code of Conduct for NGOs in Disaster Relief (1994) emerged from Geneva and have now been signed by more than 100 international NGOs." (Slim, 2002, 246). However, despite all these principles, rules and criteria, it seems that dilemmas still occur.

In the literature, discrimination, organizational policies, misuse of the principle of impartiality, corruption, and the interests and conditions of donors are generally cited as the reasons for moral dilemmas experienced during humanitarian

aid. When looked at 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", identified four main sources of ethical difficulties as a result of studies conducted in Africa, Asia, Central America, Eastern Europe and the Caribbean at different times. These are respectively: resource scarcity and resource allocation problem; political, historical, social and economic problems, problems arising from the policies and agendas of humanitarian organizations, and problems related to employees (Schwartz, 2010, 47). Additionally, Clarinval and Andorno, in their article titled "Challenging Operations: An Ethical Framework to Assist Humanitarian Aid Workers in their Decision-making Processes", primarily consider the authority, responsibility, expertise, capacity, impact and policies of organizations as the cause of the moral dilemma; then they show the structure of the country and finally the decision-making processes of aid workers (Clarinval and Andorno 2014, 2). As a result of all this literature review, in this study, the reasons for the moral dilemma in civil wars will be divided into eight items and examined under eight different headings. These are respectively:

- 1- Moral dilemmas caused by humanitarian aid principles,
- 2- Moral dilemmas caused by the instrumentalization of humanitarian aid,
- 3- Moral dilemmas caused by discrimination,
- 4- Moral dilemmas caused by aid workers,
- 5- Moral dilemmas caused by humanitarian organizations,
- 6- Moral dilemmas caused by donors,
- 7- Moral dilemmas caused by elements of coercion and threat,
- 8- Moral dilemmas caused by the structure of the society being helped.

The goals and principles of the humanitarian aid organization, the situation of aid workers, the situation of the region and the people of the region where the activities are carried out, the severity of the war, and the goals and policies of donors affect the rate of encountering moral dilemmas. Therefore, 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 taken into consideration. For example, a charity that provides food aid may have a moral responsibility depending on whether it feeds its target audience well or badly. In other words, it is not thought that it has a moral responsibility for issues such as the continuation of violence, prolonging the war or contributing to the war economy (Slim, 2002, 251-252). Therefore, the most important thing for a

humanitarian organization is undoubtedly goodwill and capacity. Today, in humanitarian discourse, ethical problems and conflicting values encountered in humanitarian aid are still avoided from being clearly defined and named. Generally, ethical issues tend to be reduced to geopolitical or management issues (Darcy and Hofmann, 2003, 7). In a civil war, the humanitarian organization has limited access and it is difficult to help people in this way and maintain the critical balance between the principles of goodness and justice. It is sometimes not possible to verify whether aid reaches those in need. Should the aid activity be stopped because this situation cannot be verified, or should it continue with the idea that it can reach a handful of people in real need? This involves a huge moral dilemma. The ethical decision-making process should not be neglected. Sometimes decisions can be discriminatory, distorting assessments and affecting results (Clarival and Andorno 2014, 2). All the factors causing the moral dilemma should be clearly identified and solutions should be produced for each identified dilemma.

1. Moral Dilemmas Caused by Humanitarian Principles

Although humanitarian aid principles are important values for humanitarian aid activities to be carried out equally, healthily, and safely, in most cases, these values cannot be implemented. For example, when saving lives and personal safety conflict, aid workers may choose to refrain from helping (Hammond, 2008, 2). According to Calain, "humanitarian principles are often misrepresented as primary sources of legitimacy." (Calain, 2012, 56) Because sometimes doing the "right thing" requires more than good will. At this point, it is important to make a careful and fair evaluation.

All four humanitarian aid principles are important for the moral dilemma, but when we look at civil wars, it is seen that there are most problems with the principle of neutrality. Humanitarian aid activities carried out in line with the principle of impartiality can sometimes cause more damage than usual and cause more loss of life and property. For example, an aid organization that tries to remain neutral may increase the duration and severity of the war by providing aid to both sides of the war. The best example of this undoubtedly occurred in Rwanda. Aid was also given to radicals and militants in refugee camps in line with the principle of neutrality. As a result, a great disaster occurred. According to the reports of different humanitarian organizations, the nutritional and health conditions of the refugees in Goma Cap were in very good condition and the camp even became a headquarters for the Hutus (Polman, 2014, 28). Some aid workers, in good faith and in line with the principle of impartiality, chose to help just because they were human, regardless of which side they were on or what they defended, and saving the lives of a group of radicals paved the way for a genocide in which tens of thousands of people were murdered. Based on this situation, it can be thought that humanitarian aid activities will cause harm and not giving aid to those in need will produce a better result. But

this thought can also cause a lot of harm and problems. For this reason, it is of great importance to make decisions appropriate to the structure of the field, taking into account all humanitarian aid principles.

Some values, such as impartiality, independence or religious beliefs, represent the fundamental views of a charity. But these are not enough. Accountability, transparency and needs-based approaches are important. Some researchers oppose the applicability of values such as impartiality and impartiality (Slim, 1997, 342). The reason for this is that neutrality and impartiality during humanitarian aid activities have been seen to increase the duration and severity of the war in many civil wars, especially in Rwanda, Bosnia and Nigeria. As a result of aid or aid given to both war victims and aggressors in Bosnia, the duration of war and suffering has been prolonged (Bradley, 2018). As another example, there were organizations that helped not only the Biafran side but also the Nigerian side, in line with the principle of neutrality. The main reason for this situation is political purposes. At this point, we clearly see that humanitarian aid contains political reasons and consequences.

In Afghanistan, the principle of neutrality is seen as a suitable tool to provide access to people in need (Terry, 2010, 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. While it is important for aid organizations to remain impartial and impartial, the idea of maintaining relations with the Taliban is dominant in order to prevent further harm to the public (Taye, 2021). This idea creates a different dilemma and harms the principle of impartiality. The Taliban required aid organizations to be impartial and respectful of Afghan culture, and to meet various conditions such as paying taxes and to be officially registered with the Taliban. Aid organizations perceived as neutral and independent by the Taliban have greater reach and security (Jackson, 2013). In line with the principle of impartiality, a number of organizations such as the ICRC implemented Henry Dunant's idea of rescuing the wounded regardless of the military (Terry, 2011, 181). In this way, everyone was helped, whether wounded militiamen, opposition supporters or innocent civilians. It is even known that the ICRC provides first aid training to Taliban militants in order to ensure fewer deaths. This is another example of the moral dilemmas experienced as a result of the principle of impartiality.

2. Moral Dilemmas Caused by the Instrumentalization of Humanitarian Aid

The definition of the concept of instrumentalization is quite comprehensive. This is because the concept of instrumentalization is as old as the concept of humanitarian aid, and in humanitarian activities, everyone and everything can be a part of instrumentalization (Donini, 2012, 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 of victims.

Victims may also seek to extend their victim status to gain access to resources for a longer period of time. Again, warlords and militias instrumentalize the suffering of local people for their own interests. As a result, they gain income and status by looting the aid coming to 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 conscience, be accepted by society, or help because of their beliefs (Donini, 2012, 1171).

Some people deliberately use aid activities to instrumentalize humanitarian aid activities. According to some researchers, major powers are involved in humanitarian aid activities for their own interests (Dağ, 2016; Tüfekçi, 2016). It is seen that in many civil wars, especially in Nigeria, Bosnia, Rwanda, Afghanistan and Yemen, the world's leading countries or some international organizations support humanitarian aid activities in the region or are directly involved in the field for their own private interests. This situation is a clear example of the instrumentalization of humanitarian aid activity. The geographical location, natural resources, ethnic and religious structure of the region increases 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 aid activities by using people's suffering in order to increase their budgets 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. This relationship is inversely proportional. While many actors benefit from the instrumentalization of humanitarian aid activities, those in need, who are the main subjects of aid, cannot benefit from this instrumentalization. On the contrary, those in need are the ones who suffer the most from this instrumentalization process caused by different elements of the humanitarian aid ecosystem.

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

It is estimated that the number of NGOs in Bosnia in the 1990s was around 1500 (Semercioğlu, 2017, 1354). Despite so many humanitarian aid organizations, it could not solve the problem in Bosnia, and the chaos and conflicts increased exponentially. The basis of this is the instrumentalization of aid and the fact that during the war, people became rich through the black market and profiteering, while

politicians increased their wealth by taking advantage of their positions. It is also claimed that the aid money sent from abroad was confiscated (Yürür, 2007, 120). In Sarajevo, abuse of aid by peacekeepers, clandestine dealing, and corruption prolonged the duration and severity of the war. At this point, a rapidly growing global humanitarian aid industry has formed in Sarajevo, like the Rwandan camps in Zaire and Goma (Andreas, 2008). As a result, humanitarian aid in the Bosnian Civil War expanded the war, caused the emergence of a war economy, and provided support to the parties to the war (Narang, 2014, 185).

Gabon, recognizing Biafra, sent arms along with humanitarian aid and instrumentalized the aid. As a different example of instrumentalization, international military forces dressed as aid workers and driving aid cars in Afghanistan damaged neutrality, made humanitarian aid difficult, and caused an increase in dilemmas and, accordingly, an increase in the severity and duration of the war. The idea that aid has political and military purposes increases the severity of conflicts by causing aid to be stolen or the people receiving aid to be killed. Aid was instrumentalized by telling those who gave information about the Taliban and Al Qaeda that they would receive better aid materials (Terry, 2011, 175). As a result of the cooperation of civilians in return for aid, the rebels launched attacks on the villages that accepted the aid.

Civilians who needed help most were affected by the instrumentalization of aid. In addition, it can be said that the aid contributes to the war economy and strengthens the militants. For example, "The Taliban chooses who and where aid goes and interferes with humanitarian aid by demanding payment or 'taxes' for access" (The New Humanitarian).

It's not just the Taliban that humanitarian aid poses a dilemma. Before the Taliban took control, the Kabul government's improper use of international aid and corruption contributed to the collapse of the country's economy. For example, in the Kabul Bank incident in 2011, it was revealed that many MPs and cabinet members had embezzled millions of dollars (Kılıç, 2022, 2). The fact that humanitarian aid is part of the US-led intervention in Afghanistan, with military forces rebuilding schools, digging wells, and providing food and medical aid, also poses a problem for humanitarian aid, which affects the course of the war. Because humanitarian aid projects are used as a tool to achieve military goals in Afghanistan (Wortel, 2009, 799). Humanitarian aid, including food aid, is used as a weapon of war.

"Whether you are being manipulated by the Sudanese regime or the coalition forces in Afghanistan, you are always an instrument of war," according to Polman. (Anthony, 2010). For this reason, it is widely believed that humanitarian aid workers should 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, very few people view instrumentalization as a good situation, as it can lead to the goal (Donini, 2012, 1172).

3. Moral Dilemmas Caused 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. Giving aid only to certain individuals, contrary to the principle of impartiality, prevents the fair distribution of aid. 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.

For example, in Bosnia, it was stated that some humanitarian organizations violated the principle of impartiality and delivered aid to Serbian refugees first, while the remaining ones were distributed to others (Human Rights Watch, 1994). In wars where discrimination is high, it is highly likely that the duration and severity of the war will be triggered. Discrimination may be caused by donors, aid organizations, aid workers, or warlords 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, aid that arrives impartially can, at a critical moment, select the side that shares similar ethnic or religious characteristics with the aid worker and deliver humanitarian aid to them. In some war zones, warlords or local officials may ask aid organizations and employees to discriminate. When aid organizations or their employees do not agree to discriminate, people who want to discriminate may not give passage permits or may demand various taxes. In this situation, the organization and its employees may experience a moral dilemma, thinking that help will not be available to those in need, and then accept the condition of discrimination. In this case, it is of great importance to evaluate the results well.

4. Moral Dilemmas Caused by Workers

There may be conflicts between the ethics of humanitarian aid activities and the ethics of aid workers themselves. In this conflict, 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, 1). Training managers and other employees responsible for humanitarian aid activities in ethics ensures that the possibility of moral dilemmas is low. Professional ethics training is

important, but it has been shown in the field that this alone is not sufficient (Schwartz, 2010, 52). In some situations, it is quite difficult to really make a decision and not experience a dilemma. The war environment is a challenging 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 assist as a mediator to guide the decision-making process will contribute to the solution of this problem (Clarival, 2014, 11).

In some cases, it has been observed that during humanitarian aid activities, one has to choose between those in need. In addition, it has been observed that there is a need to make a choice between the needs of current needy people and the needs of future needy people. Having to choose is a morally difficult and complex situation. Good intentions and skills alone are not enough. These features, which are not sufficient, can also be perceived as misdirection and cooperation (Schwartz, 2010, 52). Humanitarian aid workers are faced with a dilemma about how to maintain their values in such an environment.

Due to different cultures and therefore different understandings in countries where civil wars took place, many problems have been experienced in humanitarian aid activities and various dilemmas have arisen. For example, due to cultural relativity, it is very difficult not to experience a moral dilemma in a place where you do not have a say in who will be helped first (Schwartz, 2010, 51). Aid workers may face sudden and difficult decisions, such as whether to practice outside their scope of training 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, 2). They may also face challenges such as how to go about providing care for both victims and perpetrators, and how to maintain impartiality. Aid workers' personal political views can influence their perception of the organization's impartiality (Jones 2009). As a result, a moral dilemma may arise in aid activities. Ultimately, every aid worker is an individual, and among the warring parties, there is a side that each individual feels close to.

According to most humanitarian workers, communicating with bad people is as important as communicating with good people for humanitarian activities to occur. In Afghanistan, in addition to cooperation with the government, there is a prevailing opinion that unless cooperation is made with the rebels or the opposition to deliver aid to some regions, those in need cannot be reached (Terry, 2011, 186). In this case, aid workers again face a moral dilemma.

Tens of thousands of aid workers are deployed around the world each year, and many participate as amateurs (Schnapp et. al., 2022, 1). Amateur aid workers have higher rates of experiencing moral dilemmas. Therefore, before being sent to the field, aid workers need to be informed and trained in more detail about the difficulties and moral dilemmas they may encounter.

5. Moral Dilemmas Caused by Humanitarian Organizations

Humanitarian aid organizations are of great importance for carrying out humanitarian aid activities in a certain order. A well-documented and transparent decision-making process, allowing for review and questioning of the appropriateness of the decision and evaluating it, can prevent aid organizations from experiencing moral dilemmas (Clarival and Biller-Andorno 2014, 9). Humanitarian aid organizations may experience moral dilemmas during their humanitarian and aid activities for various reasons. Because maintaining neutrality in a civil war environment and not exposing aid workers to violence, threats or coercion is a difficult task. Humanitarian organizations operating in resource-scarce environments may struggle to remain impartial while allocating resources and maintaining safe access to those in need. If organizations benefit from the access or security services obtained by partisan groups or are forced to work with local people, they may appear to endorse their ideology or political views (Broussard et al., 2019, 9).

Focusing on the outcome, different objectives of the organization, being in competition 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 emotions like an individual. Prioritizing compassion can lead to wrong decisions during humanitarian aid activities. For example, this situation was seen very clearly in Rwanda, and the moral dilemma caused by this situation increased the intensity of the war. Charities, like individuals, may try to prove their existence or compete to give more aid and reach more people than other organizations. It is known that this situation caused aid to fall into the wrong hands in many civil wars and increased the duration and severity of the war. Therefore, aid organizations should reconsider various ethical values before starting aid activities. It should evaluate past experiences and thoroughly examine the benefits and risks of activities on beneficiaries in order to avoid causing any harm to those in need. Some charities face moral dilemmas in the resource allocation process. At this point, aid organizations need to 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 (Clarival and Biller-Andorno 2014, 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 employees. 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 (Clarival and Biller-Andorno 2014, 8). In short, there are institutional requirements for high ethical standards in humanitarian organizations.

There are various challenges for aid workers created by the powers, agendas, policies and actions of aid organizations (Schwart, 2010, 49). These difficulties cause moral dilemmas. There are sometimes gaps between the humanitarian aid provided by organizations and the needs of those in need. Because when the needs of those in need are greater, the amount met by aid organizations may be less, or the already small amount of aid may be given to war networks or militants. Some aid organizations continue their aid activities for their own policies rather than focusing on the actual needs of the region (Schwart, 2010, 52). As a result, people's needs and suffering go unmet.

Aid organizations may fear that providing assistance may unintentionally perpetuate conflicts, resulting in a moral dilemma. 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 to everyone equally and according to need. This could lead to a moral dilemma, resulting in only providing aid to those in safe areas.

The principle of impartiality is of great importance for a charity organization. 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 employees to safer and more accessible areas for security reasons, in which case a moral dilemma about impartiality arises. Moral dilemmas may also arise regarding the principle of independence, which is another principle of humanitarian aid. For example, conducting a study with a government agency about charity activities may lead to different opinions about the independence of the organization. Finally, lack of coordination between organizations can lead to a moral adjunct. Disorganization and lack of solidarity in identifying community needs cause moral dilemmas from charities. In some cases, humanitarian organizations may not feel like they are in solidarity with local people. This may be due to the humanitarian organization's different perceptions of the population served, such as religion, language, and race. All these factors cause moral dilemmas. (Brossard et al., 2019, 10).

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, 1416). The unprofessional behavior of humanitarian organizations also negatively affected Biafra aid. Polman criticizes aid organizations for blindly supporting the warring parties in line with the principle of impartiality and for being problematic about impartiality (Polman 2010). Because there are various politicized NGOs that direct funds to certain regions or certain groups for political and military advantage. These actions of NGOs increase the effects of war on the poor and expand the war economy (Elayah, Gaber and Fenttiman, 2022, 1). 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, 551; Ok and Tüfekçi, 2022).

6. Moral Dilemmas Caused by Donations and Donors

One of the most important components of humanitarian aid activities is undoubtedly donors. While donors ensure the sustainability of humanitarian activities, they can also lead to aid misuse and more deaths. In other words, donors may cause moral dilemmas in humanitarian aid activities. Donor: It could be a company, a government, an organization or an individual. 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 act very biasedly in line with their interests on this issue. The exact opposite may be the case. For example, some donors who were historically close to the previous Hutu regime became reluctant to engage with a Tutsi-dominated Government, and moral dilemmas arose about aid neutrality.

The way and processes in which donations are allocated can affect the transparency of aid and cause greater harm to people in need (Clarival and Biller-Andorno 2014, 2). Humanitarian aid has limited capacities, often leading to the prioritization of populations in acute crisis. This leads to a moral dilemma. Another moral dilemma regarding the budget issue is about which activity the budget will be allocated to. While some humanitarian activities create media buzz, 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 splash in the media. Charities should then actually work to fund the second activity, and donors should also fund the second activity. However, in this case, we see that there is a moral dilemma, and the fund is transferred to non-urgent aid activities. When deciding on the budget, moral dilemmas may arise due to urgency, need, size of the population, success of the aid activity, and political concerns. Budget decisions made behind closed doors, without taking into account the activities on the ground, can negatively affect humanitarian aid activities and cast a shadow over the transparency of humanitarian aid activities (Clarival and Biller-Andorno 2014, 3). As a result of

moral dilemmas arising from donors, it has been observed that the duration and severity of the war increased, especially in the Afghanistan and Nigerian Civil Wars.

7. Moral Dilemmas Caused by Coercion and Threat

Assisting populations in areas with limited access, such as civil war zones, must consider the critical balance between the principles of benevolence and justice. Due to the lack of security in these areas, aid agencies are unable to verify whether all of their aid has successfully reached the population. Because there are coercion and threats by various radical groups in such regions. As a result, humanitarian organizations may experience a moral dilemma and stop their aid activities in these regions.

Attacks that involve threats and hardship can act as a deterrent, creating a moral dilemma about expanding humanitarian aid to where it is needed most (Brossard et al., 2019, 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. Militant groups in camps in Rwanda, strengthened by humanitarian aid, led to Rwanda's invasion of Zaire and attacks on innocent refugees as well as Hutu militants. Despite all this, humanitarian aid organizations continued to deliver food and supplies to refugee camps and military bases for their own security and the continuity of aid. Similarly, in Bosnia, as a result of attacks on humanitarian aid organizations, UNPROFOR members, aid convoys and aircraft, humanitarian aid fell into the hands of genociders, not those in need (UNHRC Press Releases 2004, 148). It is said that the Serbs in Bosnia are constantly asking for help and threatening these humanitarian organizations when they can't get help. As a result, it was determined that Serbian civilians as well as Serbian militants took all the materials they needed and set the rest on fire so that they could not be used. The basis of all of this is that humanitarian organizations and their employees experience moral dilemmas by being afraid to distribute aid materials (Interview with representatives of Human Rights Watch, 1994).

Aid workers are forced by militants to direct aid to specific members who use it for economic or political gain (Elayah, Gaber, and Fenttiman, 2022, 8). Houthi rebels are acting aggressively to control the flow of food aid, threatening to arrest or deport aid workers, demanding trucks pay taxes and setting up checkpoints.

Threats, kidnapping, torture and murder of humanitarian workers; Blockades, theft of supplies and loss of access to facilities greatly hinder humanitarian activities (Brossard et al., 2019, 4). As a result of all this, humanitarian organizations experience a moral dilemma and may give up helping those in need for the sake of their own lives and the lives of other aid workers.

8. Moral Dilemmas Caused by the Structure of the Helped Society

In many countries where civil wars occur, 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 one of the remote areas of Africa. In this case, women and children should generally be given priority, but due to cultural relativity, in this example the man is helped because the understanding in the region is "What we need is men and therefore men should be given priority." (Schwartz, 2010, 48). It's hard not to experience a moral dilemma where you have no say in who gets helped first. When you reject this cultural relativism and choose to help women, both the aid worker himself, the organization he is affiliated with, and other people in need of help may be harmed. Depending on the culture of the society being helped, the outcome of aid activities may have worse consequences for the people helped. In such situations, aid workers may experience a dilemma between their professional roles and cultural norms (Schwartz, 2010, 51).

Aid workers may have to comply with the customs, culture and norms of the country in which they work. This creates a moral dilemma. In this situation, the aid worker is forced to make a choice between his own right and the right of his society. In highly patriarchal societies, various difficulties may be experienced during humanitarian aid activities, and this may confront humanitarian organizations and aid workers with a moral dilemma. At this point, while respecting local norms, humanitarian aid principles should not be forgotten. In some cases, this may seem unlikely, and the aid worker may be left with a major dilemma. For example, while a humanitarian worker working in the health field generally continues the treatment sequence starting with women and children, in some regions male patients may be given priority over women and children because they are male dominated (Schwartz, 2010, 48). Even who is in the priority group may change from society to society and depending on gender structure. Humanitarian aid workers are faced with a dilemma about how to maintain their values in such an environment.

Since aid workers predominantly have western cultures and beliefs, they experience the dilemma of whether to act inappropriately with these cultures and beliefs (Schwartz, 2010, 52). It also creates a dilemma for them as to what to accept and what to reject. Some employees choose to reject these norms rather than accept them, and in some cases, this can be dangerous for those in need. Aid workers should be aware in advance that they may experience a dilemma between their own value framework and the value framework of their society. A commitment to involving local communities in planning and relief efforts helps identify and minimize potential harms and unintended consequences, as well as fostering respect for cultural norms (Broussard et al., 2019, 1).

The Effect of Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Aid on the Duration and Severity of the Civil War

Humanitarian aid activities have played a major role in natural disasters and human events throughout history. Humanitarian aid activities have been on the agenda, especially in events with complex causes and consequences, such as civil war. Concepts such as humanitarian aid, assistance, and humanitarian aid activities generally connote good things. Because of these good connotations, it is often overlooked that humanitarian aid activities contribute to the prolongation and increase in 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.

Moral dilemmas experienced during humanitarian aid activities do not arise only from the humanitarian aid organization or its employees. Moral dilemmas may be experienced by different actors for different reasons at different stages of humanitarian aid activities. Relief activities are carried out during a difficult period amid the violence committed by warring groups. Various precautions should be taken to avoid moral dilemmas during this process. Because, regardless of the reason, it is seen that the moral dilemmas experienced in humanitarian aid activities increase the duration and severity of the war. Increasing the duration and intensity of war means more people dying and more humanitarian crises. For example, humanitarian aid activities that were attempted to be carried out impartially can be cited as the cause of the great genocide in Rwanda. As Linda Polman said, without humanitarian aid, the Hutu war would probably have stopped quite quickly (Anthony, 2010). Likewise, a similar situation is valid in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Nigeria and Yemen. From Ethiopia to Rwanda to Afghanistan, the international aid business only helps gangsters and warriors. Innocent victims suffer.

The main reason for a moral dilemma in a humanitarian aid activity is not learning from the past and not establishing an appropriate decision-making process. Humanitarian aid is a challenging activity that involves many actors depending on different principles in a very complex and variable environment. Therefore, in order for this activity to be carried out correctly, ethical rules should be encouraged for all actors involved in the activity. Otherwise, humanitarian aid activity may cause the situation to worsen instead of solving and improving the difficulties faced by those in need.

Conclusion

In this study, it is aimed to eliminate the problems that may arise as a result of moral dilemmas by categorizing the moral dilemmas experienced by humanitarian aid organizations in civil wars and determining that humanitarian aid activities affect the duration and severity of the war. Today, everything is changing rapidly.

Like the understanding of war, humanitarian aid activities are also changing rapidly. Even if the basic principles of humanitarian aid activities remain the same, they should be detailed along with the problems experienced.

Humanitarian aid activity takes place in a complex and challenging environment involving multiple relationships. Carrying out proper humanitarian aid may be very difficult under such conditions and may lead to moral dilemmas. While the reasons for moral dilemmas in aid activities may sometimes be hierarchical and sometimes cultural; Sometimes there may be more general and sometimes more specific reasons. The decision-making process is very important in humanitarian action. At this point, humanitarian aid workers need to receive good training. Because decisions are sometimes made quickly, their consequences cannot be clearly predicted. 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 need to be taken into consideration. Problems experienced in the field in the past should be evaluated and analyzed thoroughly. In this way, the same moral dilemmas can be prevented. At this point, various professionals and ethical experts are needed.

Like civil wars, humanitarian activities change over time. Therefore, the overlapping points of moral dilemmas and humanitarian principles should be identified and reviewed with innovative approaches. In a humanitarian aid activity, all reasons that will cause a moral dilemma should be determined in advance and appropriate measures should be taken. Moral dilemmas experienced in past aid activities should be identified and innovative solutions should be found to prevent them from recurring. Humanitarian aid can often be perceived as political in nature, but engaging in military and political interventions under the guise of direct humanitarian aid raises suspicion against humanitarian aid activities and organizations. In order to avoid such a problem, the principle of neutrality, which is one of the humanitarian aid countries, must be correctly understood and implemented correctly. Moral dilemmas are seen as significant obstacles to aid activities. In order to avoid moral dilemmas, humanitarian aid workers must be trained, their activities in the field must be regularly monitored, and the difficulties they experience must be examined. In order for a humanitarian aid activity to be truly beneficial and not increase the duration and severity of war, it should aim to eliminate any situation that would cause moral dilemmas. Civil wars have a complex environment. Therefore, decisions made during a civil war can be complex. But a humanitarian organization and humanitarian worker must find a way to overcome all these complex challenges. At this point, different methods for moral decision-making should be evaluated.

There is not yet a clear framework that can help identify the current moral dilemmas experienced by aid workers and support them in their decision-making

processes. However, thanks to experienced ethicists, moral dilemmas can be minimized. 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 knowledge gap, accurate and rapid steps must be taken to support humanitarian workers in ethical decision-making and respond to problems on the ground. Failure to adhere to humanitarian principles and ignoring accountability contributes to the prolongation of civil wars.

References

- Anthony, A. "Does Humanitarian Aid Prolong Wars?" *The Guardian* (2010).
<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2010/apr/25/humanitarian-aid-warlinda-polman>
- Bakır, Z. "Etkin İnsani Yardım ve Şeffaflık". *İNSAMER* 1 (2018), 1-13.
https://www.insamer.com/tr/etkin-insani-yardim-ve-seffalik_1606.html
- Bradley, O. "The Success of Humanitarian Aid to Bosnia and Herzegovina". *Borgen Magazine* (2018). <https://www.borgenmagazine.com/humanitarian-aid-to-bosnia-herzegovina/>
- Broussard, G., & Rubenstein, L. S., & Robinson, C., & Maziak, W., & Gilbert, S. Z., & DeCamp, M. Challenges to Ethical Obligations and Humanitarian Principles in Conflict Settings: A Systematic Review. *Journal of International Humanitarian Action* 4/1 (2019), 1-13. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/s41018-019-0063-x>
- Calain, P. "In Search of the 'New Informal Legitimacy' of Médecins Sans Frontières". *Public Health Ethics* 5/1 (2012), 56.
- Clarival, C., & Biller-Andorno, N. Challenging Operations: An Ethical Framework to Assist Humanitarian Aid Workers In Their Decision-Making Processes. *PLoS Currents* 6 (2014), 2-8.
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4073807/#ref18>
- Donini, A. The Golden Fleece: Manipulation and Independence in Humanitarian Action. *ICRC* 147 (2012), 1169-1172.
<https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/review/2012/irrc-887-book-review-donini.pdf>
- Elayah, M., & Gaber, Q., & Fenttiman, M. "From Food to Cash Assistance: Rethinking Humanitarian Aid in Yemen". *Journal of International Humanitarian Action* 7/1 (2022), 1-8.
- Hammond, L. The Power of Holding Humanitarianism Hostage and the Myth of Protective Principles. *Humanitarianism in Question* (2008).
- Dağ, R. "Dış Yardımların Sınırlarını Belirleyen Medeniyet Kavramının Bileşenleri". *SBARD* 14/27 (2016), 41-57.
- Desgrandchamps, M. L. Organising the Unpredictable: The Nigeria–Biafra War and Its Impact on the ICRC. *International Review of the Red Cross* 94/888 (2012), 1409-1423.
- Kılıç, M. "Afganistan'da İnsani Durum". *İNSAMER Analiz* 2 (2022).
<https://www.insamer.com/tr/uploads/pdf/afganistanda-insani-durum.pdf>

Narang, N. Assisting Uncertainty: How Humanitarian Aid Can Inadvertently Prolong Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly* (2015), 184–195. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43868851>

Ok, E. - Tüfekçi, Ö. "Effect of Cases on the Rivalry Between National Sovereignty and Intervention". *Trends and Transformations in World Politics*. (Eds.) Özgür Tüfekçi and Rahman Dağ. London: Lexington Books, 2022, 81-98.

Polman, L. Kriz Kervani. Y. y.: Paloma Yayınevi, 2014. 128.

Schwartz, L., & Sinding, C., & Hunt, M., & Elit, L., & Redwood-Campbell, L., & Adelson, N., & DeLaat, S. "Ethics in Humanitarian Aid Work: Learning from the Narratives of Humanitarian Health Workers". *AJOB Primary Research* 1/3 (2010), 47-52.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/244886786_Ethics_in_Humanitarian_Aid_Work_Learning_From_the_Narratives_of_Humanitarian_Health_Workers

Schweizer, B. "Moral Dilemmas for Humanitarianism in the Era of Humanitarian Military Interventions". *International Review of the Red Cross* 86/855 (2004), 547-

564. https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/irrc_855_schweizer.pdf

Semercioğlu, H. Bosna Hersek'te Yaşanan Boşnak-Sırp Çatışmasının Analizi. *Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 16/63 (2017), 1354.

Slim, H. Doing The Right Thing: Relief Agencies, Moral Dilemmas and Moral Responsibility in Political Emergencies and War. *Disasters* 21/3 (1997), 244-257.

Taye, S. "The Dilemma for Humanitarian Principles and the Taliban". *Centre for Humanitarian Leadership* (2021). <https://centreforhumanitarianleadership.org/the-centre/news/the-dilemma-for-humanitarian-principles-and-the-taliban/>

Terry, F. Violence Against Health Care: Insights from Afghanistan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *International Review of the Red Cross* 95/889 (2013), 23-39.

Tüfekçi, Ö. "Yükselen Güçler ve Dış Politika Aracı Olarak Dış Yardımlar". *Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Dış Yardımlar*. (ed.) Erman Akıllı. Ankara: Nobel Yayıncılık, 2016, 101-119.

Tüfekçi, Ö. "Can War Ever Be Ethical? Perspectives On Just War Theory And The Humanitarian Intervention Concept". *Atatürk Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi* 32/4 (2018), 1217-1229.