



UN INTERVENTION IN ETHNIC BASED CONFLICTS: RWANDA AND BOSNIA

ETNİK TEMELLİ ÇATIŞMALARA BM MÜDAHALESİ: RUANDA VE BOSNA

Abstract

The biggest test of United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations in the 21st century is the genocides in Rwanda and Bosnia. This is because the UN was incapable of preventing the genocide that took place in both countries. Therefore, these two case studies were not chosen by chance. In two case studies, the role of UN peacekeeping operations in Rwanda and Bosnia, as well as the outcome of genocide caused by ethnic hatred, will be addressed. Thus, this study will answer three main questions. Firstly, what is the origin of ethnic hatred in Rwanda and Bosnia and its role in the genocide? Secondly, What is the role of UN in ethnic wars such as Rwanda and Bosnia? Lastly, What are the similarities and differences between Rwanda and Bosnia genocide based on ethnic reasons? In this context, it was concluded that ethnic and racial differences caused genocide in both countries and the UN intervention in Rwanda and Bosnia could not be effective due to the high level of ethnic hatred.

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Öz

Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) barış operasyonlarının yirmi birinci yüzyıldaki en büyük imtihanı Ruanda ve Bosna soykırımlarıdır. Bunun nedeni, BM'nin her iki ülkede de yaşanan soykırımı önlemede yetersiz kalmasıdır. Bu yüzden, bu iki vaka çalışması tesadüfen seçilmemiştir. İki vaka çalışmasında etnik nefretin doğurduğu soykırım sonucunun yanında BM barış operasyonlarının Ruanda ve Bosna'daki rolüne değinilecektir. Böylelikle, bu çalışma üç ana soruya cevap verecektir. İlki, Ruanda ve Bosna'daki etnik nefretin kaynağı ve soykırımdaki rolü nedir? İkincisi, Ruanda ve Bosna gibi etnik savaşlarda BM'nin rolü nedir? Son olarak, Ruanda ve Bosna soykırımının etnik nedenlere dayalı benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları nelerdir? Bu bağlamda etnik ve ırksal farklılıkların her iki ülkede de soykırımına yol açtığı ve BM müdahalesinin etnik nefret seviyesinin çok yüksek olmasından dolayı Ruanda ve Bosna'daki müdahalesinin etkili olmadığını sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Birleşmiş Milletler, Etnik Çatışma, Ruanda Soykırımı, Bosna Etnik Temizliği, Barış Operasyonları.

Introduction

The last decade of the 21st century has ended with genocide against the whole society in Rwanda and Bosnia. Between 1992 and 1995, Serbs committed ethnic cleansing against Bosnian Muslims. In 1994, in Rwanda, the extremist Hutus massacred the Tutsi and the Modest Hutus within 100 days. There are some terminologies that describe mass killing that Rwanda and Bosnia have experienced painfully. Thus, in the first part of the research, terminologies related to the subject such as identity, race, ethnicity, genocide and ethnic cleansing will be explained.

The events that took place in these two case studies, which are officially accepted as genocide, and why the differences between different ethnic groups in the country were turned into an element of hatred and became a tool of violence, will be tried to be explained in the second part of the research. As Kaufman emphasized in the symbolist political theory, it was emphasized that the ethnic hatred of Hutus against Tutsis in Rwanda was triggered by mythological symbols. In addition, Kaufman attributes the source of ethnic hatred in Bosnia to the theory of ancient hatred. According to this theory, hatred between Christian Serbs and Muslim Bosnians goes back hundreds of years.

Another issue that needs to be emphasized in Rwanda and Bosnia studies is the influence of the UN. Operations carried out by the UN in countries with very high levels of ethnic hatred, UNAMIR in Rwanda, UNPROFOR in Bosnia, ended in failure. In general, whether the UN will provide peace in wars that arise due to ethnic reasons will be explained by the peaceful triangle theory of Doyle and Sambanis. According to the theory of Doyle and Sambanis, peace is most difficult to achieve by the UN in countries where ethnic hatred is at very high levels.

This research will be examined with a qualitative approach. The research, which is based on interpretation, observation and new ideas as a result of repeated literature searches, consists of four stages. This research divided into four chapters; in the first chapter related basic concepts defined. In the second chapter, Background Information about Ethnic Hatred in Rwanda and Bosnia will be examined. In the third chapter, UN Role in Rwanda and Bosnia: UN understanding of ethnic based conflict will be studied. In the last chapter, the differences and similarities between the ethnic, political and UN intervention of Rwanda and Bosnia, which experienced the genocide in the 1990s, will be analyzed.

1. Defining Related Basic Concepts

Rwanda and the Bosnia War can be explained with many different concepts, but throughout the research, it will be emphasized that the most important factor in the outbreak of the Civil War is the identity. Before coming to this conclusion, the theoretical concepts of the Rwandan and Bosnian Civil Wars will be explained and the reason for this catastrophe that occurred in Rwanda and Bosnia will be better understood.

If the factors that form the ethnicity are brought together, they can be listed as common destiny, common descent, cultural values, physical appearances, common behaviors, and attitudes. Cultural values are the most significant component of ethnicity and it contains concepts such as language, religion and belief (Regmi, 2003).

Ethnicity is a source of identity. However, according to Fenton, identity is constructed (Fenton, 2010). The construction of identity, nearly same as ethnicity, is formed by the classification of people gathered under the umbrella of common culture, generation and destiny. Thanks to this construction, people with the same characteristics listed above formed ethnic groups by establishing their own communities (Hinds, 2018). Ethnic conflict occurs as a result of the different ethnic groups separating themselves from the others, the tension between the ethnic groups rises and turns into physical violence (Dimjian, 2010).

The concept of race can be defined as a group of people with common morphological characteristics. Race is especially dependent on genetic characteristics of people. The difference of races arises from the following reasons: people's different hair structures, differences such as small or large noses, or features such as skin color.

Race and ethnicity are two different constructs under the concept of identity. No matter how gray the difference between these two concepts is, there is a clear difference. While race is purely based on biological realm, ethnicity is based on cultural realm. Race is based on genetic characteristics, while ethnicity is based on variables such as language, religion and region (Santos, Palomares, Normando, Quintao, 2010). Generally, in literature reviews, racial difference is generally used for identity separation in Rwanda, while ethnic-religious differences are used as a basis for identity separation in Bosnia.

Genocide, especially in the Second World War, after Churchill uttered "crime without a name" for the Nazis' acts of extermination of Jews, the word genocide gained visibility. With the United Nations General Assembly adopting the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948, a definition of the concept of genocide emerged. According to this definition, genocide is only the intentional physical or biological destruction, in whole or in part, of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group (United Nations, 1948).

Apart from this, another term used for an attempt to destroy an ethnic group is ethnic cleansing. Even though ethnic cleansing started to be discussed especially in the 1990s, this term was used by the Russians because of the deportation of Armenians after the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis in the 1980s. It is possible to come across the definition of the concept of ethnic cleansing in UN Documents. According to UN documents, the term ethnic cleansing refers to the elimination by the ethnic group exerting control over a given territory of members of other ethnic groups. Although it may seem that there is no difference between ethnic cleansing and genocide, there is a fundamental difference between them. While the genocide was carried out with the aim of destroying a group, ethnic cleansing is carried out with the aim of destroying the other ethnic group or groups in order to end the ethnic diversity in a region (as cited in Naimark, 2002:3). In this context while the incident in Rwanda was called genocide, the incident in Bosnia took its place in the literature as ethnic cleansing.

In the first part of the paper, meanings and comparisons of the related concepts are made. In the following sections, the Rwandan and Bosnian wars will be discussed more broadly.

2. Background Information About Ethnic Hatred in Rwanda and Bosnia

2.1. Rwanda

In order to investigate the genocide against Tutsi by the Hutu, which started with the murder of Rwandan Prime Minister Habyarimana on April 6, 1994, the starting point and development of identity separation in Rwanda should be understood. Therefore, the demographic structure of the pre-colonial Rwandan people in Rwanda will be examined first.

2.1.1. Pre-Colonial Period

Based on the documents of historians, the diversity of identity in Rwanda was not based on ethnic differences, contrary to what is known, people defined themselves according to clans (Newbury, 1978). In addition, the clan difference between Tutsi and Hutu was often based on social status. Thus, these three different clans, Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa, made up the inseparable whole of society, and it was not possible to talk about a clear distinction between clans. In particular, with the immigration of Tutsi to Hutu-dominated areas, Tutsi and Hutus peacefully formed a community together (Wohlgemuth, 1996: 20). In this process, Tutsis were influenced by the Hutu, the majority. As a result of this interaction, Tutsis started to speak the language of

the Hutu and adopted the traditions and beliefs of the Hutu. There was no separation between the two communities because of marriages between Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Even though the cattle-herders, soldiers and administrators were mostly Tutsi, and Hutus were farmers, there was no sharp separation between their occupational choices. People could switch between categories. But it should be noted that in the pre-colonial era, the people of Rwanda were ruled under a central, unified and holy king, who was mostly descended from the Tutsi clan.

2.1.2. Colonial Period

When the European colonists arrived in Rwanda, they realized that the monarchy ruled people who were divided into different groups. Unlike the pre-colonial era, the racial segregation of the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa by the Europeans was made as a result of the physical differences of the people. The physical distinction between Hutu and Tutsi was determined by Europeans as follows; those who are short and fat are separated as Hutu, and those who are tall and thin as Tutsi. Thus, the clan distinction was transformed into a racial one in Rwanda.

The first Europeans to cause this order were the Germans, but after the defeat in the First World War, the League of Nations appointed Belgium to the region. In 1946, under the UN authority, Rwanda became Belgium's territory.

Under the Belgian mandate and trusteeship, some steps have been taken to strengthen identity separation in Rwanda (Hintjens, 2001). In the pre-colonial era, the patron-client system dominated in Rwanda. This system gave people a place and status. Patrons could be both Hutu and Tutsi, while customers could be also from both Hutu and Tutsi. This practice did not allow a single group to retain control at the top of the hierarchy. The Belgians have made some adjustments to the patron-client system. According to this adjustment, the boss that people are not satisfied with will be able to stay in his place and the right to appoint a new boss in his place will be eliminated (Newbury, 1988).

Another application implemented by the Belgians in Rwanda is 'identity cards' (Jean, 2006:13). With this identity card application, the people of Rwanda were made to believe that they were different from each other. This created perception of 'one group being superior to the other' idea was strengthened by this application.

As a result of the practices of the Belgians, the fact that the Hutu could not gain a place in politics and were exposed to the right to education further increased the class difference between Tutsi and Hutu, and this situation turned into racial hatred. Even when Rwanda gained its independence from Belgium, it could not reveal a national identity, on the contrary, hatred between the two groups increased even more.

2.1.3. Genocide

Habyarimana, who started his duty as the head of state as a result of the military coup in 1973, will continue to rule the country until his assassination in 1994. Habyarimana increased the racial hatred between the Tutsi and the Hutu, after the Belgians left Rwanda.

During his period, racial hatred between Tutsi and Hutu expanded even more. This situation can be understood with the discourses of Habyarimana. The most important of these discourses is that Habyarimana describes Tutsis as cockroaches.

This hate propaganda, reinforced by Habyarimana, was spread to the entire Rwandan people via media. Radio Television Libre de Mille Collines (RTLM), owned by the extremist Hutu, and used it as a tool to spread hatred towards Tutsi people. The view defended by the radio was very clear, every Tutsi deserve to die. Unfortunately, the effect of the identity cards put into practice

by the Belgians in this war was bitter. The identities of the Tutsi were revealed on the radio and people were massacred in this way.

2.1.4. Theories of Racial Conflict in Rwanda

The symbolist political theory is based on a social-psychological view, which asserts the critical importance of intangible concerns such as a group's emotional state when characterizing motivation behind ethnic violence (Kaufman, 2006:46).

According to Kaufman, "Rwanda's genocide must have been motivated by an exceptionally hostile, eliminationist Hutu mythology aimed against the Tutsi ... extreme mass hostility against Tutsi, and chauvinist mobilization based on manipulating ethnic symbols—all resulting in a predation-driven security dilemma." (Kaufman, 2006:70).

2.2. Bosnia

The literature review shows that the general opinion about ethnic cleansing in Bosnia between 1992-1995 is the result of increased ethnic hatred between the parties after Tito's death. Therefore, the research will try to convey the Bosnia case, the ethnic atmosphere that formed in Yugoslavia before Tito's death and after Tito's death. As a result of the Bosnian case study, the relevant theory will be examined in order to understand the cause of the ethnic cleansing.

2.2.1. Yugoslavia: Before Tito's Death

Yugoslavia was founded by Croats, Slovaks and Serbians after the First World War (Jenkins and Sofos, 1996). This newly established state was based on the ethnic concept. However, at the time when Yugoslavia was founded, the belief in the world was that identity difference consisted of racial difference and racial difference was believed to be biological. It was believed that every person speaking the same language came from the same race, so they had to be gathered under the roof of a single state. In the nineteenth century, many other states were established, such as Yugoslavia, which was established in accordance with the spirit of the period. However, something was forgotten when Yugoslavia was founded. The South Slavs had different historical backgrounds, experiences and various religious differences, and these differences were ignored when founding Yugoslavia.

The principle of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was established in 1974 under the leadership of Tito and his communist regime after the Second World War, was the coexistence of people belonging to the same race, and the main purpose was to preserve the unity and solidarity of Yugoslavia. This principle was ignoring ethnic groups with religions and races other than Slavs and Christians in the country, and the emphasis was on All-Yugoslavia under the ideology of socialism.

The Yugoslav idea is to create a superior Yugoslav identity beyond the ethnic groups. The most effective method for the realization of this idea was seen as education. While the education system especially emphasized the Yugoslav identity, no education was given on how people with different ethnic identities could live together in Yugoslavia. To summarize, the common identity in Yugoslavia was built around Tito himself. Because of the education system in Yugoslavia, the gap about the historical backgrounds of different ethnic groups has been filled with hatred and misinformation towards another group (Sotiropoulou, 2004).

2.2.2. Yugoslavia: After Tito's Death

It would not be wrong to state that after Tito's death, peaceful and tolerable relations between ethnic groups were the end. This is because, after Tito's death, every ethnic group that formed Yugoslavia wanted to establish their own independent state. In particular, the government of

Bosnia and Herzegovina decided that they should follow two different paths politically and it was decided to hold a referendum for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Thus, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina would either remain a part of Yugoslavia or establish their own independent country. It should not be difficult to predict the outcome of the referendum.

After the result of the referendum held in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the ethnic division in Yugoslavia became more evident with the new political restructuring. The hatred between ethnic groups has increased even more due to the ideas and discourses of the Serbian leader Milosevic that increase the disintegration between the groups. It is the nationalist ideology that Milosevic defines as Greater Serbia, which is one of the discourses of him that causes inconvenience among ethnic groups.

In addition to the fact that Milosevic's political discourses increased ethnic division, religious differences also came to light after the death of Tito, with the deterioration of the ideological understanding of 'unity and solidarity'. The religious division in Yugoslavia was as follows; Serbs were Orthodox, Croats and Slovaks were Catholic, and people from Bosnia and Herzegovina were Muslim. It has been stated above that religious differences were ignored while establishing Yugoslavia. With the increase in polarization between the groups, religious differences used as a tool of hatred. As Huntington points out, each ethnic group identified itself with its broader cultural community and defined itself in religious terms (Huntington,1997:269).

In 1990, after the election of Aliya Izetbegovic, who carried out a pan-Islamic policy in Bosnia, the disunity in Yugoslavia about the countries gaining their own independence was triggered. The Serbs, who were disturbed by the Muslim domination in Bosnia, saw this situation as a threat to the Serbs living in Bosnia and killed thousands of Muslims in many different places in Bosnia and destroyed mosques that are the symbol of Islam. The ethnic cleansing that started in 1992 against Bosnian Muslims ended with the signing of the Dayton Agreement in 1995 between the parties.

2.2.3. Theories of Etnoreligious Conflict in Bosnia

Kaufman does not argue that the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia emerged suddenly after Tito's death in 1980 (Kaufman, 2001). According to Kaufman, although the events in Bosnia cannot be fully explained by the theory of ancient hatred, it reveals one of the dynamics in the emergence of ethnic cleansing.

Kaufman's theory gained strength after the Serbian Democratic party's statement on the outcome of the Bosnian elections. According to the statement;

“If Bosnia became independent, they would once again be subjected to the laws of Muslim Landlords, agas, begs and pashas and that independence represented a rollback of everything Serbs has died for since 1804, if not 1389...” (Carmichael, 2002).

Kaufman gathers ethnic wars in three main arguments; The security issue based on hostility, irresponsible leaders, and ethnic hatred.

The reason for the hostile approach between the two groups are emotional. Emotional reason can be explained as the act of Group A wanting to destroy Group B because group A does not like the other group, group B.

Another emotional reason is prejudice. Ethnic groups create their own myths, and the myths are often the opposite of the other group's myth (Lejla, Alma and Selvina, 2014:42). This creates a distinction between groups as we and others. Eventually, myths are embodied in physical

symbols, such as clothes and flags. The main point Kaufman wants to emphasize in the hostility part of his theory is that groups want to live with individuals who have the same culture, religion and values, so individuals and society will feel more secure.

Another argument that Kaufman emphasizes is irresponsible leaders. Kaufman cares about the role of leaders in ethnic division. In particular, the leaders manipulate the ethnic groups for their own interests and leading to practices such as mass murdering and rape.

Finally, Kaufman argues that as a result of the increasing tension between ethnic groups triggered by the discourses of the leaders, it is inevitable that security problems arise between different ethnic groups (Bayraktar, 2021).

3. UN Role in Rwanda and Bosnia: UN Understanding of Ethnic Based Conflict

3.1. Theory of UN perception through the Ethnic Based Conflicts

Dolye and Sambanis who created the theory of peace triangle and they try to find out the UN intervention on. Civil Wars with this theory and how UN is effective process of peace building proessed (Dolye & Sambanis, 2006).

Doyle and Sambanis explain peacebuilding with three main dynamics. The first of these is the capacity of state for peace (local capacities), international capacities and level of hostility. Doyle and Sambanis gave the name peacebuilding triangle to the common name of the three main dynamics.

The UN's intervention in the Civil Wars that arose due to identity differences will be explained on the basis of the hostility level and international capacities of Dolye and Sambanis.

According to teory of Dolye ve Samabis hostility indicator is directly related to degree of ethnic fractionalization. Ethnic segregation causes the ethnic group to mobilize and start ethnic wars. In particular, war due to ethno-religious reasons has a negative effect on the peace process and peace building. In addition, it is argued that it is difficult to establish a political status quo in which the people are involved in the decision-making mechanism in countries where there is an ethno-religious war.

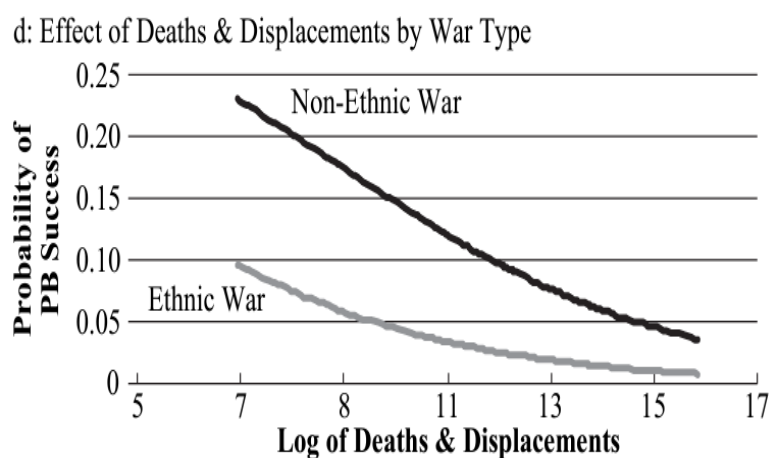
Apart from this, another situation that increases the hostility indicator is deaths and displacements. Again, Dolye and Samabanis emphasize that in civil wars where the number of deaths and displacements is high, as in wars due to ethnic reasons, the peace process will take a long time or that peace is more likely to be broken after peace building process.

Doyle and Sambanis concluded that peace was more difficult to achieve in wars that broke out due to ethnic reasons than other causes of Civil War (Dolye & Sambanis, 2006:75).

International capacities, another one of Dolye and Sambanis's peacebuilding dynamics, is directly related to the UN's attitude towards Civil Wars. They argue that UN peace operations have a positive and important role in maintaining peace, but they emphasize that one should not expect the same effect from all UN peace operations. The greater the rate of hatred between the parties that arises out of ethnic hatred, the less likely it is for peacekeeping operations to be effective.

According to the table analyzed by Dolye and Sambanis, the UN is likely to be successful in wars that do not occur because of ethnic reasons, even if the death and displacement numbers are high. However, no matter how low the number of deaths and displacement in the war but the level of ehnic hatred is high, it is very difficult and unlikely to achieve peace (Figure 1) (Dolye & Sambanis, 2006:127).

Figure 1: Predictors of Probability of Peacebuilding Success



Source: Dolye and Sambanis, 2006:126.

3.2. UN role in Rwanda

3.2.1. UN's Action: Before the Genocide

After negotiations between the Rwandan Government and the Rwanda Patriotic Front, the Arusha peace Agreement was signed on 4 August 1993. The Neutral International Force (NIF) was established to check whether the parties fulfilled their contractual obligations.

The duties of NIF can be listed as follows; To guarantee the security of the country, to make sure that the rules and order are followed, to check whether the humanitarian aid is safely delivered to the people. Apart from these, they have worked to disarm the civilians in the country.

However, a case of human rights violations was reported shortly after the signing of the Arusha Accord. It has been reported that there is a risk of genocide for the attack targeting Tutsis, for which no valid reason was given. This report was ignored by UN officials.

At the end of the transition period after the Arusha Agreement, the Security Council established UNAMIR, the UN peacekeeping operations in Rwanda, on 5 October. UNAMIR authority was only to ensure the security of the capital Kigali and to establish a weapon secure area (Akashi, 1995).

3.2.2. Actions of UN: Genocide

On 6 April 1994, the plane carrying President Habyarimana and president of Burundi was shot down at 20:30 on the way back to Rwanda from Tanzania, where the Arusha Talks were being held. UNAMIR went on red alert at 21:30 pm (Suhrke and Adelma, 2004). The downing of Habyarimana's plane triggered the process of extremist Hutu massacres of Tutsi and modest Hutu. With UNAMIR's inability to stop the deaths and the Arusha Peace plan losing its validity, the political discussions to expand UNAMIR's mandate have resulted in positive results at the end of the long process. UNAMIR II, which was established at the end of political discussion process, is based on two main plans according to the report of the Secretary General. The first is to protect civilians under threat, and the second is to provide security for humanitarian aid operations. As mentioned in the last part of the report, UNAMIR II has inevitably failed due to the late response of the international community, the minimization of UNAMIR's equipment and human capacity, and the restriction of steps to be taken to prevent a possible genocide in Rwanda.

After what happened in Rwanda is called genocide, in June 1994, under UN Chapter 7, the UN is appealed to for a multinational operation to ensure the safety of civilians and displaced people in Rwanda. Resolution 929 of the Security Council comes into force with 10 affirmative and 5 abstentions vote (Brazil, China, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan). Along with this, Operation Turquoise is launched in order to create a safe zone to protect people from genocide in Rwanda. Three months after the war started on June 18, RPF gained control from everywhere except the humanitarian zone in Rwanda and the war is ending.

3.2.3. Actions of UN: After Genocide

The Security Council appointed a Commission of Experts to investigate what happened in Rwanda between 6 April and 19 July 1994. The Commission published a report as a result of its investigations. According to this report; It was concluded that the Hutus systematically tried to exterminate the Tutsi population. Moreover, Commission concluded that the motivation for Hutus targeting of Tutsis was ethnic reasons (Çakmak, 2014).

After the report, the Security Council decided to establish a criminal tribunal under 955 Rosolution in Arusha, Tanzania on 8 November 1994. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda's (ICTR) mandate was to gather evidence related to the genocide by interviewing witnesses of the 1994 events in Rwanda. It was also established to prosecute those responsible for the genocide. Thanks to the justice campaign of the ICTR, justice was tried to be provided for the victims.

3.3. UN role in Bosnia

The United Nations Protection Force for the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR or Force), which was first mandated to cover the Republic of Croatia and later expanded to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia, was established on 21 February 1992 by the Security Council's 743 Resolution (Cutts, 1999).

3.3.1. Concept of Safe Areas

The most discussed issue regarding the UN's presence in Bosnia has been the concept of "safe areas". The concept of the Safe Area emerged as a result of the brutal attack of the Bosnian Serbs on the Bosnian Muslims in the eastern regions of Bosnia, when the Security Council adopted Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993. According to Resolution 819, a safe area will be created in and around Srebrenica where there will be no acts against human rights (Akashi, 1995).

With the Security Council's adoption of resolution 836, a ceasefire will be observed in the area within the safe zones, and military units other than the Bosnian government will be withdrawn. In addition, following the adoption of Resolution 836, under the pressure of UNPROFOR's International political "do something", the Security Council gave UNPROFOR powers that were impossible to fulfill (Anderson, 1995). As a result of this authorization given to UNPROFOR, extra additional forces were requested to implement the secure area plan. Additional powers requested by the Secretary-General from time to time are proof that UNPROFOR has failed to carry out its safe zone plans.

The theoretical purpose of this resolution was to prevent any ethnic cleansing and bombing of civilians. However, due to the fact that the Bosnian war was on very delicate balances, as a result of UNPROFOR's loss of control in the safe zone, it led to the rearmament of civilians and the war turned bloodier. UNPROFOR's strength was not enough to end the war in bloody Bosnia.

UNPROFOR was criticized for many reasons, such as the Security Council's insistence on the safe area plan and the unclear nature of UNPROFOR's mandate. In late 1993, the UN peacekeeping operation was recorded as a failure of the UNPROFOR because the war did not end

despite the intervention of 34,000 troops by UNPROFOR. This situation has caused humanitarian aid to not reach the region, and peace operations will be remembered as "Misuse of peacekeeping" (Eknes, 1995). In 1995, as a result of NATO's involvement in the war, the Serbs withdrew and negotiations for peace began in Dayton. The Bosnian war ended with the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord.

3.3.2. After Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia

In October 1992, the Security Council established a commission of experts to investigate catastrophic events in Former Yugoslavia. The commission was appointed with the aim of collecting evidence of crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia. The Commission presented the evidence found as a result of its investigations to the Security Council and recommended the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for investigation. As a result of the Commission's recommendation, the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia was established by Resolution 827 of the Security Council. ICTR is mandated to investigate human rights violations. The crimes that the tribunal would prosecute under the authority of Chapter VII of the UN Charter included violations of the Geneva Convention, violations of law or customs of war, genocide and crimes against humanity (Barria & Roper, 2005:354).

The theory of Doyle and Sambanis mentioned at the beginning of the third chapter is proven by these two case studies. High levels of hostility make it difficult to achieve peace between groups. Two separate case studies show that very high levels of ethnic hatred reduce the likelihood of peace between sides and increase death rates in war.

Although there are many different reasons for the failure of the UN in both case studies, one of the most important reasons not to deviate from the subject of the research is the high hatred between ethnic groups and the low international capacity, based on the theory of Dolye and Sambanis. As a result of the examination of these data, it has been proven by the case studies of Rwanda and Bosnia that the motivation of one ethnic group to destroy the other can create a war environment and that it is difficult to achieve peace.

In the third part of the research, it is explained that it is difficult to achieve peace in the wars caused by ethnic reasons in the world, through the second dynamic of the peaceful triangle theory of Dolye and Sambanis, hostility. In addition to the historical stages of the UN intervention in the civil wars, first in Rwanda and then in Bosnia, it was concluded that the most important reason for not achieving peace is ethnic hatred.

1. Comprision Between Bosnia and Rwanda: Differences and Similarities

- Although the numbers of casualties in both countries are disputed, approximately 104,000 deaths are assumed in Bosnia and 800,000 in Rwanda.

- In addition, when research on casulaties rates is conducted, it is understood that there are some differences in gender and age difference of the casulaties in Rwanda and Bosnia. Based on these differences, the killing of unarmed children and women was prohibited in most cultures during wartime. While this culture is maintained in Bosnia, the death rates in Rwanda are almost the same for both men, women and children. According to Staveteig, it was believed that in the genocide that started in Rwanda with the aim of exterminating the entire Tutsi race, Tutsi children and women should become extinct (Elizabeth, 2011:21).

- Because of the war, both Tutsis and Hutus fled Rwanda with their families and sought refuge in neighboring countries. The reason why the Hutus left the country was because they thought that the Tutsis would want to take revenge on the Hutus. In Bosnia, the situation is different from that in Rwanda. While people in Rwanda tend to migrate to other countries,

Bosnian Muslims have to displaced the UN's safe zone because the neighboring countries were also at war. However, this situation made Bosnian Muslims the target of Bosnian Serbs. In Rwanda, internally displacement was not possible because it was not safe. For example, even people who sought refuge in churches to escape Hutu during the war were massacred (Elizabeth, 2011:23).

- When the war turns to genocide and ethnic cleansing, as in Rwanda and Bosnia, acts of rape and forcibly impregnating become part of the war strategy. The reason for this is to symbolically murder the mothers of the nation and prevent the proliferation of the hostile ethnic group population. Rape warfare is common in both countries.

- The Habyarimana regime in Rwanda, the Tito regime in Yugoslavia, and the rule-based totalitarian regimes such as obedience and persecution, have raised the possibility of genocide in these countries as the leaders struggle to maintain their political power.

- The reason why the Serbs did ethnic cleansing against the Bosnian Muslims was to dominate half of the Bosnian territory. Likewise, the reason why Hutus committed genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda was to bring all Rwandan lands under Hutu domination. However, at the end of both wars, the Serbs and the Hutus could not achieve their goals. After the war, the Serbs lost territory outside of their territory in Bosnia as well as in Croatia. Besides, Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo declared their autonomy from the Serbs after the war. The situation of the Hutu in Rwanda after the war resulted in a similar fate to the Serbs. Not only did the Hutus fail to achieve their goals, but the Tutsis again dominated the government and began to rule the country (Balorda, 2013:271).

- Ethnically, in both case studies, identity separation was based on otherness rhetoric. The Colonial Hamitic Theory emerged with the European colonization of Rwanda. According to this theory, the Tutsi class became the superior race because they were closer to the European race, while the hutu class became the inferior and ape-like race. In Yugoslavia, it is believed that Christian Serbs are superior to Muslim Serbs. The reason for this, although Christian and Muslim Serbs came from the same race, the genetics of Muslim Serbs were corrupted and they became crossbreed of Turkish Muslims. This 'genetically corrupted' belief also prevails in Rwanda. The Tutsis who came to Rwanda from Ethiopia a long time ago and settled in Rwanda are not real Rwandans, so there is a belief that they must return to where they came from.

- Before the war, both UNPROFOR and UNAMIR provided a ceasefire between the parties in Yugoslavia and a peace agreement between the parties in Rwanda. In fact, the aim of UNPROFOR and UNAMIR is for the parties to sign a longer-term agreement by preventing the expansion of the war through temporary peace agreements and ceasefires. However, the Arusha Accords signed between Hutus and Tutsi and the ceasefire agreed between Serbs and Croats in Yugoslavia could not prevent the war.

- The biggest problem of both peacekeeping forces is the modification of mandates. It took a long time for the Security Council to modify the mandates of UNAMIR and UNPROFOR, and this delayed the end of the war. This is because the international community has hesitations about whether they want to be involved in the war. The only difference here is that UNAMIR does not receive the support of another international organization such as NATO, which is given UNPROFOR (Attinà, 2012).

- One of the biggest differences between UNPROFOR and UNAMIR is the capacity of human and equipment. Any war in Yugoslavia is related to the direct interests of European countries, so according to UN sources, UNPROFOR is the peacekeeping operation with the most equipment and human capacity out of the UN peace operations. Rwanda is not as lucky as Bosnia. This is because Rwanda is a small country in Africa so there is no European country except

Belgium has any interest in Rwanda, which is one of the most important reasons for UNAMIR's lack of equipment and human capacity in Rwanda.

- The UN has appointed a Commission of Expert to investigate whether there has been act that violates human rights in both Rwanda and Yugoslavia. After the report published by the Commission, ICTR and ICTY tribunals were established with the recommendation of the Security Council. The purpose of these tribunals is to punish the perpetrators of war crimes and to prevent events that will lead to the disruption of peace in both Rwanda and Bosnia in the future. The differences between these two tribunals are that ICTR was established after the Rwandan genocide, and ICTY was established while ethnic cleansing continued.

Conclusion

The biggest reason why such small countries of the world experience such great suffering is that differences are turned into objects of hatred. It has led to the death of thousands and millions of people as a result of the hatred of people living together in the same region for centuries by accepting their differences. Throughout the research, ethnic separation, which is one of the causes of genocide and ethnic cleansing experienced by Rwanda and Bosnia, has been tried to be explained. Therefore, using Kaufman's theories, it was supported that the primary cause of the genocide was ethnic segregation. Kaufman explains the process of hatred between Hutu and Tutsis in Rwanda, and between Christian Serbs and Muslim Bosnians in Bosnia, with his theories, the symbolist political theory and ancient theory.

Another question that the research seeks to answer is what the UN's behavior in ethnic wars is. In order to investigate the answer to this research question, Doyle and Sambanis's 'peaceful triangle' theory was used. As Doyle and Sambanis have emphasized from the very beginning of their book, the biggest reason for the failure of the UN peacekeeping operations in Rwanda and Bosnia is the ethnic hatred of the parties towards each other. The war that has arisen due to ethnic reasons can only reach peace with harsh interventions. With the French intervention in Rwanda and the NATO intervention in Bosnia, the parties came together for peace.

Although the UN's role in Rwanda and Bosnia is often recorded as a failure, there are several reasons for the UN's failure. The first of these is the ethnic reason. This is emphasized and explained throughout the research. The second reason is the effect of the Cold War process on the UN. After the Second World War, the world entered the Cold War processes. During this period, the scope of the UN was restricted. The reason for this is the veto power of the P5 countries (Sonnback, 2020). They have not reached unanimity on any decision that is contrary to the interests or ideologies of Russia, the USA, China, France, and Britain. This situation interrupted the decision-making process and caused the UN to go through a stagnant period in the Cold War. However, as soon as the Cold War ended; the UN became the main institution in finding solutions to Civil Wars. The first cases the UN had to resolve were challenging regions such as Rwanda and Bosnia. The UN, which was only an observer in the resolution of the Civil War during the cold war, tried to establish peace with peace operations for the first time in UN history, and its inexperience triggered the failure in Rwanda and Bosnia. The UN does not have decision-making authority as a stand-alone institution. In Rwanda and Bosnia, humanitarian aid that was supposed to enter the region was delayed because of this. In addition, the decision to intervene that would stop the war in Rwanda and Bosnia could not be taken because a joint decision could not be made between the states.

Lastly, the most important point to remember is that UN peace operations are only a tool for peace. Therefore, these peacekeeping operations should neither be overemphasized nor underestimated.

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