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**UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS –
THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS IN THE WIDER
SUDAN REGION**

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Abbreviations

AU	African Union
IDP	Internally displaced person
EU	European Union
GA	General Assembly
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
HDP	Human Development Index
HRP	Human Rights Council
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
NGO	Non-intergovernmental Organization
NIF	National Islamic Front
OAS	Organization of American States
OSC	Office of Support to Civilian Protection
PoC	Protection of Civilians
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SC	Security Council
SG	Secretary-General of the United Nations
SLM/A	Sudan Liberation Movement/Army
UN	United Nations
UN SG	United Nations Secretary-General
UNAMID	African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operations in Darfur
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNISFA	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNOSOM	United Nations Operations in Somalia
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNITAF	United Task Force
UNITAMS	United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan

1 Introduction

"Protecting civilians can never mean using them as human shields."

-Antonio Guterres, UN Secretary-General¹.

Protection of Civilians stands as a fundamental pillar of international humanitarian law and human rights and human principles. Through our history, civilians have suffered serious kind of violence, displacement, and atrocity crimes during a regional or international armed conflict. The international community recognized this and established legal frameworks and mechanism in order to address issues and work more effectively.

Even though the United Nations implemented the Protection of Civilians mandate in every peacekeeping mission, in some countries it is hard to address a humanitarian crisis, especially in case of underdeveloped and poor countries. The greatest example for that is the still ongoing Sudanese and South Sudanese conflict, where millions of civilians are exposed to violence and displacement. The countries have a complex and shared history, which has a significant impact on the current situation. The UN has been trying to solve the situation in Sudan since the conflict started. Despite the country is separated now, the conflict has not ended yet. There is a severe civil war in South Sudan, that the UNMISS peacekeepers tries to solve since its desperation.

Protection of Civilians aimed at solving the ongoing conflicts and humanitarian crises, that are discussed by the international community and violate international humanitarian law and fundamental human rights. Civilians are suffering day-by-day in this area due to the crisis, and the UN tries to address them by deploying a peacekeeping operation in these areas: UNAMID and UNITAMS in Sudan, and UNMISS in South Sudan. This paper seeks to address the central research question: To what extent was the protection of civilians successful in the three operations? The research question summarizes the key concerns and provide a roadmap for exploring the complex meaning of PoC in the context of Sudan and South Sudan.

My research gives an introduction to a reader about the development of the peacekeeping operations, and the implementation of Protection of Civilians and Responsibility to Protect. To understand the conflict better, my paper explores the historical background of Sudan and South Sudan as well, and the importance of Darfur. It examines the specific challenges the civilians must face with, including the poor infrastructure and hunger.

¹UN chief says protection of civilians "paramount" in any armed conflicts. (n.d.). <https://english.news.cn/20231025/c772f46534124b6e86c9af9fa246cf28/c.html>

Considering these challenges, the 3 beforementioned missions are examined by their mandate and their efficiency in connection with their PoC mandate.

2 Development of the operations

After the establishment of the United Nations, peacekeeping missions² have emerged out of nowhere. These missions work under the principles in the UN Charter, involving the deployment of military and/or police personnel and civilian police personnel. The operation forces equipped with light weapons, which are suitable only in case of self-defence (blue helmets). These forces are stationed between the opposing parties. Every mission's fundamental objective is to preserve international peace and security.³

The Charter referred to a Military Staff Committee, which can assist in questions relating to military to the SC and control the pooled military contribution of every member states. Even though this Committee did not take part in the establishment of the peacekeeping missions, there was a need for a military assistance due to the concerns of the Cold War. The solution based on customary law and a broad interpretation of the Charter by SG Dag Hammarskjöld. The first time when the blue helmets took part in a peacekeeping operation was the Suez Crisis in 1956.

The first time when the SC authorized the use of observers was during the Dutch and Indonesian conflict. Blue helmets assisted in the Korean war as well, which was one of the most important conflicts in the Cold War. The UN used blue helmets in the missions as the enforcement of coercive measures.

Peacekeeping cannot address the critical gaps which was written in the Charter. SG Hammarskjöld called peacekeeping as a 'six and half' competence of the UN, as it was something between recommendations regarding the peaceful version of dispute settlement and the obligatory coercive measures if member States ever decide to include it.⁴ It is important to highlight the role of the General Assembly: the Charter itself also does not explicitly mention peace operation, but their reliance is based on academic reasoning and interpretation.

Peacekeeping developed through customary law, based on the need of international peace and security in that period of time. The Organization reached ways to improve the missions' primary purpose: to maintain international peace and security in the world. Article 29 of the

²Peacekeeping is a traditional term and still used by the UN while peace operation is a broadest term which include conflict prevention, humanitarian assistance, peacebuilding, peace enforcement and peacemaking.

³A. (2022, December 1). Békefenntartás - Közzolgálati Online Lexikon. Közzolgálati Online Lexikon. <https://lexikon.uni-nke.hu/szocikk/bekefenntartas/>

⁴UN Charter, Article 10, 11, 14, and 35, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>

Charter enables to the Security Council to create any subsidiary organ which deems necessary. Article 39 renders for the Council to adopt any decision required for the maintenance of international peace and security.⁵

In early peace operations, the GA had a right to be the author of the mandate in peacekeeping operations, for example in UNEF. Article 11 section 2 of the Charter enabled to the GA to “make recommendations” while Article 14 has made it possible for the GA to “recommend measures” for the “peaceful adjustment of any situation”. Since 1963, when the SC decided that it did not want to share its competences in connection with international peace and security with the GA, the assembly’s options are limited. The SC’s possibilities provided by the Charter in Article 98, which says what the SC can do as the body for maintain international peace and security is not limited.⁶

The legality of peace operations in its advisory opinion was cleared by the International Court of Justice in ‘The Certain Expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter)’ case 1962.⁷ The main line for operations, which is taking action in the most serious scenarios such as threat to peace, breach of peace and aggression, was applied by the ICJ, and remained in the jurisdiction of the SC.

Compared to the UN Budget; peace operations are exceptionally expensive. Peace operations should not cause visa expenses, but if they do, they should be treated as the Organization’s expenses: “*As the United Nations Charter included no procedure for determining the validity of the acts of the organs of the United Nations, each organ must, in the first place at least, determine its own jurisdiction. If the Security Council adopted a resolution purportedly for the maintenance of international peace and security and if, in accordance with such resolution, the Secretary-General incurred financial obligations, those amounts must be presumed to constitute ‘expenses of the Organization’.*”⁸ If the expenses incurred in order to fulfil the purpose of the operation which is set in the Charter, the SC has the power to enable actions with the necessary costs.⁹

⁵UN Charter, Article 29 and 39, according to the Security Council’s decision-making process , <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>

⁶UN Charter, Article 11 and 14, in connection with the function of the GA, and Article 98, the limitation of the Security Council’s decision-making

⁷International Court of Justice, Advisory Opinion: „Certain Expenses of the United Nations”, Article 17, paragraph 2 of the Charter) <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/49/049-19620720-ADV-01-00-EN.pdf>

⁸ICJ Certain Expenses case p. 62 para. (1)

⁹Hárs, A. (2021). Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peace Operations - With Special Regard to Implications in International Law.

2.1 First generation of peacekeeping missions

Peacekeeping operations are a legacy of conflict resolution mechanism the League of Nations left. After the WWII, peacekeeping operations became as “traditional peacekeeping”, they only occurred in countries where there was a need to restore peace. These attempts try to find a peaceful response to a crisis, including monitoring borders, verifying demilitarized zones and other tasks aiming at creating a political space to negotiate or mediate. Their mandate was under the Chapter VI of the UN Charter.¹⁰

The first generation of peacekeeping operations was built on three principles: 1) neutrality and impartiality, 2) consent, and 3) use of force only in self-defence. The first principle means that peacekeepers had any interests in the conflict, they did not support any sides and they did not want to interfere with international affairs. The main purpose of the first generation was to end the conflict as soon as possible with minimizing the damage, so they separated the parties and observed temporary cessation of the hostilities. The second principle says that the UN cannot intervene to a conflict without the receiving State’s permission, without its request, the UN cannot initiate a peacekeeping mission. The third principle says that peacekeepers can only attack back, they cannot initiate an attack. This later caused a huge problem to the Organization until it was revised in 1990s. After the revision, the principles have changed, the current ones are the following: neutrality, impartiality, consent, and limitation of the use of force. They are all framed within the overarching principle of consent as the primary foundation. When a State wants to gain consent, all the relevant powers in a specific area, not just the receiving State, should agree on the terms of the mission. In an armed conflict, multiple actors are involved, and it is significant to obtain the approval of all States, that are relevant. When the parties agreed and established a mutually acceptable mandate, it can lead them to long-term success, which was presented during UNDOF, that achieved its goals to support Israel and Syria. In the case of civil wars and unstable situations, the mission was failed as a consequence of losing its goal of the mandate and put the operation at risk. This occurred in UNOSOM I, II and UNITAF in Somalia. Initially, if the consent is lacking or the mission was terminated, peacekeepers not perceived as representatives of the international community, instead they treated as foreign interveners.

The Commander-in-Chief was the UN Secretary-General in the missions, despite he was a civilian person who has not gained any military skill before. It maintained nominal leadership while deferring the authority of the force commander or special representative on the ground.

¹⁰Kenkel, K. M. (2013). Five generations of peace operations: from the “thin blue line” to “painting a country blue.” *Revista Brasileira De Política Internacional*, 56(1), 122–143

It empowered him to choose the commander's force and its special representative. The organization of operations, beginning with discussion the host State and extending contribution of the state obligation to establish mission's conditions, was managed by 2 departments within the Secretariat. The Department of Field Support and the Department of Peacekeeping Operation are liable for peace operation, which were restructured and started in 2019. The objectives were outlined in the mandate, which organized by the Security Council. The first-generation operations were mainly focused on the Middle East and Africa, but they were not limited to specific areas. Many operations such as UNFICYP in Cyprus and UNMOGIP in India and Pakistan are still ongoing. The contribution of peacekeeping missions is different. States who considered advanced countries contributed by financial support, while developing States contributed by providing a manpower. First operations' tasks focused on observing and maintaining peace, including upholding existing truces and ceasefires.¹¹

The first generation's peacekeepers were armed with a light weapon and had a precisely defined mandate, which usually was given the task to monitor ceasefire agreements and precisely inform the SC in case of breach of ceasefires or truce. Peacekeepers were operated with a small number of troops and actual armed clashes happened rarely.

2.2 Transitional era

The new period gave new names of peacekeeping. It was called as "wider peacekeeping", "strategic peacekeeping", "multidimensional peacekeeping" and "second generation peacekeeping".¹²

The status quo has changed after the end of the Soviet Union and dramatically changed international affairs as well. New conflicts occurred in Angola, Nicaragua and in El-Salvador. The international community started assuming that peacekeeping operations is the newest answer for the contemporary challenges. Operations in the transitional era were often deployed in the context of the possibility of a civil war to occur without sufficient resources, but expectations were high to peacekeepers to achieve the same goals as they did in the earlier missions. The discord between the expectations and the opportunities resulted in disasters like the genocide in Rwanda and the failed mission in Bosnia and Somalia. The UN SG, Boutros introduced an Agenda for peace in 1992, that characterized peace operations as a complex,

¹¹Hárs, A. (2021). Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peace Operations - With Special Regard to Implications in International Law.

¹²The Development of UN Peacekeeping: A study of human security and robustness in peacekeeping then and now <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1482719/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

multitiered and long-lasting process. He emphasized the importance of preventive diplomacy to keep away from conflict before they erupt, that minimized the risk of an escalating crisis to happen. He relied on UN Charter Chapter VI as a foundation because it supported peaceful conflict resolution by encouraging negotiation and the use of various dispute resolution mechanisms in order to restore peace. Peacekeeping missions meant as a softer form of pressure from the international community, where the States negotiate instead of starting a war. The SC monitors the events, and all the member of the UN have a collective stance against violence or conflict escalation. In this case, when there is no success, the SC resort peace enforcement by using force. Traditional peacekeeping involves the deployment of neutral forces so that it can separate conflicting parties and prevent renewal of armed hostilities, through the consent of the involved parties and relies on mechanisms such as supervision and monitoring of the situation. The fundamental objective was to create a buffer zone or a neutral space between the conflicting parties, which reduces the risk of renewed violence and facilitating conditions for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The UN helps in reconstruction with being the restoration of public services, law enforcement or infrastructure of the devastated area.

The second-generation peacekeeping missions' goal was a lasting resolution of the underlying conflict.¹³

2.3 The third generation – greater focus on the human security

The earlier experience has shown the researchers a mission which characterized by coercion, meaning it has a lack of consent of the involved parties, more fail than succeed. This period called as 'quasi-enforcement operations'.¹⁴

In order to establish a successful environment, the UN needs to cooperate with regional and international actors, so that it can provide wider legitimacy to peacekeeping operations.

The main task of the third-generation peacekeeping operations was to prevent conflict and civil war, and to ensure that peacekeepers will not have to go back to that area to restore peace again. Peacekeepers made efforts during the mission to decrease the possibility of crimes, and for the first time, they attributed responsibility for the acts committed. This marked a significant step forward in holding individuals or groups accountable for their actions, contributing to greater liability and justice where the mission took place. This generation can be characterized as robust. A robust peacekeeping operation needs substantial existence of

¹³Peacekeeping to peacebuilding |. (n.d.). <https://lawexplores.com/peacekeeping-to-peacebuilding/>

¹⁴The Development of UN Peacekeeping: A study of human security and robustness in peacekeeping then and now <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1482719/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

military, police, and civilian personnel, along with active participation from regional organizations, states, and non-governmental organizations. This comprehensive approach involves the efficient execution of complex tasks, that aimed at maintaining peace and security in the mission's area. These missions required to address multiple challenges and contribute to sustainable peacekeeping methods. Models of robust operations are for example Haiti, operations in the Sudan, South Sudan, Darfur region, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Central African Republic. Their compound mandate covers various tasks such as post-conflict reconstruction, fostering diverse interactions, and building trust with the local population. Additionally, they may be authorized to use force not only in self-defence but also to protect civilians or uphold the mandate itself. These missions rely on cooperation with regional and international organizations such as the AU, the EU, and the OAS to enhance effectiveness and broaden support networks. In Sudan there are 2 operations, UNAMID and UNITAMS, that I am going to examine later, and one from South Sudan, UNMISS. These three operations that I mention in my paper, is a kind of response from the international community to specific problems in this area, because the conflict started 20 years ago, and have not ended the regional problems are the following: the complex ethnic, religious, and socio-political conundrum in the wider Sudan region. Although this generation task was to return to the original principles, which was made in the first generation, they cannot find a solution for that because of the changing environment and the changing of the international affairs. Their mandate changed, now they can use their weapons to protect the civilian population, not just when they are attacked.¹⁵

These types of missions actively assist governments in conducting elections, ensuring fairness in the process. Additionally, they participate in training police forces, judges, and prosecutors, while also offering economic advice and facilitating development opportunities for the state.¹⁶

2.4 Protection of Civilians

Protection of civilians plays an important role in UN peacekeeping operations and led it to many developments. PoC became a focal point within the UN security system: an embryonic

¹⁵Hárs, A. (2021). Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peace Operations - With Special Regard to Implications in International Law.

¹⁶The Development of UN Peacekeeping: A study of human security and robustness in peacekeeping then and now <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1482719/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

coordination *raison d'être* among the UN's central organs and its member states and agencies.

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The definition for PoC is the following: “without prejudice to the primary responsibility of the host state, integrated and coordinated activities by all civilian and uniformed mission components to prevent, deter or respond to threats of physical violence against civilians within the mission's capabilities and areas of deployment through the use of all necessary means, up to and including deadly force”.¹⁸ In spite of a fact that this definition does not clarify what personnel should or must do to prevent, deter, or respond to these kinds of threats and physical violence, the UNDPO says: “[i]n most multidimensional missions, the word ‘imminent’ has since been removed and the mandate now requires the protection of civilians under ‘threat of physical violence.’” It clarifies that operations with PoC mandates should have the capacity and responsibility to prevent a conflict in a first place. These measures include all the necessary actions, including the use of deadly force.¹⁹

During the mid-1990s, civilians became a target of attacks in internal conflicts. In UNAMIR and UNPROFOR, peacekeepers were not prepared to address the attacks on civilians. After a while, peacekeepers had to face with sexual violence as a tactic of war and grave violations of children rights in Somalia, Sierra Leone, and Timor-Leste. These failures made the SC to place the protection of civilians' agenda and develop an architecture of resolution to strengthen peacekeeper's role in PoC.²⁰ As a result of this development, UN peacekeeping operations implemented by the mandate of: “protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.”²¹ The first mission which was supported with PoC mandate was UNAMSIL. It was authorized “to afford protection to civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.”²² The majority of the 100,000 uniformed UN peacekeepers deployed worldwide operate under mandates, which include to protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence.²³

For today, all peacekeeping operations are deployed and mandated to protect civilians in diverse contexts, such as threats of physical violence against civilians, within capabilities

¹⁷The Protection of Civilians in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Recent Developments Recent Developments on JSTOR. (n.d.). [www.jstor.org. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26467114](https://www.jstor.org/stable/26467114)

¹⁸United Nations Department of Peace Operations Ref. 2023.05 Policy, The Protection of Civilians in United Nations Peacekeeping

¹⁹EP Rhoads and J Welsh, ‘Close Cousins in Protection: The Evolution of Two Norms’ (2019) 95 Int Aff 597, 601.

²⁰Protecting civilians. (n.d.). United Nations Peacekeeping. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/protecting-civilians>

²¹ UN-led missions include UNAMSIL; MONUC; UNMIL; ONUB; MINUSTAH; UNOCI; UNMIS; UNIFIL; UNAMID; and MINURCAT. The Council also used similar language for missions led by others.

²²S/RES/1270 of 22 October 1999, para. 14.

²³Protecting Civilians in the Context of UN Peacekeeping Operations, . (n.d.). <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/52399ae24.pdf>

and within deployment area. These mission's mandate is guided by a set of legal and practical principles and is fixed in the UN Charter and international law. These principles are applied while implementing a PoC mandate: These mandates are grounded in international law, signifying the international community's solution to prevent and address the most serious violations of international humanitarian law, international human rights law, and international refugee law. PoC is a priority mandate, required to be given precedence in decision regarding the allocation and use of available capabilities and resources. During this type of mission, the host State has a primary responsibility to fulfil the PoC mandate, it does not replace its responsibility. The mandates should be consonant with the principles of peacekeeping, including the authorization of the use of force when it is necessary. Effective leadership, command, and control are essential equipment for these kinds of missions. For the uniformed components, the Force Commander and Police Commissioner has the responsibility for the application of the Rules of Engagement and directives on the Use of Force. Activities in connection with protection of civilians should be planned, intentional, and effective. The whole operation must be structured around the PoC, which includes an integrated approach that involves joint, planned, and coordinated action by both civilian and uniformed mission components. Peacekeeping mission should assess its comparative advantage, determined by optimal positioning, and select appropriate modes of engagement relative to local, national, regional, and international protection actors. Mandates should be in cooperation with humanitarian and development actors and in respect of humanitarian principles. Community-based approach is also significant while deploying a PoC mandated operation, all actions, and programmes to protect civilians must involve consultation with local communities, moreover, all strategies, actions, plans, and programmes should be mandate-related and be gender-responsive and undertaken with mainstreamed child protection concerns.

All operations must exercise caution and interaction with individuals and communities to prevent risk or to cause harm, and peacekeepers should be informed by the newest analysis data, which was undertaken by the newest technology.²⁴

2.4.1 The challenging part of PoC

The PoC has critical elements in connection with the SC mandates and peacekeeping missions in the field, the mandate sometimes undermine the ability of the missions to protect

²⁴United Nations Department of Peace Operations Ref. 2023.05, Policy, The Protection of Civilians in United Nations Peacekeeping page 5-9

the civilians. Peacekeepers had to face with this problem in many cases, for example in Sudan, which I am going to examine later in my study.

Firstly, the planning, which informs the SC deliberations and peacekeeping mandates, does not consistently incorporate an assessment of the nature of the threat to civilians. The SC bears a primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security and establish the operations with a PoC mandate as well. After a planning period within the Secretariat prior to the Council's deliberations, adaption of resolutions that authorizing the operation, the language in resolution, which used by the SC, defines the objectives of the mission, provides the basis for planning and deploying missions, and provides guidance to its leaders and the work of its staff in the field. There is a little evidence that the SC addresses threats to civilians in the earliest stages of planning.

The unsureness of the Council's intent, including absence of policy and guidance, planning and preparedness causes challenges to operations because this issue creates critical gaps in policy development, planning, and preparedness. The 2008 Capstone Doctrine confirms how practitioners might apply the UN's three basic principles in connection with the operations: consent, impartiality, and the prohibition of use of force, except in self-defence and defence of the mandate.²⁵ Despite the fact that it provides a contemporary understanding of how it should be applied, it does not offer a clear definition around planning for specific mission should deploy. Without existence of guidance codifying what 'protection of civilians' entails during the operational terms, it is not clear what specific forms of 'protection' are provided to whom, from what, and within what limits. Furthermore, PoC mandate is not consistently translated into operational strategies through the process of planning in peace operations.

Secondly, one of the most problematic parts during the deployment of the operation is the planning and the preparedness. Most of the UN peacekeeping operations do not have a mission-wide strategy, which could focus on the problems in connection with protection of civilians such as a daily plan outlining how mission assets can utilize to reduce violence, threats to civilians or a quick response to crises. Senior civilians and military mission leaders demonstrate inconsistency in their level of understanding or their relative prioritisation of the issue. Moreover, all missions need the necessary structure and capacity to develop and implement protection strategies. In Victoria Holt and Glyn Taylor study, they did not find any consistent approach.

²⁵UN Peacekeeping Operations Capstone Doctrine. (n.d.). NUPI. Retrieved January 31, 2024, from [https://www.unocha.org/sites/unocha/files/dms/Documents/DPKO%20Capstone%20doctrine%20\(2008\).pdf](https://www.unocha.org/sites/unocha/files/dms/Documents/DPKO%20Capstone%20doctrine%20(2008).pdf)

According to the analysing part of the operations, even though the UN has developed effective strategies to protect civilians, many missions lack the sufficient capacity to collect and analyse the information required to address day-to-day threats nor predict potential crises.²⁶

2.4.2 Responsibility to Protect

In 2004, the AU adapted Article 4 paragraph h) in its Constitutive Act that gives the organization to intervene in the international affairs of its Member States in case of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. According to the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document, principles can only apply in these cases: in war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, and ethnic cleansing when the state in question unable or unwilling to protect civilian population on its territory.²⁷

The document highlighted the role of the international community as well. The community has the responsibility to use diplomatic, humanitarian, and peaceful methods to fulfil its obligation and to protect the civilians under VI and VII of the UN Chapter. Moreover, the document stated that the international community should be cooperate with regional organizations in order to work effectively. It happened during UNITAMS, when the UN cooperated with the AU.²⁸

R2P has 3 pillars: *"1) the responsibility of each State to protect its populations, 2) the responsibility of the international community to assist States in protecting their populations, and 3) the responsibility of the international community to protect when a State is manifestly failing to protect its populations."*²⁹

According to the implementation of the R2P, there are 3 conditions that determine whether it will be a successful or an unsuccessful implement: 1) there is no obstruction by the government, 2) some type of cooperation exist, for example cooperation with the beforementioned AU, and 3) when the SC has an ability to rapidly response to a crisis. If we take a look at the missions, we can say it is mostly failed, such as in Darfur and South Sudan.

²⁶Holt, V. K., Taylor, G., & Kelly, M. (2009). Protecting civilians in the context of UN peacekeeping operations : successes, setbacks and remaining challenges. <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BB1492606X>

²⁷2005 World Summit Outcome Document, United Nations, New York, 2005, para 3.

²⁸Foot, R. (2011). The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and its Evolution: Beijing's Influence on Norm Creation in Humanitarian Areas. *St Antony's International Review*, 6(2), 47–66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26226764>

²⁹[https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/responsibilityprotect#:~:text=The%20responsibility%20to%20protect%20\(commonly,and%20the%20responsibility%20of%20the](https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/responsibilityprotect#:~:text=The%20responsibility%20to%20protect%20(commonly,and%20the%20responsibility%20of%20the)

2.4.3 The difference between R2P and PoC

During history, the international community has failed to prevent a humanitarian crisis to happen, for example in the Balkans or Rwanda. R2P was a response to these failures, because the international community wanted to make a new ideology to work effectively in a way of protection of civilians.

The World Summit Document paragraph 138 and 139 explains that R2P confirms the existing requirements of in international treaty law and customary international law, which means that every state is responsible to protect its own citizens from an inhuman crime and prevent them to happen.³⁰

Civilians protected by international law who are not actively engaged in combatants or not participating in hostilities. The Protection of Civilians is the basis of the international humanitarian law and an integral part of established a legal framework such as the Geneva Convention and additional protocols, including customary law.³¹

In conclusion, PoC is mandated in those missions where the civilians are under a threat of an attack while R2P protects them from the 4 atrocity crimes. Moreover, PoC refers to measures which should be undertaken to ensure the civilians' safety during an armed conflict and R2P refers from prevention to protection from the 4 atrocity crimes.³²

3 Sudan

Sudan was the largest country in the African continent, bordered by 10 African countries: Egypt to the North and Kenya, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo to the south, Eritrea, and Ethiopia to the east and the Central African Republic, Chad, and Libya to the west. The country's population was approximately 28 million before the separation of South Sudan.³³

³⁰The United Nations Security Council's Implementation of the Responsibility to Protect: A Review of Past Interventions and Recommendations for Improvement | Chicago Journal of International Law. (n.d.). [https://cjl.uchicago.edu/print-archive/united-nations-security-councils-implementation-responsibility-protect-review-past#:~:text=For%20the%20Security%20Council%20to,government%20obstruction%3B%20\(2\)%20cooperation](https://cjl.uchicago.edu/print-archive/united-nations-security-councils-implementation-responsibility-protect-review-past#:~:text=For%20the%20Security%20Council%20to,government%20obstruction%3B%20(2)%20cooperation)

³¹Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Geneva 12 August 1949. Art. 3., Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and relating to the Protection of Victims in International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I) 8 June 1977. Art. 1. para. 2.

³²<http://www.globalr2p.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Relationship-between-R2P-and-POC.pdf>

³³Smiles, J. (2008). The root causes of the Darfur conflict. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33(1), 59–65. <https://journals.co.za/content/contemp/33/1/EJC28445>

In this part of my paper, I am going to examine the Sudanese protection of civilians in connection with the UN peacekeeping missions. I am going to compare the missions and conclude if these missions were prepared in PoC or not.

3.1 Historical background

Sudan was plagued by conflicts continuously since became independent in 1956. This conflict exists between the Arab Muslim population and in the north and black Africans, who are Christians in the south.³⁸

From 2003, the government of Sudan and armed militia groups, that known as the Janjaweed, started an armed conflict against the rebel units of the Sudan Liberation Army/Movement (SLA/SLM) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). The government forces conducted ethnic cleansing in a part of its military operations against the innocent civilian population which belonged the same population as the rebels. The forces of the government and Janjaweed units devastated hundreds of villages, causing death of thousands of civilians, displacing millions of people, moreover, attacked, and subjected thousands of women and girls. In early 2005, the majority of villages had been totally devastated, so the number of the governmental attacks decreased. The residents from these villages were expelled to refugee camps. In these camps, the Sudanese government forces could easily monitor them. By the end of 2005, the situation dramatically worsened and the Darfur Peace Agreement, which was signed in May 2006, did not bring any positive improvement.

From 2008 April, approximately 2,5 millions of people have been displaced to temporary camps in Darfur region (see Maps, third map) or refugee camps. The United Nations estimated that more than 2 million people were affected by the consequences of conflict, and many of them require some form of food assistance. According to the USAID report on South Sudan security update, there are concern about food resettlement needs for the returned people either.³⁹

The local minority supported the rebels against the Sudanese government forces and member of the Arab militias. The SLM/A, the largest armed group among the rebels, split into two factions and various tribes started to politicize along their own interest. In 2006, the Darfur

³⁸Smiles, J. (2008). The root causes of the Darfur conflict. *Journal for Contemporary History*, 33(1), 59-65.

³⁹South Sudan Food Security Update, January 2008 - Sudan. (2008, January 31). ReliefWeb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/south-sudan-food-security-update-january-2008>

Peace Agreement was signed when armed clashes broke out among rebel factions. After 2 years of signing the agreement, both the SLM/A and the JEM fragmented into additional factions.⁴⁰

The leaders of various armed groups seek for military successes. If they did not fight against the Sudanese government forces or opposing rebel factions, they targeted UN-AU peacekeeping convoys and camps. It seemed that their primary goal is to feature themselves in a local and international news, where they could strengthen their negotiating positions. The most vulnerable targets were civilians, who are harassed and terrorized by government forces, Arab militias, rebels, and various bandits.⁴¹

3.2 The importance of Darfur

Darfur covering 400 000² kilometres, and it is a large province of Sudan, which bordered by Libya and Chad. Geographically, it centred on the Jebel Mara volcanic massif. The black African Fur tribe makes up over the half of the population. The name of the province Dar means home in the language of Fur people.

Darfurian politics have been influenced by 2 key aspects, which effected the evolution of the civil war. First, the population of the province had constantly sympathized with the Muslim north of Sudan during the conflict with the Christian and animist south, that is still ongoing since 1955. Another issue is the political gap between the Arab and African population, which became wider since the 1960.⁴²

4 UN Assistance in Sudan

4.1 UNAMID

The Sudanese civil war started in 2003, which led to the deaths of tens and two million people has been displaced to IDP camps. The UN has raised the alarm on the crisis after the conflict, and with the support of the African Union, SC established UNAMID in 2007, via the adoption of resolution 1769, referring to its name UNAMID, under UN Chapter VII.⁴³ The fundament of the mission was provided by the Darfur Peace Agreement, even though was not signed by every party in Darfur.⁴⁴

⁴⁰Besenyő, János (2008) Válság Darfurban. SZAKMAI SZEMLE: A KATONAI NEMZETBIZTONSÁGI SZOLGÁLAT TUDOMÁNYOS-SZAKMAI FOLYÓIRATA (3). pp. 36-49. ISSN 1785-1181

⁴¹http://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/UNICEF_Darfur_Jan-Feb_report_final.pdf

⁴²Smiles, J. (2008). The root causes of the Darfur conflict. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33(1), 59–65. <https://journals.co.za/content/contemp/33/1/EJC28445>

⁴³<https://unamid.unmissions.org/about-unamid-0>

⁴⁴SC Res. 1769/2007

UNAMID has a PoC mandate and a strategic priority which include: „*the protection of civilians, the facilitation of the delivery of humanitarian assistance and the safety and security of humanitarian personnel, mediation between the Government of Sudan and non-signatory armed movements on the basis of the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur and take into account the ongoing democratic transformation at the national level and support the mediation of community conflict.*”. UNAMID has a political pillar to address the conflict and restore peace in Sudan through Juba Agreement while focusing on physical protection.⁴⁵

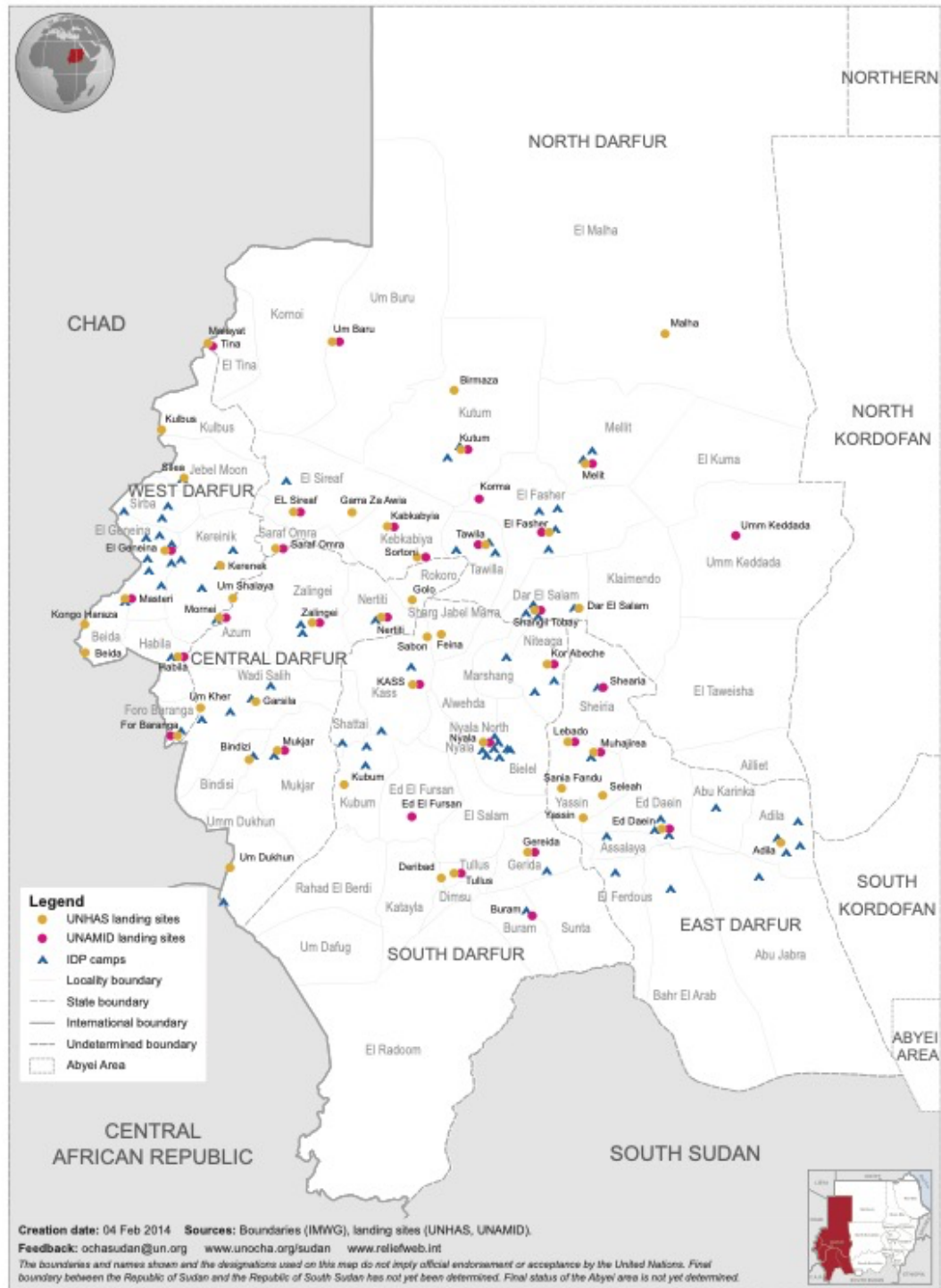
By 2017, the number of people who needing humanitarian assistance were 2.1 million, which includes internally displaced persons and deaths. Sudan needed improvements in this environment because the concerns increased according to IDP camps as they were continuing to face with grave violations such as killing, raping and harassment. According to the sexual violence and violence against children, the SC requested to deploy the Women Protection Advisers and to implement the Action Plan for the Protection of Children from violations in armed conflict.⁴⁶

Even though UNAMID failed to meet the beforementioned mandate, it reduced the number of armed clashes, improved support to mediation between the armed movements and the Sudanese government and strengthened traditional community-based mechanism in IDP camps.⁴⁷

⁴⁵SC Res. 2148/2014

⁴⁶SC Res. 2363/2017

⁴⁷<https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/unamid>



⁴⁸<https://www.unocha.org/publications/map/sudan/sudan-darfur-unhas-unamid-landing-sites-and-idp-camps-february-2014>

4.1.1 The evolution of UNAMID

The UN started supporting a new operation, which called as UNITAMS, and it has been terminated UNAMID's mandate on December 31, 2020.

Sudan represents a challenging environment, especially because Darfur has a highly underdeveloped infrastructure, poverty, and the lowest HDI. Many factors were not considered in connection with establishing the mission, for example the airports' location, Darfur's isolation, and a harsh environment, which means the temperature exceeds 50 Celsius during the summer. Another challenge was a command structure, that operated between two distant headquarters, the African Union's in Addis Ababa, and the United Nations in New York. The mission had to face with operational challenges through the huge distance, for example the Joint Special Representative reported to both mentioned headquarters. In addition, the organisation's unique cultures are significant, but it disregarded the peril of the commander.⁴⁹

Furthermore, there were problems in connection with the UN and AU peacekeeping partnership.⁵⁰ These two institutions have done many operational agreements, but the UNAMID was a great example where the two entities have entered a cooperation to end a humanitarian crisis jointly. Problems emerged out because of the competing notions, divergent views and backgrounds which led to challenges during the operation. AU and the UN saw cooperation as a key, but their perception of validity did not match up with their alignment of legitimacy and authority, which created a competition between the two entities, and the opportunities for the organisations' benefits from an exchange dismissed.⁵¹ Even though these challenges make the mission harder, their cooperation created an opportunity and environment for the two entities which was kind of promising. In some ways, delegitimizing UNAMID was thought the best for both of the organization, because they can learn from the things which were encountered during a hybrid mission.⁵²

The UN went through a significant change when it withdrew UNAMID, which has not followed any peacekeeping operation in the UN integrated political mission framework. The

⁴⁹Ishaque, W. (2021, January 25). Evolving Trends in Peacekeeping: United Nations–African Union Hybrid Peacekeeping Operations (UNAMID) in Darfur. *NUST Journal of International Peace & Stability*, 14–25. <https://doi.org/10.37540/njips.v4i1.76>

⁵⁰Kilian Spandler (2020) UNAMID and the Legitimation of Global-Regional Peacekeeping Cooperation: Partnership and Friction in UN-AU Relations, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 14:2, 187-203, DOI: 10.1080/17502977.2020.1725729 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17502977.2020.1725729?scroll=top&needAccess=true>

⁵¹Akuffo, E. A. 2010. "Cooperating for Peace and Security or Competing for Legitimacy in Africa? The Case of the African Union in Darfur." *African Security Review* 19 (4): 74–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2010.539813>.

⁵²Tchie, A. E. Y. (2023, July 3). Convenience or complementarity: the African Union's partnership with the United Nations in Sudan and South Sudan. *Politikon*, 50(3), 254–272. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2023.2244849>

organization faced with the challenge of a divergent political interest among various stakeholders, including the Sudanese government, Sudanese society, members of the Security Council, international partners and even the UN itself. Before terminating the mission, the Sudanese population exerted pressure on political leaders to deliver on the revolution's aspirations even as economic and humanitarian conditions were becoming worse.⁵³ After the failure, the SC began to note that UNAMID was a model to be avoided rather than emulated in the future peacekeeping operations.⁵⁴

The UNAMID failed to meet its mandate for 3 reasons: the ongoing human and logistical constraints persistent problems in the operation, incidents occurred where the mission and its convoys became targets of attack and there seem to be a growing sense of frustration and mistrust due its failure to adequately provide security and protection.⁵⁵

4.2 UNITAMS

In 2020, the UN SC adopted resolution 2524, which established UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan. It was a special political mission aimed at supporting for Sudan during its initial 12-month period of its political transition towards democratic rule.

⁵⁶

UNITAMS had following strategic objectives according to Resolution 2579/2021: *“assist the political transition, progress toward democratic governance in the protection and promotion of human rights and sustainable peace, support peace processes and implementation of the Juba Peace Agreement and future peace agreements, assist peacebuilding, civilian protection and rule of law and support the mobilisation of economic and development assistance, and coordination of humanitarian peacebuilding assistance.”*⁵⁷ UNITAMS was a special political mission which provides support to Sudan. The mission played a vital role in supporting Sudan through a various political, peacebuilding and development initiatives, including to achieve the objectives of the Constitutional Declaration and carrying out its

⁵³Daniel Forti Walking a Tightrope: The Transition from UNAMID to UNITAMS in Sudan, IPI Publications, Albert Trithart, Editor and Research Fellow Emma Fox, Editorial Intern

⁵⁴Special Research Report No. 2: Working Together for Peace and Security in Africa: The Security Council and the AU Peace and Security Council: Research Report: Security Council Report. (n.d.). <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/research-reports/lookup-c-glkwlemtisg-b-6769467.php>

⁵⁵Yihdego, Z. (2009). Darfur and Humanitarian Law: The Protection of Civilians and Civilian Objects. Journal of Conflict & Security Law, 14(1), 37–69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26294667>

⁵⁶ <https://unitams.unmissions.org/en/mandate>

⁵⁷SC Res. 2579/2021

National Plan for Civilian Protection. UNITAMS had a delicate position: the primary task was to support the transition to democratic rule, which would imply civilian protection.⁵⁸

Beyond the political problems, UNITAMS had to face with economic crisis, Sudanese people exposed to have low quality food and low levels of food security. Most of the population do not have access for adequate food, education, water, and health care. In addition, diseases affected the population, such as cholera and malaria. The adverse weather conditions have a significant impact on the agriculture, there are heavy rains and floods which made food production harder. For the economic development, many projects were initiated by the Carter Centre for supporting a civic space for the younger generation.⁵⁹

The HRC adopted resolution 54/2, which established a fact-finding mission on the Sudan in order to collect evidence of crimes under international law for further criminal proceedings before the ICC and national courts.⁶⁰

The UN created an office for civilian protection in UNITAMS. The OSCP served to support the Sudanese Government to prevent violence, and to protect the populations at risk of violence, promoting human rights and strengthening accountable governance and security institutions under the rule of law. Moreover, it supported the National Plan for Civilian Protection to be implemented, coordinated with the UN responses on civilian protection matters, regarding of conflict-related sexual violence and the protection of children.⁶¹

Although the beforementioned mandates and PoC initiatives, UNITAMS was closed in February 2024, after a great number of atrocities committed during the mission.⁶² It was criticized, because Sudan is the country that needs support from the UN, even when a mission failed to meet its mandate, like UNAMID. The humanitarian crisis is not going to end with termination of a peacekeeping mission, especially in a situation where people must face with atrocity crimes day-by-day. James Kariuki, who was delegated from the United Kingdom said that the Sudanese civilians need support from the international community and Arian Spasse from Albania expressed her concerns on the inhuman situation in Sudan as well.⁶³

⁵⁸The Effectiveness of Peace Operations Network. (2022, June 3). UNITAMS Mandate Renewal Study: Fostering a Process of Trust and Inclusivity — EPON. EPON. <https://effectivepeaceops.net/publication/unitams-mandate-renewal-study/>

⁵⁹SC report S/2023/861

⁶⁰SC report S/2023/861

⁶¹<https://unitams.unmissions.org/en/support-civilian-protection>

⁶²Osman, M. (2023, December 1). The UN must not abandon Sudan amid war and atrocities. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2023/11/30/the-un-must-not-abandon-sudan-amid-war-and-atrocities>

⁶³Security Council terminates mandate of UN transition mission in Sudan, adopting Resolution 2715 (2023) in vote of 14 in favour to 1 abstention - Sudan. (2023, December 2). ReliefWeb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/security-council-terminates-mandate-un-transition-mission-sudan-adopting-resolution-2715-2023-vote-14-favour-1->

4.3 South Sudan

Civilians in South Sudan have to face with the consequences of the humanitarian crisis, because there is a conflict between the government and opposing parties. It resulted in many deaths and a thousand of civilians should be displaced.⁶⁴

South Sudan became an independent, sovereign state in 2011, which was expected to resolve the problem between the north and the south. After the secession, the political tension and the ideological differences increased, hundreds of civilians lost their lives or have to face with genocide and extreme violence, especially women and children. The conflict started getting more serious, especially when the ethnic groups started to attack each other. In spite of the negotiations, the conflict still did not end and now it is one of the most ferocious civil conflicts in the 21st century.⁶⁵

According to the Security Council's reports, implementing the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan made political and economic situation better, it established procedures and deadlines for the following elections, which is going to be held in 2024 December.

Approximately more than 5 million people are not having an ability to eat adequate food and many of them have access to only the low-quality food, and their opportunities are becoming worse as a result of climate change. Furthermore, the attacks have not stopped in different parts of Abyei, where many people got killed or injured. In that time of period, women and children were displaced as well.⁶⁶

4.3.1 UNMISS

The SC extended the UNMISS's mandate until 30 of April 2024 aimed at the prevention of the civil war in South Sudan, and to build durable peace at local and national levels.⁶⁷ Moreover, it sought to support inclusive and accountable governance, free, fair air, and peaceful elections in accordance with the Revitalised Agreement.⁶⁸

abstention#:~:text=The%20Security%20Council%20today%20decided,end%20on%2029%20February%202024

⁶⁴Security Council Calls on Sudan, South Sudan, to Demilitarize Abyei, Highlights Impact of Sudan Conflict on Area's Political Process, Humanitarian Needs | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases, <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15481.doc.htm>

⁶⁵Agwanda, B., & Asal, U. Y. (2020). STATE FRAGILITY AND POST-CONFLICT STATE-BUILDING: AN ANALYSIS OF SOUTH SUDAN CONFLICT (2013-2019). *Güvenlik Bilimleri Dergisi*, 9(1), 125–146. <https://doi.org/10.28956/gbd.736103>

⁶⁶ SC report S/2024/188

⁶⁷SC Res. 2726/2024

⁶⁸SC Res. 2677/2023

The mission is focusing on peace and security, especially protection of civilians in South Sudan. UNMISS mandated to protect civilians encounter a threat of physical violence through a comprehensive and integrated strategy, regardless of the source or location of such violence.

The mission, according to the SC Resolution 2677/2023, must prevent, deter, and stop violence against civilians and maintain a proactive deployment. The mission is tasked with identifying and deterring threats and attacks against civilians as well as ensuring their safety and security of both civilians and the UNMISS protection sites. To ensure targeted protection for women and children, including the use and deployment of UNMISS's Child Protection Advisers, Women Protection Advisers and uniformed and civilian Gender Advisers, the mission must collaborate with relevant stakeholders to exercise the best practices for preventing and responding to sexual and gender-based violence.⁶⁹

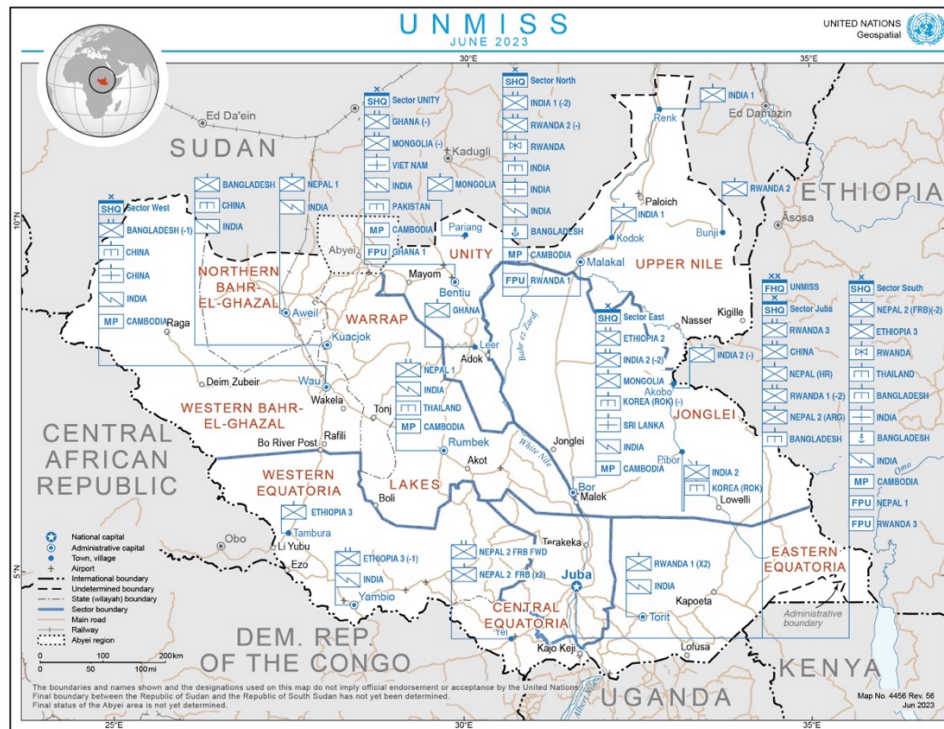
To enhance civilian protection, the resolution supports the implementation of the Revitalised Agreement and Peace processes, which would prevent another political violation to happen and protect human rights, especially women and children.⁷⁰ UNMISS supports rule of law actors in South Sudan, which means the deployment of mobile courts and supports the investigation of gender-based and sexual violence-related crimes.⁷¹ According to the newest reports, the number of innocents who are affected by violence 35% increased last year.⁷²

⁶⁹SC Res. 2677/2023

⁷⁰Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan

⁷¹SC report S/2024/188

⁷²https://unmiss.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/q4_infographics_brief_on_violence_affecting_civilians_2023_0.pdf



Source: <https://www.un.org/geospatial/content/unmiss-deployment-june-2023>

4.4 Comparing the three missions

Mission	UNAMID	UNITAMS	UNMISS
Description	A political mission with PoC mandate.	A hybrid mission cooperated with the AU to enforce peace in Darfur.	After the independence, the mission was established to provide peacebuilding support in South Sudan.
Period	2007-2020	2020-2024 (closed)	2011-still ongoing
Main threats to the civilian population	Civil war, IDP camps, sexual violence, harassment, violence against women and children	Economic and political crisis, atrocity crimes, sexual violence, displacement	Civil war, ethnic tension, sexual violence, recruitment of child soldiers, displacement, inadequate food, grave violations
Cooperation with external actors	Collaboration	Collaboration	Collaboration
Actions carried out on the field related to PoC	Reduced the number of armed clashes, improved support to mediation between Government of Sudan and armed movements and strengthened traditional community-based mechanism in IDP camps	Supporting the transition to democratic rule, conflict mitigation	Specific protection for women and children, focusing on peace and security during the mission, supporting the rule of law
Implementation of R2P	It was rejected by the international community	Unsuccessful	Unsuccessful

The humanitarian crisis has not solved yet, and there is one current operation exist in South Sudan which was extended until 30 of April in 2024. In this part of my study, I am going to examine the similarities and differences between the 3 missions.

UNAMID was the first peacekeeping mission in Sudan, which failed to meet its mandate. The civilians had to face with civil war, displacements, sexual violence especially for women and children, and harassments. The mandate included to solve all these problems, and its fundamental base was the Darfur Peace Agreement. UNAMID could not put an end to the crisis, so the SC opened a new mission, which was UNITAMS. During the time of the new mission, civilians were exposed to an economic and political crisis, and atrocity crimes, moreover, UNAMID could not stop the displacement of people, it continued during UNITAMS as well. The international community thought if they separate Sudan, the crisis is going to be solved, but that was not happened. The political tension grew more and more in South Sudan, which led to another civil war to happen, so the UN deployed UNMISS in South Sudan. Civilians must face with ethnic tension, civil war, sexual violence, recruitment of child soldiers, displacement of people, inadequate food, and grave violations. 20 years have passed, and the situation have not improved in Sudan, the SC needs to extend the mandate of UNMISS.

To work more effectively, UNAMID started to work with the African Union, which was an important initiative, because the two organizations cooperated in all the three missions. Their partnership was characterized by collaboration, both organizations worked together to address the conflict and achieve their PoC goals. Their relationship was determined during UNAMID, even though all the 2 organizations wanted to benefit from the cooperation, which led to problems during the mission. In UNITAMS, the two organizations worked together, mutually supported the transition, and shared their objectives in supporting the democratic rule in Sudan. During UNMISS, the two entities mutually support peace and stability in South Sudan by collaboration.

Sudanese civilians suffered the beforementioned atrocity crimes, which requires the implementation of the R2P. Even though UNAMID's primary mandate objective was to protect the civilians, it failed implementing the R2P, and even the civilians as well. The SC decided to terminate the mission, and learn from it, so in the future, it can enhance the effectiveness of PoC mandated missions with R2P implementation. During UNITAMS, the same happened, the UN was not able to implement the R2P effectively (for the implementation of R2P see 2.4.2.) and they hoped that the separation of the north and the south made the situation better, but it did not. People in South Sudan had and still must face with extreme humanitarian crisis, and

UNMISS failed to implement R2P as well, due to the problems in connection with the leadership and the lack of preparedness.⁷³

Although UNAMID cannot solve the conflict in Sudan, it carried out a great number of actions in the field of protection of civilians, for example it reduced the number of armed clashes and improved mediation support between the Government of Sudan and the armed movements. UNITAMS supported the transition into a democratic rule, which was successful, and supported plans to solve sexual violence-related problems. UNMISS provides a specific protection for women and children, focuses on peace and security, and supports the rule of law.

In conclusion, these mandates have the same goal: to protect the civilians at any cost.

5 Conclusion

The protection of civilians in Sudan and South Sudan remains a critical issue amongst ongoing conflicts due to political instability and humanitarian crisis. Despite the international community tries to address it by peace agreements and deploying peacekeepers to that area, civilians still face with serious violence, displacement, and human rights abuses in both countries.

The years of civil war, ethnic and political tensions lead to the widespread of the violence and displacement in Sudan. The Darfurian conflict resulted in civilian casualties and displacement, that the international community tried to solve by signing peace agreements, such as the Juba Peace Agreement, that offers stability for the country. Even though it was signed, the concern about the protection of civilians has not ended yet. In case of South Sudan, the country is the youngest nation in the world where the civilians are exposed to atrocity crimes since its independence. The struggle between political elites and ethnic divisions, and moreover, the competition over resources resulted in displacement, food insecurity and human rights violations. Although the Revitalized Agreement was signed in South Sudan, civilians have to face the threats from armed groups, such as sexual violence, recruitment of child soldiers and attacks on humanitarian workers.

For the success, it is inevitable to cooperate with another regional organization, such as the African Union. The United Nations was supported by the AU in all the 3 missions, especially in UNITAMS, where the two organizations worked together. As I mentioned before, UNAMID was not the best example for their partnership, but in the future, they could reach their goal in Sudan. In my opinion, they should collaborate with AU and UN agencies, such as

⁷³<https://cjl.uchicago.edu/print-archive/united-nations-security-councils-implementation-responsibility-protect-review-past>

humanitarian organizations to help those who are in need in the countries. Moreover, this includes support from humanitarian workers and address the logistical challenges to aid delivery in conflict areas. Working together strengthen the capacity of effectively addressing the conflict and promote human rights in that area. To address the root of the conflict, these two organizations should support economic development and the rule of law. South Sudan is one of the poorest countries in the world, that the international community shall support to put an end to poverty.

UNAMID, UNITAMS and UNMISS show how complex the nature of peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Sudan is. These missions have made an important contribution to civilians protection, they contributed to the transition to democratic role and supporting a specific protection for women and children. During a humanitarian crisis, it is hard to expect to solve the humanitarian crisis, especially in a specific area where the ethnic and political tension are high. From my personal point of view, the UN can only support the protection of civilians in these countries but is not able to completely solve it as a foreign intervener. The operations mitigated the problems in the countries, their core priority was the protection of civilians in every mandate.

In conclusion, the UN should continue its work in Sudan and South Sudan to solve the conflict. The support of the international community contributes to the development of these countries, especially the peacekeepers assistance in this area. The conflict cannot be solved without peacekeeping assistance and the promotion of peace and stability in Sudan and South Sudan.

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