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<i>President:</i>	Lord Collins/Mr. Kariuki	(United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
<i>Members:</i>	Algeria	Mr. Bendjama
	China	Mr. Fu Cong
	Ecuador	Mr. Montalvo Sosa
	France	Mr. Dharmadhikari
	Guyana	Mrs. Rodrigues-Birkett
	Japan	Mr. Yamazaki
	Malta	Mr. Camilleri
	Mozambique	Mr. Afonso
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Hwang
	Russian Federation	Ms. Evstigneeva
	Sierra Leone	Mr. Sowa
	Slovenia	Mr. Žbogar
	Switzerland	Mrs. Baeriswyl
	United States of America	Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield

Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda.

The agenda was adopted.

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Sudan to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the following briefers to participate in this meeting: Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs; Mr. Ramesh Rajasingham, Director of the Coordination Division, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; and Ms. Niemat Ahmadi, Founder and President of Darfur Women Action Group.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I give the floor to Ms. DiCarlo.

Ms. DiCarlo: The last time the Council discussed the situation in Sudan was only two weeks ago (see S/PV.9761). That is not a long time in absolute terms, but it is an eternity for the millions of Sudanese enduring unrelenting violence. As the Secretary-General said in this Chamber on 28 October, the Sudan is trapped in a nightmare. The latest wave of attacks by the Rapid Support Forces in eastern Gezira state has been marked by what non-governmental organizations have described as some of the most extreme violence in the past 18 months. Large numbers of civilians have been killed. Even more have lost their homes and been forced to flee. We are receiving reports of horrific violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law, including sexual violence, committed predominantly against women and girls. Fighting also continues in El Fasher, Khartoum and other areas, where civilians are subjected to appalling suffering.

We strongly condemn the Rapid Support Forces continued attacks against civilians. We also strongly condemn the Sudanese Armed Forces indiscriminate airstrikes in populated areas. We are appalled by the attacks against civilians perpetrated by forces affiliated with the Sudanese Armed Forces in the Khartoum area.

Let me stress that both warring parties bear responsibility for that violence. The people of the Sudan need an immediate ceasefire. An end to the fighting is the most effective way of protecting civilians. It is long past time for the warring parties to come to the negotiating table. The only path out of this conflict is a negotiated political solution. However, both the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces seem convinced they can prevail on the battlefield. As the end of the rainy season approaches, the parties continue to escalate their military operations, recruit new fighters and intensify their attacks. That is possible thanks to considerable external support, including a steady flow of weapons into the country. To put it bluntly, certain purported allies of the parties are enabling the slaughter in the Sudan. That is unconscionable. It is illegal. And it must end.

While the parties might not be ready for a negotiated settlement, the Sudan's partners have a responsibility to press them to work for one. We welcome the efforts of the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development to restore an inclusive Sudanese political dialogue, an essential process to rebuild the Sudan's democratic transition with civilians at its heart. We also commend the Aligned for Advancing Lifesaving and Peace in the Sudan group for promoting the implementation of the Jeddah Declaration and other key issues. Still, peacemaking efforts remain mostly fragmented. The warring parties profit from multilateral disunity and the lack of coordinated action. The need for greater convergence is blindingly clear. The Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, Ramtane Lamamra, continues his efforts to close that loophole. In that regard, the meetings of the Sudan consultative group, expected before the end of the year, will provide a crucial opportunity for enhanced coordination among multilateral organizations and key Member States.

The report (S/2024/759) of the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the protection of civilians in the Sudan contains solid recommendations. We have a collective responsibility to step up our efforts to operationalize them. To that end, I welcome the initiatives to advance a new draft resolution on the matter. We also need urgent progress on the implementation of the Jeddah Declaration. The parties must finally act on their commitments to protect civilians. The establishment of a compliance mechanism agreed by the warring parties, with the support of key

partners, would be a critical step to holding the parties accountable to their commitments.

At the same time, in the absence of a nationwide ceasefire, we urgently need progress on local ceasefires that could give civilians some respite, create avenues for dialogue and potentially lay the ground for a more comprehensive agreement. Personal Envoy Lamamra is considering the next phase of his engagement with the warring parties, including another round of proximity talks focused on commitments related to the protection of civilians. He will travel to the Sudan and other locations in the region in the coming weeks to meet with key stakeholders. He will also closely engage with Sudanese civilian groups to ensure that their perspectives are reflected in his endeavours. The continued support of the Security Council for Personal Envoy Lamamra is crucial. The immensity of this tragedy compels to do all that we can to bring it to an end.

The President: I thank Ms. DiCarlo for her briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Rajasingham.

Mr. Rajasingham: Eighteen months into this conflict, the people of the Sudan continue to endure unimaginable suffering amid unrelenting, brutal violence. There are no signs of respite. Indeed, troubling projections suggest the conflict is poised to escalate yet further. We continue to receive reports of civilian casualties caused by heavy fighting in populated areas. We also continue to receive reports of shocking atrocities, most recently of mass killings and horrific sexual violence in Gezira state. That has become a sickening hallmark of this conflict. Women and girls continue to be at the centre of the horrendous suffering, as displacement and hunger put them at increased risk of gender-based violence and sexual violence, exploitation and abuse.

Civilians continue to flee for their lives, both within the Sudan and across its borders, in what is now the world's largest displacement crisis. More than 11 million people have been displaced since April of last year, nearly 3 million of whom have sought refuge in neighbouring countries. More than 400,000 people have been displaced in the El Fasher locality in the past six months, according to the International Organization for Migration. As fighting rages in West Darfur and North Darfur, 58,000 people crossed into Chad during the month of October alone, bringing the total number of new arrivals in eastern Chad to more than 710, 000

people. And more than 836,000 people have arrived in South Sudan from the Sudan since the start of the crisis, including more than 644,000 refugee returnees, according to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

This conflict has not only driven a major displacement crisis, but it has also unleashed a severe hunger crisis affecting millions of people across the Sudan. According to the last Integrated Food Security Phase Classification analysis in June, more than 750,000 people were facing the very highest levels of food insecurity and famine conditions. In the period since the previous report, we have seen further displacement, continuing constraints on humanitarian access and an intensification of conflict in several areas. That includes Gezira, Khartoum, Sennar and North Darfur states, which were already experiencing some of the highest levels of acute food insecurity in the country. In North Darfur, fighting in and around El Fasher continues to intensify and block the movement of aid supplies into the area. That is an area that includes the Zamzam displacement camp, where — as the Members of the Council are aware — famine conditions were confirmed in July. A recent nutrition screening in Zamzam indicated worsening malnutrition, which is threatening the lives of thousands of children. About 34 per cent of the children are malnourished, including 10 per cent who are severely malnourished. And we are now seeing troubling indications that deepening food insecurity is spreading to other areas, with reports in recent weeks of particularly alarming levels of hunger in South Kordofan.

I cannot put strongly enough how serious the situation is. Hostilities and violence have claimed the lives of thousands of people in the Sudan. Hunger, malnutrition and diseases threaten to claim the lives of hundreds of thousands of people more. The international community must take what's happening in the Sudan seriously and must take urgent action to address it. That must include immediately ensuring improved humanitarian access.

Humanitarian organizations remain unable to reach the vast majority of people in conflict hotspots across the country at anything approaching adequate scale. Some areas are completely cut off; others can be reached only after navigating complicated procedures that delay and impede deliveries. The opening of the Adré crossing from Chad in August has provided an important lifeline for people in the areas it serves. Over

the past three months, more than 300 aid trucks have crossed into the Sudan via the Adré crossing, carrying various forms of assistance for more than 1.3 million people. As road conditions improve with the end of the rainy season, trucks carrying food and nutrition supplies are currently en route from the Adré crossing to Zamzam camp. It is therefore absolutely imperative that the crossing remain open for humanitarian supplies and personnel for as long as is necessary.

But we must also be clear that the Adré crossing alone is insufficient. While the Tiné crossing has become passable with the end of the rainy season, intensified fighting along the route in recent weeks has challenged the onward movement of supplies and personnel. And our ability to access key areas of need across conflict lines from Port Sudan remains severely limited. We urgently need the parties to ensure the safe, rapid and unimpeded movement of both relief supplies and humanitarian personnel via all available routes, with the maximum possible flexibility. We need the parties to facilitate our efforts to re-establish inter-agency hubs in key areas, including Zalingei, in Central Darfur, and Kadugli, in South Kordofan. That is absolutely critical for scaling up the distribution of assistance and re-establishing links with local partners and communities on the front line of the response. We call for agreements on humanitarian pauses to facilitate the provision of assistance into, and the voluntary movement of civilians out of, areas of active hostilities. In short, we call on the parties to turn their repeatedly stated commitment to their obligations under international humanitarian into a real step-change on the ground.

We are deeply concerned by the alarming trajectory of this conflict. While it has already unleashed horrendous suffering, the conditions exist for it to claim exponentially more lives. We call on the Security Council and on all Member States with influence to take immediate, unfettered action to address this situation.

The first priority, as the Secretary-General has clearly said, is for civilians to be protected, including through the implementation of the recommendations set out in his report (S/2024/759) to the Council.

Secondly, we need humanitarian access to be facilitated through all necessary routes.

Thirdly, we need continued flexible financial support, so that humanitarian organizations are able to provide urgent assistance where they can and to

scale up the response both inside the Sudan and in neighbouring countries.

And finally, as always, we call for urgent steps to bring the fighting to an end and secure that desperately needed peace in the Sudan.

The President: I thank Mr. Rajasingham for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Ms. Ahmadi.

Ms. Ahmadi: I thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to brief the Council today. Special thanks to Ambassador Woodward and Under Secretary Lord Collins for organizing this important briefing.

I speak to Council members with agony and urgency, appealing to the Council to stand with the people of Sudan in their time of desperation and dire need. Today more than 18 months have passed, and the level of death and destruction escalates every day, bringing the suffering of civilians to a breaking point.

The recent months have been the deadliest since the start of the war, particularly in regions like El Fasher and Gezira, where slaughter has reigned supreme. There are reports of mass killings, gang rapes, the indiscriminate shelling of civilians carried out by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and air bombing carried out by the Sudanese Armed Forces. Attacks on civil society and local responders have escalated sharply, and experts monitoring the situation warn of impending mass atrocities and the real risk of genocide in El Fasher, Darfur. The threat of famine has grown as both sides have employed starvation as a weapon of war, with the RSF's scorched-earth tactics, as evidenced by the persistent attacks in El-Fasher and the recent burning of more than 40 villages in North Darfur.

Widespread rape and murderous violence have been carried out at an alarming rate by the RSF. In Gezira, the last two weeks have witnessed unspeakable atrocities inflicted on civilians. The shocking accounts of locals confirm that the brutality of rape has sadly forced over 130 women in an unprecedented move to commit mass suicide as an escape from further sexual violence. That should not — and must not — be the reality in a world governed by international law designed to protect civilians.

I appreciate the recent report submitted by the Secretary-General (S/2024/759) to the Security Council regarding civilian protection options. While the report

was comprehensive in its coverage, the concerns raised about the crisis and the options presented therein, I regret to note that the report has fallen seriously short in recognizing the importance of deploying civilian protection forces, stating that peacekeeping deployment will not be successful without peace in the Sudan. I beg to differ. The Secretary-General can agree with me that, in a situation like that of the Sudan, where civilians are dying en masse and the warring parties are not willing to back down or to end the suffering, those other options that were presented, such as support for locally led humanitarian efforts, are great, but they cannot be effective or sustainable without civilian protection and a strong United Nations presence on the ground in the Sudan.

The nature and the scope of the crimes are indescribable. Attacks with similar patterns seen in Geneina last year were duplicated in several cities and now in El Fasher, precisely singling out cities occupied by a majority of indigenous African tribes. That demonstrates that RSF attacks are perpetrated with the intent to exterminate on an ethnic basis, usually starting by looting food storage sites, destroying markets and hospitals, stealing livestock and vehicles and looting civilian homes. Those attacks have forced people to flee into desert areas and unsupported places, in which survival has become nearly impossible.

It is quite clear that the nature and the scope of the crisis and the attacks echo the 2003 genocidal attacks, but this time around the attacks are deadlier. Why? The Janjaweed, once on camels and horses, are now uniformed militia equipped with Land Cruisers loaded with machine guns, advanced weapons and technology. What used to be Arab militia have become well-established multinational troops supported by oil-rich countries in the region and international allies. Another difference was that, back then, the attacks were in remote villages, and people would flee to the cities, where they could be hosted and supported by residents while awaiting humanitarian aid. Today those cities have become the prime targets for the rebel Rapid Support Forces. As a result, survivors are left with two grim choices: either stay and get killed or flee and face starvation. Either way, they are dying, but the difference is that they are dying in silence.

It is worth noting that, before this crisis, Darfur was already home to 122 internally displaced persons camps, where 3 million people had resided for more than two decades. They remain unable to return home,

their lands stolen and their attackers still unpunished. The international community's inaction in Darfur indirectly legitimizes the slaughter and extermination of the Sudan's indigenous African population. That is why we urgently need the Council's help and why we must make civilian protection in the Sudan a priority.

Another issue that I would like to address is the narrative and the tweaking of the narrative of the crisis. Since the beginning of this war, the patterns have been exceedingly alarming. It is quite clear that the crisis in the Sudan is not a civil war or a traditional conflict, as often described. It is the extension of the long-standing atrocities carried out in Darfur 20 years ago, which destroyed people's lives and livelihoods. It is a systemic and deliberate policy of mass atrocities committed against the powerless by the powerful on an ethnic basis. The only difference is that it evolves; actors may change, but the strategies, the tactics and the victims remain the same: it is a scorched-earth campaign of genocidal attacks.

But the problem is in the way we perceive and often talk about the crisis. The narrative used often fails to capture the seriousness of the crimes. We believe that it is imperative to use accurate narratives that match the scope and magnitude of crimes perpetrated on the ground today. Mischaracterizing the crisis as a civil war or as a simple conflict may appear to be a simple wording or grammatical tweak, but the consequences can be deadly. Under international law, it is particularly crucial to name the actions precisely, as accurate terms determine the mechanisms and strategies needed for an adequate response.

The current conditions in El Fasher exhibit patterns of horrifying massacres in Geneina that have dehumanized the entire population. As Council members may remember, in June of last year, millions around the world watched in disbelief videos of brutal killing and degradation of dead bodies in Geneina while the RSF militia, along with their civilian relatives, were seen cheering in celebration. They happily said, "We have now liberated the land from the *abeed*, an Arabic word for "slaves". The RSF pronounced that the land is no longer to be called Dar Masalit, but rather Dar Arab.

Never in our lifetime or that of our predecessors have we seen criminals so emboldened that they document their crimes and boast about them, believing that they will not be held accountable. We have never

hoped to live to see such atrocities, committed with such brutality and within the watch of the entire world.

We are now seeing similar tactics in El Fasher. Precise attacks are being carried out, not in the military headquarters, but directed primarily against residents and internally displaced people. The Abu Shouk camp in El Fasher has been shelled the most, killing mainly women and children. All hospitals in El Fasher have also been attacked and shelled, including maternal hospitals and small neighbourhood clinics — each of which houses hundreds of patients.

By allowing those atrocities of the past and present to continue — after outstanding resilience — survivors are slowly beginning to lose hope. Their resilience is gradually fading, and incidents of suicide have skyrocketed, particularly among women and young men. That is evidenced by the recent incident of a mass suicide in Gezira, driven by the loss of hope, a sense of abandonment, impunity and, most importantly, the failure to uphold international laws — not only by the warring parties, but also, sometimes, by good people like those in Member States who have the tools and have yet to leverage them in order to end the catastrophic suffering. I urge the Council — and the people of the Sudan look up to the Council — to take substantive action to reassure the people of the Sudan not to lose hope in our international and regional institutions.

For more than a year now, civilian deaths have escalated at an alarming rate, yet the world remains unresponsive. Nine months ago, a report by Médecins sans Frontières confirmed that a child dies every two hours in Zamzam camp. A report by the Panel of Experts of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005), concerning the Sudan, raises alarming concern. And the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission for the Sudan has echoed the warning we have been speaking about for a year.

The situation has become unbearable for the people of the Sudan, but they have no options. I ask the Council members to think for a moment, beyond politics, about those dying in silence. They are people; they are not numbers; they are mothers, wives, daughters, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles and innocent children. I know that Council members understand that. We all have relatives and loved ones that we so dearly love and cherish — may God protect them. I want the Council members to imagine how it feels to be in my shoes,

let alone have the courage to stand up and speak out every day and see no end in sight. As I speak before the Council today, I still have hope and trust, and I count on the confidence that this institution bestowed upon each Council member. I urge the Council to live up to this hope and the hopes of millions by enforcing international laws in the Sudan in order to save lives.

Another danger that we have noticed, confirmed by credible reports, is that the Rapid Support Forces have recruited multinational troops. Even though most of their troops are recruited locally, they have also recruited troops from across nearly seven neighbouring countries.

Given the unrestricted flow of weapons and the history of terrorism in the Sudan and the West Africa region, those temporary militia in the Sudan, if left unchecked, may evolve into regional extremist forces, to which the international and regional actors will be forced to respond at some point, but by then it will be too late. This must also serve as a reminder and appeal to the African Union (AU) of the important role it must play in responding to the crisis in the Sudan. The crisis in the Sudan is not just a Sudanese issue, but rather a regional and global catastrophe that requires the collective efforts of both regional and international actors if it is to be stopped.

Resolving the Sudan's crises requires an adequate approach. Despite the long-standing crises, with atrocities and serious international crimes committed in the Sudan, the international community continues to use traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, which always enable the perpetrators to dictate the outcome of the process. That proves to be neither effective or adequate in ending the crises or bringing a durable solution.

We believe in the face of genocide and unspeakable atrocities, solutions to the crisis in the Sudan must take an atrocity-prevention approach that prioritizes civilian protection and the urgent delivery of life-saving humanitarian aid. It must then be followed by accountability for those responsible for the most serious international crimes, which will then create an environment conducive to an inclusive, peaceful settlement and the transformation of the Sudan.

I appeal to the Council to take seriously the crisis in the Sudan and the urgent need for civilian protection, and to take action. I implore the Council to take several steps. The Security Council must swiftly authorize

and deploy United Nations forces with a robust and strong mandate and a strong United Nations presence on the ground in the Sudan, with special emphasis on the Darfur border and the areas inhabited by the most vulnerable people, such as internally displaced persons camps. The Council must pressure and obligate the warring parties to allow unhindered humanitarian access to the Sudan, particularly Darfur and Gezira, in order to reach all in need. The Council must create proactive aid delivery mechanisms that include cross-border and airdrop channels that go through the Tiné crossing. The El Fasher airport in Darfur, Kadugli airport in South Kordofan and El Obeid airport can be used. The warring parties must also be pressured to enable aid from Port Sudan to central Sudan and all the way to Kosti.

The President: I thank Ms. Ahmadi for her briefing.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office of the United Kingdom.

I would like to begin by thanking the briefers: Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo, Director Rajasingham and, of course, Ms. Niemat Ahmadi, President of the Darfur Women Action Group.

Eighteen months of conflict in the Sudan has had a devastating impact on civilians. Almost 19,000 people have been killed and 33,000 injured. Those numbers and the suffering they mask are unacceptably high. The United Nations reports that mass rape, torture, the destruction of livelihoods and ethnically targeted killings have been perpetrated on a large scale.

I thank the Secretary-General for his recommendations on the protection of civilians, as requested by resolution 2736 (2024). The overarching message is clear — the most effective way to protect civilians is an immediate cessation of hostilities. Efforts to secure that continue. We must offer our full support to the United Nations as it seeks to mediate between the parties, and we call on the parties to engage in good faith with this process.

But the past 18 months have also shown that we cannot just wait for a ceasefire. We must act now, and those recommendations are a positive step towards more action to protect civilians. It is now for us — as States, civil society and Members of the United Nations family — to consider how to use them. To be successful,

we must confront the context we face, rather than the one we would want or like to see.

I note the Secretary-General's assessment that the conditions do not currently exist for the effective deployment of a United Nations force to protect civilians in the Sudan. We must keep that under review, but also remember that the deployment of United Nations forces is only one lever among many. We can all see that the warring parties have failed to uphold their commitments in the Jeddah Declaration to protect civilians and allow unfettered humanitarian access. I urge them to establish a robust and transparent compliance mechanism to ensure their commitments bear tangible results on the ground. They can achieve that, including with the support offered by the United Nations.

Many civilians are suffering because of direct violence, but many more are suffering because they are starving, deliberately stopped by the warring parties from getting life-saving help. I strongly support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the parties agree to humanitarian pauses to allow the safe passage of civilians and facilitate unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid. The potential closure of the Adré border crossing looms large. Its closure would mean that millions more civilians would be at risk. The crisis demands adaptable approaches. Ordinary people have stepped up and taken unimaginable risks to protect their communities — through the emergency response rooms and other mutual aid groups. The international community must listen to the Secretary-General's call to consider how we can further support those local efforts. That requires the warring parties to back scalable, locally negotiated ceasefires and violence-reduction measures. I urge all Member States, civil society organizations and stakeholders to be motivated by the Secretary-General's recommendations to step up coordinated, international action to protect the people of the Sudan.

I resume my functions as President of the Council.

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements.

Mr. Bendjama (Algeria): I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the African members of the Security Council, namely, Algeria, Mozambique and Sierra Leone, as well as Guyana.

At the outset, we wish to thank the United Kingdom for convening this important meeting and

express appreciation to Under-Secretary-General Rosemary DiCarlo and to the Director of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), Mr. Ramesh Rajasingham, for their briefings. We listened carefully to Ms. Niemat Ahmadi and thank her for her briefing. We welcome the participation of the Permanent Representative of the Sudan in this meeting.

As we speak, the situation in the Sudan continues to deteriorate. It is marked by catastrophic humanitarian consequences for innocent civilians, who are paying a heavy toll for this deadly conflict. Every day, women, girls and children are targeted by unspeakable atrocities. The recent incidents in Gezira state are yet another dark episode. Yet, despite the worrisome situation on the ground, the international community has been unable to make any breakthrough in peace efforts, in spite of our multiple calls and decisions. That notwithstanding, we remain hopeful that the planned initiatives and meetings by the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, and the African Union, building on the Jeddah process, will bear fruit.

In the interim, the protection of civilians must remain our priority and, in that regard, we wish to underline the following points.

First, we call on the parties to agree, without further delay, on a ceasefire to lay the foundation for a meaningful political process and guarantee the protection of civilians in the Sudan. Achieving a ceasefire, be it local or national, demands that parties show strong political will. Such willingness could be nurtured through small steps and confidence-building initiatives. Therefore, convening a second round of the proximity talks, which took place in July in Geneva, could be a useful framework to build confidence between the parties.

Secondly, it is essential to put all chances of success on the side of peace efforts, taking into account the dynamics and the realities on the ground. Any endeavour by the Council to support the protection of civilians will have to preserve the validity of ongoing peace efforts and the momentum they could create to bring the parties to the negotiating table. The steps forward in that regard will have to be undertaken with wisdom and, I insist, in coordination with the ongoing processes.

Thirdly, protecting civilians in the current circumstances requires an improvement in the

humanitarian situation. While we welcome the recent measures taken by the Government of the Sudan, particularly the decision, in consultations with other Sudanese actors, to allow humanitarian air operations in South Kordofan, we underline the importance of sustaining those measures to ensure that international assistance can reach all affected populations. We call on the international community to continue scaling up its support for the humanitarian response plan and the efforts of the Sudanese Government to respond to the appalling situation on the ground. National facilities, which have a barely functional health system, are facing significant challenges, including cholera and dengue fever outbreaks, as well as rising numbers of displaced persons, particularly following the latest assaults by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) in Gezira state.

Fourthly, we must insist on accountability to respond more effectively to the violations of international law and international humanitarian law. In that connection, we call on the RSF to halt their offensive against El Fasher and Gezira states and to uphold respect for international humanitarian law and the principles of human rights. In that regard, the non-observance of any code of conduct by those forces is a source of deep concern. We seize this occasion to once again call on external actors to abstain from fuelling the conflict and to respect international law. The persistent foreign interference in the Sudanese conflict could be one of the main factors for the failure of all peace efforts.

In conclusion, it is imperative that we lend our support to all peace initiatives driven by good faith and international law at the regional and international levels. The coordination of such efforts must remain our common objective, while preserving the central role of the United Nations and the African Union. We once again call on the Sudanese parties to put the interests of their nation above all other considerations.

Mr. Hwang (Republic of Korea): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting. I also thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo, Director Rajasingham and Ms. Ahmadi for their informative and sobering briefings.

Regrettably, persistent calls by the Security Council and the international community on the two warring parties in the Sudan for an immediate cessation of hostilities have fallen on deaf ears. Instead, we are witnessing the intensification of fighting across the Sudan and have also recently received credible reports

of a sharp increase in ethnically motivated violence by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) in and around El Fasher. For the sake of the civilians in the Sudan, who are bearing the brunt of the conflict, we must act immediately to protect them.

To that end, I would like to make the following points.

First, the immediate cessation of external interference driven by the interests of regional and international actors would be essential to ending the hostilities in the Sudan. Given the ongoing refusal by the Sudanese warring parties to participate faithfully in direct negotiations for any ceasefire agreement, it is crucial that regional and international actors that can influence the strategic calculations of both Sudanese warring parties work together to find a way to change the landscape of the conflict. Coordinated diplomatic efforts by those actors will help bring both parties back to the negotiating table. We call on the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy for the Sudan to continue his engagement with those actors to advance that objective.

Secondly, all feasible measures to protect civilians on the ground must be implemented without further delay. In particular, the disruption of telecommunications services, especially the widespread Internet blackout, has severely compromised civilians' ability to cope with the conflict's impact, as well as the capacity of aid workers to deliver essential services. We strongly condemn any unlawful attacks on telecommunications infrastructure by the warring parties and urge them to ensure uninterrupted telecommunications services so that civilians can access emergency assistance and take measures for their own protection.

Thirdly, it remains critical to sustain humanitarian assistance to meet the overwhelming needs in the Sudan. Given the current financial constraints, we must focus on the most cost-effective delivery methods. We therefore urge the Sudanese authorities to keep the Adré border crossing open, as it provides the most favourable conditions for the flow of humanitarian aid as compared to other routes. In addition, we call on all warring parties to ensure that local and international humanitarian organizations are given safe and unimpeded humanitarian access to reach those in need.

Fourthly, the Security Council must ensure that the sanctions regime continues to adapt to the evolving situation on the ground. In that regard, we welcome the meaningful progress recently made by the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005),

concerning the Sudan, which we chair, in updating its sanctions list for the first time in 18 years by adding two RSF commanders involved in ethnic violence. We encourage Member States to support and facilitate the work of the Panel of Experts to ensure the effective monitoring of sanctions and identify other individuals or entities who meet the listing criteria.

In conclusion, the humanitarian catastrophe in the Sudan, which has been ongoing for more than a year and a half, is a senseless tragedy driven by the warring parties seeking military dominance at tremendous costs to their people and fuelled by foreign support on both sides. The international community has to act decisively to end the conflict, and we stand ready to contribute constructively to the Security Council's efforts in that regard.

Mr. Žbogar (Slovenia): I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo and Director Rajasingham for their briefings. I also want to profoundly thank Ms. Niemat Ahmadi for her clear and very powerful briefing, in giving a voice to all civilians who would otherwise not have a voice in the Sudan and for presenting to us very vividly the suffering of the people in that country. I also thank her for her recommendations.

Today we will not be introducing fresh appeals or novel ideas. Instead, we are reiterating with renewed urgency what has already been repeatedly asked by us, the Security Council, the wider international community and, most important, the Sudanese people themselves. To the warring parties, we renew our call to silence the guns, work towards a lasting ceasefire, uphold commitments to protect civilians, including as outlined in the Jeddah Declaration, ensure unimpeded humanitarian access and honour the dignity of the Sudanese people.

As we just heard from the briefers, despite pledges, both parties to the conflict have failed to uphold their commitments. We reiterate the need for all the parties involved to respect international humanitarian law and international human rights law and honour the commitments made, as already mentioned, in the Jeddah Declaration. In that regard, a compliance mechanism should be seriously explored to ensure that the commitments are implemented on the ground. We reiterate that respect for international law as well Security Council resolutions, including the arms embargo, is not optional, but obligatory. We welcomed the decision to reopen the Adré border crossing,

together with additional routes and humanitarian flights, for urgent assistance. That must continue, further expanding access to ensure that food, medical resources and clean water reach those in need, without obstruction or delay. We commend the dedication of the United Nations country team, humanitarian actors and local organizations, especially grass-roots emergency response rooms. The conflict has unleashed devastating realities for civilians — and, as the briefers reported, most horribly for women and girls — creating a humanitarian crisis with mass displacement, famine and suffering: a grim testament to the heavy toll of war.

Acute food insecurity has reached an unparalleled scale. Food must not be weaponized; it must never be used to deepen the suffering of civilians. Such actions blatantly violate international law, which unequivocally condemns the use of starvation as a tactic of warfare, and they stand in stark defiance of humankind's most fundamental values.

The scale and brutality of reported human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law, including the reprehensible use of conflict-related sexual violence, which may constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity, is profoundly appalling. Those violations must be investigated to ensure accountability and justice for victims and survivors.

We again demand that the Rapid Support Forces and its allied militia end their siege on El Fasher and the large-scale assaults across the Sudan. We also continue to decisively call on the Sudanese Armed Forces to stop the indiscriminate aerial bombings, which have had devastating impacts on civilians and civilian infrastructure.

Today we renew our call for peace, the ultimate shield against violence and the essential guarantee of civilian safety. We appreciate the Secretary-General's recommendations for civilian protection, which should help guide our response to this inhumane crisis. We see those recommendations, along with today's calls from briefers, as a clear call for unified action that prioritizes civilian welfare above all else. We encourage the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Mr. Lamamra, to persist in his invaluable mediation efforts, actively engaging all parties to promote dialogue. He has our full support.

Ms. Ahmadi said that civilians are dying in silence. The Security Council should not remain silent with those atrocities continuing in the Sudan. Slovenia remains

committed to engaging constructively for the swift adoption of a Council draft resolution to implement concrete recommendations. We stand prepared to work closely with all Council members for a solution that prioritizes the protection of civilians, humanitarian access and the dignity of all Sudanese people.

Mr. Montalvo Sosa (Ecuador) (*spoke in Spanish*): I appreciate the informative briefings by Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo and Director Rajasingham, as well as the testimony by the civil society representative, Ms. Ahmadi.

I acknowledge the presence of the Permanent Representative of the Sudan in the Chamber.

The humanitarian situation in the Sudan is grim. The parties to the conflict have committed heinous crimes, the majority of which are attributed to the Rapid Support Forces. The increase in serious violations against children, including killing, maiming, sexual violence and forced recruitment, is particularly alarming. The Geneva Conventions and related Security Council resolutions compel parties to conflict to protect civilians and to adhere, without exception, to the principles of proportionality, distinction and precaution. They force them to act humanely.

The recent designation by the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005), concerning the Sudan, of two members of the Rapid Support Forces sends a clear message of unity in response to crimes against civilians and the escalation of the conflict in the Sudan.

As we heard, the war has plunged the country and the region into a serious crisis of refuge, displacement and hunger, disproportionately affecting women and children. Famine being declared in the Zamzam camp is extremely alarming, as is the fact that more than 50 per cent of the population is in precarious conditions that exceed the critical phase of food security in the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification—phase 3.

Given the stark figures that place a large part of the population in a situation requiring humanitarian aid, the least that could be expected is that humanitarian crossings, such as the one in Adré, which is the most direct access point to critical areas, such as Zamzam and El Fasher, will remain open and unhindered. Safe humanitarian corridors must also be established, in accordance with binding resolutions of the Council, such as resolutions 2730 (2024) and 2736 (2024).

I repeat something that has become hopeless: human rights violations, including summary executions and enforced disappearances, continue to occur, despite statements to the contrary. It is essential to break the cycle of violence and impunity by ensuring accountability for those responsible.

An immediate ceasefire is crucial for the protection of civilians and progress towards a political solution. The United Nations and the African Union must play a central role in coordinating dialogue efforts between the parties to the conflict, which is why we support the efforts of the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, as well as the work of the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Mr. Lamamra.

Noting time and again that the humanitarian situation in the Sudan is one of the most serious in the world deserves a unified response from the Security Council. That is why my delegation will work constructively to ensure that the draft resolution proposed by the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone be adopted expeditiously.

Ms. Evstigneeva (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We thank Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, and Mr. Ramesh Rajasingham, Director of the Coordination Division at the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, for their briefings. We welcome the Permanent Representative of the Sudan, Mr. Al-Harith Idriss Al-Harith Mohamed, to today's meeting. We listened closely to the civil society representative.

Regrettably, the armed conflict in the Sudan has become protracted in nature. It has been more than 18 months since its deadliest phase began. Our priority, both then and now, is a swift cessation of hostilities. However, international efforts to settle the conflict have been faltering. The only agreement reached by the parties to date is the Jeddah Declaration of Commitment to Protect the Civilians of Sudan. However, even that Declaration is yet to be implemented. At the same time, given the serious impact the conflict is having on the Sudanese people and on the socioeconomic and humanitarian situation, we periodically hear various proposals regarding a settlement. Many of the proposals have little to do with reality and remind us instead of fake action.

We are convinced that there is no way to resolve the situation without an in-depth analysis of the root

causes of the conflict, including attempts to bulldoze through so-called progressive forces that do not enjoy the support of the majority of the Sudanese people and have proved incapable of addressing the main causes of the conflict at the time when they had an opportunity to do so. There is also a need for a sober assessment of how the security situation, the political landscape, the public mood in the Sudan and regional approaches have changed in the past 18 months. What may have worked in May 2023 is hardly likely to work now.

Currently, as Sudanese unity is under serious threat, the Sudanese army has become the backbone of the country's statehood, and people are fleeing to areas under its control for protection. It is very important to support the country's State institutions, which can serve as a basis for an intra-Sudanese inter-ethnic dialogue, in which all political, intercommunal groups and well-respected regional leaders, without exception, can decide together on the path to national development.

At the same time, all participants in the dialogue should enjoy the support of all Sudanese people and speak on their behalf and in their interests, rather than for foreign backers. The dialogue should lead to an outline of the structure of future authorities in the country that is acceptable to all stakeholders, including addressing the key issue of unifying the Sudanese Armed Forces.

The Russian Federation regards the Transitional Sovereignty Council as the highest legitimate authority in the Sudan. We are in favour of preserving its unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty.

In that connection, we support the efforts of Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, Personal Envoy for the Sudan, to achieve peace and stability as soon as possible. We believe that the Personal Envoy's goal is to unite the various regional and international mediation efforts on the Sudan. We wish him success in implementing his plans to organize mediated negotiations with the Sudanese parties. However, we do not deem it appropriate to promote any third-party negotiation formats for a settlement in the Sudan that would ignore the participation of the current Government of the country and not take into account its views on finding solutions to the crisis.

We are convinced that the lifting of all sieges the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and achieving a sustainable ceasefire are key to ensuring the proper protection of civilians in the Sudan. Any steps to pre-empt that

condition, especially without the prior agreement of the Government, will not bring about practical results. In particular, we consider messages about ensuring the presence of United Nations or African peacekeepers to be inappropriate at this stage. As rightly noted in the report of the Secretary-General on recommendations for the protection of civilians in the Sudan (S/2024/759), the conditions for such a presence have not yet developed. We view such calls at this stage as blatant populism, since no one can answer the question as to which areas of the country or for what purposes those peacekeepers would be deployed.

Moreover, the request for such a presence must come exclusively from the current Sudanese leadership. Otherwise, peacekeeping endeavours during the active phase of the internal conflict and its vast geographical scale could be doomed to disaster. The realization of such a scenario could finally undermine the Sudan's trust in the United Nations, which has been significantly damaged as a result of the inconsistent activities of the drawn-down United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan.

At the same time, as we mentioned earlier, the Jeddah agreement is the only currently existing agreement. We therefore believe it is important to step up work on the implementation of that agreement, which covers humanitarian issues, the protection of civilians and the search for a political solution to the protracted crisis. It is important to ensure the fulfilment of all of the agreement's provisions, including the withdrawal of armed units from populated areas.

The humanitarian situation in the Sudan remains very dire. Nearly three quarters of medical facilities are not operational; there is a shortage of medicines; and two thirds of the population has no access to healthcare. The spread of dangerous diseases has also been documented. The failure to fully implement the country's humanitarian response plan, which is less than two thirds funded, remains a serious challenge. We would like to assure the Sudanese people of our solidarity in overcoming the ordeal they are enduring. We are providing assistance within our means, and we know that many other countries, despite their own difficulties, are also finding ways to assist.

The Government of the Sudan is also taking the necessary steps to ensure that aid reaches the population. Decisions have been taken to open several land, air and maritime crossing points for the delivery of

humanitarian aid throughout the country, including the Adré border crossing with Chad. We are convinced that the continued smooth operation of that crossing point is quite possible if the representatives of humanitarian agencies working in the Sudan — primarily the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs — can implement the measures proposed by Port Sudan, including the presence of the authorities on the ground and the availability of special equipment.

We consider any claims by humanitarian workers that such plans are unfeasible with reference to the uncooperative nature of the Sudanese Government to be inappropriate. A number of countries in the Arab-Muslim world are proven examples that, where there is a will and if we refuse to politicize humanitarian assistance, aid can indeed be delivered properly, including to hard-to-reach areas of the country. Those claims appear particularly odd given that the main problems in the delivery of humanitarian aid are caused by the RSF. It is a matter of principle that humanitarian agencies adapt to work with the Sudanese Government, and not the other way around. In that connection, the final decision on the use of a particular crossing point for the passage of goods is a sovereign matter for the Sudanese Government.

We also believe that it is premature to speak of the threat of imminent famine in the Sudan. There is food in the country — for example, a bumper sorghum harvest has been recorded this year. The question is how to get it to those who need it in areas under the control of the RSF. It is important that humanitarian workers make objective assessments of the situation in alignment with the Sudanese Government.

We believe that the Security Council's response to the situation in the Sudan should be balanced and based on the realities prevailing in the country. Any destructive external interference in the affairs of the Sudan, a friendly country, including political interference, is unacceptable. We trust that the United Nations will be guided by those principles and will support sovereign decisions rather than imposing blanket external solutions. Russia has always advocated for efforts aimed at achieving a lasting settlement of the Sudanese conflict. We are convinced that the Sudanese people can — and must — resolve their internal issues themselves.

Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield (United States of America): I thank the United Kingdom for convening

this important meeting. I also wish to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo and Director Rajasingham for their briefings. We also thank Ms. Ahmadi for her sobering briefing but, most important, we thank her for the work she does to support the people of the Sudan every single day. I look forward to hearing from the representative of the Sudan.

The United States is deeply concerned about violent, lethal attacks on civilians by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and the Sudanese Armed Forces. In Darfur, and more recently in Gezira, reports indicate an alarming rise in widespread, targeted, ethnically motivated killings and mass atrocities by the RSF. In the Khartoum area in particular, Sudanese Armed Forces aerial bombings on markets and public places — launched without any clear military objective — have killed large numbers of civilians.

We know the gravity of the situation in the Sudan: indiscriminate death by starvation, disease and shelling; and the sheer scale of trauma that will haunt the Sudanese people forever. Therefore, we are long past the time for bold, decisive and immediate action by the international community.

The United States has four primary calls to action.

First, it is the responsibility of all parties to the conflict to facilitate the flow of aid across all cross-border and cross-line routes, without exception. We commend the Sudanese authorities for opening the Adré border crossing in mid-August. That single route allowed aid organizations to bring in enough food, health and nutrition supplies to serve more than 1.9 million people. Now the Sudanese authorities must keep the Adré border crossing open indefinitely. Millions of lives depend on it.

We also commend the Sudanese authorities for approving the humanitarian air operation in South Kordofan. That was a good first step. Now the authorities must streamline the flight approval process and ensure that aid organizations can use the flights to move staff and supplies quickly and safely to areas of need.

Moreover, all parties must help humanitarian agencies to scale up operations so that they can efficiently and effectively deliver aid to all corners of the Sudan. That includes expediting and streamlining bureaucratic processes to ensure that aid organizations can staff up and that humanitarian personnel and goods can move swiftly — for instance, by allowing a

notification-only process for humanitarian movements. In addition, the RSF must lift any bureaucratic requirements for aid organizations moving throughout the Darfur area. Finally, all parties must avoid any actions that impede humanitarian operations. On that note, we are profoundly concerned that authorities in Port Sudan have continued to impede and obstruct the humanitarian response. That cannot — and must — not be tolerated by this body or the broader international community.

Our second call to action is for an end to the hostilities to be implemented. There is quite simply no military solution to the crisis — none. All countries should cease providing military support to the belligerents, and every one of us must continue to press the parties to return to the negotiating table with the aim of ending the conflict.

On that note and thirdly, we strongly support the establishment of a compliance-monitoring and verification mechanism, following a broader cessation of hostilities agreement. Such a mechanism could ensure that international humanitarian law obligations and the Jeddah commitments are respected and implemented on the ground. The Council and the international community at large should therefore empower African partners to lead on the establishment of such a mechanism, including by supporting scenario-planning on design and deployment.

Fourthly, and in keeping with the clear aspirations of the Sudanese people, the international community must actively support a transition to inclusive and democratic civilian governance. That includes rallying behind the civilian political dialogue facilitated by the African Union high-level panel to accelerate a transition to inclusive civilian rule. The United States intends to support that process, and we encourage others to do the same. It also includes seeking accountability for atrocities and other abuses committed over the past year and a half, including through the Darfur arms embargo and sanctions imposed under resolution 1591 (2005), such as those implemented by the Council last week. The Council's recent sanctions designations of two RSF leaders — Abdel Rahman Juma Barkalla and Osman Mohamed Hamid Mohamed — send a strong message to the parties.

The people of the Sudan have endured hell. They deserve safety, dignity and justice. They deserve to live. We as the Security Council need to continue to

pressure the belligerents to end the violence now so as to ensure that life-saving aid reaches those in need and to put the Sudan on the path to democracy and security.

Mr. Fu Cong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I welcome Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State Collins of the United Kingdom to preside over this open briefing during his visit to New York. I thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo and the Director Rajasingham of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs for their briefings. I also listened very carefully to Ms. Ahmadi's statement. And I welcome the presence of the Permanent Representative of the Sudan at today's meeting.

As fighting continues to rage in the Sudan, the international community is working tirelessly on mediation. However, efforts to promote a ceasefire have been to no avail. Civilians are bearing the brunt of the conflict, and the international community should not forget their ongoing suffering. It is urgent to help the Sudan find a framework for a comprehensive and lasting solution to the conflict. China believes that the parties should focus their efforts on the following.

First, a lasting ceasefire must be promoted. Currently, 15 of the 18 states in the Sudan are affected by the fighting. Close to 25,000 people have lost their lives in the conflict. According to recent reports, armed attacks on villages in Gezira state have caused hundreds of civilian casualties. Such tragedies should not be repeated. The violent conflict should not continue: an immediate ceasefire must be put in place to prevent it from claiming more lives and to prevent the Sudan from suffering an even greater catastrophe. We urge the parties concerned to stop besieging and attacking Gezira and El Fasher, among other localities, and call on both parties to the conflict to cease hostilities, to fully honour their undertakings under the Jeddah Declaration regarding the protection of civilians, to protect civilian infrastructure and to not cross the red line of international humanitarian law.

Secondly, humanitarian assistance must be stepped up. The ongoing war and grave natural disasters have seriously damaged the Sudan's infrastructure; its education, medical and healthcare systems are on the verge of collapse. People are suffering from hunger and disease. The grim humanitarian situation is a reminder that we must continue to galvanize international attention and mobilize more funds for humanitarian relief. Joint efforts with the Government of the Sudan

must be made to ensure that aid reaches those in need. China welcomes the efforts by the Government of the Sudan to facilitate humanitarian access and supports the Security Council's consulting with the Government of the Sudan so that border crossings are kept open for humanitarian aid. At the same time, attention should be paid to the security concerns of the Government of the Sudan at the Adré crossing so that the crossing can serve as a life-saving corridor to enable much-needed aid can be transported more efficiently.

Thirdly, peace talks must be promoted. We call on both parties to the conflict to put the people first, to return to the negotiating table and, through dialogue, to arrive at a political solution that leads to a lasting ceasefire.

China supports Personal Envoy Lamamra in continuing to use his good offices while creating synergy with other mediation efforts. Regional organizations such as the African Union are stepping up mediation efforts, thereby building positive momentum. The international community should work with the African Union to promote peace talks between the two parties to the conflict, establish a framework for dialogue that includes all stakeholders and promptly find a path to lasting peace that reflects the realities in the Sudan. In that process, all parties must respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the country and must ensure that its people have ownership of the peace process. Any external interference and imposition of programmes out of selfish political interest will only exacerbate turmoil and division and run counter to the goal of achieving peace and stability.

Fourthly, a spillover of the crisis must be prevented. The ongoing conflict has caused nearly 3 million Sudanese to take refuge in neighbouring countries. The illegal flow of weapons has become an increasingly prominent issue that is further destabilizing the already fragile situation in the Horn of Africa. We support countries and organizations in the region in upholding their common security, jointly strengthening border management and arms control and engaging in greater coordination in maintaining security and providing humanitarian assistance. While the international community is focusing on the crisis in the Sudan, it should also give greater attention to and invest more in the security of the region as a whole so as to help countries in the region to respond effectively to the refugee crisis and security shocks, contain the

spillover of the conflict and maintain lasting stability in the region.

Mrs. Baeriswyl (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): As my colleagues have done, I would like to begin by thanking Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo and Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Director Rajasingham for their briefings.

I extend particular thanks to Ms. Ahmadi for her powerful and unwavering voice on behalf of those who are bearing the brunt of this catastrophic war — a war with no end in sight and which, beyond the human toll that it is taking, is leaving the entire country in ruins.

As we heard, fighting continues unabated, in particular in Khartoum, Gezira and North Darfur. Artillery fire from both sides and ongoing Sudanese Armed Forces aerial bombardment of densely populated areas and horrific atrocities by the Rapid Support Forces taking place in Gezira are contributing to the death toll. As we have repeatedly stressed, the attacks on civilians must stop immediately. Protecting civilians is not a choice; it is an obligation. In the light of the violations of international humanitarian law that are being committed, the designation of two individuals last week by the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005) was an important measure taken by the Security Council.

As we discussed during our meeting two weeks ago (see S/PV.9761), our priority must remain to exert pressure to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities as the most effective means — indeed the only — of strengthening the security of the entire population. Moreover, the immediate needs across the country require swift and decisive action amid the hostilities. In that regard, I would like to highlight three points.

First, international humanitarian law and human rights must be respected, and the parties must fulfil the commitments they have undertaken, in particular the Jeddah Declaration. The parties could establish a monitoring mechanism to ensure their compliance with their obligations, which would be a major step forward in ensuring the protection of civilians. We fully support that recommendation by the Secretary-General, an effort also promoted by the Aligned for Advancing Lifesaving and Peace in Sudan group, of which we are part.

Secondly, in the same context, we urgently need to improve the humanitarian situation. The magnitude of the needs is enormous. Thousands of people continue to starve to death or are forced to flee, often on foot and at great risk to their lives. Humanitarian organizations are overburdened and urgently need additional financial resources. We once again call on all the parties to guarantee rapid, safe, unhindered and sustained access across the borders and front lines. We call on the authorities to keep the Adré crossing open beyond 15 November and to ease all administrative formalities.

Thirdly, we need to focus on prevention in the areas not directly affected by the fighting. That is all the more urgent before the onset of the dry season. Civilians in those areas are suffering from the wider effects of the conflict, including food insecurity, a massive influx of displaced people, telecommunications outages and increased pressure on already limited resources. As we heard from Ms. Eltigani of the Youth Citizens Observers Network at the last meeting of Switzerland's presidency of the Council for the month of October (see S/PV.9761), local organizations and networks like hers must be at the heart of strengthening resilience, preventing conflict and protecting civilians.

In parallel, we must step up our diplomatic efforts, including in facilitating an inclusive political process. In that context, we reiterate our strong support for the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Sudan in complementing and coordinating those efforts and in working with the parties to strengthen the protection of civilians. We remain at his disposal to provide any support he may require. As members of the Council, it is our responsibility to act without delay. We therefore support the efforts to adopt a draft resolution on the protection of civilians and are working constructively to ensure that swift and decisive action is taken.

Mr. Dharmadhikari (France) (*spoke in French*): I would first like to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo and Mr. Ramesh Rajasingham from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs for their briefings. I also thank Ms. Ahmadi for her fervent plea to the Security Council.

France is deeply concerned about the increase in violence throughout the Sudan. We condemn the attacks carried out by the Rapid Support Forces against civilians in Gezira state in recent weeks, just as we condemn all attacks against civilian targets. We are concerned about the escalation of violence in Darfur

and Khartoum and in the Sennar region, in connection with the unrelenting push by the Rapid Support Forces and the Sudanese Armed Forces and their allied militia to continue fighting. I recall the Security Council's unanimous renewal of the arms embargo on Darfur in September and join other colleagues in welcoming the recent designation of two generals of the Rapid Support Forces by the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005).

France calls on the parties to the conflict to act clearly and rationally — there is no possible military victory in this conflict. There is an urgent need to reach a ceasefire and to engage in an inclusive political process involving all the parties to the conflict, as well as the whole of Sudanese civil society, including women and young people. As we did in Paris in April, France will continue its efforts to support all initiatives in that direction.

On 16 August, the Sudanese Armed Forces agreed to reopen the Adré border crossing. France welcomed that decision, which is essential for the delivery of humanitarian aid to many regions of the Sudan. We call on the Sudanese Armed Forces to renew that decision — which expires this week — permanently. France calls on all parties to the conflict to allow the full, safe and unhindered delivery of humanitarian aid throughout the Sudan, across borders and front lines. In that regard, we recall the declaration of principles adopted at the conference held in Paris on 15 April, calling on the parties to the conflict and all the actors concerned to ensure unhindered access to humanitarian aid for civilians.

As the statements delivered today have reminded us, Sudanese civilians are bearing the full brunt of the effects of this war. In his report of 18 October (S/2024/759), the Secretary-General made recommendations on the protection of civilians, including on the implementation of the commitments made by the parties in May 2023 in Jeddah. It is crucial that the parties honour those commitments and negotiate local ceasefires in the areas most affected by the war with a view to extending the ceasefires throughout the entire country. France supports the establishment of a monitoring and verification mechanism, in cooperation with international and regional players, to monitor such ceasefires and ensure compliance with the Jeddah Declaration. We call on the parties to implement those commitments in cooperation with the United Nations, the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General for the

Sudan, Ramtane Lamamra, and with regional players, in particular the African Union.

Finally, I would like to remind Council members that a solution to this war can be reached only by the Sudanese people themselves, in all their diversity. The international community, and the Council in particular, must be ready to take swift action in support of any peace initiative.

Mr. Yamazaki (Japan): I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo, Mr. Ramesh Rajasingham, Director of the Coordination Division at the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and Ms. Ahmadi for their sobering briefings. I also welcome the presence of the Permanent Representative of the Sudan in today's meeting.

During its most recent meeting in this format on the Sudan (see S/PV.9761), the Security Council heard the Secretary-General's recommendations on the protection of civilians amid the prolonged armed conflict between the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF). In that meeting, I stressed that it is the Council's responsibility to act on the basis of his recommendations. Japan welcomes the efforts at every level to take concrete steps in that regard. We must do what we can without delay. Japan thanks Sierra Leone and the United Kingdom for initiating the Council's discussions on this matter and looks forward to engaging constructively. Japan reiterates the importance of the Council's unity to empower the United Nations to conduct its activities to protect civilians in the Sudan. Today I would like to touch on the following three points.

First, Japan demands that the parties immediately stop fighting, as has been repeatedly called for by the Security Council. They must also facilitate and allow full, rapid, safe and unhindered humanitarian access and uphold their obligations under international law, especially international humanitarian law, as well as their commitments, including the Jeddah Declaration.

Japan remains gravely concerned about reports of sexual and gender-based violence and about acute food insecurity and the risk that it will spread across the country. Japan calls for the Adré border crossing to remain open to allow the consistent delivery of humanitarian assistance. The international, regional, national and non-governmental efforts to monitor and document human rights violations are critically important. Violators must be held

accountable. The parties must protect important civilian infrastructure, including healthcare and communications. The external interference fomenting the conflict must stop immediately. Japan reminds Member States and the parties concerned of their obligations spelled out in the arms embargo and that violations may lead to designation for targeted measures.

That leads me to my second point. Japan welcomes the fact that the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005), concerning the Sudan, designated two RSF generals for its sanctions list last Friday. Through that designation, the Council members were able to show unity and send a strong message to the parties operating in Darfur that violations of human rights are unacceptable.

Thirdly, Japan supports international and regional diplomatic and political efforts for peace. Those efforts should be coordinated and complementary and include all segments of Sudanese society, including women and youth, to pave the way for a Sudanese-led and Sudanese-owned democratic political transition. In that vein, Japan supports the initiatives by the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Mr. Lamamra, as well as the African Union and League of Arab States.

To conclude, I reiterate Japan's unwavering support for the aspirations of the Sudanese people to live in peace and with dignity. Japan will continue to engage with the Sudan as a responsible member of the Security Council and the international community.

Mr. Camilleri (Malta): I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Director Rajasingham and Ms. Ahmadi for their sobering briefings.

The conflict in the Sudan continues to inflict devastating consequences on civilians. The violence between the warring parties has unleashed the greatest displacement crisis in the world and led to famine in multiple areas of the country. We are deeply concerned by the escalation of hostilities in Darfur, Khartoum and Gezira and by the increasing attacks on civilian populations and critical infrastructure, including hospitals and schools. Malta strongly condemns those attacks.

We reiterate our call to the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) to reach an immediate and sustainable ceasefire, to ensure the protection of civilians and to facilitate unfettered

humanitarian access. We urge them to respect their obligations under international law and to translate their commitments into tangible actions.

We remind all Member States of their obligations under the sanctions regime of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005), concerning the Sudan, and its related arms embargo and to refrain from external interference that foments conflict and instability. Just last Friday, the Committee approved the listing of two RSF commanders engaged in actions that threaten the peace and security of Darfur. Those listings mark the first additional ones since the start of the conflict in the Sudan and are a step in the right direction.

Immediate measures to halt and prevent violations of international humanitarian law and abuses and violations of human rights are integral in advancing civilian protection. The use of sexual and gender-based violence against Sudanese women and girls, highlighted by the report of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission, is deplorable and must stop. The increase of 480 per cent in violations and abuses against children, documented in the Secretary-General's annual report on children in armed conflict (S/2024/384), is deeply alarming. Sudanese children are increasingly at risk of becoming a lost generation. The parties must end and prevent all grave violations against children, including their recruitment and use in hostilities, killing and maiming, sexual violence and abduction. Concrete steps must be taken to ensure that perpetrators of those horrific crimes are held accountable, including through independent accountability mechanisms. Survivors must also be given the necessary protection, services and access to justice.

We cannot stress enough the importance of urgent action, including by the Council. The lives of millions of Sudanese are at stake. The deliberate use of starvation as a weapon of war, ethnically motivated attacks and identity-based violence serve to warn us of a growing risk of genocide and other atrocity crimes. In that context, Malta welcomes the submission of a draft resolution that seeks to operationalize the recent recommendations of the Secretary-General on the protection of civilians. We encourage Personal Envoy Lamamra, in coordination with the African Union and other key stakeholders, to maintain engagement with the warring parties. Mediation efforts towards the delivery of a ceasefire, the reduction of violence and the sustained passage of humanitarian aid through

crossline and cross-border routes, including through Adré, must be continuously supported. A robust compliance mechanism can help to achieve those aims.

The full, equal, meaningful and safe participation of women, in all levels and stages of decision-making, is also indispensable. We commend women- and youth-led organizations. Since the start of the conflict, they have displayed courage when advancing the cause of peace and civilian protection needs. We deplore any threats and reprisals made against them. They deserve our support.

In conclusion, there is no more time to lose. We look forward to engaging with all Council members on the draft resolution, which aims to bring the Sudan closer to peace and stability. Malta will remain supportive of all efforts to that end.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of the Sudan.

Mr. Mohamed (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to thank His Excellency Lord Ray Collins of Highbury and to thank you, Mr. President, for all your efforts during your presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are ready to fully cooperate with you. We also thank Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs; Mr. Ramesh Rajasingham, Director of the Coordination Division of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; and Ms. Niemat Ahmadi, Founder and President of the Darfur Women Action Group, for their briefings.

We also thank the representative of Algeria for his statement, delivered on behalf of the group of three African members of the Council plus Guyana, which continues to support the Sudan within the Council. We also express our gratitude for the statements by the representatives of Russia, China and all other delegations that supported the right to sovereignty of the Sudan and its national ownership over peace and the protection of civilians in the country.

I would like also to commend Ms. Ahmadi for what she said. For the past two years, we have been drawing the Security Council's attention to the need to review the faulty narrative, because the war is between two parties. We thank her for highlighting the brutal attacks by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) against civilians.

Regarding the protection of civilians, I would like at the outset to note that it is a priority for the Government

of the Sudan, given the situation the State is facing. That includes a war of aggression that threatens its very existence, launched by the RSF terrorist militia and their allies of foreign mercenaries, with support, funding and arming, as well as media and political backing, from well-known countries in the region. The Government has started to prepare an urgent national plan to protect civilians and is restoring the national mechanism for the protection of civilians, with the participation of various stakeholders, to address the atrocities and war crimes carried out by the terrorist Daqlo militia across the Sudan. Those atrocities include extrajudicial killing, ethnic cleansing, forced displacement of civilians, burning of villages, rape, the destruction of civilian assets and vital infrastructure and looting money and property.

There was a series of deliberate brutal attacks in east Gezira, in which civilians were targeted, killed and intimidated, along with acts of looting in retaliation for the defection of one of their leaders who joined the Sudanese Armed Forces. Upon breaking into the city of Al Hilaliya, the RSF militia opened fire and killed 357 civilians, including 212 women, girls and children. Systematic attacks also targeted other villages, killing 74 civilians, and 29 cases of rape were reported. The RSF militia also poisoned drinking water and prevented access to medicines.

I refer to a widely circulated audio recording of a militia commander who defected recently and joined the army. In that recording, he stated that

“The militia forces are a rebel group that have no cause other than looting, plundering and displacing citizens. The militia leadership has lost control over its members in the field, and more foreign fighters and elements are coming from abroad to rape, loot, plunder and wage war on civilians.”

As a result of the recent displacement, the number of civilians killed by the militia's attacks in Gezira has exceeded 1,237 civilians over three weeks — in Tamboul, Al Hilaliya, Seriha, Uqda, Wad Al-Sayed and other cities. The militia displaced the residents of 400 villages in eastern Gezira, while other villages in the region remain under brutal siege. We demand an end to the flow of arms to the militia, which is supplied by the United Arab Emirates and regional partners and which is the sole reason that the conflict has continued. Therefore, it is imperative to put an end to that flagrant interference, which violates the Charter of the United

Nations, infringes on national sovereignty and law and jeopardizes the maintenance of international peace and security. Designating the RSF as an ethno-supremacist terrorist militia is an essential requirement, as they target civilians on an ethnic basis. We demand the withdrawal of the RSF militia to designated assembly areas under the supervision of the United Nations and the evacuation of the houses they occupy, to facilitate the return of citizens to their homes in the triangular capital.

The steps I mentioned would end the conflict because the Sudanese Armed Forces did not start the war, but rather were attacked in their headquarters by 120,000 fighters mobilized by the RSF on 15 April 2023, which required the Sudanese Armed Forces to exercise their right of self-defence and perform their constitutional duty to protect the territorial integrity of the Sudan, in line with Article 51 of the Charter. The armed forces were joined by civilian fighters, not militia, as some delegations here have described them.

The Sudan is cooperating with the Secretary-General on the diplomatic efforts undertaken by his Special Envoy and with the African Union. The Sudan recently hosted the African Peace and Security Council in Port Sudan and is cooperating with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, but within the context of invigorating a multipurpose national plan for the protection of civilians, in line with national ownership specifications under resolution 2736 (2024).

Since arriving here two years ago, I have kept repeating until I was hoarse that the Security Council and the international community should take the initiative to support the national plan for the protection of civilians. We call for the activation of a joint national and regional mechanism for the implementation of the Jeddah commitments, preferably in such major cities as Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum Bahri first. The Government of the Sudan has shown its willingness to implement the commitments it made under the Jeddah platform.

The Government of the Sudan has adopted several operational requirements to facilitate humanitarian access within the framework of full respect for the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 46/182, of 1991, while demanding that humanitarian work

not be politicized and that aid be provided without discrimination on ethnic, religious or political grounds.

Following the opening of the Adré crossing, the Government of the Sudan has required adherence to general principles for the delivery of humanitarian aid through the border crossing and other internal routes for humanitarian access and the non-use of humanitarian aid for political purposes, in line with article 24, paragraph 1 of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, of 1998. That is contrary to what the militia are doing by targeting production areas, burning agricultural crops and selling chemically modified seeds in the markets, poisoning and killing thousands of people.

Some delegations have called for the continued opening of the Adré crossing. We cooperated with the international community and the Security Council in opening the Adré crossing and warned that the crossing threatens the peace and security of the country. During the period between 18 September and 24 October, the following violations were observed at the crossing.

A total of 151 relief shipments were moved from Adré to Geneina under the guard of the RSF rebel militia. Thirty of them were carrying advanced weapons and anti-aircraft weapons, including trucks carrying heavy artillery and assorted ammunition. Eight of the trucks were carrying cargo of unclear nature, and 33 of the trucks were loaded with cargo, some of them bearing the emblems of relief organizations.

The fact that there were no representatives of humanitarian agencies on those trucks or vehicles of relief organizations accompanying the movements from Adré to Darfur state is a negative issue that must be addressed. There was movement of a number of tractors carrying weapons for the militia from the Chadian region of Farchana as part of the relief trucks coming through the Adré crossing on their way to Geneina. However, upon entering Sudanese territory, the militia, carrying weapons, diverted their direction or destination towards the Sudanese Tiné crossing and then returned to Geneina. We observed and monitored the entry of thousands of mercenaries from Central Africa and West Africa into the areas of Fur Baranga and Habila through the Adré crossing.

With regard to approving the use of the Tiné crossing for the entry of humanitarian aid, especially after the end of the autumn season, despite the fact that the militia are seeking to attack and control that crossing,

it is incumbent upon relief organizations to help the Government of the Sudan by specifying the number of trucks and the names of companies transporting relief and by adhering to the designated routes. There is also a need for the United Nations to take measures against the RSF militia to prevent its repeated seizure of relief aid. A joint mechanism should be established, consisting of competent authorities of the Sudanese Government, the Humanitarian Aid Commission and the Chadian Government — if it wishes to join — at the Adré crossing under international supervision and protection to monitor that crossing.

Moreover, the Sudanese committee at Adré and the Humanitarian Aid Commission should supervise the loading and unloading of relief aid at that crossing. Relief organizations are required to use Sudanese trucks to deliver relief from the Adré crossing to Darfur state, or the Sudanese committee at Adré must approve the transport companies used. There are no temporary procedures, and the entry of relief aid by notice is a breach of sovereignty. The following crossings and airports have been approved by the Government of the Sudan: in Egypt, the Ashkit and Arjeen crossings; in South Sudan, the river transport route to Kostî in South Sudan and the land route to Kostî; and via Port Sudan, the Tiné crossing and the Adré temporary crossing.

The airports are El Fasher International Airport, El-Obeid International Airport, Kadugli International Airport, Dongola Airport, Kassala Airport and Port Sudan Airport. Last week, based on the outcome of a high-level meeting between the President of the Transitional Sovereignty Council, General Abdel Fattah Al-Burhan, and His Excellency the President of the Republic of South Sudan, Mr. Salva Kiir Mayardit, the two sides cooperated to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid by operating flights to the city of Kadugli, including food items and life-saving medicines to South Kordofan state, for a total of 1,000 tons in approximately 78 flights. We have also agreed to open the largest warehouse in Al-Dabba for the World Food Programme to deliver humanitarian aid to Darfur and approved the delivery of humanitarian aid through airdrops to any region in the Sudan from the Port Sudan and Kassala airports. The Government has been conducting airdrops of medical supplies, surgical and medical equipment and food for children in El Fasher.

As for the implementation of the Jeddah Declaration, we demand the implementation of paragraph 2 (g), which stipulates a commitment to vacate and refrain

from occupying, as well as to respect and protect all public and private facilities, such as hospitals and water and electricity installations, and refrain from using them for military purposes, in accordance with the Jeddah pledges. Moreover, the evacuation of all forces from all civilian areas, in accordance with that paragraph, must begin and end within a period not exceeding 10 days. The Sudanese Armed Forces are committed to opening safe corridors, which they will designate. One camp shall be designated in each of the following localities: Greater Khartoum, Greater Bahr and Greater Omdurman for the RSF militia to assemble their forces that are being evacuated from the houses that they are currently occupying.

The second phase starts after the completion of the first phase, with the implementation of paragraph 2 (g), on preventing the acquisition of facilities, and thus all civilian facilities in the various states of the Sudan that were taken over by the RSF must be evacuated. People from the Sahel occupied facilities and must evacuate them. The implementation starts immediately after the end of the first phase and ends within one month, after which all RSF forces are to be gathered in the agreed upon camps. Police forces will be responsible for running all checkpoints across the Sudan.

As for the humanitarian aid and the protection of civilians, in the period from 1 January until 6 November, the Humanitarian Aid Commission granted 12,170 movement permits for organizations and agencies and agreed to the entry of 1,037 trucks through the Adré and Tiné crossings and 10,705 trucks through other crossings and routes. It granted 2,985 entry visas for foreign humanitarian aid workers. The Sudanese Government provided \$600 million in assistance in the form of tax and customs exemptions and the provision of materials and aid. Those humanitarian operations continue, in compliance with humanitarian principles. They facilitate the safe entry of workers, prevent interference in humanitarian operations, protect the workers, assets, supplies and storage of aid while underscoring the commitment to respecting and protecting workers in the field of health, refraining from child recruitment, forced exclusion and all forms of torture. There are Sudanese measures to protect civilians as follows.

We call for activating the Committee on Protecting Civilians that was established in the five Darfur states and to provide them with the necessary resources, capacity-building and communication mechanisms.

They should be adopted within the framework of national ownership for peacemaking as the only mechanism for peacekeeping in Darfur while receiving technical support from the United Nations and the African Union. The Permanent Ceasefire Committee for Darfur should be activated. The capacities of the national police force in Darfur should be supported with providing it with Sudanese military components so as to enable the police force to maintain security in the different localities. A mechanism must be established for monitoring violations, particularly attacks by the RSF militia and foreign mercenaries who fail to comply with the ceasefire. That mechanism may include elements from regional neutral countries. Technology must be adopted in order to monitor violations of international humanitarian law and attacks on civilians, similar to what took place after signing Jeddah platform commitments in May 2023.

Financial support must be provided in order to increase social awareness regarding human rights violations and violations of international humanitarian law. Local and state courts must be supported to impose the law and holding perpetrators accountable for violations of national law. The Sudanese police forces must receive training, particularly with regard to protecting local communities in areas that are subjected to repeated attacks by the RSF as areas subject to open and systematic aggression that causes destabilization leading to exacerbating the conflict and expanding its scope to a civil war, in line with the plans of the RSF militia and their regional sponsors. National reconciliation processes and peacebuilding must be supported under the supervision of civil, tribal and religious leaders, as well as women and youth who want to strengthen civic peace so as to prevent hate speech and ethnic tensions. The Sudanese joint forces defending Darfur must be supported in order to counter the militia and mercenaries, protect civilians, enhance stability, promote peacekeeping in Darfur and monitor

the Adré crossing that was misused by the militia for smuggling weapons and ammunition to Darfur.

There is also a need to agree on a new concept for the protection of civilians that is based on complementarity among the different components — civil society, police, military, religious people and leaders, women and youth — so as to ensure a multi-role protection plan assigned to the various civil and Government sectors, with the employment of the role of art, heritage and culture in protecting civilians.

In conclusion, the needed support from the United Nations and the African Union is a qualitative, technical and operational one for protecting civilians and peacebuilding in conflict. There must be no foreign interference that would provoke communal, religious and societal components against the protection plan. We have seen that in Rwanda, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. What is required of the international community and the United Nations is to correct the mistake they made by failing to support the national plan for the protection of civilians that was submitted in the year 2022.

Support must be provided for achieving a smooth political transition, promoting legitimacy and enhancing national ownership. There is also a need for good offices, technical expertise, facilitating peace and negotiation processes with complete neutrality, free from politicizing the Sudanese crisis, and supporting the national interests of other countries.

The initiative to silence the guns must be above all other initiatives and must not be confused with a political process. Without achieving the protection of civilians and stopping the war, we cannot talk about a political process. There is a need for strict adherence to the process of national peacebuilding, led by the Sudanese people, in line with resolution 2736 (2024).

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.