



# Security Council

Seventy-ninth year

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New York

*President:* Mr. Blinken . . . . . (United States of America)

*Members:*

Algeria . . . . .	Mr. Bendjama
China . . . . .	Mr. Fu Cong
Ecuador . . . . .	Mr. De La Gasca
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Slovenia . . . . .	Mrs. Blokar Drobič
Switzerland . . . . .	Mr. Gürber
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Mr. Kariuki

## Agenda

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

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*The meeting was called to order at 1.35 p.m*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

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

**The President:** I would like to warmly welcome the ministers and other high-level representatives present in the Security Council Chamber. Their presence today underscores the importance of the subject matter under discussion.

In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Egypt, the Sudan, Türkiye and the United Arab Emirates 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. Edem Wosornu, Director of Operations and Advocacy, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; Ms. Shayna Lewis, Preventing and Ending Mass Atrocities Senior Advisor and Sudan Specialist; and Mr. Saad Bahr Al-Din, Sultan of Dar Masalit.

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

I now give the floor to Ms. Wosornu.

**Ms. Wosornu:** I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of Mr. Tom Fletcher, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, who is currently travelling and sends his apologies for being unable to connect.

The war in the Sudan has raged for more than 20 months, and its horrendous human toll continues to show. Fears and hostilities in populated areas are escalating and spreading in an atmosphere of evident disregard for international humanitarian law — civilians killed and injured in unbearable numbers, millions stalked by the threat of famine in the world's largest hunger crisis, sexual violence rife, and education and healthcare facilities in ruins. While cholera and other diseases spread, large swathes of the country have been cut off from reliable telecommunications. Families continue to flee, with more than 12 million people, about one quarter of the population, displaced since April, while

3.2 million people have sought safety in already fragile areas in neighbouring countries. Meanwhile, the volume of humanitarian aid reaching people in need remains a fraction of what is required.

It is a crisis of staggering scale and cruelty — one that demands sustained and urgent attention. That is why Under-Secretary-General Fletcher visited the Sudan and Chad during his first trip as Emergency Relief Coordinator. He held intensive discussions with the Sudanese authorities on the need to scale up the humanitarian response, protect civilians throughout the hostilities and end sexual violence as a tool of war. During those discussions, there was agreement on the importance of an increased humanitarian presence on the ground in key locations, including Zalingei as a base for operations across Darfur, and on the need for more predictable and sustained cross-line access. Immediately after his meeting with Under-Secretary-General Fletcher, the President of the Transitional Sovereignty Council announced that humanitarian organizations would be able to establish hubs and regular flights to Blue Nile, North Kordofan and South Kordofan. He also announced increased support for the movement of humanitarian personnel. The United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for the Sudan is leading efforts to build on that progress with urgency.

On the visit, Under-Secretary-General Fletcher also listened to local communities and front-line humanitarian teams in displacement sites in the Port Sudan area, Kassala state and El Geneina in West Darfur, which he was able to reach via the Adré crossing from Chad. Alongside Sudanese women, he launched the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence campaign, a global initiative of particular importance in the Sudan. In Port Sudan he also had the privilege of meeting and listening to Mr. Saad Bahr Al-Din, Sultan of Dar Masalit, who will also be briefing the Council today. In eastern Chad, he met with Sudanese refugees, Chadian refugee returnees and the communities hosting them. Local and international responders are overwhelmed and underresourced, and the conditions are desperate. The Under-Secretary-General announced an immediate allocation of \$5 million from the Central Emergency Response Fund to support the response in eastern Chad, but the communities and responders need more.

We have seen some positive momentum on access, including permission to use the critical Adré border crossing extended for three more months; a surge in

food assistance, including a World Food Programme convoy reaching Zamzam camp in North Darfur on 22 November, the first United Nations food convoy to the camp since famine conditions were confirmed in July; and international non-governmental organization partners able to airlift life-saving supplies into Blue Nile and South Kordofan states. However, the tentative hopes for progress have now been tempered by renewed hostilities. A second World Food Programme convoy to Zamzam was delayed by an escalation of fierce fighting, including shocking reports of repeated shelling on the camp itself, sending thousands of people fleeing. Recent days have seen further reports of civilian casualties due to apparently indiscriminate attacks, including aerial bombardment and artillery shelling, in El Fasher and other areas of Darfur. An air strike on a crowded market in Kabkabiya in North Darfur last week reportedly killed dozens of people and injured many more. Operations in El Fasher's primary hospital were suspended owing to an alleged missile strike last Friday, with patients among the casualties. Fighting also continues in Gezira and Khartoum. Alarming, hostilities are spreading into new areas. In the south of the country, clashes in White Nile and Blue Nile states are driving displacement, including into South Sudan, and threatening a key border crossing.

Last month Under-Secretary-General Fletcher witnessed first-hand the incredible courage and resilience of women, children and men in the face of this senseless war. He was struck by the determination and commitment of local and international humanitarians dealing with exceptional challenges and by the generosity of host communities in the Sudan and eastern Chad. The international community now needs to do more to fulfil its responsibilities. Under-Secretary-General Fletcher has set out three key asks of the Security Council today.

First, the Council should demand unequivocally that the parties comply with international humanitarian law. The appalling civilian toll must end. Essential infrastructure and services must be spared and sexual violence stopped. The recommendations in the Secretary-General's October report (S/2024/759) on the protection of civilians in the Sudan should be implemented in full.

Secondly, the Council should use its influence to ensure that all humanitarian relief routes — road and air, across conflict lines and borders — are open. Bureaucratic impediments must be lifted and permits

and visas for incoming personnel issued swiftly and efficiently. Humanitarian personnel and their assets must be protected.

Thirdly, money must be found. In 2024 humanitarian organizations faced significant funding gaps. We call on donors to provide the \$4.2 billion that humanitarians need to support nearly 21 million people inside the Sudan next year, and the \$1.8 billion needed to support 5 million people, primarily refugees, in seven neighbouring countries. We will bring intensity, energy and creativity to the humanitarian mission. But ultimately, the only way to end this cycle of violence, death and destruction is for the Council to rise to the challenge of delivering lasting peace in the Sudan.

**The President:** I thank Ms. Wosornu for her briefing.

I now give the floor to Ms. Lewis.

**Ms. Lewis:** I thank the Council for the opportunity to brief it today on the urgent need for it to adopt a resolution on civilian protection in the Sudan.

My name is Shayna Lewis. I am the Sudan Specialist and Senior Adviser with Preventing and Ending Mass Atrocities. The protection of civilians relies on the belief that a system like this body can and will ensure safety, but belief is a fragile thing. If the Council cannot do more to protect the people of the Sudan, it is not just their lives that will be at stake, it is the Council's own credibility and that of its members.

The scenes of brutality in the Sudan keep many of us awake at night. Earlier this year, I collected the testimony of a young Darfuri woman who was gang-raped in her family home. Her father beat against the door of the room she was trapped in, trying to save his baby girl. In return, the Rapid Support Forces troops shot him dead for daring to protect her. Much like that brave father, the Council has a chance to save the lives of Sudanese women and boys, girls and men. Over decades the Council has developed rich policy on civilian protection. Yet the international community has failed the people of the Sudan across 20 months of war. Footage abounds of forms of brutality that defy human consciousness and that no person should have to bear witness to, but the Council must — I repeat, must — demonstrate through action that the imperilled lives of 49 million Sudanese will not be abandoned to the whims of armed men.

There are some in this Chamber who claim that any action by the United Nations to protect civilians would violate the Sudan's sovereignty. Indeed, we heard that argument when the Russian delegation vetoed a draft resolution on the Sudan (S/2024/826) last month. But sovereignty comes with responsibility, the responsibility to protect civilians. It is not a blank cheque to conduct war crimes. If the Sudan's de facto authorities are unwilling or unable to fulfil that paramount responsibility, the Council is required to act in accordance with its mandate. We should make no mistake. This is a war against the people of the Sudan, especially Sudanese youth, who dared to stand up in the face of 30 years of oppression and to dream of a future defined by freedom, peace and justice. For daring to speak truth to power, the people of the Sudan are now suffering amid the trifecta of the world's largest displacement, food insecurity and protection crises, all because of a war that by some estimates has taken the lives of more than 150,000 civilians.

Meanwhile, external backers that continue to finance and benefit from the war and from the death, rape and starvation of Sudanese must be held to account through sanctions. Those backers, including the United Arab Emirates, must not be allowed to profit from the Sudan's smuggled and blood-drenched gold. The members of the Council with strong ties to those external backers must demonstrate that they value the lives of Sudanese civilians over partnerships with malign actors. To do so would require from the Council not innovation, but the will to protect civilians in the Sudan, and not merely by enforcing the existing arms embargo and sanctions regime but by expanding it.

I do not envy the Security Council's task of upholding international peace and security in this challenging geopolitical climate. Yet in the Sudan, we are not facing a lack of options but rather a lack of ambition. The Secretary-General's recommendations for the protection of civilians were most welcome. However, many in civil society felt that they failed to match the severity of the crisis in the Sudan. Let me be clear. It is the lack of a nationwide ceasefire that demands that the Council take action to protect civilians in Sudan. The Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court believes that the Rapid Support Forces and the Sudanese Armed Forces have committed atrocity crimes in the Sudan. Although we must be careful to not draw a false equivalency between the actions of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and the Sudanese Armed Forces, the perpetration of any and all atrocities must be condemned and stopped.

Earlier this month, the Sudanese Armed Forces conducted air strikes on a market in Kabkabiya, North Darfur, killing more than 100 people. Meanwhile, the atrocities of the Rapid Support Forces stretch across the breadth of the country. The United Arab Emirates-backed RSF is committing genocide in Darfur, from Ardamata to El Geneina and from Kutum to El Fasher, and now it is cleansing famine-stricken Zamzam — the Sudan's largest camp for internally displaced people. The RSF is attempting to finish the genocide that began more than 20 years ago — and the RSF is succeeding.

We must and can do more to address those threats against Sudanese civilians. One of the greatest threats is the ongoing telecommunications blackout. More than 30 million civilians have been unable to access the Internet and phone lines for nearly 12 months, leaving them severed from the outside world. The Council should send an independent technical assessment team to create a plan to repair, restore and protect networks across the Sudan. The members of the Council have the power to break the blackout in the Sudan and stop the belligerents from hiding their atrocities from the world. It is Sudanese civilians and civil society that continue to keep eyes on the Sudan. The international community must urgently support Sudanese civil society in producing safe documentation for accountability purposes. Although the RSF and the Sudanese Armed Forces consented to self-compliance mechanisms, they continue to commit serious rights violations. The Council risks complicity if it continues to allow the belligerents to set their own standards for civilian protection. General Al-Burhan and General Hemedti will never hold themselves accountable, which is why the Council must support the work of the International Criminal Court and the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission for the Sudan.

Crucially, the Council must stop ignoring the recommendations of the United Nations own investigation by upholding the Fact-Finding Mission's recommendation for the "deployment of an independent and impartial force with a mandate to protect civilians in the Sudan" (*A/HRC/57/CRP.6, p.2*). The Council, in partnership with the African Union, must also consider a remote monitoring mission for the Sudan, the cost of which would be a fraction of the cost of previous physical deployments. Such a mission would prevent further atrocities through early-warning and early-action systems. If civilians are not dying from bullets or bombs falling from the sky, they are dying from

preventable famine. Although concerted negotiations have secured progress in humanitarian access, the aid trickling into the Sudan is only delaying death — not saving lives. While the United Nations continues to negotiate unimpeded access, donors must immediately scale up funding to the Sudanese humanitarian response.

I implore us all to not forget the future of the Sudan. More than half of the displaced population are children and hundreds of thousands of them are missing out on essential early-childhood vaccinations. Some 19 million Sudanese children have not sat in a classroom since the outbreak of this war and although the postponed national exams are due to be held on 28 December, many children will not be able to take them. We are at risk of losing an entire generation. And the world will not remember the geopolitical excuses; the world will remember the hundreds of thousands of lives lost and the genocide that occurred on our watch once again. Without the Council's action to protect civilians, the youth-led vision of peace, justice and freedom will remain a distant dream. The Sudan's progress towards civilian leadership is at risk of being destroyed. Sudanese young people have peacefully demonstrated and died for those very freedoms since 2018 and today they continue to risk their lives while providing life-saving humanitarian assistance to their communities through emergency response rooms and other grass-roots initiatives. They are the beacon of hope of the Sudan and the Council has the power to save their lives.

**The President:** I thank Ms. Lewis for her briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Bahr Al-Din.

**Mr. Bahr Al-Din** (*spoke in Arabic*): I would like to thank the two briefers, Ms. Wosornu and Ms. Lewis, for their briefings and to stress that even though their statements were largely accurate, nevertheless the bloodiest and saddest parts of the conflict were not reflected in their briefings. I do not expect that anyone present in this Chamber today has seen the body parts of women and children killed as a result of the bombing in Ardamata and El Geneina.

My name is Saad Abd Al-Rahman Bahr Al-Din. I am the Sultan of Dar Masalit, in West Darfur state in the Sudan. I would like to thank the Security Council presidency and the members of the Council. They are all ably representing their own countries in the Council. We hope that they will save the Sudan by adopting strong and strict measures in that regard,

and that they will save the Sudanese people from this impasse and major crisis. I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the opportunity to participate in this very important meeting and to sincerely thank the Member States of the Security Council that supported my participation in today's meeting.

Allow me at the outset to mourn the loss of the thousands of Dar Masalit people from El Geneina and Ardamata and the Sudan as a whole who have died, including all the Sudanese who have perished in El Fasher, Zamzam, Al Gezira, Omdurman and all over the Sudan as a result of this devastating war. May their souls rest in peace. I also wish a swift recovery to the injured and hope that the refugees and displaced persons will be able to return to their homes safely and securely.

Allow me also to give a brief introduction to the Sultanate of Dar Masalit, which is in West Darfur in the far west of the Sudan. Its capital is the city of El Geneina. The Sultanate is a model of a social and cultural melting pot, inhabited by diverse tribal and ethnic groups, with the Masalit tribe representing a majority of the population. The Sultan is considered the highest authority and has been one of the traditional symbols of the region for decades, both for the Masalit of the Sudan and for the Masalit in neighbouring countries. Today I represent the seventh Sultan in a chain that dates back to more than 150 years of continuous succession.

The Sultanate of Dar Masalit has been witnessing armed conflicts since 2003 among various factions, including foreign militias. The conflicts eventually reached a peak that began on 23 April 2023 and continues today. The war broke out in Dar Masalit only a week after it erupted in Khartoum. When it reached Dar Masalit, which is 2,000 kilometres from the capital, people among the Masalit and other tribes were systematically targeted on a large scale, based on their ethnic identity and the colour of their skin. The most hideous crimes were perpetrated against them. They include genocide on a scale that I believe has been witnessed nowhere else in our modern history. All the entry points into El Geneina, which is the headquarters of the Sultanate, were closed and the city was completely besieged by the Rapid Support Forces for 58 consecutive days. They began to bombard it, following that with successive attacks from all sides against the city around the clock. The wanton aggression was waged by foreign mercenaries who were brought in during the siege. They prevented the people and food and water supplies from getting in or out. Snipers were stationed around



water sources, high buildings and other vital locations. The southern neighbourhoods where the majority of Masalit reside were also systematically attacked. Properties were looted, homes set on fire, Government and private institutions burned. The crimes included indiscriminate killing, torture, the rape of women and genocide against the Masalit tribe.

I myself was on the hit list, which includes a large number of Masalit tribal leaders as well as educated and open-minded people, students and others. I was compelled to flee my home in El Geneina after staying there under the siege and bombardment for 56 days. I fled my home at night to help the more than 2,000 people wounded. Their situation kept worsening — one day somewhere between 20 and 25 young people died from their injuries, and we could not provide them with any kind of treatment owing to the lack of medicine, drugs and other medical supplies that could have helped them. I therefore fled my home at night, on foot, in very bad conditions, walking for 14 hours in heavy rain despite the fact that I am an old man. The distance, which was only 28 kilometres, took me 14 hours because I wanted to avoid ambushes and certain areas and roads.

Those crimes led to the deaths of some 10,000 people and injuries to tens of thousands more. They displaced no fewer than 1 million people, who had to flee to our neighbour Chad. Western and American newspapers and television channels have documented all those practices, and the eventual numbers are expected to be much bigger. I was a witness, seeing bodies on the streets and in people's homes. I even buried bodies myself. I tried to be everywhere to help bury the bodies properly. Moving around was extremely difficult and dangerous. Among the criminal practices targeting the Masalit, my people, that were committed by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) and their allied militias from neighbouring countries, I want to specifically mention that they burned people alive and buried alive people who were only injured. I believe most of us have seen the videos that show wounded people being buried alive. All those injured people were buried alive, and all prisoners were killed. Young people, children and students were killed. I am sure of the truth of those facts.

Some lost their lives and some have fled to neighbouring countries. Some were killed and their bodies dragged in public, including the Governor of West Darfur state, Khamis Abakar, who was killed by the RSF. We can testify to that, because the video clearly shows the RSF building. He was arrested by the

RSF commander in West Darfur, Abdel Rahman Juma Barkalla. There is a video available on the Internet that we can show either to the whole Council or to individual members, so that those who killed him and other innocent people in Ardamata and El Geneina and the rest of the Sudan can be held accountable.

Because of all this, thousands of people have fled to camps in eastern Chad and are living in dire conditions. Children are dying from famine, while the elderly have mostly died from hunger and poverty and the disabled are suffering from poverty and neglect. While some international organizations are present on the ground, both the quantity and the quality of the assistance being provided is inadequate to people's basic needs. Meanwhile, thousands of refugees are at risk of famine. And yet despite that humanitarian tragedy, the horrors perpetrated in West Darfur have been ignored by the international community, further deepening the suffering of the victims, who are still facing the cruellest and most terrible circumstances. We are human beings, and we had hoped to be treated in the same manner as refugees in other countries. Unfortunately, that was not the case. Nonetheless, we pray that we will find justice and that we will enjoy our equal rights on this Earth. We hope that international organizations and the international community will grant us our rights and provide sufficient assistance to meet our daily needs so that we may overcome some of the hardships we face and eventually achieve a dignified and healthy life.

Today I address you, Mr. President, and the Council to highlight just a small part of the suffering of the citizens of West Darfur, who have faced genocide, ethnic cleansing, looting and rape. From this Chamber, I wish to draw attention of the world to that devastating humanitarian catastrophe. I call on the international community to extend a helping hand to our country, which is suffering the scourge of a devastating war, by finding urgent solutions, including the provision of security and humanitarian assistance and the achievement of justice. It is a great honour to have an opportunity to convey to the Council what is happening in my country, the Sudan, in general, and in particular in the state of West Darfur. I come here carrying the concerns and aspirations of my people, who have borne the brunt of the war and have been displaced worldwide.

I stand before the Council asking for its support for our demands in four areas. I have personally experienced the same conditions. My family has been

displaced and I have lost many of my brothers and other family members. Therefore, I hope that you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council will address those fundamental demands and basic needs of the people of the Sudan and West Darfur.

First of all, with regard to the security situation, the prevailing insecurity and chaos in West Darfur and in the Sudan is the result of a war that has claimed the lives of thousands of people and displaced millions more. The main reason for the protracted war is the large flows of lethal weapons to the RSF from a number of countries of the region and elsewhere in the world. I can assure you, Mr. President, that the quantity of weapons entering the country and reaching the parties concerned is unimaginable. The inflow of weapons from certain countries of the region has been well documented. International reports and global newspapers have pointed fingers at those specific countries that are providing the weapons being used to kill and displace us. Therefore, I would like to call on the Council to exert pressure on those countries to stop providing weapons to fuel the war in the Sudan and demand that they strictly adhere to resolution 1591 (2005), which prevents the delivery of weapons to Darfur. Stopping the flow of weapons to Darfur will expedite an end to the war and help pave the way to peace.

Secondly, with regard to the humanitarian situation, there is an urgent need to provide humanitarian assistance — including shelter, food, water and medical assistance — to all those in need, whether displaced persons or refugees in neighbouring countries. There is a need to accelerate the provision of aid to those victims, while calling on stakeholders and neighbouring countries to open corridors and facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

Thirdly, with regard to rendering justice, I call upon national and international justice mechanisms to undertake fair, impartial and urgent criminal investigations into the violations perpetrated against the Masalit and other Sudanese citizens. The perpetrators must be held to account and the victims must be compensated.

Fourthly, I would like to ask the Council to call on the warring parties to return to the negotiating table and pursue a dialogue with the Sudanese people in order to achieve peace and stability.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Bahr Al-Din for his briefing.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Secretary of State of the United States of America.

Let me once again thank each of our briefers for their powerful testimonies. It was very important for the Council to hear them.

I recall to my fellow Council members that on 19 December 2018 — six years ago today — the people of the Sudan rose up to topple a dictator and reclaim their own futures. Who can forget the iconic image of Alaa Salah, the Lady Liberty of the Sudanese revolution, standing on the roof of a car as she rallied her nation to a new path? As one student protester put it: “We grinned with freedom on our face.”

Half a dozen years later, we see on too many Sudanese faces hunger and despair. The military takeover in 2021 and the brutal fighting that erupted between the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) in April 2023 have derailed the Sudan’s transition to democracy and unleashed what is the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. Each day, as we have heard from our briefers, brings new atrocities. There have been attacks on hospitals, markets and displaced persons camps. There have been summary executions. Women and girls are subjected to unspeakable sexual violence. We continue to see war crimes and crimes against humanity committed across vast parts of the Sudan. In Zamzam, people have resorted to eating grass and peanut shells. By some estimates, a child there dies every two hours for lack of food.

The effects of that tragedy extend well beyond the Sudan’s borders. More than 3 million Sudanese have fled to neighbouring countries. Outside actors are arming and supporting both parties, turning an internal power struggle into a conflict with global dimensions. In short, failure to act in the Sudan threatens the peace and security that the Council is charged with preserving. The world cannot and must not look away from the humanitarian catastrophe that is happening in the Sudan on our watch, before our eyes.

The United States has worked intensively with partners to provide relief to the Sudanese people, end hostilities and return Sudan to the path of democracy. We have been the largest provider of humanitarian aid to the people of the Sudan. Today, we are announcing an additional roughly \$200 million for food, shelter and health care, bringing the United States’ total support to more than \$2.3 billion since the fighting broke out

last year. In August, the United States launched a new initiative, the Aligned for Advancing Lifesaving and Peace in Sudan (ALPS) group, co-hosted by Switzerland and Saudi Arabia and in partnership with Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, the African Union and the United Nations. The ALPS group built on earlier work done in Jeddah and Paris and incorporates Sudanese civil society, including Sudanese women, who are both disproportionately harmed by the violence and essential for ending it. Alongside our partners, the United States successfully pressed the Sudanese authorities to reopen major transportation arteries across the Sudan, including, as we heard, the Adré border crossing into Darfur. Those efforts have allowed aid to reach more than 3.5 million people across the Sudan. We enabled humanitarian air operations to resume for the first time since the conflict began, meaning that a trip that might have taken two days over flooded and bombed-out roads can now take just one hour. With United States leadership, the United Nations and the Sudanese Federal Ministry of Health vaccinated more than 1.4 million people against cholera, achieving 98 per cent coverage in hard-hit areas.

That is important progress and it is saving lives but it is nowhere near enough. Therefore, let me suggest today four ways that we can intensify our efforts.

First, we have to get more aid and more relief where it is needed most — safely, rapidly and unhindered. In November, aid groups distributed 19,000 metric tons of assistance in the Sudan. That was a fourfold increase since August, yet to even come close to meeting the immense demand, we need to double it to 40,000 metric tons every single month. That means that the international community must give more to support those in the Sudan, as well as to support the refugees in countries such as Egypt and Chad that are so generously hosting them.

To deliver that assistance, we must finalize and sustain humanitarian corridors that allow aid to get into contested areas. Thirty-one World Food Programme trucks are now rolling toward a part of Khartoum that had been cut off from humanitarian support since April 2023. We have to build on that momentum and regularize that corridor, in addition to the ones into El Fasher, Gezira and El Obeid. Assistance must also be permitted not only to cross the border into the Sudan but to cross territory that is held by the two sides. Both parties have created obstacles, whether they be bombs, bullets or bureaucracy. Lives depend on that — on aid flowing freely across lines of control.

We have to ensure that aid can be dispensed more efficiently. The Sudanese authorities have allowed the United Nations to open three new humanitarian hubs and allowed international aid workers to move freely about the Sudan. Standing up a fourth hub in Zalingei in Central Darfur is also vital. It is time for the United Nations and humanitarian community to activate those facilities and scale up aid delivery as soon and as quickly as possible.

Secondly, the Council must press both warring parties to protect civilians, to stop atrocities and to end the fighting. The Aligned for Advancing Lifesaving and Peace in Sudan group has proposed a compliance mechanism — a committee with representation from the Sudanese Armed Forces, from the RSF and from the international community — to ensure that each side upholds international law and their commitments under the Jeddah Declaration of Commitment to Protect the Civilians of Sudan. As I said a year ago when determining that both the Sudanese Armed Forces and the RSF had committed war crimes — and that the RSF had committed crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing, specifically designating the atrocities against the Masalit described by the Sultan of Dar Masalit as ethnic cleansing — the United States will use every tool, including further determinations and sanctions, to prevent abuses and hold perpetrators accountable. We encourage other partners to implement similar sanctions bilaterally and multilaterally against individuals and organizations whose actions worsen the conflict.

Thirdly, the Council must make clear to the outside actors fanning the flames in the Sudan that that conduct cannot continue. Last month, the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone submitted a draft resolution that called for a nationwide ceasefire, increased civilian protection and the unhindered flow of aid (S/2024/826). Fourteen members, including the United States, voted in favour of this resolution. One member, Russia, vetoed it, calling the draft resolution “absurd and unacceptable”. What is absurd and unacceptable is any country professing to care about African nations while continuing to fuel Africa’s largest war. Therefore, we say to the foreign sponsors sending drones, missiles and mercenaries, and to those profiting off the illicit oil and gold trade that fund this conflict — enough. They should use their resources to ease Sudanese suffering, not deepen it. They should use their influence to end the war, not perpetuate it. Rather than merely claiming to be concerned about the future of the Sudan, they should prove it.



Finally, we must all continue to support the Sudanese people as they work to revive this transition to inclusive, civilian-led democratic governance. In September, the African Union reiterated its call for the Sudan to return to a constitutional and civilian-led order. The United States endorses this call. The entire Council should do so as well. To further advance the restoration of civilian governance and to help to realize the aspirations of the Sudanese people, I am announcing today that the State Department will work with Congress to provide \$30 million to empower civil society and elevate civilian voices in the dialogue about the future of the Sudan.

Even as the bombs continue to fall, the people of the Sudan are not waiting to lead. Across the country, they are banding together to support one another and to rebuild their nation. Volunteers, many of them young people, are preparing food at local soup kitchens in Darfur. They are offering colouring books to traumatized children. They are running health clinics. They are repairing collapsed electrical lines. There is even a word for the selflessness that those citizens are demonstrating daily: a deep-rooted Sudanese tradition called *nafeer*. *Nafeer* is a sense of solidarity, a commitment to mutual aid, a community springing into action in times of need. It is translated literally as “a call to mobilize”.

We, then, as a Council, should also answer that call. We too should mobilize. We have a responsibility: a responsibility to stop the suffering, to end this war and to support the Sudanese people so that — in the words of that protester — freedom is once again on their faces. I ask Council members, all of us: let us seize this moment.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

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

**Mr. De La Gasca** (Ecuador) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to begin by thanking the United States for organizing this meeting and the speakers for their valuable briefings on this highly relevant topic.

The war in the Sudan must stop. That will require decisive action on the part of the international community, including the Security Council. More than 600 days of armed hostilities have left a devastating trail of death, displacement and human suffering.

The Sudanese people face immeasurable levels of violence, hunger and uprooting, exacerbated by egregious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. The serious violations against children — murder, maiming, sexual violence and forced recruitment — are particularly alarming. Those violations constitute an attack on their future and on the very future of the Sudan.

The Geneva Conventions and Council resolutions are binding on the parties, including the principles of distinction, proportionality and precaution. Accountability is also essential to break the cycle of impunity.

Ecuador reiterates that there can be no military solution to the conflict in the Sudan, since courage, good faith and political will are what must prevail in order to reach a solution by peaceful and diplomatic means. I reaffirm Ecuador's support for the efforts of the African Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, Ramtane Lamamra, in promoting an inclusive dialogue between the parties to the conflict. The coordinating role of those institutions is vital to moving towards a sustainable solution.

I should also mention that all States Members of the United Nations have obligations under the sanctions regime of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005) concerning the Sudan and that the arms embargo must be complied with. Any external interference that fuels conflict and instability is inexcusable.

The declaration of famine in Zamzam camp is a sign that the international community cannot ignore. More than 50 per cent of the population lives in conditions of critical food insecurity, reflecting the magnitude of the humanitarian tragedy. This crisis cannot be effectively addressed without continued safe access to border crossings, such as the Adré crossing, and the implementation of safe corridors in accordance with resolutions 2730 (2024) and 2736 (2024) in order to bring in humanitarian aid.

The unity of the Council is crucial to stop the spiral of violence and suffering, adopt essential measures to protect civilians and guarantee humanitarian assistance. Establishing a national ceasefire and silencing the guns constitute the first measure to that end. Peace in the Sudan is a national responsibility and an ethical and political obligation of the international community. The Council cannot remain on the sidelines while

the Sudanese people suffer. It is time to take decisive action and seek a resolution that reflects our shared responsibility to protect lives and promote peace.

I conclude by reiterating Ecuador's solidarity with the Sudanese people and its unwavering willingness to contribute to a future of stability and dignity for the Sudan. The civilized conscience of humankind demands that of us. Before concluding, and as this will be my final time addressing the Council, I would like to bid farewell by thanking all my colleagues for having allowed me to be part of the international community's efforts to promote international peace and security.

**Mr. Gürber** (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): I want to thank Ms. Wosornu, Director of Operations and Advocacy of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and Ms. Lewis for their briefings. I would particularly like to thank the Sultan of the Masalit community for sharing his personal testimony with us.

When Switzerland first addressed the Security Council on the situation in the Sudan in March 2023 (see S/PV.9274), the country was at a critical point in its transition to democracy, and the Sudanese people's hopes for freedom, peace and justice rested on that transition. However, the outbreak of the conflict a month later shattered those hopes and inflicted immeasurable suffering on millions of people. An utter disregard for human life, illustrated by countless violations of international law, has since led to the world's largest humanitarian crisis. In view of the further escalation in clashes between the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) in several States in the past few days, and the RSF's relentless bombardment of El Fasher and Zamzam camp, an immediate cessation of hostilities is imperative, as the Council has called for on numerous occasions. As this is the last meeting at which Switzerland will speak on this issue as a member of the Council, I would like to reiterate the following points.

First, international humanitarian and human rights law and commitments such as the Jeddah Declaration must be fully respected and implemented by the parties to the conflict, which are obliged to protect civilians under all circumstances. As a member of the Aligned for Advancing Life-saving and Peace in the Sudan group, we are working with the parties to facilitate humanitarian access and strengthen the protection of civilians, which has been one of Switzerland's priorities while on the Council. As we have also emphasized over

the past two years, local organizations play an essential role in the protection of civilians and the humanitarian response, and particular attention should be paid to protecting them, as is underlined in resolution 2730 (2024), which reminds the parties of their obligation to protect humanitarian personnel.

That brings me to my second point, which is just as urgent. We must continue to improve the humanitarian situation. This week, our Deputy Director of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, accompanied by our Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa, went on mission to the Sudan. The Swiss delegation travelled to Kassala to assess first-hand the immense humanitarian needs and the many challenges facing the humanitarian response. During our mandate, we have consistently called for rapid, safe, unhindered and sustained humanitarian access across all borders and front lines and for removing all obstacles and obstructions. The world's worst food crisis, leading to the first confirmation of famine in years, has been a priority for us, particularly as we are the informal co-focal point for resolution 2417 (2018). The rapid establishment of United Nations humanitarian hubs across the country, together with continued funding, is also essential. We are determined to maintain our humanitarian support. Since the beginning of the conflict, Switzerland has committed more than \$100 million to the Sudan and the countries affected by the conflict.

Thirdly, we must ensure accountability, which has been largely absent over the past 20 years. Without it, peace will remain out of reach. We will continue to call for action beyond our mandate in the Council, given, among other issues, the appalling reports of sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls, mainly committed by the RSF, as well as ethnic violence and repeated warnings of the risk of genocide. We also reiterate our appeal to the parties and Member States to ensure the full implementation of the Council's resolutions, in particular by refraining from any external interference and by respecting the arms embargo, whose flagrant violations continue to fuel the conflict.

Lastly, we must step up our diplomatic efforts to facilitate a Sudanese-led political process. In that regard, Switzerland welcomes and supports the significant engagement of the African Union and the Sudan's neighbours. Switzerland remains committed to promoting the active and meaningful participation of women in all discussions on the future of their country. We also reiterate our strong support for the

Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, in complementing and coordinating the diplomatic efforts and working with the parties to enhance the protection of civilians. We remain at his disposal for any support, as we have done in the past as host State for the proximity talks in Geneva.

Hope still persists at the centre of this human-made disaster, as Ms. Hanaa Eltigani's personal testimony demonstrated in this Chamber under our presidency in October (see S/PV.9761). That hope must guide our efforts within the Council. It is our responsibility to act without delay and to speak with one voice in the face of this human tragedy. As Switzerland's term on the Council draws to a close, we reaffirm our solidarity with and ongoing commitment to freedom, peace and justice for all Sudanese people.

**Mr. Kariuki** (United Kingdom): I am grateful to Secretary Blinken for convening today's meeting and for all the efforts of the United States to bring to an end the suffering in the Sudan, including through its leadership within the Aligned for Advancing Life-saving and Peace in the Sudan group, the Jeddah process and its significant funding for humanitarian assistance. I thank Ms. Wosornu for her briefing and Ms. Lewis and Mr. Bahr Al-Din for their powerful testimonies.

The year 2024 has been one of unimaginable suffering for the people of the Sudan, including as a result of disease, displacement and violence. In August, the Famine Review Committee confirmed famine in the Sudan, and forthcoming food security assessments are expected to be even worse. Next year must be different. With regard to that, I would like to make three points.

First, amid the continuing conflict, the Security Council has rightly focused on improving humanitarian access. We must now see delivery, with aid actually reaching the millions of people in need across the Sudan. We welcome the agreement by the Sudanese Armed Forces to extend the permissions on the Adré crossing and for the establishment of humanitarian supply hubs. However, as Secretary Blinken said, that is not nearly enough to meet the scale of need. Humanitarian access must be expanded to all civilians in need, whether the areas they live in are held by the Sudanese Armed Forces or the Rapid Support Forces. We therefore call on the Sudanese authorities to authorize further humanitarian hubs, particularly in Zalingei in Darfur. We also call on all sides to ensure additional cross-

line routes, safety guarantees for aid workers and the lifting of all bureaucratic impediments, which too often obstruct the provision of aid.

Secondly, the humanitarian crisis requires a concerted and robust international approach, including by the United Nations. We welcome the updates on the Emergency Relief Coordinator's visit to the Sudan and urge that such bold leadership continue. We must collectively strive for a system-wide response that delivers better outcomes for the Sudanese people. Donors must support the efforts by finding new ways to diversify our funding, supporting both the United Nations and local Sudanese responders at the front line of the response.

Thirdly, we condemn the attacks by the Rapid Support Forces on the Zamzam internally displaced persons camp and drone strikes in El Fasher that killed civilians and ground hospital operations to a halt. Last month, the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone submitted a draft resolution (S/2024/826) to address both parties' disregard of their Jeddah Declaration commitments to protect civilians. Despite Russia's veto (see S/PV.9786), 14 votes in favour sent a clear signal of the international community's focus on the need for the warring parties to comply with the Jeddah Declaration and other international human rights and humanitarian commitments. We urge the warring parties once again to engage meaningfully with existing diplomatic initiatives towards a lasting national ceasefire and political solution, including the efforts of the Secretary General's Personal Envoy, Mr. Ramtane Lamamra.

The year 2024 will be remembered as the year in which the warring parties created the world's worst displacement crisis and the man-made famine that they could have prevented. It is within their power to end the suffering and ensure peace in 2025. The world will be watching.

**Mr. Bendjama** (Algeria): I have the honour to deliver this statement on behalf of the three African members of the Security Council plus one (A3+), namely, Guyana, Mozambique, Sierra Leone and my own country, Algeria.

We would like to thank the United States presidency for scheduling this important meeting to discuss the deeply concerning situation in the Sudan. We want to convey our thanks to Ms. Edem Wosornu for providing us with deep insight into the humanitarian situation on the ground, as well as for her dedication to the population in need in Africa and all over the world. We

listened closely to the remarks made by Ms. Shayna Lewis and Mr. Saad Bahr Al-Din, Sultan of Dar Masalit. Finally, we welcome the participation of the permanent representatives of the Sudan, Türkiye, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates at this meeting.

The situation in the Sudan has been an active dossier on our agenda since the start of the conflict, in particular over the course of 2024. The Security Council made important efforts this year to contribute to the de-escalation of tensions and bring the parties to a ceasefire agreement, but it was all in vain. Despite those sustained efforts, we are still witnessing the continued deterioration of the situation on the ground. The latest reports on fighting in El Fasher, Khartoum, Al Jazirah and Sennar are appalling. Hundreds of innocent civilians have been killed and critical health infrastructure has been destroyed. In addition, the recent report of large-scale killings, abductions, rapes and attacks against civilians in South Kordofan by the Rapid Support Forces leave us speechless. Women and girls are unfortunately among the main targets. They are frequently subjected to unspeakable violations and suffering. In that regard, we would like to commend the resilience of Sudanese women, and we call for all perpetrators of human rights violations to be held accountable.

The A3+ insists on the need to continue engaging constructively on the Sudanese file and would like to underline the following points.

First, an immediate ceasefire is imperative. We reiterate our calls on the Sudanese parties to implement an immediate ceasefire without preconditions. We cannot afford to lose more innocent civilians. We cannot afford more displacement, sexual violence, food insecurity, destruction and instability in the region. It is past time that all parties to the conflict engage in a meaningful, transparent and Sudanese-owned political process, under the umbrella of the United Nations, while keeping the protection of civilians as their main and common objective.

Secondly, the parties must engage in diplomatic efforts in good faith. Establishing a ceasefire depends primarily on the willingness of the Sudanese parties, as well as on the support of regional and international partners. The Council has to provide further support to good-faith diplomatic efforts, while insisting on the coordination of such efforts and the preservation of the central role of the United Nations and the African

Union. In that regard, we welcome the organization of the third Consultative Meeting on Enhancing Coordination of Peace Initiatives and Efforts for the Sudan, held in Mauritania, to coordinate regional and international diplomatic efforts on the Sudan crisis. We also look forward to the announcement of the next round of proximity talks among the Sudanese parties, which will be convened by the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, beginning next year. In that regard, we encourage the Sudanese parties to engage constructively in those mediation efforts.

Thirdly, we must continue to facilitate humanitarian access. The latest developments on the ground are deeply concerning for all of us, owing to their impact on the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the populations in need, particularly women and children and those forcibly displaced, trapped in areas of heavy fighting or in besieged cities such as El Fasher. Despite the gloomy picture on the ground, we welcome the announcement by the Government of the Sudan that airports will be opened in El Obeid, Kadugli and Damazin for humanitarian flights and that humanitarian supply hubs will be established at those locations. We also welcomed the World Food Programme's announcement on 22 November that aid had finally reached North Darfur, and in particular that food aid had been delivered to the Zamzam camp for internally displaced persons. Those positive steps came in addition to recent measures relating to the reopening of the Adré border crossing and the authorization of humanitarian air operations in South Kordofan. We call on the Sudanese Government to sustain those positive steps and to facilitate further humanitarian assistance for the benefit of all who are affected by this tragic situation.

Lastly, we must finally put an end to foreign interference. We want to point to the powerful statement made by Under-Secretary-General DiCarlo in this same Chamber on the role of external actors.

"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" (*S/PV.9780, p.2*).

We therefore reiterate our call for strong and public condemnation of foreign interference in the Sudan and for full respect for the established sanctions regime and the arms embargo by all Member States.

We conclude by underlining the need for the Security Council to engage positively and constructively on the



situation in the Sudan to support the peace efforts in this important country in good faith in order to avoid a spillover of the conflict in the region and the continent.

**Mr. Fu Cong** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Director Wosornu of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the civil society representatives for their briefings. I also welcome the presence of the representatives of the Sudan, Egypt, Türkiye and the United Arab Emirates at today's meeting.

The conflict in the Sudan has entered its twentieth month as the fighting continues unabated, resulting in mounting civilian casualties, record levels of displacement and an increasingly dire humanitarian situation. The spillover of the conflict risks undermining regional stability. The international community should respond to the earnest desire of the Sudanese people for peace and work collectively to create the conditions for a proper settlement of the situation. I would like to make three points.

First, we must work together to promote a ceasefire and end the fighting. There have been frequent reports recently of violent attacks on civilians in places such as Gezira and El Fasher, showing a worrisome trend to escalation and expansion. The Security Council has adopted two resolutions on the situation in the Sudan that call on all parties to the conflict to end the hostilities and implement the commitments made in the Jeddah Declaration (resolutions 2724 (2024) and 2736 (2024)). The same resolutions also demand that the siege of El Fasher be brought to an end. The priority now is to ensure that those resolutions are effectively implemented in order to achieve de-escalation without delay and to ensure the greatest possible protection of civilians. China calls on all parties to the conflict in the Sudan to put the fundamental interests of the country and the people first, find a political solution through dialogue and consultation and restore peace as soon as possible. All parties should respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Sudan and play a constructive role in resolving the conflict.

Secondly, we must join hands to intensify the mediation efforts. Multiple international and regional mechanisms are engaged in mediation in various formats. China welcomes the convening in Mauritania of the third consultative meeting on enhancing the coordination of peace initiatives and efforts for the Sudan. We have learned that the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General, Mr. Lamamra, will visit the Sudan

soon. We support his continued good offices and hope that the United Nations will enhance its coordination with regional bodies such as the African Union, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and the League of Arab States, creating synergy in the exploration of innovative and effective ways to resolve the conflict. China stands ready to work with the international community and contribute its part to ending the conflict in the Sudan as soon as possible.

Thirdly, we must contribute collectively to alleviating the humanitarian plight. China applauds the enormous efforts of the World Food Programme and other United Nations agencies to provide humanitarian assistance. We welcome the recent announcements by the Sudanese Government about the extension of permissions on the Adré crossing, the opening of additional airports as hubs for the transportation, storage and distribution of humanitarian supplies and the concrete measures taken to facilitate humanitarian access. We support continued cooperation between the United Nations and the Sudanese Government in ensuring that aid supplies are delivered to the people in need expeditiously. We call on the international community to scale up assistance, honour pledges in a timely manner and help the Sudan to improve its humanitarian response capabilities.

In addition, it is important to note that as the conflict in the Sudan drags on, a large number of refugees are fleeing the country, putting ever increasing humanitarian pressure on neighbouring States. The international community should expand its targeted support for host countries and address the refugee shock through concerted efforts. It must be emphasized that any international humanitarian operations must fully respect the legitimate concerns of the Sudanese Government regarding its sovereignty, security and other aspects, and must be fully compliant with the principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence. Humanitarian questions should not be used as a pretext to exert undue pressure, let alone seek political self-interest.

Since the eruption of the conflict, China has provided the Sudan with multiple batches of humanitarian assistance, including food and medical supplies, and a new shipment of food aid will arrive soon. China has also recently partnered with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations to implement an agricultural assistance programme in the Sudan's Red Sea state, providing seeds and other agricultural inputs

to small- and medium-sized farmers as a way to address food insecurity. We remain committed to working with the international community and making even greater efforts to help the Sudan ease the humanitarian situation and restore peace and stability.

**Mr. Cho** (Republic of Korea): I would like to thank the President for convening this crucial meeting. We thank Director Wosornu, Ms. Lewis and Sultan Saad Bahr Al-Din for their insightful and sobering briefings. We also welcome the presence of the representatives of the Sudan, Türkiye and the United Arab Emirates.

It is deeply disturbing that repeated calls by the Security Council and the international community for an immediate, nationwide ceasefire in the Sudan continue to fall on deaf ears. Instead, the conflict has intensified, fuelled by external support, as the parties to the conflict pursue military dominance. Particularly alarming are the harrowing reports of heavy artillery bombardment of the Zamzam internally displaced persons camp, where famine was tragically confirmed in August.

In addressing this man-made catastrophe, I would like to underscore three points.

First, the parties to the conflict in the Sudan must heed the urgent call of the Security Council and the international community for an immediate and nationwide ceasefire. Although the adoption of a new draft resolution (S/2024/826) reiterating this call was vetoed in November (see S/PV.9786), the Council's call for an immediate ceasefire remains valid and binding. We strongly urge all parties to the conflict to comply with Security Council resolutions and engage in negotiations to uphold their commitments under the Jeddah Declaration. We commend the efforts of the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Mr. Lamamra, and look forward to tangible progress in the proximity talks. The contributions of the African Union and the Aligned for Advancing Lifesaving and Peace in Sudan Group in engaging the conflicting parties are equally appreciated. We encourage the efforts to coordinate various peace initiatives for the Sudan and in that regard welcome the third Consultative Meeting on Enhancing Coordination of Peace Initiatives and Efforts for the Sudan, held in Mauritania.

Secondly, unhindered humanitarian assistance remains essential to meet the overwhelming needs of the world's largest displacement and hunger crisis in the Sudan. We welcome the decision of the Sudanese

authorities to allow access to all United Nations agencies in order to establish supply hubs and address constraints to the delivery of aid. However, we are deeply concerned by the continued deliberate obstruction of humanitarian operations and the imposition of unnecessary administrative restrictions. We call on all parties to immediately cease all forms of attack against humanitarian workers, including local responders, and to lift bureaucratic impediments. In addition, funding for the Sudan's immense humanitarian needs must continue. The escalating crisis in the Sudan is increasing funding needs in the region, as the influx of displaced Sudanese people continues. For our part, the Republic of Korea has provided \$12 million in humanitarian assistance to the Sudan and South Sudan, as pledged at the International Humanitarian Conference for the Sudan held in Paris.

Thirdly, the Security Council should support enhanced monitoring and reporting mechanisms and accountability measures to address violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law. Credible reports, including from the Panel of Experts, have documented grave violations, including ethnically targeted attacks and widespread sexual and gender-based violence throughout the Sudan. In that regard, we welcome the activities of the International Criminal Court and the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission, particularly in the absence of a United Nations presence in the Sudan, and urge full cooperation with their critical work.

In conclusion, we sincerely hope for an immediate end to this devastating conflict, which has lasted for more than 20 months. We believe that only the establishment of an inclusive, civilian-led democratic Government will meet the aspirations of the Sudanese people. We stand ready to contribute constructively to the Council's efforts and the broader international community's initiatives to achieve that goal.

**Mrs. Frazier** (Malta): I would like to begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this high-level briefing on the Sudan. I also thank Ms. Wosornu and the other briefers for their valuable insights.

For 20 months, hostilities between the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) have unleashed devastating consequences, with civilians bearing the brunt. Instead of the warring parties moving towards de-escalation, we are witnessing an escalation of fighting. We are alarmed by the recent attacks on

markets and civilian infrastructure in North Darfur and Khartoum, which claimed the lives of dozens of civilians. We condemn the recent attacks by the RSF on El Fasher, including on the Zamzam internally displaced persons camp and the only remaining hospital in the city. Civilians and civilian infrastructure should never be a target. We reiterate the call made through resolution 2736 (2024) for the RSF to halt the siege of El Fasher and for all parties to the conflict to comply with their obligations under international law.

We cannot stress enough the imperative for the parties to commit to a nationwide cessation of hostilities and ensure the sustained passage of humanitarian aid through cross-line and cross-border routes, without any impediments. We also remind all parties to the conflict and States to comply with their obligations under the sanctions regime established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005) and its related arms embargo and to refrain from external interference.

Last month, the Council had an opportunity to address civilian protection needs with due urgency through a draft resolution (S/2024/826) submitted by the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone. Regrettably, the draft resolution was vetoed (see S/PV.9786), blocking a process that would have sought to develop a compliance mechanism to facilitate the implementation of the Jeddah Declaration commitments. We look forward to a future response by the Council in operationalizing the Secretary-General's recommendations on the protection of civilians.

We also encourage Personal Envoy Lamamra to maintain engagement with the warring parties and all other relevant actors, in coordination with the African Union and other key stakeholders. The meeting organized in Mauritania this week is a welcome step in coordinating efforts towards conflict resolution.

The full, equal, meaningful and safe participation of women in all levels and stages of decision-making is indispensable. We pay tribute to the Sudanese women who have been advancing the cause of peace, especially at the grass-roots level. We also welcome the contributions of youth-led organizations, which have displayed courage in advocating for their future aspirations.

The European Union remains a trusted partner in supporting civilian engagement. We call for all diplomatic efforts to maintain momentum to create conditions for an inclusive peace process.

A catastrophic humanitarian situation keeps unfolding, as the Sudan faces the largest displacement crisis in the world. Famine is now present in multiple areas across the country.

We condemn, in the strongest terms, the epidemic of sexual violence that is affecting mainly women and girls. Those acts of violence must stop and perpetrators must be held accountable. Survivors must also be supported as they seek protection, services and access to justice.

The children of the Sudan remain at risk of becoming a lost generation. Millions of children have been unable to gain access to schools owing to violence and insecurity, as well as acute food insecurity. The staggering increase in violations and abuses against children is of grave concern and requires our continued attention.

Finally, as Chair of the Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict, Malta was pleased to lead agreement on conclusions on the Sudan. They will help to ensure that the situation of children in the country remains on the international community's radar.

**Mr. Yamazaki (Japan):** I thank Director Wosornu, Ms. Lewis and Mr. Bahr Al-Din for their sobering briefings.

Since the draft resolution on the protection of civilians in the Sudan (S/2024/826) was vetoed by Russia in November, Japan has stressed that the Security Council must fulfil its duty by taking concrete steps forward. I therefore express my gratitude to the presidency for convening today's high-level briefing, which will serve as an opportunity for us to consider what steps can be taken.

Human security and dignity are at stake in the Sudan. The deliberate attacks carried out by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) against civilians, including in Zamzam camp, continue to be reported. Resolution 2736 (2024), which demands that the RSF halt the siege of El Fasher, has not been implemented yet. It is also reported that the Sudanese Armed Forces are responsible for many civilian casualties by bombardment in populated areas. The number of people forcibly displaced has exceeded 12 million. This is currently the worst displacement crisis in the world. More and more people are at risk of sexual and gender-based violence, in the absence of proper care for the victims and survivors. Acute food insecurity has been reported. Agricultural activities and the market system have been hindered by the conflict.

With that in mind, I would like to make three points.

First, the only way to end this human rights and humanitarian crisis is the immediate cessation of fighting. A coordinated political effort by the United Nations, regional organizations and influential Member States is vital for the parties to the conflict to return to serious negotiations. External interference fomenting the conflict and instability must stop now. Japan remains concerned about the continuously reported flow of arms and ammunition and of financial and logistical support to the warring parties from outside the country.

Secondly, the international community should scale up its efforts to reach people in need wherever they are. We therefore call on the parties to allow and facilitate full, rapid, safe, unhindered and sustained humanitarian access, including cross-line and cross-border activities, especially by granting visas to humanitarian personnel in a timely manner. In that regard, Japan welcomes the opening of additional entry points by the Government of the Sudan. We also need to discuss how the international community can promote local humanitarian actors, address the telecommunications blackout, provide security for humanitarian personnel by respecting resolution 2730 (2024) and secure the full, equal, meaningful and safe participation of women. In November, Japan made an additional contribution through the United Nations Office for Project Services to develop water supply infrastructure and hospital facilities in Kassala and Red Sea states by providing approximately \$5 million.

Thirdly, in order to achieve a ceasefire and scale up humanitarian assistance, it is necessary to advance our collective efforts to protect civilians in the Sudan. In November, Ambassador Shimizu, Japan's Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa, visited Port Sudan. He met with Lieutenant General Al-Burhan of the Transitional Sovereign Council, among others, and discussed the compliance mechanism to ensure the implementation of the Jeddah Declaration of Commitment to Protect the Civilians of Sudan, which the Security Council recently considered. Japan calls on the Security Council members to further deliberate on such a mechanism so that it will be robust, innovative and actionable. Japan continues its dialogue with the Sudanese authorities to help convey the Council's unified message and achieve peace and stability.

In conclusion, Japan will remain committed to the aspirations of the Sudanese people for peace as a long-standing partner of Africa.

**Mr. Dharmadhikari (France)** (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Ms. Edem Wosornu for her briefing and Ms. Shayna Lewis and Mr. Saad Bahr Al-Din, Sultan of Dar Masalit, for their statements

I would like to focus on three points.

First, the situation in the Sudan remains dire. France condemns the attacks perpetrated by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) against civilians in North Darfur, Gezira and Omdurman. Reports of ethnic violence and massive sexual violence committed by the RSF are alarming. France condemns the strikes carried out by the Sudanese Armed Forces against civilian targets, in particular that of 9 December, which killed more than 100 people in a market in Kabkabiya, Darfur. It is urgent for the parties to resume dialogue and conclude a ceasefire as soon as possible. The arms embargo on Darfur was unanimously renewed in September (see resolution 2750 (2024)), and we call on foreign actors to refrain from providing any military, logistical or financial support to the parties.

Secondly, the parties to the conflict must uphold their obligations under international law and, in particular, international humanitarian law. France calls on all parties to the conflict to allow for full, secure, rapid and unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid throughout the Sudan, across borders and across front lines. It recalls the declaration of principles adopted on 15 April in Paris at the international humanitarian conference for the Sudan and its neighbours. Humanitarian workers must be protected, in line with resolution 2730 (2024). France commends the Sudanese authorities' decision to approve the continuation of humanitarian operations from Chad to the Sudan via Adré. The French Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs visited the region on 28 November. He announced an additional €7 million in aid to support the population.

Thirdly, we urgently need to do more to protect civilians. We call on the Rapid Support Forces and the Sudanese Armed Forces to uphold their commitments, as contained in the Jeddah Declaration. To that end, France supports the establishment of a monitoring and verification mechanism, in coordination with international and regional players, to ensure the implementation of the Jeddah Declaration.



France deplores the veto cast by the Russian Federation against the draft resolution proposed by the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone (S/2024/826) on 18 November, despite the position of the 14 other members of the Council, in particular the African members. We remain determined to act to implement the recommendations of the Secretary-General in his report of 21 October (S/2024/759), in accordance with resolution 2736 (2024).

While the parties persist in seeking an impossible military victory, the very unity of the country is at risk as the fighting continues. Only an inclusive political process, involving all parties and civil society as a whole, can bring about a lasting political solution to the conflict, while respecting the aspirations of the Sudanese people and the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Sudan. France reiterates its full support for the efforts of the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, and stands ready to help create the conditions required for a negotiated settlement of the conflict.

**Mrs. Blokar Drobić** (Slovenia): I would like to extend my gratitude to Director Wosornu for her briefing, and I also thank Ms. Lewis and Mr. Bahr Al-Din for their remarks.

Since hostilities erupted in April 2023, the situation has spiralled downward at an alarming rate. The Sudan stands on the brink of a humanitarian abyss. The ongoing armed conflict is plunging the country deeper into chaos, undermining any prospect of stability and leaving the future of the country uncertain. Today, we have once again heard reports that underscore the urgency of decisive action on the part of the Security Council. The rapidly deteriorating security situation and mass displacements, coupled with a humanitarian disaster of unfathomable proportions, confirm the inescapable truth: there can be no military solution. No true victor can emerge from such carnage, and pursuing a solution through force will lead nowhere. It will only perpetuate instability, entrenching a cycle of violence and destruction that defies any progress. Only a political and inclusive negotiated solution can bring a lasting peace. Dialogue, not destruction, must prevail. We once again call on all the parties to engage in inclusive and honest talks and urge all stakeholders, within and outside the Sudan, to demonstrate genuine leadership and resolve. External interference and the unchecked flow of weapons are fuelling and further escalating

the conflict, destabilizing the region and obstructing ongoing peace efforts. All external actors must support rather than hinder the pursuit of peace.

We have stated repeatedly that the protection of civilians must remain a priority. International humanitarian law must be adhered to. Yet relentless and intentional attacks continue on civilians, including humanitarian and healthcare workers, and on critical civilian infrastructure, highlighting the horrific consequences of unchecked violence. Regrettably, starvation also remains a method of warfare in the country. I want to make it clear that those are all serious violations of international humanitarian law that demand accountability. Even in war there are rules, and civilians must never be targets. We condemn the widespread hostilities engulfing North and South Darfur and greater Khartoum and beyond, using shelling and air strikes on civilian areas, including internally displaced persons sites. Women and children especially are bearing the brunt of it. The widespread human rights violations and abuses and sexual and gender-based violence, including conflict-related sexual violence, reaffirm the dire need for accountability.

The Security Council has a responsibility and a moral imperative to do more, utilizing every diplomatic tool available. Doing nothing cannot be an option. We, the Council members, must bridge our divisions and take bold and decisive action. History shows that even in the worst of conflicts, when we stand on the side of protecting civilians and respecting international law, human rights and human dignity, we can sway the tide of conflict. Our message to the warring parties must be clear and unanimous. They must cease their hostilities, commit to negotiations and prioritize the protection of civilians. Slovenia stands ready to work closely with all members of the Council and other partners to support a peaceful, just and enduring future for the Sudan.

In conclusion, peace does not belong to those who are able to win it, nor is it a privilege of the fortunate few. No one should have to earn peace, and no one should be denied the opportunity to live in it.

**Mr. Nebenzia** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to Ms. Edem Wosornu, Director of Operations and Advocacy in the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, for her briefing. We also thank Mr. Saad Bahr Al-Din, the Sultan of Dar Masalit, for the information he provided. We welcome the participation in today's meeting of

the Permanent Representatives of the Sudan, Egypt, Türkiye and the United Arab Emirates. We listened to the prosecutor-style lecture by the so-called “Sudan Specialist”, Ms. Shayna Lewis.

Unfortunately, the armed conflict in the Sudan has become a protracted one. However, the situation on the ground has been evolving to some degree, although neither of the parties has a strategic advantage. We are witnessing sporadic successes for the Sudanese Armed Forces in Khartoum and Gezira. Against that backdrop, the Rapid Support Forces are attempting to focus on greater Darfur, which is resulting in a new ratcheting-up of tensions. The economic and social problems in the country are deepening. The international efforts to launch an inter-Sudanese peace process have stalled. The main task at this stage continues to be achieving a ceasefire in the Sudan. Without it, any steps to protect civilians, provide full humanitarian access and save women and children from the violence will be ineffective. And only the parties to the conflict themselves are in a position to reach an agreement on such a ceasefire. Imposing the parameters for such solutions or compelling the parties to negotiate through ultimatums is both unacceptable and unprofessional. In that context, we support the efforts of the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Sudan, Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, to reach a rapprochement in the positions of the parties to the conflict. In order to achieve results, he needs the necessary time and space to work without outside pressure.

The situation in the Sudan is being adversely affected by external interference in its internal affairs, which should stop. The fact that certain States are fuelling the conflict from outside and trying to implement dubious political engineering schemes in the Sudan is only worsening the plight of ordinary Sudanese. We had already clearly seen the damage done by such tactics in the nefarious policies of the United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan, which has now departed into inglorious oblivion. One thing is certain — any initiative to restore peace in the country without Port Sudan’s full-fledged participation is not viable. On 18 November (see S/PV.9786), Russia vetoed the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone’s draft resolution S/2024/826 on the Sudan, which, contrary to international law, undermined the legitimate Government’s role in protecting its country’s interests and borders. We stress that we will continue to resolutely suppress any attempts to encroach on the

sovereignty of a country that is a friend to us and to prevent the adoption of one-sided and non-viable decisions designed to prop up political forces that have lost authority among the Sudanese people and realize plans that do not respond to the realities on the ground.

We categorically reject the insinuations by Western countries and their media outlets alleging that we are playing to both parties to the conflict in an attempt to gain our own advantage from what is happening in the Sudan. We have consistently supported the launch of an intra-Sudanese dialogue as soon as possible, with the inclusion of the Sudanese political forces that enjoy the support of broad parts of the population and are seeking to unify the country. We firmly believe that the Sudanese people can and should independently resolve their internal problems. In order to make that process inclusive, it is important to involve all influential political forces and the country’s main ethno-religious groups. Instead of making unsubstantiated accusations about Russia, we urge other members of the Security Council to support that balanced policy and renounce their parochial, short-sighted aspirations, which are only worsening the situation in the Sudan.

I cannot recall our American, British or French colleagues putting forward any serious proposals lately for a settlement to the conflict in the Sudan. We hear nothing but criticism equating the Government of the country with the forces that have decided to break away from the army and use force to demonstrate their claim to power. They consistently try to pin labels on the leadership of the Sudan, pejoratively calling them “the authorities” instead of “the Government”. That not only demonstrates their continued bias where Sudanese affairs are concerned, it is also enabling the potential for disintegration. We firmly reject such approaches, because for us the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of a friendly country are not empty words and certainly not a bargaining chip. We regard the Transitional Sovereignty Council as the highest legitimate governing body in the Sudan, capable of ensuring the resilience of State institutions and the continuity of governance.

In November, having apparently grasped that there is no alternative to that policy, our American colleagues finally decided to send a special envoy, Tom Perriello, to Port Sudan to engage with the President of the Transitional Sovereignty Council, General Abdel Fattah Al-Burhan. However, as far as we know, the United States emissary distinguished himself merely by giving

lectures and biased opinions about the humanitarian situation in the Sudan. Unfortunately, instead of facilitating dialogue in the Sudan, our colleagues have elected to gradually and systematically step up pressure on the country with regard to humanitarian, human rights and other issues. And that is precisely what is prolonging the conflict. We should remember that the Sudan has already experienced the entire range of tools at the disposal of the Security Council, including a peacekeeping operation and a special political mission. They have first-hand knowledge of what they are, how they work and how “effective” they can be.

The country is also subject to a sanctions regime imposed by the Security Council, which has been compounded by illegitimate unilateral restrictions that have had no impact whatsoever. Calmness and stability were observed in the Sudan only in those rare moments when the country was left in peace and the Government was allowed to decide for itself how to shape its domestic and foreign policy. We underscore that Russia will stand in the way of any manipulation by our Western colleagues of the restrictions on the Sudan and we will continue to advocate for the lifting of the sanctions regime on Darfur as the situation in the country normalizes. The restrictive regime of the Security Council should not hinder the efforts of the Government of the Sudan to strengthen national security and put an end to the violence.

We note with regret that the humanitarian situation in the Sudan remains dire. Almost three quarters of its medical facilities are non-operational, medicines are in short supply and two thirds of the population have no access to healthcare, while the spread of dangerous diseases has been documented. A major challenge persists with regard to the lack of implementation of the country’s humanitarian response plan, which is only 60 per cent funded. United Nations humanitarian agencies and their partners must focus on improving efficiency in the distribution of aid to those in need. That is precisely what must be prioritized, rather than complaining in the Council and other forums about the Sudanese Government not being duly cooperative. I would like to recall that Port Sudan has opened up a number of land border crossings, airports and maritime shipping routes for the delivery of goods, including the well-known Adré border crossing, an extension for the use of which has been granted by the Government despite its major concerns about national security risks.

Humanitarian workers should also prioritize measures to enhance the purchasing power of the population, including through the issuance of special vouchers.

Judging by the statements of our colleagues in the Security Council and elsewhere, significant funds and resources are being allocated to the Sudan. It is surprising therefore that the situation both in the country itself and for the growing number of refugees and displaced persons in neighbouring States is only deteriorating. We would hope that the additional funds already transferred to or earmarked for the Sudan will be used to meet the needs of the population in need, rather than to support democratization reform schemes in the country on the basis of Western templates. Democracy and prosperity cannot be bought and sold like goods in a shop.

We would like to appeal to certain Council members to have the good sense to acknowledge that there is no way forward other than by engaging with the central Government. The alternative is to tacitly incite violence and prolong the suffering of the population. We believe that the leadership of the Sudan is perfectly aware that stabilization in the country is directly linked to a peaceful transition. We know that the Government has relevant initiatives under consideration in order to implement those objectives. We have heard many calls from Council members in favour of various regional mediation efforts, including the Jeddah platform, assistance through the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, and the contributions of a number of regional and external actors. We believe that guided by that same logic, the Council would do well to support, rather than frown upon, Port Sudan’s sincere efforts towards normalization.

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

**Mr. Mohamed (Sudan) (*spoke in Arabic*):** I would like to thank the Council presidency, including Mr. Blinken, for holding this high-level meeting on the developments in the Sudan. I would also like to thank Ms. Edem Wosornu, Director of Operations and Advocacy in the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, for her comprehensive briefing, Ms. Shayna Lewis for her briefing and her documentation of the violations of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), and Mr. Saad Bahr Al-Din, Sultan of Dar Masalit, for his clear-cut testimony on the violations of the RSF.

I would like to express our gratitude to the United States for its efforts to provide relief, its attempts to reach a solution to end the war and its positive engagement with the Sudan, which has recently increased. The total amount allocated by the United States to humanitarian relief exceeds \$2 billion. The Department of State has continued to regularly condemn the atrocities and crimes of the RSF, demanding that they lift the siege on the city of El Fasher. The United States Congress made efforts to criminalize the RSF by stopping the export of weapons to the United Arab Emirates. Moreover, we appreciate the engagement of the United States Agency for International Development and the United States Special Envoy for the Sudan, including their visits to our country. We express our thanks for all of the above.

The Sudan will continue its engagement with the international community and the Security Council, as well as with regional initiatives, to seek the best ways to stop the war. The Government of the Sudan has renewed its commitment to protect civilians. The terrorist attacks, massacres and crimes committed by the militia, backed by foreign mercenaries — to which the Sultan of Dar Masalit has attested — require the international community and the Security Council to support the Government of the Sudan in countering that aggression. It is also important to ensure the implementation of resolutions 1591 (2005) on Darfur and 2736 (2024) on national ownership of the peace process, while ending the siege on El Fasher and other cities.

Once the war has been brought to an end, an inclusive political process will be launched, but there is no role for the militia in the future of the Sudan. It is vital to ensure that there will be no impunity for perpetrators and those who have shed blood. We must strengthen the national justice process, because democracy is part and parcel of the culture of the Sudan. The world will see what the people of Sudan are capable of when it comes to upholding democracy and its path and strengthening national unity. We hope that the international community will promote such a process.

The Government of the Sudan will ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid and calls for such assistance to be stepped up. We have explained our position at all relevant meetings of the Security Council — more than 50 meetings in all. During the visit of Mr. Tom Fletcher and his delegation, together with the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator and the Sudan Humanitarian Aid Commission, we discussed a joint programme of action. Mr. Fletcher expressed his readiness to

cooperate with the Government of the Sudan to overcome the challenges with regard to humanitarian work. The Government reiterated its commitment to facilitate humanitarian work procedures by granting visas, issuing internal movement permits and ensuring the delivery of humanitarian aid, as well as establishing shelters and expanding humanitarian action. Of the 4,000 visa applications submitted, 3,980 have been approved and only 20 remain under consideration.

The Government has also undertaken efforts to open 12 air, sea and land border crossings, as previously mentioned, in order to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid to those in need. The Government opened the Adré crossing for a period of three months and then renewed access for another three months, despite security concerns that the border crossing could be used for purposes detrimental to national security. We have also strived to provide and deliver humanitarian aid to those in need. A total of 14,978 internal movement permits were issued for humanitarian organizations, while 28,700 requests for the movement of relief trucks between States and localities and through the Al Tina and Adré crossings were received and fulfilled in their entirety. Funding for the 2023 and 2024 humanitarian response plans fell short of the ambition to alleviate human suffering. Therefore, the Government hopes that the 2025 plan will be adequately funded in order to alleviate the humanitarian crisis.

A few urgent issues were also addressed, including the protection of civilians, humanitarian access and humanitarian funding. Mr. Fletcher expressed his satisfaction with the efforts of the Government following his visit to the Sudan, having witnessed at first hand the situation on the ground and having listened to the voices of those affected, including displaced persons and refugees. Not only was it his very first visit to the Sudan but it was also his very first country visit since assuming his new post. He stressed the need to work and cooperate with the Government of the Sudan to help increase funding for the 2025 humanitarian response plan. He thanked the Government of the Sudan for facilitating his visit to the country and simplifying procedures for humanitarian partners' work, and said that he looked forward to additional cooperation and coordination. There was also a discussion of the importance and necessity of condemning the rebellious RSF militias for their violations of the obligation to protect civilians in order to deter them from continuing to commit such violations.



Everyone has touched on the subject of external interference, of which we are all well aware. Additional recent evidence has shown that military and logistical support has been provided to the militias via neighbouring countries by land and air, using five secret helipads in the city of Nyala in South Darfur, as well as other temporary landing strips, thereby taking advantage of a war that the outsiders have sponsored, financed and deliberately exacerbated and prolonged. The experts who recently prepared the Reuters report said that tons of aid had been transferred to Sudanese refugees in eastern Chad.

However, that was refuted by evidence of regular flights being made to Um Jaras airport. A video was obtained showing metal crates and containers with the flag of that country being inspected by three weapons experts. The containers were stacked on low platforms, probably because weapons or ammunition were stored inside them. Those regular shipments have affected the trajectory and balance of the war by prolonging it and furthering its spread. That in turn has increased the scale of the crimes and atrocities committed by the RSF, which has ramped up deadly missile and drone attacks on civilians. The experts said that without the United Arab Emirates' support of the militias, enabling them to launch systematic attacks, the conflict would not have been able to continue. The report, issued this month, revealed that 170 flights took off from the United Arab Emirates to Um Jaras airport, and information and documents reviewed by Reuters have shown that 75 per cent of those flights belonged to operators carrying Emirati arms shipments to a warlord in southern Libya, which has been a passageway to North Darfur for mercenaries.

Experts in this area have confirmed that logistical support indisputably contributes to winning wars, and the United Arab Emirates has used that aerial network to facilitate the RSF's regular access to weapons, which has changed the balance of power in the Sudanese conflict by prolonging the war and increasing civilian casualties. According to the authors of the report, a Chadian member of the security forces working in Um Jaras confirmed to them that crates resembling those used by Chadian units to transport weapons were delivered by air. He said that his unit was responsible for guarding the crates until they reached the Sudanese border, where they were to be handed over to RSF fighters. A company affiliated with the Ministry of Defence in Abu Dhabi issued

a scanned document concerning 350 containers of military equipment and trucks crossing through the port of an African country and ending up in Chad. Seventy-two of the containers reached the port of that African country, for which we have evidence, and they are all headed towards the border with the Sudan. The Humanitarian Research Lab at Yale University posted a report on X about artillery shelling operations that the RSF has been conducting since May to target the city of El Fasher, as well as civilian and medical facilities and infrastructure. Satellite images have shown 155 millimetre AH4 howitzer heavy cannons set up by the militia east of Al Fasher. The Sudanese Armed Forces does not have such weapons. The United Arab Emirates has been using that type of cannon since 2019, and last week, on 10 December, the militia used such a cannon on a passenger bus in the city of Omdurman, killing 65 civilians.

With regard to the Colombian mercenaries, 160 of them joined forces with the RSF militia in Darfur in an attempt to change the balance of power. *The Wall Street Journal* reported that the company that hired them is based in Abu Dhabi and is working on behalf of the Government of the United Arab Emirates to recruit armed security forces. They were sent to support the militia's qualitative operations as snipers and to supervise drone and cybersecurity operations. According to the stamp on his passport, the man known as Christian Lombana Moncayo travelled from Bogotá to Dubai on 6 October. We should note that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia called the Sudan's Foreign Minister to offer an official apology and explain that the Colombian mercenaries had been misled. We have already spoken about the fact that thousands of them entered through the Central African Republic into Habila and Foro Baranga and through the Adré crossing. We have demands.

First, we call for ending the flow of weapons to the militia, which are being provided by the State under discussion and its regional partners. That is the only reason that the conflict has continued. We therefore need to end this blatant interference, which is violating the Charter of the United Nations and the sovereignty and national laws of our country and undermining the maintenance of international peace and security.

Secondly, the RSF militia should be designated a racially supremacist terrorist organization, as the Sultan of Dar Masalit discussed, because it is attacking

civilians based on their ethnic identity, plundering their property and food and besieging their cities and villages.

Thirdly, the RSF militia should retreat to special cantonment sites under the auspices of the United Nations, leave the homes that they have occupied and facilitate Sudanese citizens' return to the capital, Khartoum, in accordance with the Jeddah agreement.

Fourthly, the Sudan is cooperating with the Secretary-General through his Personal Envoy's diplomatic efforts, as well as with the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development with a view to reactivating the national multifaceted plan for the protection of civilians, with national ownership. Pursuant to resolution 2736 (2024), next month the Sudan will submit a national plan to the Security Council on the protection of civilians, and we urge the Council to support it.

In conclusion, we call for taking every possible step to build our capacity to preserve the safety and security of civilians, which should be done with full respect for national ownership. We also call for establishing a mechanism to monitor violations, especially attacks by the RSF militia and foreign mercenaries, whose numbers have recently increased. Technologies for monitoring violations of international humanitarian law should be adopted. We also need support for our national and state-level courts in enforcing the law and prosecuting crimes. The Sudanese police need training on the protection of civilians, especially in the regions that have been subject to the violations of the RSF and exposed to brutal systematic aggression designed to destabilize them, escalating the crisis and furthering its spread in order to transform the situation into a civil war, in line with the intentions of the RSF and their sponsors. Finally, we call for supporting the processes of reconciliation and national peacebuilding under the auspices of local and tribal authorities, Sufi and religious leaders, women and pro-reconciliation young people in order to foster national peace and combat hate speech and ethnic tensions.

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

**Mr. Yıldız (Türkiye):** I thank Director Wosornu, Ms. Lewis and Mr. Bahr Al-Din for their valuable briefings.

The armed conflict in the Sudan, now in its second year, has become a humanitarian catastrophe. Recent figures point to a dire situation in which more than

11 million people have been displaced and hundreds of thousands have lost their lives. Due to the conflict, vital infrastructure, including many health facilities, has been destroyed. Türkiye is extremely concerned about the humanitarian crisis and the continuation of the conflict. Building on its long-standing and deep-rooted relations with the Sudan and its people, Türkiye accords the utmost importance to the Sudan's unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence from outside interference. We support all sincere efforts by the international community to alleviate the suffering of the Sudanese people and scaling up humanitarian aid. In that regard, Türkiye has continued to provide humanitarian assistance to the Sudanese people. Three Turkish aid ships recently arrived in Port Sudan, delivering approximately 8,000 tons of humanitarian aid. Moreover, the Turkish hospital in Nyala — capital city of South Darfur — continues to operate despite the difficult and trying conditions. Our continued presence in Port Sudan at the ambassadorial level is a clear testament to our determination to stand with the Government and the people of the Sudan.

Africa's security, stability and prosperity have become even more fragile as a result of the overarching effects of the current crises. Finding long-lasting solutions will only be possible if the internal and external root causes are properly addressed. Therefore, to help the Sudanese people, we must focus on the causes of the disease and not the symptoms alone. The fighting in the Sudan must stop immediately. Amid increasing global crises and challenges, we should not let the Sudan slip away from the international community's attention and we should work together to convince the parties to reach a negotiated solution. Unfortunately, the prospects for ending the conflict will continue to grow dimmer with each passing day unless a new way of thinking is adopted based on communication with the Government in Port Sudan. We support the elements set out in the Jeddah Declaration as essential ingredients for ending the conflict. We therefore stand with the Sudanese Government's principled approach in defining the Jeddah Declaration as the main point of reference for the way forward.

Türkiye has mobilized its resources to support the African countries' desire for lasting peace, genuine democracy, sustainable development and welfare. As a strategic partner of the African Union, we have built a holistic, inclusive and equal partnership based on mutual respect. The deepening of relations at all levels has resulted in a mutual trust that has paved the way for mediation efforts to address the disagreements among

African countries. Building on that experience, we are ready to contribute further to stability and security in East Africa by initiating, or taking part in, all political processes, along with our humanitarian activities in the Sudan. President Erdoğan conveyed Türkiye's determination and readiness in that regard to the head of the Sudan's Transitional Sovereignty Council, General Al-Burhan, during a recent phone call. I would like to reiterate Türkiye's call on both sides to exert the utmost restraint to prevent further civilian bloodshed and harm. We therefore urge the international community to expand its efforts to address not only the humanitarian crisis in the Sudan but also the political challenges facing the country.

The people of the Sudan deserve to be saved from the grasp of violence and death by putting aside concerns and interests that lead to despair. Türkiye reaffirms its strong support for the people of the Sudan and calls on the international community to increase humanitarian aid efforts and political mediation efforts.

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

**Mr. Mahmoud** (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting. I also thank the briefers for their valuable presentations.

We are meeting today 20 months after the outbreak of the Sudanese crisis, which has revealed the extent of our international system's inability to take measures to stop wars, prevent external interference in the affairs of States and respect their sovereignty, support the concept of the nation State and protect its institutions.

In this Chamber, Egypt reaffirms its full solidarity with the brotherly Sudanese people in their plight, as well as its full concern for restoring peace, security and stability in the Sudan in order to preserve the capabilities of its people, based on the bonds of neighbourly ties, fraternity and a shared history and destiny. Realizing the importance of creating an environment to restore security and stability in the Sudan through a purely Sudanese-owned and Sudanese-led political process, Egypt hosted a comprehensive conference for all civilian political forces in the Sudan in July, which gave them the appropriate space to express their views freely and map the post-conflict future of their country in order to achieve the aspirations of the brotherly Sudanese people. Egypt has also participated in various tracks and initiatives geared towards achieving a ceasefire,

supporting every sincere effort aimed at sparing the blood of the Sudanese people and stopping the flow of internally displaced persons and asylum-seekers to neighbouring countries, which have borne the brunt of the escalation of the crisis. The Aligned for Advancing Lifesaving and Peace in the Sudan group is one of the most prominent initiatives in which Egypt has engaged to achieve those goals.

As part of Egypt's continued efforts to support its Sudanese brothers to help them to emerge from the crisis, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Emigration and Egyptian Expatriates visited Port Sudan earlier this month, where he was welcomed by General Abdel-Fattah Abdelrahman Al-Burhan, President of the Transitional Sovereign Council, and where he also met with various Sudanese leaders and forces. During the visit, discussions were held on joint efforts to settle the crisis in the Sudan, how to rebuild confidence between the Sudanese Government and the United Nations and the humanitarian consequences resulting from the prolonged crisis given Egypt's reception of more than 1.2 million Sudanese people fleeing the conflict. We affirm our full willingness to provide all means of care, services and support to our Sudanese brothers, refugees and asylum-seekers, in the framework of the common ground shared by our two brotherly countries and peoples and based on the bonds of brotherhood and shared destiny.

Egypt would like to take the opportunity afforded by our meeting today to emphasize the following points.

First, the restoration of security and stability in the Sudan must involve certain factors, which are known to all and must not be overlooked. Above all, we must work sincerely and effectively to achieve a comprehensive ceasefire, which is the only way to guarantee the protection of civilians.

Second, we must respect the sovereignty and unity of the Sudan, take measures to stop the flow of arms and support the role of sovereign State institutions, without equating them with any emerging non-State entities, including armed militias.

Third, we must coordinate regional and international initiatives to resolve the crisis in order to avoid spreading our efforts too thin. In that context, Egypt supports the Secretary-General and his Personal Envoy, Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, in their efforts in that regard and to employ good offices with all parties to achieve an immediate ceasefire. Egypt is committed to working to achieve that objective at all available levels.

Fourth, we must redouble our joint efforts so that the Sudanese crisis does not develop from a regional crisis whose consequences are limited to the neighbouring countries of the Sudan and the African continent into a crisis that threatens international peace and security, the outcomes of which could include threats to the security of navigation in the Red Sea, increasing rates of illegal migration to Europe or — worst scenario of all — the transformation of the Sudan into a breeding ground for groups that could join unlawful factions or armed militias in the country.

Fifth, international donors must fulfil their pledges to improve the humanitarian situation in the Sudan and bridge the relevant financial gaps. They must also support the neighbouring countries that are most affected by the repercussions of the crisis so that they can assume their responsibilities for providing assistance to the brotherly Sudanese people during the current ordeal. In that regard, we welcome the announcement today by the representative of the United States of the allocation of an additional \$230 million for humanitarian support in the Sudan.

Sixth, we must once again step up confidence-building efforts between the Sudanese Government and the United Nations, as an integral pillar of the success of international efforts. I commend the Sudanese Government's decision to open the Adré border crossing, among other crossings, in order to facilitate access for humanitarian assistance, as well as the establishment of humanitarian warehouses in Damazin, Kadugli and Dongola, allowing humanitarian aircraft to alleviate the burden of suffering on the brotherly Sudanese people.

Seventh, we call on the United Nations and the international community to take advantage of the crossing points identified by the Sudanese Government in order to bring in humanitarian aid and work to overcome any difficulties in that regard, while emphasizing that we must ensure that the opening of those crossing points is not used to supply any weapons to the militias and armed groups.

Time is of the essence and no party stands to gain from further delays. We need to end the suffering of the Sudanese people. That requires meaningful, effective action to help them surmount the crisis using every possible means. The international community should therefore make sincere, concerted efforts to restore peace and stability in the Sudan. Egypt cautions

against attempts by certain parties to impose specific perceptions on the difficult status quo in the Sudan. We will continue to support a national consensus fostered by international and regional efforts.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of the United Arab Emirates.

**Mr. Abushahab** (United Arab Emirates): I would like to begin by thanking Secretary Blinken and the United States for convening this critical discussion on the Sudan's humanitarian crisis, and I welcome his continued leadership in addressing the devastating situation. After more than 18 months of conflict, we are witnessing a human-made disaster that is growing more severe by the day. There are four key areas that require urgent attention.

First, the most effective way to protect civilians is to implement an immediate and permanent ceasefire. The United Arab Emirates calls on the warring parties to cease hostilities and put the welfare of the Sudanese people ahead of their military objectives. They must uphold their obligations under international humanitarian law as well as their commitments under the Jeddah Declaration. The perpetrators of such violations must be held accountable.

Secondly, humanitarian access to the Sudan should be systematic rather than piecemeal, and the weaponization of hunger must end. Recent developments have shown that where there is political will, humanitarian access is possible. The extension of the Adré border-crossing authorization is a positive development, and we welcome the entry of aid into the Zamzam camp. The message to the warring parties should be clear. They must ensure rapid, safe and unhindered humanitarian access to all areas under their control, as well as the protection of humanitarian workers. The blocking of aid and attacks on those who provide it has to stop.

That leads me to my third point. The Council must use all its tools to pressure the warring parties to address the dire humanitarian situation on the ground and compel them to come to the negotiating table. Serious consideration must be given to enabling cross-border and cross-line humanitarian aid.

Lastly, we must not turn a blind eye to the gendered impact of this war, with women and girls representing more than half of the displaced and being subjected to widespread sexual violence. It is critical that we



integrate and promote the perspectives of women and girls in our response. That is why the United Arab Emirates is leading an initiative to amplify Sudanese women's perspectives within the Aligned for Advancing Life-saving and Peace in Sudan group.

Contrary to unfounded claims made in the Chamber today, the United Arab Emirates reaffirms that it is not providing support to any of the warring parties. It is deeply regrettable that the Sudanese representative is once again exploiting an important Council meeting in order to try to evade responsibility for the humanitarian catastrophe on the ground by making unfounded allegations about the United Arab Emirates, and we categorically reject the baseless accusations that we heard here today. We will continue to uphold our obligations under all Security Council resolutions and engage constructively with all the relevant stakeholders, including the Panel of Experts of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591

(2005) concerning the Sudan. Every claim we heard from the Sudanese representative is designed to distract from the Sudanese Armed Forces' unwillingness to participate in peace talks that can lead to civilian-led governance in the Sudan. They can point the finger in any direction they like, but it does not change the fundamental truth that their goal is to take power in the Sudan through the barrel of a gun, regardless of the cost to the people of the Sudan.

The United Arab Emirates has historical bonds with the Sudanese people, and we will continue to stand by them. Only the warring parties can put an end to the violence, allow unhindered humanitarian access and commit to a genuine political process leading to a civilian-led Government. The cost of inaction is simply too high, and it is Sudanese civilians who are paying the price.

*The meeting rose at 4.05 p.m.*