CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Statement by Dr. Eva Khair
UN Security Council Briefing on Sudan
24 August 2026

President, Excellencies,

Thank you for the opportunity to brief you today on protection of civilians in Sudan. My name is Dr. Eva Khair, a physician, health, protection and peacebuilding advisor. I come here today not to describe what you already know, but to implore you to do more and to do right by Sudan's civilians.

Nearly three and a half years into this war, Sudan faces the world's largest concurrent crises: humanitarian, hunger, displacement and protection. Nearly 34 million people need assistance;[1] 19.5 million people face acute food insecurity, while the risk of a man-made famine persists;[2] and some 11 million are displaced,[3] over four million of whom have crossed Sudan's borders as refugees[4] into neighboring countries where they often face insecurity, discrimination and inadequate protection.[5]

Violence is unfolding inside and outside Sudan's borders, on the ground and online. The Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and paramilitary Rapid Support Forces (RSF) are committing violations against civilians,[6] and atrocity crimes rage across the country. When El Fasher fell in October 2025, 6,000 people were massacred in the first three days.[7] The UN Independent International Fact-Finding Mission for the Sudan (FFM) found credible evidence of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and concluded that violence by the RSF bore the "hallmarks of genocide."[8]

Even now, El Obeid in North Kordofan is being bombarded and strangulated of food, fuel and medicine as drone attacks hit.[9] Bombs fall onto markets, wedding and funeral processions, hospitals and day-care centers.[10] Cities and towns across South Kordofan, the East and the capital, Khartoum, also remain under attack.[11]

For women and girls, this war is also being waged on their bodies. From Khartoum to Gezira and across Darfur, horrific sexual violence is being reported in 16 of 18 states:[12] rape and gang rape, sexual slavery, forced marriage and pregnancy, forced prostitution, sexual torture and trafficking,[13] primarily, but not exclusively, perpetrated by the RSF.[14] Sexual violence is not simply a weapon of war but a deliberate strategy: to terrorize civilians and control their movements;[15] where ethnically motivated, it is used to persecute, displace and destroy communities.[16]

Many women and girls do not report sexual violence due to lack of adequate services,[17] risks of reprisal[18] and social stigma.[19] Abductions linked to sexual violence and forced reproductive labor have become key to the war economy.[20]

We must not neglect intimate-partner and domestic violence, which conflict, displacement and economic crisis intensify.[21] Recruitment of child soldiers, child marriage and other grave violations against children continue,[22] while nearly eight million of Sudan's next generation are still out of school.[23] Children born of rape remain unregistered, unvaccinated and uncounted,[24] while the women forced to carry them, some of whom are children themselves,[25] frequently endure deep psychological trauma,[26] including suicidal ideation,[27] and risk being abandoned or rejected by their families.[28] Children are also among those who have reportedly died by suicide after sexual assault.[29]

These harms are compounded by the deliberate decimation and near-total collapse of healthcare. Systematic attacks on hospitals, healthcare workers and facilities are among the most audacious violations of international humanitarian law by both belligerents and their allied forces, impacting both the delivery of and access to lifesaving services.[30] Outbreaks of measles, dengue and cholera have been exacerbated by these access constraints and lack of safe water.[31] Survivors of sexual and gender-based violence have been left without adequate sexual and reproductive health care, including safe abortion, maternal health services and psychosocial support.[32]

Healthcare has become a battleground: emergency, obstetric, surgical and other lifesaving care is being cynically traded for legitimacy by rival authorities.

This is how places of sanctuary become places of carnage.

It is also why access to basic services, such as telecommunications, is weaponized.

Control of information is also a frontline in this conflict, driving attacks on humanitarian responders, mutual-aid volunteers, and human rights defenders and documenters. Those serving their communities risk detention, including torture and sexual violence in detention, disappearance, or even death.[33]

Excellencies, this is a war on civilians: a war in which it is infinitely more dangerous to be a civilian than a soldier.

It is a counter-revolutionary war waged on Sudan's people for daring to dream of better than autocratic rule, better than kleptocratic pillage and better than theocratic oppression. Civilians are trapped between two illegitimate de facto authorities, each pursuing total dominion regardless of whom they crush, which part of Sudan they sell, or which foreign power they submit to.

Persecution of civilians does not stop at the border. Anti-war, non-partisan Sudanese civil society are targeted online, through hate speech, misinformation, incitement and digital warfare. I, like many of my civil society peers, have experienced this form of transnational repression. Sudanese pro-democracy and pro-peace civil society increasingly find that speaking out, even abroad, is dangerous.[34] Sudanese are neither safe inside nor outside Sudan.

Although they have denied such allegations, external actors are enabling this catastrophe. Weapons continue to flow into Darfur[35] in contempt of this Council's Resolution 1591 (2005),[36] adopted two decades ago to protect Darfur's population from the worst — a nightmare we have nonetheless watched unfold in Geneina,[37] Zamzam[38] and El Fasher[39] — a nightmare at risk of recurring across the Kordofan states,[40] Blue Nile[41] and beyond if left unchecked.

Regional actors have backed the belligerents because they have material interests in the continuation of this war. Sudan's civilians are therefore unable to rely on the region for sufficient protection nor a swift end to the conflict. The international community must not allow regional complicity and competition for Sudan's resources to perpetuate either civilian suffering or impunity for abuses.

Excellencies: what is the price of peace?

We know the numbers. We've heard the stories. The only story that matters now is one of international paralysis: states avoiding political risk when confronting powerful allies backing belligerents; governments retreating from multilateral commitments and global responsibilities; and unwillingness to expend any political capital on protecting civilians.

The FFM warned in September 2024 that "given the failure of the parties to protect civilians (...) there is an urgent need to deploy an independent force with a specific mandate to protect civilians in the Sudan."[42]

Yet, in October 2024, the Secretary-General's options paper said the "conditions [did] not exist" for successful deployment of a UN force.[43] What "conditions" would make Sudan's civilians finally deserving of protection? War crimes,[44] crimes against humanity,[45] and even genocide[46] have been determined, documented or invoked, yet protection options have not returned to this table since the protection of civilians resolution was so brazenly vetoed in November 2024.[47]

My recommendations, based on extensive consultation with Sudanese and international civil society, are as follows:

1) First, establish an independent civilian protection and monitoring mechanism. Although the fiscal and political constraints facing UN peace operations today are clear for all to see, Sudan's civilians are in too desperate a need—and at too great a risk—to be ignored. Waiting for the war to end once the belligerents "have had enough" is deadly for civilians; control of territory, markets and resources remains simply too

profitable for military networks and the countries fueling this war. The Council should act now on the FFM's recommendations.[48] Sudan has precedent for protective missions, including an active mission, to improve security, facilitate humanitarian access and support the return of displaced people.[49]

Monitoring must be able to trigger early warning, rapid investigation and diplomatic action before violence escalates. Community-based protection initiatives, including Sudanese mutual-aid networks, faith-based groups and women-led organizations, must be explicitly protected, supported and engaged.

2) Second, call on all external actors to stop prolonging the suffering of Sudan's civilians and fueling this war, including by arming the warring parties in violation of this Council's arms embargo.

   The role of multiple external actors in supplying weapons,[50] mercenaries,[51] other forms of military assistance[52] and diplomatic cover[53] to the RSF on the one hand, and military, logistical, and financial assistance to the SAF on the other,[54] illustrates the increasingly globalized nature of the war in Sudan.[55]

   The Council's arms embargo in Darfur must be enforced, and I urge you to expand it to the whole of Sudan. Further, those who violate the arms embargo or international humanitarian or human rights law, including perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence, must be held accountable, including through targeted sanctions.

3) Third, protect healthcare and humanitarian action. Protection mechanisms are essential to enable safe humanitarian access for international organizations, Sudanese responders and medical mutual-aid groups. Sudan remains among the deadliest conflicts for humanitarian workers.[56] The environmental impacts[57] of the conflict are an urgent public health risk, as sewage, toxic chemicals from burnt out factories, gold mining and other industries,[58] even decomposing bodies left in neighborhoods,[59] pose a threat to the water and soil long after armed clashes subside.[60] Health protection, demining and other environmental measures can only be optimized under an independent protective presence.

4) And fourth, women's rights and participation must be central, not secondary to protection, justice and peace. The SAF-led de facto authority and its judiciary are persecuting and prosecuting women for alleged crimes such as adultery,[61] whilst, reportedly, not a single perpetrator of rape has been held accountable.[62] Women and girls are being offered as 'rewards' in forced marriages to RSF-aligned fighters,[63] while in West Kordofan women are being banned from accessing the internet.[64] Women are the canaries in the coalmine: they experience the first signs of political oppression and bear its brunt. A dedicated Women, Peace and Security framework must underpin all mediation tracks, ensuring survivor-centered justice, accountability and reparations, while enabling Sudanese women's meaningful participation and leadership both in conflict-resolution and transition processes.

Excellencies,

Renewed talk of a ceasefire,[65] while encouraging and necessary, will not protect civilians. Twenty years ago, this Council recognized that Sudan required protection. Today, the evidence is overwhelming.

I ask this Council to do what Sudan's civilians cannot do alone: close the countrywide protection gap, confront those fueling the war, and act before another generation is lost.

Thank you.

---

[1] OCHA estimates that 33.7 million people in Sudan need humanitarian assistance. "Sudan Key Facts and Figures (June 2026)," 9 July 2026, https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/sudan/sudan-key-facts-and-figures-june-2026.
[2] IPC, "Sudan: Acute Food Insecurity Analysis February 2026 - January 2027," 3 June 2026, https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Sudan_Acute_Food_Insecurity_Feb2026_Jan2027_Special_Report.pdf.
[3] UNHCR, "Sudan Situation Map Weekly Regional Update - 10 August 2026," 14 August 2026, https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/123720.
[4] UNHCR, "Sudan Situation Map Weekly Regional Update - 10 August 2026," 14 August 2026, https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/123720.
[5] See Halem Henish, "From Welcome to Repression: How Sudanese Refugees Live in Egypt," Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy, 11 August 2026, https://timep.org/2026/08/11/from-welcome-to-repression-how-sudanese-refugees-live-in-egypt/; Nathan Carey, "'We escaped hell, but we

arrived in another one'," Norwegian Refugee Council, 5 November 2025, https://www.nrc.no/perspectives/2025/we-escaped-hell-but-we-arrived-in-another-one.
[6] See Independent International Fact-Finding Mission for the Sudan [hereinafter "Sudan FFM"], "Sudan: a war of atrocities," 22 September 2025, A/HRC/60/22, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/22.
[7] OHCHR, "'They were shooting at us like animals': RSF final offensive and capture of besieged El Fasher (24-30 October 2025)," ¶15, 40, 13 February 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/sudan/2026-02-13-rsf-offensive-fasher-capture-1-en.pdf.
[8] Sudan FFM, "Sudan: hallmarks of genocide in El Fasher," 10 March 2026, A/HRC/61/77, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/61/77.
[9] OCHA Daily Update, 12 August 2026, https://www.unocha.org/news/todays-top-news-colombia-democratic-republic-congo-sudan-occupied-palestinian-territory; UN Women, "Drone attacks by day and sexual violence by night leave no safe window for women and girls to collect water amidst rainy season in Sudan's El Obeid," 24 July 2026, https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/statement/2026/07/drone-attacks-by-day-and-sexual-violence-by-night-leave-no-safe-window-for-women-and-girls-to-collect-water-amidst-rainy-season-in-sudans-el-obeid; MSF, "Half a million people in El-Obeid face limited services as drone attacks intensify," 20 July 2026, https://www.msf.org/people-el-obeid-have-limited-services-drone-attacks-intensify.
[10] Nimi Princewill, "'You cannot hide from a drone strike': The terror falling from the sky in Sudan," CNN, 20 July 2026, https://www.cnn.com/2026/07/20/africa/drone-strikes-el-obeid-sudan-intl; Daniel Andersen et. al., "RSF Bombardment Accelerates Humanitarian Crisis in El Obeid, North Kordofan," Yale Humanitarian Research Lab, 29 June 2026, https://ysph.yale.edu/download-file/76d1775e-de0c-4861-afae-7aa92c4c0228/.
[11] Sahin Demir, "RSF drone attacks target 5 Sudanese cities, military intercepts drones," Anadolu Agency, 12 August 2026, https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/rsf-drone-attacks-target-5-sudanese-cities-military-intercepts-drones/4024820; Khalid Abdelaziz and Nafisa Eltahir, "RSF renews assault on Sudan's al-Obeid as drones strike capital, witnesses say," Reuters, 12 August 2026, https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/rsf-renews-assault-sudans-al-obeid-drones-strike-capital-witnesses-say-2026-08-12/; "Sudanese army repels drone attack in South Kordofan, RSF raid kills five near El Obeid," Sudan Tribune, 7 August 2026, https://sudantribune.com/article/317129.
[12] OHCHR, "Three Years Too Long: Analysis of Trends and the Devastating Human Rights Impacts of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan from 15 April 2023 to 15 April 2026," ¶11, 23 June 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/sudan/2026-devastating-impacts-conflict-related-sexual-violence-ohchr-report-sudan-en.pdf.
[13] OHCHR, "Three Years Too Long: Analysis of Trends and the Devastating Human Rights Impacts of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan from 15 April 2023 to 15 April 2026," 23 June 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/sudan/2026-devastating-impacts-conflict-related-sexual-violence-ohchr-report-sudan-en.pdf; Report of the Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence, ¶63-66, 21 April 2026, S/2026/321, https://docs.un.org/en/s/2026/321; Statement by Ms. Ikhlass Ahmed at the UN Security Council Open Debate on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, 19 August 2025, https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/resource/statement-unsc-crsv-open-debate-ahmed/; Amnesty International, "'They Raped All of Us': Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Sudan," 10 April 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr54/9201/2025/en/; Human Rights Watch, "'Khartoum is not Safe for Women!': Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Sudan's Capital," 28 July 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/07/28/khartoum-not-safe-women/sexual-violence-against-women-and-girls-sudans-capital.
[14] For example, from 2023-2025, 87% of cases documented by SIHA where perpetrator information was available were attributed to RSF soldiers. SIHA Network, "More Than Numbers: Report on the State of Violence Against Women and Girls in Sudan - 2023-2025," p. 6, December 2025, https://sihanet.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/SIHA-More-Than-Numbers-Report-Final.pdf.
[15] OHCHR, "Three Years Too Long: Analysis of Trends and the Devastating Human Rights Impacts of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan from 15 April 2023 to 15 April 2026," ¶12, 24, 28-31, 55, 23 June 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/sudan/2026-devastating-impacts-conflict-related-sexual-violence-ohchr-report-sudan-en.pdf; SIHA Network, "More Than Numbers: Report on the State of Violence Against Women and Girls in Sudan - 2023-2025," December 2025, https://sihanet.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/SIHA-More-Than-Numbers-Report-Final.pdf.
[16] OHCHR, "Sudan: UN experts appalled by reports of mass atrocities, unlawful killings and sexual violence in El Fasher," 7 November 2025, https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/11/sudan-un-experts-appalled-reports-mass-atrocities-unlawful-killings-and; Sudan FFM, "Sudan: a war of atrocities," ¶64, 68, 22 September 2025, A/HRC/60/22, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/22; Statement by Ms. Ikhlass Ahmed at the UN Security Council Open Debate on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, 19 August 2025, https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/resource/statement-unsc-crsv-open-debate-ahmed/.
[17] UNFPA, "Sudan Situation Report - August 2025," August 2025, https://www.unfpa.org/resources/sudan-situation-report-august-2025; Human Rights Watch, "'Khartoum is not Safe for Women!': Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Sudan's Capital," pp. 55-74, 28 July 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/07/28/khartoum-not-safe-women/sexual-violence-against-women-and-girls-sudans-capital.
[18] Human Rights Watch, "'Khartoum is not Safe for Women!': Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Sudan's Capital," pp. 76-77, 28 July 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/07/28/khartoum-not-safe-women/sexual-violence-against-women-and-girls-sudans-capital; Redress, "One Step Closer to Justice and Healing: Addressing conflict-related sexual violence in Sudan," p. 15-16, June 2024, https://redress.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/ACHPR-Briefing_EN-v.5.pdf.
[19] Amnesty International, "'They Raped All of Us': Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Sudan," pp. 22-23, 10 April 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr54/9201/2025/en/; Human Rights Watch, "'Khartoum is not Safe for Women!': Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Sudan's Capital," pp. 42-43, 49, 74, 28 July 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/07/28/khartoum-not-safe-women/sexual-violence-against-women-and-girls-sudans-capital.
[20] OHCHR, "Three Years Too Long: Analysis of Trends and the Devastating Human Rights Impacts of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan from 15 April 2023 to 15 April 2026," ¶27, 32-36, 23 June 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/sudan/2026-devastating-impacts-conflict-related-sexual-violence-ohchr-report-sudan-en.pdf; Sam Mednick, "Women say they were raped and ransomed by fighters in Sudan's ongoing war," AP News, 2 June 2026, https://apnews.com/article/sudan-sexual-assault-war-ransom-bfdf039c7fa67bc429adcdb649ee32ac; Ahmed Gouja et. al., "Women and girls fleeing El Fasher describe widespread RSF sexual violence," The New Humanitarian, 21 November 2025, https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2025/11/21/women-girls-flee-el-fasher-rsf-sexual-gender-based-violence; Sudan FFM, "Sudan: a war of atrocities," ¶62, 22 September 2025, A/HRC/60/22, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/22.
[21] UNFPA, "Gender Based Violence in Sudan: Crisis Overview and Response Priorities in 2026," 24 March 2026, https://sudan.unfpa.org/en/publications/gender-based-violence-sudan-crisis-overview-and-response-priorities-2026; Sudan Protection Cluster, "Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan (January 2026)," p. 6, 13 January 2026, https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/sudan-protection-cluster-

humanitarian-needs-and-response-plan-january-2026; UNFPA, "Sudan - The Current Context and Concerning GBV Trends: Trends Analysis and Situational Update," 29 November 2023, p. 2, https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/sudan-current-context-and-concerning-gbv-trends-trends-analysis-and-situational-update-29-november-2023.

[22] Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict, ¶184-196, 16 June 2026, A/80/723-S/2026/357, https://docs.un.org/en/s/2026/357.

[23] OCHA, "Sudan Key Facts and Figures (July 2026)," 13 August 2026, https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/sudan-key-facts-and-figures-july-2026.

[24] See Ethar Shalaby and Patricia Whitehorne, "Sudan's invisible children - born in war with no legal identity," BBC News, 7 August 2026, https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cr7kldz4djno.

[25] UNICEF, "Sudan's child rape and sexual violence crisis," pp. 5, 11, March 2025, https://www.unicef.org/sudan/media/15671/file/UNI754893.pdf.pdf; Human Rights Watch, "'Khartoum is not Safe for Women!': Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Sudan's Capital," p. 41, 28 July 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/07/28/khartoum-not-safe-women/sexual-violence-against-women-and-girls-sudans-capital; SIHA, "The Aftermath of Rape: Unwanted Pregnancies and Abandoned Children," 25 April 2024, https://sihanet.org/the-aftermath-of-rape-unwanted-pregnancies-and-abandoned-children/.

[26] UNFPA, "Sudan: Rape survivors and pregnant women cut off from life-saving services as funding collapses," 4 June 2025, https://www.unfpa.org/press/sudan-rape-survivors-and-pregnant-women-cut-life-saving-services-funding-collapses.

[27] African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Sudan War: A Surge of Unwanted Pregnancies as a Result of Sexual Violence," 20 May 2024, https://www.acjps.org/publications/sudan-war-a-surge-of-unwanted-pregnancies-as-a-result-of-sexual-violence.

[28] OHCHR, "Three Years Too Long: Analysis of Trends and the Devastating Human Rights Impacts of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan from 15 April 2023 to 15 April 2026," ¶47, 23 June 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/sudan/2026-devastating-impacts-conflict-related-sexual-violence-ohchr-report-sudan-en.pdf; Statement by Radhouane Nouicer, UN designated Expert on the situation of human rights in Sudan on 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence, 28 November 2025, https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements-and-speeches/2025/11/statement-radhouane-nouicer-un-designated-expert-situation-human; UNICEF, "Sudan's child rape and sexual violence crisis," pp. 5, 10, March 2025, https://www.unicef.org/sudan/media/15671/file/UNI754893.pdf.pdf; Sudan FFM, "Findings of the investigations conducted by the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission for the Sudan into violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law, and related crimes, committed in the Sudan in the context of the conflict that erupted in mid-April 2023," ¶206, 23 October 2024, A/HRC/57/CRP.6, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/sessions-regular/session57/A-HRC-57-CRP-6-en.pdf.

[29] ERR verbal testimony Nov 2025; Human Rights Watch, "'Khartoum is not Safe for Women!': Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Sudan's Capital," p. 53, 28 July 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/07/28/khartoum-not-safe-women/sexual-violence-against-women-and-girls-sudans-capital.

[30] See OHCHR, "Statement by UN experts deploring widespread attacks on healthcare in Sudan, 10 years after Security Council Resolution 2286," 4 May 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2026/05/statement-un-experts-deploring-widespread-attacks-healthcare-sudan-10-years; MSF, "Three years of war have shattered Sudan's lifelines," 15 April 2026, https://www.msf.org/three-years-war-have-shattered-sudan-lifelines; Sudan FFM, "Sudan: a war of atrocities," ¶88-111, 22 September 2025, A/HRC/60/22, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/22.

[31] Sudan Tribune, "Dengue fever outbreak kills 39 in Sudan's Blue Nile, doctors' union says," 25 July 2026, https://sudantribune.com/article/316569; Daniel Johnson, "New cholera outbreak alert for Sudan's war-weary communities," UN News, 10 July 2026, https://news.un.org/en/story/2026/07/1167913; International Medical Corps, "Sudan: Central Darfur Measles Outbreak Situation Report #3," 19 February 2026, https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/sudan-central-darfur-measles-outbreak-situation-report-3-february-18-2026; MSF, "Measles cases surge in Darfur," 19 December 2025, https://www.msf.org/measles-cases-surge-darfur;

[32] UN Security Council Briefing on Sudan by Hala Alkarib, 19 February 2026, https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/resource/un-security-council-briefing-sudan-hala-alkarib; Statement by Ms. Ikhlass Ahmed at the UN Security Council Open Debate on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, 19 August 2025, https://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/resource/statement-unsc-crsv-open-debate-ahmed/.

[33] OHCHR, "Sudan: Arbitrary detention, torture and enforced disappearances fueling civilian protection crisis, UN Fact-Finding Mission says," 15 June 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2026/06/sudan-arbitrary-detention-torture-and-enforced-disappearances-fueling; Human Rights Watch, "Sudan: Arbitrary Detention by Army, Security Forces," 7 April 2026, https://www.hrw.org/news/2026/04/07/sudan-arbitrary-detention-by-army-security-forces; Redress, "Serious Human Rights Violations Perpetrated in the Context of Mass Civilian Detention in Sudan," pp. 23-26, September 2024, https://redress.org/storage/2024/09/Sudan-Arbitrary-Detention-Report_EN-v.2.pdf.

[34] Amnesty International, "United Arab Emirates: Sudanese political activist detained: Mohammed Farouk Salman Mahmoud," 22 May 2026, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde25/1039/2026/en/; Beatrix Arnold and Stanely Smith, "Violent clash outside Oxford Union during visit of Sudanese prime minister," Cherwell, 15 May 2026, https://cherwell.org/2026/05/15/violent-clash-outside-union-during-sudan-prime-minister-visit/; Christian Solidarity Worldwide, "CSW's Sudan Specialist physically assaulted at anti-RSF demonstration in Newcastle," 2 December 2025, https://www.csw.org.uk/2025/12/02/press/6689/article.htm; Amnesty International, "Libya: Sudanese human rights defender disappeared and under imminent threat of forced return," 23 May 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/05/libya-sudanese-human-rights-defender-disappeared-and-under-imminent-threat-of-forced-return/; Amgad Abdelgadir, "Visit by Sudan's ex-PM Hamdok sparks mass demo in London," Dabanga Sudan, 3 November 2024, https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/visit-by-sudans-ex-pm-hamdok-sparks-mass-demo-in-london;

[35] Amnesty International, "Sudan: Advanced Chinese weaponry provided by UAE identified in breach of arms embargo - new investigation," 8 May 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/05/sudan-advanced-chinese-weaponry-provided-by-uae-identified-in-breach-of-arms-embargo-new-investigation/; Final report of the Panel of Experts on Sudan, ¶94-107, 17 April 2025, S/2025, 239, https://docs.un.org/en/S/2025/239; Amnesty International, "Sudan: French-manufactured weapons system identified in conflict - new investigation," 14 November 2024, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/11/sudan-french-manufactured-weapons-system-identified-in-conflict-new-investigation/; Human Rights Watch, "Fanning the Flames: Sudanese Warring Parties' Access to New Foreign-Made Weapons and Equipment," 9 September 2024, https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/09/09/fanning-flames; Final report of the Panel of Experts on Sudan, ¶35-52, 15 January 2024, S/2024/65, https://docs.un.org/en/S/2024/65.

[36] S/RES/1591, 29 March 2005, https://docs.un.org/S/RES/1591%20(2005).

[37] See Human Rights Watch, "'The Massalit Will Not Come Home': Ethnic Cleansing and Crimes Against Humanity in El Geneina, West Darfur, Sudan," 9 May 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/05/09/the-massalit-will-not-come-home/ethnic-cleansing-and-crimes-against-humanity-in.

[38] See Amnesty International, "'A Refuge Destroyed': RSF Violations in Darfur's Zamzam Camp for Internally Displaced Persons," 2 December 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr54/0509/2025/en/.

[39] See Amnesty International, "City Under Siege, Children Under Fire: Rapid Support Forces' Crimes Against Humanity in North Darfur," 1 July 2026, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr54/1116/2026/en/; Sudan FFM, "Sudan: hallmarks of genocide in El Fasher," 10 March 2026, A/HRC/61/77, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/61/77; OHCHR, "'They were shooting at us like animals': RSF final offensive and capture of besieged

El Fasher (24-30 October 2025)," 13 February 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/sudan/2026-02-13-rsf-offensive-fasher-capture-1-en.pdf;

[40] See Oral Update by Mona Rishmawi at the Urgent Debate on the Situation in El Obeid before the Human Rights Council, 3 July 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/ffm-sudan/2026-07-03-ffm-sudan-obeid-oral-update.pdf; Human Rights Watch, "Sudan: Risk of Imminent Atrocities in and around El Obeid Requires Urgent Action," 3 July 2026, https://www.hrw.org/news/2026/07/03/sudan-risk-of-imminent-atrocities-in-and-around-el-obeid-requires-urgent-action.

[41] Al Jazeera, "Sudan army says RSF advance on key town bordering Ethiopia," 13 August 2026, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2026/8/13/sudan-army-says-rsf-advance-on-key-town-bordering-ethiopia; UN News, "Sudan: Attacks and further displacement in Blue Nile and North Kordofan," 12 August 2026, https://news.un.org/en/story/2026/08/1168126.

[42] Sudan FFM, "Findings of the investigations conducted by the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission for the Sudan into violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law, and related crimes, committed in the Sudan in the context of the conflict that erupted in mid-April 2023," ¶342(b), 23 October 2024, A/HRC/57/CRP.6, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/sessions-regular/session57/A-HRC-57-CRP-6-en.pdf.

[43] Report of the Secretary-General on recommendations for the protection of civilians in the Sudan, ¶56, 21 October 2024, S/2024/759, https://docs.un.org/en/s/2024/759.

[44] Sudan FFM, "Sudan: a war of atrocities," ¶32, 42-43, 57, 70, 87, 104, 111, 131-132, 22 September 2025, A/HRC/60/22, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/22

[45] Amnesty International, "City Under Siege, Children Under Fire: Rapid Support Forces' Crimes Against Humanity in North Darfur," 1 July 2026, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr54/1116/2026/en/; Sudan FFM, "Sudan: hallmarks of genocide in El Fasher," ¶29, 117, 122, 10 March 2026, A/HRC/61/77, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/61/77; Sudan FFM, "Sudan: a war of atrocities," ¶32, 43, 57, 70, 87, 104, 131, 22 September 2025, A/HRC/60/22, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/60/22; Human Rights Watch, "'The Massalit Will Not Come Home': Ethnic Cleansing and Crimes Against Humanity in El Geneina, West Darfur, Sudan," 9 May 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/05/09/the-massalit-will-not-come-home/ethnic-cleansing-and-crimes-against-humanity-in.

[46] Sudan FFM, "Sudan: hallmarks of genocide in El Fasher," 10 March 2026, A/HRC/61/77, https://docs.un.org/en/A/HRC/61/77; United States Mission to International Organizations in Geneva, "Genocide Determination in Sudan and Imposing Accountability Measures," 7 January 2025, https://geneva.usmission.gov/2025/01/07/genocide-determination-in-sudan/.

[47] S/PV.9786, 18 November 2024, https://docs.un.org/en/S/PV.9786.

[48] Sudan FFM, "Findings of the investigations conducted by the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission for the Sudan into violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law, and related crimes, committed in the Sudan in the context of the conflict that erupted in mid-April 2023," ¶342(b), 23 October 2024, A/HRC/57/CRP.6, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrbodies/hrcouncil/sessions-regular/session57/A-HRC-57-CRP-6-en.pdf.

[49] Waseem Ishaque and Hamza Amir Khalil Sayed, "Investigating the Efficacy of Hybrid Peacekeeping Operations in Darfur (UNAMID): Transition and Development of Democratic Institutions," Insights-Journal of Life and Social Sciences, March 2025, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/389956854_INVESTIGATING_THE_EFFICACY_OF_HYBRID_PEACEKEEPING_OPERATIONS_IN_DARFUR_UNAMID_TRANSITION_AND_DEVELOPMENT_OF_DEMOCRATIC_INSTITUTIONS.

[50] Amnesty International, "Sudan: Advanced Chinese weaponry provided by UAE identified in breach of arms embargo - new investigation," 8 May 2025, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/05/sudan-advanced-chinese-weaponry-provided-by-uae-identified-in-breach-of-arms-embargo-new-investigation/; Jared Malsin, Benoit Faucon and Robbie Gramer, "How U.A.E. Arms Bolstered a Sudanese Militia Accused of Genocide," The Wall Street Journal, 28 October 2025, https://www.wsj.com/world/how-u-a-e-arms-bolstered-a-sudanese-militia-accused-of-genocide-781b9803; Amnesty International, "Sudan: French-manufactured weapons system identified in conflict - new investigation," 14 November 2024, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/11/sudan-french-manufactured-weapons-system-identified-in-conflict-new-investigation/; Human Rights Watch, "Fanning the Flames: Sudanese Warring Parties' Access to New Foreign-Made Weapons and Equipment," 9 September 2024, https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/09/09/fanning-flames; Declan Walsh and Christoph Koettl, "How a U.S. Ally Uses Aid as a Cover in War," The New York Times, 21 April 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/world/africa/uae-sudan-civil-war.html; Final report of the Panel of Experts on Sudan, ¶41-52, 15 January 2024, S/2024/65, https://docs.un.org/en/S/2024/65; Declan Walsh, Christoph Koettl and Eric Schmitt, "Talking Peace in Sudan, the U.A.E. Secretly Fuels the Fight," The New York Times, 29 September 2023, https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/29/world/africa/sudan-war-united-arab-emirates-chad.html.

[51] Human Rights Watch, "From Bogotá to El Fasher: The UAE's Role in the Deployment of Colombian Fighters and Other Backing to the Rapid Support Forces in Sudan," 25 May 2026, https://www.hrw.org/report/2026/05/25/from-bogota-to-el-fasher/the-uaes-role-in-the-deployment-of-colombian-fighters; Conflict Insights Group, "Blood Money: How UAE Support and Foreign Mercenaries Enabled the Fall of El Fasher," April 2026, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/6967365f36aacc18599406e8/t/69e7da4dad33435e658c982c/1776802495385/BloodMoneyCIG.pdf; Final report of the Panel of Experts on Sudan, ¶15, Annex 2, 17 April 2025, S/2025/239, https://docs.un.org/en/S/2025/239.

[52] Oscar Rickett, "How the UAE continued supporting Sudan's RSF through Haftar and Libya," Middle East Eye, 30 June 2026, https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/how-uae-continued-supporting-sudans-rsf-through-haftar-and-libya; Daniel Andersen et. al., "Situation Report No. 76: Evidence of Continued Support to RSF Forces at ENDF Base in Asosa," Yale Humanitarian Research Lab, 10 June 2026, https://ysph.yale.edu/download-file/b23f037b-5084-4a8b-9594-62c781e4eaf4/; Daniel Andersen et. al., "Special Report: Military Assistance to RSF Occurring at ENDF Base in Asosa, Ethiopia," Yale Humanitarian Research Lab, 8 April 2026, https://ysph.yale.edu/download-file/c2c7e6a6-e87c-4fac-b3f4-347bbcb83559/; Final Report of the Panel of Experts on Libya, ¶32-35, 24 March 2026, S/2026/224, https://docs.un.org/en/S/2026/224; Giulia Paravicini and Reade Levinson, "Ethiopia builds secret camp to train Sudan RSF fighters, sources say," Reuters, 10 February 2026, https://www.reuters.com/investigations/ethiopia-builds-secret-camp-train-sudan-rsf-fighters-sources-say-2026-02-10/.

[53] See Statement by the United Arab Emirates at the enhanced interactive dialogue on the oral update of the Sudan FFM, 02:16:40, 15 June 2026, https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k1o/k1ovllh8l2.

[54] "Sudan army receives Pakistani armoured vehicles and drones, military sources say," Sudan Tribune, 6 August 2026, https://sudantribune.com/article/317072; Barin Kayaoglu, "Amid realignment with Egypt, Turkey steps up support for Sudan's Burhan," Al-Monitor, 2 August 2026, https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2026/07/amid-realignment-egypt-turkey-steps-support-sudans-burhan; Middle East Monitor, "Egypt reaffirms support for Sudanese army and unity in joint statement," 27 February 2026, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20260227-egypt-reaffirms-support-for-sudanese-army-and-unity-in-joint-statement/; Declan Walsh et. al., "The Secret Egyptian Air Base Behind Sudan's Drone War," 1 February 2026, https://www.nytimes.com/2026/02/01/world/africa/egypt-sudan-drones.html; Press Statement on Occasion of Visit of

President of Sudan's Transitional Sovereign Council, 18 December 2025, https://www.presidency.eg/EN/%D9%82%D8%B3%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%AE%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1/%D8%A3%D8%AE%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%B1%D8%A6%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A9/news18122025-1/ [reaffirming joint defense agreement between Sudan and Egypt]; Middle East Eye, "Exclusive: Egypt and Turkey boost support for Sudan's army following RSF capture of el-Fasher," 6 November 2025, https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypt-and-turkey-move-support-saf-following-fall-el-fasher; Elfadil Ibrahim, "Saudi Arabia chooses sides in Sudan's civil war," Responsible Statecraft, 3 April 2025, https://responsiblestatecraft.org/sudan-2671662242/; Tareq Alotaiba, "Sudan is Iran's Opening for a Foothold in the Red Sea," Arab Gulf States Institute, 3 March 2025, https://agsi.org/analysis/sudan-is-irans-opening-for-a-foothold-in-the-red-sea/; Purity Mwambia, "Sudan's ambassador to Russia praises Moscow for vetoing UN resolution that would have halted violent war in Sudan," 5 December 2024, https://www.voanews.com/a/sudan-s-ambassador-to-russia-praises-moscow-for-vetoing-un-resolution-that-would-have-halted-violent-war-in-sudan-/7888999.html; Khalid Abdelaziz, Parisa Hafezi and Aidan Lewis, "Sudan civil war: are Iranian drones helping the army gain ground?" Reuters, 10 April 2024, https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/are-iranian-drones-turning-tide-sudans-civil-war-2024-04-10/;

[55] See Hubert Kinkoh, "The flow of arms and money feeding the war in Sudan can be cut. What is missing is the will," Chatham House, 20 May 2026, https://www.chathamhouse.org/2026/05/flow-arms-and-money-feeding-war-sudan-can-be-cut-what-missing-will; International Crisis Group, "Divided Sudan, Elusive Peace," 13 April 2026, https://www.crisisgroup.org/brf/africa/sudan-egypt-saudi-arabia-united-arab-emirates-united-states/b211-divided-sudan-elusive-peace; Alex Dent, "A War Not-So Forgotten: How External Powers Continue to Prolong Sudan's Civil War," Georgetown Security Studies Review, 7 April 2026, https://gssr.georgetown.edu/the-forum/regions/africa/a-war-not-so-forgotten-how-external-powers-continue-to-prolong-sudans-civil-war/; Isaac Chotiner, "Q&A: How the Conflict in Sudan Became a Humanitarian Catastrophe," The New Yorker, 18 November 2025, https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/how-the-conflict-in-sudan-became-a-humanitarian-catastrophe; Jennifer Holleis, "Sudan war: Could involved foreign powers stop the war there?" DW, 31 October 2025, https://www.dw.com/en/sudan-war-could-involved-foreign-powers-stop-the-killing/a-74574524; Zeinab Mohammed Salih, "Conflict in Sudan: A Map of Regional and International Actors," 19 December 2024, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/conflict-sudan-map-regional-and-international-actors.

[56] In 2025, Sudan was the second-deadliest context for humanitarian workers, with 71 killed. Humanitarian Outcomes, "Aid Worker Security Report 2026," p. 6-7, August 2026, https://humanitarianoutcomes.org/sites/default/files/2026-08/AWSD_Report_2026.pdf.

[57] Conflict and Environment Observatory, "The Environment, Conflict and Peace in Sudan: From Response to Recovery," pp. 14-16, October 2025, https://ceobs.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/10/The-environment-conflict-and-peace-in-Sudan-from-response-to-recovery.pdf; Conflict and Environment Observatory, "The environmental costs of the war in Sudan," May 2025, https://ceobs.org/the-environmental-costs-of-the-war-in-sudan/.

[58] Mouna Zein, "I recently returned to Sudan where an environmental crisis threatens to sicken and kill long after the bullets stop flying," UN Environmental Programme in Sudan, 14 April 2026, https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/i-recently-returned-sudan-where-environmental-crisis-threatens-sicken-and.

[59] France24, "'Dead bodies in the streets': Survivors describe fleeing Sudan's El-Fasher," 30 October 2025, https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20251030-dead-bodies-in-the-streets-survivors-describe-fleeing-sudan-s-el-fasher; Save the Children, "Khartoum: Doctors Warn of Disease Catastrophe Due to Mounting Dead Bodies," 8 August 2023, https://www.savethechildren.net/news/khartoum-doctors-warn-disease-catastrophe-due-mounting-dead-bodies.

[60] Florian Krampe et. al. "Armed conflict causes long-lasting environmental harm," Environment and Security Volume 4, Issue 1, March 2026, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/27538796251323739.

[61] African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies, "Update: Sudanese Courts Sentence Two Women to Death By Stoning," 25 February 2026, https://www.acjps.org/publications/update-sudanese-courts-sentence-two-women-to-death-by-stoning.

[62] See Statement by Mohaned Ahmed at the enhanced interactive dialogue on the oral update of the Sudan FFM, 01:46:30, 15 June 2026, https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k1o/k1ovllh8l2.

[63] OHCHR, "Three Years Too Long: Analysis of Trends and the Devastating Human Rights Impacts of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Sudan from 15 April 2023 to 15 April 2026," ¶35-36, 23 June 2026, https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/countries/sudan/2026-devastating-impacts-conflict-related-sexual-violence-ohchr-report-sudan-en.pdf; SIHA Network, "More than Numbers: Report on the State of Violence Against Women and Girls in Sudan (2023-2025)," p. 19, https://sihanet.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/SIHA-More-Than-Numbers-Report-Final.pdf; Human Rights Watch, "'Khartoum is not Safe for Women!': Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in Sudan's Capital," pp. 43-45, 28 July 2024, https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/07/28/khartoum-not-safe-women/sexual-violence-against-women-and-girls-sudans-capital.

[64] Sudanese Women for Peace, Facebook Reel, July 2026, https://www.facebook.com/reel/911085064823551.

[65] See for example statement by United States Senior Adviser Massad Boulos to the Security Council on Sudan, 26 June 2026, https://usun.usmission.gov/remarks-at-a-un-security-council-briefing-on-sudan-5/.