

# “THE DEAD BECAME UNCOUNTABLE”

## Mass Atrocities in Sudan

POLICY BRIEF JANUARY 2024



UNITED STATES  
**HOLOCAUST**  
MEMORIAL  
**MUSEUM**

SIMON-SKJODT CENTER  
FOR THE PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE

**THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM**

teaches that the Holocaust was preventable and that by heeding warning signs and taking early action, individuals and governments can save lives. With this knowledge, the **Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide** works to do for the victims of genocide today what the world failed to do for the Jews of Europe in the 1930s and 1940s. The mandate of the Simon-Skjodt Center is to alert the United States' national conscience, influence policy makers, and stimulate worldwide action to prevent and work to halt acts of genocide or related crimes against humanity, and advance justice and accountability. Learn more at [ushmm.org/genocide-prevention](https://ushmm.org/genocide-prevention).

**DANICA DAMPLO**, Policy Manager at the Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide.

**COVER:** A Sudanese woman who fled the conflict in Geneina, in Sudan's Darfur region, helps her relative to carry a canister after she filled it at the water point in Adre, Chad July 30, 2023. *REUTERS/Zohra Bensem*

## List of Acronyms

<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CRSV</b>	Conflict Related Sexual Violence
<b>FFM</b>	Fact-Finding Mission
<b>HRC</b>	Human Rights Council
<b>ICC</b>	International Criminal Court
<b>IDP</b>	Internally Displaced Persons
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development in Eastern Africa
<b>MHPSS</b>	Mental Health and Psychosocial Support
<b>OHCHR</b>	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
<b>RSF</b>	Rapid Support Forces
<b>SAF</b>	Sudanese Armed Forces
<b>UAE</b>	United Arab Emirates
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNAMID</b>	African Union - United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
<b>UNITAMS</b>	UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan
<b>UNSC</b>	UN Security Council



## Key Points

- The risk of genocide remains high in Darfur, Sudan, which is experiencing widespread, systematic, and identity-based mass killing and atrocities.
- The risk of mass atrocities is high as the conflict spreads to other regions of Sudan, particularly Kordofan.
- A comprehensive, coordinated approach that centers atrocity prevention and civilian protection is critical to address these risks and ongoing mass atrocities. See policy options below.

## INTRODUCTION

On April 15th, 2023, fighting broke out in Sudan between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF), headed by Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, and a powerful paramilitary group known as the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), headed by Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo (Hemedti). The conflict has killed more than 13,000 people and displaced more than 7.3 million people.<sup>1</sup> The RSF and its allied militias reignited a campaign of widespread, systematic, and ethnically-motivated violence in the region of Darfur, targeting non-Arab communities. Efforts by the United States (US) and others have failed to secure a durable ceasefire or to protect a new generation in Darfur from the risk of genocide.

The conflict that began in April is a continuation of the cycles of violence that have persisted in Sudan for decades, including a period of mass atrocities in 2003-2005 in Darfur, for which former Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir was charged with genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes by the International Criminal Court (ICC).<sup>2</sup> The SAF and RSF had previously joined forces in 2019 to oust al-Bashir following widespread protests in which the Sudanese people called for transitional justice and a transition to democracy. However, in 2021, the SAF and RSF overthrew the transitional government that had replaced al-Bashir. In April 2023, disagreements between al-Burhan and Hemedti exploded into open warfare.<sup>3</sup> While earlier conflicts had spared Sudan's capital, since April civilians in Khartoum and nearby Omdurman have endured violent clashes, aerial bombardment, sexual violence, and a humanitarian crisis. The conflict spread, with the RSF seeking to control the Darfur region and branching out from the west, and the SAF based out of the city of Port Sudan in the east. The RSF is supplied by the United Arab Emirates (UAE), while the SAF is supported by Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

In June 2023, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum sounded the alarm about the dire risk of genocide in Darfur.<sup>5</sup> That risk remains high today. None of the conditions referenced in this warning have improved since June, and the numbers of civilians killed or harmed has risen dramatically. Among the communities at greatest risk today are those who survived genocide twenty years ago and who have continued to suffer since. This brief will detail mass atrocities underway in Sudan, highlight present and future risks not only in Darfur but elsewhere, and offer policy options for an effective response.

## A BRIEF HISTORY

When the current war began, Sudan was already at high risk of experiencing mass atrocities due to a history of genocide, widespread impunity for atrocities, well-armed and resourced perpetrators, and rampant hate speech and identity-based violence, particularly in Darfur.<sup>6</sup>

Beginning in 2003, the Sudanese government, with support from the Janjaweed (a militia group comprised of Arab tribes), responded to rebel movements in Darfur by launching ethnically targeted attacks on the communities perceived to be supporting them, committing mass killings, rape, looting, systematic destruction of food stores, and the forced displacement of Masalit, Fur, and Zaghawa non-Arab communities.<sup>7</sup> These crimes resulted in the deaths of more than 200,000 people and the forced displacement of more than two million people.<sup>8</sup> In 2004 US Secretary of State Colin Powell determined that the crimes amounted to genocide.<sup>9</sup>

In 2007, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) authorized a hybrid United Nations-African Union peacekeeping force (UNAMID) to implement a peace agreement and protect civilians; UNAMID formally ceased operations in 2020.<sup>10</sup> While imperfect, UNAMID had increased safety and stability for many during its deployment.<sup>11</sup> Although the ICC had charged al-Bashir with genocide and other crimes, he was never sent to the Hague to face trial.<sup>12</sup> Over time, al-Bashir formed the RSF out of Janjaweed fighters in Darfur.<sup>13</sup> While at a lower scale than in the previous periods, violence against civilians continued; in the 2010s the military indiscriminately bombed civilian areas in South Kordofan,<sup>14</sup> while the RSF committed additional atrocities in Darfur and South Kordofan.<sup>15</sup>

Today, civilians in Sudan are enduring mass atrocities at an alarming scale, particularly in the region of Darfur, where the RSF and its allied Arab militias are reported to have committed widespread, systematic, targeted attacks on non-Arab civilians, notably the Masalit people.<sup>16</sup>

# CURRENT MASS ATROCITY CRIMES

Since the conflict began in April 2023 both the SAF and RSF have been documented as having attacked civilians. Both denied wrongdoing, and yet failed to halt attacks.<sup>17</sup> More than 13,000 people have been killed since April.<sup>18</sup> The United Nations (UN) has alleged that the SAF and the RSF have murdered, detained, and tortured civilians, and continue to carry out indiscriminate attacks, including airstrikes and drone attacks in civilian areas, and to target hospitals and schools.<sup>19</sup> In December 2023, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken determined that war crimes had been committed by the SAF and RSF, and that crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing had been committed by the RSF and allied militias in Darfur.<sup>20</sup>

## Darfur

When the war broke out, the RSF launched attacks on major urban centers and SAF headquarters in Darfur in an effort to seize control of the region.<sup>21</sup> As a central part of this campaign the RSF and its allies from Arab tribes have targeted non-Arab civilians, principally the Masalit community, for murder, torture, and sexual violence including rape, and looting, as well as buildings in Masalit-populated areas for destruction.<sup>22</sup> Blinken's atrocity determination brought to the fore the layers of tragedy and trauma inherent in this renewed campaign of ethnically targeted violence: "in haunting echoes of the genocide that began almost 20 years ago in Darfur, we have seen an explosion of targeted violence against some of the same survivors' communities." The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) confirmed that killings of the Masalit community have been accompanied by "calls to kill and expel them from Sudan."<sup>23</sup> Survivors have pointed to the use of rampant hate speech and ethnic slurs before, during, and after attacks,<sup>24</sup> including being referred to as "slaves."<sup>25</sup> The RSF has also targeted political, traditional, and community leaders who could otherwise mobilize resistance to RSF occupation.

There are horrific accounts of RSF forces and its allied militias using rape, gang rape, and other forms of sexual violence against women and girls in Darfur, including holding women and girls in sexual slavery.<sup>26</sup> UN experts have noted the widespread use of conflict related sexual violence (CRSV) by the RSF, including rapes that are ethnically and racially motivated "to punish and terrorize communities."<sup>27</sup> The Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa explained that the RSF have used rape for 20 years to humiliate non-Arab communities, and now that the RSF is more powerful, the situation in Darfur is worse than it was two decades ago.<sup>28</sup>

The RSF attacked SAF-aligned Masalit militias in the West Darfur capital of El Geneina on April 15th.<sup>29</sup> On June 15th, the governor of West Darfur, Khamis Abakar, was killed hours after accusing the RSF and their allied fighters of "genocide"; his mutilated body was left on the streets of El Geneina.<sup>30</sup> He was last seen in RSF custody.<sup>31</sup> In the days that followed, the RSF and allied Arab militias massacred hundreds of Masalit civilians in the streets of El Geneina.<sup>32</sup> Families were gunned down as they sought to flee, to the point where, according to a local humanitarian actor, "the dead became uncountable."<sup>33</sup> According to OHCHR, the RSF and their militias made El Geneina "uninhabitable" through burning and looting.<sup>34</sup> An RSF fighter, standing in a part of the town formerly populated by the Masalit community, declared that they had successfully removed the Masalits from the district.<sup>35</sup>

Some who fled El Geneina found shelter in the nearby Ardamata internally displaced persons (IDP) camp. When the RSF attacked the Ardamata IDP camp in early November, they targeted non-Arab IDPs for torture, rape, and murder, and massacred civilians in the nearby Ardamata Masalit majority neighborhoods.<sup>36</sup> The RSF also selected dozens of Masalit men and boys and executed them, taking hundreds of others to RSF detention camps.<sup>37</sup> Six tribal leaders and their families were killed during the attack on the camp in Ardamata; a local



human rights lawyer said, “They want to kill [our leaders] so they can replace us with their own.”<sup>38</sup> The death toll from Ardamata has been estimated to be between 800 to 2000 people.<sup>39</sup> Human Rights Watch has geolocated a video that shows Abdel Raheem Hamdan Dagalo, RSF deputy commander and Hemedti’s brother, celebrating the takeover of the SAF base in Ardamata.<sup>40</sup> The presence of the RSF deputy commander in Ardamata when these atrocities were reported suggests an awareness and complicity of RSF leadership.

The horrors at El Geneina and Ardamata are just two examples; as the RSF and their militias tore across Darfur, they razed more than 29 cities, towns, and villages to the ground.<sup>41</sup> While the RSF has predominantly targeted the Masalit community, it has also targeted individuals from other non-Arab groups, like the Fur and Zaghawa communities.<sup>42</sup> Some IDPs attacked in 2023 have been displaced since the fighting in the early 2000s. To secure funds to pay combatants and instill fear in the local populations, reports suggest that RSF and allies are looting homes, establishing checkpoints for extortion, and ransoming detainees.<sup>43</sup> According to the UN nearly 4,000 civilians were killed in Darfur between April 15th and the end of August, with the majority believed to “have been targeted mainly due to their ethnicity.”<sup>44</sup>

## FUTURE RISKS TO CIVILIANS

From the start of the conflict both the RSF and the SAF have targeted civilians in a bid for control and power, with spiraling violence fed by cycles of grievance and impunity. As war spreads and impunity persists, new civilians and regions will be put at escalating risk.

### Darfur

The risk of genocide remains high in the Darfur region - where there is a risk of the RSF and their allied militias targeting remaining members of the Masalit community as well as other key non-Arab communities, particularly those perceived as being affiliated with armed groups. Survivors of the genocide twenty years ago are among those most vulnerable. The failure to meaningfully address previous cycles of violence has contributed to the persistent use of atrocities as part of the military strategy of the RSF and their allies. Many survivors of previous atrocities have lived in IDP camps for over a decade, their physical concentration together makes them easier targets for attack by RSF. While the RSF has made some efforts to appear credible in territories they now control, advocates stress that non-Arab communities remain at risk.<sup>45</sup> The systematic targeting of non-Arab political leaders and the favoring of Arab groups by the RSF opens up long-term risks for identity-based violence even after the RSF consolidates military control. Darfur civilians are also vulnerable to indiscriminate aerial bombardment from the SAF, who have demonstrated a disregard for the people of Darfur, failing to protect civilians from RSF attacks, and bombing RSF-controlled residential areas.<sup>46</sup>

Civilians currently sheltering in El Fasher in North Darfur are at high risk of targeted ethnic violence - including murder, sexual violence, and forced displacement. El Fasher is the last city in Darfur that has not yet fallen to the RSF, which has surrounded the city. Armed movements representing non-Arab groups have mobilized in El Fasher, but have been described to the Simon-Skjodt Center as fractious and unable to hold off the RSF indefinitely.<sup>47</sup> El Fasher also hosts tens of thousands of IDPs from across the region in huge camps in and around the city. Given prior RSF attacks, an attack on El Fasher would likely result in the kinds of violence reported at El Geneina and Ardamata, but on a larger scale.<sup>48</sup> A battle for El Fasher could also lead to retaliation toward other ethnic groups, in addition to the Masalit, represented among the armed groups in El Fasher, such as the Fur and Zaghawa communities.<sup>49</sup>

## Risk of atrocities in other regions in Sudan

While the RSF remains well-supplied, including from external actors such as the UAE, it will continue to extend its reach and violent tactics into new parts of Sudan. In December 2023, the RSF attacked Wad Madani in Al Jazirah state. Wad Madani is Sudan's second largest city, a lucrative target, SAF stronghold, and humanitarian hub hosting tens of thousands of displaced persons.<sup>50</sup> The RSF may continue to select targets on the basis of communal SAF affiliation and the potential for looting, with associated risks for civilians given the brutality of RSF tactics.<sup>51</sup>

There is a particular risk of mass atrocities in the Kordofan region, which neighbors Darfur and has experienced fierce battles between the SAF and RSF and their respective allied locally based armed groups, resulting in civilian casualties, displacement, and a humanitarian crisis.<sup>52</sup> Given persistent impunity and a history of violence in the Kordofans, there is a risk that the RSF will replicate its scorched earth tactics, including retaliatory attacks on civilians affiliated ethnically with armed opponents.<sup>53</sup> Widespread sexual violence by the RSF is already being reported in the Kordofan region.<sup>54</sup> Given RSF targeting of local leaders in Darfur, the RSF may replicate this tactic in Kordofan to consolidate broad control and alliances.

Within SAF-controlled areas, advocates report the harassment, arrest, and detention of human rights defenders, journalists and anti-war activists, including on the basis of identity.<sup>55</sup> Ahead of the feared RSF attack on Wad Madani, the SAF reportedly targeted for arrest and detention those who based on their accent or ethnicity were suspected of being from the RSF stronghold of Darfur, and therefore of being RSF supporters.<sup>56</sup>

The humanitarian situation in Sudan remains dire and both exacerbates the suffering of survivors of mass atrocities and heightens their risk. Both sides have been accused of obstructing humanitarian access.<sup>57</sup> There is a risk that obstruction could reach the level of forced starvation and death from preventable disease. In Darfur, during and following the 2003-2005 genocide thousands succumbed to starvation and disease. In conflict-affected regions of Sudan, 70% of hospitals are non-functioning, and food, medicine, and drinkable water are scarce.<sup>58</sup> There is a high risk of famine<sup>59</sup> and the UN's 2.6 billion dollar humanitarian appeal remains only one-third funded at the time of writing this brief.<sup>60</sup>





An aerial view of makeshift shelters of Sudanese, who fled the conflict in Sudan's Darfur region, in Adre, Chad July 20, 2023. *REUTERS/Zohra Bensemra*

## RESPONSES TO THE CRISIS

Local non-governmental organizations and community leaders are already taking steps to mitigate atrocity risks, meet humanitarian needs, document crimes, and broker small acts of peace.<sup>61</sup> For example, some tribal leaders in Darfur (representing communities not targeted by the RSF) have successfully negotiated small ceasefires.<sup>62</sup> Throughout Sudan, youth leaders are combating misinformation, providing humanitarian aid, crowdfunding for food, and arranging transportation for fleeing civilians.<sup>63</sup> Amidst a collapsed healthcare system, local women's organizations are providing survivors of CRSV with shelter, medicine, and mental health and psychosocial (MHPSS) support.<sup>64</sup> Despite furious recruitment efforts by belligerents, civil society actors – particularly young people – continue to organize anti-war demonstrations.<sup>65</sup>

## Mediation

Most of the international and regional attention on Sudan has focused on mediation between the two belligerents, even though Al-Burhan and Hemedti have long appeared more convinced that they can defeat the other on the battlefield than at the negotiating table.<sup>66</sup> The US and Saudi Arabia established a platform in Jeddah to facilitate a cessation of hostilities and the provision of humanitarian assistance. The Jeddah talks have been largely unsuccessful, as both sides have repeatedly violated an agreement reached in the talks to abide by international humanitarian law and protect civilians, and as conflict continues.<sup>67</sup> Regionally, both the African Union (AU) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have offered roadmaps for peace, and in December 2023 IGAD organized a summit where members agreed to seek to organize a meeting between Hemedti and al-Burhan.<sup>68</sup> Political parties and local civil society groups have organized a separate track focused on restoring peace and democracy.<sup>69</sup> In December 2023 two US Congresspeople sent a letter to Secretary Blinken calling for the US to look into the reported role of the UAE in supporting the RSF.<sup>70</sup> The US has reportedly raised concerns directly with the UAE, with unclear results.<sup>71</sup> On December 20, 2023, two US Senators introduced a bipartisan resolution calling for the Biden administration to name a high-level special envoy for Sudan.<sup>72</sup>

## Sanctions

In July 2004 the UNSC imposed an open ended arms embargo in the Darfur region, which remains in place, but does not appear to be stemming the flow of arms used by the RSF to commit atrocities in Darfur.<sup>73</sup> Since April 2023, the US has imposed visa restrictions and targeted sanctions on individuals identified as destabilizing Sudan and committing gross violations of human rights.<sup>74</sup> However, individual sanctions have failed to discourage violence or to stop arms from getting into the hands of perpetrators. On December 20, 2023, two US Senators introduced a bipartisan resolution calling for the Biden administration to develop a comprehensive strategy for sanctioning belligerents and actors that supply them.<sup>75</sup>

## Documentation of crimes

Due to a lack of access, most of the documentation of atrocities in Sudan has been done by Sudanese groups, who have shared their findings with the world, often at great personal risk. The US has funded local justice and accountability-focused documentation, and on June 9, 2023, publicly launched the Sudan Conflict Observatory remote digital platform for monitoring and reporting on conflict activity in Sudan.<sup>76</sup> On July 13, 2023, the Prosecutor of the ICC warned that history was repeating itself in Darfur, and announced that his Office would deploy an investigative team.<sup>77</sup> A UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan (UNITAMS) that reported on violations by both parties was operational in Sudan from 2020 until Sudan requested the Mission's mandate be terminated in December 2023. On October 11, 2023, the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) passed a resolution that established a fact-finding mission (FFM) for Sudan.<sup>78</sup> As of December 2023 the FFM has yet to begin its work. In December, Secretary Blinken issued an atrocity determination that both the SAF and the RSF had committed war crimes, and that the RSF and their allied militias had committed crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing in Darfur.<sup>79</sup>

## A WAY FORWARD FOR POLICYMAKERS

There are few populations where expectations for protection and justice have been set so high by the international community as in Darfur – and where people have so often been let down. Across Sudan, both the SAF and the RSF have repeatedly violated international humanitarian and human rights law, in open defiance of efforts to constrain them.<sup>80</sup> The emphasis on fragmented mediation efforts alongside the deployment of piecemeal sanctions has so far failed to collectively carry the credibility and leverage needed to prevent atrocities, protect civilians, deliver aid, and end the war.

A calibrated, sustained, and coordinated response at the local, regional and multilateral level is needed to prevent further mass atrocities. Both al-Burhan and Hemedti remain dependent, at least in part, on foreign benefactors and seek political credibility at domestic and international levels. Atrocity prevention must be integrated across all initiatives; concerned governments must urgently seek a mediated outcome to the conflict while using all available tools to protect civilians and prevent atrocities. In the pursuit of protecting civilians, one option is the deployment of a protection force, building on the experience of UNAMID, which was deployed in Darfur until 2020. Other options for protection will be explored below. In addition, a coordinated effort must be undertaken to invest in documentation and justice mechanisms, and to cut off the external financial and military support that sustains the conflict and enables mass atrocities.

### Finding an urgent, diplomatic solution to the conflict

- The US should appoint and fully resource a special presidential envoy for Sudan.
- Ensure a coordinated approach between concerned governments and international and regional bodies toward a mediation process and key messaging toward belligerents.
- Engage bilaterally with influential third parties to reduce support to key belligerents and to persuade RSF and SAF leadership to participate constructively in mediation.
- Allow for flexible funding to support local conflict resolution efforts – including by young people and women's groups.
- Provide resources for diverse representatives from Sudanese civil society, including young people, women's organizations, and survivors and victims' groups, to organize efforts to promote a political transition and design a future transitional justice process.

### Degrade capacity of perpetrators

- Urgently adopt and enforce an all-of Sudan arms embargo and sanction actors and countries that violate the embargo.
- Enforce the UN Security Council arms embargo on Darfur.



- Place targeted sanctions on belligerents identified as having had a role in the commission of mass atrocities, including CRSV.<sup>81</sup>
- Press states, including the UAE, that provide financial, technical, or political support to the belligerents, to abide by arms embargoes and sanctions.

### **Protect vulnerable civilian populations**

- Urgently explore the deployment of a regional or sub-regional peace operation for Darfur with a mandate to protect civilians and IDPs, and to prevent atrocities in El Fasher.
- Establish safe routes for the evacuation of civilians. Ensure civilians will be able to return to their homes when they can do so safely and voluntarily.
- Support safe refugee resettlement and pathways for asylum.

### **Advance accountability efforts**

- Support victim-centered accountability efforts including through technical, material, coordination, and financial support to locally led human rights monitoring and documentation efforts and ensuring survivor consultation and access with the ICC investigation and HRC Fact Finding Mission.
- The UNSC should expand the ICC investigation to cover all of Sudan.
- Establish an AU Peace and Security Council commission of inquiry into the situation in Sudan.

# ENDNOTES

---

- <sup>1</sup> “Sudan: The Rapid Support Forces (RSF) Gains Ground in Sudan,” *ACLEDA*, January 12, 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/01/12/sudan-situation-update-december-2023-the-rapid-support-forces-rsf-gains-ground-in-sudan/>; “Sudan Humanitarian Update,” *OCHA*, January, 2024, <https://reports.unocha.org/en/country/sudan/>.
- <sup>2</sup> “Al Bashir Case,” *International Criminal Court*, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/darfur/albashir>.
- <sup>3</sup> United Nations, UN Security Council, *Situation in the Sudan and the activities of the United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan: Report of the Secretary-General*, S/2023/355 (16 May 2023): [https://unitams.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/eng-sg\\_report.pdf](https://unitams.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/eng-sg_report.pdf).
- <sup>4</sup> Alex Rondos, “After Six Months of Civil War, What’s the State of Play in Sudan?” *United States Institute of Peace*, October 19, 2023, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/10/after-six-months-civil-war-whats-state-play-sudan>; Shola Lawal, “Why are Sudan’s warring factions meeting in Jeddah?” *Al Jazeera*, October 31, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/31/why-are-sudans-warring-factions-meeting-in-jeddah>.
- <sup>5</sup> “Museum Warns Risk of Genocide in Darfur,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, June 29, 2023, <https://www.ushmm.org/information/press/press-releases/museum-warns-risk-of-genocide-in-darfur>.
- <sup>6</sup> See: “Museum Warns Risk of Genocide in Darfur,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, June 29, 2023, <https://www.ushmm.org/information/press/press-releases/museum-warns-risk-of-genocide-in-darfur>.
- In addition, Sudan has consistently ranked high as a country at risk for mass killing in the Early Warning Project’s Statistical Risk Assessment over the past several years. See: “Sudan | Early Warning Project,” *Early Warning Project, USHMM*, <https://earlywarningproject.ushmm.org/countries/sudan>.
- <sup>7</sup> “Darfur | Holocaust Encyclopedia,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, 2023, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/darfur>.
- <sup>8</sup> “Darfur | Holocaust Encyclopedia,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, 2023, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/darfur>.
- <sup>9</sup> “The Crisis in Darfur,” *US Department of State*, 2004, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/former/powell/remarks/36042.htm>.
- <sup>10</sup> “Darfur | Holocaust Encyclopedia,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, 2023, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/darfur>;
- “UNAMID,” *United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2023, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/unamid>.
- <sup>11</sup> “Withdrawal of Hybrid Peacekeeping Operation in Darfur Completed by 30 June Deadline, Under-Secretary-General Tells Security Council, Outlining Plans to Liquidate Assets,” *UN Press*, July 27, 2021, <https://press.un.org/en/2021/sc14587.doc.htm>.
- <sup>12</sup> “Al Bashir Case,” *International Criminal Court*, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/darfur/albashir>.
- <sup>13</sup> “Sudan conflict brings new atrocities to Darfur as militias kill, rape, burn homes in rampages,” *AP News*, July 28, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/sudan-darfur-fighting-war-crimes-705bdb1ac90fc7b2903f68e6f666c3ca/>;
- Al Bashir put the RSF under the command of General Dagalo (Hemedti), who himself hails from an Arab tribe in Darfur. In 2017, a law legitimizing the RSF as an independent security force was passed. See: William Maclean, “Who are Sudan’s Rapid Support Forces?” *Reuters*, April 13, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/who-are-sudans-rapid-support-forces-2023-04-13/>.
- <sup>14</sup> “Under Siege: Indiscriminate Bombing and Abuses in Sudan’s Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States,” *Human Rights Watch*, December 11, 2012, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2012/12/11/under-siege/indiscriminate-bombing-and-abuses-sudans-southern-kordofan-and-blue>.
- <sup>15</sup> “Men with No Mercy”: Rapid Support Forces Attacks against Civilians in Darfur, Sudan,” *Human Rights Watch*, September, 9, 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/09/09/men-no-mercy/rapid-support-forces-attacks-against-civilians-darfur-sudan>.
- <sup>16</sup> “War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity, and Ethnic Cleansing Determination in Sudan,” *US Department of State*, December 6, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/war-crimes-crimes-against-humanity-and-ethnic-cleansing-determination-in-sudan/>;
- “Sudan Conflict Observatory Hub,” 2023, <https://hub.conflictobservatory.org/portal/apps/sites/#/sudan/pages/darfur-1>;
- “Statement by Ms. Alice Wairimu Nderitu, United Nations Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, on the renewed escalation of violence in Darfur, Sudan,” *UN Press Release*, November 14, 2023, [https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/UN\\_Special\\_Adviser\\_statement\\_Sudan\\_14\\_Nov\\_2023.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/UN_Special_Adviser_statement_Sudan_14_Nov_2023.pdf).
- <sup>17</sup> RSF denied allegations of violations in El Geneina. See “Darfur: Hundreds of people fleeing El Geneina were killed in a day-long massacre, body collectors and survivors say,” *CNN*, August 16, 2023, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/08/16/africa/darfur-sudan-geneina-massacre-account-cmd-intl/index.html>;
- A senior RSF official speaking to Reuters dismissed the violence in El Geneina saying that the “conflict is a tribal one” and another RSF source that that the RSF was being accused due to “political motivations from the Masalit.” See: Emma Farge and Khalid Abdelaziz, “At least 87 buried in Sudan mass grave, including women, children, UN says,” *Reuters*, July 13, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/least-87-buried-mass-grave-sudans-west-darfur-un-2023-07-13/>.
- General Al-Burhan has denied that his forces were targeting civilians - despite the UN saying there is evidence they are launching airstrikes on residential areas. See James Landale, “Sudan war: Army chief Burhan claims he’s ready for peace talks,” *BBC*, September 22, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-66890207>;

---

<sup>18</sup> “Sudan: The Rapid Support Forces (RSF) Gains Ground in Sudan,” *ACLEDA*, January 12, 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/01/12/sudan-situation-update-december-2023-the-rapid-support-forces-rsf-gains-ground-in-sudan/>;  
“Mr. Martin Griffiths, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator - Opening Statement for the Sudan Humanitarian Forum,” *OHCHA*, November 13, 2023, <https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/mr-martin-griffiths-under-secretary-general-humanitarian-affairs-and-emergency-relief-coordinator-opening-statement-sudan-humanitarian-forum-13-november-2023>.

<sup>19</sup> United Nations, UN Security Council, *Situation in the Sudan and the activities of the United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan: Report of the Secretary-General*, S/2023/861 (13 November 2023),

<https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2F2023%2F861&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>;  
“Sudan: Explosive Weapons Harming Civilians Limited Access to Water, Electricity, Medical Care Fuels Humanitarian Crisis,” *Human Rights Watch*, May 4, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/05/04/sudan-explosive-weapons-harming-civilians>;

“Türk calls on Sudan combatants to agree peace talks, aid and protection of civilians,” *OHCHR*, May 11, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2023/05/turk-calls-sudan-combatants-agree-peace-talks-aid-and-protection-civilians>.

<sup>20</sup> “War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity, and Ethnic Cleansing Determination in Sudan,” *US Department of State*, December 6, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/war-crimes-crimes-against-humanity-and-ethnic-cleansing-determination-in-sudan/>.

<sup>21</sup> The RSF has historic ties to the Darfur region, and control over the region enables the RSF to access arms and supplies through neighboring states.

For more on the RSF, see: William Maclean, “Who are Sudan's Rapid Support Forces?” *Reuters*, April 13, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/who-are-sudans-rapid-support-forces-2023-04-13/>.

For more on alleged arms shipments through neighboring Chad, a Wall Street Journal report uncovered dozens of arms deliveries from the UAE to the RSF through eastern Chad. See: “A U.S. Ally Promised to Send Aid to Sudan. It Sent Weapons Instead,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 10, 2023, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/a-u-s-ally-promised-to-send-aid-to-sudan-it-sent-weapons-instead-82d396f>.

<sup>22</sup> As the ethnic targeting dimensions of the violence in Darfur became apparent, the Troika (Norway, the United Kingdom, and the US), a European Union representative, and African Union’s Peace and Security Council (PSC) acknowledged and explicitly condemned the ethnic targeting of civilians by the RSF and allied militias. See: “Condemning Atrocities in Darfur - United States Department of State,” *US State Department*, June 15, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/condemning-atrocities-in-darfur/>;

“Sudan conflict: EU warns of ‘another genocide’ in Darfur,” *DW*, November 13, 2023, <https://www.dw.com/en/sudan-conflict-eu-warns-of-another-genocide-in-darfur/a-67381833>;

“Resolution on the serious deterioration of the human rights situation in the Republic of the Sudan as a result of the continuation of the war that broke out on 15 April 2023-ACHPR/Res.563 (LXXVI) 2023,” *African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights*, August 4, 2023, <https://achpr.au.int/en/adopted-resolutions/563-resolution-serious-deterioration-human-rights-situation-rep>.

See also: “Darfur and Kordofan: Mass Atrocities Against Women and Girls,” *Sudanese Women Rights Action (SUWRA)*, August 9, 2023, <https://suwra.org/blog/2023/08/09/brief-darfur-and-kordofan-mass-atrocities-against-women-and-girls/>.

<sup>23</sup> “Comment by UN Human Rights Spokesperson Ravina Shamdasani, raising alarm on killings of people fleeing El Geneina in West Darfur, Sudan,” *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*, June 24, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements-and-speeches/2023/06/comment-un-human-rights-spokesperson-ravina-shamdasani-raising>.

<sup>24</sup> “Darfur: Rapid Support Forces, Allied Militias Rape Dozens,” *Human Rights Watch*, September 17, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/08/17/darfur-rapid-support-forces-allied-militias-rape-dozens>.

<sup>25</sup> Katharine Houreld, “RSF implicated in Darfur massacres following victory over army,” *The Washington Post*, November 8, 2023, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/11/08/sudan-rsf-army-darfur-massacre/>.

<sup>26</sup> “SGBV: A Tool used to Instill Fear in Sudan’s Armed Conflict,” *African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies (ACJPS)*, November 22, 2023, <https://www.acjps.org/sgbv-a-tool-used-to-instill-fear-in-sudans-armed-conflict/>.

“Sudan: Alarming reports of women and girls abducted and forced to marry, held for ransom,” *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*, November 3, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-briefing-notes/2023/11/sudan-alarming-reports-women-and-girls-abducted-and-forced-marry-held>;

“Darfur: Rapid Support Forces, Allied Militias Rape Dozens,” *Human Rights Watch*, September 17, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/08/17/darfur-rapid-support-forces-allied-militias-rape-dozens>;

“Sudan: War crimes rampant as civilians killed in both deliberate and indiscriminate attacks,” *Amnesty International*, August 3, 2023, <https://www.amnesty.eu/news/sudan-war-crimes-rampant-as-civilians-killed-in-both-deliberate-and-indiscriminate-attacks-new-report/>.

<sup>27</sup> “UN experts alarmed by reported widespread use of rape and sexual violence against women and girls by RSF in Sudan,” *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*, August 17, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/08/un-experts-alarmed-reported-widespread-use-rape-and-sexual-violence-against>.

<sup>28</sup> “Sudan: Testimonies detail atrocities by Wagner-backed militia,” *CNN*, June 17, 2023, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/06/16/africa/darfur-sudan-wagner-conflict-cmd-intl/index.html>.

<sup>29</sup> “Sudan: War crimes rampant as civilians killed in both deliberate and indiscriminate attacks,” *Amnesty International*, August 3, 2023, <https://www.amnesty.eu/news/sudan-war-crimes-rampant-as-civilians-killed-in-both-deliberate-and-indiscriminate-attacks-new-report/>.

<sup>30</sup> “Sudan: Tackle Spiraling Violence in West Darfur,” *Human Rights Watch*, June 21, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/06/21/sudan-tackle-spiralling-violence-west-darfur>.

<sup>31</sup> “Sudan: Tackle Spiraling Violence in West Darfur,” *Human Rights Watch*, June 21, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/06/21/sudan-tackle-spiralling-violence-west-darfur>.

<sup>32</sup> “Sudan: Tackle Spiraling Violence in West Darfur,” *Human Rights Watch*, June 21, 2023,

---

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/06/21/sudan-tackle-spiralling-violence-west-darfur>;

“Evidence Consistent with Alleged Body Disposal in El-Geneina,” *Sudan Conflict Observatory*, September 14, 2023,

<https://hub.conflictobservatory.org/portal/sharing/rest/content/items/51c6e338c2a34f80a763ead60cfc40de/data>;

“Comment by UN Human Rights Spokesperson Ravina Shamdasani, raising alarm on killings of people fleeing El Geneina in West Darfur, Sudan,” *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*, June 24, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements-and-speeches/2023/06/comment-un-human-rights-spokesperson-ravina-shamdasani-raising>.

<sup>33</sup> “Darfur: Rapid Support Forces, Allied Militias Rape Dozens,” *Human Rights Watch*, September 17, 2023

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/08/17/darfur-rapid-support-forces-allied-militias-rape-dozens>;

“Darfur: Hundreds of people fleeing El Geneina were killed in a day-long massacre, body collectors and survivors say,” *CNN*, August 16, 2023, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/08/16/africa/darfur-sudan-geneina-massacre-account-cmd-intl/index.html>.

<sup>34</sup> “Comment by UN Human Rights Spokesperson Ravina Shamdasani, raising alarm on killings of people fleeing El Geneina in West Darfur, Sudan,” *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*, June 24, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements-and-speeches/2023/06/comment-un-human-rights-spokesperson-ravina-shamdasani-raising>.

<sup>35</sup> Fatma B Hamad and Corentin Bainier, “They knocked on my door: Civilians caught in Sudan's civil war,” *France 24 The Observers*, October 23, 2023, <https://observers.france24.com/en/tv-shows/the-observers/20231023-they-knocked-on-my-door-civilians-caught-in-sudan-s-civil-war>.

<sup>36</sup> “Sudan: Killings in Ardamata,” *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*, November 17, 2023,

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-briefing-notes/2023/11/sudan-killings-ardamata>.

<sup>37</sup> “Sudan: Killings in Ardamata,” *Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)*, November 17, 2023,

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-briefing-notes/2023/11/sudan-killings-ardamata>.

<sup>38</sup> Mat Nashed, “Corpses on streets: Sudan's RSF kills 1300 in Darfur, monitors say,” *Al Jazeera*, November 10, 2023.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/10/corpses-on-streets-sudans-rsf-kills-1300-in-darfur-monitors-say>.

<sup>39</sup> “Sudan: New Mass Ethnic Killings, Pillage in Darfur,” *Human Rights Watch*, November 26, 2023,

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/11/27/sudan-new-mass-ethnic-killings-pillage-darfur>.

<sup>40</sup> “Sudan: New Mass Ethnic Killings, Pillage in Darfur,” *Human Rights Watch*, November 26, 2023,

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/11/27/sudan-new-mass-ethnic-killings-pillage-darfur>.

<sup>41</sup> “Protection Brief: Darfur Region,” *UNHCR*, October 10, 2023, <https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/protection-brief-darfur-region-october-2023>;

“Evidence of Alleged Widespread, Systematic, and Targeted Mass Atrocities in Darfur, 15 April-10 July 2023,” *Sudan Conflict Observatory*, 14 July 2023, <https://hub.conflictobservatory.org/portal/apps/sites/#/sudan/pages/darfur-1>.

<sup>42</sup> “Evidence of Alleged Widespread, Systematic, and Targeted Mass Atrocities in Darfur, 15 April-10 July 2023,” *Sudan Conflict Observatory*, 14 July 2023, <https://hub.conflictobservatory.org/portal/apps/sites/#/sudan/pages/darfur-1>;

Akshaya Kumar, “Darfur Civilians in Jeopardy,” *Human Rights Watch*, November 13, 2023,

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/11/13/darfur-civilians-jeopardy>;

The Shura Council of the Zaghawa tribe has accused the RSF of assassinating prominent members of the Zaghawa tribe in Nyala. See:

“Zaghawa tribe accuses RSF of assassinating notables in South Darfur,” *Sudan Tribune*, September 17, 2023,

<https://sudantribune.com/article277342/>.

<sup>43</sup> “High Commissioner for Human Rights: the Reckless, Senseless Conflict in Sudan Has Resulted in a Human Rights and Humanitarian Crisis that Is Unfolding at an Alarming Rate and on a Devastating Scale,” *OHCHR*, June 19, 2023,

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/news/2023/06/high-commissioner-human-rights-reckless-senseless-conflict-sudan-has-resulted-human>;

Katharine Houreld, “RSF implicated in Darfur massacres following victory over army,” *The Washington Post*, November 8, 2023,

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/11/08/sudan-rsf-army-darfur-massacre/>;

“Sudan: Testimonies detail atrocities by Wagner-backed militia,” *CNN*, June 17, 2023, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/06/16/africa/darfur-sudan-wagner-conflict-cmd-intl/index.html>;

“SGBV: A Tool used to Instill Fear in Sudan’s Armed Conflict,” *African Centre for Peace and Justice Studies (ACPJS)*, November 22, 2023, <https://www.acjps.org/sgbv-a-tool-used-to-instill-fear-in-sudans-armed-conflict/>.

<sup>44</sup> “Nearly 4,000 killed, civilian property destroyed in raging conflict in Sudan’s Darfur,” *UNHCR*, October 17, 2023,

<https://www.unhcr.org/us/news/briefing-notes/nearly-4-000-killed-civilian-property-destroyed-raging-conflict-sudan-s-darfur>.

<sup>45</sup> “Sudan war: East Darfur capital 'stable' as SAF-RSF tensions simmer in West Kordofan,” *Dabanga Radio TV Online*, November 24, 2023, <https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/sudan-war-east-darfur-capital-stable-as-saf-rsf-tensions-simmer-in-west-kordofan>.

Civil society organization with personnel in Darfur, in conversation with the author, October 2023.

Civil society representative from Darfur, in conversation with the author, November 2023.

Sudan expert, in conversation with the author, December 2023.

<sup>46</sup> In December 2023, SAF airstrikes targeted RSF controlled Nyala in South Darfur, reportedly including residential areas. See:

“Sudanese airstrikes in Nyala target RSF sites, causing civilian casualties,” *Sudan Tribune*, December 14, 2023,

<https://sudantribune.com/article280364/>;

In addition, in November reported airstrikes launched by SAF killed at least 40 civilians in RSF controlled El Daein in East Darfur.

See: “At least 40 civilians killed in El Daein by Sudanese warplanes,” *Sudan Tribune*, November 22, 2023,

<https://sudantribune.com/article279625/>.

<sup>47</sup> “RSF deputy leader: ‘We decided to control all of Darfur, and El Fasher is no exception,’” *Sudan War Monitor*, November 27, 2023,

<https://sudanwarmonitor.com/p/rsf-deputy-leader-we-decided-to-control/>;



---

“A joined-up mediation approach will be essential to ensure that ceasefire and civilian political tracks in Sudan are harmonized, tells ASG Pobee,” *UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs*, November 16, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/en/msg-sc-9480-asg-pobee-sudan-16-nov-2023>;

James Copnall, and Danai Nesta, “Sudan civil war: Darfur's Jem rebels join army fight against RSF,” *BBC*, November 17, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-67450204>;

Sudan expert, in confidential discussion with the author, December 2023;

Sudanese civil society representative, in confidential discussion with the author, November 2023;

Organization represented in El Fasher, in confidential discussion, January 2024.

<sup>48</sup> Secretary of State Antony Blinken has warned an escalation in the conflict would subject hundreds of thousands, including those in El Fasher, “to extreme danger.” See: Katharine Houreld, “RSF implicated in Darfur massacres following victory over army,” *The Washington Post*, November 8, 2023, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/11/08/sudan-rsf-army-darfur-massacre/>;

Akshaya Kumar, “Darfur Civilians in Jeopardy,” *Human Rights Watch*, November 13, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/11/13/darfur-civilians-jeopardy>.

<sup>49</sup> Mat Nashed and Dirdeiry M. Ahmed, “Fears of all-out ethnic war rise in Sudan's Darfur,” *Al Jazeera*, November 22, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/22/fears-of-all-out-ethnic-war-in-rise-in-sudans-darfur>.

<sup>50</sup> Boris Akunin, “Thousands flee as war reaches Sudan's second-largest city,” *Al Jazeera*, December 17, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/12/17/thousands-flee-as-war-reaches-sudans-second-largest-city>;

Scott Nelson, “Sudan: Fresh fears for civilians as fighting extends to Wad Madani,” *Amnesty International*, December 20, 2023, <https://www.amnesty.org.au/sudan-fresh-fears-for-civilians-as-fighting-extends-to-wad-madani/>.

<sup>51</sup> Civil society expert, concerns conveyed to the author, December 2023.

<sup>52</sup> “Darfur and Kordofan: Mass Atrocities Against Women and Girls,” *Sudanese Women Rights Action (SUWRA)*, August 9, 2023, <https://suwra.org/blog/2023/08/09/brief-darfur-and-kordofan-mass-atrocities-against-women-and-girls/>;

“A joined-up mediation approach will be essential to ensure that ceasefire and civilian political tracks in Sudan are harmonized, tells ASG Pobee,” *UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs*, November 16, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/en/msg-sc-9480-asg-pobee-sudan-16-nov-2023>;

James Copnall and Danai Nesta, “Sudan civil war: Darfur's Jem rebels join army fight against RSF,” *BBC*, November 17, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-67450204>;

“Deaths, incidents, and negotiations in Kordofan,” *Dabanga Radio TV Online*, December 4, 2023, <https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/deaths-incidents-and-negotiations-in-kordofan>;

United Nations, UN Security Council, *Situation in the Sudan and the activities of the*

*United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan: Report of the Secretary-General*, S/2023/861 (13 November 2023), available from:

<https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2F2023%2F861&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>;

“Darfur and Kordofan: Mass Atrocities Against Women and Girls,” *Sudanese Women Rights Action (SUWRA)*, August 9, 2023, <https://suwra.org/blog/2023/08/09/brief-darfur-and-kordofan-mass-atrocities-against-women-and-girls/>.

<sup>53</sup> Sudanese civil society representatives in conversation with the author, November 2023;

In one example of RSF strategy in the Kordofan region, in December, during clashes with a local armed group, it targeted that armed group's village base for looting and burning. See: “Four killed and village destroyed as RSF attacks SPLM-N base in South Kordofan,” *Dabanga Radio TV Online*, December 6, 2023, <https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/four-killed-and-village-destroyed-as-rsf-attacks-splm-n-base-in-south-kordofan>.

<sup>54</sup> “Sudan: UN experts appalled by use of sexual violence as a tool of war,” *OHCHR*, November 30, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2023/11/sudan-un-experts-appalled-use-sexual-violence-tool-war>;

United Nations, UN Security Council, *Situation in the Sudan and the activities of the*

*United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan: Report of the Secretary-General*, S/2023/861 (13 November 2023),

<https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2F2023%2F861&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>.

<sup>55</sup> United Nations, UN Security Council, *Situation in the Sudan and the activities of the*

*United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan: Report of the Secretary-General*, S/2023/861 (13 November 2023),

<https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2F2023%2F861&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>;

“Implications of the war in Sudan: Political, economical, social, human rights Situation,” *Youth Citizens Observer Network (YCON)*, October 2023,

<https://www.ycon-sudan.org/post/implications-of-the-war-in-sudan-october-2023-political-economical-social-human-rights-situation>.

<sup>56</sup> Mat Nashed, “Losing hope”: Sudan civilians terrified as RSF attacks second-biggest city,” *Al Jazeera*, December 19, 2023.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/12/19/losing-hope-sudan-civilians-terrified-as-rsf-attacks-second-biggest-city>;

ACJPS reports that military intelligence arrested, tortured and allegedly killed 26 men in Wad Madani who were all Darfuri or Kordofani. “Al-jazeera state: 26 men arbitrarily arrested and allegedly killed by the Military Intelligence Unit in Wad Madani,” *ACJPS*, January 11, 2024, <https://www.acjps.org/publications/al-jazeera-state-26-men-arbitrarily-arrested-and-allegedly-killed-by-the-military-intelligence-unit-in-wad-madani>.

<sup>57</sup> “Oral Statement at the 77th Ordinary Session of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights,” *Human Rights Watch*, October 20, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/10/20/oral-statement-77th-ordinary-session-african-commission-human-and-peoples-rights>.

---

<sup>58</sup> “Statement by the Humanitarian Coordinator in Sudan on indiscriminate attacks on civilian facilities and infrastructure - Sudan,” OCHA, October 26, 2023, <https://reliefweb.int/report/sudan/statement-humanitarian-coordinator-sudan-indiscriminate-attacks-civilian-facilities-and-infrastructure-enar>.

<sup>59</sup> “Continued violence in Sudan is having catastrophic health consequences on displaced people, warns IRC,” *International Rescue Committee*, November 29, 2023, <https://www.rescue.org/press-release/continued-violence-sudan-having-catastrophic-health-consequences-displaced-people>.

<sup>60</sup> “Insecurity, lack of funds slowing aid to Sudan: UN,” *France 24*, October 5, 2023, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20231005-insecurity-lack-of-funds-slowing-aid-to-sudan-un>.

<sup>61</sup> Ashish Kumar, “Civil War Pushes Sudan to the Brink of Humanitarian Disaster,” *United States Institute of Peace (USIP)*, November 22, 2023, <https://usip.org/publications/2023/11/civil-war-pushes-sudan-brink-humanitarian-disaster>.

<sup>62</sup> For example, the Native Administration of the Rezigate tribe intervened to secure a ceasefire between the RSF and SAF and protected and evacuated humanitarian workers in East Darfur. See: “East Darfur: Dozens injured as RSF seizes and takes control of SAF base in Eldien,” *African Centre for Justice and Peace Studies (ACJPS)*, November 28, 2023, <https://www.acjps.org/east-darfur-dozens-injured-as-rsf-seizes-and-takes-control-of-saf-base-in-eldien/>;

United Nations, UN Security Council, *Situation in the Sudan and the activities of the United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan: Report of the Secretary-General*, S/2023/861 (13 November 2023),

<https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2F2023%2F861&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>.

<sup>63</sup> Rachel Palermo, and Paula P. Reyes, “Amid Sudan's Chaos, Youth Groups Work for Peace,” *United States Institute of Peace (USIP)*, May 2, 2023, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/05/amid-sudans-chaos-youth-groups-work-peace>.

<sup>64</sup> “SGBV: A Tool used to Instill Fear in Sudan’s Armed Conflict,” *ACJPS*, November 22, 2023, <https://www.acjps.org/sgbv-a-tool-used-to-instill-fear-in-sudans-armed-conflict/>.

<sup>65</sup> “Sudan Situation Update: November 2023 | RSF Expands Territorial Control as Ceasefire Talks Resume in Jeddah,” *ACLEDA*, November 3, 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/11/03/sudan-situation-update-november-2023-the-rsf-expands-its-territorial-control-as-ceasefire-talks-resume-in-jeddah/>.

<sup>66</sup> According to the NYTimes in November, while the conflict currently tips in favor of the RSF, most African and Western officials believe neither side appears capable of outright military victory. Abdi L. Dahir, “Seizing Darfur Region, Paramilitary Forces Are Accused of Atrocities,” *The New York Times*, November 16, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/16/world/africa/sudan-darfur-fighting.html>;

Former UN Special Representative for Sudan Volker Perthes observed in September that neither side was close to military victory. See: “Sudan's Worsening Violence, Humanitarian Crisis Could Foreshadow Civil War, Senior Officials Warn Security Council, Calling for Urgent Action to End Conflict,” *UN Press*, September 13, 2023, <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15409.doc.htm>;

Nonetheless, both sides seem confident of victory. See: “Ruining a Country, Devastating its People,” *Redress*, September, 2023, <https://redress.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/Sudan-report-Ruining-a-Country-Devastating-its-People.pdf>.

<sup>67</sup> Ashish Kumar, “Civil War Pushes Sudan to the Brink of Humanitarian Disaster,” *United States Institute of Peace (USIP)*, November 22, 2023, <https://usip.org/publications/2023/11/civil-war-pushes-sudan-brink-humanitarian-disaster>;

“Public Launch of Sudan Conflict Observatory Monitoring Platform - United States Department of State,” *US State Department*, June 9, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/public-launch-of-sudan-conflict-observatory-monitoring-platform/>.

<sup>68</sup> Ashish Kumar, “Civil War Pushes Sudan to the Brink of Humanitarian Disaster,” *United States Institute of Peace (USIP)*, November 22, 2023, <https://usip.org/publications/2023/11/civil-war-pushes-sudan-brink-humanitarian-disaster>;

“Communiqué of the 41st Extraordinary IGAD Assembly of Heads of State and Government,” *IGAD*, December 9, 2023, <https://igad.int/communique-of-the-41st-extraordinary-assembly-of-igad-heads-of-state-and-government-djibouti-republic-of-djibouti-9th-december-2023/>.

<sup>69</sup> United Nations, UN Security Council, *Situation in the Sudan and the activities of the United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan: Report of the Secretary-General*, S/2023/861 (13 November 2023),

<https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=S%2F2023%2F861&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>.

<sup>70</sup> “Reps. Omar and Jacobs Lead Letter on Preventing Atrocities in Sudan,” Office of Rep. Ilhan Omar, December 4, 2023, <https://omar.house.gov/media/press-releases/reps-omar-and-jacobs-lead-letter-preventing-atrocities-sudan>.

<sup>71</sup> For example, US Vice President Kamala Harris included Sudan in her list of topics in discussion with the President of the UAE on December 2, 2023, “Readout of Vice President Harris’s Meeting with President Mohamed bin Zayed of the United Arab Emirates,” *The White House*, December 2, 2023, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/12/02/readout-of-vice-president-harris-meeting-with-president-mohamed-bin-zayed-of-the-united-arab-emirates/>.

<sup>72</sup> “S.Con.Res 118th Congress (2022-2023): Concurrent resolution condemning the hostilities in Sudan and standing with the people of Sudan in their calls for peace and their democratic aspirations,” *Congress.gov*, December 19, 2023, <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/121923sudanresolution.pdf>.

<sup>73</sup> The work of the Security Council Sanctions Committee on Sudan, which manages the arms embargo on Darfur, and the Panel of Experts, which supports the Committee through reporting, can be found here: “Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1591 (2005) concerning the Sudan,” *United Nations Security Council*, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/1591>;

“Statement attributable to the Spokesperson for the Secretary-General – on Sudan,” *UNITAMS*, December 1, 2023, <https://unitams.unmissions.org/en/statement-attributable-spokesperson-secretary-general-%E2%80%93-sudan>.

---

<sup>74</sup> “Report to Congress on Section 5 of the Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocities Prevention Act,” *US State Department*, October 2, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/2023-report-to-congress-on-section-5-of-the-elie-wiesel-genocide-and-atrocities-prevention-act-of-2018-p-l-115-441-as-amended/>;

In May 2023 the US announced an Executive Order—“Imposing Sanctions on Certain Persons Destabilizing Sudan and Undermining the Goal of a Democratic Transition.” It has issued several rounds of sanctions against Sudanese actors. See several examples here:

“Actions Against Senior Rapid Support Forces Commanders in Sudan - United States Department of State,” *US Department of State*, September 6, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/actions-against-senior-rapid-support-forces-commanders-in-sudan/>;

“Treasury Designates Entities and Individuals Exacerbating Sudan's Instability,” *US Department of the Treasury*, September 28, 2023, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy1769>;

“Treasury Targets Sudanese Actors for Undermining Peace, Security, and Stability in Sudan,” *US Department of the Treasury*, December 4, 2023, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy1947>.

<sup>75</sup> “S.Con.Res 118th Congress (2022-2023): Concurrent resolution condemning the hostilities in Sudan and standing with the people of Sudan in their calls for peace and their democratic aspirations,” *Congress.gov*, December 19, 2023,

<https://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/121923sudanresolution.pdf>.

<sup>76</sup> “2023 Report to Congress on Section 5 of the Elie Wiesel Genocide and Atrocities Prevention Act of 2018 (P.L. 115-441) [as amended],” *United States Department of State*, August 2, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/2023-report-to-congress-on-section-5-of-the-elie-wiesel-genocide-and-atrocities-prevention-act-of-2018-p-l-115-441-as-amended/>;

“Public Launch of Sudan Conflict Observatory Monitoring Platform,” *United States Department of State*, June 9, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/public-launch-of-sudan-conflict-observatory-monitoring-platform/>.

<sup>77</sup> “Statement of ICC Prosecutor, Karim A. A. Khan KC, to the United Nations Security Council on the situation in Darfur, pursuant to Resolution 1593 (2005),” *International Criminal Court*, July 13, 2023, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/statement-icc-prosecutor-karim-khan-kc-united-nations-security-council-situation-darfur-0>;

“History at Risk of Repeating, International Criminal Court Prosecutor Tells Security Council, Urging Accountability for New Crimes in Darfur,” *UN Press*, July 13, 2023, <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15354.doc.htm>.

<sup>78</sup> General Assembly Human Rights Council Resolution 54/2, *Responding to the human rights and humanitarian crisis caused by the ongoing armed conflict in the Sudan*, A/HRC/RES/54/2, October 12, 2023,

<https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=A%2FHRC%2FRES%2F54%2F2&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False>.

<sup>79</sup> “War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity, and Ethnic Cleansing Determination in Sudan,” *US Department of State*, December 6, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/war-crimes-crimes-against-humanity-and-ethnic-cleansing-determination-in-sudan/>.

<sup>80</sup> The SAF and RSF both have committed serious violations of the Jeddah May Declaration. The Sudan Conflict Observatory found multiple violations of the May Declaration by both parties. See: “Public Launch of Sudan Conflict Observatory Monitoring Platform” *US Department of State*, June 9, 2023, <https://www.state.gov/public-launch-of-sudan-conflict-observatory-monitoring-platform/>; While Al-Burhan spoke to world leaders at the UN General Assembly in September, his forces bombed a residential area in Khartoum. See: “More bombs, more legitimacy - How Burhan is playing diplomat while his forces target civilian areas,” *Ayin Network*, September 30, 2023, <https://3ayin.com/en/safbomb/>;

Although RSF commander Abdul Rahman Juma was sanctioned by the US for reported involvement in a crime in El Geneina in June, he was later identified celebrating in Ardamata in November. See:

Mat Nashad, “‘Corpses on streets’: Sudan's RSF kills 1300 in Darfur, monitors say,” *Al Jazeera*, November 10, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/10/corpses-on-streets-sudans-rsf-kills-1300-in-darfur-monitors-say>.

<sup>81</sup> Sanctions on those disrupting peace processes can be implemented in line with existing Executive Order on Sudan, and sanctions on CRSV in line with the Presidential Memorandum on Promoting Accountability for Conflict Related Sexual Violence. See:

“Memorandum on Promoting Accountability for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence,” *The White House*, November 28, 2022, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2022/11/28/memorandum-on-promoting-accountability-for-conflict-related-sexual-violence/>.

A living memorial to the Holocaust, the **UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM** inspires citizens and leaders worldwide to confront hatred, prevent genocide, and promote human dignity. Its far-reaching educational programs and global impact are made possible by generous donors.



[ushmm.org/connect](https://ushmm.org/connect)

UNITED STATES  
**HOLOCAUST**  
MEMORIAL  
**MUSEUM**

**SIMON-SKJODT CENTER  
FOR THE PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE**

100 Raoul Wallenberg Place, SW Washington, DC 20024-2126 [ushmm.org](https://ushmm.org)