



ELFASHIR TO TAWILLA: A 35-KILOMETER JOURNEY THROUGH HELL.



Figure 1: An aerial view of El-Fashir city, North Darfur, prior to the conflict.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The African Center for Justice and Peace Studies (ACJPS) presents a comprehensive report comprising a compilation of testimonies and information regarding ongoing events in El-Fashir City, the capital of North Darfur, during September and October 2025. The report further addresses the attacks and control exerted by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF). Additionally, it aims to elucidate the causes and repercussions of these incidents, with a particular focus on their impact on the civilian population and the broader implications for the conflict in Sudan. Furthermore, it analyzes the potential consequences for ceasefire prospects, the continuation of hostilities, escalation scenarios, national unity, civilian protection, and violations of international humanitarian law (IHL).

BACKGROUND

A brief background of the El-Fashir and Tawilla

El-Fashir City, located in North Darfur State, is among Africa's oldest cities, founded around 1670. It served as the capital of the Fur Kingdom until 1916. After the Fur Kingdom became part of Sudan following the final battle between British colonial forces and the Fur Kingdom, it became part of the Sudanese border region known as Darfur. In 1994, El-Fashir, located approximately 1250 kilometers from Khartoum, was named the capital of North Darfur State. Since 2004, the city has hosted displaced Darfur conflict survivors in several camps, including Abu Shouk and Al Salam in the north, and Zamzam in the southwest, which was dismantled by the Rapid Support Forces in May 2025. The area is characterized by an oasis surrounded by sandy hills and terrain.

Tawilla, on the other hand, is a town located approximately 35 kilometers from El-Fashir. The town offers accessible land and an oasis; its inhabitants produce tobacco known in Sudan as well as *Sombak*. It was among the areas heavily attacked by the Sudan Armed Forces and the Air Force, and militias allied with the SAF during the Darfur civil war from 2003 to 2005. These conflicts led to the displacement of survivors to the aforementioned camps around El-Fashir. In July 2023, the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) took control of the town after a series of attacks that severely disrupted service facilities. Three days later, the Sudan Liberation Army and the Movement, led by Mr. Abdul Wahid Noor, recaptured the area following the RSF's withdrawal. Since then, Tawilla has become a safe haven for people fleeing El-Fashir, with **UNHCR** and other INGOs operating from there. Currently, there are five camps in Tawilla.

The battle for El-Fashir gained significant momentum for several reasons. It was the last Darfur region not under the RSF's control. By the end of 2023, the RSF had established control over four of five regions of Darfur. Additionally, they engaged in security talks with parties to the 2020 Peace Agreement, including Darfur movement factions, to shift their allegiance from SAF to support their side; however, these efforts were unsuccessful.

The conflict in El-Fashir involves multiple aspects of the ongoing Sudanese conflict. Several reasons are linked to recent political developments. The declaration made by the Darfuri rebel movements in September 2023 marked a significant shift, as they withdrew from civilian protection forces and aligned themselves with the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF). The situation turned for the worse following the assassination of Major General Ali Yagoup Musa of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) in El-Fashir in May 2025. The manner in which the deceased was treated, being dragged along the ground by civilians, added tension to the situation. These incidents have contributed to heightened hostilities and inflammatory exchanges between parties, alongside publicly articulated, underlying motives of revenge by some factions within the RSF.

Witness testimony

Mr. Mustafa (not his real name), a 32-year-old lawyer and human rights defender currently living in exile outside Sudan, shared a powerful story from Tawilla during the Darfur civil war. He told ACJPS he was born in Tawilla, highlighting his deep connection to the area. He recalled that “.... on February 27, 2004, the allied militias known as Janjaweed, which later rebranded as the Border Guard Unit under SAF, attacked Tawilla town. Fortunately, it was a weekend when most of the Tawilla High School girls had returned home or to their villages around Tawilla; sadly, the remaining students in the school were targeted and violated. At least 100 women were raped, and more than 103 people were killed in Tawilla that day. Additionally, at least 75 villages were burned during that attack... He explained that these events forced them to displace to El-Fashir. Several years later, he joined the university, and he studied law, aiming to promote justice for his people. However, the ongoing war obstructed this goal, causing a new wave of displacement.

“Many who once escaped to El-Fashir are now making their way back to Tawilla, despite facing numerous hardships. Tragically, five of my family members, all young men, lost their lives during the journey from El-Fashir to Tawilla when they were shot directly by RSF fighters...” he continued

MILITARY FORCES IN EL-FASHIR

Numerous armed groups are present in El-Fashir, including:

1. Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) led by Major General Ahmed Al-Khader
2. Sudan Liberation Army/Mani Manawi Gen. Juma Hagar
3. Sudan Liberation Army/Transitional Council led by Gen. Osman Abdul Jabar
4. Sudan Liberation Army faction led by Abdallah, known as Abdallah JANA
5. Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) led by Hamid Idris
6. Popular Recruiters
7. Alabra Battle is led by Abdul Razeq Ibrahim, also known as Abu Shook. Mr. Abdul is part of the Sudanese Islamic Movement and its political branch. He held multiple leadership roles during the Al-Bashir era.
8. Rapid Support Forces led by Major General Judo Hamadan Abu Shook

THE SITUATION IN ELFASHIR DURING SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 2025.

El-fashir has been under siege by RSF since May 9, 2024, resulting in man-made famine, starvation, and a reduction of safe areas due to drone strikes and direct attacks by RSF. Since September 2025, when gunfights intensified, the only remaining safe zone was the western part of the city, particularly in the Darja Awala neighborhood, along with a few other locations, including El-fashir University, El-fashir International Airport, the two camps of Abo Shook and Alsalam, and the Agricultural Research Corporation building. These areas constitute less than 5% of the city, which is inhabited by over 2 million people.

In early September 2025, RSF-led forces launched a series of new attacks on the city, using drones in an attempt to capture El-Fashir. Unfortunately, these strikes included an attack on a mosque and shelter called Dar Alargam.

On September 10, 2025, RSF moved into the Awlad Alreef neighborhood in Elfashir, located on the city's western side. This area links the southern part of the city to the SAF headquarters, also known as Division 6.

On October 11, 2025, RSF advanced strategically towards SAF positions through the Western School in the southeast corner, located within the same plot as the SAF sports yard, less than a kilometer from the main headquarters building. From the southeast, RSF reached the official government residence of the North Darfur Governor, about 800 to 1000 meters from the headquarters. This movement limited SAF's control areas, especially since allied forces, including armed groups that are signatories of the 2020 Sudan Peace Agreement, occupied the south and east of the safe zone.

In response, SAF repositioned itself to the west and north of the Daraj Awala neighborhood. Notably, local recruits joined SAF in the northern border of Daraj Awala, near the IDP camps of Abu Shook and Alsalam (these camps were established in 2004 following attacks on Tawilla and other villages by government forces allied with Arab militias known as Janjaweed. These militias were integrated into SAF's border guard units before becoming the Rapid Support Forces in 2014.

Another series of attacks in the last week of October suggests a changing dynamic in El-fashir's power, as SAF, its allies, and RSF have been increasingly gaining ground in the city.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF SAF FROM EL-FASHIR AND ITS ALLIES AND ITS EFFECTS ON CIVILIAN LIVES.

On October 29, 2025, Gen. Abdul Fatah Al-Burhan, the Sudanese Armed Forces' high command, announced that the joint forces had withdrawn from El-Fashir to a secure location. Sources close to ACJPS reported that the withdrawal was carried out in stages. The high command of the joint forces, along with some officials from the North Darfur Government, moved around 3:00 am heading northwest as the first group. Two additional groups of officers subsequently proceeded to Korma and Sorney in Jable Mara, with support from Alsadiq Adam, also known as Alfuka. Subsequently, certain groups arrived at Karnoi, including General Guma Hagar of SLA/Mani

Mannawi. The final group comprised soldiers and the command of the Popular Recruiters, who advanced in the same direction. Upon reaching the Wana Mountains, RSF troops attacked them, resulting in the deaths of some individuals and the arrest of others, including Jar Alnabi.

The withdrawal of SAF and its allied forces has rendered civilians susceptible and exposed to vulnerability, akin to the circumstances experienced in Wad Madani, the capital of Aljazeera State, in December 2023, and in Senja City, the capital of Senar State, in July 2024, leaving them at the mercy of the RSF. This raises concerns about SAF's protection responsibilities, particularly the need to warn civilians beforehand. A similar situation transpired on 19 July 2019, when peaceful protesters were attacked near the SAF headquarters in Khartoum. The tactics employed in this conflict have subjected civilians to the mercy of war parties, rendering them victims of both sides, either through direct attacks or abandonment, often without any warning. This was notably evident in El-Fashir, where a large number of youth were mobilized either through popular recruitment or by the radical Islamist group Albarah, overseen by leaders affiliated with the Sudanese Islamic Movement and the political wing of the former National Congress (NCP). The first group subsequently proceeded towards Malite City, located approximately 70 kilometers to the north of El-fashir, and arrived at their destination on October 26, 2025. They were briefly detained in the yard of the former Sudanese customs premises, which is now under the control of the RSF. It's worth mentioning that Malite has been under RSF control since May 2024.

The civilians found themselves in a perilous situation when RSF forces advanced, following the unanticipated withdrawal of SAF officers and joint forces, leaving the civilians stranded.

As of October 31, 2025, at least 11,000 individuals have fled El-Fashir and reached the Tawilla area, located west of the city, covering a distance of 35 kilometers. Although the journey by car typically takes approximately one hour, it often requires at least two days for fleeing individuals to reach their destination due to pervasive restrictions imposed by RSF soldiers. These restrictions include searches, killings, car hits, arrests, and acts of sexual violence.

Witness testimonies

Ms. Fatima (not her real name), a medical worker in Elfashir, shared her experience with ACJPS: *"Sometime in October 2025, I was working at a vacant house that had been converted into an emergency clinic in Daraj Awla, Elfashir. We were very busy that night because of the fights, which left many people injured. We worked until late evening, and I was the only woman in the medical team at the clinic. Late in the evening, I rested near the lap area; one male colleague slept inside a room, and I slept outside. Around 5 am, SAF soldiers woke me to say that all teams and troops had left the clinic and that RSF was entering the town. I hurried to El-Fashir New Hospital, only to find most of the medical teams had already left. I quickly rushed home and collected my documents and certificates. I decided to return to the hospital, amidst heavy shelling that continued until about 9:00 pm. While at the hospital, a bomb fell nearby, causing me to faint, and when I regained consciousness around 1:00 pm, I found everyone gone, leaving only three staff members. I moved with them through the west side, where we were intercepted and captured by RSF. I spent seven days treating over 70 war prisoners caught from joint forces. I was released after paying an undisclosed amount."*

Ms. Zahara, a 20-year-old originally from Alsalam displacement camp, recently arrived in Tawilla after fleeing the difficult situation in El-Fashir. She shared with ACJPS that El-Fashir was facing severe hunger and lacked humanitarian aid, resulting in many deaths. *“At that time of the attack, SAF was stationed at their headquarters in El-Fashir, with allied troops at checkpoints, while civilians in the western areas like Draj Awla, as well as in Abu Shook and Alsalam camps, were caught in the conflict. When the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) bombed the area, civilians sought shelter in trenches. The region was struck by drones and aircraft, prompting many to move from El-Fashir to Garni, Tora, Silk, and finally Tawilla.”* She mentioned that she can share the numbers of those killed in El-Fashir, as many remained there. On their way out, a lot of people lost their lives, and families were separated as everyone tried to escape individually. She hopes to become a doctor in the future and expressed her sorrow over the crimes committed by the RSF.

THE RSF’S CAPTURE OF THE SAF BASE IN EL-FASHIR

Shortly after the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) had captured the SAF base division 6 in El-Fashir, a video circulated on social media showing General Abdul Rahim Daglo, the RSF’s second-in-command, making a statement. He is heard saying, *“Alshafsha (which roughly means Thieves) from Elgenina, Eldien, Nyala, and Zalingei, we didn't encounter you during the battles. Would you like to join us once things settle down?”*. This statement confirms the recruitment of militia groups by the RSF and underscores their motives behind the attacks, which appear to be driven by looting. Conversely, this serves as a green light for those involved in the El-Fashir clashes to act accordingly.

Since the RSF captured the city, it has been endeavoring to mitigate media reports criticizing its actions and aims to demonstrate that El-fashir remains secure.

On October 29, 2025, the RSF high command, General Mohamed Hamdan Daglo, also known as Himite, delivered a public speech outlining key points.

1. During the incident in El-Fashir, acts of abuse and violations occurred. We will thoroughly investigate these incidents and pursue the appropriate legal actions against the responsible parties.
2. Civilians have been permitted to leave the town
3. Urges RSF forces to work together to ensure civilians’ safety.

Witness testimony

Mr. Haroun (real name withheld for privacy), aged 40, employed in the finance sector and holding a master's degree in Finance, told ACJPS, *“I previously resided in the Alwadi neighborhood before being displaced to Daraja Awla, as it was the last safe area remaining in El-Fashir. On the day prior to the RSF's capture of El-Fashir, there was intense shelling involving tanks, strategic strikes, and drone attacks. I estimate that the number of civilian and military casualties in the streets reached approximately 1,000. The week preceding these events, civilians sought refuge underground or within reinforced concrete buildings for protection. On Sunday, October 26, 2025, I experienced a day akin to what the Quran describes as the Day of Judgment, when everyone seeks refuge for themselves and flees from their loved ones, including their parents, due to the*

severity of the circumstances. You may encounter injured individuals seeking assistance, yet be unable to provide aid. That day, I endeavored to locate my three brothers, who reside in a house north of the Children's Hospital in Daraja Awla. Upon arrival, I found that none of them were present. I then moved away, only to encounter RSF fighters in the area who shot at me. I retreated back to the house and then attempted to evacuate, but they targeted me again. From 7 am to 5 pm, I spent the day moving from one house to another, constantly hiding to escape the danger.

After a while, the joint forces troops arrived to repel the RSF. The two groups engaged in exchanging gunfire. Subsequently, I found a way to move to Alkuthar University hostel, where I encountered a large crowd, including some military personnel. They informed us of their plan to move to a secure location after sunset. We walked until we reached the Garni border before sunrise. At this point, we observed people burning some bodies; during this time, the RSF launched an attack on them. The villagers fled the burial site and began running as the RSF and allied armed militias, riding motorcycles and camels, targeted the fleeing individuals. I hid in an alley for two days before continuing my journey. I then reached another village, occupied an abandoned house, and was later joined by another male IDP. We found water and beans, and for the next three days, we ate and drank. Later, a woman from the village asked us to leave the village because of rumors of an impending attack in the area. She directed us towards the mountains, which we reached after two hours, then proceeded to Tawilla. Everyone believed that El-Fashir was under threat, and from Abu Gowan to Garni, there were anywhere between 30 and 50 bodies of the deceased on the streets, but I believe it may have exceeded 1,000. Although I am now in a relatively safe place, my three brothers were abducted and are currently detained by RSF in El-Fashir. They demanded 60,000 Sudanese Pounds for their release. I have sent 6,000 SP, but they are still held. I do not know the whereabouts of my father or my eldest brother. My mother was killed in the Golaw area, west of El Fasher..., ”

Mr. Hassan told Acjps, *“Finally, I managed to escape from El-fashir on November 1, 2025, after several attempts. I was previously forced to return by the RSF from Garni to El-Fashir. They compel people to stay so they can show the world that El-Fashir is a safe place. I reached Garni after paying 700,000 SP to an RSF fighter for help, then moved to Tawilla. I was tortured and beaten when I tried to leave earlier. I spent days hiding with others inside the Humanitarian Aid Commission building in El-Fashir. I left some people behind, and there are dead bodies all over the streets of Darja Awla, El-Fashir. Communication was cut off, leaving people with no access to the area...”*

DETAILS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COMMITTED

The failure of the state and the military to protect civilians in El-Fashir reveals the significant gap that has contributed to the current atrocities. In May 2024, the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution instructing the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) to cease their attacks on El-Fashir and to facilitate the safe and unobstructed movement of civilians. However, there has been no subsequent follow-up. Despite these appeals, the attacks continue unabated, and the safe zones for civilians have become increasingly limited. Nevertheless, the population continues to relocate from one location to another, while aggressors persistently pursue them as they endure severe violations.

I. EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS.

The landscape of El-Fashir, characterized by hills, facilitated SAF operations and enabled it to withstand approximately 282 attacks by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF). During these engagements, the RSF incurred substantial casualties, including a significant number of high-ranking officers. This situation intensified the RSF's pursuit of retribution during the Battle of El-Fashir. Evidence of this is provided by statements from certain officers, indicating that retaliatory actions for the killing of Brigadier General Ali Yaqoub Musa in El-Fashir in May 2024 could result in the deaths of approximately 2,000 individuals in El-Fashir. Another statement was made by RSF officer, Alfaith Idris, known as Abu Lolo, on social media, where he stated that *"I have not yet reached the target of 2000 people to be killed, but I am still working towards it..."*

Several displaced civilians observed Abu Lolo while he was engaging in the killing of civilians. For example, Ms. Fatima (not her real name), a 33-year-old resident of the Awlad Areef neighborhood in El-Fashir, provided testimony to ACJPS, *"On October 26, 2025, my mother and I decided to evacuate El-Fashir, with our destination being Malite City, located 70 km north of El-Fashir. Prior to commencing our journey, we walked along the road in front of El-Fashir New Hospital, commonly known as Saudi Hospital, which was donated to Sudan by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in previous years. We were stopped by a group of RSF fighters near the hospital. They inquired whether we were members of the Joint Forces or had relatives in the forces; we denied this. They assaulted us with wooden sticks and leather whips, doubting our assertions, and detained us for approximately one hour. During this time, an ambulance service was nearby, and a group of young people attempting to leave El-Fashir were compelled to donate blood while standing around the ambulance. There were dead bodies everywhere in the hospital. A woman, who also joined us during the detention by the RSF, informed us that her brother was a doctor at the hospital, and he was working when the hospital was attacked and destroyed. Her brother, along with the patients, was killed during the attack. She did not provide specific numbers of the deceased. All of us were frightened and in a difficult situation."*

Ms. Hawa (not her real name), aged 58, fled with her family in January 2025 from their village of Shagra, approximately 15 kilometers west of El-Fashir, to Zamzam camp on the western side of El-Fashir following an attack by the RSF. She remained in the camp until the RSF, led by Major General Jadu Abu Shouk and Colonel Muhammad Shurba, launched an attack on the Zamzam IDP camp. She tearfully stated that her 23-year-old son was killed inside the hospital while he was seeking treatment there. Subsequently, they relocated to Abu Shook camp in the northern part of the city until October 14, 2025. The following day, as the RSF advanced into the city, they moved to the Daraja Awla neighborhood. When the RSF reached the SAF headquarters, they abandoned the city and traveled to Tawila via the Garni area. During this journey, armed RSF groups stopped them, subjected them to abuse, and coerced them into saying *"Flangayay,"* which can loosely be translated to lowly subordinate. *"They compelled individuals to make this statement, and I observed a group of at least 30 young men gathered in one place, forced to claim affiliation with the Darfuri Armed Movement, allied with the SAF. At least five of these individuals were shot and killed on the spot..."*, she tearfully recollected

Another witness recounted his experience, stating *that on 25 October 2025, when RSF attacked El-Fashir, we left the city and headed towards Garni. Near the earthen barriers surrounding the city, we encountered a group of at least thirty young men who were stopped by RSF. Subsequently,*

RSF Brigadier General Al-Fatih Abdullah Idris, also known as Abu Lolo, called out the names of at least five of them and shot them. All of these individuals were well-known human rights activists, namely;

- a) Suleiman Salah (m)
- b) Abdallah Shomo (m)
- c) Yagoop Abood (m)
- d) Isa Abdul Rahman (m)
- e) Jar Alnabi Ibrahim (m)

He added that the group was instructed to split into smaller units. Shortly before allowing the elders to leave, the RSF officer named Awad Isa detained the youth, and they remained in detention indefinitely until they paid a ransom of 1,000,000 Sudanese Pounds for their release. They were advised to contact their families or other contacts using Starlink Wi-Fi to arrange the transfer of money.

Mr. Mustafa provided the ACJPS with the names of his family members who were killed while travelling to Tawilla. He alleged that an RSF officer known as Abu Lolo fired upon them, and the incident was captured on video. Three individuals lost their lives on the spot, and one was injured. Their names are Zakarya Omer, Salah Eldien Abu Gasim, and Mohamed Salah. Mr. Mohamed Adam was also shot; however, he survived with injuries.

Mr. Ahmed, a 52-year-old mechanical engineer, shared with ACJPS that at least 12 members of his family and relatives are still in El-Fashir despite the attacks. Some may have sadly passed away, and their current whereabouts are unknown. He also mentioned that some neighbors tried to leave the city but were stopped by RSF. Thankfully, two of the young men were eventually released and reached safety, while, unfortunately, two women were killed in a car accident involving RSF. The locations of the remaining family members are still uncertain.

Ms. Azza (pseudonym), a 33-year-old woman, told ACJPS, *"I departed from El-Fashir on October 27, 2025. After four hours of walking, I arrived at the Garni area. In Garni, we observed numerous injured individuals, including women and children, who were unable to move. Additionally, there were numerous dead bodies scattered throughout the area along the route between El-Fashir and Tawilla."*

Ms. Zahara, a pseudonym for a 20-year-old who previously resided in Alsalam, was displaced to the northwest of El-fashir and subsequently fled to the Tawilla area told ACJPS that *"El-fashir was in a difficult situation; civilians were suffering from hunger and lacked any humanitarian aid. Many people died as a result of this. In El-Fashir, SAF was based at its headquarters, and allied troops were positioned at checkpoints. Civilians in the western area (Draj Awla) and in both the Abu Shook and Alsalam camps sought shelter. When the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) were bombed by drones and aircraft, civilians took refuge in trenches. We moved from El-Fashir to Garni, Tora, Silk, and then Tawilla. I can provide an estimated number of those killed in El-Fashir; the deceased remained in the ground. Many deaths occurred along the way from El-Fashir, as people dispersed to different areas, each fleeing independently. In the future, I aspire to become a doctor. The crimes committed by the RSF are deplorable."*

I. MOVEMENT RESTRICTIONS OUT OF EL-FASHIR.

Since October 28, 2025, RSF imposed restrictions, banning people from leaving El-fashir. Reliable sources reported to ACJPS that those who arrived in Malite on October 27, 2025, were subsequently transported back to El-Fashir by the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), who prohibited individuals from leaving the city.

Mr. Abdallah, a pseudonym, informed ACJPS that the RSF relocated the people who had remained in the Daraj Awla neighborhood of El-Fashir to different areas, such as the Awlad Areef neighborhood. When asked about the reason for this relocation, he responded that it was due to the availability of water sources, specifically wells, and added that some individuals were also moved to Al-Ferdoos High School. It is pertinent to note that RSF published videos showing some of its members distributing items to civilians remaining in the Al-Rasheed University hostel. This action appears to be an effort to improve their public image, which contradicts other practices, including the conditions under which certain detainees were released in exchange for ransom. ACJPS documented an incident where a family received an audio message from an RSF member requesting a sum of money to secure the release of a family member, a 51-year-old male detainee.

II. SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Based on reliable information, it has been reported that the number of sexual violence cases during the fleeing of civilians from El-Fashir city to Tawilla has reached at least 40 cases. It is notable that in September 2025, the number of sexual violence cases targeting females en route to Tawilla increased to 135, compared to 215 cases in August.

Ms. Amina, a pseudonym, stated that near the Garni area, which is the exit route from El-fashir to Tawilla, she was fleeing from El-fashir on October 26, 2025. During her escape, three armed young men in RSF uniform threatened her daughter, aged 22, and assaulted her by rape.

Another testimony from Adam, a pseudonym, states: *"On October 27, 2025, while I was fleeing from El-fashir and reached the Garni area, I saw four young men, around 19 to 20 years old, wearing RSF trousers and sports shirts. They assaulted two girls among civilians on their way to Tawilla. Besides the assault, they verbally insulted the girls."*

Eman, not her real name, stated, "In Garni, the situation was highly alarming, with a large number of individuals armed and dressed in RSF uniforms, alongside others in plain clothing who appeared to be supporters of the RSF. Furthermore, it was a tense period marked by fear and repression; anything could have happened if one was not fortunate." She continued to testify that four females were abducted by RSF from Garni on November 3, 2025. The subsequent events remain unknown. Eman later provided ACJPS with the names of four individuals, who have been withheld for their safety. ACJPS received credible information that the abduction victims' families were contacted and offered 3,000,000 Southern Sudanese Pounds in exchange for the release of the abducted girls.

III. OBSTRUCTION OF HUMANITARIAN AID

On October 27, 2025, the deputy of the Sudanese Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Hussein Alamin, informed Laurent Bokera, the director, and Samantha Katraj, the director of operations, World Food Programme Sudan Office, respectively, that they were considered unwanted persons in Sudan and were required to leave within 72 hours. No further details were published subsequently. Mr. Hussein Alamin was dismissed from his position as Deputy Minister of Sudanese Foreign Affairs. An official statement from the ministry on November 2, 2025, indicated that this was a procedural decision; however, a reliable source to ACJPS has revealed that the dismissal was related to his statement against the two WFP directors, who were requested to leave as humanitarian aid operations approached a critical point in Sudan.

It was also stated that Mr. Hussein acted independently in issuing such directives. In doing so, the Sudanese authorities aimed to demonstrate to the international community that these actions were the result of an individual decision.

IV. SUPPRESSION OF THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION.

The internet shutdown has persisted since RSF took control of El-Fashir City on October 26, 2025. Videos emerging during this period clearly indicate they were produced and published by RSF members. Since that date, telecommunication companies have halted internet services in most regions of Sudan. Additionally, Sudanese authorities have restricted direct WhatsApp calls. However, the shutdown of the internet and the ban on private Wi-Fi have exacerbated the humanitarian crisis in conflict zones and hindered response efforts.

Isa, not a real name, stated that during my last encounter with Hassan, he was known as an activist involved in a local initiative that provides meals to people in El-fashir. This occurred around 04:00 pm on October 26, 2025. Hassan is usually online because he lives near a Starlink Wi-Fi connection. Since that time, we have not received any further communication from him.

Acjps confirmed through another source that the last recorded time civilians were seen living safely in the neighborhood of Elfashir was at 06:00 pm on October 26, 2025.

Mr. Khalid, a pseudonym, filled out a form from Tawilla two months ago and communicated via a chip that he lost all information about his younger brother, who was left in El-Fashir. He added that human rights organizations should highlight RSF's closure of the city. Furthermore, he mentioned that they lack the money to pay if RSF members demand it for the release of his brother, should that happen.

According to a reliable source, several women remain in El-Fashir, particularly at Alrasheed University hostel. Since October 30, there has been no exit from El-fashir due to the shutdown of communication channels, including private Wi-Fi, raising serious concerns about their safety and exposure to risk.

V. ENFORCED DISAPPEARANCES AND MISSING PERSONS

When RSF captured El-Fashir City, a mass exodus began on the night of October 26, 2025. Elderly individuals and those over 50 were allowed to continue their journey, but in the morning of October 27, 2025, many young people trying to flee were either arrested en route or inside El-Fashir. A reliable source told ACJPS that El-Fashir University, the former UNAMID base, along with some organization premises, has been turned into detention centers by RSF.

Several of the fleeing individuals to Tawilla testified to the ACJPS *that "we lost all contact with our relatives aged between 17 and 45,"*

Another source told Acjps that some of those youths may still be alive and detained in the centers, as RSF personnel are requesting payments of 3,000,000 Sudanese Pounds, approximately 300 US Dollars.

Khalid, not a real name, aged 47, is a member of one of the open kitchens that provided free meals to people before the RSF attack. He was last seen on October 26, 2025, at 4 pm. Mr. Khalid preferred to remain in El-Fashir despite the gunfights, even as other members of the Emergency Rooms continue to provide meals amid hunger in the city. He is a resident of the Draja Awla neighborhood of El-Fashir. This information was provided by his friend, Mohamed (M), aged 47, to ACJPS.

Mr. Mustafa shared with ACJPS that six of his beloved family members, originally from Tawilla but had been living in El-Fashir, are currently missing after the RSF attack on the city.

VI. TARGETING JOURNALISTS AND VIOLATIONS OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

On October 26, 2026, RSF detained Moamar Ibrahim, a correspondent for Al Jazeera in El Fasher, during a live interview on Al Jazeera. The RSF spokesman initially denied any knowledge of the cases but later stated that Ibrahim's arrest was intended to confirm his non-affiliation with any warring factions. He further assured that Ibrahim would be released accordingly.

Hussien Saad, a Sudanese independent journalist and human rights defender, stated to ACJPS that, based on communications with relatives of Momar Ibrahim, he was arrested without a legal basis in El-Fashir. *"No reason or arrest warrant was presented to him. As a journalist, he conducted extensive media coverage of conditions in El-Fashir during a difficult period of siege on the town. The arrest of Momar Ibrahim constitutes a violation of international treaties and Sudanese international commitments that guarantee freedom of expression..." he said.*

However, at least seven journalists managed to flee to Tawilla and Alleait Jar Alnabi. Nevertheless, as of October 26, 2025, 15 journalists remained in El Fasher; some have also managed to flee the city. An ACJPS monitor on the ground highlighted the urgent need for support for human rights defenders in Tawilla and other Darfur cities.

Some media experts believe that the coverage by certain journalists, authorized by RSF to operate in El-Fashir, does not accurately reflect the true state of freedom of expression and the reality on the ground.

Mr. Khalid Ahmed, the secretary of the Sudanese Journalist Network, has highlighted the numerous violations and the international condemnation thereof. As a result, RSF has initiated a media campaign to mitigate scrutiny. This strategy permits journalists and media channels to operate; among these is an online platform affiliated with RSF. *“The media coverage appears to be aimed at projecting a positive image of RSF. I have observed interviews with internally displaced persons (IDPs) from El-Fashir, which seem to be propaganda in nature, as all testimonies mention favorable treatment by RSF and note that medical assistance was provided. The journalists' visits were conducted under RSF supervision, and logistical support likely facilitated their access, indicating that these reports are part of RSF's campaign to divert public attention from violations committed against civilians. If RSF is willing to allow journalists to perform their duties, it should permit independent media and journalists to operate freely on the ground, including conducting interviews with civilians in El-Fashir...,”*

VII. INCOMMUNICADO DETENTION AND ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE

Some social media outlets shared photos of burning corpses, claiming they were in El Fasher after the Rapid Support Forces took control of the city. However, investigations revealed that these images were unrelated to the current events. The African Centre notes that three medical waste incinerators have been installed by UNAMID: one at the former mission headquarters with a large capacity, another at Zamzam camp, and a third at the newly established Saudi Hospital. These incinerators are solely for burning medical waste. Unconfirmed reports suggest that there are no incinerators or crematoriums at either the looted and vandalized former headquarters in 2022 or the Zamzam camp, attacked in 2025. This calls for investigation and surveillance of these facilities.

VIII. HATE SPEECH

The hate campaign commenced by referring to the Darfur allied group to SAF using the term "Falngaiat," which denotes "a person of low dignity, subservient, and engaged in despicable acts." On the other hand, RSF members referred to as Umkaok, which translates to 'a type of insect and a degradation of dignity,' as a term of reference.

Incidents of hate speech on social media have been published by RSF, targeting individuals fleeing from El-Fashir. An open-source video depicts a SAF soldier being apprehended by RSF forces and compelled to carry the group's leader on his shoulders, an act considered insulting. The group also calls the leader a donkey to prompt him to move.

Another example involved three young men and four young women being compelled to perform a traditional dance for the RSF group that intercepted them.

Another open-source footage shows RSF members detaining war prisoners and mimicking sheep sounds; they are treating them as animals.

IX. WEAPON CONTAMINATION

Mines were planted in various military zones in El-Fashir. The presence of these mines after the army's withdrawal poses a significant risk to civilians, necessitating urgent intervention from the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross. This situation is worsened by the Rapid Support Forces preventing civilians from leaving El-Fashir. ACJPS received unverified information from a reliable source regarding the possible locations of these mined areas in El-Fashir, including a map. They include;

1. Along the southern wall of the Signal Corps and Engineers Units of SAF, situated on the northern side of SAF Division 6 in El-Fashir, mines are laid out over roughly 60 meters in length and 40 meters in width.
2. The exterior wall of the Air Defense SAF unit is approximately 70 meters long.
3. Along the outside wall for approximately 500 meters, it is situated on the west side, after El-Fashir University, and is somewhat distant from the residential areas.
4. The southern wall of El-Fashir International Airport is 800-1000 meters long.
5. Along the eastern wall of the SAF Division 6 headquarters, the mines were installed either from within the wall itself or within the division's yard.

ABSENCE OF JUSTICE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In 2005, the UN Security Council referred the Darfur crisis to the International Criminal Court (ICC), despite Sudan not having ratified the Rome Statute or establishing a legal basis for the ICC. The court issued arrest warrants for six Sudanese officials, three rebel leaders, and a former Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) soldier who later led a militia allied with SAF. Charges against Mr. Bahar Abu Garda, who appeared before it, were dropped after his defense was deemed credible. In October 2025, the court convicted Mr. Ali Abdul Rahman Koshib, the militia leader, for violating several ICC provisions, including war crimes and crimes against international humanitarian law. This process took 21 years from the time the case was referred. The failure to apprehend the remaining wanted individuals likely fueled ongoing conflicts in El Fasir. Since the conflict erupted, some ICC wanted persons, like rebel leader Mr. Abdallah Banda, emerged as a commander of troops allied with SAF in North Darfur. He was injured in the Battle of Almalha in September 2025.

Reliable sources have confirmed his presence in Cairo, Egypt, for medical treatment. The other three officials were detained in Kober Prison, located in Khartoum Bahari, until May 24, 2025, shortly after the outbreak of conflict. During this period, prisoners escaped, an occurrence that warrants an investigation into whether their escape was intentional. Furthermore, statements made by Mr. Ahmed Mohamed Haroun, in his capacity as the leader of the Islamic Movement, advocating for the support of members of the former regime alongside the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF). Mr. Haroun held several high-ranking positions during President Bashir's regime.

Additionally, the Alhadath channel, broadcast from the UAE, disclosed that both wanted officials, Omer al Bashir, the former president, and Abdul Raheem Mohamed Hussian, the former Sudanese Minister of Defense, were at Marawi Hospital in the Northern State, in an attempt to verify the Sudanese authorities' claims of their whereabouts, which they have denied since May 2023.

CONCLUSION

The situation concerning civilians in Darfur, particularly in El-Fashir, as observed by camp residents, provides a valuable lesson regarding the impact of a solely justice-focused process. It also raises questions about the effectiveness of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Moreover, this situation may stimulate discussions on the significance and necessity of a new African justice mechanism, as outlined in the Malabo Protocol, which aims to establish the African Court of Justice and Human Rights.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- International Criminal Court (ICC) Investigations should be expanded to cover the entire territory of Sudan.
- Enforcement and expansion of the United Nations arms embargo, along with enhanced monitoring of the arms trade with the United Arab Emirates and other nations that supply weapons to both conflicting parties.
- Imposing targeted sanctions on individuals and entities responsible for perpetrating and facilitating violations.
- Enhanced material and political backing for Sudanese civil society in their vital efforts to document violations and aid victims.