



THE REPUBLIC OF SUDAN
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



DOCUMENTING **COMPLICITY**

INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE

**OF UNITED ARAB EMIRATES' SUPPORT
TO THE GENOCIDAL RSF MILITIA**

Introduction

On April 15, 2023, the Rapid Support Forces Militia (RSF) launched an armed rebellion against the Sudanese state and Sudanese people. Since then, the Sudanese people have been subjected to widespread and grave violations at the hands of this terrorist militia. These violations include mass killings of civilians, extrajudicial executions, acts of genocide, systematic mass rape, detention of thousands of civilians in inhumane conditions, many of whom have been arbitrarily executed, and the deliberate use of sexual violence against women as a weapon of war. The RSF militia has also engaged in systematic destruction of critical infrastructure, targeting specifically public facilities such as hospitals and power stations.

Several international actors and organizations have recognized these actions as constituting genocide. The Government of Sudan has, on multiple occasions, called for the RSF to be designated as a terrorist organization.

From the early days of the conflict, the Government of Sudan has consistently raised serious concerns regarding the role of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in providing material, logistical, and military support to the RSF. Despite growing international condemnation of the RSF's conduct—including commission of genocide, war crimes and

violations of international humanitarian law—the UAE has continued its support, in disregard of international norms and treaties, including the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

A range of credible sources—including foreign government agencies, independent human rights organizations, and reputable international media—have documented this support and presented compelling evidence of the UAE's involvement and complicity in the RSF's crimes.

This publication aims to present a sample of such documentation. The material is organized into two categories: the first includes statements and reports from official United States government sources—one of the countries that has characterized the RSF's actions as genocide—along with leading human rights organizations and independent think tanks. The second comprises investigative reporting and analysis from major international media outlets and news agencies.

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS AND REPORTS

Sources from the Government of the United States:

The U.S Department of State

- In June 2023, the *U.S. Department of State* funded and launched a project to monitor and document atrocities and foreign interference in Sudan's civil war. It was called '*Sudan Conflict Observatory*'.
- In its October 2024 report, '*Sudan Conflict Observatory*' concluded that the United Arab Emirates (UAE) was facilitating weapons transfers to the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) in Sudan.
- This finding was based on satellite imagery, flight tracking data, and other intelligence.

Statements by Secretary of State, Marco Rubio:

- During his Senate confirmation hearing in January 2025, U.S. **Secretary of State Marco Rubio** explicitly acknowledged the United Arab Emirates' support to Sudan's Rapid Support Forces (RSF), and while defining the atrocities of the RSF as "real genocide", he unambiguously stated that the UAE was "openly

supporting an entity that is carrying out genocide".

- In a recent hearing in the Senate, that is on May 20, 2025, **Secretary Marco Rubio** stated clearly that the United States has "expressed not only to the UAE but to other countries that they are turning [the conflict in Sudan] into a proxy war that is destabilizing the region."

Members of US Congress:

- **Eleven Congress Members** sent a letter in December 2023 to UAE Foreign Minister Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan urging the UAE to cease its material support to the RSF. The letter asserted that such support contributes to mass atrocities, including ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity in Sudan.
- In December 2024, a bipartisan group of senators, including **Jim Risch, Mark Warner, Chris Coons, Todd Young, Cory Booker, and Mike Rounds**, sent a letter to President Biden urging the administration to take more decisive action against foreign entities, including the UAE, that are fueling the ongoing civil war

in Sudan. They highlighted concerns about the UAE's role in smuggling Sudanese gold, which finances the RSF and exacerbates the conflict.

- Representative **Sara Jacobs** along with **Senator Chris Van Hollen** have been leading figures in Congress consistently raising concerns over the continued support of UAE to the RSF and its impact on prolonging the war with dire implications on the civilians including commission of genocide and ethnic cleansing. They together reintroduced, in March 2025, the Stand Up for Sudan Act, aiming to prohibit U.S. arms sales to the UAE until it ceases material support to the RSF. They emphasized that the UAE's continued weapons shipments contradict assurances made to the U.S. and contribute to atrocities in Sudan. Both Congress members stated that they based their determination of UAE's support to RSF on official briefings from the US government.
- In March 2025, the top Democrat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, **Rep. Gregory Meeks** moved to block U.S. arms sales to the UAE citing concerns about its role in Sudan's ongoing civil war.

- A group of lawmakers introduced in May 2025 a joint resolution to block a proposed arms sales to the UAE, citing concerns over the UAE's support for the RSF and the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Sudan.

European Union Agency For Asylum

- A report published in February 2025, by the *European Union Agency for Asylum* asserted that "multiple sources noted that RSF has been benefitting from arms support from the UAE as the Gulf state pursued a 'militarized strategy for influence' in Sudan, seeking to uphold the institutional presence of the RSF in Sudan as a means of protecting its investments and influence on politics in the country."
- The report further stated that the "RSF's arsenal of weapons reportedly obtained through the UAE included advanced long-range drones equipped with guided missiles, attack drones (including one-way attack drones and drones using Serbian-made thermobaric munitions) and a sophisticated French-manufactured defence system installed on UAE-made APCs to counter close-range threats".

UN Panel of Experts:

- The *UN Panel of Experts'* report of 15 January 2024, corroborated earlier reports that the United Arab Emirates (UAE) provided weapons to the Rapid Support Forces RSF.
- The *UN Panel of Experts'* report maintained that "various flight-tracking experts have observed a heavy rotation of cargo planes coming from Abu Dhabi International Airport in the United Arab Emirates, UAE, to '*Am Djarass*' airport in eastern Chad". The report referred to media reports indicating that the aircrafts were transporting weapons, ammunition and medical equipment for RSF. The UN Panel of Experts' report described these media reports as "credible", as confirmed by "information gathered by the Panel from sources in Chad and Darfur".
- The experts' report further stated that "Several sources in eastern Chad and Darfur, including among local native and administrative leaders and armed groups operating in those areas, reported to the Panel that, several times per week, weapons and ammunition shipments were unloaded from cargo planes arriving at '*Am Djarass*' airport,

then loaded on trucks" into Darfur to the RSF.

Amnesty International:

- In detailed reports (July 2024, May 8, 2025), *Amnesty International* indicated that the United Arab Emirates (UAE) had supplied weapons to Sudan's Rapid Support Forces (RSF), violating, thereby, the United Nations arms embargo on Darfur.
- Weapons supplied by the UAE to the RSF included:
 - UAE-manufactured armored personnel carriers (APCs), such as the Nimr Ajban, being used by the RSF in various parts of Sudan, including in Khartoum.
 - GB50A guided aerial bomb, which can be dropped from drones like Wing Loong II and FeiHong-95, both of which are used only by the RSF in Sudan, and, as the reports confirm, have been provided by the UAE. According to these reports, this is the first time GB50A bombs have been documented in active use in any conflict worldwide.
 - AH-4 Howitzers are documented to be used by

RSF. The only country in the world that has imported AH-4 howitzers from China is the UAE as clearly confirmed by Amnesty's report of 8 May 2025.

- *Amnesty's* reports identified numerous supply lines that these weapons followed to arrive into Sudan, some of them directly supplying Darfur. Based on the analysis of flight-tracking and remote-sensing data, independent researchers and media outlets identified the '*Am Djarass*' airport in eastern Chad as an avenue used by the UAE to transfer weapons into Darfur. This was further supported by the *UN Panel of Experts*. These findings were also corroborated by local journalists and security experts during interviews conducted by Amnesty International.
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Yale Humanitarian Research Lab (HRL)

- *Yale Humanitarian Research Lab* *HRL* is established by the School of Public Health, University of Yale, one of the most prestigious

universities. The mission of *HRL* is to protect "the health of populations" affected by conflicts. It undertakes research to generate evidence "for operational response and accountability in humanitarian crises".

- The research the *HRL* conducted in Sudan conflict concluded that the United Arab Emirates (UAE) has been providing military support to Sudan's Rapid Support Forces (RSF).
- The findings of the research detail this support as follows:
 - The UAE has supplied the RSF with Chinese-made AH4 155mm howitzers which the RSF used in attacks on Zamzam IDPs Camp and El Fasher city in North Darfur. According to U.S. Defense Department records reviewed by the *HRL*, the UAE is the only known country to have purchased this weapon.
 - UAE provided the RSF with advanced unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). Satellite imagery analyzed by *HRL* confirmed presence of these drones at RSF-controlled Nyala Airport. Re-export of these drones to the RSF by the UAE is also a violation of the

UN arms embargoes on Darfur.

- As part of its research, *HRL* detected an Ilyushin IL-76 cargo aircraft flying over RSF-held territory near El Fasher. This model is commonly used for transporting military equipment and has been associated with UAE arms transfers to the RSF through Chad.

The Critical Threats Project (CTP):

- *The Critical Threats Project (CTP)*, is established by the renowned American think tank American Enterprise Institute (AEI), to focus on analyzing threats to the U.S. national security.
- The project has confirmed that the United Arab Emirates' (UAE) is supporting Sudan's Rapid Support Forces (RSF), stating that the "UAE has backed the RSF to protect its economic and political influence in Sudan and the Red Sea through its ties with the RSF leader", and also to "maintain RSF military partnership". It asserts that the UAE, in addition to providing arms and drones to the RSF, it also hosts RSF financial infrastructure.
- In a report published in September 2024, the *CTP* asserts

that "[t]he UN, United States, and other international observers have accused the UAE of funding and supplying the RSF with matériel via logistics nodes in neighboring countries".

The Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights (RWCHR)

- The *Raoul Wallenberg Centre* is a Canadian non-governmental organization based in Montreal, dedicated to the protection and promotion of human rights worldwide.
- In April 2024, the *RWCHR* led an independent legal international inquiry into violations of the Genocide Convention in Sudan. The Centre uncovered compelling and irrefutable evidence indicating that the RSF and their associated militia perpetrated genocide against the Masalit ethnic group in West Darfur. The independent inquiry identified the UAE as the foreign actor most responsible for the RSF's genocidal atrocities in Darfur.
- The Centre's report highlighted the UAE's substantial role in providing military, financial, and logistical support to the RSF, including the supply of drones and intelligence, which enabled

the RSF to carry out these atrocities.

- The report findings confirm that UAE bears State responsibility for complicity in genocide, in breach of Art. III (e) for its longstanding, direct, ongoing, and significant military, economic, and political support of the RSF, enabling it to commit genocide in Darfur.
- The report emphasizes that UAE's complicity is further underscored by its efforts to cover for RSF atrocities by signaling a commitment to a peace process, while covertly fueling the violence. The UAE, the report adds, is also responsible for failing to prevent genocide, given its extensive influence over the RSF and the dynamics on the ground in Darfur.

International Media Outlets

The New York Times:

- An investigative report published by the *New York Times* in September 2023, just a few months after the break-out of the war, had exposed the elaborate covert operation that the United Arab Emirates was running near Sudan's borders with Chad to provide support to the RSF – supplying powerful weapons and drones, treating RSF's injured fighters, and airlifting the most serious cases to one of its military hospitals.
- The report further disclosed that the UAE operates from a base in '*Am Djarass*', **Chad**, under the cover of a humanitarian mission where cargo planes from the Emirates have been landing on a near-daily basis since June 2023, where Emirates cargo flights, which began in July 2023.
- The report also revealed that the UAE-run hospital in '*Am Djarass*' has treated RSF fighters, some of

whom were flown to Abu Dhabi for further care.

- Another investigative report by the *New York Times*, one year later, in September 2024, corroborated what was already published in the first report, adding more details on the UAE covert operation to funnel weapons and drones to the RSF militia exacerbating the conflict.
- The report describes the role the UAE plays in providing financial, political and military support to the RSF as the “largest and most consequential”.
- The report details how the UAE is misusing the Red Crescent flag over its field hospital in ‘*Am Djarass*’ as a cover for its secret operation to fly drones into Sudan and smuggle weapons to fighters. The misuse of its flag worried the Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent which dispatched representatives to the hospital to only be denied access to the location. Such a misuse of the Red Crescent flag, the report states, is a potential war crime.

The Wall Street Journal:

- In a November 2024 article, The Wall Street Journal detailed how a UAE-linked company, Global Security Services Group (GSSG), recruited Colombian mercenaries

to support the RSF in Sudan. These fighters were transported through the UAE and Libya before being deployed in Sudan, highlighting the UAE's indirect involvement in the conflict.

- Arms Shipments: A December 2023 report revealed that the UAE, while publicly promising humanitarian aid to Sudan, was instead sending weapons that fueled the ongoing civil war. This contradicted the UAE's official stance and raised concerns about its role in exacerbating the conflict.

The Washington Post:

- An investigative report conducted by the *Washington Post* in October 2024, revealed that UAE supplied drones and munitions - which had been basically bought for the UAE Armed Forces Joint Logistics Command - to the RSF.
- The report further provided some of the findings of the ‘*Sudan Conflict Observatory*’ group whose report was due to be published in the same month. The group told the ‘*Washington Post*’ that it tracked 32 flights between June 2023 and May 2024 and concluded with “near certainty” that they were weapons transfers from the UAE to the RSF. “There’s no other plausible explanation for

these airlifts except for weapons support to the RSF,” Justin Lynch, an adviser with the Observatory told the paper. “No one is fooled.”

The Guardian:

- In an article published in July 2024, the *Guardian*, referring to a UN report reported that was leaked and made available to the paper, that “passports recovered from battlefields in Sudan suggest the United Arab Emirates is covertly putting boots on the ground in the country’s devastating civil war”. The paper further cited that experts’ considered the recovered Emirati passports a ‘smoking gun’ that challenged UAE’s denials.
- *The Guardian’s* article states that some experts believe that, without the UAE’s alleged involvement, the conflict would already be over.
- The UN leaked report, according to the ‘*Guardian*’ which had seen it, indicated that the Emirates supplied to the RSF drones modified to drop thermobaric bombs. These bombs was sent by a Serbian arms company to the UAE Armed Forces Joint Logistics Command.

Reuters:

- In an article published in April 2025, *Reuters* reported that a convoy operated by the RSF was intercepted in North Darfur last November, revealing a cache of 81mm mortar rounds. These munitions bore serial numbers matching those of mortar rounds exported by Bulgaria to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in 2019. Bulgaria confirmed the original export to the UAE but denied authorizing any re-export to Sudan. The UAE has denied supplying arms to the RSF, but the UN panel continues to investigate the matter, especially after the UAE declined to provide cargo manifests for several flights into Chad, a known transit point for arms into Darfur.

The Financial Times:

- In an article published in January 24, 2024 the *Financial Times* reported on a UN Panel of Experts’ report which confirmed that it had “credible” evidence that the UAE was providing military support to the paramilitary group. The paper stated that “according to the UN document, evidence suggest that the UAE had sent weapons to the RSF “several times per week” via ‘*Am Djarass*’ in northern Chad”.

- In a recent article published in May 2025, the *Financial Times* discussed how the RSF has gained access to advanced military drones believed to come from the United Arab Emirates as identified by defence analysts from battlefield remnants and satellite imagery. While referring to “a growing body of evidence

pointing to the involvement of UAE”, the paper reviewed some of the findings of ‘*Amnesty International*’ in its May 2025 report which revealed that some of the weaponry captured in Khartoum lately after the defeat of the RSF, was ‘likely’ re-exported to the RSF by the UAE.

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