



Security Council

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Letter dated 2 May 2025 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council

I have the honour to transmit herewith the following facts in response to the letter dated 29 April 2025 from the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates addressed to the President of the Security Council ([S/2025/260](#)), whose behaviour and positions have come to be fully aligned with those of the Rapid Support militia that his country sponsors. That militia is accused of committing the most heinous international crimes of genocide, systematic rape of women and girls, deliberate targeting of civilian facilities and objects, including electricity and water stations, and other crimes that – if the United Arab Emirates representative has any regard for international law and its principles – shake the global conscience. His letter is full of basic fallacies and failed attempts to evade international responsibility.

The first Final Report of the Panel of Experts on the Sudan issued since the outbreak of the Emirati war of aggression against Sudan ([S/2024/65](#)), which is based on extensive investigations supported by satellite imagery and testimony from a variety of sources, has documented how the United Arab Emirates fuels the armed conflict in the Sudan by sending weapons and military equipment to the Rapid Support militia. This is done via flights from Abu Dhabi airport to Am Djarass airport in eastern Chad, in flagrant violation of the arms embargo imposed by the relevant Security Council resolutions. The report confirms that these supplies have contributed to the escalation of military actions, and the perpetration of collective massacres and crimes of sexual violence and forced displacement that rise to the level of genocide and crimes against humanity.

The Panel of Experts has continued to conduct investigations since then. On 18 November 2024, it issued a midterm report in which it documented the existence of a military air bridge using Il-76TD cargo planes departing from Ra's al-Khaymah and Fujayrah airports carrying weapons for the Rapid Support militia. Some of those flights disappeared from radar for portions of their routes in an attempt to conceal their final destinations. The report also revealed the involvement of United Arab Emirates companies, including Aganya Holding Ltd., in these suspicious activities.

These facts are not only to be found in reports of the Panel of Experts on the Sudan. They have been confirmed by reputable journalistic and fact-finding investigations conducted by, inter alia, the Humanitarian Research Lab at Yale University, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Guardian*, France 24, Amnesty International, and, most recently, a Reuters report dated 29 April 2025.



The claim that the final report of the Panel of Experts makes no findings against the United Arab Emirates is inaccurate. The report was not unanimous. It was not signed by all five experts, which is a clear violation of sanctions committee rules of procedure. A number of Security Council members expressed substantive reservations about it in the corridors of the sanctions committee itself.

There is conclusive material evidence confirming that the United Arab Emirates has delivered advanced weapons – including for drones, artillery and anti-armour systems – to the Rapid Support militia. It has also continued to maintain air supply lines from southern Libya and Nyala and via Boosaaso to N'Djamena, as well as overland supply lines via Kufrah. That has enhanced militia capabilities and resulted in the perpetration of massacres in the city of El Fasher, in direct violation of Security Council resolution [2736 \(2024\)](#). Camouflage and deceptive flight routes were used to mask the nature of the shipments.

In a related development, just last week, international fact-finding bodies documented the arrival of mortar shells with serial numbers matching shipments sent by Bulgaria to the United Arab Emirates in 2019. They ended up in the hands of the Rapid Support militia in El Fasher. The Bulgarian authorities have confirmed that they did not issue any authorization to re-export those weapons to any third party. That proves beyond any doubt that Emirati actions are in flagrant violation of the rules of international law and the relevant Security Council resolutions.

According to those same fact-finding bodies, Emirati authorities failed to provide cargo manifests requested by the Panel of Experts for about 15 flights that landed at the Am Djarass and N'Djamena airports in Chad. That shows that the shipments were illegal and reflects deliberate obstruction by the United Arab Emirates of the Panel's investigations under false pretexts, such as not having enough time.

The representative of the United Arab Emirates violated diplomatic protocol by repeatedly referring to the Permanent Representative of the Sudan as a representative of the Sudanese army. That is a clear violation of Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides for the principle of the sovereign equality of all of its Members and non-interference in internal affairs that are the purview of national authorities. For the historical record, the Sudanese army that the United Arab Emirates is trying to insult was instrumental in establishing the Emirati armed forces. Its commander, former President Ja'far Muhammad al-Numayri, was the first to chair a meeting – in April 1972 – to support the newly created United Arab Emirates with technical and services assistance after returning from a visit to the United Arab Emirates. President Numayri was also the first head of state to visit the United Arab Emirates after it formed its union, two months after Sheikh Zayed visited the Sudan on his first foreign visit. As a reminder, in September 2024, the President of the Security Council drew the attention of the Emirati representative to the need to observe diplomatic protocol. At the time, Council members condemned this behaviour and emphasized the importance of respecting the official titles of Permanent Representatives to the United Nations.

Regarding the Emirati representative's claim that the principle of sovereignty is being asserted arbitrarily to justify starvation and shield those who block humanitarian access or target humanitarian relief personnel: We note that it is the Emirati-backed Rapid Support militia that is perpetrating such criminal acts by continuing to launch drone and artillery strikes on civilians and civilian installations, including hospitals and water and electricity stations. With continued support from the United Arab Emirates, and in clear violation of Security Council resolutions [1591 \(2005\)](#) and [2736 \(2024\)](#), this terrorist militia continues to shell residential neighbourhoods daily and kill displaced persons in camps, crimes that the Council itself condemned in its recent press release. The militia has destroyed more than 312

medical facilities and clinics in Khartoum alone, in flagrant violation of international humanitarian law, all with the support and encouragement of the United Arab Emirates.

As for the Emirati representative's fabrications regarding alleged obstacles to humanitarian aid: These are refuted by the letter dated 9 December 2024 from the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Tom Fletcher, addressed to the President of the Transitional Sovereign Council of the Republic of the Sudan, in which he thanked the leadership and competent authorities of the Sudan for cooperating with his humanitarian plan and facilitating the delivery of relief to all affected persons. The United Arab Emirates representative ignores the fact that it is the Rapid Support militia, funded and armed by his country, that is besieging the city of El Fasher, killing civilians, women and children, and preventing humanitarian access, thereby exacerbating the humanitarian catastrophe. By contrast, the Government of the Sudan has opened border crossings and ports of entry, and designated airports to support the delivery of relief to affected persons.

Regarding the United Arab Emirates representative's talk about peace: We are constrained to point out that he lacks the moral standing to talk about peace in the case of a war instigated and sponsored by his country. He should answer the following questions:

1. Has his country stopped supplying the militia with weapons to kill civilians and destroy infrastructure?
2. Has it held the militia it supports responsible for blocking humanitarian access and condemned its brutal atrocities?
3. Has it pressured the militia it supports to fulfil its commitments and pledges under the Jeddah Declaration of 11 May 2023 and Security Council resolution [2736 \(2024\)](#)?
4. Has his country desisted from its violations of Security Council resolution [1591 \(2005\)](#) and other relevant resolutions?

Lastly, the Government of the Republic of Sudan stresses that the crimes of the United Arab Emirates in the Sudan are more than just sentences in reports. They are manifest tragedies etched in the consciousness of our people, in the tears of orphaned children, in the cries of bereaved mothers, and in images of mass slaughter, forced rape and ethnic cleansing. The Government of the Sudan will take all legal and political measures to ensure that those responsible for these crimes are held accountable. It calls on the Security Council to assume its moral and legal responsibility to confront the systematic terrorism and aggression being perpetrated against the sovereignty, security and stability of the Sudan, and against regional and international peace.

I should be grateful if the present letter could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Al-Harith Idriss Al-Harith **Mohamed**
Ambassador
Permanent Representative