

From: Sudafi Henry <sudafi.henry@thegroupdc.com>

Sent: Tuesday, September 15, 2026 12:02 PM

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Embassy of UAE: Sudan Articles

Trish,

Good afternoon. I hope this message finds you well. I am reaching out on behalf of the Embassy of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to share the attached recent news articles related to the situation in Sudan. Please let me know if you or the Senator have any questions.

Best,

Sudafi

“These materials are being distributed by theGROUP on behalf of the Embassy of the United Arab Emirates. More information is on file with the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.”

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EXCLUSIVE

Trove of documents reveals alleged chemical weapons stockpile in Sudan

A text message to a military officer involved in airstrikes included video of an apparent victim with charred skin, with the words: “Your cooking.”

September 5, 2026

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A photo taken from video of an alleged test of a chemical bomb at a desert site in Sudan. Experts told The Post that the yellow vapor is associated with chlorine gas. (Obtained by The Washington Post)

By [Greg Miller](#) and [Elizabeth Dwoskin](#)

Sudan's authoritarian government built a secret stockpile of chemical weapons that senior military officials sought to conceal after chlorine bombs were used against rebel forces, according to internal videos, documents, text messages and other materials reviewed by The Washington Post.



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The materials indicate that Sudan's chemical weapons effort involved diverting shipments of chlorine meant to provide safe drinking water, hiding warhead production sites on military bases, testing bombs in remote desert locations and drawing up lists of targets where toxic gas could penetrate enemy defenses.

Three years of civil war there have created the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

The images and documents, which have not been previously reported, go well beyond the limited information made available by the U.S. government when it imposed economic sanctions on Sudan following a pair of suspected chlorine gas attacks in September 2024.



Canisters normally used to store liquefied gas in a suspected Sudanese Armed Forces warehouse. (Obtained by The Washington Post)

Any stockpiling and use of chemical weapons would violate long-standing international bans aimed at eradicating a notoriously inhumane form of warfare, and put Sudan in the company of Syria and Iraq as states that have been condemned in recent decades for deploying chemical agents against their own people.

Sudanese officials, including the country's ruler, Gen. Abdel-Fattah al-Burhan, have denied that the government has developed or used chemical weapons.

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The trove was provided to The Post by Middle Eastern security officials who said the material had been obtained through sources in Sudan. The officials spoke on the condition that neither they nor their government be identified. [Dive deeper](#)

The files include documents allegedly prepared by Sudanese military officials that refer to “dual-effect” munitions filled with “choking gas,” videos that show weapons tests producing plumes of green-yellow vapor, and messages between Sudanese military officials indicating that the country’s security forces had stockpiled as many as 290 chemical munitions. It is not clear from the materials what Sudan has done with that alleged stockpile.

القنبلة ذات التأثير المزدوج



المنتج الجديد

- الطول الكلي 1240 ملم
- القطر 325 ملم
- مزدوجة التأثير
 - غاز خانق
 - 15 كيلوجرام غاز
 - راس متفجر
 - 20 كيلوجرام من مادة composition B

نبذة :

تم تصميم مجموعة من النماذج وذلك بغرض التخلص من عيوب المنتج الاول والمتمثلة في وجود بقايا المنتج علي الارض مما يسهل علي العدو التعرف علي المادة الكيميائية المستخدمة الغرض الاساسي من التصميم الجديد هو اخفاء اي ادلة علي استخدام مواد كيميائية وفي نفس الوقت اطلاق الغاز من الخزان بصورة مثالية

Files obtained by The Washington Post include documents allegedly prepared by Sudanese military officials that refer to “dual-effect” munitions filled with “choking gas.” (Obtained by The Washington Post)

After The Post published this report, the Sudanese government responded to the allegations in a letter sent by the office of the Sudanese Ambassador to the U.S., Mohamed Abdalla Idris. The letter said that the allegations in The Post’s report are “untrue,” and that the Sudanese government has “remained committed” to the provisions and procedures of the Chemical Weapons Convention, a treaty among 193 nations that Sudan signed in 1999. “All chlorine stocks in the country are designated exclusively for water purification, civilian industrial uses and energy, and [the Sudanese government] stands ready to demonstrate this before any competent international body,” the letter said.

The letter also asserted that after the U.S. accused the country of stockpiling chemical weapons, Sudan extended an invitation to U.S. officials to “send a technical team to visit Sudan and verify the allegations on the ground for itself,” but that the U.S. declined on two occasions. The government said that “in light of the falsity of the allegations” in The Post’s story, the country was reaffirming its invitation to have its chemical stocks “verified objectively and transparently.”

In the letter, the Sudanese government also accused an unnamed Middle Eastern nation of providing the intelligence in order to “divert attention from the United Nations evidence documenting that state’s involvement in igniting and sustaining the war in Sudan.”

In vetting the files, The Post consulted more than two dozen Western intelligence officials, chemical weapons inspectors and experts at human rights organizations. All described the material as credible evidence of a chemical weapons program but emphasized that a conclusive assessment would require access to suspected weapons sites and witnesses, which has not been provided since the start of the civil war.

“The evidence is both alarming and a cause for deep concern,” said Gareth Williams, a former senior official at the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons who is now a senior fellow at the Royal United Services Institute, a British defense and security think tank.

The stockpiling of chlorine munitions “cannot be definitively verified from visual evidence alone,” Williams said. “But the indicators are strongly consistent with a chemical weapons program.”

Developing or using chemical weapons would violate the Chemical Weapons Convention, a treaty among 193 nations, which Sudan signed in 1999. The treaty prohibits developing, stockpiling or using chemical weapons and requires signatories to allow inspections by the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

Al-Burhan is scheduled to deliver a speech representing Sudan at the United Nations General Assembly later this month.



Photo allegedly depicts bomb-making activity in a suspected SAF warehouse. (Obtained by The Washington Post)

The development of a chemical weapons arsenal would add a dangerous element to a civil war between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) led by al-Burhan — which controls Khartoum, the capital, as well as much of the eastern side of the country — and the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces, or RSF, which occupies much of Darfur in the west and is led by al-Burhan's former deputy, Gen. Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo.

Both sides have been accused of atrocities including rape, the killing of children and ethnic violence targeting non-Arab communities. More than 13 million people have been displaced by the war, according to the United Nations, which said that an RSF campaign in Darfur last year had “the defining characteristics of genocide.”

U.N. arms embargoes and U.S. attempts to broker a ceasefire have failed to stop the civil war, which erupted after the ouster of Sudan's long-standing leader.

Sudan also has served as a proxy battleground for Middle Eastern states, pitting U.S. allies against one another. Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Turkey are key supporters of the SAF, while the RSF is backed by the United Arab Emirates, according to Western security officials and human rights organizations.

Chlorine gas munitions, which are crude weapons that hark back to the trench warfare of World War I, are unlikely to alter Sudan's stalemate, according to security officials and experts. But text messages sent by Sudanese military officers, according to Middle East security officials, indicate that the SAF saw chemical attacks as a means of sowing panic and flushing out enemy forces from dug-in positions.

In one exchange, a person identified as a Sudanese officer refers to police barracks including guard towers under RSF control, saying that the complex "should be targeted ... the gas will cover all these towers and any sniper will come down" where SAF fighters can "neutralize them."

It is unclear whether chemical weapons were used on the barracks. The messages were sent in December 2024, according to the materials provided to The Post, three months after Sudan is alleged by the United States to have carried out chlorine gas attacks on RSF positions at the Al Jaili oil refinery and Garri Military Base north of Khartoum, according to security officials and experts.

There are indications in the files that Sudan has deployed chlorine bombs in other cases. A text exchange from late 2024 appears to show a Sudanese officer reporting that hundreds of chlorine bombs were assembled and stored at Merowe Air Base, a key installation for Sudan's air force, and that 106 bombs had been used.

A separate message believed to have been sent to an SAF officer involved in airstrikes included a video of an apparent war victim with charred skin. "Your cooking," the message said.

The Middle Eastern security officials who provided the documents to The Post identified the sender of the messages as Tariq Madani, whom the officials described as an SAF officer and the chief architect of Sudan's chemical weapons program. Madani appears repeatedly in the materials, sending images of apparent bomb assembly facilities, commenting on warhead specifications and trading messages about the program with Sudanese officials including al-Burhan, according to Middle East security officials.

The U.S. Treasury Department imposed sanctions on Madani earlier this year for his role as a senior official in Sudan's military procurement program, as well as his position as managing director of a firm, Target Multi-Activities Company Ltd., which "has imported explosives and related material into Sudan from Egyptian and Indian companies."

Middle East security officials provided a cellphone number associated with the messages and voice notes attributed to Madani. The number appears in publicly available databases as belonging to Madani. An individual who answered a call to that number acknowledged that his name was Tariq but denied any awareness or involvement in chemical weapons production.

"I don't know about this," he said. "I am a civilian and this is a military question that you should ask a military person because I don't know about this subject."

Digital forensics experts contacted by The Post to review the audio and key visual materials found no evidence of manipulation.

The experts included Catalin Grigoras, director of the National Center for Media Forensics at the University of Colorado at Denver, and Hafiz Malik, an engineering professor at the University of Michigan-Dearborn.

In the case of text messages, the documents provided to The Post reference the phone numbers of senders and recipients and, in some cases, their alleged identities.

In assembling its alleged arsenal, Sudan appears to have relied on scrap components, diverted chlorine shipments and a crude manufacturing process, according to the materials.

The trove includes photos and videos that show dozens of makeshift bombs stacked in warehouse-style structures. Several photos show piles of canisters like those widely used in backyard barbecues, tanks whose primary use is to store liquefied gas and that are then fitted by welders with nose cones, spring-loaded firing pins and aerodynamic fins meant to ensure the bombs fall tip-first on their targets.

One video appears to show a primitive system for filling munitions with chlorine drawn from yellow bulk storage cylinders. The video shows metal tubs connected to a supply of chilled water amid a tangle of valves and hoses. Weapons experts said the system is likely used to chill canisters as they are filled with liquefied gas, a process that generates heat.

Other images appear to show a weapons rack mounted to the cargo floor of an Antonov An-32 aircraft, a Soviet-designed plane used by Sudan's air force. The mechanism appears to be designed to function as a conveyor, weapons experts said, allowing bombs to be loaded and dropped out the plane's cargo door.

The most striking images in the files appear to show weapons tests in remote patches of desert. In one video, the hum of an approaching aircraft can be heard before projectiles strike the sand, sending up tall plumes of yellow vapor — a color associated with chlorine, experts said. Unseen observers can be heard cheering the explosions.

Documents appear to indicate that Sudan modified its warhead designs over time, increasing the size of the canisters and packing separate chambers with ball bearings meant to maim or kill.

One document describes the specifications of a “dual-effect” bomb that is four-feet in length and contains “15 kg gas” as well as 20 kilograms of explosives.

The files also indicate that SAF officers were focused on covering their tracks. The same document includes Arabic text saying that “the main purpose of the new design is to conceal any evidence of the use of chemicals and to release the gas from the tank directly in a perfect way,” according to a Washington Post translation.

The materials provide conflicting information on how Sudan obtained chlorine, a chemical that is critical to eliminating harmful bacteria from drinking supplies but when used in a bomb burns the skin and penetrates the lungs, potentially causing respiratory failure.

Images of canisters found at the sites of the 2024 attacks enabled France 24, a French news outlet, and C4ADS, a U.S.-based research organization, to trace the chlorine tanks to a supplier in India that said it had shipped the chemical solely for water treatment purposes.

The images examined by C4ADS show bulk chlorine tanks that appear to have burst upon impact, rather than bombs with detonation systems and tail fins.

A Middle East security official who shared the documents with The Post said they believed that the intelligence files show that the SAF was still testing its chlorine bomb designs during that period, and that they weren't approved for use at the time of the attack on the refinery.

Documents and messages in the trove indicate Sudan may have other sources of chlorine. Messages that the Middle East officials said were sent by Madani mention the arrival of 20 large tanks via a border crossing with Egypt, and assert a capacity to produce as many as 1,100 bombs.

Other messages mention water treatment plants. A voice note officials attributed to Madani refers to "chlorine cylinders which are used for sanitation and to kill bacteria" at a purification facility. The cylinders "come through U.N. health care programs or whatever," the speaker says, adding that "we took some of them from there."

A spokesperson for UNICEF, a U.N. agency focused on the protection of children, said that it had supplied chlorine gas to the Khartoum State Water Corporation from 2023 to 2025 for use at six water treatment plants including Al-Manarah, a facility mentioned in the files.

UNICEF monitors such shipments, the spokesperson said, and “has no record of any UNICEF-supplied chlorine being diverted or misused in Sudan.”

“Chlorine supplied by UNICEF has one purpose: making water safe to drink,” the spokesperson, Joe English, said. “Any other use would be a serious breach of the terms on which it is provided, and of the principles under which humanitarian assistance is delivered.”



Sudanese officials, including Gen. Abdel-Fattah al-Burhan, have denied that the government has developed or used chemical weapons. (AP)

The United States announced new sanctions on Sudan last year in response to its alleged use of chemical weapons, imposing restrictions on loans, exports and technical assistance to the country.

The State Department said at the time that it had determined that Sudan “used chemical weapons in violation of international law” but provided few details about the evidence it had weighed in making that decision.

In September 2025, in a message that the Middle Eastern officials say was written by Madani, he sought to assure al-Burhan, Sudan’s leader, that a military base where weapons were stored had been “emptied of traces and residue,” according to text messages.

In a bid to stave off international pressure, al-Burhan publicly announced in May last year the formation of a Sudanese committee to investigate allegations that the SAF had used chemical weapons.

A document outlining the probe directed that Madani be included “due to his expertise” — giving the program’s alleged architect an apparent role in the investigation. The document is dated July 2025 and bears al-Burhan’s signature.

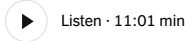
Sudan announced the findings of that investigation last fall, saying that “based on available evidence and data from field measurements ... there is no evidence of chemical or radioactive contamination.”

Suzan Haidamous, Joyce Sohyun Lee and Jarrett Ley contributed to this report.

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Secret Dossier Adds to Evidence of Chemical Weapons in Sudan

The documents bolster allegations that the Sudanese military developed and used toxic bombs to gain an edge in the country's devastating civil war.



By Declan Walsh and Ronen Bergman

Declan Walsh reported from Nairobi, Kenya, and Ronen Bergman from Tel Aviv.

Sept. 5, 2026

Secretive bomb tests in the Sudanese desert. Suffocated scorpions, found dead on the floor of a weapons factory. Chlorine canisters taken from a water treatment plant in the war-torn capital.

Sudan's military has long denied American accusations that it used chemical weapons as part of the country's devastating civil war. That accusation brought punishing U.S. sanctions on Sudan and its army chief, Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan. Yet the United States has never publicly substantiated the claim with proof.

Now a dossier of evidence shared with The New York Times by a Middle Eastern intelligence agency bolsters those allegations, describing how and why Sudan's military developed and produced chemical weapons over six months in 2024.

Photographs, videos, documents and intercepted communications portray a secretive Sudanese military unit said to have produced chlorine-based munitions for use against the Rapid Support Forces, the paramilitary group the army is fighting for control of the country.

The dossier contains bomb blueprints, details of an apparent effort to cover up the project after its discovery by the United States, and a suggestion that some of the chlorine used to make the bombs was sourced at a civilian water treatment center that received the chemical from international aid groups.

The U. S. government appears to have taken the dossier seriously. Some of its visuals were shared with American intelligence and were used by American officials in January 2025 to assess whether Sudan had chemical weapons, according to two foreign officials and a former U.S. official who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive intelligence.



A photo provided by a Middle Eastern intelligence agency showing Brig. Gen. Tariq Hussain, head of a purported chemical weapons effort, second from the left.

A Sudanese military spokesman rejected the dossier's findings as "baseless and without material foundation." Noting that Sudan had signed the Chemical Weapons Convention, he threatened legal action against The Times in a U.S. court if the dossier's contents were published.

Much of the dossier — nearly 150 documents, images, videos, and voice notes, as well as several thousand text messages — appears to come from the cellphones of senior Sudanese officers. It was provided on the condition that its source not be identified.

Voice and text messages involving General al-Burhan suggest Sudan's military chief had direct knowledge of the alleged chemical weapons effort — a key factor in the U.S. decision to sanction him in January 2025, The Times reported.

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Proving chemical weapons use is notoriously complicated. Experts who reviewed images from the dossier for The Times said they looked like a plausible chemical weapons effort, but cautioned they could be confirmed only through an investigation by impartial experts on the ground in Sudan.



While chemical attacks during Syria's civil war set off global outrage and led to American military strikes in 2017 and 2018, the Sudanese episode has received relatively little outside scrutiny.

Elisabeth Waechter, a spokeswoman for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, said several countries had requested that the organization "obtain clarifications from Sudan regarding allegations of chemical weapon use." The process is "ongoing," she said.

The pressure is coming mostly from the United States, which in June announced a second round of sanctions over chemical weapons as part of a broader effort to force Sudan's military to agree to a cease-fire.

Sudan's military has responded to the U.S. measures with defiance, saying that it does not trust the United States to be an impartial mediator in the conflict.

A State Department spokesperson said in a statement that sanctions would remain until Sudan destroyed "all chemical weapons and production facilities under international verification."

Since Sudan's war began in 2023, it has brought famine and disease and forced over 12 million people from their homes. While both sides are accused of war crimes, the worst atrocities have been blamed on the military's enemy — the R.S.F. — who the United States and the United Nations say has committed genocide.

The paramilitary's reputation touched a new low last year in El Fasher, a city in Darfur, where its fighters were credibly accused of starving, slaughtering and gang raping fleeing civilians.

Through it all, the R.S.F. has enjoyed support from its main foreign backer, the United Arab Emirates, which has supplied it with mercenaries, guns and powerful drones, American and U.N. officials say. The Emirates denies backing either side in the war.

The Sudanese military may have turned to chemical weapons to solve a problem early in the war. By mid-2024, the military had lost most of Khartoum, and its forces struggled to expel R.S.F. fighters embedded deep in the vast capital.

In July, according to the dossier, Brig. Gen. Tariq Hussain, the head of the chlorine bomb project, proposed a solution: chlorine.

In a message to colleagues that was later intercepted, General Hussain explained how the deadly gas could be weaponized to gain an edge in the battle for Khartoum. He circulated sketches of prototypes of a new munition that, he said, combined an explosive warhead with about 33 pounds of chlorine gas.

This new munition had the advantage of killing enemy forces by either shredding them with shrapnel or gassing them with chlorine, he messaged. And the explosion would ensure that no chemical trace of the attack remained.

From July 2024, General Hussain oversaw a factory that assembled prototypes of this munition, images and messages in the dossier suggest. On July 22, an Antonov cargo plane took off from Merowe airport, about 200 miles north of Khartoum, to test the chlorine-based munition, he reported.

"The test went 100 percent," General Hussain later wrote, adding a video of an explosion in the desert. "It fell on the target and released the gas."

"Strict secrecy," replied Brig. Gen. Amir Idris, who is identified in the records as a supervisor of military drone operations.

The project also encountered challenges, messages show. Chlorine gas often leaked from the bombs, and one morning workers found dead insects and scorpions scattered across a hangar floor, apparently after suffocating in the night, General Hussain wrote.

The chlorine came partly from global markets. Unlike more notorious chemical agents like sarin or VX, chlorine is not a controlled substance. In late August 2024, General Hussain reported the import of 20 chlorine cylinders from Egypt — enough to make 1,100 bombs, he said.

General Hussain said he also obtained chlorine gas from al-Manara water treatment plant in Omdurman, one of the few such facilities still operating in the war. "Al-Manara has some of those cylinders, and we took them from there," he said in a voice message to Gen. Idris on Aug. 26.

A 2016 public information video about al-Manara shows large yellow chlorine drums similar to those seen inside the munitions factory. During the war, though, much of its supply was donated by international aid groups, which use chlorine to stem recurrent cholera outbreaks.

In emails, the Red Cross said it donated 30 cylinders of chlorine gas to the plant in 2023, while CARE, another aid group, said it gave 35 cylinders between 2024 and 2025. A spokesman for UNICEF said it supplied chlorine gas to six water treatment plants in Khartoum, including al-Manara, between 2023 and 2025.



A photo provided by a Middle Eastern intelligence agency shows vessels for purported chlorine-based weapons.

The Khartoum State Water Corporation, which runs the plant, did not respond to questions.

By October 2024, General Hussain reported that he had manufactured nearly 300 chemical munitions, most of them stored at the airport in Merowe.

“They drank the gas,” he texted to a colleague in September 2024, describing enemy combatants ingesting chlorine gas after an attack. The documents locate the attack at al-Jaili oil refinery, a facility north of Khartoum that the R.S.F. then controlled.

His claim to have used chemical munitions to strike the facility was corroborated by his enemies and news reports. On Sept. 13, the R.S.F. released a statement accusing the Sudanese military of firing “toxic” missiles on the refinery. Photographs circulating on social media showed men in civilian clothes wearing oxygen masks at the plant.

An investigation by France 24, a French state-owned TV network, documented chemical strikes at the oil facility. But the French investigation determined that the chlorine bombs were large gas cylinders, not the smaller munitions built by General Hussain. The reason for the apparent discrepancy was unclear.

There were no confirmed deaths.

Other reported strikes are harder to confirm. On Oct. 17, General Hussain reported a second strike on a munitions factory that he said caused heavy casualties, leading people to flee to nearby villages. That attack did not feature in R.S.F. statements or social media reports at the time.

The alleged chemical program appears to have closed after the U.S. imposed sanctions in May 2025. Days later, General al-Burhan instructed General Hussain to “remove all traces” of its activities, intercepts show.

“The operation was done a month ago,” came the reply.

During the latest round of sanctions, in June, the U.S. placed sanctions on General Hussain for importing explosives to make bombs, although the notice did not mention chemical weapons.

By then, General al-Burhan had set up a committee to investigate the American accusations. The committee’s advisers included General Hussain, the architect of the program, according to a letter in the dossier.

When the committee submitted its interim report in July, it said it found no trace of chemical weapons.

A final report is pending.

9/14/26, 12:34 PM

Secret Dossier Adds to Evidence of Chemical Weapons in Sudan - The New York Times

An employee of The New York Times contributed reporting.

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A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 12 of the New York edition with the headline: A Top-Secret Dossier Sheds Light on Sudan's Chemical Weapons Project

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