

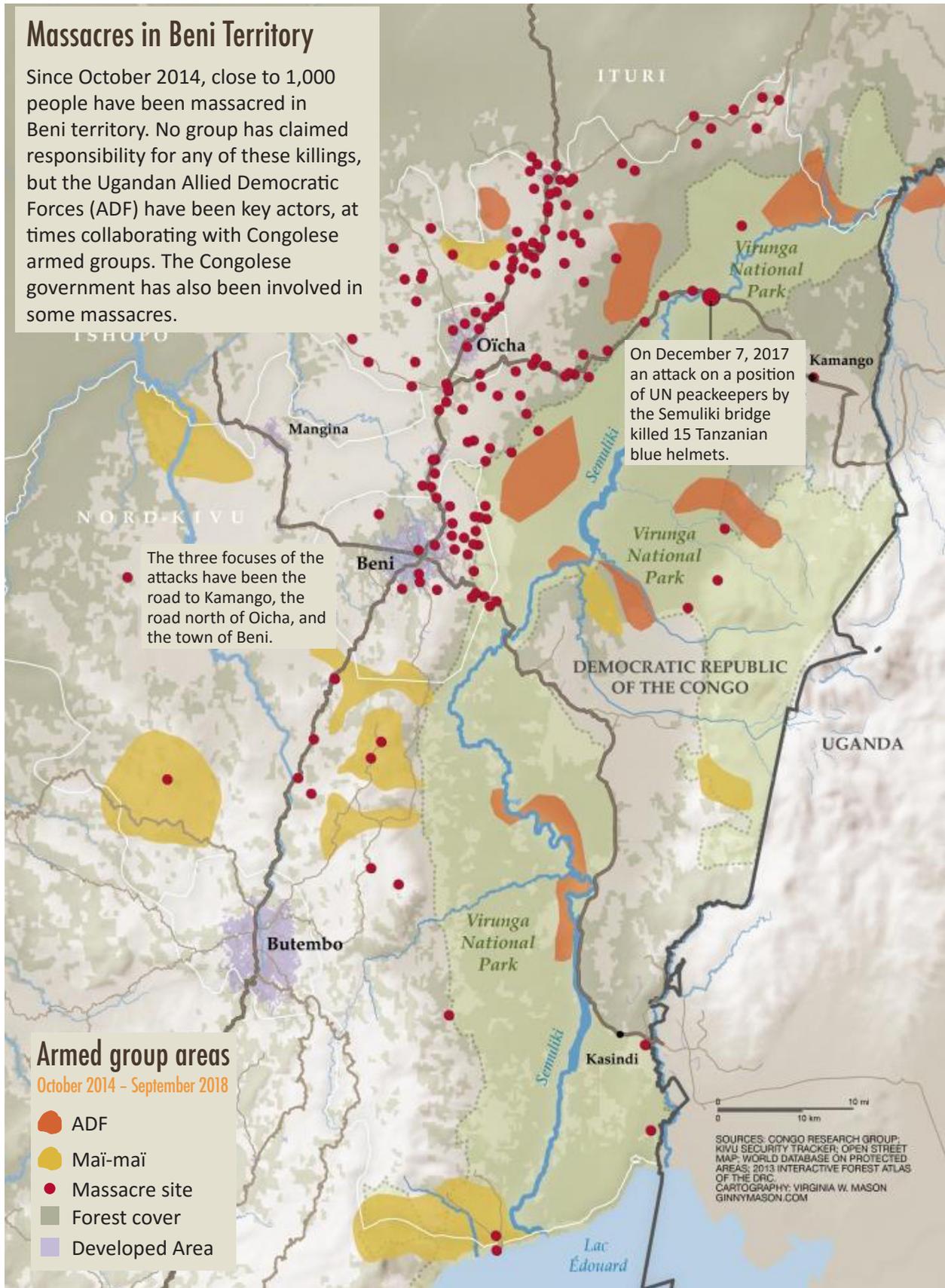
Inside the ADF Rebellion

A Glimpse into the Life and Operations of a Secretive Jihadi Armed Group



Massacres in Beni Territory

Since October 2014, close to 1,000 people have been massacred in Beni territory. No group has claimed responsibility for any of these killings, but the Ugandan Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) have been key actors, at times collaborating with Congolese armed groups. The Congolese government has also been involved in some massacres.



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The Congo Research Group (CRG) is an independent, non-profit research project dedicated to understanding the violence that affects millions of Congolese. We carry out rigorous research on different aspects of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All of our research is informed by deep historical and social knowledge of the problem at hand. We are based at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University.

All of our publications, blogs and podcasts are available at: www.congoreserchgroup.org and www.gecongo.org

Cover image: A foreign fighter who has come to receive training in the ADF bases in Congo.

Source: ADF computer courtesy of Bridgeway Foundation.

Summary

Beni territory in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo has suffered from some of the most brutal violence in the country's recent history. However, the massacres around Beni, which began in October 2014 and have killed more than 1,000 people, have been shrouded in mystery. No group has officially claimed responsibility for the killings; research by Congo Research Group (CRG) and the UN Group of Experts suggests that many actors, including the Congolese government, have been involved.

One important group has been the Ugandan Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) rebellion. Since the late 1990s, the group has carried out brutal massacres, kidnappings, and lootings in the area, often in collaboration with other local militias and leaders, and is one of the deadliest armed groups in the Kivus.¹ Given the lack of prominent defections, its strict internal discipline, and lack of public communications, it has been difficult to understand its motives, internal structure, and bases of support. This report, for which the Bridgeway Foundation provided support, gives a rare glimpse into the organization.

Between 2016 and 2017, a member of the ADF posted at least 35 videos on private social media channels – Telegram, Facebook, and YouTube. Based on events either mentioned or carried out within the videos, we can infer that they were probably recorded some time during 2016 and 2017. The videos portray ADF attacks, medical care for their wounded, martial arts exhibitions, indoctrination of children, and propaganda messages.

Together with a dozen interviews conducted with ADF defectors,² these videos suggest the following:

- The group has been making a tentative attempt to align itself with other jihadist groups, calling itself *Madina at Tauheed Wau Mujahedeen* (MTM, “The city of monotheism and holy warriors,”) presenting a flag similar to that used by Al-Shabaab, Al-Qaeda, Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), and Boko

Haram, and placing a strong emphasis on a radical, violent interpretation of the Quran. The recent arrest of a Kenyan ISIS financial facilitator illuminated the first concrete linkages between the ADF and other jihadi groups via bank transactions.

- While the senior leadership of the ADF appears still to be dominated by Ugandans – none of whom appear in the videos – the propaganda in the videos is aimed at a much broader East African audience, employing Kiswahili, Luganda, Arabic, French, and Kinyarwanda. Kiswahili – Congolese and Tanzanian dialects – the most widely spoken language in the region, is by far the most prevalent in the videos, and there are two Burundians also featured.
- Women and children play an important role in the organization. In two videos, they can be seen as playing active roles in attacks, pillaging and bearing arms. Several older videos, recorded before the recent uptick in violence, feature at least 70-80 children being indoctrinated and undergoing military training. Women also feature prominently in several videos, as combatants, reading from the Quran and tending to wounded combatants.
- The ADF appears to be attempting to rebrand itself as the organization faces military pressure and a leadership change. While radical interpretations of Islam have long existed within the ADF, combatants in these videos more brazenly encourage and banalize violence against “infidels,” civilians and soldiers alike, and call on their colleagues to become martyrs for their cause.

It is important to highlight that both the Ugandan and Congolese government have used the presence of the Islamist threat politically to their advantage in the past, and many other actors around Beni have been involved in the violence there. Finding a solution for the violence will entail dealing with its complexity. As laid out in

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previous CRG reports, targeted and responsible military operations against the various armed groups in the area are part of this. But, given how interwoven the ADF is with other local armed groups, this will also require rendering local administration and security services more

accountable, dismantling networks of smuggling and racketeering, and targeting the regional recruitment and support networks of the ADF.

Methodology and caveat

This report is based largely on an analysis of videos posted on social media, mostly by one member of the ADF. While the intent of this individual is not fully known, some of the videos are aimed at recruiting new combatants. This is important, as the purpose of the videos influences the depiction of the organization. In other words, the combatants featured in the videos may be projecting an image of the group in order to persuade new recruits to join them, or to legitimize themselves towards other jihadi groups, obfuscating facets of their organization that do not conform to those messages.

Similarly, CRG directly interviewed four former ADF combatants or dependents in Kampala and Beni, and obtained interview notes, transcripts, or audio recordings of 12 other interviews from Bridgeway Foundation. The defectors included nine former ADF members who had left the group in the past four years. While some of these interviewees had direct contact with senior leaders, none of them were part of the decision-making process of the organization, making it difficult to infer the ADF's overall strategy, alliances, and motivations.

In keeping with these limitations, the goal of this briefing is not to provide a comprehensive understanding of the ADF, but rather to analyze the videos and, building on past documentation, to offer insights regarding current trends within the organization that could affect violence in the region.



The Semuliki river that is used by the ADF for protection and transport (Photo: UN Group of Experts 2011)

A historical overview of the ADF

The initial members of the ADF rebellion had previously been members of the Tabligh sect, which had been active in Uganda since at least the 1970s and began to receive financial backing from Sudan after Idi Amin's ouster.³ This community originated in British-ruled India in the early 20th century as a conservative movement to reinvigorate Islamic values and practices, placing a heavy emphasis on missionary work, called *tabligh*.⁴ While the Tabligh community in general has opposed violent jihad – in some places it has been the target of militant Islamists – its members have sometimes joined violent groups.

In Uganda, the Tabligh sect is sometimes also associated with a Salafi current in the local Muslim community, which is not necessarily the case elsewhere, and some of its members traveled to Saudi Arabia for schooling with scholarships from Saudi clerics. Jamil Mukulu, who went on to become the leader of the ADF, is an example of this. Born a Christian, he converted to Islam in his youth and traveled to Riyadh for studies, returning with militant views of Islam.⁵ According to a former colleague, "He came back from Saudi Arabia a more devoted Muslim and ready to die for Islam. He talked about defending Islam all the time."⁶

Feuding over power and control of local mosques had wracked the Ugandan Muslim community for decades, especially since Idi Amin federated all Muslim leaders in the Ugandan Muslim Supreme Council (UMSC) in 1971.⁷ In 1991, members of the Tabligh community joined forces with one of the sheikhs vying for the leadership of UMSC. When the courts upheld the election of a rival faction, a group led by Jamil Mukulu stormed the UMSC headquarters at the Old Kampala Mosque, killing several police officers. Mukulu and others were arrested and sent to Luzira prison, where they met several former Ugandan army defectors who would later become ADF commanders.

In 1994, Mukulu was released from prison and set up the Movement of Ugandan Combatants for Freedom (UFFM) in Hoima, western Uganda, receiving support from the Sudanese government.

When their camps were overrun by the Ugandan army in 1995, Mukulu fled to Kenya, while another UFFM leader, Yusuf Kabanda, led the remaining youths into the eastern Congo. There they continued to receive support from the Sudanese government and struck up an alliance with the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU), a secular Ugandan rebellion.

The ADF-NALU alliance became enmeshed in the complex armed group politics of Beni territory, where the group was based. The NALU was in many ways a successor to the earlier Ugandan Rwenzururu rebellion, whose aim was to restore the customary power of the Bakonjo and Baamba communities in western Uganda. These ethnic groups are affiliated to the Nande and Talinga ethnic groups in Congo, respectively, with which they share common languages and cultures.

While the ADF-NALU also received support from Mobutu Sese Seko in his proxy war against Yoweri Museveni, when the Ugandan army invaded as part of a coalition to topple him in 1996, the rebellion was forced to flee from urban areas. Seeking refuge, one part of the group settled in the savannahs to the southeast of Beni, while a linked faction struck up a relationship with the minority Vuba community in the Bambuba-Kisika *groupement* north of Beni town. Many Vuba joined the ADF-NALU, while rebel leaders married Vuba women, purchased land for camps from Vuba chiefs and collaborated with them to traffic gold and timber.⁸ Later, when the Congolese *Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie/Kisangani–Mouvement de liberation* (RCD/K-ML) rebellion governed the area, the ADF-NALU also collaborated sporadically with them. During this early period of the rebellion, the ADF-NALU mostly maintained cordial relations with Congolese communities while conducting regular raids and attacks into Uganda, displacing over 100,000 in Bundibugyo district and abducting dozens of youths.

However, by the early 2000s the group was buffeted by several concurrent developments. The Ugandan army deployed significant forces against the ADF

and co-opted senior NALU officers to use in their counterinsurgency, and in 2005 the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC) launched their first major operation against the group, with the support of UN peacekeepers. Meanwhile, the Sudanese and Congolese peace processes began to deprive the ADF-NALU of local allies and foreign support.⁹ In 2007, the NALU leadership demobilized, following an agreement with the Ugandan government over the recognition of the Rwenzuru kingdom, depriving the ADF of its main ally.

At the same time – and perhaps due to these new challenges it was facing – the leadership of the group began to radicalize. According to a member of the group, “Around 2003 we began to implement sharia law more strictly, enforce the separation with women in the camps, and the role of Islam in the ADF became more prominent.”¹⁰ It became more aggressive toward the local population, often in response to attacks by the FARDC, kidnapping, looting, and killing farmers and traders. A UN report from January 2014 states that Arabic-speaking trainers had visited the ADF, and confirms the observance of a strict interpretation of Islamic law in ADF camps.¹¹



Photo of armed female child soldier in an unknown ADF camp posted to social media (August 16, 2016).

Most accounts of the ADF around 2013 portray a reclusive, cohesive group retrenched in two main camps – close to Isale, in the foothills of the Ruwenzori Mountains; and east of the town of Eringeti in the Semuliki Valley, in the Bambuba-Kisiki *groupement* that is linked to Vuba traditional chiefs.¹² Two offensives by the Congolese army and the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) – Ruwenzori (2010-2011) and Radi Strike (2012) – had whittled away at the group, reducing it to around 110 fighters, although they did not fundamentally affect its senior leadership.¹³

In late 2013, almost immediately after defeating the Rwandan-backed M23 rebellion, the Congolese army launched the Sukola I operations against the ADF in December 2013. This triggered a series of gruesome massacres against the local population, beginning in October 2014. According to an extensive investigation by CRG, the dynamics behind this violence were complex. The Congolese government’s decision to go after the ADF – instead of against the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), which the United States and other influential countries were pushing for – was likely influenced by the fact that the M23 had attempted to open a second frontline in the Beni area, linked to former RCD/K-ML networks there. The government began arresting business people and army officers linked to that former rebellion.¹⁴

This helps explain why, when the massacres began in earnest in October 2014, it involved a decentralized network of armed actors: former RCD/K-ML officers, local militias linked to the Vuba community, and even FARDC officers.¹⁵ Each group sought to use violence to promote its own interests. The ADF’s use of violence appears to have been motivated by its own survival in face of the government offensive and to punish locals for collaborating with the government. ADF defectors state this is when they started the “war” against the FARDC. Mukulu’s recordings talk explicitly about the battles against the FARDC and calls for “non-believers” to be killed because they could inform on the ADF.

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Meanwhile, the RCD/K-ML networks sought also to delegitimize the government and set up a new rebellion, while local militias were engaged in struggles over economic and political power with rivals in the community. The FARDC's objectives are more difficult to parse, but according to sources close to General Akili Mundos, he sought to co-opt local RCD/K-ML networks by making them work for him, thereby perpetuating the violence. While the Congolese government has mostly insisted that the ADF is responsible for the killings, separate teams of UN investigators, as well as some civil society groups, have also said that other groups were involved.¹⁶

Between October 2014 and December 2016, over 500 people were massacred in Beni territory, mostly close to the Beni-Eringeti road and in the outskirts of Beni. The modus operandi of the attacks varied substantially, which supports the theory that no one group was responsible. No religious or ethnic community was targeted in particular, and the massacres took place in urban and rural settings, mostly during the night. According to eyewitness, attackers spoke a variety of languages – mostly Swahili, but also Kinyarwanda and Lingala, languages not usually spoken by the ADF during operations. The largest massacre took place in three villages simultaneously – Tepiomba, Masulukwede and Vemba – on November 20, 2014, killing 120 people.¹⁷

Recent trends in armed violence around Beni

The early phase of the Sukola I operations had a devastating impact on the ADF, whose losses probably figured in the hundreds among both combatants and their dependents.¹⁸ The UN Group of Experts concluded that as the main ADF group fled deep into the jungle, some 200 of them, mostly children, died of starvation. Some of the senior leaders, including Jamil Mukulu, fled the country, and their main camps in the Semuliki Valley were captured by the FARDC.¹⁹

After the commander of the Sukola I operations, General Lucien Bauma, died in August 2014, the FARDC operations slowed down, allowing the ADF to return to some of its previous positions. While the senior leadership was largely intact – with the exception of Jamil Mukulu and some of his confidantes, who had disappeared in April – the group had been weakened. In late 2014, ADF defectors and escapees reported that there were only around 60-70 combatants remaining.²⁰ A year later, in late 2015, the United Nations and the FARDC put their strength at between 150 and 260.²¹ Jamil Mukulu, who had led the group

since its initial formation in 1995, was arrested in Tanzania in April 2015 and extradited to Uganda to stand trial. In his absence, Musa Seka Baluku became the most senior leader in the ADF.

The massacres around Beni peaked in early 2015 and then declined in frequency and in scale. After an attack in Rwangoma in August 2016, there was no major massacre of civilians or attack on a military base for roughly a year. During this time, however, the ADF was reportedly busy recruiting and restructuring itself internally. By 2016, defectors reported that there were 200-300 ADF members, including civilians, in its Madina camp alone, and in mid-2018, the United Nations estimated their total strength at around 400 to 450, including women and children, while defectors have placed it considerably higher.²² As was the case prior to the Sukola I operations, the ADF continued to recruit from eastern Uganda, although other recruits came from the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania.²³

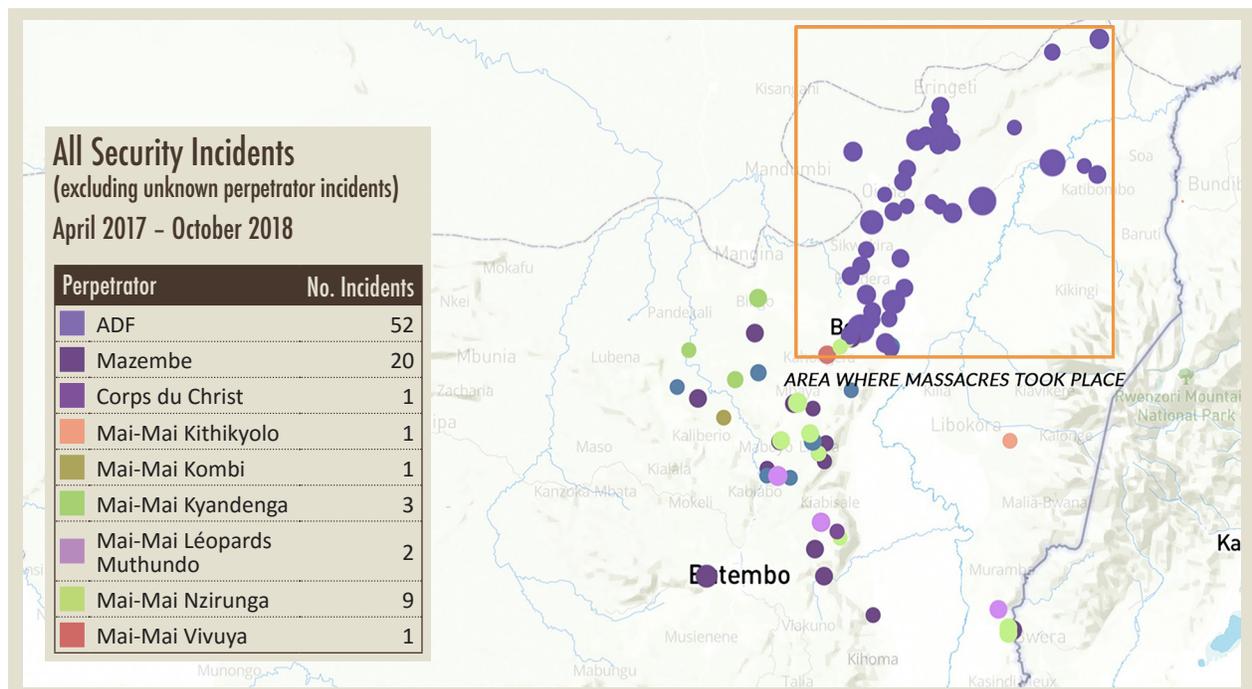


Figure 1: All security incidents (including killings, abductions, kidnappings, mass rape, and clashes) in Beni territory, April 2017–October 2018.²⁵

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Beginning around mid-2017, widespread attacks started up again, increasingly targeting military installations and patrols – between June 2017 and September 2018, 315 civilians were killed in Beni territory, far more than in any other part of the eastern Congo during this period. Most attacks continued to take place along the Beni-Oicha road and there was also a concerted attempt to assert control over the Mbau-Kamango road, with several attacks against the FARDC, as well as a devastating attack against a camp of United Nations peacekeepers by a bridge over the Semuliki river in December 2017, killing 15. This was reminiscent of earlier attacks along the same road in 2013, when an armed group – allegedly the ADF – attacked FARDC and MONUSCO positions.²⁴

It remains difficult to attribute these incidents given the fact that none of the attacks have been claimed, and eyewitness reports almost invariably point the finger at “unidentified armed people.” In many of these cases, some sources cite the ADF, but we were unable to corroborate their testimony. A mapping of armed groups in the area (Figure 2) shows that other than the ADF, the closest other armed groups are those belonging to the minority Vuba and Pakombe communities,

which have also collaborated with the ADF in some of the attacks.

There are reports that the ADF has continued to collaborate opportunistically with other local armed groups and the Congolese army. Two United Nations officials based in the area, as well as one member of a local militia reported that ADF collaboration continues with members of Vuba militia, while the attack on Beni town on September 22, 2018 came from territory controlled by a local militia in Mayangose.²⁶ It is unclear what form this collaboration takes, or how widespread it is.

The Congolese authorities responded with the launch of new military operations against the ADF in January 2018. According to the commander of the operations, General Marcel Mbangu, “This is, for us, the final offensive. We will fight them until the end, until we have secured our territory.”²⁷ It initially appeared that it would be a significant ramping up of military efforts. The Congolese army deployed tanks and heavy artillery, and its spokesperson said that they would meet the enemy on its own terms, adopting counterinsurgency tactics by penetrating deep into the jungle.²⁸

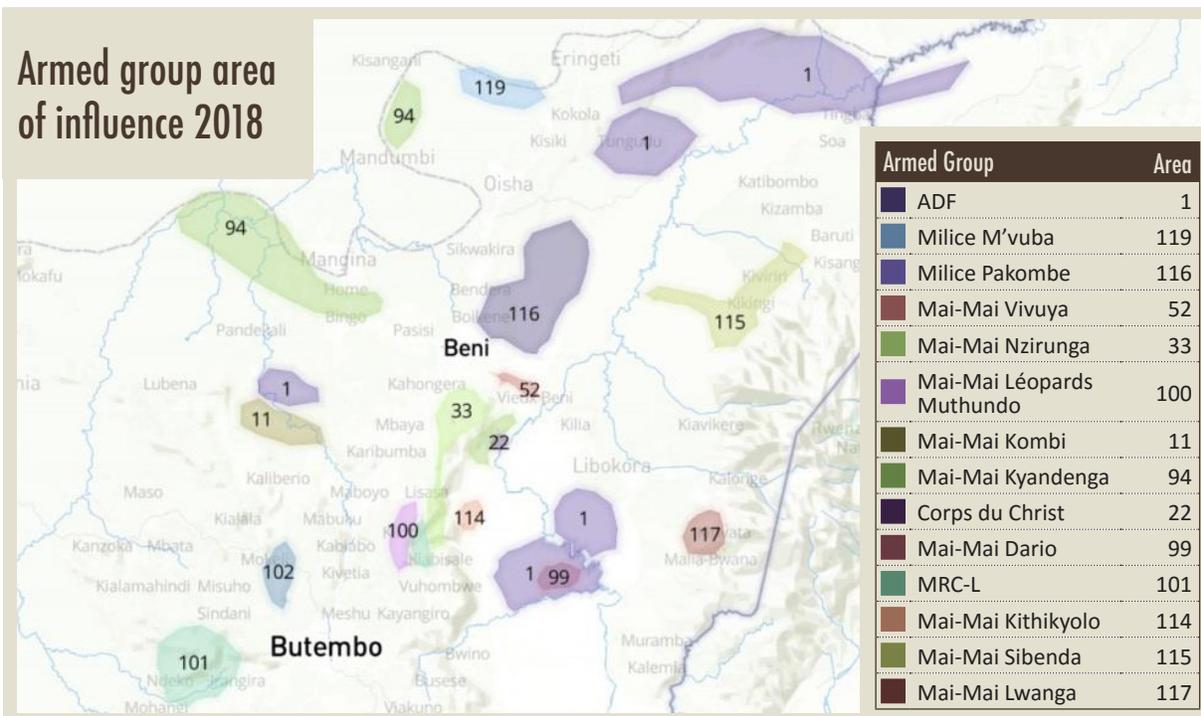


Figure 2: Armed groups around Beni Territory

The operations targeted the two main ADF bases – in the “Triangle of Death” between Mbau, Eringeti, and Kamango, where most of the fighting has taken place in the past; and in the savannah to the north of Lake Edward, around Mwalika.

They suffered serious setbacks; according to FARDC commanders, hundreds of their troops were killed in these operations.²⁹ The ADF was prepared for their offensive, laying ambushes and traps, while the FARDC suffered from a lack of resources, communications problems and inflated troop numbers. The Congolese army was able to take over the main southern ADF camp in Mwalika on February 13, but most ADF simply relocated to another, nearby camp. On April 12 the FARDC launched its most ambitious operation into the heart of the ADF-controlled area in an attempt to take control of their headquarters in Madina. This offensive, however, stalled and MONUSCO had to deploy its attack helicopters to support an FARDC regiment that was trapped in the forest.

Since May 2018 there have been no large-scale FARDC operations. In early September, the first joint operation between MONUSCO and the FARDC took place in Mayangose, to the east of Beni town, but there was little engagement with the enemy.

Meanwhile, there has been an uptick in violence. On March 27, 2018, suspected ADF members penetrated into the town of Beni, killing 11 people; while on May 20, they attacked Mangboko village just north of Beni, killing ten. On September 22, 2018, the ADF raided the eastern part of Beni city, killing at least 15 civilians and four Congolese soldiers, wounding others and looting and burning houses.

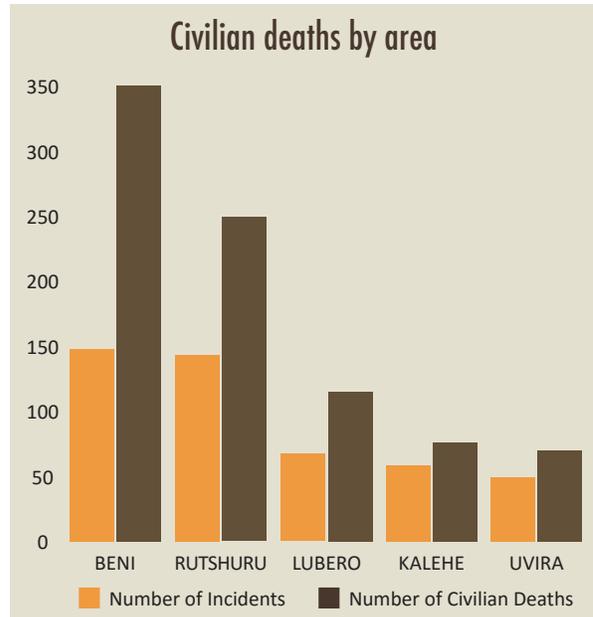


Figure 3: Killings of civilians by territory in North and South Kivu since April 2017³⁰

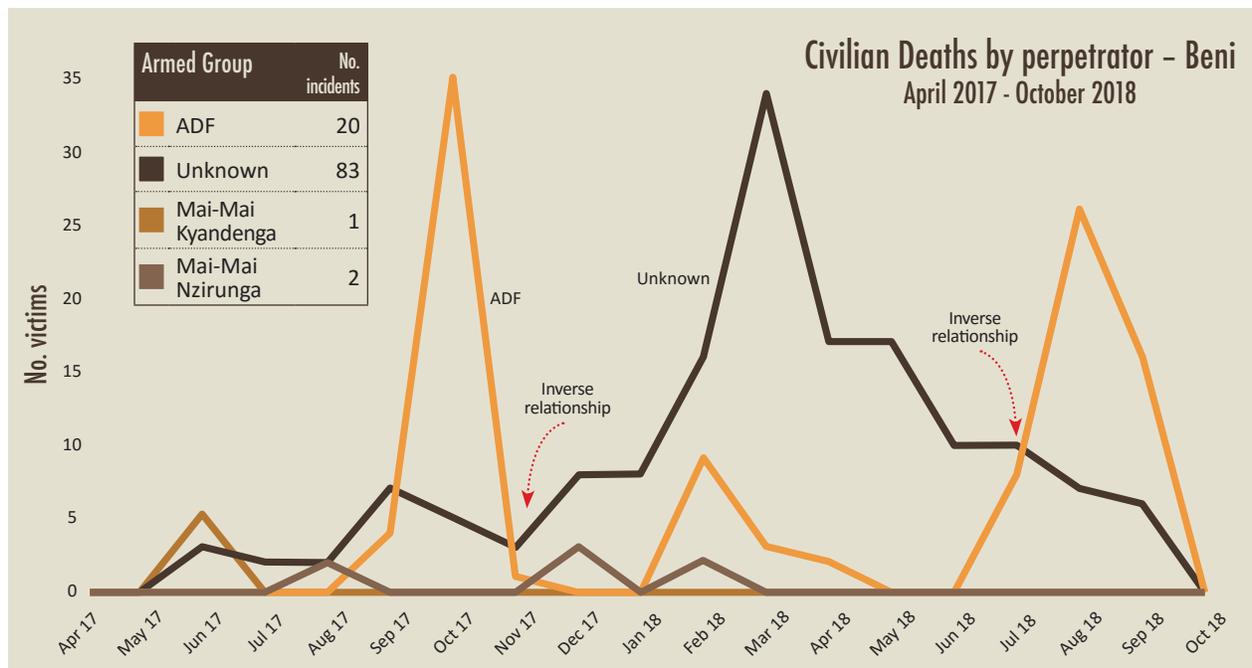


Figure 4: Civilian deaths in Beni territory by perpetrator

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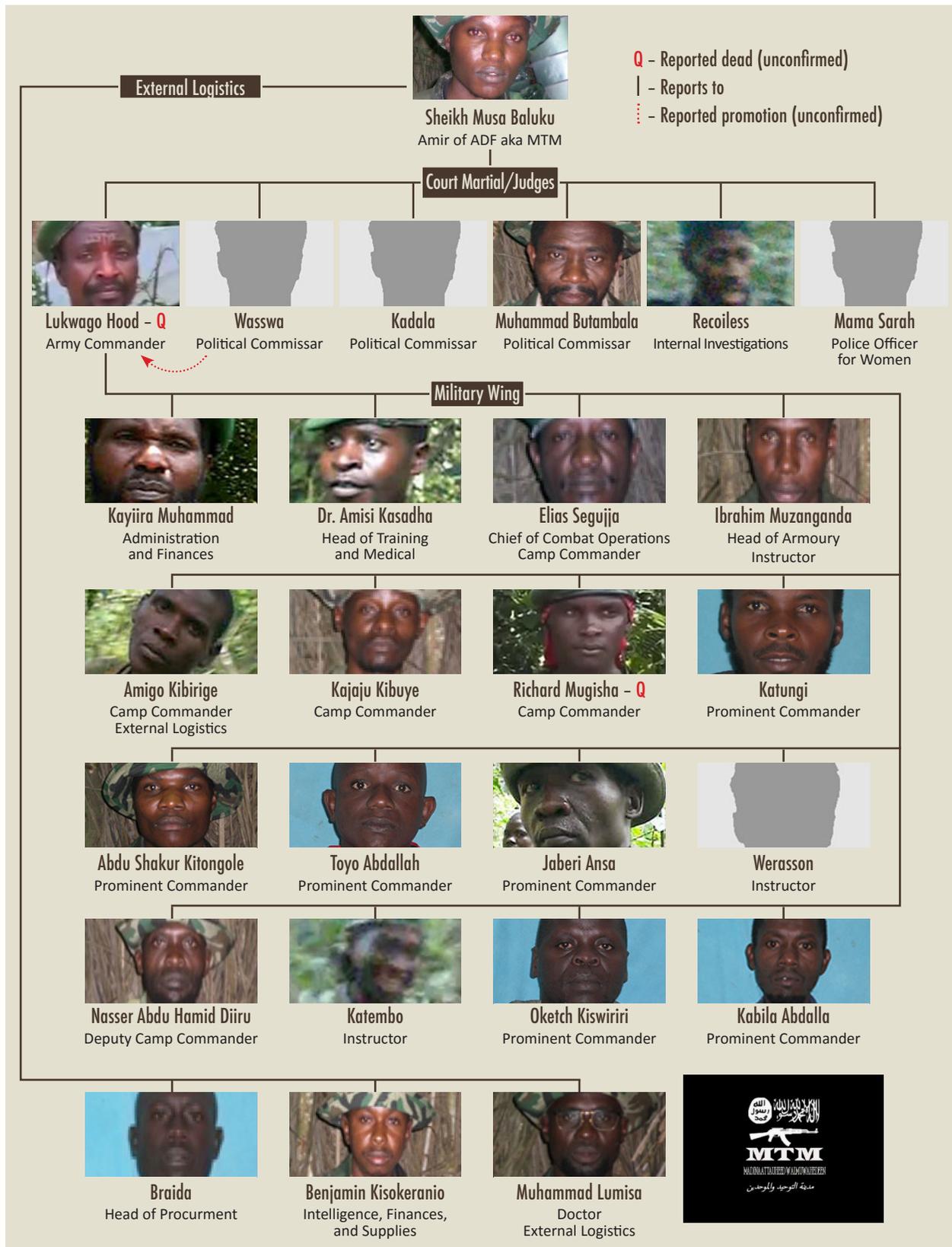


Figure 5: ADF structure³¹

The current structure of the ADF

Information about the ADF relies heavily on testimonies by defectors, most of whom were not privy to high-level decision-making, and almost all of whom were interviewed while in detention in Uganda. It is nonetheless clear that there are two main groups of the ADF, one in southern Beni territory, based in the flood plain of the Semuliki river around Mwalika (also spelled Mughalika) village; and the other in the so-called “Triangle of Death”, to the east of the Beni-Eringeti road. Some sources, especially among Congolese combatants and intermediaries for the group, suggest that there has been significant fragmentation within the group, with some factions no longer answering to ADF command. We were unable to confirm this, although it is a possibility; interviews with defectors who have returned to Uganda paint a picture of a cohesive organization.

According to several ex-combatants, the Mwalika camp is the transit point for new recruits and is an important relay point for supplies coming from Uganda and local markets there. Few of the killings of civilians since 2014 have taken place in this southern sector, suggesting that the ADF is intent on keeping a low profile here and maintaining good relations with local communities. Local security officials and the UN Group of Experts have reported close links between the ADF here and Congolese armed groups.³²

Since the arrest of Jamil Mukulu in April 2015 the group has been led by Musa Seka Baluku. The command structure (see Figure 5) is remarkably similar to how it was described to UN investigators in 2014. Hood Lukwago remains army commander, and almost all of the senior officers named by a defector in 2018 with close knowledge of the senior command, and corroborated by Ugandan intelligence officers, were listed four years ago as senior ADF leaders, although they have been shuffled between positions.

The group has a differentiated command, with commanders in charge of intelligence, recruitment, the armory, finances, and health care. As with other Islamist groups, such as Al-

Shabaab in Somalia, the judicial and executive branches of the organization are joined, with Baluku presiding over the sharia council, which judges internal disputes and provides overall guidance within the organization – one former combatant referred to Baluku as “Supreme Judge.”³³ The organization implemented their version of sharia law, with harsh punishment for crimes ranging from rumormongering to treason. Before the 2014 FARDC offensive, they had a prison, as well as implements of torture, such as a cabinet with nails (dubbed the “Iron Maiden” by UN investigators), as well as underground pits.³⁴

The ADF also runs a school system for children, where they teach the Quran, as well as – at least before the 2014 offensive – social studies, Kiswahili, English, Swahili, and science.³⁵ According to two combatants who defected before the offensive, they also had an Islamic bank, where all combatants were forced to keep their money.

As described below, there is a strict social hierarchy imposed within the ADF, with almost all positions of power held by Ugandan-born combatants who have been in the rebellion for many years. The rank-and-file male combatants are given certain rights – they can apply to their commander for a forced “marriage” with an abducted woman, for example, and are provided with food and health care.

Women have limited autonomy, are subjected to forced marriage – which often subjects women to repeated rapes by the same man over many months – and have to wear all-concealing burkas most of the time. Nonetheless, wives of senior commanders have certain privileges, and occupy important roles, such as teachers, nurses, and supervisors of the women’s camps. Women are often trained to use weapons and accompany men into battle.

At the bottom of the ADF social hierarchy are the *bazana*, a Luganda term signifying the mistress or wife of a prince. This group is composed largely of Congolese civilians kidnapped since 2011. According to UN investigators, after

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being abducted, “*bazana* were automatically imprisoned, lived in inhuman conditions, were forced to convert to Islam, were used for forced labor and were forced to marry ADF men.”³⁶

Over the years, the ADF has always maintained ties within the Ugandan Muslim diaspora. Jamil Mukulu used to travel to the United Kingdom on a British passport, lived in Nairobi, and maintained

financial interests in Tanzania. According to two defectors, members of the Muslim community in the United Kingdom sent money and facilitated recruitment for the ADF.³⁷ UN investigators have discovered, for example, evidence of Western Union transfers during 2013 and 2014 from people in the United Kingdom to ADF agents in eastern Congo totaling at least \$14,970.84.



The ADF training center at Mwalika camp in 2011 (Photo: UN Group of Experts, 2011)

Links between the ADF and other militant Islamist groups

Given the group's reclusiveness, and operational security, it has in the past been difficult to know to what degree the ADF had contacts with other jihadi groups in the region, and whether it will be able and wants to conduct operations outside of the rural areas around Beni. The Ugandan government has accused the ADF of being behind the assassinations of at least ten Muslim clerics in Uganda, a former ADF commander who had been integrated into the Ugandan army, as well as a senior prosecutor and police commander. However, the investigations into these cases have been controversial, with President Yoweri Museveni criticizing his own police force for being corrupt and infiltrated by criminals.³⁸ While five Muslim leaders were convicted for some of the killings, their trial was criticized by human rights defenders and leaders of the Muslim community.³⁹ The Ugandan government, which has positioned itself as a major ally of the United States in the war on terror, has in the past attributed other attacks to the ADF that have not been corroborated. It implicated the group in the July 2010 bombing of several restaurants in Kampala that killed 65 people, but there was no evidence to confirm that claim, and US investigators at the time expressed skepticism.⁴⁰

While UN experts have reported the alleged presence of Pakistani and Moroccan nationals in ADF camps (in 2009 and 2010), and of Arabic-speaking men (in 2013), repeated UN expert reports on the Congo since then – as well as their partner UN panels on Somalia and Al-Qaeda – have highlighted that they have found no evidence of any collaboration with other known Islamist groups.⁴¹ The June 2018 report from the UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo also concludes that there is no evidence of such links.⁴²

In this light, the arrest of Waleed Ahmed Zein, a Kenyan national and ISIS financial facilitator, and him being placed under US sanctions is significant – the first material evidence of links between the ADF and global jihadist networks. Zein was arrested in July 2018 on terrorism financing charges and was sanctioned by the US government in September 2018.⁴³ Kenyan police alleged that he

was responsible for moving over \$150,000 through a network linked to ISIS, which spanned numerous countries, including the Congo.⁴⁴ Ugandan officials claim that Zein was in touch with the ADF, and one ADF defector told CRG that a man by that name had sent her money in Kampala.⁴⁵ Sources close to the US government also confirmed that Zein had sent money to the ADF. It is, however, unclear how closely the ADF is currently in touch with those networks, and how much money or other material support has actually arrived via these channels.

In addition, as the analysis of the videos suggests (see over), the ADF appear to be slowly becoming more interested in broadcasting their messages to a wider, East African audience, and are attempting to present themselves within a broader setting of radical jihadi groups.

The Congo would be attractive for jihadi organizations largely to its weak state institutions and difficult terrain. The Muslim community, on the other hand, is a small minority, making up only around 3 percent of the population at the national level and in North Kivu province.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, there is at least one other armed group in the eastern Congo that CRG has been in contact with that frames its objectives in militant Islamist rhetoric.⁴⁷ It is unclear whether this anonymous armed group is in touch with the ADF.



Waleed Ahmed Zein

Analysis of videos

CRG has obtained a total of 35 videos uploaded to accounts associated with the ADF. Many of the videos were uploaded in September 2017 to a Facebook account, while others were posted on Telegram and YouTube. The videos depict a variety of scenes, including the aftermath of ADF attacks, propaganda messages tailored for recruitment, soccer games and martial arts demonstrations, the indoctrination of children, and surgery of wounded combatants.

The ADF does not have an official public relations branch, or even a spokesperson, in contrast with many other radical Islamist organizations and Congolese armed groups. Five former ADF combatants, all of whom had been in the organization for many years, were able to recognize 12 combatants featured in the videos, though some of the videos were edited, blurring faces to protect individual identities within the ADF. One ex-combatant recognized Moses, the eldest son of Jamil Mukulu, as well as one of Musa Baluku's wives, in the videos.

CRG was able to confirm some of the locations where the videos were taken. An FARDC commander and a civil society leader confirmed that one of the videos was taken in a former FARDC position in Parkingi, around 40 kilometers northeast of Beni town. An ADF defector and an FARDC officer said that the scenes from the inside the ADF camp correspond to what Madina camp looked like before the 2014 offensive. In general, the surroundings and presence of a large number of armed combatants speaking Luganda, Congolese Swahili, French, and Kinyarwanda make it likely that these videos were all taken in the Semuliki Valley of Beni territory.

It is difficult to date most of the videos. There are three exceptions: the Parkingi attack, in which ADF combatants accompanied by women and children attack an FARDC position in a village, can be seen in one of the videos took place on August 12, 2017. In another video, the narrator mentions the attack taking place "on the 12th." In one other video, a combatant makes a reference to Tanzanian President

John Magufuli, who was elected in November 2015.

The videos point toward the following conclusions:

Outreach to other radical Islamist groups

The group appears to be making a tentative attempt to align itself with other militant Islamist groups, calling itself *Madina at Tauheed Wau Mujahedeen* (MTM, "The city of monotheism and of those who affirm the same,"), or at least to rebrand themselves. Several videos feature a flag similar to that used by ISIS, Al-Shabaab, Al-Qaeda, and Boko Haram, and placing a strong emphasis on a radical, violent interpretation of the Quran.⁴⁸ In addition, a book produced by the publicity arm of the Islamic State was found by the FARDC on a dead ADF combatant in Beni in February 2018.

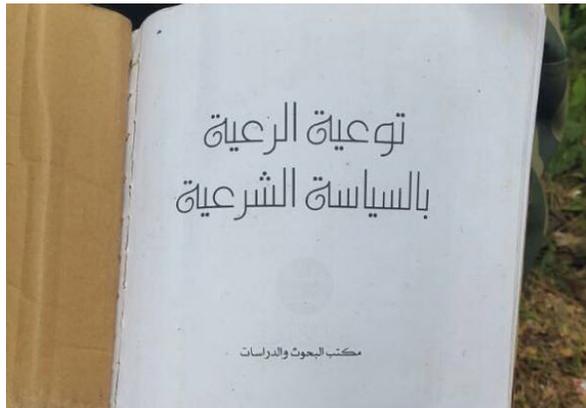
"All of you wherever you may be; Burundi, Tanzania, and other places, migrate and come join the struggle to ensure that you strive in Allah's cause and put a stop to the practiced polytheism by Infidels. MTM is the sole solution and we do not fear threats."



Top: ISIS Flag Bottom: MTM logo on videos.

Inside the ADF rebellion: A glimpse into the life and operations of a secretive jihadi armed group

The name MTM has been used by the ADF since at least 2012, when a stamp with that name was found on internal documents. At the time, the UN Group of Experts believed that MTM was the name of a camp, not an organization.⁴⁹ Recent ADF defectors have given contradictory information, some saying that MTM is still the name of Madina camp – that name has been used over time to connote different key ADF camps – while others say it is used interchangeably for ADF.⁵⁰



Book found by the FARDC on dead ADF combatant, February 2018.

This suggests that these rebranding efforts are aimed mostly at external consumption, and confirms previous reports of a heavily compartmentalized organization, with little information flowing between senior commanders and rank-and-file troops. Defectors also depict a secretive command that provides little information, even to junior commanders.

The radical interpretation of Islam has always been part of ADF's ideology, although its importance has fluctuated. The movement's origins stem from a split within the Muslim community in Kampala, with Mukulu leading a more radical, Salafist faction of the Talbigh sect that advocated a return to a stricter, more traditional Islam. The "SF" on the MTM stamp featured above may be a reference to the Salaf Foundation, which Mukulu helped establish in Kampala in 1992.⁵¹ Accounts of the ADF camps in the Ruwenzori foothills describe a strict disciplinary code, with a political commissar in charge of Islamic teaching in each camp, the separation of women, and the implementation of sharia law. Defectors

have spoken of the stoning of a man accused of adultery, a woman having her mouth sewn shut for offending someone, and the execution of a man for attempting to bribe a commander.⁵² Some of these cases are recent, while others date back a decade. Another recent defector confirmed earlier depictions strict discipline in the camp, the banning of radios, money, and even singing and dancing. He said that all members were forced to pray five times a day, and Islamic education was obligatory for all children.⁵³



MTM stamp from an internal ADF document in 2012

Mukulu himself has repeatedly given sermons, recorded on tape, exhorting ADF members to kill infidels and Muslim heretics, going back to at least 2005.⁵⁴ In a recording believed by a senior ADF defector to have been made in an ADF camp in the eastern Congo in 2014, he said:

This is why Allah The Most High said; these disbelievers are like cattle. In fact, they are further astray....So fight the polytheists collectively, as they fight you collectively. Even when they see us in villages as we pass by, they must report this to their forces FARDC, if he (the civilian) sees you, kill the polytheists collectively just as they fight you collectively, slaughter him or her, behead them immediately, never give it a second thought, do not hesitate to behead them.⁵⁵

This rhetoric appears to go back many years and lays out the ideological reasoning behind their attacks on civilians. In a recording dating to 2007, Mukulu says:

*Let infidels stay warned and in the know that all they do will not go unanswered by ADF. And whenever infidels will kill one ADF soldier, ADF shall kill or execute ten soldiers or civilians in retaliation. I hope infidels know this well and can attest to this already.*⁵⁶

Despite these statements, however, the ADF did not systematically massacre civilians during this period. It was the military pressure on the group during and after 2014, coupled with arrest of Jamil Mukulu in 2015, that appears to have contributed to attacks against the population, as was the case, albeit to a lesser degree, following offensives in 2005 and 2010. Mukulu had monopolized most contacts with external support networks, and when Musa Seka Baluku, their new leader, took over he faced a splintered organization on the brink of extermination. It is possible that the massacres, as well as the projection of militant Islamism, were in response to internal fragmentation or external military pressure. The military pressure may have led to reprisal attacks against the surrounding communities, who were perceived to have betrayed them, while Baluku might have sought to bolster his hold on the organization through an appeal to radicalism.

It is, nonetheless, important to highlight that this external projection of militant Islam is complicated by other features of the organization. Until recently, the ADF have collaborated frequently with local militias composed largely of non-Muslims. During some of the attacks allegedly perpetrated by the ADF, combatants drank or stole alcohol.⁵⁷ The ADF have consistently been able to espouse a extremist Islamist ideology – including calling for the killing of *kafiri* (unbelievers) – while at the same time engaging in opportunistic partnerships with local authorities, the FARDC, and other armed groups in the area, most of whom are Christian.

Past analyses of the ADF based on interviews with defectors have consistently argued that the military Islamist ideology is only one of the motivations of the movement alongside economic racketeering

and mere survival, and its importance has varied over time.⁵⁸ In a 2007 analysis for the World Bank, a majority of its combatants were thought to be Congolese “more focused on defending their lucrative business interests in the DRC than on achieving their political objectives in Uganda.”⁵⁹ A year later, when the ADF engaged in peace talks with the government, it was reported to be much more concerned with a socio-economic reintegration in Uganda than religious demands.⁶⁰

Reaching out beyond Uganda

While the senior leadership of the ADF – none of whom feature in the videos – appears still to be dominated by Ugandans, the propaganda in the videos is aimed at a much broader East African audience, employing Kiswahili, Luganda, Arabic, French, and Kinyarwanda. Kiswahili, the most widely spoken language in the region, is by far the most prevalent in the videos.

Several of the combatants featured in the videos are from Burundi. Their Kirundi, however, is slightly accented, suggesting that they come from the significant Muslim population in Bujumbura, for whom Swahili is often the mother tongue.

One of the videos, which has been featured widely on social media, features a light-skinned Tanzanian man – Ahmad “Jundi” Mahamood – speaking in Arabic. According to Ugandan authorities, he had been studying in South Africa before joining the ADF in 2017. The Ugandan police arrested his cousin, who was allegedly on his way to join Jundi in the Congo. Ugandan authorities have since reported that combatants from Mozambique and the United Kingdom have defected and have been arrested.

The role of women and children

Women and children play an important role in the organization. In two videos that pre-date the 2014 FARDC offensive, they can be seen as playing active roles in attacks, pillaging and bearing arms. This is similar to older footage of an uncertain date obtained by the Ugandan army and broadcast on Ugandan NTV in 2013, in which women combatants can be seen undergoing training and patrolling with weapons.⁶¹ In one video, the narrator is heard to be

excoriating Muslims who have not chosen the path of armed rebellion, saying, “Look at these women fighting for Allah, you men, you refuse to come!”⁶²

Life among the ADF is deeply patriarchal, and many of the ADF combatants are married to multiple women. While women are reportedly allowed to turn down requests of marriage – all of which must pass through the camp leadership – they can only do so several times and say that they felt forced to marry men.⁶³ According to defectors and previous studies, women serve in a wide variety of functions with the ADF, as guards, cooks, teachers, and nurses. There are few women in the military leadership, although the wives of ADF commanders have positions of authority within the camps, and some combatants say a woman named “Maman Sarah” is in charge of policing women in the group.⁶⁴ In a series of videos, women are seen providing medical care to what are presumably seriously wounded combatants.

A woman ADF defector reported: “It was very strict. We were not allowed to speak in loud voices and could not move about as we wanted. We had to dress in a burka usually and were kept apart from our children. We had no power at all.”⁶⁵

Many of the ADF agents used for obtaining supplies, information, and recruits in the region are women. They are perceived to be more loyal and less vulnerable to being targeted by security services. In at least one recent case, the children of the wife of an ADF officer were kept in the camps, ensuring her loyalty.

Some of the most sobering footage in the videos depicts the use of children by the ADF. One video, published before the Sukola I operations of 2014, features at least 70-80 children being indoctrinated and undergoing military training. In the same videos, women are present during the training sessions, grouped together in a separate part of the camp. Videos that appear to have been filmed since then depict very young children performing martial arts routines.

One woman who left the organization but whose children remained behind said: “It was depressing, when I saw [my six-year-old] he was talking about jihad and how he was going to do *shahada*, to die for Allah.”⁶⁶

An escalation of hostility toward local communities

Since its creation, the ADF has used violence against civilians as a military strategy. According to defectors, there are different rationales for this: to carry out recruitment, to undermine the legitimacy of the Ugandan and Congolese governments, to indoctrinate its own combatants, and to punish the local population for collaborating with their enemies.

The use of extreme violence against civilians was initially mostly deployed in Uganda. Between June and September 1997, the ADF killed 38 civilians in Bundibugyo district of western Uganda.⁶⁷ The following year, the group burned to death 50 students at the Kichwamba Technical College, in Kabarole district, and abducted at least 100 children in various attacks.⁶⁸ According to one source, the ADF killed up to a 1,000 people in Uganda between 1996 and 2001.⁶⁹ These attacks continued sporadically until the Ugandan army operations forced the group to move all of its bases into the Congo in 2000.

*Jihad is our way and we despise whoever hates it. Paradise we shall surely enter but all that is needed is remaining resilient.*⁷⁰

It is only recently, however, that it has used violence on a large scale against local Congolese communities. For most of its history, the ADF has relied on those communities in its economic activities, for intelligence, and for safe passage. For example, a comprehensive mapping report by the United Nations of human rights abuses in the Congo between 1993 and 2003 only documents two major human rights violations by the ADF – the mass abduction and killing of civilians in 2000, in the foothills of the Ruwenzori Mountains following an operation against them by the UPDF.⁷¹ The Human Rights Watch country reports for the Congo for 2008, 2009 and 2010 do not mention any major abuses carried out by the ADF, and the US State Department, in its own 2010 annual human rights report, merely states, “MONUSCO officials reported that members of ADF/NALU engaged in petty theft and extortion.”⁷² While the ADF was certainly guilty of abuses, these were not of major regional significance.

This began to change slowly in 2010, when the Congolese army and the FARDC launched Operation Ruwenzori against the ADF. The armed group – possibly in collaboration with local Mai-Mai and RCD/K-ML that were also mobilizing around the same period – launched a rash of abuses against civilians that took place, focused in the same area to the northeast of Beni that would become the epicenter of violence in 2014-2018.⁷³ Kidnappings became extremely frequent. According to civil society leaders, 660 people were kidnapped around Beni between 2010 and 2013, although at least some of the kidnappings appear to have been carried out by other actors.⁷⁴ The UN Group of Experts attributed these kidnappings to the ADF and armed groups associated with the RCD/K-ML. A 19 year-old who escaped in 2013 after spending six years with the ADF reported: “Before, the army and the ADF coexisted very well. Since the government launched operations against ADF in 2010, they have become aggressive.”⁷⁵

The videos here appear to illustrate a shift in the rhetoric employed by the movement, from a war against the Ugandan government to a broader struggle for Islam. This trend was described by a combatant who defected in 2016: “Before, the ADF attacked Uganda. It was a political struggle, they killed civilians within that context. Now, they kill the Congolese who they used to live with.”⁷⁶ In one of the videos (#2) depicting a soccer game on Eid, a combatant is asked “What makes you happy on this Eid?” He answers, laughing: “Nothing except that fact that in the end, we just have to slaughter the *kafir*s [unbelievers].” In other videos (#3), the narrator films dead bodies of FARDC soldiers, saying that the *kafir*s were trying to fight Islam. In another video (#1), a combatant says: “We slaughter infidels who hate the Quran and we do the same to hypocrites too.”

Conclusion

The ADF play an important role in armed conflict around Beni, where at least 1,000 civilians have been killed since October 2014. This report has provided an analysis of the organization based on a new trove of videos released by the organization, interviews with former combatants and members of the Congolese and Ugandan security services, and publicly available information.

The resulting picture is of an organization that is in flux, under significant military pressure, and undergoing internal ideological and organizational shifts. The videos, together with the arrest of an ISIS financial facilitator in Kenya, suggest that the group is trying to align itself with the broader jihadi movement in East Africa, although it is difficult to know how deep and operational these connections are.

Dismantling the ADF, and tackling the diverse actors involved in violence around Beni, will require a comprehensive approach. The Congolese army, together with the United Nations and partners in the region, will need to provide the resources necessary for its troops to conduct counterinsurgency operations that include a clear strategy for protecting civilians. Given the deep roots of the ADF and other armed groups in local society, however, the government will have to be able to arrest business people, politicians, and army officers involved in the abuses, and then develop a plan for addressing the most important grievances around social exclusion, access to land, and the management of customary power.

At the regional level, the Ugandan government and its partners will have to invest efforts to prevent the radicalization of its youth, reconcile factions within the Muslim community, and arrest members of regional jihadi networks. All of this will require more research to understand whether the ADF is a threat to other countries in the region, how many recruits it has been able to mobilize in recent years, and its links to local armed groups and regional Islamist organizations.

Endnotes

- ¹ The Kivu Security Tracker, a project managed by the Congo Research Group and Human Rights Watch, has documented the killing of 1,229 people in North and South Kivu since May 2017. The ADF is responsible for at least 105 of those.
- ² CRG directly interviewed four former ADF combatants or dependents in Kampala and Beni, and obtained interview notes, transcripts, or audio recordings of 12 other interviews. The defectors included nine former ADF members who had left the group in the past four years.
- ³ International Crisis Group, “The ADF-NALU’s Lost Rebellion,” *Policy Briefing/Africa Briefing* 93, 2012.
- ⁴ World Almanach of Islamism, “Tablighi Jamaat,” American Foreign Policy Council, July 14, 2011; Fred Burton and Scott Stewart, “Tablighi Jama’at: An Indirect Line to Terrorism,” *Strator Worldview Report*, 2009; Alex Alexiev, “Tablighi Jamaat: Jihad’s Stealthy Legions,” *Middle East Quarterly*. 12 (1): 3–11.
- ⁵ Bruce Kapferer, and Bjørn Enge Bertelsen, eds. *Crisis of the State: War and Social Upheaval*. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009), p. 104; Risdal Kasasira, “Who is ADF’s Jamil Mukulu?” *Daily Monitor*, August 7, 2015; Mike Ssegawa, “The aftermath of the attack on Uganda Muslim Supreme Council,” *Daily Monitor*, August 4, 2015.
- ⁶ Risdal Kasasira, “Who is ADF’s Jamil Mukulu?” *Daily Monitor*, August 7, 2015.
- ⁷ International Crisis Group, 2012, op cit., fn 19.
- ⁸ Congo Research Group, “Governing from the Shadows: Armed Politics in Beni Territory,” forthcoming report.
- ⁹ The sidelining of Hassan al-Turabi, who had been in touch with the ADF, within the Sudanese ruling National Congress Party in 1999 was another factor.
- ¹⁰ Interview with former ADF member, Kampala, June 19, 2017. Based on other interviews, single women were segregated from men in the camps, but other women lived with their husbands and interacted with men.
- ¹¹ UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts*, UN Doc S/2014/42 (January 23, 2014), p. 22.
- ¹² Kristof Titeca and Koen Vlassenroot, “Rebels without borders in the Rwenzori borderland? A biography of the Allied Democratic Forces, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*,” 6:1, 154-176 (2012); UN Group of Experts on the Congo, “Letter dated 22 January 2014 from the Coordinator of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council,” January 23, 2014.
- ¹³ The UN Group of Experts Report from July 2013 estimates their strength at 800-1,200. The same body published an internal ADF document in its January 2015 report putting their strength at 110, a figure confirmed to the UN by ex-combatants.
- ¹⁴ Congo Research Group, “Mass Killings in Beni Territory: Political Violence, Cover Ups, and Cooptation,” September 2017; UN Group of Experts, *Final Report the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2136*, UN Doc S/2016/644, Annex 57.
- ¹⁵ Congo Research Group, “Mass Killings in Beni Territory: Political Violence, Cover Ups, and Cooptation,” September 2017.
- ¹⁶ See UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2136 (2014)*, UN Doc S/2015/19 (January 12, 2015), pp. 4-12; and UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 7 of Security Council resolution 2198 (2015)*, UN Doc S/2016/466.
- ¹⁷ Congo Research Group, “Qui sont les tueurs de Beni?” March 2016.
- ¹⁸ UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2136 (2014)*, UN Doc S/2015/19 (January 12, 2015), pp. 4-12.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 6.
- ²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 7.
- ²¹ Three interviews with UN and FARDC officials in Beni and Goma, November-December 2015.
- ²² UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts*, UN Doc S/2015/1102 (December 28, 2016), p. 11; UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts*, UN Doc S/2018/531 (June 4, 2018), p. 9.
- ²³ UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2136 (2014)*, UN Doc S/2015/19 (January 12, 2015), p. 69.

- ²⁴ UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2078 (2012)*, UN Doc S/2013/42 (January 23, 2013).
- ²⁵ All incidents published on the Kivu Security Tracker site are confirmed by at least three independent and reliable sources by KST focal points, in collaboration with KST management.
- ²⁶ Telephone interviews with two United Nations officials in Beni, June 21, 2018; June 28, 2018; August 30, 2018; interview with local militia member May 30, 2018 and September 23, 2018.
- ²⁷ Fiston Mahamba, “Congo launches offensive against Ugandan rebels in its east,” *Reuters*, January 14, 2018.
- ²⁸ “Offensive générale lancée contre les ADF (FARDC),” *Top Congo*, January 13, 2018.
- ²⁹ CRG interviews with 3 senior FARDC officers deployed against the ADF around Beni, June 2018.
- ³⁰ Kivu Security Tracker
- ³¹ This is based on one CRG interview with a former ADF combatant with access to senior commanders. Additional information was obtained through interviews conducted by Bridgeway Foundation staff with four other recent, senior ADF defectors.
- ³² Interview with senior Congolese security official in London, June 2018; interview with FARDC officer in Beni, July 2018.
- ³³ According to UN investigators, the ADF used to have two courts, a lower one presided by Baluku and an upper one led by Mukulu. It is unclear whether these have been fused since Mukulu’s arrest. UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2136 (2014)*, UN Doc S/2015/19, op. cit., p. 65
- ³⁴ UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Mid-term report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2136 (2014)*, UN Doc S/2014/428 (June 25, 2014), p. 51.
- ³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 50.
- ³⁶ UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2136 (2014)*, UN Doc S/2015/19, op. cit., p. 29.
- ³⁷ Interview with former ADF member, Kampala, June 19, 2017; interview with former ADF member, Kampala, January 2016.
- ³⁸ Charles Mpagi Mwanguhya, “Clean up your house, Museveni tells police over Kaweesi killing,” *The East African*, March 20, 2017. The Directorate of Public Prosecutions also criticized the police for pursuing false leads and arrested a slew of suspects without evidence.
- ³⁹ “Uganda jails Muslim leader Sheikh Kamoga over ‘terror’,” *Al Jazeera*, August 25, 2017.
- ⁴⁰ Interview with US official in Kampala, August 2010.
- ⁴¹ The most recent such assessment was made in the May 2016 report by the UN Group of Experts on the Congo. It echoed reports from 2015, 2014, and 2013.
- ⁴² UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Final report of the Group of Experts*, UN Doc S/2018/531 (June 4, 2018), p. 8.
- ⁴³ Kevin Kelley, “US Sanctions Waleed Zein, the Kenyan accused of financing ISIS,” *Daily Nation*, September 9, 2018.
- ⁴⁴ Kenyan High Court, “Republic v Halima Adan Ali & another [2018] KLR,” September 3, 2018.
- ⁴⁵ Interview with former ADF member, Kampala, June 19, 2017.
- ⁴⁶ CRG/BERCI nationwide survey, 2016.
- ⁴⁷ Interviews by CRG consultant in Goma and Beni in 2016 and 2017.
- ⁴⁸ Three videos feature this flag, and the MTM emblem can be seen in over a dozen videos.
- ⁴⁹ See UN Group of Experts on the DR Congo, *Midterm report of the Group of Experts on the DRC submitted in accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 2078 (2012)*, UN Doc S/2013/433 (July 19, 2013), p. 21.
- ⁵⁰ Interview with two separate ADF defectors in Kampala, February 6, 2018.
- ⁵¹ Olivier Roy and Antoine Sfeir, *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 380.
- ⁵² Interview with former ADF member, Kampala, June 19, 2017; interview with ADF defector, Beni, March 12, 2016.
- ⁵³ Interviews with two ADF defectors in Beni, March 12, 2016; Dan Fahey, “Rebel Governance in Eastern Congo: The Case of the Allied Democratic Forces” (paper presented at the 6th European Conference on African Studies, Paris, July 10, 2015).
- ⁵⁴ Fawzia Sheikh, “New Danger From Ugandan Rebel Group?” Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 2005.
- ⁵⁵ Recording on file with CRG.
- ⁵⁶ Recording archived with CRG.

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- ⁵⁷ Interview with FARDC officer in Oicha, May 30, 2018; interview with MONUSCO official in Beni, June 21, 2018.
- ⁵⁸ Kristof Titeca and Koen Vlassenroot. "Rebels without borders in the Rwenzori borderland? A biography of the Allied Democratic Forces," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* (2012), 6:1, 154-176; Lindsay Scorgie, "Peripheral Pariah or Regional Rebel? The Allied Democratic Forces and the Uganda/Congo Borderland," *The Round Table* (2011), 100:412, 79-93.
- ⁵⁹ Hans Romkema, *Opportunities and Constraints for the Disarmament & Repatriation of Foreign Armed Groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo: The cases of the FDLR, FNL and ADF/NALU*. (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2007), p. 8.
- ⁶⁰ Titeca and Vlassenroot, 2012, op cit.
- ⁶¹ See "Inside ADF Rebel Camps," broadcast by NTV on August 24, 2013.
- ⁶² Video titled "MTM attacking Parkingi on the 12th."
- ⁶³ Fahey, 2015, op cit, pp. 11.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 10-12.
- ⁶⁵ Interview with ADF defector in Kampala, February 6, 2018.
- ⁶⁶ Interview with ADF defector in Kampala, February 6, 2018.
- ⁶⁷ Gérard Prunier, "L'Ouganda et les guerres congolaises," *Politique africaine* (1999), vol. 75, no. 3, pp. 43-59.
- ⁶⁸ International Crisis Group, "The ADF-NALU's Lost Rebellion," *Policy Briefing/Africa briefing* 93, 2012, p. 5.
- ⁶⁹ Hans Romkema, *Opportunities and Constraints for the Disarmament & Repatriation of Foreign Armed Groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo: The cases of the FDLR, FNL and ADF/NALU*. (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2007), p. 65.
- ⁷⁰ MTM video on file with CRG.
- ⁷¹ United Nations High Commission for Human Rights, *Report of the Mapping Exercise documenting the most serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law committed within the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo between March 1993 and June 2003*. (Geneva: OHCHR, August 2010), p. 174.
- ⁷² US State Department, 2010 Human Rights Report: Democratic Republic of the Congo: accessed on May 21, 2018, <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/af/154340.htm>
- ⁷³ For example, see "Nord-Kivu: enlèvements et exactions sommaires dans le territoire de Béni," *Radio Okapi*, October 4, 2010.
- ⁷⁴ "RDC: dans la région de Beni, les ADF-Nalu sèment la terreur," *Radio France Internationale*, December 17, 2013; Congo Research Group, "Mass Killings in Beni Territory: Political Violence, Cover Ups, and Cooptation," September 2017, p. 36.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Interview with defector in Beni, February 12, 2016.

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