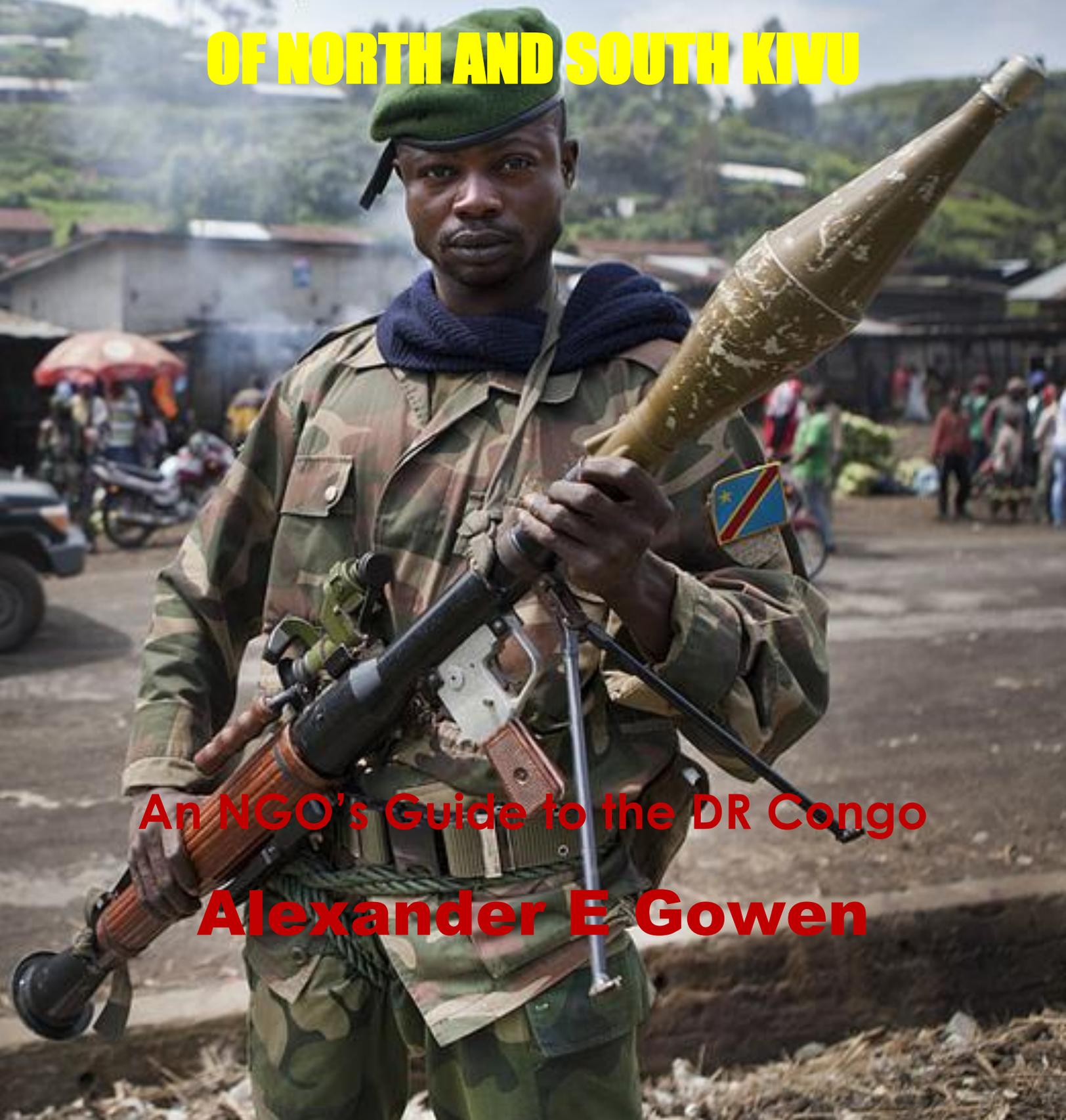


# **COMBATANTS** **OF NORTH AND SOUTH KIVU**

**An NGO's Guide to the DR Congo**  
**Alexander E Gowen**





***“The country is all sorts of fucked-up,  
but saving the people is worth my life.”***

Alex Gowen, November 26, 2012

Special thanks to my wife, Sarah, for her encouragement and support, JD Stier of the Enough Project ([www.EnoughProject.org](http://www.EnoughProject.org)) for the use of his “Root of the Conflict” article, and all the photographers who provided their images. Without your help this book would not have been possible.

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# About this Book

*Combatants of North and South Kivu* provides vital data which will help aid agency personnel identify domestic and international militias, as well as regular armies, which are involved in the conflict in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. Though attempts have been made to keep the information up-to-date, the ever-changing nature of the combatants makes it impossible to ensure accuracy. Militias have been known to organize, disband, and fragment – sometimes on a weekly basis – as the conflict shifts from one area of the DR Congo to another.

I welcome you to report any inaccuracies so that I make the necessary changes. Since this is a downloadable document, your input will ensure that all users will have the best and most current information available on the militia groups they may encounter on aid missions to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Please remember that all military personnel, with the exclusion of MONUSCO, should be considered hostile and avoided if possible. Even the regular Congolese army (FARDC) has been known to commit atrocities against their own people. I wish you the best of luck on your mission to help the people of the DRC.

Alexander Eugene Gowen  
Director, The Fishermen



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# Roots of the Crisis

by the Enough Project ([www.enoughproject.org](http://www.enoughproject.org))

The crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or DRC, has many layers. Since the late 19th century, Congo's vast natural resources have continually attracted violent intervention from abroad and stoked internal conflicts. Congo's government has never effectively represented or protected its people, and all too often has served as a source of unchecked power and personal enrichment for select individuals. The ongoing crisis in eastern Congo is rooted both in this history of predation and corruption, and the continuing aftermath of the 1994 genocide in neighboring Rwanda. Today, Congo continues to struggle with an explosive combination of conflicts at the local, regional and national levels.

## Colonialism and Independence

Congo experienced a brutal colonial history. Beginning in the 1880s, King Leopold II of Belgium took personal control of the territory, ruthlessly exploiting Congo's vast natural resources through harsh autocratic rule which included widespread slave labor. Under massive pressure following an international outcry against these practices, Leopold transferred control of the "Congo Free State" to the Belgian government in 1908.

Following an upsurge in nationalist sentiment and growing demands for independence, Belgium accepted Congo's independence in June 1960. Patrice Lumumba became Prime Minister and Joseph Kasavubu President. Within two weeks of independence, however, Congo's new government faced a national mutiny from the army and threats from a variety of secessionist movements.

Cold War tensions increasingly played into Congo's leadership struggle, with the U.S. fearing that the charismatic Lumumba and his supporters would allow the break-up of Congo and Soviet domination of central Africa. With the backing of both the U.S. and Belgium, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba, who was later arrested and, with active U.S. and Belgian complicity, handed over to his enemies. Lumumba was assassinated in 1961.

## Dictatorship

Mobutu Sese Seko began his 32-year rule in 1965 when he ousted President Kasavubu in a coup with support from both the United States and Belgium. Mobutu brutally quelled new rebellions and personally dominated Congo. In 1971, Mobutu changed the name of the country to Zaire. He systematically used the country's mineral wealth to co-opt potential rivals, and to enrich himself and his allies through a patronage system so wildly corrupt that many came to view Zaire as a "kleptocracy" – a country with a government whose principal aim was to loot public goods.

Mobutu is conservatively estimated to have stolen at least \$5 billion from his country, much of it moved to international banks and investments. With the end of the Cold War, his health failing, the suspension of international economic aid to Congo, and the global collapse of raw commodity prices, Mobutu began to lose his grip on power. Following the Rwandan genocide in 1994, Mobutu provided shelter and protection not only to the two million Rwandan refugees who had fled to eastern Congo, but also to the Rwandan Hutu army and militias that directed the genocide. This provoked Rwanda and Uganda to invade Congo in July 1996 in pursuit of Hutu military forces. The ailing Mobutu was finally ousted from Kinshasa in May 1997, and Congolese rebel leader Laurent-Désiré Kabila took over the country.

## **Regional Warfare**

War broke out again in August 1998 when President Kabila attempted to gain independence from his regional backers and moved to purge Rwandan elements from his government. Rwanda and Uganda re-invaded Congo, supporting rebel proxies against Kabila. While Rwandan forces had previously focused primarily on pursuing the Hutus who committed the genocide, both Rwandan and Ugandan forces increasingly became interested in controlling and exploiting the mineral-rich eastern provinces of Congo. Kabila called on Zimbabwe, Angola, and Namibia for help, and, with their military support, managed to stop the invasion. During this period, Congo was home to military forces from across the continent, almost all of which brutalized civilians while using their deployment as a pretext to loot vast natural resources and terrorize civilians. By mid-1999, a front line was stabilized and Congo was effectively cut into two.

A ceasefire agreement was reached and signed in Lusaka in July 1999. Although a UN peacekeeping force, known by its French acronym MONUC, was authorized to monitor the agreement, the conflict continued as all sides violated the accord. President Kabila was assassinated in January 2001 and his son, Joseph Kabila, assumed the presidency.

In 2002 peace negotiations were re-launched, and in December of that year all Congolese belligerents, civil society groups, and unarmed opposition movements signed an agreement in South Africa. By the end of 2002, Angolan, Zimbabwean, Rwandan, and Ugandan troops had fully withdrawn from Congo. Rapid progress was made on paper, but the situation for civilians on the ground, especially women, remained dire. Although open fighting between the government and rebels became rare, both sides continued to use sexual violence as a military tactic against civilians, using its trauma to terrorize, control, and, in some cases, ethnically cleanse targeted populations.

## **Continued Conflict and Elections**

Rebel groups, including dissident members of former rebel movements and untamed militias, continued to fight the government and local enemies, often seeking to maintain or establish control of mineral wealth. MONUC's efforts to protect civilians were reinvigorated in September

2004 with the expansion of its force from 10,800 to 16,700 troops, and the granting of a more aggressive mandate which allowed for more robust civilian protection. However, the sustained level of violence throughout 2004 combined with the large number of people who continued to flee their homes to avoid violence, led the UN in March 2005 to describe the situation in eastern Congo as the "world's worst humanitarian crisis."

Following a national election conducted with substantial international support, Joseph Kabila was sworn in as the first democratically elected president since Congolese independence on December 6, 2006. While this landmark election was largely free of major violence and serious irregularities, the country still has many challenges to surmount. The new government is weak and barely functioning in many respects, and faces persistent political and security challenges. Predatory armed groups, including Rwandan rebels and the Congolese army, continue to prowl eastern Congo with impunity. Congolese women and girls in particular bear the vicious brunt of this crisis.

## **Humanitarian Crisis**

The International Rescue Committee reports that since the end of the first war in the Congo in 1998, 5.4 million people have died (more than 8 percent of the Congo's population of 66 million). Every month, 45,000 more Congolese—half of them children—die from hunger, preventable disease, and other consequences of violence and displacement. Over one million people have fled their homes within Congo as a result of the ongoing conflict. Eastern Congo right now is perhaps the worst place in the world to be a woman. Used as a weapon of war, rape in Congo exists on a scale seen nowhere else in the world. Often successful in its intent to destroy and exterminate, rape as a weapon of war is causing the near total destruction of women, their families, and their communities.

## **Recent Events**

Rebel forces under the command of Laurent Nkunda, known as the National Congress for the Defense of People, or CNDP, have taken control of a swathe of territory in eastern Congo that remains beyond the control of the Congolese government and even the UN peacekeeping force. Nkunda claims to be acting to protect his fellow ethnic Tutsis from Rwandan Hutu militias, and he has received substantial support from neighboring Rwanda, but he has political ambitions of his own in Congo and has threatened to take the fight all the way to the capital, Kinshasa. A peace agreement between the Congolese government, the CNDP, and more than 20 other armed groups effectively collapsed late in 2008.

The current crisis in eastern Congo illustrates the historical patterns at the root of this conflict: as long as the Congolese government cannot control its territory, provide basic services or effectively protect its population, and as long as armed groups are able to prosper from illicit trade in natural resources and complex regional alliances, eastern Congo will remain a battlefield

and innocent civilians will pay a tragically high cost.

# **National and International Regular Armies and Police Forces**



# **DRC Fact Sheet: Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC)/ Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo**



*Congolese government soldiers (FARDC) patrol the streets of Minova under their control Sunday Nov. 25, 2012. Associated Press/Jerome Delay*



*Congolese government soldiers (FARDC) in Minova, which is under their control Sunday Nov. 25, 2012. Associated Press/Jerome Delay*



Flag of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

## NCO Ranks



Private First Class



Corporal



Sergeant



Senior Sergeant



Sergeant Major

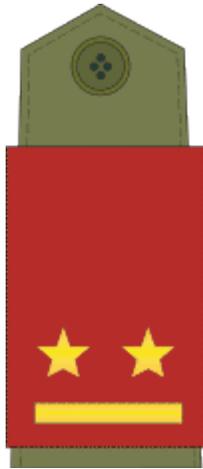


Senior Sergeant Major

# Officer Ranks



Second Lieutenant



First Lieutenant



Captain



Major



Lieutenant Colonel



Colonel



Brigadier General



Major General



Lieutenant General

<b>Identification</b>	Mixture of former militia members. Troops are relatively well-dressed and trained professional soldiers with flag/insignia of DRC. Weapons are maintained and are more-or-less consistent in issue. Access to heavy weapons including APCs, helicopters, and tanks (combination of Western, Chinese, and Soviet-era).
<b>Nationality</b>	Democratic Republic of the Congo.
<b>Alliances</b>	Though there have been numerous defections, FARDC remains firmly in the control of President Kabila and MoD Mwando.
<b>Leader</b>	Minister of Defense Charles Mwando.
<b>Established</b>	1960
<b>History/Problems</b>	Constant reshuffling of chain-of-command due to political unrest, questionable allegiances, and poor leadership. Top-heavy command staff, frequently unpaid/unfed soldiers, overspending on useless advanced weapons, and wide-spread corruption resulting in insubordination among the ranks, desertion, and atrocities equal to those committed by rebel forces.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	FARDC operates in limited capacity throughout both North and South Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	144,000 – 159,000
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Practice caution when approaching, or being approached by, FARDC troops. Many have reported excessive bribes, beatings, and even murders committed by FARDC personnel.

# DRC Fact Sheet: Ugandan People's Defense Force (UPDF)





Flag of Uganda

Sous-Officier / NCO



Lance Corporal



Corporal



Sergeant



Staff Sergeant



Warrant Officer Class II



Warrant Officer Class I

Officier / Officer



Second Lieutenant



Lieutenant



Captain



Major



Lieutenant Colonel



Colonel



Brigadier



Major General



Lieutenant General



General

<b>Identification</b>	Troops are well-dressed and trained professional soldiers with flag/insignia of Uganda. Weapons are maintained and are more-or-less consistent in issue. Access to heavy weapons including APCs, helicopters, and tanks (combination of Western, Soviet/Russian, Chinese, and Polish).
<b>Nationality</b>	Uganda.
<b>Alliances</b>	United States, AMISOM
<b>Leader/s</b>	General Katumba Wamala.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Defense of the country of Uganda.
<b>Established</b>	October 9, 1962.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Uganda achieved independence from Great Britain in 1962. After numerous internal power struggles, brutal dictators such as Idi Amin who ruled from 1971 – 1979, and border disputes with neighboring countries, the National Resistance Army under the leadership of Yoweri Museveni, seized power and stabilized Uganda in 1986. In 1995 after the enactment of the Ugandan Constitution, the NRA was renamed the Ugandan People’s Defense Force. Was briefly involved in armed incursions into the DR Congo in 2000 but withdrew in 2003.</p> <p>The UPDF participates in the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance program with the United States, the African Union Mission in Somalia, as well as Operation Iron Fist against LRA troops in Sudan.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Uganda, DR Congo, Sudan, and Somalia.
<b>Strength</b>	40,000 – 45,000.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Continues to train with US military forces.

## **DRC Fact Sheet: Rwandan Defense Force (RDF)**





**Flag of Rwanda**

Sous-Officier / NCO



Lance Corporal



Corporal



Sergeant



Staff Sergeant



Warrant Officer II



Warrant Officer I

Officier / Officer



Second Lieutenant



First Lieutenant



Captain



Major



Lieutenant Colonel



Colonel



Brigadier General



Major General



Lieutenant General



General

<b>Identification</b>	Troops are well-dressed and trained professional soldiers, typically with flag/insignia of Rwanda. Weapons are maintained and are more-or-less consistent in issue. Access to heavy weapons including APCs, helicopters, and tanks (combination of Western and Soviet/Russian).
<b>Nationality</b>	Rwanda.
<b>Alliances</b>	N/A
<b>Leader/s</b>	General James Kabarebe.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Defense of the country of Rwanda, occupation of eastern DR Congo.
<b>Established</b>	1962. Current form established in 1994.
<b>History/Problems</b>	The Rwandan Defense Force (formerly the Rwandan Patriotic Front) was established in 1994 after the genocide and is composed primarily of former members of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). Participated extensively in the persecution of Rwandan Hutus.  Trained various militias engaged in the DR Congo and has fielded regular army units inside Congolese territory.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Rwanda, eastern DR Congo.
<b>Strength</b>	33,000 plus 2,000 paramilitary.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Committed numerous atrocities in the DR Congo as well as during the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

# DRC Fact Sheet: Police Nationale du Congo (PNC)



<b>Identification</b>	Troops are well-dressed and usually readily-identified as police. Weapons are maintained and are more-or-less consistent in issue.
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Congolese government.
<b>Leader/s</b>	General John Numbi.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Law Enforcement for the country of DR Congo.
<b>Established</b>	April 22, 1997.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Created under Kabila in 1997 and consists of six departments: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Guard Brigade (Brigade de Garde): protection of embassies, government offices, and ministries.</li> <li>2) Criminal Police.</li> <li>3) Directorate of Safety and General Information (Direction des Renseignements Generaux et Securite): investigation, drug enforcement, and intelligence.</li> <li>4) Traffic Police.</li> <li>5) Quick Reaction Police: riot control.</li> <li>6) Provincial Inspections: rural police.</li> </ol>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	DR Congo.
<b>Strength</b>	Between 100,000 and 250,000.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Committed numerous atrocities against civilians. Known for shake down of local population and aid workers.

**DRC Fact Sheet: United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO)**



<b>Identification</b>	Troops are well-dressed and readily-identified as UN Security (UN Blue headgear and arm badge). Weapons are superior, well-maintained, and are consistent with the country of the unit's origin.
<b>Nationality</b>	Algeria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Canada, China, Czech Republic, Egypt, France, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Jordan, Kenya, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Serbia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Uruguay, Yemen and Zambia.
<b>Alliances</b>	UN, Congolese government.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Force Commander Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Stabilization of eastern DR Congo.
<b>Established</b>	July 1, 2010.
<b>History/Problems</b>	MONUSCO took over from an earlier UN peacekeeping operation – the United Nations Organization Mission in Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) – on 1 July 2010. The new mission has been authorized to use all necessary means to carry out its mandate relating, among other things, to the protection of civilians, humanitarian personnel and human rights defenders under imminent threat of physical violence and to support the Government of the DRC in its stabilization and peace consolidation efforts.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	DR Congo.
<b>Strength</b>	21,474 total uniformed personnel. 19,551 military personnel. 522 military observers. 1,401 police (including formed units). 998 international civilian personnel. 2,970 local civilian staff. 584 United Nations Volunteers.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	Various.

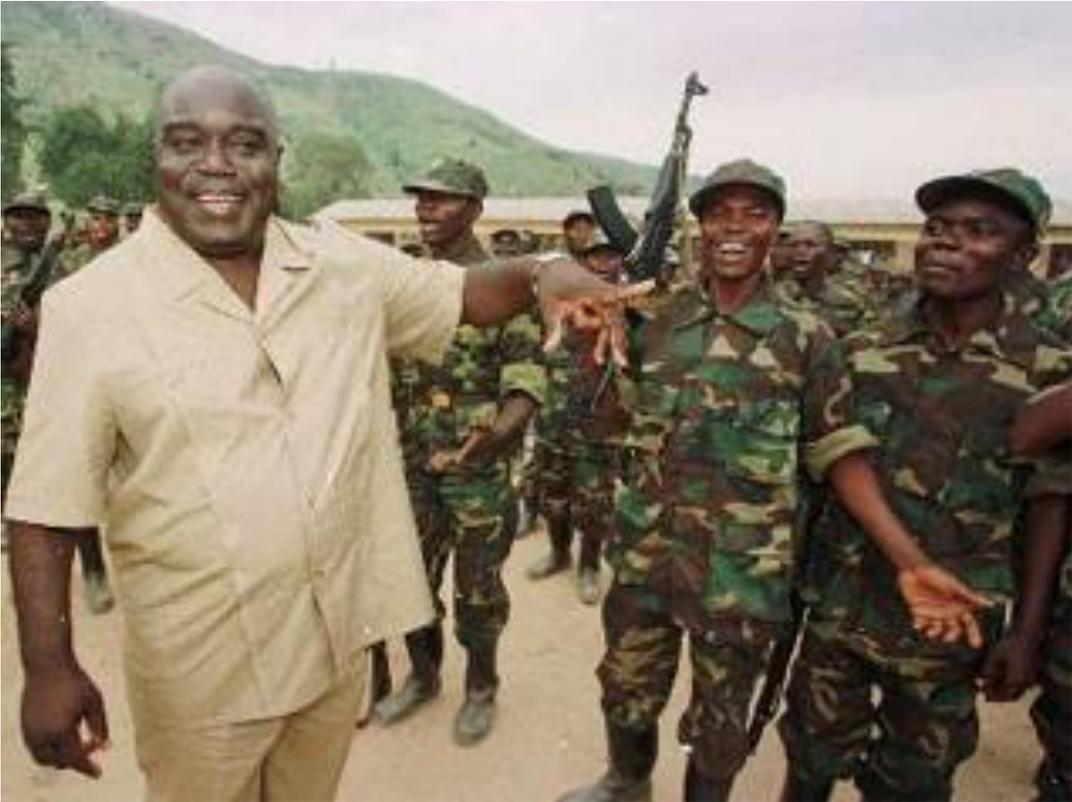
**Notes**



# **International Militias**



# DRC Fact Sheet: Alliance des Forces Démocratique pour la Libération du Congo (AFDL)



*Former President Kabila with AFDL troops in Uvira, Zaire, 1997. Credit: AP/Jean-Marc Bouju*

<b>Identification</b>	N/A
<b>Nationality</b>	Zaire
<b>Alliances</b>	Angola, Rwanda, Uganda
<b>Leader</b>	Laurent-Desire Kabila
<b>Established</b>	October 7, 1996
<b>History/Problems</b>	Backed by Angola, Rwanda, and Uganda with further support from Burundi, rebels from southern Sudan, and security forces from the province of Katanga to oust then-dictator of Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko. Consisted of regrouped Tutsi militias and the <i>Parti de la Revolution Populaire (PRP)</i> , <i>National Council of Resistance for Democracy (CNRD)</i> led by Andre Kissasse Ngandu, the <i>Revolutionary Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MRLZ)</i> led by Anselme Masusu Nindaga, and the <i>Democratic Alliance of the People (ADP)</i> , led by Deogratias Bugera ('Douglas'). Disbanded on May 17, 1997, after Kabila declared himself President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	N/A
<b>Strength</b>	N/A
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	N/A
<b>Notes</b>	AFDL became the FARDC after Kabila declared President in 1997.

# DRC Fact Sheet: Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda (FDLR)



*FDLR soldier. Photo – Congotribute.com*



*FDLR soldiers. Photo – Umuseke.com*

<b>Identification</b>	Various. Many wear old RDF BDUs. Others use BDUs of various origin, including FARDC, as well as civilian clothes.
<b>Nationality</b>	Rwandan Hutus, mainly Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi
<b>Alliances</b>	M23, APCLS, FNL.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Overall: Major General Sylvestre Mudacumura. North Sector (North Kivu): Col. Pacifique Ntawunguka, aka “Omega.” South Sector (South Kivu): Lieutenant Col. Hamada Habimana
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Installation of a Hutu-controlled Rwandan government.
<b>Established</b>	1994
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>The FDLR (Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda) was established after the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Hutu extremists, primarily Rwandan military and the Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi militias (who were responsible for the mass slaughter of an estimated 800,000 Tutsis and pro-peace Hutus) fled to the eastern Congo after their defeat by the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and formed the FDLR.</p> <p>Ranks comprised of key members of the 1994 genocide, Hutu members of the former Rwandan army, and Rwandan Hutu IDPs. Most current FDLR soldiers are recruits from refugee camps.</p> <p>The FDLR has been fighting the RDF ever since its formation but also terrorizes local population. Had once received support from FARDC units in coordinated campaigns against Rwandan-backed incursions (RDC).</p> <p>Recent heavy engagements with FARDC/MUNUSCO troops, targeted attacks by the Raïa Mutomboki on FDLR dependents, and lack of external support have reduced FDLR fighting strength significantly.</p> <p>Currently engaged in significant repatriation to Rwanda initiative called the Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Reintegration, and Resettlement program (DDRRR), which is further reducing number of available soldiers.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	North and South Kivu. Currently, FDLR is deployed alongside Union des Patriotes Congolais Pour la Paix Forces (UPCP) allied with M23 in and around the gold market of Bunyatenge.

<b>Strength</b>	At its peak, 15,000 to 20,000. Currently estimated to be 1,500 to 2,000. Each of FDLR’s subsectors (6 total between North Kivu and South Kivu) holds 250 to 400 soldiers.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	<p>FDLR on US State Department’s terrorist watch list.</p> <p>Funds significant part of its operations via control of local commercial markets linked to mineral production, the trade in wolframite via Bujumbura, and the sale and taxation of cannabis in North Kivu. Receives AK-47 ammunition from corrupt FARDC officers in exchange for cannabis or percentage of profits from mining zones.</p> <p>Repatriated FDLR soldiers are often forced by the Rwandan government to join reserve forces for redeployment to the DR Congo to support M23 operations. As a result, many FDLR troops and commanders are fleeing to Zambia.</p>



**DRC Fact Sheet: FDLR Splinter Group “Front Nationaliste pour la Démocratie et la Réconciliation, au Rwanda — L’armée du Roi” (FRONADER – Ingabo zu’Mwami)**



*Ex-leader of FRONADER, Colonel Norbert “Gaheza” Ndererimana during his arrest in Kigali. Photo: Igihe.com*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Rwandan.
<b>Alliances</b>	FDLR, FPCL, and Soki.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Formerly Colonel Norbert “Gaheza” Ndererimana, aka Sabin Gaheza.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	The FRONADER manifesto states that the explicit objective of the movement is to ensure the return from exile of King Kigeli V. Actual purpose: overthrow the Rwandan government.
<b>Established</b>	2010
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Created by Norbert “Gaheza” Ndererimana, who was the leader of a small splinter group of RUD-Urunana (which was also a product of a previous split with FDLR). During his 2010 – 2011 trips to Kampala, Gaheza established FRONADER, wrote its manifesto, and solicited support.</p> <p>Gaheza, along with Ramathan Sibomana, Ibrahim Niyonzima, Asifat Kansime, Emmanuel Higiuro (aka Kabasha), and John Mutabaruka, was arrested in Kigali in 2011. Charged with threatening state security in Rwanda and attempted coup d’etat. Gaheza plead guilty.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Virunga National Park, Binza, Rutshuru.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Has received financial and material contributions from General Emmanuel Habyarimana, whose political party, the Convention Nationale Républicaine-Intwari (CNR), is in a political coalition with the RNC.

## **DRC Fact Sheet: FDLR Splinter Group “Ralliement pour l’unité et la démocratie-Urunana”**

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Rwandan.
<b>Alliances</b>	FRONADER, FOCA, Soki, LaFontaine
<b>Leader/s</b>	<p>Political leaders: president Jean Marie Vianney Higiroy and executive secretary Félicien Kanyamibwa. Both moved to the United States following the split in the FDLR leadership in 2004.</p> <p>Brigadier General Damascène “Musare” Ndibabaje has led the armed wing of RUD-Urunana since 2006.</p>
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Installation of a Hutu-controlled Rwandan government.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>RUD has been weakened when deputy commander, Colonel Wenceslas “Kit” Nzeyimana, 5 officers (including its military intelligence chief), and more than 50 troops deserted in January 2011.</p> <p>In 2010 some RUD commanders moved to Rutshuru to cooperate with other splinter groups such as FRONADER and Soki.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Southern Lubero and northern Rutshuru territories of North Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Less than 200.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	<p>Heavily involved in Cannabis trade in Lubero territory. Used to trade with FARDC for ammunition and weapons. Cultivation overseen by Lieutenant Colonel Rugema, RUD’s chief financial officer.</p> <p>In April, 2011, Colonel Jean Damascene Nizeyimana, Deputy Commander of a RUD brigade operating in Walikale Province,</p>

	defected and returned home to Rwanda.
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## DRC Fact Sheet: Forces Nationales de Liberation (FNL)



*FNL militia. Swahilinews.blogspot.com. October 15, 2008*



*FNL militia. Burunditransparance.org. April 17, 2009*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Burundian Hutus
<b>Alliances</b>	FDLR, FPM/ADN, Mai Mai Baleke, Mai Mai Fujo
<b>Leader/s</b>	General Antoine “Shuti” Baranyanka and Major Evelyn are headquartered in Lusambo, Fizi territory. General Aloys Nzamapema and Colonel Logatien Negamiye are headquartered in Mushule, Uvira Plateau.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Protect Burundian Hutus/install a Hutu-led government in Burundi.
<b>Established</b>	1985
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>FNL is the armed wing of the former Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People (PALIPEHUTU). Fought alongside FARDC, ALR, and Mai Mai against Burundian army during Second Congo War.</p> <p>Though in April of 2009 the main body of FNL led by Agathon Rwaswa laid down their arms and became a political party, dissident groups continued to fight.</p> <p>Though strength was over 3,000, recent campaigns against FNL by FARDC and Burundian government forces has reduced its numbers over the past year. The division of forces has further reduced FNL’s effectiveness.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Fizi territory and Uvira plateau, South Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Troop strength unknown in Fizi. Estimated 70 in Uvira. Recruits out of Burundi.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Known for committing terrible atrocities (most notably the Titanic Express massacre of December 28, 2000, the Gatumba massacre of August 13, 2004, and the killing of the Vatican’s representative to Burundi in December of 2003).

# **DRC Fact Sheet: Front du Peuple Murundi - Abatabazi (FPM)**



*Photo: [www.pieuor.ca](http://www.pieuor.ca)*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Burundi.
<b>Alliances</b>	FNL, MCC, connections with many small Burundian rebel groups.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Colonel Abdallah and Colonel Jean Claude Kasongo.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	The removal from power of the CNDD-FDD regime and overthrow of president Pierre Nkurunziza. Abatabazi means “Saviours” – FPM asserts that they are “saviors of the Burundian victims of the poverty that has resulted from the [government’s] corruption.”
<b>Established</b>	Born out of the controversial election of 2010, solidified in 2012.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Armed branch of the ADN (Divine Alliance for the Nation). Financed by Burundian opposition leader Alexis Sinduhije. On October 22, 2012, FPM launched an attack against Burundian border towns of Buganda and Murwi, Cibitoke province. ADN condemned the attack as it favors a non-violent resolution to the removal of Burundian government.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Middle plateau of Uvira, South Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	40 plus – possibly several hundred.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Collaborating with ex-CNDP mutineers working for Col. Makenga. During the attack of October 22, FPM seemed to avoid any harm to Bugandan civilians, targeting only government soldiers, police, and members of the Imbonerakure – the youth wing of the CNDD-FDD (which has recently become an official militia of sorts).

# DRC Fact Sheet: Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)/ Lord's Resistance Movement



*Joseph Kony, leader of the LRA (seated second from left), surrounded by his officers. Photograph: Reuters/STR*



*LRA rebels in the bush. FILE/ COURTESY PHOTOS*



*Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) fighters at Ri-Kwangba on southern Sudan's border with the Democratic Republic of Congo. Photo: GETTY/AFP*



Flag of the Lord's Resistance Army

<b>Identification</b>	Various - ranging from well-fitted camouflage BDUs to civilian clothes.
<b>Nationality</b>	Uganda.
<b>Alliances</b>	Sudan.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Joseph Kony (possibly hiding in Central African Republic).
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Combination of mysticism, Acholi nationalism, and Christian fundamentalism (adherence to all three debated).
<b>Established</b>	1987.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Created in 1987 in response to marginalization of the Acholi people by the Ugandan government. Leader Joseph Kony turned movement into religious crusade and recruited/abducted 60,000 – 100,000 child soldiers for the cause. Initially received military support from Sudan. Eventually Kony turned against Acholi people. Hunted by Uganda, Sudan (since 2002), Sudan People’s Liberation Army, FARDC, CAR, and MONUSCO, reducing troop strength to below 1,000 by 2011. Kony and remaining LRA leaders wanted by the ICC for crimes against humanity/war crimes.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Uganda, southern Sudan, DR Congo, Central African Republic.
<b>Strength</b>	According to UN, between 200 – 700, many of which are child soldiers/abductees (including women). Organized into independent squads of 10 to 20 men.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various.
<b>Notes</b>	As of October 14, 2011, the United States committed 100 U.S. Army Special Forces military advisors to train, assist, and provide intelligence to the Ugandan People’s Defense Force to eliminate the LRA. Additionally, on September 18, 2012, the African Union launched an initiative to coordinate the land forces of the Central African Republic, DR Congo, southern Sudan, and Uganda against the remaining LRA rebels.



## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mouvement du 23-Mars/March 23 Movement (M23)**



*M23 rebel fighters in Karambi, eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in north Kivu province, near the border with Uganda, July 12, 2012. REUTERS/James Akena*



*M23 troops in Rushuru, July 8, 2012. Al Jazeera*

<b>Identification</b>	Various - ranging from well-fitted camouflage BDUs to civilian clothes. May wear FARDC headgear, uniforms, and insignia. Some reports indicate M23 troops wearing Ugandan fatigues. Rwandan regular army in standard BDUs have been reported fighting alongside M23.
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Rwanda, Uganda, Raia Mutomboki, FOLC, MCC, ALEC, Nduma Defense of Congo.
<b>Leader/s</b>	General Bosco Ntaganda, Colonel Sultani Makenga, Jean-Marie Runiga Lugerero.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Domination of mineral-rich province of North Kivu for access, control and trade in minerals such as coltan, gold, cassiterite, diamonds, copper and cobalt, as well as timber and commercial hydrocarbon deposits.
<b>Established</b>	April 4, 2012.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Formerly National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP). Integrated into FARDC after March 23 Peace Treaty signed with Congolese government. M23 formed on April 4, 2012 after 300 former CNDP soldiers turned against government citing poor treatment and failure to implement conditions of the peace treaty. Conducted a series of successful military campaigns against FARDC/MONUSCO culminating in the taking of the city of Goma on November 20, 2012. A peace agreement signed on December 1, 2012, stated that M23 would withdraw from Goma (though many have remained in civilian clothing).
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Mainly North Kivu, DR Congo.
<b>Strength</b>	Up to 5,500.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various.
<b>Notes</b>	Reports of direct military support from Rwanda and Uganda. Rwandan regulars have been seen operating within DRC territory coordinating with M23 rebel troops. Rumors that M23 movements are controlled by Rwandan government. Suspected collaboration with FDLR. M23 accused of widespread atrocities including mass rape and execution, as well as forced recruitment of men, women, and children. Leaders wanted by ICC.

	<p>On November 2, 2013, the Congolese army took the last of the M23's rebel strongholds, followed by their complete surrender three days later.</p>
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## **DRC Fact Sheet: Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) /National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU)**



*Identified as ADF rebels, 2010. Photo credit: Reuters*



*Identified as ADF rebels, 2010. Photo credit: Reuters*



*Identified as ADF rebels, 2010. Photo credit: AFP*



*Identified as ADF rebels, 2010. Photo credit: Reuters*

<b>Identification</b>	Various. Standard BDU, civilian clothes, and Islamic headdress.
<b>Nationality</b>	Uganda.
<b>Alliances</b>	Sudan, LRA. Possibly engaged in training of Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen (HSM) “Mujahideen Youth Movement” – a Somalia-based cell of the militant Islamist group, al-Qaeda.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Jamil Mukulu (supreme), Hood Lukwago (military).
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Installation of Islamic government in Uganda.
<b>Established</b>	1996.
<b>History/Problems</b>	ADF/NALU began operations against the Ugandan government in 1996 with the support of the Sudanese Secret Services. Though originally not considered a serious threat, ADF/NALU attacks grew in ferocity until the Ugandan army intervened in 1999. After September 11, 2001, ADF/NALU attempted to join the international Jihad against the West, placing them on the US Department of State’s Terrorism Exclusion List. Since 2001, ADF/NALU has been regaining its strength and has engaged in training operations with Moroccans (2010) and Pakistanis (2009). Connections have been made between ADF/NALU and al-Qaeda. Current strength now in excess of 1,300 – 60% Congolese, 40% Ugandan.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Uganda, DR Congo (BoO Rwenzori Mountains of North Kivu). Kenyan Intelligence indicated ADF now based in United Republic of Tanzania. Strong support networks in the UK, as well as financial support cells at the port of Tanga, Tanzania, and in Bujumbura, Kigali, and Nairobi.
<b>Strength</b>	1,300 plus – 800 of which are well-trained and well-equipped.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	AK-47. Reported to have 60-mm and 82-mm mortars as well as heavy machine guns (12.7 mm) and SPG-97 recoilless rifles.
<b>Notes</b>	Responsible for numerous terrorists attacks, abductions, and mass murders. ADF/NALU is listed on the US Department of State’s Terrorist Exclusion List, and as of October 5, 2011, leader Jamil Mukulu was added to the OFAC list of the Department of Treasury.  In response to the threat of MONUSCO air strikes, ADF acquired anti-aircraft weapons.



# National Militias



## DRC Fact Sheet: Kivu Mai Mai Militias - Overview



*Mai Mai Militia. Photo credit: Robert Mugabe*



*Mai Mai Simba militia in northeastern province of Orientale, DR Congo. May 8, 2012. Photo credit: CNCrtws.com*



*Pro-government Mai Mai militia, village of Kalenge, DR Congo. Photo credit: Finbarr O'Reilley*

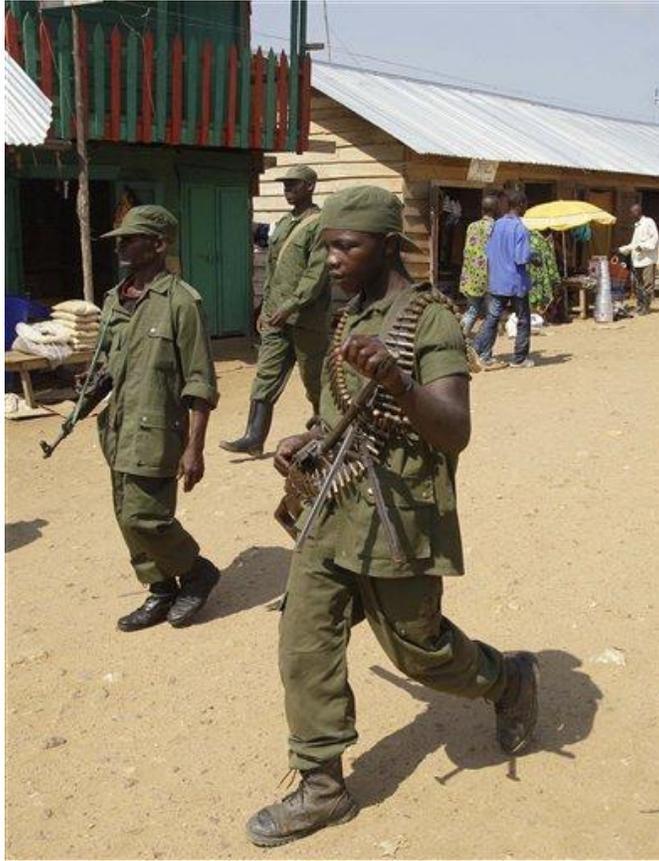


*Mai Mai militia, town of Kindu. August 23, 2012, Reuters*

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Fiercely protective of community lands. Refuse to integrate into FARDC but are staunchly anti-Rwandan (Hutu and Tutsi) and Rwandan-affiliated Congolese rebel groups.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Each militia group unquestionably led by its own chief or head of village.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Elimination of foreign invaders on community/tribal lands (especially Rwandan). Militias are not unified under any political or racial affiliation.
<b>Established</b>	N/A
<b>History/Problems</b>	Most Mai Mai militias established to prevent Rwandan presence on community/tribal lands, but many exist simply to exploit war through banditry. Military capacity and political orientation varies considerably and can change rapidly - known to shift alliances to achieve their interests.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	<p>North Kivu: Walikale and Masisi north of Goma.  South Kivu: Walungu and Bunyakiri south of Lake Kivu, at the northern end of Lake Tanganyika around Uvira and Mwenga, and further south towards Fizi.</p> <p>Between the Rwandan border and Kindu (around Shabunda) there is another high concentration of Mai Mai militia. There is also a large Mai Mai presence in Maniema, including the areas around Kindu and Kalemie.</p>

<b>Strength</b>	Estimated by UN to be 20,000 to 30,000 as of 2001.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various.
<b>Notes</b>	<p>Mai Mai militias are extremely dangerous. Have committed numerous atrocities against civilians and attacked FARDC and MONUSCO troops.</p> <p>Though most militias are anti-Rwandan, several Mai Mai groups are pro-Rwandan such as Mudundu 40/Front de Résistance et de Défense du Kivu (FRDKI) and Mouvement de Lutte contre l’Agression au Zaïre/Forces Unies de Résistance Nationale contre l’Agression de la République Démocratique du Congo (MLAZ/FURNAC).</p>

## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Raia Mutomboki**



Members of Mai Mai Raia Mutomboki. [Katsafrica.wordpress.com](http://Katsafrica.wordpress.com)

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>Raia Mutomboki means “Outraged Citizens” in Swahili.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Occasionally FARDC, possibly M23.
<b>Leader/s</b>	<p>First mobilization military representative: Devos Kagalaba.</p> <p>Southern Masisi Raia Mutomboki: Colonel Delphin Mbaenda.</p> <p><i>Raia Mutomboki consists of many local units rather than a collective whole and are led by independent commanders.</i></p>
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	The enemies of the Mai Mai are any non-Congolese troops in the Congo. This includes Hutu/Tutsi troops integrated into FARDC as well as MONUSCO. The goal of the Mai Mai is to rid their land of foreigners.
<b>Established</b>	First mobilization March 2005. Second mobilization 2011.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>First appearance in March, 2005, after FDLR rebels murdered 12 civilians in the Shabunda village of Kyoka. Second mobilization began after FARDC vacated northern Shabunda, allowing FDLR rebels to enter the territory. Raia Mutomboki fought alongside FARDC when they re-entered northern Shabunda, but alliance collapsed due to tensions between the Mai Mai and ex-CNDP (whom the Mai Mai consider foreigners). Recently, Mai Mai Mutomboki moved into southern Masisi and Walikale to fight FDLR.</p> <p>May have received arms and ammunition from M23 and the Rwandan military during the most recent hostilities in order to fight the Hutu</p>

	<p>FDLR.</p> <p>Souther Masisi Mai Mai Mutomboki are Mai Mai Kifuafua who have renamed themselves.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Shabunda, Bunyakiri, and southern Masisi and Walikale.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various. Initially hoes, machetes, and hunting rifles but now better equipped (AK-47s, LMGs, and RPGs).
<b>Notes</b>	Mai Mai militias are extremely dangerous. Have committed numerous atrocities against civilians and engaged FARDC and MONUSCO troops. Attacks Congolese Hutu populations and often mutilates FDLR dependents (women and children).



## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Simba (Armée Populaire de Libération Nationale Congolaise-Lumumba)**



*Mai Mai Simba militia in northeastern province of Orientale, DR Congo. May 8, 2012. Photo credit: CNCrws.com*

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	FARDC criminal elements, Mai Mai Luc.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Military leader: General Mando Mazero. Political leader: Ubandako Petro William.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	<p>The enemies of the Mai Mai are any non-Congolese troops in the Congo. This includes Hutu/Tutsi troops integrated into FARDC as well as MONUSCO. The goal of the Mai Mai is to rid their land of foreigners.</p> <p>Additionally, Mai Mai Simba operates mainly as a criminal organization and is engaged in the illegal sake of ivory, minerals, and gold.</p>
<b>Established</b>	1964.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Mai Mai Simba is the oldest active Congolese armed group, dating back to the Mulele revolution in 1964. Avid poachers of elephants and have supplied Kisangani with large quantities of ivory for decades. Also engaged in the illegal exploitation of tin ore, gold, and diamond deposits within Maiko National Park. All of Mai Mai Simba’s gold is taxed by FARDC criminal networks operating under the direction of Beni sector Commander Colonel Eric Ruhorimbere. FARDC elements from the BAWA military base in Biruwe, Walikale, collaborate closely with Mai Mai Simba and provide it with weapons and ammunition in exchange for minerals.</p> <p>Recently launched an attack on FARDC bases in the Mambassa territory, killing 27 civilians.</p>

<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Based in the mineral-rich forests of the Maiko Park with positions extending across North Kivu, Maniema, and Orientale Provinces.
<b>Strength</b>	200 to 300.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various.
<b>Notes</b>	Mai Mai militias are extremely dangerous. Have committed numerous atrocities against civilians and engaged FARDC troops.



## **DRC Fact Sheet: Force Auto-Defense Legitime (FAL)**



*FAL Creator Mwami Ndare Simba. Photo: Radiomaendeleo.net, December 28, 2012*

<b>Identification</b>	Varoious but mainly old FARDC uniforms.
<b>Nationality</b>	Bafuliro Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	FARDC.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Molière Mutulani.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To protect the people of Lemera and their property against FDLR.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Created and sustained by Mwami Ndare Simba to fulfill the role of assuring the security of Lemera, especially at times when FARDC officers were in regiments or on rotation.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Lemera chiefdom, Moyen Plateau, Uvira territory.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various. Mainly AK-47s and old FN Herstal machine guns.
<b>Notes</b>	<p>FAL had the backing of provincial deputy Mwami Ndare Simba. Simba died on December 22, 2012.</p> <p>FAL sustains operations by collecting taxes from villagers on market days.</p> <p>FAL involved in child recruitment. Estimated 25 children forced to fight for Mutulani.</p>

## **DRC Fact Sheet: The Force Oecumenique pour la Liberation du Congo (FOLC)**



*FOLC supporter Antipas Mbusa Nyamtwisi. Photo: TheRwandan.com*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	M23, Rwanda, possibly Mai Mai Simba and Uganda.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Formerly led by Mai Mai Bana Sultani Selly, aka “Kava wa Selly.”  Currently backed by National Deputy Antipas Mbusa Nyamwisi and led by Lt. Colonel Jacques Nyoro Tahanga.  FARDC General Kakolele Bwambale also supports FOLC operations with intelligence and advice from Beni.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Unknown.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	In June, 2012, FOLC forged an alliance with M23 in Beni territory with the backing of Antipas Mbusa Nyamwisi.  On 3 August 2012, a small FOLC unit attacked the border town of Kasindi in a failed attempt to recover weapons.  On October 19, 2012, FOLC and Mai Mai Simba launched a coordinated attack on the villages of Midede and Pangoya in the Lubero territory.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Semiliki valley, Beni territory.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47
<b>Notes</b>	Nyamwisi has travelled several times to Kigali to meet Rwandan officials and has established a FOLC liaison officer in Gisenyi (Andy Patandjila).  Major Kombi and Lt. Colonel Nyoro communicate regularly with Colonel Makenga of M23.  Lt. Colonel Nyoro has traveled to Rutshuru to coordinate operations

	with M23.
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## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mouvement Congolais pour le Changement (MCC)**



*MCC soldiers. Photo: aeta-network.org, November 7, 2012*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Predominantly Congolese Banyamulenge, Bufaliro.
<b>Alliances</b>	M23 (contact with colonel Manzi of M23), Front du peuple murundi/Alliance divine pour la nation (FPM/ADN), possibly FNL.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Former Mai Mai commander and ex-CNDP officer “Col.” Bede Rusagara.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Removing FARDC from South Kivu. New goal is to demoralize government troops fighting in eastern DR Congo and cooperate with M23.
<b>Established</b>	April 2012?
<b>History/Problems</b>	Very little is known about MCC. Supposedly paid by Rwandan government to open a new front in eastern DRC to further destabilize the region. According to MCC defector, captain Okra Rudahirwa, Rwandan government authorities put MCC commanders in touch with M23 (colonel Manzi) so they could coordinate activities. Manzi apparently stated that Rwandan army gave him authority to support and command MCC. There have been numerous defections from MCC as a result of Rwandan involvement as many members joined to fight for a better life for the people of eastern DRC.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Uvira plateaux and the Ruzizi plain, South Kivu. Headquarters near Runingu.
<b>Strength</b>	250 – 400.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Troops may be receiving as much as \$20,000 USD per month from Rwanda for supplies, uniforms, and weapons.

## **DRC Fact Sheet: Alliance pour la Libération de l'est du Congo (ALEC)**



*Photo of ALEC meeting with Congolese armed groups on 17 August 2012 in Lusambo, South Kivu. Jules Sebahizi (second from left), General Mayele (third from left), Akim Muhoza (first from right). Photo: UN Security Council 11/15/12 report*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese Banyamulenge.
<b>Alliances</b>	M23, MCC, possibly Mai Mai Mayele and Mai Mai Yakutumba.
<b>Leader/s</b>	As of September 2012, the former Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie vice-governor of South Kivu, Tommy Tambwe, replaced Akim Hakizimana Muhoza as President of ALEC – Muhoza is now Vice-President. Both reside in Rwanda.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Create an independent republic of the Kivu.
<b>Established</b>	July 2012.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Recruits Banyamulenge youth throughout the Great Lakes region, including refugee camps in Rwanda and Uganda.  ALEC works very closely with M23 and MCC.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Fizi territory, South Kivu/
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	

# DRC Fact Sheet: Forces de Résistance Patriotiques en Ituri (FRPI)



General Matata and FRPI troops. Photo: [umuseke.com](http://umuseke.com)



FRPI troops. Photo: [Congojet.com](http://Congojet.com), June 26, 2012

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Primarily Congolese Lendu.
<b>Alliances</b>	M23, MRPC, Rwanda, possibly Uganda. Has reached out to FARDC to discuss demobilization.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Brigadier General Justin Banaloki, alias “Cobra Matata”. Second-in-command: Colonel Mbadu Adirodu.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Creation of Ituri province and removal of FARDC forces.
<b>Established</b>	Around 2000.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>General Banaloki was integrated into FARDC in 2007, but quickly defected and re-established his position with FRPI. Apparently, his reasons for leaving were: he didn’t obtain a proper position in the army, his housing was poor, and he didn’t get paid.</p> <p>In February, 2012, General Banaloki was approached by Ituri authorities and community leaders and was asked to provide a list of demands for reintegration. The list was ignored by FARDC, but they did provide food for FRPI troops so they would not attack communities.</p> <p>As a result of FARDC’s lack of response to the Ituri civil society’s appeal to integrate General Banaloki’s troops into the Congolese army, FRPI joined a group known as the “Coalition des Groupes Armes de l’Ituri”, or COGAI, in May, 2012.</p> <p>In June, Kabila sent Major General Dieudonne Amuli to meet with General Banaloki to discuss integration. COGAI’s remaining 3 members are very concerned that FRPI will not continue their collective struggle to make Ituri a province and create a new military region, reintegrate soldiers back into society, insist on FARDC recognition of the rank of any combatant entering the regular army, and the remove FARDC colonel Sikabwe from the region.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Ituri Province. Also controls the gold mining site of Bavi. Recently gained more territory due to FARDC regimentation process at the end of February, 2012. Maintains stronghold in Walendu Bindi, Irumu territory.
<b>Strength</b>	Possibly as many as 1,500.

<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Strongest rebel force in Ituri.



## DRC Fact Sheet: Coalition des Groupes Armés de l'Ituri (COGAI)



Child soldiers of COGAI. Photo: [leCongolais.cd](http://leCongolais.cd), May 28, 2012



COGAI soldiers. Photo: [Congoforum.be](http://Congoforum.be), September 6, 2012.

<b>Identification</b>	Various. Many wear FARDC uniforms.
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese Hema and Lendu.
<b>Alliances</b>	M23, Rwanda.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Brigadier General Banaloki “Cobra Matata” (FRPI). Colonel “Hitler” (FPDDI). Colonel Charite Semire and Lt. Colonel Saidi Cedrick (FAII). Amos Lop and Blaise Ngbathema (FAR). John Mpigwa (FPDDI) is COGAI’s spokesperson.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	<p>To unite Ituri militias, create a Ituri province/military region, reintegrate soldiers back into society, insist on FARDC recognition of the rank of any combatant entering the regular army, close all illegal army roadblocks, and the immediate removal of FARDC Colonel Sikabwe (Congolese commander of Ituri) from the region.</p> <p>Further plans may include uniting the Ituri and Haut-Uele districts to create a new Kibali-Ituri province. Apparently, negotiations for military support from South Sudan and Uganda have been conducted and some agreements reached.</p>
<b>Established</b>	May 2012.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Internal strife within Ituri began in 1999 as an ethnic struggle between Hema and Lendu. The conflict shifted to a more-or-less unified resistance to Congolese central authority and UN interference in 2005. Pre-COGAI coalitions since 2005 include the Movement Revolutionnaire Congolais (MRC), and the Front Populaire pour la Justice au Congo (FPJC). Ethnic tensions between Hema and Lendu communities, however, still persist.</p> <p>COGAI was created in May of 2012 as the newest umbrella organization to unite the Ituri militias. Officially consists of four rebel groups: FRPI, Front Populaire pour le Developpement Durable de l’Ituri (FPDDI), Force Armee pour la Revolution (FAR), and Forces Armees d’Integration de l’Ituri (FAII).</p> <p>Apparently, COGAI began as an attempt to prevent FRPI from dominating Ituri. Upon hearing that General Banaloki had been contacted by M23 (and possibly Rwandan authorities) to form an alliance, Colonel Semire of FAII approached other rebel commanders and presented the idea of a coalition to keep their villages safe from FRPI. This is not certain, though plausible.</p>

	<p>Though FRPI is the overall leading militia of COGAI, M23, local businessmen, and former militia members from the Hema community are its real driving force. COGAI lacks the support of the Hema community due to their unease over its alliance with M23 and Rwanda. Impact further limited impact due to inability to secure complete loyalty of FRPI rebels.</p> <p>To complicate matters, COGAI's leader, General Banaloki of FRPI continues to seek integration into FARDC and as of June has accepted meetings with Congolese officials in the village of Bukiringi to discuss the matter. It is not expected, however, that Congolese will accept General Banaloki's conditions for reintegration.</p> <p>In the end, COGAI and the struggle in Ituri is all about control of the land and its natural resources (mainly gold and oil). Outside influences are most likely a major factor.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Ituri province.
<b>Strength</b>	With FRPI, troop strength could be as high as 2,000. Most likely the number is less.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Though considered by many as an empty threat, COGAI continues to recruit new troops, including FARDC deserters.



# **DRC Fact Sheet: Mouvement de Résistance Populaire au Congo (MRPC)**



*Probable MRPC soldiers. Photo: Ericshow.Skyrock.com, September 18, 2012*



*Probable MRPC soldiers. Photo: Afrique.KongoTimes.info, September 20, 2012*

<b>Identification</b>	Various. Mainly FARDC uniforms.
<b>Nationality</b>	Former ethnic Hema militia members and both Tutsi and Hema Congolese armed forces deserters.
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown. Possibly FPRI.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Eric Dedhonga, who was arrested in Bunia, Orientale Province, on September 16, 2012.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To unite the Ituri militias.
<b>Established</b>	August 2012.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Emergred as a result of the failure of COGAI to unite the Ituri militias. Though MRPC explicitly denounced M23, a faction initiated and maintained contact with M23 and Rwanda. When MRPC President Eric Dhedongha and chief of staff Jules Musafiri were arrested, the pro-M23 faction led by Lt Col. Rutsholi split from the main body.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Ituri province.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Ex-Union des Patriotes Congolais (UPC) combatants both within and outside MRPC are under constant pressure to ally with M23. Rwandan agents are actively recruiting ex-UPC from MRPC to collaborate with M23.

## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mouvement de Résistance Populaire au Congo (MRPC) – Pro-M23 Faction**

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Former ethnic Hema militia members, demobilized former members of the Union des Patriotes Congolais (UPC), and both Tutsi and Hema FARDC deserters.
<b>Alliances</b>	M23, Rwanda
<b>Leader/s</b>	Lt Colonel Rutsholi.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Unite Ituri militias.
<b>Established</b>	October 2012.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Splintered from main MRPC body in October, 2012, after MRPC president and chief-of-staff were arrested. Members are likely former UPC combatants who were convinced by Rwandan agents to cooperate with M23.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Irumu. Possibly engaged in combined actions with M23 in Rutshuru in October, 2012.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	



## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Lumumba/Mai Mai Morgan (Criminal Organization)**



*Mai Mai Lumumba militia. Photo: AFP*



*Mai Mai Lumumba. Google images*

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Some wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Ndaka, Bakumu, Nande, Bapiri, and Pygmie Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Works closely with corrupt elements within FARDC.
<b>Leader/s</b>	<p>Well-known elephant poacher Paul Sadala, aka “Morgan,” of the Bombo community. Has killed over 2,000 elephants for their ivory.</p> <p>Second in command: “Manu”. Operates an entirely Pygmie faction of Mai Mai Lumumba.</p>
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Criminal gain.
<b>Established</b>	2012?
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Morgan began poaching elephants in 2005 and has been at odds with Congolese authorities due to hunting restrictions imposed by the Congolese Institute for the Conservation of Nature (ICCN) to protect land and resources within the Okapi Fauna Reserve (RFO). Launched a brutal attack against RFO headquarters at Epulu on June 24 – 25, 2012, during which they murdered 6, raped dozens, and burned the facility to the ground.</p> <p>Merged with Mai Mai Simba and FARDC deserters under the command of Colonel Kahasha (former Mai Mai) in March, 2012.</p> <p>Some Mai Mai Simba members broke relations with Morgan due to disgust over Morgan’s tactics, most notably the stripping of prisoners, dosing them with gasoline, and setting them ablaze in front of the community. Mai Mai Simba leader, Colonel Jean-Luc, arrested</p>

	<p>Morgan on July 31, 2012, at Mabuo, North Kivu, and sold him to FARDC and ICCN officials for \$10,000. He escaped shortly thereafter (August 6).</p> <p>On October 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> launched raid on the village of Kambau, North Kivu.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Mambasa, Lubero and Bafwasende territories, Orientale Province, and the Okapi Fauna Reserve, Mambasa territory, Ituri district.
<b>Strength</b>	85 plus.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47s, hunting rifles, spears.
<b>Notes</b>	<p>Mai Mai Morgan classified as a “criminal organization”. Has committed terrible atrocities – mainly murder, rape, and possibly cannibalism of one of its victims - and arrest warrant issued by the military prosecutor in Bunia.</p> <p>Has cooperated with a criminal network led by 9th military region Commander General Jean Claude Kifwa in Kisangani and receives military supplies in exchange for ivory.</p> <p>Collects gold twice a week from mining site in Pangoi and Elota. Sells “access rights” to the pits to raise funds. Has a monopoly on the cigarette trade in same area.</p> <p>Has strong ties with FARDC. Receives material and support from various units and commanders. 903<sup>rd</sup> and 908<sup>th</sup> battalions seemed to have allowed the Epulu attack to occur, then pillaged the town after Mai Mai forces evacuated.</p> <p>Mai Mai Morgan attacks has destabilized western Ituri and displaced more than 10,000 civilians.</p>



## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Luc (Criminal Organization)

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Some wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Collaborates with FARDC General Kifwa of the 10th integrated brigade (based out of Opienge and Bafwasende) on issues of poaching and gold mining.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Major Luc Yabili.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Criminal operation: poaching and mining.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Basically a criminal operation working with corrupt factions of FARDC. Tried to surrender to government forces in 2011 – requested a “buffer zone” to be monitored by MONUSCO to guarantee his safety but FARDC refused to cooperate. Other conditions of his surrender included the restoration of state authority at Balobe and Opienge, the replacement of current forest rangers at the Maiko national park, and the reintegration of 8,875 people living with him. Has continued to attempt demobilization many times since 2011 but General Kifwa, commander of DR Congo's 9th military region based in Kisangani, has not accepted his offers.
<b>Areas of</b>	Bafwasende territory, Orientale Province, and Walikale, North Kivu. Also controls Angumu and Elonga mining sites.

<b>Operation</b>	
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various.
<b>Notes</b>	On 31 July 2012, Major Yabili captured Paul Sadala (aka Morgan) – notorious poacher of the Orientale province - and offered to hand him over to Congolese authorities. General Kifwa again failed to react.

# DRC Fact Sheet: Forces Républicaines Fédéralistes (FRF Fizi/Uvira)



*FRF General Venant Bisogo. Photo: Zrasul, PoliticoAnalyst.com, March 27, 2012*



*FRF Chief of Staff Michel Rukunda. Photo: Radiookapi.net, 2009*



*FRF militia. Photo: Radiokapi.net, 2010*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Banyamulenge Congolese (ethnic Tutsi pastoralists).
<b>Alliances</b>	FDLR, Various Mai Mai Groups.
<b>Leader/s</b>	President: General Venant Bisogo. Chief of Staff: Michel Makanika Rukunda.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Resisting government control over the High Plateau region of South Kivu.
<b>Established</b>	1998.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Founded in 1998 as an underground political party in response to RCD rebellion. Became a military movement in 2002 when it supported Pacifique Masunzu in his campaign against RCD/Rwandan army.</p> <p>After 2002, the movement split – one faction continuing support of Masunzu and the government in Kinshasa, and the other faction favoring more autonomous control over the Minembwe area of the High Plateau. The opposition faction became the FRF.</p> <p>In 2007, clashes erupted between Masunzu faction, now the 112<sup>th</sup> brigade, and the FRF. FARDC launched operations Kimia II and Amani Leo to rid the High Plateau of FRF, but due to excessive torture, rape, and looting by government forces, the FRF only gained support. After major attacks against FARDC forces in 2010, Kinshasa negotiated with FRF and created a new operational zone (44<sup>th</sup>) over which the newly integrated FRF troops would maintain control.</p> <p>Since the integration, several FRF splinters have formed due to disagreements over salary, rank, and other complaints. Another faction, under the command of Richard Tawimbi, continues to resist integration.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	High Plateau above Uvira and Fizi, South Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Around 500.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47 and various hunting rifles.
<b>Notes</b>	Known to have large arms caches – including heavy weapons - in the Bijabo forest.



## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai-Mai Kapopo (Mwenga)

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Some wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Colonel Kapopo.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	The enemies of the Mai Mai are any non-Congolese troops in the Congo. This includes Hutu/Tutsi troops integrated into FARDC as well as MONUSCO. The goal of the Mai Mai is to rid their land of foreigners.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	After lengthy negotiations, Colonel Kapopo apparently accepted FARDC invitation to integrate and form a local unit in Mwenga.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Around Kasika, Mwenga territory.
<b>Strength</b>	Estimated 200 – 400.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting rifles. AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Mai Mai militias are extremely dangerous. Have committed numerous atrocities against civilians.



# DRC Fact Sheet: Front Populaire pour la Démocratie (FPD) – Mai Mai Shetani

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Some wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Possibly M23.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Muhima Shetani (Swahili for “Satan”).
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To rid North Kivu of Rwandan foreign invaders including M23, and to prevent the “Balkanization of the Democratic Republic of the Congo”.
<b>Established</b>	September, 2012.
<b>History/Problems</b>	When FARDC moved out of northern Rutshuru in July of 2012, Shetani took control over the area. Launched an attack in September, 2012, on former FDLR territory and occupied towns of Nyakakoma, Ishasha, Nyamilima, and Kisharo. Evacuated when M23 forces invaded. Many suspect that FPD is on M23’s payroll.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Rutshuru, North Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting rifles and spears – some AK-47s.

**Notes**

Mai Mai militias are extremely dangerous. Have committed numerous atrocities against civilians.

## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Jackson

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Some wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese Munyamulenge.
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Colonel Muzuri Jackson.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Resisting foreign and government control over the High Plateau region of South Kivu.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Colonel Jackson attempted to create a multi-ethnic coalition in 2009 (Mai Mai Agaragara) to rid the High Plateau of government forces.</p> <p>Apparently, Colonel Jackson integrated into the 112<sup>th</sup> brigade of FARDC with 53 of his soldiers in 2009. The remainder of Jackson’s militia joined Mai Mai Kahungwe of the Moyens plateau, Uvira.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Moyens and High Plateau region, South Kivu. Major bases at Kikosi and Kihamba.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons including spears. AK-47.

**Notes**

Mai Mai militias are extremely dangerous. Have committed numerous atrocities against civilians.

## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Mayele**



*Possibly Mai Mai Mayele troops. Photo: Wartanews.com, October 6, 2010*

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Most wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Part of Mai Mai Sheka’s command.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Lieutenant Colonel Sadoke Kokunda Mayele.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Control over mineral-rich Walikale territory.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Lieutenant Colonel Mayele was one of Mai Mai Sheka’s top militia leaders.</p> <p>Participated in the mass rape of at least 387 men, women, and children in the Kibua-Luvungi area between July 30 and August 2 of 2010. The incident involved 300 women, 23 men, 55 girls, and 9 boys in 13 villages along Kibua to Mpofi road in Walikale. NDC was one of three militias responsible and Meyle’s commander, Sheka, was listed as one of the top commanders who planned and shared in the spoils of the operation. Captian Serafin Lionso of FDLR, and Lieutenant Colonel Emmanuel Nsengiyuma, commander of a small unit of FARDC deserters, were the other responsible leaders. In response to the public outcry after the incident, Sheka handed over Meyle to Congolese/UN authorities on October 6, 2010.</p> <p>It is said that Meyle was turned in by his own troops due to the fact that some of the people brutalized during the mass rape of July/August 2010 were Sheka’s family members, including one of his wives, two sisters, and three cousins.</p>

<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Walikale territory, North Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Around 200.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons including spears. Mainly AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	Have committed numerous atrocities against civilians including systematic rape – most notably between July 30 and August 2, 2012, when at least 387 men, women, and children were repeatedly gang-raped in villages in Walikale (including Kampala, Mubi, Luvungi, and Osokali). Over 1,000 homes were looted and 116 people abducted. FDLR and FARDC were also accused of the same crime.



## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai-Mai Kashorogosi

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Some wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Former Congolese Police Commander Colonel Nyerere Bunana.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Control over Uvira territory.
<b>Established</b>	June 2011.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Formerly a Mai Mai leader from the Ruzizi plain, Colonel Bunana was integrated into the Congolese police force. On June 6, 2011, he deserted his post after a warrant was issued for his arrest on suspicions that he was involved in criminal activity and recruiting troops for a rebellion. Since then, Colonel Bunana has most likely joined forces with other rebel groups in the Uvira territory including Fujo Zabuloni, Bede Rusagara, and Mukenge.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Highlands of Uvira territory, South Kivu
<b>Strength</b>	30 +
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Mainly AK-47s.



## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai-Mai Aochi

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Some wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Fuliro/Wabembe.
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown
<b>Leader/s</b>	Colonel Aochi.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Unknown.
<b>Established</b>	2011
<b>History/Problems</b>	Unknown.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Mwenga and Minembwe territory, South Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons including spears. Mainly AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	



## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai-Mai Mulumba

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Some wear FARDC uniforms. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Fuliro/Wabembe.
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Colonel Mulumba.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Unknown.
<b>Established</b>	2011
<b>History/Problems</b>	Unknown.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	High Plateau around Minembwe, South Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various.
<b>Notes</b>	



## **DRC Fact Sheet: Richard Tawimbi Splinter of FRF**



*FRF militia. Photo: Radiokapi.net, 2010*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Banyamulenge Congolese (ethnic Tutsi pastoralists).
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Colonel Richard Tawimbi
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Resisting integration. Denial of government control over the Minembwe area of the High Plateau, South Kivu.
<b>Established</b>	2011.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Splintered from FRF after the 2011 integration process. Continues to fight FARDC and resists government control over the Minembwe area.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	High Plateau around Minembwe, South Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various.
<b>Notes</b>	May have access to heavy weapons. Large weapons caches in the Bijabo forest.

## DRC Fact Sheet: Nduma Defense for Congo (Mai Mai Sheka)



*Leader of a faction of the Mai Mai militia, Ntabo Ntaberi Sheka, campaigns for a seat ahead of the November 26 national elections in Walikale, North Kivu, eastern DR Congo, November 24, 2011. Bay Ledger News Zone January 20, 2012*



*Mai Mai Sheka. Photo: Azad Essa/Al Jazeera, November 26, 2011*

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Most wear FARDC uniforms.</p> <p>Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Nyanga Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Rwanda, M23, renegade FARDC commanders, various local militias.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Sheka Ntabo Ntaberi. Second in Command: Colonel Shimiray Guidon. Intelligence Chief: Colonel Gilbert Bwira.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Control over resources of North Kivu.
<b>Established</b>	2009.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Formed in 2009 by former mineral trader and mining pit manager (Bisie) Sheka Ntaberi.</p> <p>Since its creation, NDC has been kept afloat by FDLR. FDLR combatants have been co-located with all NDC rebels throughout Ihana and Utunda in the Walikale territory. In fact, Sergeant Major Lionso Karangwa, FDLR liaison to NDC, has claimed to be the de facto commander of NDC troops conducting combined operations with FDLR.</p> <p>Participated in the mass rape of at least 387 men, women, and children in the Kibua-Luvungi area between July 30 and August 2 of 2010. The incident involved 300 women, 23 men, 55 girls, and 9 boys in 13 villages along Kibua to Mpofi road in Walikale. NDC was one of three militias responsible and Sheka listed as one of the top commanders who planned and shared in the spoils of the operation. Captian Serafin</p>

Lionso of FDLR, and Lieutenant Colonel Emmanuel Nsengiyuma, commander of a small unit of FARDC deserters, were the other responsible leaders. In response to the public outcry after the atrocity Sheka handed over one of his top commanders, Lieutenant Colonel Meyle, to Congolese/UN authorities on October 6, 2010 (though it is said that this was an act of personal revenge for Meyle's participation in the rape of Sheka's own relatives during the incident).

Sheka entertained FARDC integration and sent a delegation to meet with General Amisi Kumbain 2010. NDC representatives tentatively agreed to the government offer, but Sheka declined demanding better terms.

NDC was defeated in a series of attacks by APCLS troops in 2010, seriously reducing combat effectiveness.

An arrest warrant was issued by the Congolese government on January 6, 2011, for Sheka's participation in the Kibua-Luvungi mass rape of 2010. The warrant was not enforced.

In February, 2011, the North Kivu Governor's office organized a joint meeting in Mutongo between Sheka, FARDC, and MONUSCO to discuss demands but this attempt failed as well, mainly due to Sheka's fear of judicial consequences for his participation in the Kibua-Luvungi mass rapes of July/August of 2010.

On 30 May 2011, in the area around Ntoto, Sheka met with Akilimali, Limenzi, and other individuals who had split from Mai Mai Kifuafua. Upon reaching an agreement to establish a new umbrella group for all Congolese armed groups in Walikale, Akilimali went to convince General Janvier Buingo of APCLS that his militia should join. Feeling threatened by the initiative, General Buingo not only refused to join it, but also attacked NDC in order to dismantle the fledgling coalition.

On November 20, 2011, NDC troops assassinated FDLR Colonel Jean Marie-Vianney Kanzeguhera, aka Colonel Sadiki – one of FDLR's most notorious commanders in North Kivu. He operated a battalion known as "Sadiki Soleil" autonomously from FDLR central command. NDC and FDLR once conducted joint operations, including the Kibua-Luvungi mass rape of July/August 2010. After the arrest of the FDLR secretary general, Colonel Sadiki assisted Congolese authorities in the arrest of NDC troops responsible for the atrocities. As an act of revenge for this betrayal, Sheka ordered the assassination of Sadiki.

Sheka ran as an independent candidate for the position of Walikale territory representative in the National Assembly in the election of

	<p>November 28, 2011. Most likely this was an attempt to avoid arrest for charges of crimes against humanity, sexual violence, etc (National Assembly members are immune from criminal prosecution).</p> <p>In April, 2012, NDC troops ambushed and killed FARDC commanders (Colonel Cyuma and Colonel Pilipili) in Walikale and Masisi.</p> <p>It is said that the 8<sup>th</sup> Military Region Deputy Commander, Colonel Etienne Bindu, is a major supporter of the NDC and may have played a significant role in its creation. Bindu supposedly provided NDC with intelligence on FARDC operations in Walikale so that ambushes could be prepared, and has delivered arms and ammunition upon request.</p> <p>NDC has also established close collaboration with FARDC officers in charge of the base at Biruwe, known as “BAWA.” Has provided NDC with arms and ammunition.</p> <p>The FARDC battalion Commander at Mubi in the 805<sup>th</sup> regiment – Lieutenant Colonel Nyongo Balingere (aka “B52”) - has provided NDC with ammunition and FARDC uniforms.</p> <p>Colonel Ibra, the Deputy Sector Commander for Walikale, has provided weapons to the NDC.</p> <p>Rwandan special forces have been named as providers of weapons, ammunition, training, and operational support for the NDC.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Walikale, North Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	32 officers, 100 combatants (as of 2011).
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	<p>Rwandan government organized and supported the NDC assassination of FDLR Montana battalion commander “Lieutenant Colonel” Evariste Kanzeguhera, aka “Sadiki”.</p> <p>NDC maintains control of the Kivus’ largest tin mine. Also sought to take control over the hills of Mabusa, near Kaseke, and Kasindi near Misoke, south of Pinga, where high-quality tin ore deposits were discovered in July 2009.</p> <p>NDC controls more than 30 remote gold mines throughout Ihana and Utunda north of Goma. Also runs security for Socagrmines, a mining company operating in the large gold mine of Omate. NDC sells their</p>

	<p>gold in the area between Luvungi and Kibua.</p> <p>Sheka also controls a number of diamond-mining locations north of the Osso River.</p>
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## **DRC Fact Sheet: Forces Patriotiques pour la Libération du Congo (FPLC)**



*Thomas Lubanga Dyilo was the founder and president of the Union des patriotes congolais (UPC) and the founder and former Commander-in-Chief of the FPLC. Photo: Haguejusticeportal.net*



*It was believed that after the arrest and ICC conviction of Thomas Lubanga, Bosco Ntaganda - current leader of the M23 - took control of FPLC. Photograph: Lionel Healing/AFP/Getty Images*



*FPLC militia. Photo: imagenesbelicas.blogspot.com*



*Thomas Lubanga on trial at the ICC. Photo: Lubangatrial.org, January 14, 2013.*

<b>Identification</b>	Various. Mainly combat fatigues, some civilian clothing.
<b>Nationality</b>	Mainly Hema Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	FDLR-Rud, FDLR-FOCA, CNDP/M23, Uganda, possibly Rwandan dissident General Nyamwasa, many local Mai Mai militias, and FARDC deserters. Basically anyone anti-Kigali.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Previously Thomas Lubanga Dyilo until his arrest in 2005. Unclear who is currently in charge of FPLC.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Initially was over control of Ituri land and resources, but eventually became an ethnic struggle to liberate the DRC of the Hutu threat and continue the work of Nkunda (protecting the Tutsis from genocide).
<b>Established</b>	Officially, January 2010.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>The FPLC was conceptualized by Thomas Lubanga in 2001/02 as the military wing of the Union des Patriotes Congolaise (UPC). Officially created in January 2010 by former members of the CNDP after the arrest of General Laurent Nkunda.</p> <p>Composed of and supported by the Hema ethnic group.</p> <p>Thomas Lubanga was charged with war crimes by the ICC – mainly enlisting and conscripting child soldiers – and arrested on March 19, 2005. These crimes were mainly committed in the Ituri region.</p> <p>Bosco Ntaganda – FPLC’s Deputy chief of Staff – apparently assumed command of the FPLC for a short period upon Lubanga’s arrest.</p> <p>Briefly led by Gadi Ngabo until his arrest in Kampala, Uganda, in June of 2010. Gadi was known for ambushing aid convoys in Rutshuru territory.</p> <p>On February 25, 2011, FLPC’s main military commander, Colonel Emmanuel Nsengivumva, was assassinated – apparently by his own bodyguards. Involvement by Rwandan army and General Bosco Ntaganda suspected by Congolese intelligence officers. A UN official postulates Nsengivumva was killed over a ransom disagreement paid by the oil company Soco International for the release of a hostage.</p> <p>On March 14, 2012, former FPLC leader Thomas Lubanga was sentenced to 14 years in prison by the ICC. An appeal has been filed to extend his sentence considering the gravity of his crimes.</p>

<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Rutshuru territory around the border with Uganda and the Virunga national park.
<b>Strength</b>	200 to 500.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	

## DRC Fact Sheet: Armée de Résistance Populaire (ARP)



General Faustin Munene, leader of ARP. Photo: Afroamerica.net, November 10, 2010



General Munene, far right. Photo: lecongolais.cd, July 25, 2012

<b>Identification</b>	Well-trained and equipped militia. Uniforms vary, but mainly FARDC fatigues.
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Various Congolese militias of Eastern DR Congo.  “There is no alliance. Everyone who takes a stand against this regime is part of this resistance. All means are good for Kabila to go. We do not discriminate.” Munene.
<b>Leader/s</b>	General Faustin Munene.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To strengthen eastern DRC’s local resistance against FARDC, MONUSCO, and other foreign invaders, as well as topple the Kabila regime.  As stated in their May 3, 2012, paper to the UN Security Council, the ARP: “confirms ground operations in Eastern DRC to secure our people, insure our territorial integrity, end the regime of Hyppolite Kanambe alias Joseph Kabila, a regime of imposture, occupation for planned balkanization, dictatorship, mafia and terrorist networks, which is controlled by President Paul Kagame and Museveni and their backing negatives forces. ARP strongly condemns the flow of Rwandan soldiers’ regiments in Congo to commit a second genocide on the peaceful people of DRC and finalize the occupation phase.”
<b>Established</b>	January, 2012.
<b>History/Problems</b>	The ARP has been in existence since January of 2012 and has forces in the eastern DR Congo. Munene is quoted as saying that his troops operate in the following four provinces: “Eastern Province, North and South Kivu, and North Katanga.” It is unclear what is meant by “Eastern Province.”  General Munene - nephew of Congolese independence hero Pierre Mulele (who was tortured and murdered by Mobutu) - grew up in Angola, fought for Angolan independence with the MPLA, and joined Laurent Kabila’s AFDL to overthrow Mobutu’s regime. After rising to the rank of General, Munene continued to served Kabila as his Vice Minister of the Interior and Security, Army Chief of Staff, and Justice Minister. After the assassination of Laurent Kabila, Munene fell out of favor with Laurent’s successor, Joseph Kabila, who suspected he was supporting various rebel movements within the DRC. In October of 2010 an arrest attempt was made and Munene fled to the Republic of

	<p>the Congo. On January 18, 2011, Munene was arrested in Brazzaville. Shortly thereafter, on February 27, 2011, there was an attempted coup, apparently orchestrated by Munene and at least 126 followers. Because the coup was coordinated from Brazzaville and the RC has refused to extradite Munene and his co-conspirator, Udjani, back to the DRC, Kinshasa broke diplomatic relations. On March 4, 2011, Munene was sentenced in absentia to life imprisonment by a military tribunal.</p> <p>Apparently, Munene is against FARDC, MONSCO and African Union efforts to stabilize North and South Kivu, claiming their operation is merely a “smoke screen.” The real aim of these forces is to depopulate the eastern DRC, exploit its natural resources, and ultimately allow its annexation by Rwanda.</p> <p>Munene claims that most of the militias which now operate under the command of FARDC are of Rwandan and Ugandan origin, and are the main perpetrators of human rights abuses in the Kivus. It is the job of the ARP to rid the eastern DR Congo of these foreign invaders and protect the Congolese people and legal foreign immigrants who call the Kivus their home.</p> <p>According to Congotribune, in May of 2012, Kabila offered Munene an invitation to return to Kinshasa for reconciliation. Munene refused.</p> <p>Apparently, on June 14, 2012, ARP joined an alliance with APARECO and UDPS at a signing ceremony in Paris, France. The alliance was created to challenge the results of the November 28 election. Immediately after the alliance’s formation the UDPS began to waver, claiming that ARP was a military rather than political organization, and that representatives present at the Paris conference were not authorized to sign for the UDPS.</p> <p>Though officially under arrest in Brazzaville, Munene enjoys freedom of movement and the protection of the RC government (as of August, 2012).</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	North and South Kivu, North Katanga.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK47.
<b>Notes</b>	



## DRC Fact Sheet: Local Defence Forces (Busumba)

<b>Identification</b>	Various. Combination of military fatigues and civilian clothes.
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese Hutu.
<b>Alliances</b>	M23, CNDP.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Erasto Ntibaturana.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Mainly criminal gain.
<b>Established</b>	1993.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Erasto Ntibaturana is an influential Hutu figure in northern Masisi, North Kivu. Calls himself “Chef de famille et pacificateur” and exercises the powers of a customary chief and militia leader.</p> <p>Created his Hutu militia in 1993. Surrounds himself with 30 to 50 soldiers and maintains a base at Busumba.</p> <p>Ntibaturana was part of Eugène Serufuli’s NGO known as “Tous pour la paix et le développement (TPD),” which had been known to illegally distribute weapons to the local population.</p> <p>Claims publicly that he has strong ties with authorities in Kigali and that he often travels there. Ntibaturana has personally met with the Rwandan authorities to request the liberation of Laurent Nkunda.</p> <p>Ntibaturana has had a long-standing conflict with the legitimate Hunde traditional chief, Mwami Bashali.</p> <p>Recruited by M23 in 2012 and actively participates in combined military operations in North Kivu.</p> <p>M23 assigned troops to support Ntibaturana’s population resettlement operations in northern Masisi. Since 2001, Ntibaturana has been redistributing land around Busumba, favoring ethnic Hutus over the Hundes. Ntibaturana’s significant influence in the region deprives victims of any form of recourse. Villagers from Busumba testified that Ntibaturana brutalized landowners who lodged complaints with DRC authorities. Ntibaturana also appointed a large number of local Hutu chiefs loyal to him in northern Masisi to government posts.</p>

	Maintains close ties with ex-CNDP officers, including his son, Lieutenant Colonel Gasherri Musanga, who was integrated into FARDC with a number of Ntibaturana's soldiers in 2009.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Northern Masisi, North Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons. AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	Engaged in the growth and sale of a large amount of cannabis. Traded at markets in Busumba, Muhanga, Kibarizo, and Goma. Security provided by ex-CNDP troops under the command of Colonel Innocent Zimurinda.

## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Mongol

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Many wear Congolese government uniforms as they were partially integrated into FARDC.</p> <p>Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Hutu Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	FDLR, FARDC.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Munyamariba Nyunga.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Hutu control over Masisi territory.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown. Probably before Munyamariba became the UPC representative for Masisi.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Munyamariba was well-known in central Masisi for having distributed weapons in 2004 to a Hutu militia known for its killing and harassment of local Hudes.</p> <p>During the fighting around western Rutshuru in 2008, Mai Mai Mongol militia repeatedly raided villages for cattle, goats and other goods, raping women and girls, and killing civilians who opposed their activities or whom they accused of being collaborators of their enemies.</p> <p>As of December, 2011, Munyamariba still maintained about 30 militia elements spread out in villages north of Masisi.</p> <p>During the election of 2011, Munyamariba told a crowd in Masisi that, “whoever does not vote for the Rwandophone candidates must be</p>

	eliminated.”
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Central and southern Masisi territory, North Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	500 – 1,500 (last reported 2010).
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons. AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	Must be considered highly dangerous. Occasionally coordinates with FARDC.

## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Gédéon



*Kyungu Mutanga, alias "Gédéon" – leader of Mai Mai Gedeon. Photo d'archives*



*Gedeon Mutanga (far left). Le Congolais January 2012*



*Mutanga Gedeon. Photo: Coscct.over-blog.org, June 15, 2012*

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes.</p> <p>Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To protect the DR Congo from foreign invaders – though, it seems Mai Mai Gedeon is much more interested in criminal gain.
<b>Established</b>	As early as 2003 – possibly earlier.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga Wa Bafunkwa Kanonga, aka Commander Gedeon, is guilty of many war crimes in the Katanga territories of Mitwaba, Pweto, and Manono – also known as the “triangle of death,” dating back to 2003.</p> <p>On May 16, 2006, Gedeon turned himself over to MONUSCO troops.</p> <p>On March 6, 2009, both Gedeon and his wife were sentenced to death by the Kibushi Military Tribunal of the Katanga province for committing crimes against humanity, insurgency, and terrorism both during and after the Second Congo War.</p> <p>Gedeon escaped from the Kaspera prison in Lubumbashi, Katanga, along with 900 other prisoners on September 7, 2011. A \$100,000 bounty was placed on his head.</p> <p>In January, 2012, aid organizations accused Mai Mai Gedeon for the</p>

	<p>murder of at least 25 civilians. They further blamed him for the displacement of 12,500 villagers and the rape of 10 women. 1,000 children became malnourished during this period of unrest, and 6 infants died of starvation.</p> <p>Attacked a FARDC base in the village of Kiyambo, Manono territory, on September 19, 2012.</p> <p>In December of 2012, up to 13 tribal chiefs of the Katanga province were kidnapped by Gedeon militia. In January, 2013, two chiefs managed to escape and return to their territories.</p> <p>In response the recent attacks, the Minister of the Interior, Richard Muyej, accused Mai Mai Gedeon of being engaged in murder, theft, malicious destruction, and terrorism.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Mitwaba territory, Katanga province. Recently blamed for attacking the Lumbashi airport in southern Katanga.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons. AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	Must be considered extremely dangerous. Has committed many acts of terror against civilians, FARDC, and MONUSCO. Has been accused of cannibalism.

## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Nyakiliba

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes.</p> <p>Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	FDLR.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Colonel Nyakiliba.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Combination of protecting Nyakiliba land and enterprises.
<b>Established</b>	Before 1998.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Started operations early as a local Mai Mai commander. His goal was to rid his country of Tutsi invaders, but more realistically he was expanding his territory and making a name for himself.</p> <p>During the Second Congo War, Nyakiliba and his troops ambushed a RCD convoy near the town of Kassika as they were attempting to aid allied troops trapped in Kindu. His actions sparked a RCD/Ugandan retaliatory strike on August 27, 1998, which was so horrible it earned the moniker, “the Massacre of Kassika.” 200 civilians were tortured and murdered.</p> <p>Nyakiliba was arrested by Military Police on December 27, 2005, for collaborating with FDLR, violation of military secrets, and disobeying orders.</p>

	<p>In mid-January 2006, the 106th Brigade, under the command of Nyakiliba, arrived in Bukavu in order to be reintegrated into the Congolese national army.</p> <p>On August 1, 2010, FDLR and Nyakiliba troops beheaded 2 FARDC officers as well as a civilian guide. This was a warning for FARDC to stay out of the FDLR/Nyakiliba timber business.</p> <p>In August, 2012, several Mai Mai groups, along with Nyakiliba, were asked by FARDC and MONUSCO to assist government forces to defeat M23 units operating in North Kivu.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Mwenga territory, South Kivu.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons. AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	Considered as one of the major Mai Mai militias in the Kivus.

## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Fujo

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes.</p> <p>Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Mouvement pour la Defense du Peuple under Colonel Baleke, Mai Mai Yakutumba, FNL.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Lieutenant Colonel Fujo Zabuloni.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To expel foreign invaders (MONUSCO, Rwandans, etc) from Congolese territory.
<b>Established</b>	As early as 2004 – possibly earlier.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Participated in the August 13 - 14, 2004, genocide of Banyamulenge refugees at the Gatumba camp near Bujumbura, Burundi. FARDC, Interahamwe, and FNL were among the hostile forces. At least 152 Congolese civilians were murdered and another 106 injured. Burundian police and military did not offer protection even though the incident occurred only a few hundred yards from their encampment.</p> <p>Joined forces with Mai Mai Yakutumba in 2009 to prevent Rwandan troops from entering the Uvira/Fizi region.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Uvira, South Kivu.

<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons. AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	Extremely dangerous. Numerous accounts of murder, rape, and abductions.

## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Kirikicho

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes.</p> <p>Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese Tembo.
<b>Alliances</b>	M23, FDLR.
<b>Leader/s</b>	General Kirikicho Mirimba.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To prevent outsiders from invading Congolese lands – mainly referring to Rwandan Tutsis.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>On March 27, 2008, the FARDC 85<sup>th</sup> Brigade engaged combined Mai Mai Kirikicho and Damien forces in the area of Chambucha/North Hombo (southern Walikale).</p> <p>In July, 2011, made a written commitment to remove child soldiers from his militia.</p> <p>On May 7, 2012, Mai Mai Kirikicho militia joined FDLR troops in an attack on a FARDC position at Lumbishi, South Kivu.</p> <p>Apparently joined M23 in November, 2012.</p>
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Kalehe territory, South Kivu.

<b>Strength</b>	100 or more.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons. Mainly AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	

## DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Kifuafua (Kalehe)



*Mai-Mai Kifuafua militia troops control Rift territory in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. They believe greenery offers magical protection. PHOTO: PASCAL MAITRE*



*Mai Mai Kifuafua. PHOTO: PASCAL MAITRE*



*Didier Batiki, Leader of Mai Mai Kifuafua. Photo: Walter Astrada, New York Times, November 21, 2008*

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes.</p> <p>Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water – usually a mixture of palm oil and holy water – on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese Tembo.
<b>Alliances</b>	FARDC, Mai Mai Raia Mutomboki.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Didier Batiki.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To fight Rwandan pro-Hutu FDLR.
<b>Established</b>	Early 1990s.
<b>History/Problems</b>	<p>Signed the Goma Peace Agreement in 2009. When the Congolese government failed to do what was promised many Mai Mai Kifuafua soldiers returned to their former positions.</p> <p>In February of 2010, 475 Mai Mai Kifuafua soldiers assembled south of Walikale town and were integrated into FARDC. Many may not have been soldiers.</p> <p>Between 17 and 22 of May, 2012, Mai Mai Kifuafua was involved in a combined attack with Raia Mutomboki on 12 villages around Katoyi, Masisi territory, North Kivu. The operation resulted in the murder of 120 plus civilians – mainly women and children – and the displacement of thousands.</p>
<b>Area/s of Operation</b>	Unknown.

<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons. Mainly AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	

## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Yakutumba (Forces Armées Alleluia)**



*General Amuri Yakutumba. Imurenge.com*



*Child recruits of Mai Mai Yakutumba. Newstimeafrica.com*

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Babemba/Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Close alliance with FNL Burundian rebels under the command of Agathon Rwasa. Yakutumba agreed to provide a rear base for FNL in exchange for military training, weapons, links and the promise to participate in operations against FARDC in order to eventually take over all of South Kivu.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Major General Amuri Yakutumba (military). Political wing - Parti pour l’Action et la Reconstruction du Congo (PARC) – headed by Rapheal Looba Undji
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Opposition to Rwandaphone communities (Hutu and Tutsi) on Babemba land. Eventual rule of all South Kivu.
<b>Established</b>	2007.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Created when local militias opposed integration with FARDC during the transition process of 2003 – 2005. Yakutumba refused to redeploy troops as long as the neighboring Banyamulenge community (mostly Tutsi) – with whom Yakutumba’s ethnic Babemba has had a long-standing power struggle – failed to integrate their militia. Recent cooperation with Burundian FNL to resist FARDC domination of South Kivu.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Fizi territory, Sud-Kivu Province.
<b>Strength</b>	300 – 400 (possibly thousands more).
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47. Has three motorized gun boats (12.7mm machine guns) on Lake Tanganyika.
<b>Notes</b>	Extremely dangerous. Have committed numerous atrocities against civilians (including kidnapping 8 Red Cross workers in 2010). Attacked FARDC and MONUSCO troops. Evidence of support from

	former Mai Mai commanders within FARDC.
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# DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai Major General David Padiri Bulenda



*General David Padiri Bulenda. Deboutcongolais.info 2003*



*General David Padiri Bulenda with bodyguards. Deboutcongolais.info 2003*

<b>Identification</b>	N/A
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	N/A
<b>Leader/s</b>	N/A
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	N/A
<b>Established</b>	N/A
<b>History/Problems</b>	General Padiri Bulenda was considered by many to be one of the two overall leaders of the Kivu Mai Mai militias with over 6,000 soldiers under his command. Was integrated into FARDC in 2005 and now senior officer of the 6 <sup>th</sup> military region/Katanga in southeastern DR Congo.
<b>Former Areas of Operation</b>	Masisi, Walikale, Shabunda, Bunyakiri, Walungu, Mwenga, Uvira, Lulingu, Kalehe, Hombo, Nzovu, Kaye Bunyakiri Forest, Kalonge, Urega.
<b>Former Strength</b>	In excess of 6,000.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	N/A
<b>Notes</b>	The only high-profile Mai Mai commander to successfully integrate with FARDC.

## **DRC Fact Sheet: Mai Mai General Dunia Lengwama**



*Photographs of General Dunia Lengwama in 2004 prior to his integration into FARDC. UN Security Council December 2, 2011*



<b>Identification</b>	N/A
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	FARDC but still loyal to his region of Fizi.
<b>Leader/s</b>	N/A
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	N/A
<b>Established</b>	N/A
<b>History/Problems</b>	General Dunia was known as the “godfather” of all Mai Mai resistance in Fizi territory. Along with General Padiri was considered as being the overall leader of the Kivu Mai Mai militias. Was integrated into FARDC in 2005.
<b>Former Areas of Operation</b>	Fizi, Uvira, Maniema.
<b>Former Strength</b>	In excess of 5,000.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	N/A
<b>Notes</b>	General Dunia is a primary supporter from within FARDC of Mai Mai Yakutumba. Identified his old arms caches to new leader (Amuri). An ex-combatant stated that Dunia contacted former rebels who integrated with FARDC to express his disappointment.

## **DRC Fact Sheet: Alliance of the People for a Free and Sovereign Congo (APCLS)**



*APCLS leader Janvier Karairi. December 2, 2012 Le Congolaise*



*APCLS and FDLR troops. November 11, 2010 BBC*



*APCLS chief operations officer Colonel Karara Mukandirwa. Photo: UN Security Council 12/02/11*

<b>Identification</b>	Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Well trained, equipped, and organized.
<b>Nationality</b>	Ethnic Hundes.
<b>Alliances</b>	FDLR - has often relied on FDLR weapons and reinforcements to defend against multiple offensives by CNDP-led troops within FARDC.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Janvier Buingo Karairi. Chief Operations Officer: Colonel Karara Mukandirwa.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Protection of Lukweti region from ethnic Tutsis. “The enemy of the APCLS is he who accepts the invasion of the Congo by Rwanda, Uganda, or Burundi.” - Janvier
<b>Established</b>	2006 .
<b>History/Problems</b>	Formed in 2006 as part of PARECO but split from the group in 2008 refusing to sign the Goma Accords. Has refused numerous invitations to cooperate with FARDC. Agreed to assist FARDC during recent hostilities but backed out because ethnic Tutsis were given prominent army positions. Considered strongest Mai Mai group in North Kivu.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Masisi Territory, North Kivu, controlling the localities between Kilambo, Mutongo and Misao to the west and Buboa, Butsindo and Buhato to the east.
<b>Strength</b>	1,000 to 1,500. MONUSCO estimates troop strength to be as high as 2,500. Organized into 4 brigades.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Coordinates and shares intelligence with FDLR. Known to have committed numerous atrocities.



# **DRC Fact Sheet: Mudundu 40/Front de Résistance et de Défense du Kivu (FRDKI), and Mouvement de Lutte contre l'Agression au Zaïre/Forces Unies de Résistance Nationale contre l'Agression de la République Démocratique du Congo (MLAZ/FURNAC)**

<b>Identification</b>	<p>Various. Mixture of BDUs and civilian clothes. Many wear Congolese government uniforms as they were partially integrated into FARDC.</p> <p>Often found wearing tribal/religious talisman and good luck charms. Many wear leaves and spray sacred water on their bodies for protection during battle.</p> <p>Each Mai Mai militia has its own initiation ceremonies, rituals, and protective charms.</p> <p>The term Mai Mai comes from Mai or Maji, meaning “water” in the Bantoues language – also refers to the Maji Maji revolt of 1905-07 during which the combatants were protected by magic water. Alludes to the nature of water and how it ebbs and flows, reflecting how the local militia can come together during an emergency and then disband once the problem is over.</p>
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Rwandan government and RCD-Goma.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Unknown.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	Unknown.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Unknown.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	North and South Kivu.

<b>Strength</b>	Unknown.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various hunting weapons. Mainly AK-47s.
<b>Notes</b>	

# DRC Fact Sheet: Forces Populaires Congolais (FPC)



*FPC militia. Photos: Anneke Verbraeken- <http://www.rnw.nl/africa>*

<b>Identification</b>	Various. Many wear FARDC fatigues whereas others use civilian clothing.
<b>Nationality</b>	Congolese.
<b>Alliances</b>	Unknown.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Kakuli Lafontaine, aka “Mai Mai Lafontaine”. Colonel Albert Kahasha – second in command (and former FARDC officer).
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	To remove President Kabila from power and to restore peace to North Kivu.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	The Forces Populaires Congolais (FPC) is the armed wing of the Union des Patriotes Congolais pour la Paix (UPCP). Cohesion primarily due to leader Kakuli Lafontaine, though many support the ideological mission of the FPC. In recent months there has been an increase of desertion from FARDC ranks to join the FPC. Weapons and other material come from FARDC supporters, though many FPC personnel carry hunting rifles, etc.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Hills of Kubero territory, North Kivu
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown. Consists of 13 separate armed groups but operated as a single militia. Many of FPCs combatants are FARDC deserters.
<b>Primary Weapon</b>	Various.
<b>Notes</b>	No declared connection with M23 or Rwanda. Suggests that the government of the DR Congo is run by Rwanda. Strongly disagrees with President Kabila and has called on the international community to cease their support of his administration. Most of FPCs supplies originate from the local population (willingly and forced) as well as FARDC deserters.

# DRC Fact Sheet: Soki



*Photo courtesy of Virunga News*

<b>Identification</b>	Various.
<b>Nationality</b>	Rwandan.
<b>Alliances</b>	FPLC.
<b>Leader/s</b>	Soki Sangano Musohoke. Deserter from RUD.
<b>Ideology/Goal</b>	No political agenda.
<b>Established</b>	Unknown.
<b>History/Problems</b>	Formed when Soki Musohoke defected from RUD to engage in criminal operations – mainly looting and taxation.
<b>Areas of Operation</b>	Northern Rutshuru on the shores of shores of Lake Edward.
<b>Strength</b>	Unknown. Most likely less than 60.
<b>Primary Weapon/s</b>	AK-47.
<b>Notes</b>	Was killed by M23 soldiers during an attack on the village of Busanza, Rutshuru territory, on July 11, 2013.

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*Author Alex Gowen on the shore of lake Issy-Kul, Kyrgyz Republic*

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