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MONTHLY DISPLACEMENT REPORT EASTERN DRC – JUNE 2026

Crisis Analysis Team
(CAT) – DRC
Mercy Corps



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1. Key trend highlights for June

- Armed conflict remained the primary driver of population movements in eastern DRC in June 2026, with new displacement concentrated in South Kivu, Maniema and North Kivu.
- South Kivu and Maniema recorded 16,137 and 15,320 newly displaced households respectively, driven mainly by clashes involving the AFC/M23, the FARDC, Wazalendo groups and various Mai-Mai factions.
- North Kivu recorded 10,568 newly displaced households, up from 6,519 in May, an increase of 62%. Displacement was concentrated in Masisi (7,943 households), towards the Mweso health zone, and Walikale (2,625 households), within the Pinga health zone, driven by renewed clashes between the VDP/Wazalendo, backed by the FARDC, and M23 combatants.
- Ituri presented a contrasting picture: 4,450 newly displaced households in Mahagi and Mambasa, alongside the return of 6,916 households to Djugu, in the Nizi and Lita health zones.
- Most displaced households are living with host families. Pressure on host communities and basic services is intensifying, particularly in relation to water, sanitation and hygiene, health, shelter and essential household items, food and protection.

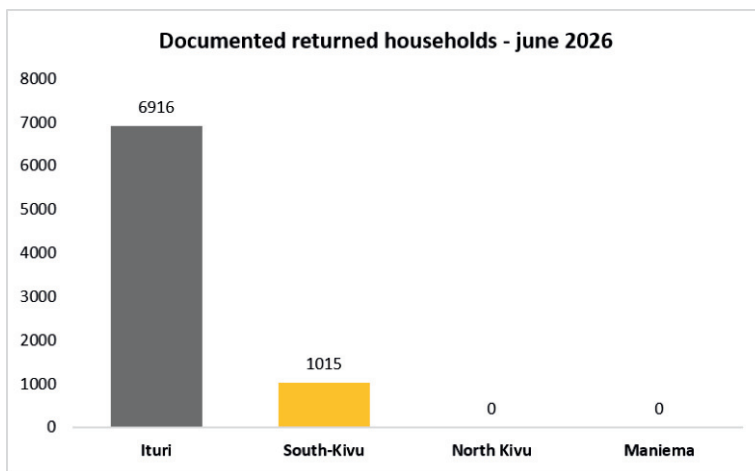
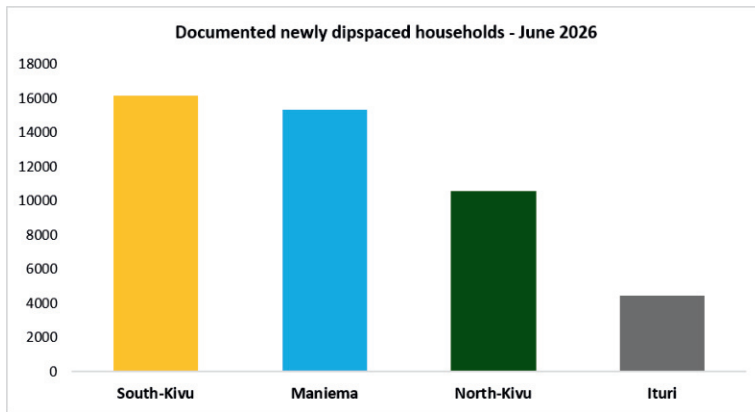
2. Displacement Dashboard

Overall snapshot

46,475 newly displaced households	7,931 returned households	13 territories	4 provinces
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Summary by province

Province	Newly displaced households	Returned households
South Kivu	16,137	1,015
North Kivu	10,568	0
Maniema	15,320	0
Ituri	4,450	6,916



3. Methodology

This report is based on displacement and return alerts reported in June 2026, triangulated through humanitarian sources, local networks, and partner updates. The figures presented correspond to household movements recorded during the reporting period; they should not be interpreted as the total number of internally displaced people in the provinces concerned.

- Access constraints, insecurity, assessment delays and the risk of double counting may affect the accuracy of the estimates.
- Displacement, return and preventive displacement movements are distinguished as far as possible, although some alerts may combine several dynamics.
- The data presented should be considered provisional operational estimates and should be validated before any external dissemination.
- The humanitarian access analysis should be read as a complementary indicator: it sheds light on operational constraints but does not replace a detailed needs assessment.

4. Evolution of violence hotspots and drivers of displacement between May and June 2026

Main drivers of population movements

Between May and June 2026, armed incidents declined slightly, from 895 to 856 (-4%). This decline nonetheless masks a reconfiguration of violence hotspots: stability in North Kivu, an increase in South Kivu, a concentration of clashes in Maniema and a relative decline in Ituri.

In **South Kivu**, incidents rose from 218 to 228, driven by the expansion of the AFC/M23–Twirwaneho/Ngumino dynamic and clashes with the FARDC/Wazalendo, resulting in the displacement of 16,137 households.

In **North Kivu**, incidents remained stable (329 to 330), but persistent fighting between the AFC/M23, the FARDC/Wazalendo, the FDLR and local armed groups along the Masisi-Walikale axis drove 10,568 newly displaced households, or 23% of the total.

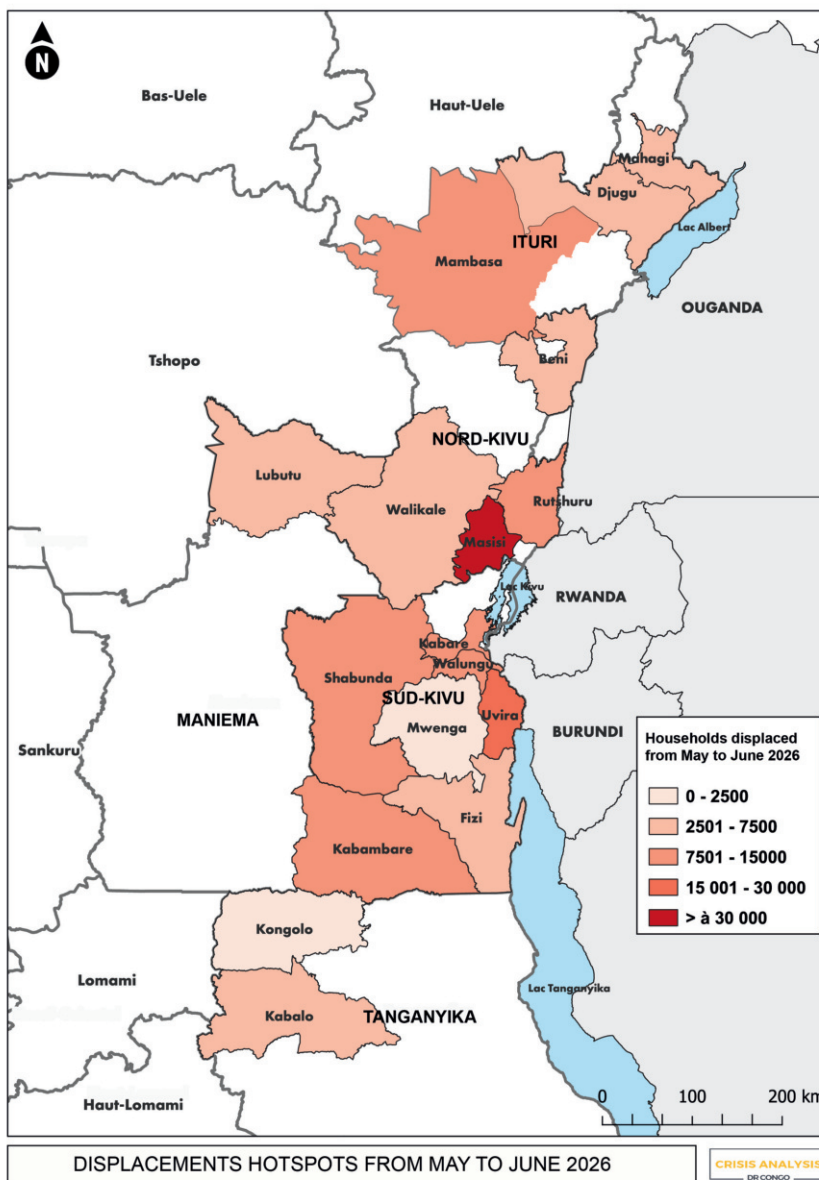
In **Maniema**, despite a slight fall in incidents (61 to 58), rivalries between Mai-Mai factions, mainly in Kabambare, displaced 15,320 households.

In **Ituri**, incidents fell from 287 to 240, but the ADF, CODECO/URDPC and CRP/Zaire continued to cause localised displacement. The 4,450 newly displaced households were nonetheless offset by the return of 6,916 households.

Overall, displacement is driven more by the mobility of front lines, the concentration of fighting along strategic axes and shifts in territorial control than by the number of incidents alone.

Province	May	June	Change	Main hotspots and actors	Link with displacement
North Kivu	329	330	+1 Stable	Masisi and Rutshuru; AFC/M23, FARDC, Wazalendo, FDLR and local armed groups.	Sustained violence at a very high level; significant displacement along the Masisi-Walikale axes and in contested-control areas.
South Kivu	218	228	+10 (+5 %)	Kalehe, Shabunda, Fizi, Mwenga and Walungu; AFC/M23-Twirwaneho-Ngumino against FARDC and Wazalendo.	16,137 newly displaced households (45%); main hotspot of new displacement.
Ituri	287	240	-47 (-16 %)	Mambasa, Irumu and Djugu; ADF, CRP/Zaire, CODECO-URDPC, FRPI and FARDC.	4,450 newly displaced households and 6,916 returnee households; coexistence of pockets of violence and areas of return.
Maniema	61	58	-3 (-5 %)	Kabambare mainly; Mai-Mai factions and self-defence groups.	15,320 newly displaced households (43%); high humanitarian impact from localised violence.
Total	895	856	-39 (-4 %)	Reconfiguration of violence hotspots rather than uniform improvement.	South Kivu and Maniema account for 88% of the new displacement considered.

Main population displacement hotspots



This map shows the main displacement hotspots from May to June 2026, with the highest concentrations in Ituri, North Kivu, South Kivu and Tanganyika.

Overview of June incidents and impact on humanitarian access

In June 2026, humanitarian access in eastern DRC remained severely constrained. June saw 1,758 incidents (attacks, robberies, kidnappings, confinements and threats) compared with 1,804 in May, a 2.5% decrease across all categories and actors.

In **South Kivu**, the dispersal of violence hotspots and the proliferation of armed actors are fragmenting access, complicating negotiations and reducing the predictability of movements.

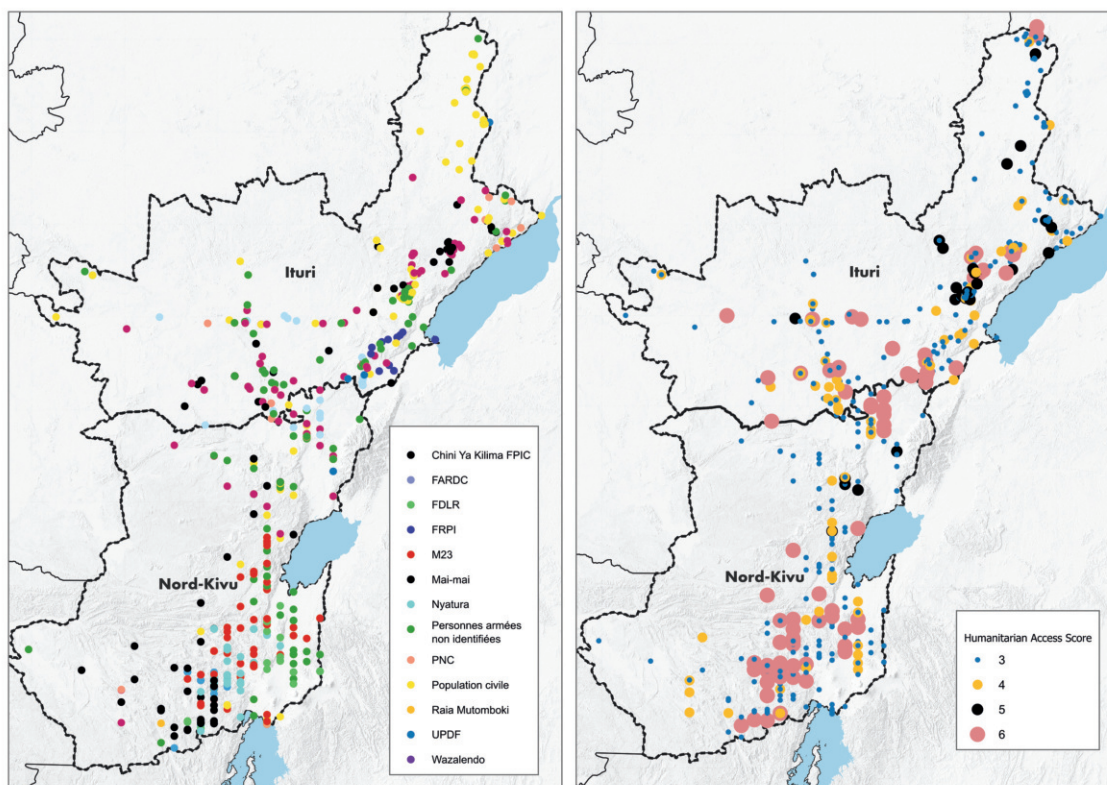
In **North Kivu**, the mobility of front lines and the concentration of fighting in Masisi, Rutshuru, Walikale, Beni and Lubero make access highly unstable, with frequent suspensions of movements and a risk of populations becoming isolated.

In **Ituri**, access remains irregular in Irumu, Mambasa and Djugu. Despite the decline in some armed incidents, criminality, kidnappings and looting continue to restrict humanitarian movements and populations' access to services.

In **Maniema**, illegal taxation, looting and armed group control of key routes severely restrict access, particularly in Kabambare, while remoteness and poor road conditions compound the constraints.

In **Tanganyika**, access remains possible but costly and unpredictable, mainly owing to criminality, robberies and armed group activity along the routes around Kalemie, Nyunzu, Manono and Moba.

The overall decline in incidents does not therefore necessarily signal an improvement in access, which depends above all on the location of violence, control of key routes and the ability of populations to reach assistance.



Map 2. Distribution of incidents by armed actor and humanitarian access score, June 2026

5. Provincial displacement analysis

5.1 South Kivu: armed clashes and abuses at the centre of displacement

South Kivu continued to record significant population movements during the reporting period, mainly in the territories of Kabare, Shabunda, Walungu, Uvira, Fizi and Mwenga. These displacements were driven primarily by clashes between AFC/M23 and its allies, including Twirwaneho and RED-Tabara, and the FARDC supported by Wazalendo groups, as well as by abuses committed by some armed groups against civilians.

The deterioration of the security situation, marked by recurrent violence, armed incursions, acts of intimidation and a climate of fear in several localities, forced many households to flee to areas perceived as safer. At the same time, limited returns were observed in Uvira territory, supported by a relative improvement in the security situation in some localities.

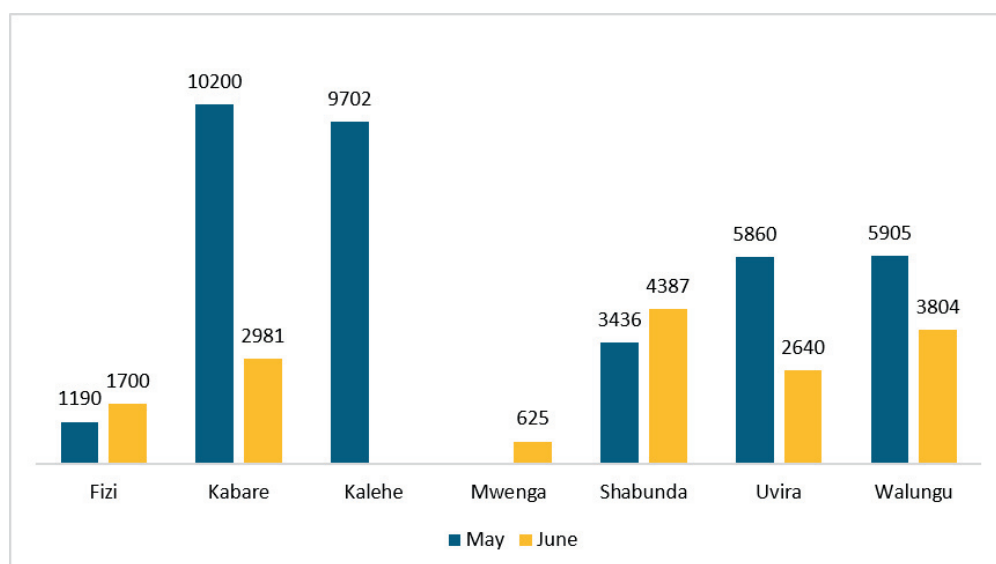
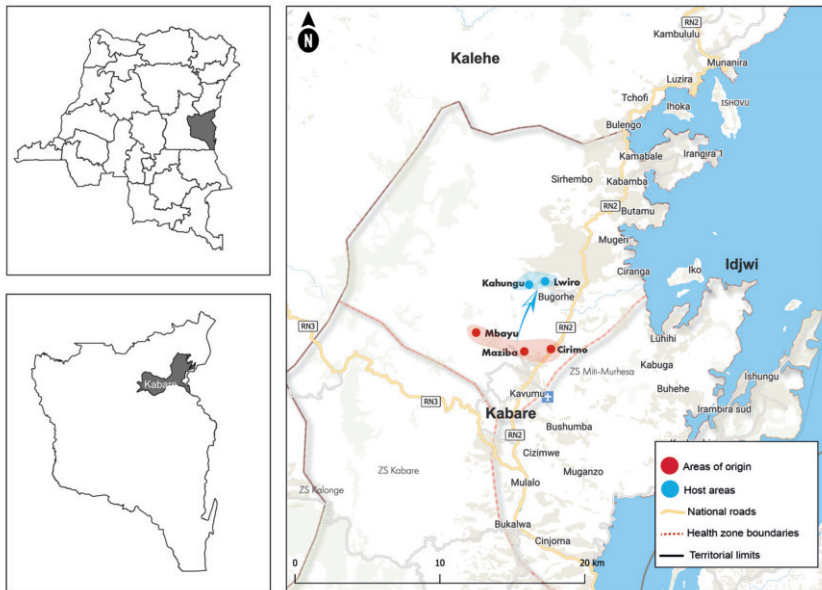


Chart 1. Trend in the number of displaced households between the previous and current month

Kabare: clashes in Miti groupement trigger new displacement

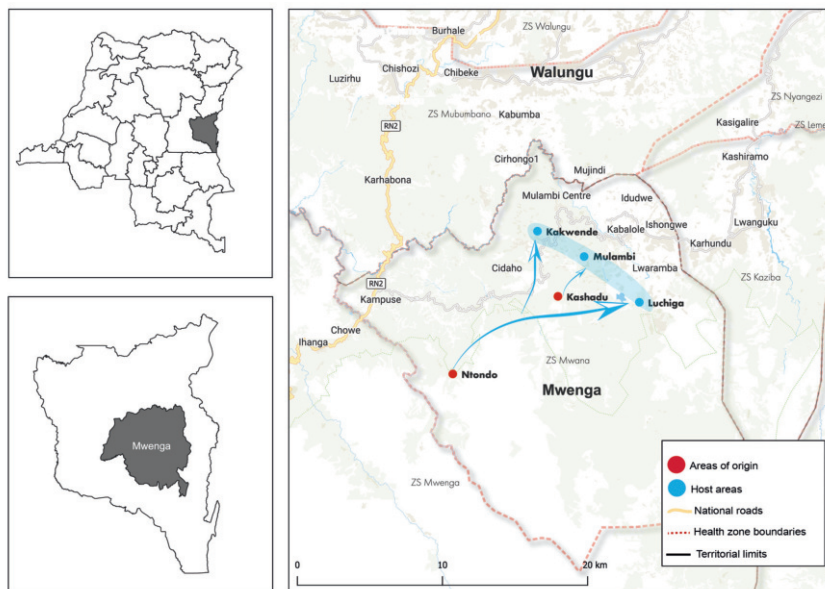
Kabare territory recorded the displacement of approximately 2,981 households, mainly towards Miti-Murhesa Health Zone. These population movements are primarily attributed to clashes between M23 fighters and Wazalendo groups supported by the FARDC in the localities of Mbayu, Cirimiro, Kayeye, Kafurumaye, Karambi, Kabulungu and Maziba, located in Miti groupement. As the security situation deteriorated, affected households fled their villages and mainly moved towards Kahungu and Lwiro, in Miti-Murhesa Health Zone, in search of better security conditions.



Map 3. Population movements in Kabare Territory

Mwenga: clashes in Ntongo groupement trigger new displacement

Clashes between the Wazalendo, supported by the FARDC, and the M23 in the localities of Ntongo, Lurhala, Kashadu and Kasihe, located in Ntongo groupement, displaced 625 households. These households moved towards Kakwende, Mulambi and Luchiga, in Mwana Health Zone.



Map 4. Population movements in Mwenga Territory

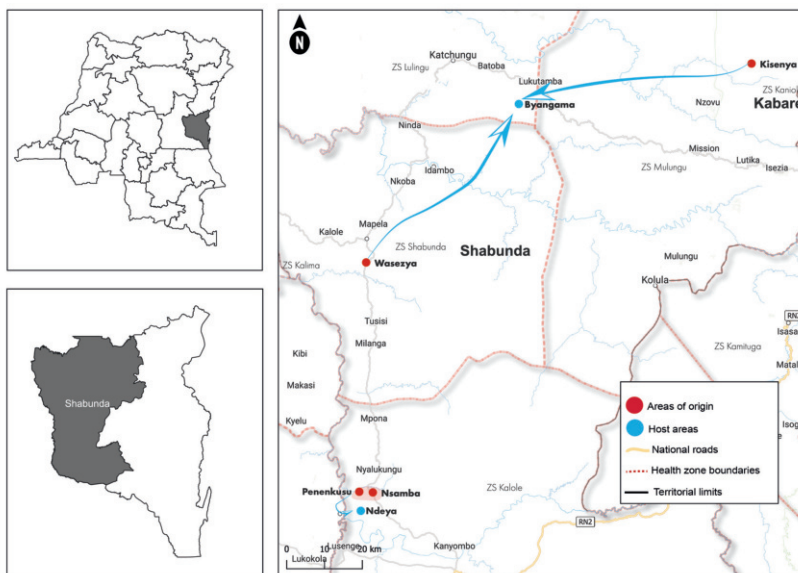
Shabunda : abuses by Wazalendo groups cause significant displacement

During the month of June, Shabunda territory recorded the displacement of approximately 4,387 households, mainly towards Kalole Health Zone, which received 3,330 households, and Lulingu Health Zone which received 1,057 households.

These population movements are primarily attributed to the deterioration of the security situation in several localities of the territory.

Incursions by Wazalendo elements under the command of self-proclaimed General Eliya Fimbo Yamusa in Bamuguba Sud groupement were marked by gunfire, intimidation, arbitrary arrests, looting, and cases of torture and abduction of boys forced to perform labour. These abuses pushed many households to flee towards Byangama or to take refuge in the bush.

In addition, the arrival in the village of Penekusu, located in Nkulu groupement, of Wazalendo armed groups from Batali and Maniema generated widespread fear. This led to displacement towards Ndeya and Mwamba, in Kalole Health Zone, while other households took refuge in forested areas or crossed into Maniema province.



Map 5. Population movements in Shabunda Territory

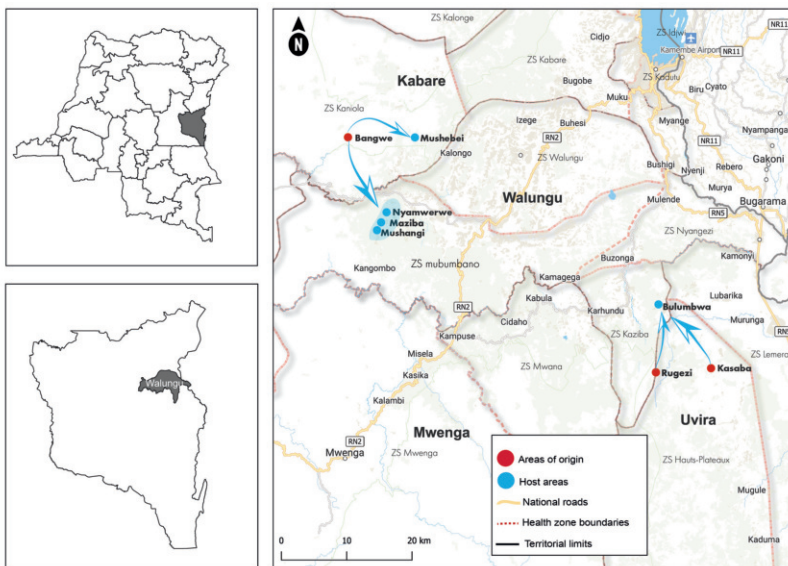
Walungu: persistent insecurity and armed abuses fuel new displacement

Walungu territory recorded the displacement of approximately 3,804 households. Displaced populations moved mainly towards Nkanga Health Zone (1,524 households), Kaniola Health Zone (1,440 households) and Kaziba Health Zone (840 households).

These population movements stem from the persistent deterioration of the security situation in several localities of the territory. On the one hand, clashes between the VDP/Wazalendo, supported by the FARDC, and Gumino-Twirwaneho fighters allied with the M23 in the Minembwe Highlands forced many households to flee their places of residence.

On the other hand, a climate of heightened concern was observed in the villages of Mulambula, Kashahii, Bangwe and Chikanda, located in Kaniola Health Zone, because of fears of imminent clashes between M23 elements and the Wazalendo. This situation led many residents to leave their localities as a precaution ahead of any further escalation of violence.

Finally, repeated abuses attributed to Wazalendo elements in the villages of Kakono, Madaka, Cihusu, Kabumba, Iranga and Cizi, in Mubumbano Health Zone, caused sporadic population displacement. Affected households mainly found refuge with host families in the villages of Nkanga, Mususu I, II and III, Katudu, Karundu, Lwanshoko, Nindji, Karhambama and Mukaza, within Mubumbano Health Zone.

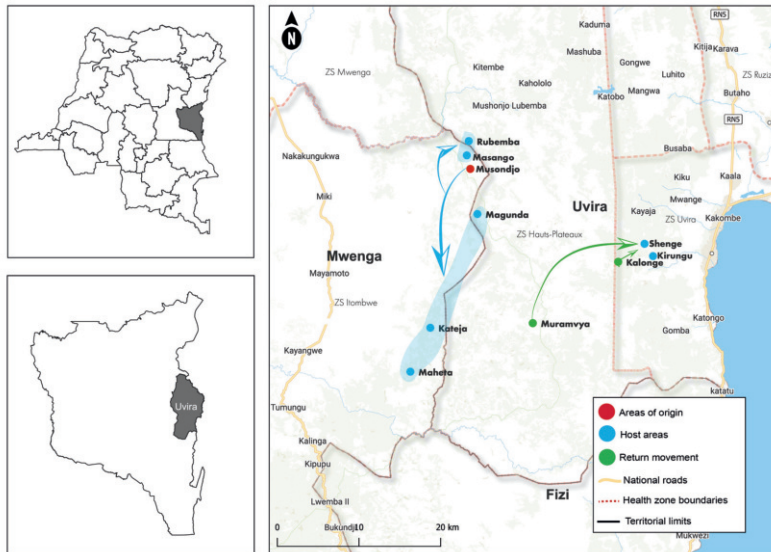


Map 6. Population movements in Walungu Territory

Uvira: instability in the Hauts-Plateaux remains a driver of new displacement alongside some returns

Uvira recorded the displacement of approximately 2,640 households, mainly hosted in Hauts-Plateaux Health Zone. This displacement is primarily linked to the deterioration of the security situation in the Hauts-Plateaux. First, clashes between presumed RED-Tabara elements allied with AFC/M23 and the Twirwaneho, and Wazalendo fighters supported by the FARDC in the village of Musondjo, located in Mwenga territory, forced populations to flee towards Rubemba and Magunda, in Hauts-Plateaux Health Zone. Second, movements of AFC/M23 and RED-Tabara fighters in Bafuliru chiefdom between 11 and 13 June, as well as clashes reported from 15 June in Musondjo between the FARDC and their allies on one side and RED-Tabara and Twirwaneho groups affiliated with AFC/M23 on the other, triggered new displacement towards Maheta, Masango, Kateja, Kihanama, Rubemba and Magunda.

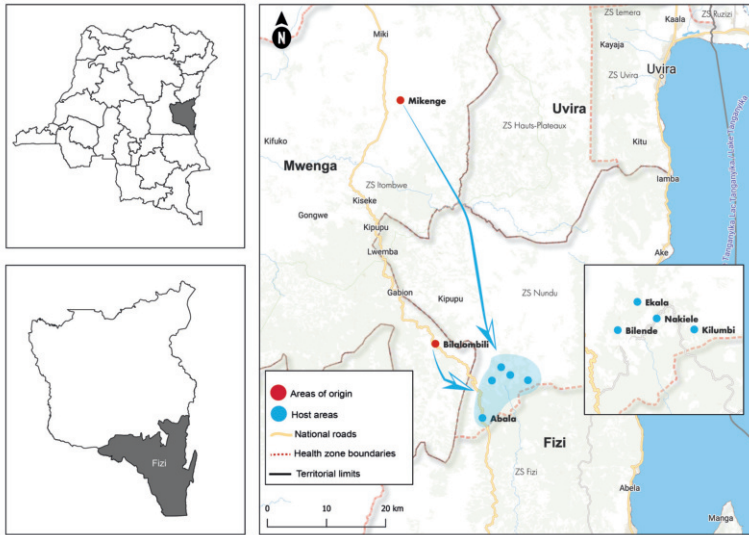
At the same time, approximately 1,015 returnee households were recorded in Uvira Health Zone during May but reported by OCHA in June. These households had fled clashes that occurred in March 2026 in the villages of Muramvya and Mitamba, in Bijombo groupement, between Twirwaneho/M23 armed groups and government forces and their allies. Returnees came mainly from the villages of Munanira and Kalonge, in Lemera Health Zone, and from Kijaga, in Kabindula groupement. They returned to the villages of Kirungu, Kishembwe, Shenge, Karonge and Rwimbogo, located in Uvira Health Zone.



Map 7. Population movements in Uvira Territory

Fizi: clashes in Mikenge trigger new displacement towards Nundu Health Zone

In total, 1,700 households were displaced towards Nundu Health Zone. These population movements are primarily linked to clashes between the FARDC and their allies and the Twirwaneho coalition, affiliated with AFC/M23, in the localities of Mikenge and Bilalombili, located in Itombwe sector, Mwenga territory. Displaced households found refuge in several villages in Nundu Health Zone, including Kilumbi, Nakiele, Angele, Eleme, Bilende, Emangye, Ekala, Etea, Kanguli, Bukenji, Alundo and Abala. According to OCHA, most of these displaced families are currently hosted by host families.



Map 8. Population movements in Fizi Territory

5.2 North Kivu: renewed fighting between the VDP/Wazalendo and the M23 drives an increase in displacement

In June 2026, North Kivu recorded 10,568 newly displaced households, up from 6,519 in May, an increase of 62%. Masisi accounts for 7,943 households, nearly 75% of the provincial total, ahead of Walikale (2,625).

These movements stem primarily from renewed clashes between the VDP/Wazalendo, backed by the FARDC, and M23 combatants in the groupements of Ufamandu I, Bashali Mokoto, Nyamaboko I, Bapfuna, Biiri and Luberike, as well as in the border areas between Masisi and Walikale territories. The Mweso and Pinga health zones received many displaced households, most often within host families, increasing pressure on already vulnerable communities.

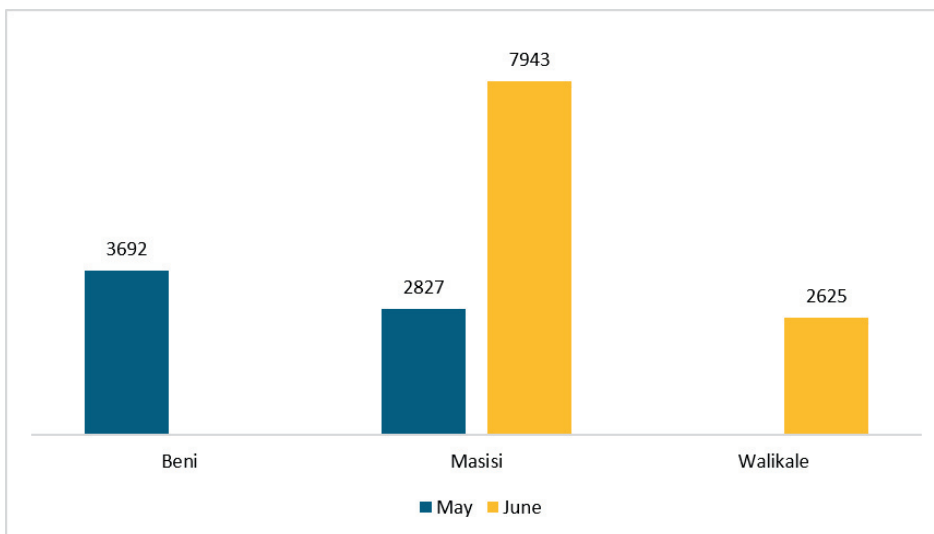
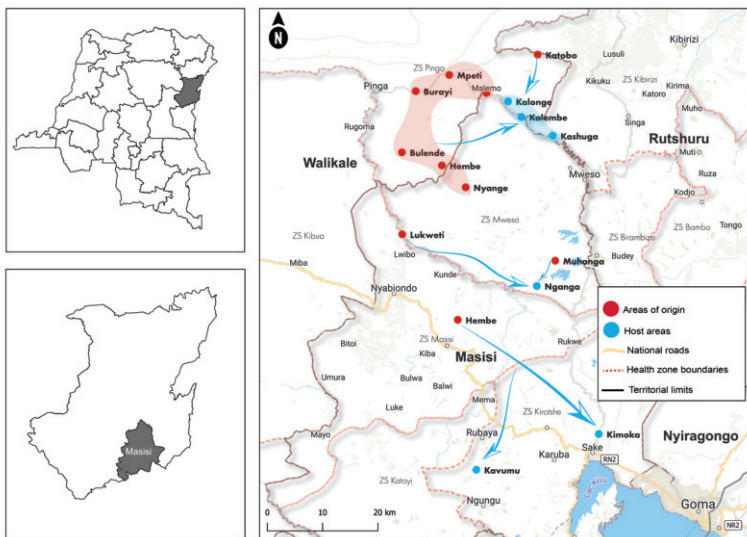


Chart 2. Change in the number of displaced households between the previous month and the current month.

Masisi: main displacement hotspot

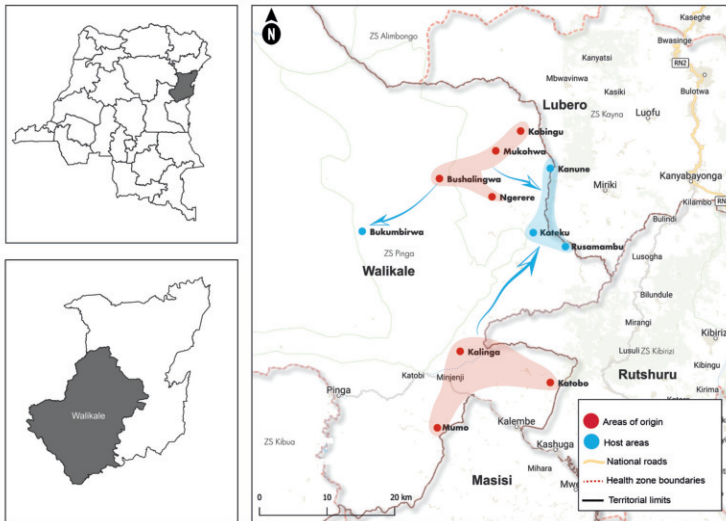
In June, Masisi territory recorded the displacement of approximately 7,943 households. These households moved mainly towards the Mweso health zone, owing to renewed clashes between the VDP/Wazalendo and M23 combatants in the groupements of Ufamandu I, Bashali Mokoto, Nyamaboko I, Bapfuna and Biiri, as well as in the border areas between Masisi and Walikale territories. Displaced households settled mainly in the localities of Butale, Murambi, Kavumu, Nganga, Gomba, Kimoka, Kalembe-Kalonge and Kashuga, in the Mweso health zone. Some of the displaced also found refuge in the locality of Ihula, notably at the Kisangani displacement site, and in Kibanda, in Walikale territory, where they are mostly being hosted by host families.



Map 9. Population movements in Masisi Territory

Walikale: clashes between the M23 and the Wazalendo/FARDC drive new displacement

Walikale territory recorded the displacement of approximately 2,625 households, mainly within the Pinga health zone. These population movements are mainly attributed to intense clashes between M23 combatants and the Wazalendo, backed by the FARDC, in the Luberike groupement. The deteriorating security situation forced many households to flee their home localities and take refuge in the localities of Bukumbirwa, Rusamambu, Buleusa, Kateku and Kanune, considered safer. This displacement is increasing pressure on host communities and basic services, particularly WASH, health, shelter, food and protection.



Map 10. Population movements in Walikale Territory

5.3 Maniema: clashes between Mai-Mai factions drive significant displacement

In Maniema, approximately 15,320 households were displaced during June, mainly in Kabambare and Lubutu territories. These population movements were driven primarily by clashes between rival factions of Mai-Mai armed groups. In Kabambare, fighting between two factions of the Mai-Mai Malaika group in Bahombo groupement caused significant displacement towards neighbouring localities in Lusangi Health Zone. In Lubutu, clashes between Mai-Mai factions in several neighbourhoods of the town also forced thousands of households to flee towards surrounding localities in Lubutu Health Zone.

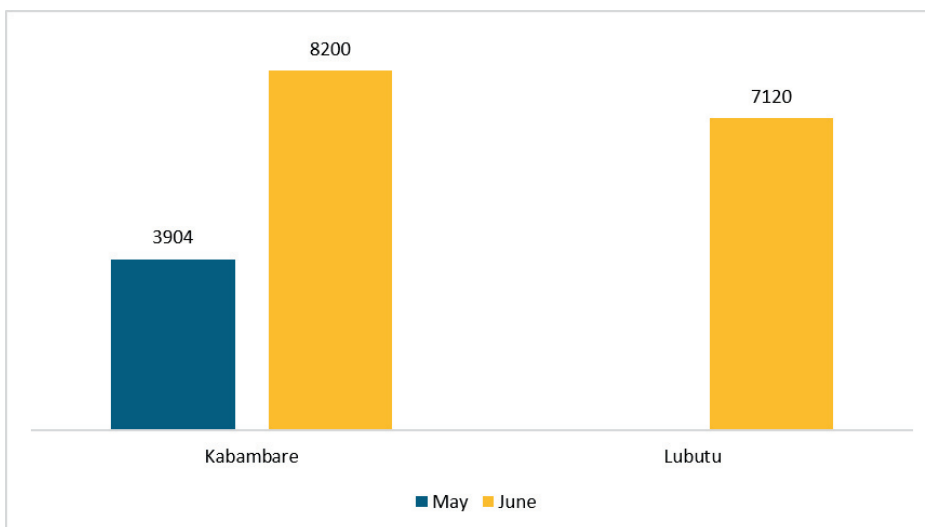
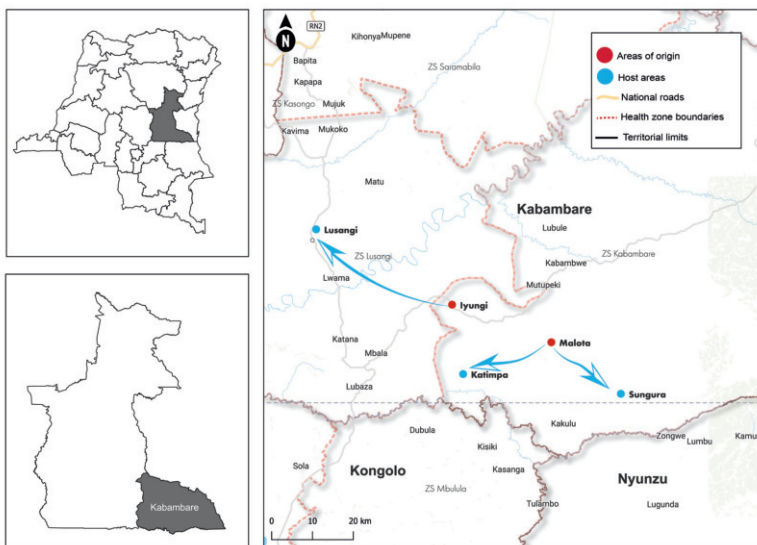


Figure 3. Change in the number of displaced households between the previous month and the current month.

Kabambare: clashes between Mai-Mai factions trigger displacement

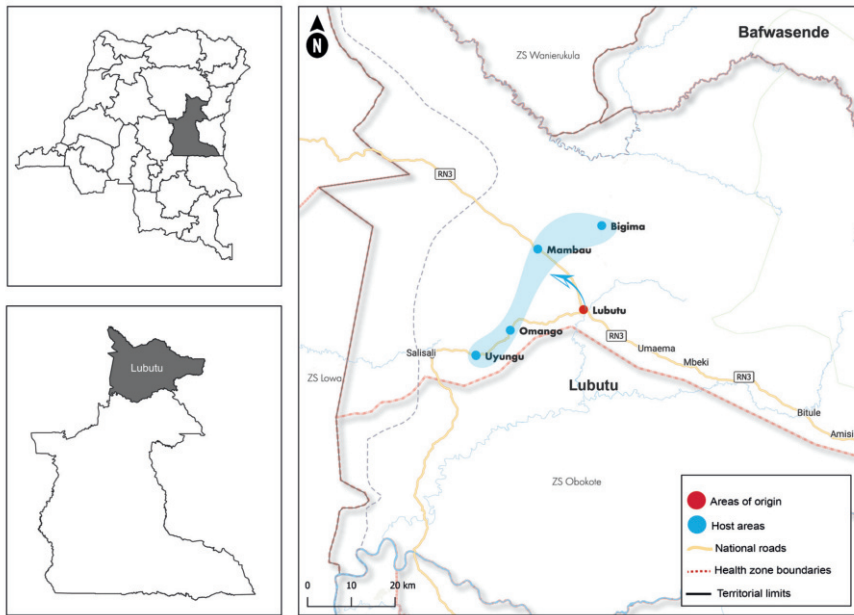
In June, Kabambare territory recorded the displacement of approximately 8,200 households, mainly in Lusangi Health Zone. These population movements are primarily attributed to clashes between two rival factions of the Mai-Mai Malaika armed group, led by self-proclaimed generals Mitterrand and Faux Jours, in the villages of Malota and Iyungi, located in Bahombo groupement within Lusangi Health Zone. Affected households mainly took refuge in the neighbouring localities of Biyungi, Sungura, Katimpa and Lusangi, all located in the same health zone.



Map 11. Population movements in Kabambare Territory

Lubutu: clashes between Mai-Mai factions trigger significant displacement

During June, Lubutu territory recorded the displacement of approximately 7,120 households, mainly in Lubutu Health Zone. These population movements are attributed to clashes between two Mai-Mai factions in several neighbourhoods of Lubutu town, including Nyobesa, Nyafanza, Kilibatete, Lazaret and Paname. As the security situation deteriorated, affected households fled their places of residence and took refuge in the localities of Bigima, Nkoloto, Omongo, Twabingwa, Amikili, Omogoi, Mambau, Kitawala, Amankole, Uyungu and Londolondo, also located in Lubutu Health Zone.



Map 12. Population movements in Lubutu Territory

5.4 Ituri: displacement dynamics remain dominated by attacks by armed groups, while returns continue in Djugu

In Ituri, population movements observed during June were marked both by new displacement caused by attacks by armed groups and by continued returns in some areas where the security situation has gradually improved. ADF attacks along the Mbenzu-Makwangi-Bahaha axis in Mambasa territory, as well as incursions attributed to suspected CODECO elements against fishing camps in Musongwa groupement, Mahagi territory, displaced several thousand households towards neighbouring localities perceived as safer. At the same time, Djugu territory recorded the return of approximately 6,916 households to Nizi and Lita Health Zones. These returns are mainly linked to the gradual improvement in the security situation following FARDC operations against CRP/Zaire elements, and to the maintenance of FARDC positions in return villages. This dynamic illustrates the contrasting nature of population movements in Ituri, where displacement linked to armed violence coexists with gradual returns in areas where security conditions are improving.

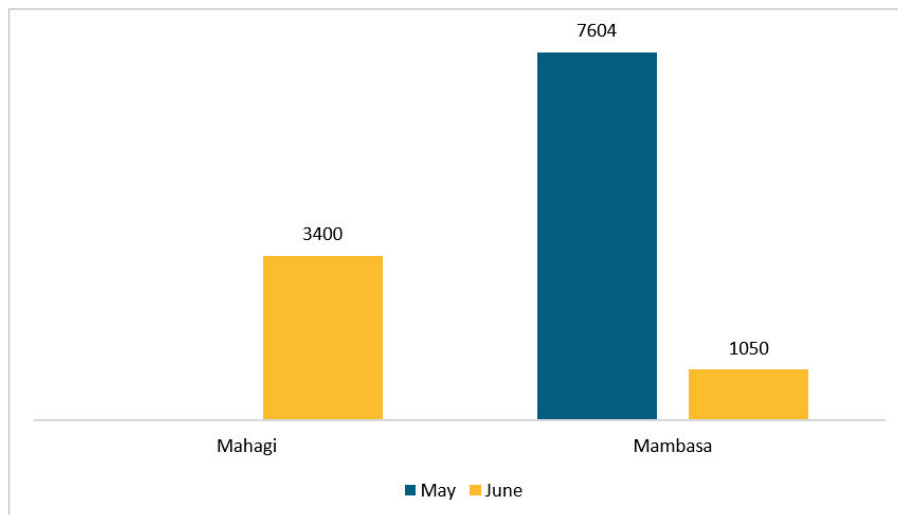
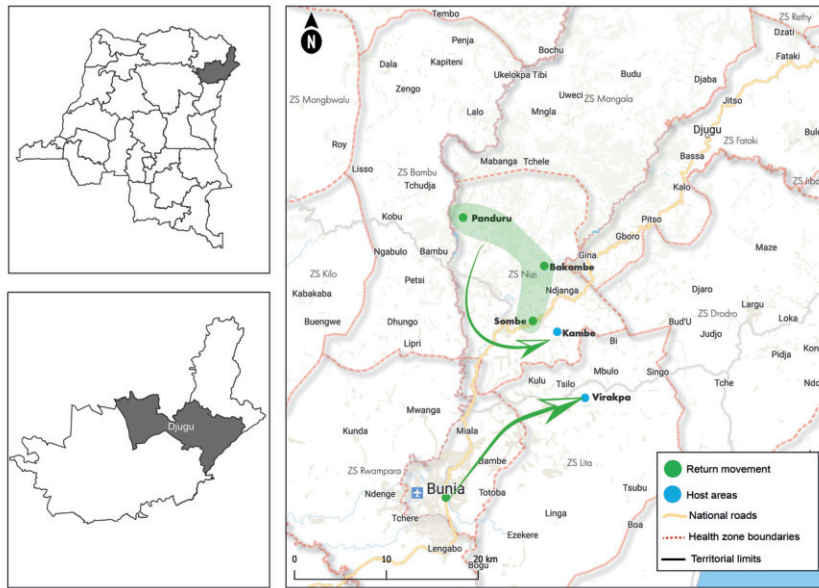


Chart 5. Change in the number of displaced households between the previous month and the current month.

Djugu: improved security supports continued returns in Nizi and Lita areas

Djugu territory recorded the return of approximately 6,916 households, mainly in Nizi and Lita Health Zones. These returns are primarily attributed to the gradual improvement in the security situation following FARDC operations against CRP/Zaire elements in the health areas of Kambe, in Nizi Health Zone, and Virakpa, in Lita Health Zone. They also concern households that had fled recurrent attacks attributed to suspected CODECO elements against Hema villages between June and August 2025.

In previous months, clashes between the FARDC and CRP/Zaire had forced these households into repeated displacement, both within Nizi and Lita Health Zones and towards other areas, including Irumu territory and the city of Bunia. Since April 2026, a continuous return movement has been observed, supported by the deployment and maintenance of FARDC positions in the villages concerned.

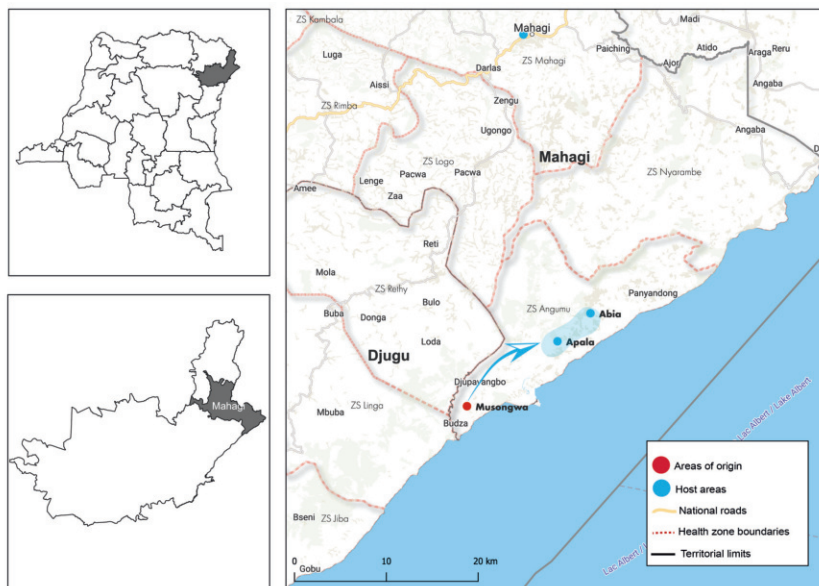


Map 13. Population movements in Djugu Territory

Mahagi: CODECO attacks against fishing camps trigger new displacement in Angumu

Attacks by suspected CODECO elements against the fishing camps of Kwere, Mukachi, Wajuu and Nguruju, located in Musongwa groupement, in Angumu Health Zone, displaced approximately 3,400 households.

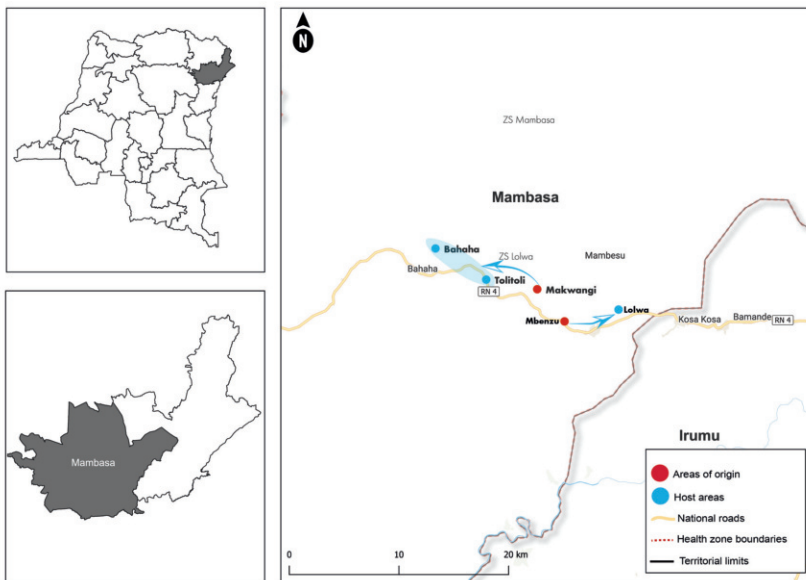
Affected populations moved mainly towards the localities of Apala, Abia and Gengere, also located in Angumu Health Zone. According to information reported by OCHA, most displaced households are currently living with host families.



Map 14. Population movements in Mahagi Territory

Mambasa: ADF attacks on the Mbenzu-Makwangi-Bahaha axis trigger new displacement

During the reporting period, ADF attacks along the Mbenzu-Makwangi-Bahaha axis, in Lolwa Health Zone, displaced approximately 1,050 households. Affected populations mainly took refuge in the localities of Lolwa, Tolitoli and Bahaha, located in the same health zone, in search of safer conditions.



Map 15. Population movements in Mambasa Territory

6. Outlook: Key Issues to Monitor in July 2026

Displacement is expected to continue in July across eastern DRC owing to persistent clashes, abuses against civilians and instability in contested areas. In North Kivu, the Masisi-Walikale axis, particularly the Mweso and Pinga health zones , will remain especially exposed to fighting involving the AFC/M23, the FARDC, the VDP/Wazalendo and local armed groups.

In South Kivu, the territories of Walungu, Uvira, Fizi, Kabare, Mwenga and Shabunda will remain at risk, notably owing to clashes in the Hauts-Plateaux and abuses against civilians. In Maniema, divisions between Mai-Mai factions in Kabambare and Lubutu could trigger further movements. In Ituri, ADF attacks in Mambasa and CODECO incursions in Mahagi and Djugu will remain the main drivers of displacement.

The sustainability of returns in Uvira, Nizi and Lita will need to be monitored, as will the risk of secondary displacement. Pressure on host families and basic services, together with constraints on humanitarian access will also remain key areas of concern.

Acronyms and overview of armed groups:

ADF (Allied Democratic Forces) – The ADF is a Ugandan Islamist armed group originally opposed to the Ugandan government. Its members fled to the DRC in the 1990s, where they were reportedly supported by President Mobutu against Uganda. The group arrived in Beni Territory around 1996, following the deployment of the Ugandan army in eastern Congo as part of efforts to overthrow Mobutu. In 2003, the ADF began adopting more extremist interpretations of Islamic scripture. In April 2019, it declared itself part of the Islamic State's Central Africa Province, alongside the Islamic State's branch in Mozambique.

CODECO (Coopérative pour le développement du Congo / Cooperative for the Development of Congo) – CODECO is an armed group active in Djugu Territory, Ituri Province, composed primarily of members of the Lendu community. The area has long been affected by violence and intercommunal tensions, mainly between the Hema and Lendu communities. These tensions are rooted in divisions inherited from the colonial period, during which land was reportedly allocated to Hema pastoralists at the expense of Lendu farmers.

CRP (Convention populaire pour la révolution / Popular Convention for the Revolution) – The CRP is an armed movement created by Thomas Lubanga, a former warlord who was convicted by the International Criminal Court in 2012. The movement claims to seek the liberation of Ituri from Kinshasa's governance and to address sociopolitical inequalities.

FRPI (Patriotic Resistance Front of Ituri) is an armed group composed primarily of Ngiti (South Lendu) fighters, established in 2002 during the inter-communal conflict in Ituri to oppose, above all, the Hema-dominated UPC. Despite various peace agreements and demobilization programs, factions of the FRPI have remained active in southern Ituri, where they have been involved in clashes with the FARDC and abuses against the civilian population.

FARDC (Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo / Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo) – The FARDC are the official armed forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

UPLC (Union of Patriots for the Liberation of the Congo)—also known as Maï-Maï Kilalo—is a local armed group active primarily along the Beni-Butembo axis in the Beni territory (North Kivu). Historically led by Kambale Mayani, alias Kapitula, the movement claims to seek the protection of local communities against foreign armed groups, notably the ADF, while simultaneously opposing state authority in certain areas.

M23 (March 23 Movement) – The M23 is an armed group operating in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, primarily in North Kivu Province. Established in 2012, the group takes its name from the 23 March 2009 agreement signed between the Congolese government and the former rebellion of the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP).

FPIC (Patriotic and Integrationist Front of the Congo)—also known as Chini ya Kilima—is an armed group that has been active since 2019 in the Irumu territory of Ituri province. It claims to defend the interests of the Bira community but is responsible for numerous attacks on civilians, looting, and the displacement of populations in southern Ituri.

Nyatara CMC (Coalition of Movements for Change) – Nyatara CMC is a movement composed mainly of Nyatara groups and Congolese Hutu militias, which have at times been described as potential local partners or allies of the FDLR.

OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) – OCHA is the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Established in 1991, its mandate includes coordinating the international humanitarian response to crises, including armed conflicts, natural disasters and protracted emergencies.

VDP (Volunteers for the Defence of the Homeland) – The VDP, also commonly referred to as Wazalendo — a Swahili term meaning “patriots” — refers to a constellation of non-state armed groups encouraged by the Congolese government to support the FARDC in securing certain areas, particularly against the M23. In September 2023, Kinshasa formalised the creation of the Volunteers for the Defence of the Homeland by integrating selected fighters from Wazalendo groups in North Kivu, with the aim of establishing them as an official auxiliary force distinct from other Congolese armed groups. In practice, however, the terms “VDP” and “Wazalendo” continue to be used interchangeably by actors on the ground.

Zaire / FPAC – The Zaire armed group is a decentralized self-defense movement based primarily in the Djugu territory of Ituri. Initially formed to protect against violence by CODECO, it recruited mainly from the Hema, Mambisa, Nyali, Ndo-Okebo, and Alur communities. This group—also known as the Popular Self-Defense Front of the Congo (FPAC) or the Popular Self-Defense Movement of Ituri (MAPI)—is structured in a decentralized manner but possesses a more or less unified military organization, with headquarters in Nyaka, in the Bahema-Badjere chiefdom. Zaire exercises territorial control over certain areas of Djugu, imposes rebel governance, and maintains order through the use of force.



CRISIS ANALYSIS

— DR CONGO —

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