# **Specialized Body – United Nations**

# **Security Council**



Chaired by: Jonathan Chen

# **Topic: Conflict in the Central African Republic**

# I. Overview

The Central African Republic has been involved in continuous civil conflicts in the twenty-first century. The government of François Bozizé has been in conflict with a rebel group, the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR), in North-Eastern CAR. Led by Michel Djotodia, the UFDR has launched attacks on government towns and military facilities. In the following years, the Central African Republic has experienced brutal fighting among several rebel groups and government forces. A peace treaty was sought on April 13, 2007 wherein the government recognized the UFDR's status as a political party, and incorporated its members into the military. Further negotiations resulted in the formation of a new unified government in 2009. The ongoing Central African Republic crisis refers to the ongoing civil war fought between rebel forces, known as Séléka, and CAR government forces. This crisis started in December 2012, after the Séléka declared that the government of François Bozizé had violated terms of the peace treaty. After hope for international involvement faded, President Bozizé reached terms of peace with the rebels on January 2013 by removing his Prime Minister, Faustin-Archange Touadéra, from power, promising to free political prisoners, dissolving the national legislature, and promising to hold new elections in twelve months. However, the peace treaty was broken in days, with the government forces and rebels accusing each other of violating peace treaty terms. His Seleka rebels having gained control of the nation's capital of Bangui, in March 2013, Michel Djotodia, appointed himself as president, and promptly suspended the national constitution and dissolved the legislature. Francois Bozize had already fled.

In September 2013, conflict resumed when Djotodia attempted to dissolve the *Séléka*. This unsuccessful move triggered fierce conflict within the organization, which quickly spread nation-wide. Djotodia resigned on January 2014, and soon after, the nation elected Catherine

Samba-Panza as president, a move welcomed by the international community. However, sectarian conflicts persisted as former members of *Séléka* and other rebel groups formed into new organizations and *anti-Balaka* groups. These groups were composed of armed fighters that opposed ex-*Séléka* forces. Reports from UN Secretary General Ban-ki Moon suggest that the continued violence against the country's Muslim population has led to further segregation of the population into Christian and Muslim sectors. As of 2015, further attempts at cease-fire agreements have failed. *Séléka*'s new military leader Joseph Zindeko continues to call for the country to separate into Muslim and Christian states, while rejecting proposed cease-fire terms from the government.

The ongoing CAR civil war has resulted in massive civilian casualties, and in the process, created a massive amount of refugees. According to United Nations High Commission on Refugees, "approximately 25 percent of CAR's population has been internally displaced by the conflict, which has divided the country along ethno-religious lines." More than half of CAR's population remains in need of humanitarian assistance along with a growing number of refugees. More than 190,000 refugees have fled to Cameroon, Chad, the Congo, and Democratic Republic of the Congo since December 2013. By August 2014, the displaced population in CAR had stabilized, but continuous military conflict produced daily violence in the country, as the situation in CAR becomes increasingly complex and unpredictable<sup>2</sup>.

# II. Background

The ongoing conflict in Central African Republic can be traced back to 2003 when Francois Bozize, former army chief of CAR, seized the nation's capital and presidency from Ange-Felix Patasse and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>"Central African Republic Profile." BBC News. N.p., 22 May 2015. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13150044

dissolved the CAR parliament. A transitional government was set, and Bozize won the presidential election in May 2005. CAR's former president, Ange-Felix Patasse, was sent into exile after Bozize's takeover, was tried in absentia for fraud, found guilty, and sentenced to 20 years hard labor, despite having received foreign support from Libya and Chad. Bozize's ascension to power alienated various groups in the country. By the end of 2004, military groups had launched open attacks on Bozize's government, the start of a conflict known as the Central African Republic Bush War.<sup>3</sup> Most prominent among these rebel groups was the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR), led by Michel Djotodia. By 2007, terms for peace had been reached between the CAR government led by Bozize and the UFDR headed by Michel Djotodia and Damane Zakaria. The drafted peace accord nominally ended the hostilities between government forces and UFDR, as the latter agreed to terminate armed conflict against government forces as they would eventually be reintegrated into the government army. In return, the government agreed to accept the UFDR as a political party and grant amnesty to UFDR fighters.<sup>4</sup>

Conflict continued while the terms of the peace settlement were negotiated in the following years. Unfortunately, by 2012 the government and rebel groups had failed to reach a final truce agreement. Military conflicts broke out in several regions throughout the country and by December 2012, full scale fighting had resumed as several rebel groups accused the government of failing to abide to the peace terms. Rebel forces against President Bozize formed the Seleka, which comprised two major groups based in north-eastern Central African Republic: the former UFDR and the Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP). The insurgent group also included smaller rebel forces throughout the country. By the end of 2012, the Seleka coalition had installed Michel Djotodia as its leader, receiving support from military groups based in Chad. The Seleka coalition successfully

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Baptiste, Natalie. "The Central African Republic's Forgotten Crisis." The Nation. Foreign Policy in Focus, 11 Sept. 2014. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: http://www.thenation.com/article/central-african-republics-forgotten-crisis/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Zuydam, Schalk. "Central African Republic, Rebels Sign Peace Deal - USATODAY.com." USA Today, 13 Apr. 2007. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2007-04-13-central-africa\_N.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>"Three Rebel Groups Threaten to Topple C.African Regime." ReliefWeb. Agence France-Presse, 16 Dec. 2012. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: <a href="http://reliefweb.int/report/central-african-republic/three-rebel-groups-threaten-topple-cafrican-regime">http://reliefweb.int/report/central-african-republic/three-rebel-groups-threaten-topple-cafrican-regime</a>

overran the capital in March 2013 and seized power. As President Bozize fled the country, the rebel leader, Djotodia, suspended CAR's constitution, dissolved parliament in an internationally unpopular coup, and was sworn in as CAR's president by August 2013. Diotodia's method of obtaining power was criticized by the UN Security Council as a risk to regional stability; UN Secretary General Ban Kimoon stated that CAR had suffered a "total breakdown of law and order" under Djotodia's rule.<sup>7</sup>

The Central African Republic has traditionally been a Christian country; however, when Bozize was deposed, the Seleka faction installed Michel Djotodia as the country's first Muslim leader<sup>8</sup>. This led to uncertainty and dissent among the nation's traditional Christian residents and incited sectarian conflict. By June 2013, Seleka fighters had "deliberately killed scores of civilians and destroyed 1,000 homes in Bangui and other provinces", giving rise to civil unrest. In an effort to distance himself from the crimes committed by Seleka fighters, President Djotodia attempted to disband the Seleka militias<sup>9</sup>. In September 2013, Djotodia made political maneuvers that angered and alienated many factions within the Seleka which had helped him gain power. Djotodia failed and found himself fighting off civil unrest, crimes, and violence from all sides, as the Central African Republic had descended into a state of anarchy in the final months of 2013. Seleka's behavior led to the growth of a Christian militia group known as the anti-Balaka. This group proceeded "to carry out their own attacks on Muslim villages, introducing a dangerous sectarian element to a conflict where civilians were targeted with increasing frequency", according to the independent Foreign Policy in Focus<sup>10</sup>.

Powerless to stop the civil conflict, President Michel Djotodia resigned on January 10, 2014 along with his Prime Minister Nicolas Tiangaye. Despite Djotodia's resignation, violence continued in CAR

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>"Central African Republic Profile." BBC News, N.p., 22 May 2015. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13150044

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Baptiste, Natalie. "The Central African Republic's Forgotten Crisis." The Nation. Foreign Policy in Focus, 11 Sept. 2014. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: http://www.thenation.com/article/central-african-republics-forgotten-crisis/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Baptiste, Natalie. "The Central African Republic's Forgotten Crisis." The Nation. Foreign Policy in Focus, 11 Sept. 2014. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: http://www.thenation.com/article/central-african-republics-forgotten-crisis/

and the United Nations warned of a possibility of genocide.<sup>11</sup> On January 20, 2014, Catherine Samba-Panza, mayor of Bangui, was elected as the interim president of CAR. Her election was welcomed by international community and UN chief Ban Ki-moon as she was viewed as neutral between Seleka and the Anti-Balaka sides<sup>12</sup>. President Samba-Panza appealed for peace between the militant groups, and by July 2014, Muslim Seleka rebels and Christian Anti-Balaka forces agreed to a tentative ceasefire in Brazzaville<sup>13</sup>. In August, Muslim politician Mahamat Kamoun was tasked with leading a transitional government, while the United Nations officially took over peacekeeping missions in place of the African Union<sup>14</sup>. In January 2015, the CAR government rejected a ceasefire proposal made in Kenya between the two militia groups, Seleka and Anti-Balaka, stating that the government was left out in the process of reaching peace agreements. Simultaneously, the UN accused the Christian militia group and anti-Balaka of ethnic cleansing, while EU-commissioned research suggests that Seleka fighters have been illegally supplied with guns made in China and Iran<sup>15</sup>. As of 2015, while violence continued in CAR, its scale has significantly decreased in comparison to previous years.

Years of prolonged fighting have inflicted great damage on the nation's population. According to the UNHCR, since December 2013, approximately "25 percent of CAR's population has been internally displaced by the conflict, which has divided the country along ethno-religious lines" and "more than half of the population is still in need of humanitarian assistance." The continued conflict between Seleka and anti-Balaka severely affected and limited humanitarian interventions and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Nako, Madjiasra. "Celebrations in Central African Republic as Leader Resigns." Reuters. Thomson Reuters, 10 Jan. 2014. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/01/10/us-centralafrican-djotodia-idUSBREA090GT20140110">http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/01/10/us-centralafrican-djotodia-idUSBREA090GT20140110</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>"Centrafrique: Catherine Samba-Panza élue Présidente De La Transition - Afrique - RFI." RFI. N.p., 20 Jan. 2014. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20140120-presidence-transition-rca-catherine-samba-panza-elue-desire-kolingba

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>"Centrafrique: Catherine Samba-Panza élue Présidente De La Transition - Afrique - RFI." RFI. N.p., 20 Jan. 2014. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20140120-presidence-transition-rca-catherine-samba-panza-elue-desire-kolingba

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>"Central African Republic Profile." BBC News. N.p., 22 May 2015. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13150044

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>"Central African Republic Profile." BBC News. N.p., 22 May 2015. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: <a href="http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13150044">http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13150044</a>

frequently leads to temporary suspension of interventions<sup>16</sup>.

The destructive conflicts in CAR have not received great international attention. In 2014, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs released the Central African Republic Strategic Response Plan requesting \$551 million for emergency assistance. Only \$366 million has been pledged and organizations such as the World Food Program are also reporting substantial funding shortages regarding to the conflicts in CAR<sup>17</sup>. As of May, 2015, numerous militia groups in the nation have pledged to disarm their forces and commence to peace talks under international supervision. However, given CAR's history and political atmosphere, analysts predict that any prolonged terms for peace are unlikely to be met in the face of future ethnic tension and coups<sup>18</sup>.

### III. United Nations Involvement

United Nations and other specialized international bodies have made numerous efforts to directly address the ongoing conflicts in Central African Republic. The Security Council, being the United Nation's committee dedicated to security concerns, has implemented multiple sanctions and passed numerous resolutions aiming to end CAR's civil war. In order to prevent any further escalation of conflicts, the Security Council adopted Resolution 2196 on January 22, 2015, representing the most comprehensive action taken by the UN since CAR's conflict started 19.

Resolution 2196 enacted an arms embargo. The resolution states that "through January 29, 2016, all Member States shall continue to take the necessary measures to prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer to the CAR, from or through their territories or by their nationals," while making exceptions on supplies intended to support MINUSCA (the African Union-Regional Task Force) and the EU Missions and French forces, which were deployed to CAR and neighboring

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>"Central African Republic." UNHCR News. N.p., Jan. 2015. Web. Accessed from: <a href="http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e45c156.html">http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e45c156.html</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Baptiste, Natalie. "The Central African Republic's Forgotten Crisis." The Nation. Foreign Policy in Focus, 11 Sept. 2014. Web. 16 Aug. 2015. Accessed from: <a href="http://www.thenation.com/article/central-african-republics-forgotten-crisis/">http://www.thenation.com/article/central-african-republics-forgotten-crisis/</a>

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Lamba, Sebastien. "Central African Republic Militias Agree to Disarmament Deal." Reuters. N.p., 10 May 2015. Web. 16 Aug.
2015. Accessed from: http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/10/us-centralafrica-politics-idUSKBN0NV0U020150510
<sup>19</sup>S/Res/2196 (2015)

nations for peacekeeping purposes. Additionally, the resolution placed travel bans and asset freezes on designated individuals<sup>20</sup>.

On December 5, 2013, the Security Council adopted Resolution 2127, which called for the authorization of United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MISCA). Comprising a peacekeeping force, the MISCA was tasked with monitoring "security, humanitarian, human rights, and political crisis in the Central African Republic and its regional implications." The resolution was extended by Resolution 2212 on March 2015, which called for the deployment of additional military personnel. These resolutions requested that the Secretary General "keep the new levels of military personnel, police personnel and corrections officers in MINUSCA under continuous review." Resolution 2217, adopted on April 2015, extended the time-frame of peacekeeping forces, by renewing MINUSCA's mandate at current authorized troop levels until 30 April 2016<sup>22</sup>.

In addition to directly intervening in CAR conflicts by dispatching military peacekeeping forces, the United Nations also relied on other specialized international bodies to intervene. Resolution 2134, adopted by Security Council on January 28, 2014, authorized the European Union to deploy an operation in the CAR and to "take all necessary measures within the limits of its capacities and areas of deployment" when carrying out its peacekeeping missions and executing previously mandated UN sanctions. The resolution was reinforced by Resolution 2181, adopted on 21 October 2014, which authorized EU forces' operation in CAR until 15 March 2015<sup>23</sup>. Further authorization has not been granted since Resolution 2181. While international intervention may have halted the progression of conflicts, peacekeeping task forces lack the personnel and equipment necessary to fully bring the conflict to an end.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>S/Res/2127 (2013)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>S/Res/2217 (2015)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>S/Res/2181 (2014)

Peacekeepers dispatched by other international organizations often fail, or produce negative consequences.. According to an investigation by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, peacekeeping missions organized by the African Union failed to bring peace. In fact, the investigation suggests that many AU peacekeepers, which included Chadian military officials, actually fought alongside the Seleka. Reports indicated that Chad has been supporting the Seleka rebel groups since the civil war's initiation in 2012. In March 2014, the Chadian peacekeepers opened fire on civilians, killing dozens. By the end of 2014, officials from United Nations have officially began investigations into the matter, although the effect of their mission on the conflict remain ambiguous<sup>24</sup>. Meanwhile, independent investigations regarding war crimes committed during the conflict in CAR are also being carried out by the International Criminal Court<sup>25</sup>.

It is important to consider that while Security Council constitutes the most powerful agency in the United Nations, it does have limitations. Article 42 of UN charter granted Security Council authorization to take "action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security...such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations." A decision to use forces or similar strategies to halt a conflict, however, is not necessarily guaranteed under all circumstances. Article 23 established China, France, Great Britain, United Kingdom, and United States as five permanent members of the Security Council, and Article 27 mandates that decisions of the Security Council shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members. This clause established the power of veto for permanent members of Security Council, signifying that any one member of the five permanent members has the capacity to stop any resolution from being passed through the body.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Taub, Amanda. "A brief guide to one of the world's least-understood crises: the Central African Republic." Vox: Human Rights in Crisis. Vox, 29 Oct. 2014. Web. 11 Sept. 2015.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Bensouda, Fatou. "Statement of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Fatou Bensouda, on opening a second investigation in the Central African Republic." *International Criminal Court*. The International Criminal Court, 24 Sept. 2014. Web. 11 Sept. 2015.
<sup>26</sup>Articles 23 and 27, Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter

#### **History of Peacekeeping since WWII**

UN Peacekeeping has the goal of helping countries torn apart by conflict and create conditions for lasting peace. There have been 68 UN peacekeeping missions around the world and there are currently 16 peacekeeping missions and over 120,000 personnel<sup>27</sup>. Traditionally, peacekeepers were created for the purpose of stationing neutral, lightly armed troops with the permission of the host state as a force to mediate the combatants and promote an environment suitable for conflict resolution. In the past, they had passive monitoring and observation and their geographical scope was limited. Since the end of the Cold War, however, there has been an expansion in the number and types of tasks performed. Tasks include, but are not limited to: election supervision, sanctions enforcement, arms control, peace-making and enforcement.

Success with peacekeeping missions is a difficult factor to assess due to the various indicators (conflict reduction, conflict resolution, restoration of civil society) which could determine success. Critics of peacekeeping operations argue that certain operations failed to meet metrics of success including: Security Council resolution on DPRK in 1950, a UN operation in 1960 in Congo, and numerous other UN missions in Africa such as Somalia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone. With the developing situation in the Central African Republic, delegates should move forward with unity and collaboration, but must remain cautious to not repeat the blunders of the past.

### IV. Bloc Positions

#### **African Union**

The African Union and its Member States have been on the front line when addressing the crisis in Central African Republic. With UN authorization, the AU led the African-led International

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>"About Us. United Nations Peacekeeping." UN News Center. UN, n.d. Web. 1 Sept. 2015.

Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA), a peacekeeping mission that seeks to restore stability in CAR and end its decade long civil struggle<sup>28</sup>. The peacekeeping forces consist of troops from Gabon, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville and others. In cooperation with EU and French expeditionary peacekeeping forces, the AU has successfully assisted the Central African Republic and neighboring states in deescalating the ongoing conflict in CAR<sup>29</sup>. However, AU has not been successfully tracking rogue activities of its peacekeeping forces. Independent observatories suggest that the Chadian forces, which had previous interactions with Seleka, have actually been inciting conflict and unrest in the already-devastated country<sup>30</sup>.

#### **European Union**

The EU is Central African Republic's primary development partner and main provider of humanitarian assistance. Between 2013 and 2014, the EU has dedicated more than 300 million euros toward addressing Central African Republic's civil conflict and humanitarian crisis. In 2014, the EU established the Bekou, the first ever EU trust fund, supported by France, Germany, and the Netherlands, to better support humanitarian and infrastructural development projects in CAR. The EU has also supported stability efforts and sustainable recovery by offering aid and military advisors to CAR's transitional government, as well as hosting regular dialogue. The EU is also in direct support to many peacekeeping initiatives authorized by UN and led by the AU<sup>31</sup>.

#### **United States**

The United States of America has expressed grave concern regarding the humanitarian crisis currently ongoing in Central African Republic. As of 2015, the United States has dedicated more than \$100 million in the form of humanitarian funding through USAID/OFDA, USAID/FFP, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>"Central African Republic: Security Council approves new peacekeeping force." *UN News Centre*. The United Nations, 5 Dec. 2013. Web. 11 Sept. 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Redman, Tristan, and Nazanine Moshiri. "CAR key players." *Aljazeera*. Aljazeera, 5 Dec. 2013. Web. 11 Sept. 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>"Central African Republic: Seleka Fighters Regroup in North." HRW. Human Rights Watch, 5 Feb. 2014. Web. 11 Sept. 2015.

<sup>31&</sup>quot;The EU engagement with the Central African Republic." European Commission. The European Commission, 26 May 2015. Web. 11 Sept. 2015.

State/PPM. Additionally, the US has made efforts to assist refugee population in Chad and Democratic Republic of Congo by providing direct governmental aid.

# V. Questions to Consider

- 1. What are the historical factors (religious, ethnic, political, etc.) that have contributed to CAR's continuing conflict?
- 2. While large scale fighting has diminished during the past year, this has been seen in the past and the situation has continued to be volatile. Peace agreements have been short lived and not very successful at curtailing violence. In what way can the UN Security Council ensure that peace lasts in the Central African Republic?
- 3. What can the UN Security Council do to ensure that the Central African Republic's government is stable? What can the UN do to prevent further deterioration of the government?
- 4. Observers and UN reports have stated the need for more peacekeeping forces. Can the UNSC provide the needed resources to the Central African Republic or should further manpower come from the AU?
- 5. With regards to the peacekeepers from Chad, what can be done to prevent instances of "rogue" peacekeeping operations?
- 6. Much of the continuing conflict is the result of foreign funding coming into CAR to aid separate groups fighting for control. What measures can the UNSC take to prevent further destabilization by foreign states and non-state actors?

# VI. Suggested Sites

#### For general information regarding international affairs and country profiles:

CIA World Factbook: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/

BBC World News Country Profiles: <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/country\_profiles/default.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/country\_profiles/default.stm</a>

#### For more about the UN and the Security Council:

UN Charter: http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/

Security Council: <a href="http://www.un.org/en/sc/">http://www.un.org/en/sc/</a>

#### **UN Resolutions**

1. S/RES/2217 – 28 April 2015

2. S/RES/2212 – 26 March 2015

3. **S/RES/2196** – 22 January 2015

4. **S/RES/2127** – 5 December 2013

5. **S/RES/2149** – 10 April 2014

First Committee (Disarmament and Security) Website: http://www.un.org/en/ga/first/

UN General Assembly Resolution Database: <a href="http://www.un.org/documents/resga.htm">http://www.un.org/documents/resga.htm</a>

UN Security Council Resolution Database: http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/

United Nations Treaty Collection: https://treaties.un.org/

#### For Model UN tips and guidelines:

Best Delegate: http://bestdelegate.com/

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