School of Journalism and Mass Communications
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"One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter"

**The Politics of Terrorism in the African Continent**
An analysis on the Central African Republic civil war and the intervention of EUFOR RCA in order to provide temporary support in achieving a safe and secure environment in the Bangui area, with a view to handing over to African partners.

**BY**
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

**MASTER OF DIGITAL MEDIA, COMMUNICATION AND JOURNALISM**
Specialization: **Risk Communication and Crisis Journalism**

**Supervisor: Dr. Nikolaos Panagiotou**
May 2019
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Professors associated in my studies at the School of Journalism and Mass Communications of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Especially Dr Panagiotou N, Dr Fragkonikolopoulos Ch., Dr Tsourvakas G, Dr. Kaitatzi Whitlock, Dr Gardikiotis N. and Maria Troullou for their valuable insights and help in order to gain a deeper knowledge of the studied subjects.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved friends Kobe Raimon, Andre Phasal, Roth Astaire and Qyain Pulva for their precious emotional support and their good company, while being deployed.
ABSTRACT

'The issue of terrorism is another man's freedom fighter.'

Terrorism is a form of asymmetric warfare, and is more common when direct conventional warfare will not be effective because opposing forces vary greatly in power. Terrorism is, in the broadest sense, the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror among masses of people; or fear or to achieve a religious or political aim. It is used in this regard primarily to refer to violence during peacetime or in war against non-combatants. The crisis that began in 2012 in Central African Republic (CAR), triggered by Seleka rebellion and perpetuated by the Anti-balaka militia, is often presented in the mass media as an interfaith conflict instead of a political power struggle included in the regional background of Chad and Darfur conflicts. European Union Force RCA, commonly referred as EUFOR RCA, was the United Nations-mandated European Union peacekeeping mission in Bangui, capital of the Central African Republic. The goal of the mission was to stabilize the area after more than a year of internal conflict.

This dissertation describes how, in CAR, religion and, more broadly, national identity, have been manipulated by elites behind these two armed groups due to the failure of State in CAR in order to:

1) Further political and economic goals, basically to attain or maintain power.
2) To take control over natural resources and
3) To achieve personal gain.

Keywords: Terrorism, EUMS EEAS EUFOR RCA, Mass Media, Central African Republic.

Key questions of the study

The crisis that began in 2012 in Central African Republic (CAR), triggered by Seleka rebellion and perpetuated by the Anti-balaka militia was often presented in the mass media as an interfaith conflict, instead of a political power struggle. Did the EUFOR RCA Mission had a significant impact of the Crisis? Did the outcome supports the study of Jones and Libicki, (2008) about how a Terrorist group ends? How were the media involved? Was the CAR Area
INTRODUCTION

The Central African Republic (CAR) has lived in a “silent agony” since its independence from France in 1960, due to lack of large-scale massacres and famines that get media’s attention and its context of warring neighbors like DRC and Sudan.

Many Westerners put the former colonial territory of Oubangui-Chari in its place only in December 2012, when Seleka alliance triggered an offensive on the capital that left behind a scorched earth of murders, rapes and looting.

Less than a month it was enough for the rebel coalition to arrive to the gates of Bangui and force former President François Bozizé, who himself seized power with a coup d’état in 2003, to sign a peace agreement that obliged him to cohabit with Seleka.

This agreement was short-lived and on 24 March 2013, this armed group, whose members are mostly Muslims, overthrew Bozizé. One of its leaders, Michel Djotodia, was immediately proclaimed President.

However, power did not soothe Seleka’s criminal impulses and its members continued killing and stealing. When massacres and exodus of hundreds of thousands of Central Africans erased CAR from the label of “low intensity conflict”, international community became definitely involved in the future of the country.

On 10 January, President Djotodia resigned, forced by regional and French pressure. Later the same month, a new transitional government was appointed. This government faced the difficult task to organize credible elections within February 2015. This was not be easy, because the seed of hatred has taken root. Even before Djotodia’s resignation and forced quartering of Seleka forces in Bangui, another militia, the Antibalaka, had initiated attacks on civilians. Its target was the Muslim minority that they considered as accomplices of the antagonistic armed group.

This conflict has perpetuated a vicious cycle of violence that the 2,000 soldiers of the French military operation “Sangaris”, nor the 5,000 African troops of MISCA were able to stop. These military operations were reinforced with 1.000 soldiers with the deployment of the European Union military mission in Central Africa EUFOR RCA.

As a result of the action of Seleka and Antibalaka, the two main armed groups in the country, Central Africans were suffering the worst crisis since CAR independence. That’s
saying a lot for a country that had suffered five coups d’état and that is one of the world’s poorest nations. CAR was ranked 180 of 1869 States, according to the United Nations Program for Development (UNDP). The country figures as a failed state in The Fund for Peace index.

One aspect of the conflict was attracting growing attention:

**The religious bias of attacks against civilians, a factor that is described as one of the causes of the crisis rather than as a result of a conflict of complex implications.**

The recurrent attacks by Seleka against Christians, and by Antibalaka against Muslims support this theory. Both groups are often defined as "Muslim alliance" and "Christian militias", respectively, ignoring the fact that their actions are not due to religious beliefs, no leader or religious institution has supported them, and their goals seem to aim mainly to maintaining or attaining power and personal gain. The roots of the current tragedy in CAR should not refer to religious factors, but to the establishment of a culture of predation in Central African society as an imitation of a State whose progressive collapse has left the way open to the actions of armed groups.

Seleka and Antibalaka have seen in this religious bias an opportunity to use the "exploitation of religious differences", to present themselves as defenders of Muslims and Christians communities and to use enemy’s crimes to justify their own atrocities.
Chapter 1 - Literature Review

What is Terrorism, Violence, Fear and Politics?

1.1 The Definition of Politics

Politics refers to a set of activities associated with the governance of a country, or an area. It involves making decisions that apply to members of a group. It refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance—organized control over a human community, particularly a state. (Webster, 2018)

In modern nation-states, people have formed political parties to represent their ideas. They agree to take the same position on many issues and agree to support the same changes to law and the same leaders. A variety of methods are deployed in politics, which include promoting one's own political views among people, negotiation with other political subjects, making laws, and exercising force, including warfare against adversaries. (Sartori, 2005)

Politics is exercised on a wide range of social levels, from clans and tribes of traditional societies, through modern local governments, companies and institutions up to sovereign states, to the international level. (Safire 2008)

There are many forms of political organization, including states, non-government organizations (NGOs) and international organizations such as the United Nations. States are perhaps the predominant institutional form of political governance, where a state is understood as an institution and a government is understood as the regime in power. (Safire 2008)

According to Aristotle, states are classified into monarchies, aristocracies, timocracies, democracies, oligarchies, and tyrannies. Due to changes across the history of politics, this classification has been abandoned. Political science, the study of politics, examines the acquisition and application of power. (Safire 2008)
Political scientist Harold Lasswell defined politics as "who gets what, when, and how". Related areas of study include political philosophy, which seeks a rationale for politics and an ethic of public behavior, as well as examining the preconditions for the formation of political communities; (Laurie et al, 2017)

Political economy, which attempts to develop understandings of the relationships between politics and the economy and the governance of the two; and public administration, which examines the practices of governance. The philosopher Charles Blattberg, who has defined politics as "responding to conflict with dialogue," offers an account which distinguishes political philosophies from political ideologies. (Blatberg, 2001)

1.2 The Definition of Fear (Terror is an extreme case of fear)

Fear is a feeling induced by perceived danger or threat that occurs in certain types of organisms, which causes a change in metabolic and organ functions and ultimately a change in behavior, such as fleeing, hiding, or freezing from perceived traumatic events. (Öhman, 2000)

Fear in human beings may occur in response to a certain stimulus occurring in the present, or in anticipation or expectation of a future threat perceived as a risk to body or life. The fear response arises from the perception of danger leading to confrontation with or escape from/avoiding the threat (also known as the fight-or-flight response), which in extreme cases of fear (horror and terror) can be a freeze response or paralysis. (Öhman, 2000)

In humans and animals, fear is modulated by the process of cognition and learning. Thus fear is judged as rational or appropriate and irrational or inappropriate. An irrational fear is called a phobia. (Öhman, 2000)

Psychologists such as John B. Watson, Robert Plutchik, and Paul Ekman have suggested that there is only a small set of basic or innate emotions and that fear is one of them. This hypothesized set includes such emotions as acute stress reaction, anger, angst, anxiety, fright, horror, joy, panic, and sadness. Fear is closely related to, but should be distinguished from, the emotion anxiety, which occurs as the result of threats that are perceived to be uncontrollable or unavoidable. (Öhman, 2000)
The fear response serves survival by engendering appropriate behavioral responses, so it has been preserved throughout evolution. Sociological and organizational research also suggests that individuals’ fears are not solely dependent on their nature but are also shaped by their social relations and culture, which guide their understanding of when and how much fear to feel. (Gil et al 2017)

1.3 The Definition of Violence

Violence is "the use of physical force so as to injure, abuse, damage, or destroy." (Collins 1979)

Less conventional definitions are also used, such as the World Health Organization's definition of violence as "the intentional use of Physical Force or Social/Political power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation." (Krug et al 2002)

Violence in many forms can be preventable. There is a strong relationship between levels of violence and modifiable factors in a country such as concentrated (regional) poverty, income and gender inequality, the harmful use of alcohol, and the absence of safe, stable, and nurturing relationships between children and parents. Strategies addressing the underlying causes of violence can be relatively effective in preventing violence, although mental and physical health and individual responses, personalities, etc. have always been decisive factors in the formation of these behaviors. (JMU 2010)

1.4 The Typology of Violence

The World Health Organization divides violence into three broad categories: (Krug et al 2002)

1. Self-directed violence
2. Interpersonal violence
3. Collective violence
This initial categorization differentiates between violence a person inflicts upon himself or herself, violence inflicted by another individual or by a small group of individuals, and violence inflicted by larger groups such as states, organized political groups, militia groups and terrorist organizations. These three broad categories are each divided further to reflect more specific types of violence: (JMU 2010)

- Physical
- Sexual
- Psychological
- Emotional

Alternatively, violence can primarily be classified as either instrumental or reactive / hostile.

### 1.5 The Definition of Terrorism

Terrorism is, in the broadest sense, the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror among masses of people; or fear to achieve a religious or political aim. It is used in this regard primarily to refer to violence during peacetime or in war against non-combatants (mostly civilians and neutral military personnel). (Wisnewski, 2018)

Etymologically, the word terror is derived from the Latin verb Tersere, which later becomes Terrere. The latter form appears in European languages as early as the 12th century; its first known use in French is the word terrible in 1160. By 1356 the word terreur is in use. Terreur is the origin of the Middle English term terrour, which later becomes the modern word "terror". (Collins 1979)
The terms "terrorist" and "terrorism" originated during the French Revolution of the late 18th century but gained mainstream popularity in the 1970s in news reports and books covering the conflicts in Northern Ireland, the Basque Country and Palestine. The increased use of suicide attacks from the 1980s onwards was typified by the September 11 attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C. in 2001. (Stevenson, 2010)

There are different definitions of terrorism. Terrorism is a charged term. It is often used with the connotation of something that is "morally wrong". Governments and non-state groups use the term to abuse or denounce opposing groups. (White, 2016)(Halibozek et al. 2008)

Varied political organizations have been accused of using terrorism to achieve their objectives. These organizations include right-wing and left-wing political organizations, nationalist groups, religious groups, revolutionaries and ruling governments. (Britannica, 2015)

Legislation declaring terrorism a crime has been adopted in many states. There is no consensus as to whether or not terrorism should be regarded as a war crime. The Global Terrorism Database, maintained by the University of Maryland, College Park, has recorded more than 61,000 incidents of non-state terrorism, resulting in at least 140,000 deaths between 2000 and 2014. (Global Terrorism Index, 2015)

1.6 The Psychological and Media Exploitation aspects of terrorism)

A definition proposed by Carsten Bockstette at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, underlines the psychological and tactical aspects of terrorism:

Terrorism is defined as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear (sometimes indiscriminate) through the violent victimization and destruction of noncombatant targets (sometimes iconic symbols). Such acts are meant to send a message from an illicit clandestine organization.

The purpose of terrorism is to exploit the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audience(s) in order to reach short- and midterm political goals and/or desired long-term end states. (Bockstette 2008)
Terrorists attack national symbols, which may negatively affect a government, while increasing the prestige of the given terrorist group or its ideology. (Juergensmeyer, 2000)

1.7 The Symbolism of Terrorism

Terrorism, in some of its definitions, serves to communicate a message from terrorists to a target audience (TA). By extension, symbols play an important role in such communication, through graphics that the organizations use to represent themselves, as well as the meaning and significance behind their choice of targets. (O’Hair, 2008)

1.8 The Symbolism of Target choice

Terrorist acts may be considered a form of communication with victims, spectators, and the perpetrators. Attacks often are not interpreted simply as violent acts, but as statements that communicate a specific intended message. Since the rhetoric is largely non-verbal (though many terrorist attacks are followed by claims of responsibility and explanation), symbols play an important role in creating meaningful messages, and consequently become central to the mission and effectiveness of terrorism. (Borum, 2004)

Targets are strategically chosen to both destroy and create symbols that communicate a desired message and create an effect on the audience. O’Hair and Heath argue that "selection of the targets of terrorism is strategic, made because of their potential rhetorical impact.” (Gus, 2010)

This perspective is reinforced in the book "Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues," in which Gus Martin argues that "terrorists select their targets because of their symbolic and propaganda value.

High-profile, sentimental, or otherwise significant targets are chosen with the expectation that the target's constituency will be moved and that the victims' audience will in some way suffer." (Gus, 2010)

Locations are chosen because of the symbolism they already contain, and the ability of the terrorist group to manipulate this symbolism through an attack.

The symbolic choices of terrorist targets are not only meant to send isolated messages, but reflect the greater symbolic rhetoric of terrorism in general. Terrorism, it has been argued, refutes the strategy of gaining ideological victory through a single act. Instead,
"the rhetorical stance of terrorism... is patient, the chipping away at the symbolic or ideological foundation of its targets.” (Heath et al, 2008)

Each target is strategically chosen to fit into the greater message.

By carefully selecting targets, terrorists use acts of destruction to both destroy and create cultural symbols that promote fear and compliance among their target audience, and that often communicate specific ideological messages. (O'Hair, 2008)

For example, in their book Terrorism: Communication and Rhetorical Perspective, O'Hair et al. describe the choice of the World Trade Center towers as a target for the 9/11 attack: "The Twin towers of the WTC stood as the very image of globalization, capitalism, and Western economic superiority... their collapse both exposed and symbolized 'the vulnerability of governmental power (Juergensenmeyer, 2001), and the fragile nature of the dominant cultural worldview."

1.9 The Psychology of Symbols

Psychology discusses the effect of symbols on the human mind, and gives insight into why the rhetoric of terrorism may be conducted partly through symbols. An overview of the psychology of symbols is relevant to terrorism because it is in the mind that symbols find validation and reality, allowing terrorist attacks create an effect on a wide audience. (Hill, 2004)

The influence of images on humans has long been studied by art historians. David Freedberg, argues that humans react to images not simply on a cognitive level, but on an emotional one. (Freedberg, 1991)

Additionally, the psychology of persuasion has noted that if people see a symbol of authority, even if they know the groups or person projecting the symbol has no actual authority, they begin to believe that there is real authority in that party. (Leevine, 2003)

Both of these theories contribute to arguments scholars make about the role of psychology in terrorism by helping to explain why humans react to terrorist attacks.
Psychology also contributes to the understanding of how visual propaganda put forward by terrorist groups contributes to their organization. (Hill, 2004)

In the book, “Psychology of Terrorism,” author Randy Borum argues that projecting an image of solidarity and power makes terrorist groups more attractive as social collectives, even if the person joining the group does not at the outset believe in its ideology.

A sense of belonging is one of the primary motivating factors for people joining terrorist groups. Many symbols cited by the Islamic Imagery Project and the International Terrorist Symbols Database reference this notion of community or belonging. (Borum, 2004)

1.10 The Role of the Media

"The communications media, whether consciously or otherwise, has well served the terrorist cause. Political terrorism is now viewed as an instant means of communication and is aided and abetted by contemporary technology, utilizing the dramatic force of the mass media." (O'Hair, 2008)

The media plays a large role in communicating information about terrorist attacks, and consequently contributes to the propagation of attacks as symbols. Through television, the internet, newspapers, and journals, the media allows the general population to witness terrorism as it occurs, which some have argued makes it iconic and creates an odd fixation on terrorism within the general population. (Der Derian, 2005)

Terrorism is a topic that fits well into the demands of the news industry. Russell Farnen notes that, “Terrorism is different, dramatic, and potentially violent. It frequently develops over a period of time, occurs in exotic locations, offers a clear confrontation, involves bizarre characters, and is politically noteworthy. Finally, it is of concern to the public.” (Farnen, 1990)

Some argue that the attention paid to these attacks only gives them credence and power they don’t deserve: “Without massive news coverage the terrorist act would resemble the proverbial tree falling in the forest: if no one learned of an incident, it would be as if it had not occurred.” (Nacos, 1978)
1.11 Mass media

Mass media exposure may be a primary goal of those carrying out terrorism, to expose issues that would otherwise be ignored by the media. Some consider this to be manipulation and exploitation of the media. (Wilkinson 1978)

The Internet has created a new channel for groups to spread their messages. This has created a cycle of measures and counter measures by groups in support of and in opposition to terrorist movements. The United Nations has created its own online counter-terrorism resource. (Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee, 2009)

The mass media will, on occasion, censor organizations involved in terrorism (through self-restraint or regulation) to discourage further terrorism. This may encourage organizations to perform more extreme acts of terrorism to be shown in the mass media. Conversely James F. Pastor explains the significant relationship between terrorism and the media, and the underlying benefit each receives from the other. (Pastor 2009)

There is always a point at which the terrorist ceases to manipulate the media gestalt. A point at which the violence may well escalate, but beyond which the terrorist has become symptomatic of the media gestalt itself. Terrorism as we ordinarily understand it is innately media-related.
— Novelist William Gibson (Gibson’s Blog 2004)

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher famously spoke of the close connection between terrorism and the media, calling publicity 'the oxygen of terrorism'. (Margaret Thatcher’s Speech to the ABA, 2015)

1.12 Political violence and Terrorism

Terrorist acts frequently have a political purpose. Some official, governmental definitions of terrorism use the criterion of the illegitimacy or unlawfulness of the act to distinguish between actions authorized by a government (and thus "lawful") and those of other actors, including individuals and small groups. (FBI 1999)
Luis Posada and CORU are widely considered responsible for the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner that killed 73 people. (Bardach 1998) For example, carrying out a strategic bombing on an enemy city, which is designed to affect civilian support for a cause, would not be considered terrorism if it were authorized by a government. This criterion is inherently problematic and is not universally accepted, because: it denies the existence of state terrorism. An associated term is violent non-state actor. (Barak 2005) According to Ali Khan, the distinction lies ultimately in a political judgment. (Ali Khan, 2006)

1.13 The pejorative connotations of the word Terrorism (Labeling Terrorism)

Having the moral charge in our vocabulary of 'something morally wrong', the term 'terrorism' is often used to abuse or denounce opposite parties, either governments or non-state-groups. (Sinclar et al, 2012) (White 2016)

Those labeled "terrorists" by their opponents rarely identify themselves as such, and typically use other terms or terms specific to their situation, such as separatist, freedom fighter, liberator, revolutionary, vigilante, militant, paramilitary, guerrilla, rebel, patriot, or any similar-meaning word in other languages and cultures. Jihadi, mujahidin, and Fedayeen are similar Arabic words that have entered the English lexicon. It is common for both parties in a conflict to describe each other as terrorists. (Reynolds, 2005)

On whether particular terrorist acts, such as killing non-combatants, can be justified as the lesser evil in a particular circumstance, philosophers have expressed different views: while, according to David Rodin, utilitarian philosophers can (in theory) conceive of cases in which the evil of terrorism is outweighed by the good that could not be achieved in a less morally costly way, in practice the "harmful effects of undermining the convention of non-combatant immunity is thought to outweigh the goods that may be achieved by particular acts of terrorism". (Rodin, 2006)

Among the non-utilitarian philosophers, Michael Walzer argued that terrorism can be morally justified in only one specific case: when "a nation or community faces the extreme threat of complete destruction and the only way it can preserve itself is by
intentionally targeting non-combatants, then it is morally entitled to do so". (Rodin, 2006)

In his book *Inside Terrorism*, Bruce Hoffman offered an explanation of why the term *terrorism* becomes distorted:

**On one point, at least, everyone agrees: terrorism is a pejorative term.** It is a word with intrinsically negative connotations that is generally applied to one's enemies and opponents, or to those with whom one disagrees and would otherwise prefer to ignore. 'What is called terrorism,' Brian Jenkins has written, 'thus seems to depend on one's point of view.

Use of the term implies a moral judgment; **and if one party can successfully attach the label *terrorist* to its opponent, then it has indirectly persuaded others to adopt its moral viewpoint.' Hence the decision to call someone or label some organization *terrorist becomes almost unavoidably subjective*, depending largely on whether one sympathizes with or opposes the person/group/cause concerned.

**If one identifies with the victim of the violence, for example, then the act is terrorism.** If, however, one identifies with the perpetrator, the violent act is regarded in a more sympathetic, if not positive (or, at the worst, an ambivalent) light; and it is not terrorism. (Hoffman 1998) The pejorative connotations of the word can be summed up in the aphorism, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". (Reynolds, 2005)

This is exemplified when a group using irregular military methods is an ally of a state against a mutual enemy, but later falls out with the state and starts to use those methods against its former ally. During World War II, the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army was allied with the British, but during the Malayan Emergency, members of its successor (the Malayan Races Liberation Army), were branded "terrorists" by the British. (Dr.Clark 1948)

More recently, Ronald Reagan and others in the American administration frequently called the Mujahidin "freedom fighters" during the Soviet–Afghan War, yet twenty years later, when a new generation of Afghan men were fighting against what they perceive to be a regime installed by foreign powers, their attacks were labelled "terrorism" by George W.
Bush. (Chouvy, 2009)

Groups accused of terrorism understandably prefer terms reflecting legitimate military or ideological action. (George Mason University Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, 2003).

Leading terrorism researcher Professor Martin Rudner, director of the Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies at Ottawa's Carleton University, defines "terrorist acts" as unlawful attacks for political or other ideological goals, and said:

“There is the famous statement: 'One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.' But that is grossly misleading. It assesses the validity of the cause when terrorism is an act. One can have a perfectly beautiful cause and yet if one commits terrorist acts, it is terrorism regardless.” (Quinney et al, 2011)

Some groups, when involved in a "liberation" struggle, have been called "terrorists" by the Western governments or media. Later, these same persons, as leaders of the liberated nations, are called "statesmen" by similar organizations. Two examples of this phenomenon are the Nobel Peace Prize laureates Menachem Begin and Nelson Mandela. (Quinney et al, 2011) (Hoffman 1998)

Sometimes, states that are close allies, for reasons of history, culture and politics, can disagree over whether or not members of a certain organization are terrorists. For instance, for many years, some branches of the United States government refused to label members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) as terrorists while the IRA was using methods against one of the United States' closest allies (the United Kingdom) that the UK branded as terrorism. This was highlighted by the Quinn v. Robinson case. (Quin 1986)

Media outlets who wish to convey impartiality may limit their usage of "terrorist" and "terrorism" because they are loosely defined, potentially controversial in nature, and subjective terms. (BBC 2011)

1.14 Types of Terrorism

Depending on the country, the political system, and the time in history, the types of terrorism are varying. In early 1975, the Law Enforcement Assistant Administration in the
United States formed the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. One of the five volumes that the committee wrote was titled *Disorders and Terrorism*, produced by the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism under the direction of H. H. A. Cooper, Director of the Task Force staff.

The Task Force defines terrorism as "a tactic or technique by means of which a violent act or the threat thereof is used for the prime purpose of creating overwhelming fear for coercive purposes". (National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1976)

**It classified disorders and terrorism into six categories:** (National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1976)

- **Civil disorder** – A form of collective violence interfering with the peace, security, and normal functioning of the community.

- **Political terrorism** – Violent criminal behavior designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or substantial segment of it, for political purposes.

- **Non-Political terrorism** – Terrorism that is not aimed at political purposes but which exhibits "conscious design to create and maintain a high degree of fear for coercive purposes, but the end is individual or collective gain rather than the achievement of a political objective".

- **Quasi-terrorism** – The activities incidental to the commission of crimes of violence that are similar in form and method to genuine terrorism but which nevertheless lack its essential ingredient. It is not the main purpose of the quasi-terrorists to induce terror in the immediate victim as in the case of genuine terrorism, but the quasi-terrorist uses the modalities and techniques of the genuine terrorist and produces similar consequences and reaction. (Crime museum, 2016) For example, the fleeing felon who takes hostages is a quasi-terrorist, whose methods are similar to those of the genuine terrorist but whose purposes are quite different.

- **Limited political terrorism** – Genuine political terrorism is characterized by a revolutionary approach; limited political terrorism refers to "acts of terrorism which are committed for ideological or political motives but which are not part of a
concerted campaign to capture control of the state”.

- **Official or state terrorism** – "referring to nations whose rule is based upon fear and oppression that reach similar to terrorism or such proportions”. It may be referred to as **Structural Terrorism** defined broadly as terrorist acts carried out by governments in pursuit of political objectives, often as part of their foreign policy.

Other sources have defined the typology of terrorism in different ways, for example, broadly classifying it into **domestic terrorism** and **international terrorism**, or using categories such as vigilante terrorism or insurgent terrorism. (Purpura, 2007)

**One way the typology of terrorism may be defined:** (Hudson, 2002)

- **Political terrorism**
  - **Sub-state terrorism**
    - Social revolutionary terrorism
    - Nationalist-separatist terrorism
    - **Religious extremist terrorism**
      - Religious fundamentalist Terrorism
      - New religions terrorism
    - Right-wing terrorism
  - **Left-wing terrorism**
    - Communist terrorism
  - **State-sponsored terrorism**
  - **Regime or state terrorism**

- **Criminal terrorism**
- **Pathological terrorism**
1.15 Motivations of Terrorists

As well as there being no one agreed definition of terrorism, there is a similar lack of consensus regarding the causes – or motivations behind – terrorism. Numerous studies have identified certain behavioral and situational characteristics that are common, and perhaps causal, to the consequence of terrorism, specific analysis of case studies have led to suggested motivations to individual historical acts. (Madigan et al, 2017) (Hoffman 1998)

1) **Intimidation**

Attacks on 'collaborators' are used to intimidate people from cooperating with the state in order to undermine state control. This strategy was used in Ireland, in Kenya, in Algeria and in Cyprus during their independence struggles.

2) **International Attention**

This strategy was used by Al-Qaeda in its attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the United States on September 11, 2001. These attacks are used to draw international attention to struggles that are otherwise unreported, such as the Palestinian airplane hijackings in 1970 and the 1975 Dutch train hostage crisis.

3) **Local/internal social standing**

Abrahm (2008) suggests that terrorist organizations do not select terrorism for its political effectiveness. Individual terrorists tend to be motivated more by a desire for social solidarity with other members of their organization than by political platforms or strategic objectives, which are often murky and undefined.

4) **Cultural tolerance of violence**

Additionally, Michael Mousseau shows possible relationships between the type of economy within a country and ideology associated with terrorism. Many terrorists have a history of domestic violence.

5) **Perceived illegitimacy of the State**
Some terrorists like Timothy McVeigh were motivated by revenge against a state for its actions against its citizens.

6) **Religious beliefs/zealotry**

According to Paul Gill, John Horgan and Paige Deckert on behalf of The Department of Security of UK, 43 percent of lone wolf terrorism is motivated by religious beliefs. The same report indicates that just less than a third (32 percent) have pre-existing mental health disorders, while many are found to have these problems upon arrest. At least 37 percent lived alone at the time of their event planning and/or execution, a further 26 percent lived with others, and no data were available for the remaining cases. 40 percent were unemployed at the time of their arrest or terrorist event. Many were chronically unemployed and consistently struggled to hold any form of employment for a significant amount of time. 19 percent subjectively experienced being disrespected by others, while 14.3 percent experienced being the victim of verbal or physical assault. (Gill et al 2014)

7) **Mental Health**

Ariel Merari (2006), a psychologist who has studied the psychological profiles of suicide terrorists since 1983 through media reports that contained biographical details, interviews with the suicides’ families, and interviews with jailed would-be suicide attackers, concluded that they were unlikely to be psychologically abnormal.

In comparison to economic theories of criminal behavior, Scott Atran found that suicide terrorists exhibit none of the socially dysfunctional attributes – such as fatherless, friendless, jobless situations – or suicidal symptoms. By which he means, they do not kill themselves simply out of hopelessness or a sense of 'having nothing to lose. (Atran, 2004)

8) **Nationalism**

Although a common factor in terrorism is a strong religious belief there are other factors such as cultural, social and political that wholly preclude religion. For example, the drive behind these Chechen terrorists are quite distinct and unique from others. Many of the Chechens considered themselves secular freedom fighters, nationalist insurgents seeking to establish an independent secular state of Chechnya. Although a distinction should be made between national Chechen terrorists and non-Chechen fighters who have adopted the idea from abroad. Few Chechen fighters fought for the jihads whereas most of the non-Chechen fighters did (Janeczko, 2014).

9) **Financial support for family**
Another factor are perceived assurances of financial stability for the actor's families, that they are given when they join a terrorist organization or complete an attempt of terror. An extra grant is provided for the families of suicide bombers. (Kruglanski et al. 2006)

1.16 Democracy and domestic terrorism

Terrorism is most common in nations with intermediate political freedom, and it is least common in the most democratic nations. One study suggests that suicide attacks may be an exception to this general rule. Evidence regarding this particular method of terrorism reveals that every modern suicide campaign has targeted a democracy–a state with a considerable degree of political freedom. (Hoffman, 2003)

The study suggests that concessions awarded to terrorists during the 1980s and 1990s for suicide attacks increased their frequency. There is a connection between the existence of civil liberties, democratic participation and terrorism. According to Young and Dugan, these things encourage terrorist groups to organize and generate terror.

Some examples of "terrorism" in non-democratic nations include ETA in Spain under Francisco Franco (although the group's terrorist activities increased sharply after Franco's death)(Times, 2009), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in pre-war Poland, the Shining Path in Peru under Alberto Fujimori, the Kurdistan Workers Party when Turkey was ruled by military leaders and the ANC in South Africa. Democracies, such as Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Israel, Indonesia, India, Spain, Germany, Italy and the Philippines, have experienced domestic terrorism. (Hudson, 1999)

While a democratic nation espousing civil liberties may claim a sense of higher moral ground than other regimes, an act of terrorism within such a state may cause a dilemma: whether to maintain its civil liberties and thus risk being perceived as ineffective in dealing with the problem; or alternatively to restrict its civil liberties and thus risk delegitimizing its claim of supporting civil liberties. (Young, 2007)

For this reason, homegrown terrorism has started to be seen as a greater threat, as stated by former CIA Director Michael Hayden. This dilemma, some social theorists would conclude, may very well play into the initial plans of the acting terrorist(s); namely, to delegitimize the state and cause a systematic shift towards anarchy via the accumulation of negative sentiments towards the state system. (Shabad et al. 1995)
1.17 Religious terrorism

Terrorist acts throughout history have been performed on religious grounds with the goal to either spread or enforce a system of belief, viewpoint or opinion. The validity and scope of religious terrorism is limited to an individual's view or a group's view or interpretation of that belief system's teachings. (Crenshaw et al, 1995)

According to the Global Terrorism Index by the University of Maryland, College Park, religious extremism has overtaken national separatism and become the main driver of terrorist attacks around the world. Since 9/11 there has been a five-fold increase in deaths from terrorist attacks. The majority of incidents over the past several years can be tied to groups with a religious agenda. Before 2000, it was nationalist separatist terrorist organizations such as the IRA and Chechen rebels who were behind the most attacks. The number of incidents from nationalist separatist groups has remained relatively stable in the years since while religious extremism has grown. The prevalence of Islamist groups in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria is the main driver behind these trends. (Arnett 2014)

Four of the terrorist groups that have been most active since 2001 are Boko Haram, Al Qaeda, the Taliban and ISIL. These groups have been most active in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria. 80 percent of all deaths from terrorism occurred in one of these five countries. (Arnett 2014)

Terrorism in Pakistan has become a great problem. From the summer of 2007 until late 2009, more than 1,500 people were killed in suicide and other attacks on civilians for reasons attributed to a number of causes – sectarian violence between Sunni and Shia Muslims; easy availability of guns and explosives; the existence of a "Kalashnikov culture"; an influx of ideologically driven Muslims based in or near Pakistan, who originated from various nations around the world and the subsequent war against the pro-Soviet Afghans in the 1980s which blew back into Pakistan; the presence of Islamist insurgent groups and forces such as the Taliban and Lashkar-e-Taiba. (Maplecroft, 2016)

Pakistan is the 10th most dangerous country by criminality index.[131] On July 2, 2013
in Lahore, 50 Muslim scholars of the Sunni Ittehad Council (SIC) issued a collective fatwa against suicide bombings, the killing of innocent people, bomb attacks, and targeted killings declaring them as Haraam or forbidden. (Maplecroft, 2016)

In 2015, the Southern Poverty Law Center released a report on terrorism in the United States. The report (titled The Age of the Wolf) found that during that period, "more people have been killed in America by non-Islamic domestic terrorists than jihadists." (Lenz, 2015)

The "virulent racist and anti-Semitic" ideology of the ultra-right wing Christian Identity movement is usually accompanied by anti-government sentiments. Adherents of Christian Identity believe that whites of European descent can be traced back to the "Lost Tribes of Israel" and many consider Jews to be the satanic offspring of Eve and the Serpent. (Anti-Defamation League, 2017)

This group has committed hate crimes, bombings and other acts of terrorism. Its influence ranges from the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi groups to the anti-government militia and sovereign citizen movements. (Anti-Defamation League, 2017)

Christian Identity's origins can be traced back to Anglo-Israelism. Anglo-Israelism held the view that Jews were descendants of ancient Israelites who had never been lost. By the 1930s, the movement had been infected with anti-Semitism, and eventually Christian Identity theology diverged from traditional Anglo-Israelism, and developed what is known as the "two seed" theory. According to the two-seed theory, the Jewish people are descended from Cain and the serpent (not from Shem). The white European seed line is descended from the "lost tribes" of Israel. They hold themselves to "God's laws", not to "man's laws", and they do not feel bound to a government that they consider run by Jews and the New World Order. (Anti-Defamation League, 2017)

Israel has had problems with Jewish religious terrorism. Yigal Amir assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. For Amir, killing Rabin was an exemplary act that symbolized the fight against an illegitimate government that was prepared to cede Jewish Holy Land to the Palestinians. (Spaaij, 2012)

1.18 Religious Ideology and the Fueling of Islamic Terrorism

Islam has a close connection with terrorist atrocities. Islamic Militants interviewed by journalists often point to the Quranic verse, "O believers, take not Jews and Christians as friends," as religious "proof" for their position. "We are just telling you that we are the defenders of Prophet Mohammed." Terrorists believe in their own minds that they are
holy warriors who would die "martyred" in their holy war and that they would live on in Paradise. (Bergen, 2015)

Militant terrorists often arrested tell investigators that "the wise leaders in Islam told him and his friends that if they die as martyrs in jihad they would go to heaven" and "that martyrs would be greeted by more than 60 virgins in a big palace in heaven with eternal erections to satisfy all of them." This refers to the hadith, or saying of the Prophet Mohammed, that martyrs will enjoy the favor of 72 virgins. (Bergen, 2015)

Recorded ISIS "martyrdom" videos commonly feature a militant in which he pledges his allegiance to the leader of ISIS. In these videos one of them said, "I am firstly addressing the caliph of the Muslims Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. ... I pledged allegiance to the Caliph as soon as the caliphate was declared." This statement refers to the belief that a Muslim caliphate, or empire, will stretch across the Muslim world and will be led by a caliph, who is the political and religious successor of the Prophet Mohammed. (Bergen, 2015)

The reason that Islamist militants can assert that jihad is necessary against the perceived enemies of Islam is that there is sufficient ammunition in the Quran to buttress their beliefs. The same could also, of course, be said for the Old Testament, which is full of scenes of violent death visited on the enemies of God. And it is also the case that only a tiny minority of Muslims are willing to do violence in the name of Allah. (Bergen, 2015)

Nonetheless, a well-known verse in the Quran, which for believers is literally the Word of God, commands Muslims that they "fight and slay the nonbelievers wherever you find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem [of war]." The same verse adds that if the nonbelievers "repent" and pay what is rendered in some translations of the Quran as charity to the poor and in others as a tax to Muslims, then they can be spared. Indeed, when Osama bin Laden made a formal declaration of war against "the Jews and the Crusaders" in 1998, he cited this Quranic verse at the beginning of his declaration. (Bergen, 2015)

Assertions, therefore, that Islamist terrorism has nothing to do with Islam are as nonsensical as claims that the Crusades had nothing to do with Christian beliefs about
the sanctity of Jerusalem or that the exponential growth of Israeli settlements on Palestinian lands are not rooted in the beliefs of certain fundamentalist Jewish groups about the God-given rights of Jews to live in their God-given homeland. (Bergen, 2015)

Indeed, there is an explicitly religious civil war driven by terrorist groups such as ISIS, al Qaeda and Hezbollah unfolding in the Middle East in countries such as Iraq, Syria and Yemen that pits ultra-fundamentalist Sunnis against ultra-fundamentalist Shias. This war could well replicate the religious Thirty Years’ War that tore apart 17th century Europe in both viciousness and length. Already hundreds of thousands have died in these conflicts. Elements in the Gulf Arab states and Iran have helped to foment this regional civil war. Certain Gulf Arabs support proxy jihadist Sunni groups such as al Qaeda's affiliate in Syria, while Iran supports Shia militant forces such as Hezbollah. (Bergen, 2015)

Islam is, to be sure, a big tent and the one and a half billion Muslims in the world run the gamut from mystical, moderate, pacific Sufis to Salafists. Salafism is an ultra-fundamentalist branch of Islam that is particularly prevalent in Saudi Arabia. Salafism is intolerant of what its adherents consider to be Islamic deviancy such as Shia Islam, as well as of other religions such as Judaism or Christianity, and it offers scant roles for women outside the home. Salafism is not, however, a gateway to violence for the tens of millions of its peaceful adherents around the world. That said, while very few Salafists are terrorists, jihadist terrorists are almost invariably Salafists. (Bergen, 2015)

A similar point could also be made about Christian fundamentalists in the United States: Very few kill abortion clinic doctors, but anyone who kills an abortion clinic doctor in the States is almost invariably a Christian fundamentalist. (Bergen, 2015)

For terrorists such as those who carried out the attacks in Paris in 2015, their Salafism also became increasingly politicized. They adopted the ideology of what can be termed "Binladenism," as it was Osama bin Laden who laid out this ideology for a global audience in a series of interviews and statements he made before he was killed in 2011. (Bergen, 2015)

Before we get into an explanation of this ideology, it might be helpful to explore what an ideology is: It is an idea or set of ideas that claims to fully explain the world and, often,
Examples of such ideologies might include Marxist-Leninism, which claimed that history could only be understood in material terms as a class struggle between the capitalists and the workers. Another such ideology was Nazism, which asserted that the German/Aryan race's rightful, dominant place in the world could only be attained by the enslavement or elimination of supposedly inferior ethnic groups, particularly Jews. (Bergen, 2015)

Ideologies, by their nature, are not susceptible to challenges posed by countervailing evidence. Whether they are secular (Marxist-Leninism) or they are religious, they are fundamentally theological in the sense they are belief systems that are not open to question or scientific inquiry. You either believe. Or you don't. (Bergen, 2015)

Common too many ideologies is the belief that history has a direction and a purpose and that at the end of this history, the world will be transformed into a utopia. In Marxist-Leninism's case, this utopia was the classless society of true communism, and for Nazism, it was the Thousand Year Reich. (Bergen, 2015)

In the minds of the true believers, the only possible explanation for why these nirvanas haven't been attained as yet is that a pesky set of enemies are standing in the way. Since such groups are blocking the creation of utopia, they are not simply just obtuse, they are, in fact, evil and therefore must be exterminated. This belief explains both Stalin's campaign to murder millions of Russians who were purported to be counterrevolutionaries as well as Hitler's Holocaust. (Bergen, 2015)

Similarly, the ideology of Binladenism is the belief that the world will finally be made perfect after the restoration of a Taliban-style Caliphate that will stretch across the Muslim world from Indonesia to Morocco. Its supporters brand as evil the people and nations that they perceive are standing in the way of this dream, including Jews, Israel, any Middle Eastern regime that doesn't follow Taliban-style rule, the United States and its Western allies such as France. (Bergen, 2015)

In bin Laden's telling, there was a global conspiracy by the West and its puppet allies in the Muslim world to destroy true Islam, and this conspiracy is led by the United States. (Bergen, 2015)
Religious-based moral outrage about Western foreign policy in the Muslim world -- a key tenet of the ideology of Binladenism -- is a recurring theme that crops up with many militant Islamist militants. Terrorists share this. One terrorist, Amedy Coulibaly, recorded a video before he died, saying that the bombing of ISIS positions in Syria and Iraq by Western countries had motivated his attacks: "If you attack the Islamic State, we will attack you. ... You and your coalition, you bombarded regularly over there." (Bergen, 2015)

For the 2015 Paris terrorists, as it was for bin Laden, the only answer to the purported Western assaults on Islam is revenge. That explains 9/11, and it also explains the terrorist attacks in Paris. To claim that these attacks had nothing to do with a number of Islamic beliefs is preposterous. (Bergen, 2015)

1.19 Perpetrators

The perpetrators of acts of terrorism can be individuals, groups, or states. According to some definitions, clandestine or semi-clandestine state actors may carry out terrorist acts outside the framework of a state of war. (Hudson, 2002)

The most common image of terrorism is that it is carried out by small and secretive cells, highly motivated to serve a particular cause and many of the most deadly operations in recent times, such as the September 11 attacks, the London underground bombing, 2008 Mumbai attacks and the 2002 Bali bombing were planned and carried out by a close clique, composed of close friends, family members and other strong social networks. These groups benefited from the free flow of information and efficient telecommunications to succeed where others had failed. (Sageman, 2004) Over the years, much research has been conducted to distill a terrorist profile to explain these individuals' actions through their psychology and socio-economic circumstances. (Bakker, 2016)

Others, like Roderick Hindery, have sought to discern profiles in the propaganda tactics used by terrorists. Some security organizations designate these groups as violent non-state actors. (Sageman, 2004)

A 2007 study by economist Alan B. Krueger found that terrorists were less likely to
come from an impoverished background (28 percent vs. 33 percent) and more likely to have at least a high-school education (47 percent vs. 38 percent).

Another analysis found only 16 percent of terrorists came from impoverished families, vs. 30 percent of male Palestinians, and over 60 percent had gone beyond high school, vs. 15 percent of the populace. (Krueger, 2007)

A study into the poverty-stricken conditions and whether or not, terrorists are more likely to come from here, show that people who grew up in these situations tend to show aggression and frustration towards others. This theory is largely debated for the simple fact that just because one is frustrated, does not make them a potential terrorist. (Levitt et al, 2009)

To avoid detection, a terrorist will look, dress, and behave normally until executing the assigned mission. Some claim that attempts to profile terrorists based on personality, physical, or sociological traits are not useful. The physical and behavioral description of the terrorist could describe almost any normal person. The majority of terrorist attacks are carried out by military age men, aged 16–40. (Coughlan, 2006)

1.20 Non-state groups

Groups not part of the state apparatus of in opposition to the state are most commonly referred to as a "terrorist" in the media.

According to the Global Terrorism Database, the most active terrorist group in the period 1970 to 2010 was Shining Path (with 4,517 attacks), followed by Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), Irish Republican Army (IRA), Basque Fatherland and Freedom (ETA), Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), Taliban, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, New People's Army, National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN), and Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). (Global Terrorism Database)

1.21 State sponsors

A state can sponsor terrorism by funding or harboring a terrorist group. Opinions as to which acts of violence by states consist of state-sponsored terrorism vary widely. When states provide funding for groups considered by some to be terrorist, they
rarely acknowledge them as such. (Hoffman, 2003)

1.22 State terrorism

Civilization is based on a clearly defined and widely accepted yet often unarticulated hierarchy. Violence done by those higher on the hierarchy to those lower is nearly always invisible, that is, unnoticed. When it is noticed, it is fully rationalized. Violence done by those lower on the hierarchy to those higher is unthinkable, and when it does occur it is regarded with shock, horror, and the fetishization of the victims.

— Derrick Jensen

As with "terrorism" the concept of "state terrorism" is controversial. The Chairman of the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee has stated that the Committee was conscious of 12 international Conventions on the subject, and none of them referred to State terrorism, which was not an international legal concept.

If States abused their power, they should be judged against international conventions dealing with war crimes, international human rights law, and international humanitarian law. Former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has said that it is "time to set aside debates on so-called 'state terrorism'. The use of force by states is already thoroughly regulated under international law". (Lind 2005)

He made clear that, "regardless of the differences between governments on the question of the definition of terrorism, what is clear and what we can all agree on is that any deliberate attack on innocent civilians [or non-combatants], regardless of one's cause, is unacceptable and fits into the definition of terrorism.” (Kofi Annan, 2002)

State terrorism has been used to refer to terrorist acts committed by governmental agents or forces. This involves the use of state resources employed by a state's foreign policies, such as using its military to directly perform acts of terrorism. Professor of Political Science Michael Stohl cites the examples that include the German bombing of London, the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, the British firebombing of Dresden, and the U.S. atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II.

He argues that "the use of terror tactics is common in international relations and
the state has been and remains a more likely employer of terrorism within the international system than insurgents." (Stohl, 1984)

He cites the first strike option as an example of the "terror of coercive diplomacy" as a form of this, which holds the world hostage with the implied threat of using nuclear weapons in "crisis management" and he argues that the institutionalized form of terrorism has occurred as a result of changes that took place following World War II. (Stohl, 1984)

In this analysis, state terrorism exhibited as a form of foreign policy was shaped by the presence and use of weapons of mass destruction, and the legitimizing of such violent behavior led to an increasingly accepted form of this behavior by the state. (Stohl, 1984) (Stohl, 1984)

Charles Stewart Parnell described William Ewart Gladstone's Irish Coercion Act as terrorism in his "no-Rent manifesto" in 1881, during the Irish Land War. The concept is used to describe political repressions by governments against their own civilian populations with the purpose of inciting fear. For example, taking and executing civilian hostages or extrajudicial elimination campaigns are commonly considered "terror" or terrorism, for example during the Red Terror or the Great Terror. (Werth et al, 1999)

Such actions are often described as democide or genocide, which have been argued to be equivalent to state terrorism. Empirical studies on this have found that democracies have little democide. Western democracies, including the United States, have supported state terrorism and mass killings, with some examples being the Indonesian mass killings of 1965–66 and Operation Condor. (Kissangani et al, 2007)

1.23 Connection with tourism
The connection between terrorism and tourism has been widely studied since the Luxor massacre in Egypt. In the 1970s, the targets of terrorists were politicians and chiefs of police while now, international tourists and visitors are selected as the main targets of attacks. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001,
were the symbolic epicenter, which marked a new epoch in the use of civil transport against the main power of the planet. From this event onwards, the spaces of leisure that characterized the pride of West, were conceived as dangerous and frightful. (Bianchi 2006)(Floyd 2003)

1.24 Funding

State sponsors have constituted a major form of funding; for example, Palestine Liberation Organization, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and other groups considered to be terrorist organizations, were funded by the Soviet Union. The Stern Gang received funding from Italian Fascist officers in Beirut to undermine the British Mandate for Palestine. Pakistan has created and nurtured terrorist groups as policy for achieving tactical objectives against its neighbors, especially India. (US National Credit Union Administration, 2002)

"Revolutionary tax" is another major form of funding, and essentially a euphemism for "protection money". Revolutionary taxes "play a secondary role as one other means of intimidating the target population". (US NCUA, 2002)

Other major sources of funding include kidnapping for ransoms, smuggling (including wildlife smuggling), fraud, and robbery. The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant has reportedly received funding "via private donations from the Gulf states". (Hoffman, 2006)

1.25 Tactics

Terrorist attacks are often targeted to maximize fear and publicity, usually using explosives or poison. (Hoffman, 2003)

Terrorist groups usually methodically plan attacks in advance, and may train participants, plant undercover agents, and raise money from supporters or through organized crime. (Hoffman, 2003)

Communications occur through modern telecommunications, or through old-fashioned methods such as couriers. There is concern about terrorist attacks employing weapons of mass destruction. (Hoffman, 2003)
Terrorism is a form of asymmetric warfare, and is more common when direct conventional warfare will not be effective because opposing forces vary greatly in power. (Hoffman, 2006) The context in which terrorist tactics are used is often a large-scale, unresolved political conflict. (Hoffman, 2006)

The type of conflict varies widely; historical examples include:

1) Secession of a territory to form a new sovereign state or become part of a different state
2) Dominance of territory or resources by various ethnic groups
3) Imposition of a particular form of government
4) Economic deprivation of a population
5) Opposition to a domestic government or occupying army
6) Religious fanaticism

1.2.6 Responses

Responses to terrorism are broad in scope. They can include re-alignments of the political spectrum and reassessments of fundamental values. (Hoffman, 2006)

Specific types of responses include:

1. Targeted laws, criminal procedures, deportations, and enhanced police powers
2. Target hardening, such as locking doors or adding traffic barriers
3. Preemptive or reactive military action
4. Increased intelligence and surveillance activities
5. Preemptive humanitarian activities
6. More permissive interrogation and detention policies

The term "counter-terrorism" has a narrower connotation, implying that it is directed at terrorist actors. (US Counter-insurgency manual)

1.27 Response in the United States

According to a report by Dana Priest and William M. Arkin in The Washington Post, "Some 1,271 government organizations and 1,931 private companies work on programs related to counterterrorism, homeland security and intelligence in about 10,000 locations across the United States." (Dana et al. 2010)

America's thinking on how to defeat radical Islamists is split along two very different schools of thought. Republicans, typically follow what is known as the Bush Doctrine, advocate the military model of taking the fight to the enemy and seeking to democratize the Middle East. Democrats, by contrast, generally propose the law enforcement model of better cooperation with nations and more security at home. (Ankony, 2011)

In the introduction of the *U.S. Army / Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, Sarah Sewall states the need for "U.S. forces to make securing the civilian, rather than destroying the enemy, their top priority.

*The civilian population is the center of gravity* – the deciding factor in the struggle.... Civilian deaths create an extended family of enemies – new insurgent recruits or informants – and erode support of the host nation." (US Counter-insurgency manual)

Sewall sums up the book's key points on how to win this battle: "Sometimes, the more you protect your force, the less secure you may be.... Sometimes, the more force is used, the less effective it is.... The more successful the counterinsurgency is, the less force can be used and the more risk must be accepted.... Sometimes, doing nothing is the best reaction."

*This strategy, often termed "courageous restraint", has certainly led to some*
success on the Middle East battlefield, yet it fails to address the central truth: the most common terrorists faced are mostly homegrown. (Sewall Sarah, 2007)

1.28 International agreements

One of the agreements that promote the international legal anti-terror framework is the Code of Conduct towards Achieving a World Free of Terrorism that was adopted at the 73rd session of the United Nations General Assembly in 2018.

The Code of Conduct was initiated by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Its main goal is to implement a wide range of international commitments to counter terrorism and establish a broad global coalition towards achieving a world free of terrorism by 2045. The Code was signed by more than 70 countries. (United Nations General Assembly, 2018).

Chapter 2 - Methodology

2.1 Terrorism research

Terrorism research, called terrorism and counter-terrorism research, is an interdisciplinary academic field which seeks to understand the causes of terrorism, how to prevent it as well as its impact in the broadest sense. Terrorism research can be carried out in both military and civilian contexts, for example by research centers such as the British Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, the Norwegian Centre for Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies, and the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT). There are several academic journals devoted to the field. (Tinnes, 2013)

2.2 Methodological framework of this Dissertation

My thesis will try to identify the similarities of Chapter 1 – Literature Review by the analysis of the CAR Civil war crisis, which took place in 2012. The facts will be examined if they answer the research question, in accordance to the over mentioned theoretical framework, supporting in this way the comprehensive approach of the examined issue. Also I will try to verify Jones and Libicki 2008 survey about how terrorist groups end.

2.3 Key questions of the study
The crisis that began in 2012 in Central African Republic (CAR), triggered by Seleka rebellion and perpetuated by the Antibalaka militia that was often presented in the mass media as an interfaith conflict, was a political power struggle? Did the EUFOR RCA Mission had a significant impact of the Crisis? Did the outcome supports the study of Jones and Libicki, (2008, p. 19) about how a Terrorist group ends? How were the media involved?

2.4 Research scheme

The main purpose of this study is to analyze the EUMS EUFOR RCA facts by examining and defining their part during the CAR Civil War. The following features are the basic characteristics of this thesis approach:

Qualitative data of the incidents will be collected by a thorough literature review search on Terrorism and its root causes, and a case study analysis of the CAR Civil war. This research can also be recognized as an evaluation one. The collective data will originate from documents collected from open sources. This exploration is going to be contacted on the relevant scientific domain bibliography and will be the main source of the essential data that are needed for the dissertations completion.

After comparing it with the Quantative Data from Jones and Libicki Study, The results of this process will be beneficial for producing lessons learned from the use of an external EU Stabilization Force during a Civil War Crisis, in a failing state.

2.5 The Outcome of terrorist groups according to the Jones and Libicki Study.

According to the RAND study of Jones and Libicki in How Terrorist Groups End, (2008)

How terrorist groups end (n = 268):
The most common ending for a terrorist group is to convert to nonviolence via negotiations (43 percent), with most of the rest terminated by routine policing (40 percent). Groups that were ended by military force constituted only 7 percent. (Jones and Libicki, 2008)

Jones and Libicki (2008) created a list of all the terrorist groups they could find that were active between 1968 and 2006. They found 648. of those, 136 splintered and 244 were still active in 2006. (Jones and Libicki, 2008)

Of the ones that ended, 43 percent converted to nonviolent political actions, like the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland. Law enforcement took out 40 percent. Ten percent won. Only 20 groups, 7 percent, were destroyed by military force. Forty-two groups became large enough to be labeled an insurgency; 38 of those had ended by 2006. Of those, 47 percent converted to nonviolent political actors. Only 5 percent were taken out by law enforcement. 26 percent won. 21 percent succumbed to military force. (Jones and Libicki, 2008)

Jones and Libicki concluded that military force may be necessary to deal with large insurgencies but are only occasionally decisive, because the military is too often seen as a bigger threat to civilians than the terrorists. To avoid that, the rules of engagement must be conscious of collateral damage and work to minimize it.
Another researcher, Audrey Cronin, lists six primary ways that terrorist groups end: (Cronin, 2009)

- Capture or killing of a group’s leader. (Decapitation).
- Entry of the group into a legitimate political process. (Negotiation).
- Achievement of group aims. (Success).
- Group implosion or loss of public support. (Failure).
- Defeat and elimination through brute force. (Repression).
- Transition from terrorism into other forms of violence. (Reorientation).

Chapter 3 – Case Study

European Union Military Operation in the Central African Republic and the Events of the CAR Civil War Crisis (2012)

European Union Force RCA, commonly referred as EUFOR RCA, was the United Nations-mandated European Union peacekeeping mission in Bangui, capital of the Central African Republic. The goal of the mission was to stabilize the area after more than a year of internal conflict. Agreement about the mission was reached in January 2014, and the first operations started at the end of April. (EEAS Archives)

The Council established on 10 February 2014 an EU military operation to contribute to a safe and secure environment (SASE) in the Central African Republic, as authorized by the UN Security Council in resolution 2134 (2014). This decision created the legal basis for the operation entitled EUFOR RCA and was another step towards its rapid deployment. The mission ended its mandate and has been closed on the 15 March 2015. (EEAS Archives)
EUFOR RCA provided temporary support in achieving a safe and secure environment in the Bangui area, with a view to handing over to African partners. The force contributed to international efforts to protect the populations most at risk, creating the conditions for providing humanitarian aid. (EEAS Archives)

The Former EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission, Catherine Ashton, said: "We have reacted swiftly to the serious crisis in the Central African Republic. We are using all the tools at our disposal, from humanitarian assistance to political support for the transition, to our long-term development cooperation. But the absolute priority is to protect the civilian population from any further violence, to ensure that the people of the Central African Republic can live without fear and start rebuilding their country, and to make sure that humanitarian aid can be provided. EUFOR RCA will deploy as soon as possible to back the remarkable efforts of France and our African partners." (EEAS Archives)

3.1 Background

In 2012 the Central African Republic was embroiled in internal conflict, resulting in the ousting of the Christian president Francois Bozize in March 2013.

Michel Djotodia, the leader of Muslim Séléka rebels, assumed the presidency but was himself forced to resign in January 2014. (Wilsher, 2013)

According to the UN Refugee Agency, 37,000 people have escaped to neighboring countries, while 173,000 have been internally displaced. In December 2013, peacekeeping missions Operation Sangaris by France and MISCA by the African Union were mounted.

On 20 January 2014, EU foreign ministers reached agreement for the creation of EUFOR RCA, which is the ninth EU military operation in the framework of the Common Security and Defense Policy. (Tardy, 2014)

On 28 January, United Nations Security Council resolution 2134 approved deployment of the EU force into the Central African Republic. The military operation was established on 10 February, with major general Philippe Pontiès as its commander, with Greece providing the Operational HQ at Larissa (OHQ) (EEAS, 2014)

3.2 Deployment
On 30 April 2014, EUFOR RCA started its first major operation by taking over security at the Bangui M’Poko International Airport. The initial force consisted of 150 troops, and was contributed by former colonial power France and by Estonia. During May and June troops from Finland, Georgia, Latvia, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Spain as well as military advisors from Luxembourg joined the force. (EEAS FOC, 2014)

On 15 June it achieved full operational capability with 700 troops. The EU mission was planned to last for half a year, with the overall goal to secure a safe environment in the Bangui area, and afterwards hand it over to African partners who should arrive with a 12,000 troop United Nations peacekeeper force in September. On 28 August 2014, troops from Italy joined the force with 50 paratroopers from Folgore Parachute Brigade. (EEAS Archives)

3.3 Central African Republic Civil War (2012–2014)

According to the UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia the Central African Republic conflict was an ongoing civil war in the Central African Republic (CAR) involving the government, rebels from the Séléka coalition, and anti-balaka militias. (UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia, 2013)

In the preceding Central African Republic Bush War (2004-2007), the government of President François Bozizé fought with rebels until a peace agreement in 2007.

The current conflict arose when a new coalition of varied rebel groups, known as Séléka, accused the government of failing to abide by the peace agreements and captured many towns at the end of 2012.

The capital was seized by the rebels in March 2013,

Bozizé fled the country, and the rebel leader Michel Djotodia declared himself president.

Renewed fighting began between Séléka and militias called anti-balaka.
In September 2013, President Djotodia disbanded the Séléka coalition, which had lost its unity after taking power, and in January 2014, Djotodia resigned.

He was replaced by Catherine Samba-Panza, but the conflict continued.

In July 2014, ex-Séléka factions and anti-balaka representatives signed a ceasefire agreement in Brazzaville. By the end of 2014, the country was de facto partitioned with the anti-Balaka controlling the south and west, from which most Muslims had evacuated, and ex-Séléka groups controlling the north and east. More than 1.1 million people have fled their homes in a country of about 5 million people, the highest ever recorded in the country.

Much of the tension is over religious identity between Muslim Séléka fighters and Christian anti-balaka. Other contributing factors include ethnic differences among ex-Séléka factions and historical antagonism between agriculturalists, who largely comprise anti-balaka, and nomadic groups, who constitute most Séléka fighters. (UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia, 2014)

### 3.4 The Course of the Conflict

The peacekeeping force Multinational Force in the Central African Republic (FOMUC) was formed in October 2002 by the regional economic community, Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa(CEMAC). (IRIN 2006)

After François Bozizé seized power in 2003, the Central African Republic Bush War (2004–2007) began with the rebellion by the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR) in North-Eastern CAR, led by Michel Djotodia. (Hancock, 2007)

During this conflict, the UFDR rebel forces also fought with several other rebel groups including the Groupe d'action patriotique pour la libération de Centrafrique (GAPLC), the Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP), the People's Army for the Restoration of Democracy (APRD), the Movement of Central African Liberators for Justice (MLCJ), and the Front démocratique Centrafricain (FDC). (IRIN 2006)

Tens of thousands of people were displaced by the unrest, which continued until 2007, with rebel forces seizing several cities during the conflict.
On 13 April 2007, a **peace agreement between the government and the UFDR** was signed in Birao. The agreement provided for an amnesty for the UFDR, its recognition as a political party, and **the integration of its fighters into the army**. (USA today, 2007)

Further negotiations resulted in a Libreville Global Peace Accord agreement in 2008 for reconciliation, a unity government, and local elections in 2009 and parliamentary and presidential elections in 2010. The new unity government that resulted was formed in January 2009. (Agence France-Presse, 2009)

On 12 July 2008, with the waning of the Central African Republic Bush War, the larger overlapping regional economic community to CEMAC called the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) replaced FOMUC, whose mandate was largely restricted to security, with the **Central African Peacebuilding Mission (MICOPAX)**, who had a broader peace building mandate. (HISTORIQUE DE L'OPÉRATION MICOPAX, 2012)

Rebel groups alleged that Bozizé had not followed the terms of the 2007 agreement and that **there continued to be political abuses**, especially in the northern part of the country, such as "torture and illegal executions". (Sayare, 2013)

### 3.5 Formation of Seleka

In August 2012 a peace agreement was signed between the government and the **CPJP**. On 20 August 2012, an agreement was signed between a dissident faction of the CPJP, led by Colonel Hassan Al Habib calling itself "Fundamental CPJP". and the **Patriotic Convention for Saving the Country (CPSK)**. (Sayare, 2013)

Al Habib announced that, in protest of the peace agreement, the Fundamental CPJP was launching an offensive dubbed "Operation Charles Massi", in memory of the CPJP founder who was allegedly tortured and murdered by the government and that his group intended to overthrow Bozizé. (Sayare, 2013)

In September, fundamental CPJ, using the French name **alliance CPSK-CPJP** took responsibility for attacks on the towns of Sibut, Damara and Dekoa, killing two members of the army. (Sayare, 2013)

It claimed that it had killed two additional members of the **Central African Armed Forces (FACA)** in Damara, capturing military and civilian vehicles, weapons including
rockets, and communications equipment, and launched unsuccessful assault on a fourth town, Grimari and promised more operations in future. (Sayare, 2013)

Mahamath Isseine Abdoulaye, president of the pro-government CPJP faction, countered that the CPJP was committed to the peace agreement and the attacks were the work of Chadian rebels, saying this group of "thieves" would never be able to march on Bangui. Al Habib was killed by the FACA on 19 September in Daya, a town north of Dekoa. (Sayare, 2013)

In November 2012, in Obo, FACA soldiers were injured in an attack attributed to Chadian Popular Front for Recovery rebels. On 10 December 2012, the rebels seized the towns of N'Délé, Sam Ouandja and Ouadda, as well as weapons left by fleeing soldiers. On 15 December, rebel forces took Bamingui, and three days later they advanced to Bria, moving closer to Bangui. (Agence France-Presse, 2012)

The alliance for the first time used the name "Seleka" (meaning "union" in the Sango language) with a press release calling itself "Séléka CPSK-CPJP-UFDR" thus including the Union of Democratic Forces for Unity (UFDR).

The Séléka claim they are fighting because of a lack of progress after a peace deal ended the Bush War.

Following an appeal for help from Central African President François Bozizé, the President of Chad, Idriss Déby, pledged to send 2000 troops to help quell the rebellion.

The first Chadian troops arrived on 18 December to reinforce the CAR contingent in Kaga Bandoro, in preparation for a counter-attack on N'Délé.

Séléka forces took Kabo on 19 December, a major hub for transport between Chad and CAR, located west and north of the areas previously taken by the rebels. On 18 December 2012, the Chadian group Popular Front for Recovery (FPR) announced their allegiance to the Séléka coalition. On 20 December 2012, a rebel group based in northern CAR, the Democratic Front of the Central African People (FDPC) joined the Seleka coalition.

Four days later the rebel coalition took over Bambari, the country's third largest town, followed by Kaga-Bandoro on 25 December. Rebel forces reached Damara, bypassing the town of Sibut where around 150 Chadian troops are stationed together with CAR troops that withdrew from Kaga-Bandoro. (Agence France-Presse, 2012)
On 26 December, hundreds of protesters surrounded the French embassy accusing the former colonial power of failing to help the army.

Josué Binoua, the CAR's minister for territorial administration, requested that France intervenes in case the rebels, now only 75 km (47 mi) away, manage to reach the capital Bangui.

On 27 December, Bozizé asked the international community for assistance. French President François Hollande rejected the appeal, saying that French troops would only be used to protect French nationals in the CAR, and not to defend Bozizé's government. (Agence France-Presse, 2012)

Reports indicated that the U.S. military was preparing plans to evacuate "several hundred" American citizens, as well as other nationals.

General Jean-Felix Akaga, commander of the Economic Community of Central African States' (ECCAS) Multinational Force of Central Africa, said the capital was "fully secured" by the troops from its MICOPAX peacekeeping mission, adding that reinforcements should arrive soon. However, military sources in Gabon and Cameroon denied the report, claiming no decision had been taken regarding the crisis. (Panika, 2012)

Government soldiers launched a counterattack against rebel forces in Bambari on 28 December, leading to heavy clashes, according to a government official. Several witnesses over 60 km (37 mi) away said they could hear detonations and heavy weapons fire for a number of hours. Later, both a rebel leader and a military source confirmed the military attack was repelled and the town remained under rebel control. At least one rebel fighter was killed and three were wounded in the clashes, the military's casualties were unknown.

Meanwhile, the foreign ministers in the ECCAS announced that more troops from the Multinational Force for Central Africa (FOMAC) would be sent to the country to support the 560 members of the MICOPAX mission already present.

The announcement was done by Chad's Foreign Minister Moussa Faki after a meeting in the Gabonese capital Libreville. At the same time, ECCAS deputy secretary general Guy-Pierre Garcia confirmed that the rebels and the CAR government had agreed to unconditional talks, with the goal to get to negotiations by 10 January at the latest.

In Bangui, the U.S. Air Force evacuated around 40 people from the country, including the American ambassador. The International Committee of the Red Cross also
evacuated eight of its foreign workers, though local volunteers and 14 other foreigners remained to help the growing number of displaced people. (The Star, 2012)

Rebel forces took over the town of Sibut without firing a shot on 29 December, as at least 60 vehicles with CAR and Chadian troops retreated to Damara, the last city standing between Séléka and the capital.

In Bangui, the government ordered a 7 pm to 5 am curfew and banned the use of motorcycle taxis, fearing they could be used by rebels to infiltrate the city. Residents reported many shop-owners had hired groups of armed men to guard their property in anticipation of possible looting, as thousands were leaving the city in overloaded cars and boats. The French military contingent rose to 400 with the deployment of 150 additional paratroopers sent from Gabon to Bangui M’Poko International Airport.

French Prime Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault again stressed that the troops were only present to "protect French and European nationals" and not deal with the rebels. (The Original, 2013)

3.6 Foreign troops and ceasefire agreement

According to Trinidad Deiros’s Analysis and BBC News Archives:

On 30 December 2012, President Bozizé agreed to a possible national unity government with members of the Séléka coalition.

On 2 January 2013, the President took over as the new head of the defense ministry from his son and dismissed army chief Guillaume Lapo.

Meanwhile, rebel spokesman Col. Djouma Narkoyo confirmed that Séléka had stopped their advance and will enter peace talks due to start in Libreville on 8 January, on the precondition that government forces stop arresting members of the Gula tribe.

The rebel coalition confirmed it would demand the immediate departure of president Bozize, who had pledged to see out his term until its end in 2016.

By 1 January 2013 reinforcements from FOMAC began to arrive in Damara to support the 400 Chadian troops already stationed there as part of the MICOPAX mission. With rebels closing in on the capital Bangui, a total of 360 soldiers were sent to boost the
defenses of Damara – Angola, Democratic Republic of the Congo, 120 each from Gabon, Republic of the Congo and Cameroon, with a Gabonese general in command of the force.

Jean-Félix Akaga, the Gabonese general in charge of the MICOPAX force sent by the ECCAS, declared that Damara represented a "red line that the rebels cannot cross", and that doing so would be "a declaration of war" against the 10 members of the regional bloc.

France had further boosted its presence in the country to 600 troops. On 6 January, South African President Jacob Zuma announced the deployment of 400 troops to the CAR to assist the forces already present there.

**On 11 January 2013, a ceasefire agreement was signed in Libreville, Gabon.**

**On 13 January, Bozizé signed a decree that removed Prime Minister Faustin-Archange Touadéra from power, as part of the agreement with the rebel coalition.**

The rebels dropped their demand for President François Bozizé to resign, but he had to appoint a new prime minister from the opposition by 18 January 2013.

On 17 January, Nicolas Tiangaye was appointed Prime Minister. The terms of the agreement also included that National Assembly of the Central African Republic be dissolved within a week with a year-long coalition government formed in its place and a new legislative election be held within 12 months (with the possibility of postponement). In addition the temporary coalition government had to implement judicial reforms, amalgamate the rebel troops with the Bozizé government's troops in order to establish a new national military, set up the new legislative elections, as well as introduce other social and economic reforms.

Furthermore, Bozizé's government was required to free all political prisoners imprisoned during the conflict, and foreign troops must return to their countries of origin.

Under the agreement, Séléka rebels were not required to give up the cities they have taken or were then occupying, allegedly as a way to ensure that the Bozizé government would not renege on the agreement. Bozizé would be allowed to remain President until new presidential elections in 2016.

**On 23 January 2013, the ceasefire was broken, with the government blaming Séléka and Séléka blaming the government for allegedly failing to honor the terms of the power-sharing agreement.** By 21 March, the rebels had advanced to Bouca, 300 km from the capital Bangui. On 22 March, the fighting reached the town of Damara, 75 km from the capital. (BBC News Archives)
3.7 Fall of Bangui

According To Reuters News, BBC News and Al-Jazeera archives of 2013:

On 18 March 2013, the rebels, having taken over Gambo and Bangassou, threatened to take up arms again if their demands for the release of political prisoners, the integration of their forces into the national army and for South African soldiers to leave the country were not met within 72 hours. **Three days later, they took control of the towns of Damara and Bossangoa.**

By 23 March, they entered Bangui. Fighting died down during the night as power and water supplies were cut off. Rebels held the northern suburbs whilst the government retained control of the city Centre. On 24 March, rebels reached the presidential palace in the Centre of the capital. **The presidential palace and the rest of the capital soon fell to rebel forces and Bozizé fled to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.**

He was later said to have sought temporary refuge in Cameroon, according to that country's government. **Rebel leaders claimed to have told their men to refrain from any theft or reprisals but residents in the capital are said to have engaged in widespread looting.**

Thirteen South African soldiers were killed and twenty-seven wounded and one was missing after their base on the outskirts of Bangui was attacked by an **armed rebel group of 3,000 rebels**, starting an intense firefight between the rebels and the base's 400 South African National Defense Force soldiers, where SANDF claimed 500 rebels were killed.

Séléka general Hassan Ahmat accused SANDF of acting as "mercenaries" for Bozizé. General Solly Shoke, the Chief of the South African National Defense Force, claimed that there are no plans as yet for the South African troops to leave the Central African Republic, although by 2 April, only 20 of the original 200 SANDF troops stationed in the CAR remained in the country.

**A company of French troops secured Bangui M’Poko International Airport, while a diplomatic source confirmed that Paris had asked for an emergency UN Security Council meeting to discuss the rebel advance.** France sent 350 soldiers to ensure the security of its citizens, bringing the total number of French troops in CAR to nearly 600.

On 25 March 2013, **Séléka leader Michel Djotodia, who served after the January agreement as First Deputy Prime Minister for National Defense, declared himself President, becoming the first Muslim to ever hold the office.**
Djotodia said that there would be a three-year transitional period and that Nicolas Tiangaye would continue to serve as Prime Minister. **Djotodia promptly suspended the constitution and dissolved the government, as well as the National Assembly.** He then reappointed Tiangaye as Prime Minister on 27 March 2013.

### 3.8 Séléka’s rule and fall of Djotodia’s Administration (2013–2014)

An **internal conflict in the Central African Republic (CAR)** started essentially on 13 April 2013, when the government of **President Michel Djotodia officially took over**. The fighting was between the government of the Central African Republic’s former Séléka coalition of rebel groups, who are **mainly from the Muslim minority**, and the **mainly Christian** anti-balaka coalition.

The conflict was part of the ongoing Central African Republic Civil War (2012–present). International organizations, such as the **United Nations, had warned of a possible genocide**. UNSC resolution 2122 authorized the African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA) to be deployed to the country, and France to lead operations with additional troops sent to bolster its force in the country.

Following a summit of Economic Community of Central African States (CEEAC), including the attendance of all the country's MPs, **Djotodia resigned from the presidency on 10 January 2014**. The National Transitional Council chose Bangui mayor Catherine Samba-Panza as interim president on 20 January 2014. A **period of lawlessness prevailed during the early days of her presidency with people moving into religiously cleansed neighborhoods as the UN warned of a genocide**. Anti-Balaka attacks continued against Muslim civilians. (UNSC Archives)

### 3.9 Militarization

Since the Bozizé government was ousted, **the writ of the state has apparently been effected with a prevalence of "insecurity" as a result of the proliferation of armed groups**. Though state institutions were already considered weak by Western norms, they disintegrated following **looting and the destruction of most of the country's**
administrative, police and judicial infrastructure. (Derso, 2013)

Séléka's leadership failed to have effective control over the various armed forces within its coalition, thus, despite being officially dissolved on 13 September, its former constituents are still able to carry on. Furthermore, fighting between various armed forces has affected many parts of the country. Militarization has been at further risk over the emergence of militias opposed to Séléka; on the Séléka side, the participation of significant numbers of fighters from Chad and Darfur, Sudan has heightened the risk of cross-border movement of armed groups, as well as small arms. (Derso, 2013)

3.10 Fighting

Since the new government came to power fighting has continued throughout the country with a law and order problem and other instances of violence such as sexual violence. There has also been ethno-religious fighting between the Muslim and Christian communities. Further there have been concerns of Islamists setting up a base in the country, including Boko Haram who are already present in neighboring Cameroon. (Smith, 2013)

The increasing violence was largely from reprisal attacks on civilians from Séléka's mainly Muslim fighters and Christian militias called "anti-balaka", meaning 'anti-machete' or 'anti-sword'. As many Christians had sedentary lifestyles and many Muslims were nomadic, claims to the land were yet another dimension of the tensions. (Bouckaert, 2013)

According to Human Rights Watch, Séléka gunmen killed at least 40 civilians, and intentionally destroyed 34 villages or towns from February 11 to June 2, 2013. Witnesses said the attackers were Séléka fighters in uniform, sometimes in cooperation with armed Mbarara – nomadic pastoralists who move their cattle between Chad and the Central African Republic – who traveled on horseback or motorcycle. The Séléka fired on civilians, often while they were fleeing.

In August 2013, the UN Security Council warned that the Central African
Republic poses a "serious threat" to regional stability following the rebel takeover in March and there had been "a total breakdown in law and order".

More than 200,000 people fled their homes and many were living rough in the bush, said UN humanitarian chief Valerie Amos, who had visited the country. Save the Children spokesman Mark Kaye reported that the country's healthcare system was in ruins after being looted: "All the pharmacies have been hit. There are no medications, no drugs, equipment has been stolen. I've been to hospitals where even the mattresses have been stolen."

In August 2013, the deposed President Francois Bozize told French media he intended to return to power and see the rebels ousted, and had formed the Front for the Return of Constitutional Order in the CAR (French: Front pour le retour de l'ordre constitutionnel en Centrafrique or FROCCA), a group aiming to bring the world's attention to actions of Séléka and their reported crimes. (BBC News, Aug 2013)

3.11 Disbandment of Séléka and start of hostilities

In September 2013, Michel Djotodia announced that Séléka had been dissolved but most of the militias refused to disband. There were reports of widespread rape, killing, looting and destruction of villages and administrative systems by these militias. "Heavy fighting" between unidentified armed groups in and around the towns of Bossembele and Bossangoa was reported in mid-September 2013. Nearly 400,000 people were displaced, mostly to the bush, and 68,000 had fled to neighboring counties. (Al Jazeera, 2013)

Torture, killings and looting were suggested to have become widespread as chaos spread. (Al Jazeera, 2013)

3.12 Sectarian conflict

In November 2013, the UN warned the country was at risk of spiraling into genocide and said it was "descending into complete chaos", while France described the country as "...on the verge of genocide." (Irish, 2013)

The increasing violence was largely from reprisal attacks on civilians from Séléka's
mainly Muslim fighters and Christian militias called "anti-balaka", meaning 'anti-machete' or 'anti-sword'. As many Christians had sedentary lifestyles and many Muslims were nomadic, claims to the land were yet another dimension of the tensions. (Bouckaert, 2013)

On 4 December 2013, the UN Security Council urgently voted in favor of the resolution that UN MISCA peacekeepers can use all force necessary to protect the lives of civilians [Rules of engagement (ROE)], after reports began emerging from the capital Bangui of widespread violence taking place. (UNSC 2013) Hours after the vote, French President François Hollande announced his country is committed to immediate action in order to stop the wave of killings, saying he has "decided to act immediately, in other words, this evening. (Braun, 2013)

Local witnesses and aid workers on the ground in the capital reported at least 105 bodies had been collected after heavy clashes broke out between the mainly Muslim former rebels currently in charge of the country and a mix of local Christian militia and fighters loyal to ousted president Francois Bozize. In addition to the authorization of force, the Security Council resolution imposed an arms embargo on the country and asked the UN to prepare for a possible peacekeeping mission. (Braun, 2013)

On 6 December 2013, the local branch of the Red Cross announced that a total of 281 bodies had been collected after two days of violence in and around the capital Bangui. An official confirmed that the toll was expected to rise significantly, as workers had to stop as night fell. (Reuters, 2013)

During these clashes, 10 armed attackers of unknown affinity in a pickup truck attacked a French army patrol near Bangui airport. The French troops however overpowered the gunmen, killing four of them, injuring six and destroying their truck. This was the first military engagement in France's intervention in CAR.

Thousands of Christian civilians sought refuge at the French-held airport from the mostly Muslim ex-rebels. By 8 December, the death toll had reached 394 and by 9 December, 465 people had been killed in total. Amnesty International supported the number of around 400 dead as the official count, but estimated that as many as 1,000 people may have been killed, with many hastily buried before they could be accounted for. (Willsher, 2013)
The ICRC claimed that at least 500 people had died during the 7–8 December weekend and the following week. However, the number does not include Muslim casualties who were taken instead to mosques for burial. Another 160 people were killed in the rest of the country, according to the UNHCR, who also gave figures of 450 dead in Bangui. Its spokesman, Afrían Edwards, said: "We are seeing a further deterioration in the situation in Central African Republic." (Al Jazeera archives, 2013)

The UNHCR's Maurice Azonnankpo said: "We have noticed several cases of traumatized people, a few cases of survivors of gender-based violence, and also a few cases of separated children [from] their families. We have our teams at all the [internally displaced persons] sites where they are conducting distribution of non-food items to respond to the needs of these IDPs in Bangui." In Bohang village, the anti-Balaka targeted and killed 27 Muslims.

On 8 December, a hospital was also attacked after ex-Séléka rebels attacked the Amitie hospital at night pulling out those injured in the hospital and shooting them resulting in at least 10 deaths before the hospital was abandoned. The next day, the government had ordered all but the foreign peacekeepers and presidential guard off the streets. (Al Jazeera archives, 2013)

On 13 December, African peacekeepers fired warning shots into a mob targeting Muslims who had taken refuge in a church compound. The next day, sectarian fighting continued in the capital between gangs of Christian and Muslim youths following a night in which a Christian taxi driver was killed by the former Séléka fighters. Civilians were said to be concerned about a cycle of retaliatory violence. On the same day, French forces backed by air power fought against the rebels; French Defense Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian also arrived in the country to meet troops and commanders. On 15 December, Djotodia talked with both militias and considered a possible amnesty for both sides. (Reuters, 2013)

An Al Jazeera crew in the country reported seeing burnt Muslim houses standing empty with the former residents having left. In addition to homes having been torched, there were also child soldiers on the streets as at least some were said to have been willing to fight. The violence has spread outside Bangui. An UNHCR spokesman said on 18 December that
"in Bangui, our staff are reporting continued shooting and **a mood of widespread fear**. We continue to hear of attacks against Christians by former Séléka [mostly Muslim disbanded militias] with looting, killing and houses being set on fire.” (Al Jazeera archives, 2013)

On 19 December, a Chadian soldier was injured in an attack while on patrol. Residents in the Gobango neighbourhood reported clashes between rival Muslim and Christian militias, after Chadian soldiers began shooting at civilians. The next day, more fighting occurred leading to at least 37 deaths over 24 hours. One of the incidents included peacekeepers trying to disarm a group of former Séléka rebels that led to the deaths of three rebels and at least one soldier. A mob of young men wearing crucifixes also attacked a mosque and stripped apart the iron roof with one attacker saying "we don't want mosques in our country." The government issued a statement that day that read Chadian soldiers had responded to an attack on them by Christian militias who accused them of kidnapping and terrorizing. (Marboua, 2013)

Late on 22 December, a MISCA Congolese soldier stationed in Bossangoa was killed by hacking by the anti-Balaka fighters. In contrast to the earlier welcome of French soldiers, **dozens of Muslims marched in Bangui on 25 December demanding the departure of the French troops.** (Marboua, 2013)

**Turning point was suggested to be Hollande's calling for Djotodia to leave, the country's first Muslim president.** The day before, the Chadian and Burundian peacekeepers, as a part of MISCA, exchanged fire in Bangui. The Chadians are perceived by the Christian majority of the country during Christmas as being pro-Séléka due to their religion. (Marboua, 2013)

The head of the Burundian contingent, Lieutenant-Colonel Pontien Hakizimana, said from Bujumbura that his soldiers intercepted and were disarming six former rebels when Chadian troops on a passing truck threw a grenade and opened fire on them, then prompting some Burundian forces to return fire and the Séléka rebels then firing indiscriminately; in the ensuing firefight three Chadians soldiers were wounded. Hakizimana then added that "the Chadians soldiers came back in greater numbers in the afternoon and attacked our positions.” (Bourgois, 2013)
On 20 December, Estonia announced it was considering sending troops to the Central African Republic. On 27 December, two Congolese police officers were killed after unidentified gunmen ambushed them in Bangui. On 29 December, peacekeepers from Rwanda were promised to be sent to the Central African Republic. (San Diego Tribune, 2013)

Sectarian violence continue to escalate, and Djotodia faced pressure from regional leaders due to his apparent inability to control the situation. Djotodia and Tiangaye both resigned at a summit held in N'Djamena on 10 January 2014. Among the chaos in Bangui surfaced accounts of lynching and cannibalism in international media. (Le Parisien, 2014)

Foreigners in Central African Republic, especially those from Chad and West Africa, left the country en masse. According to International Organization for Migration, about 60,000 African immigrants asked their embassies for aid. After the resignations of Djotodia and Tiangaye, Alexandre-Ferdinand Nguendet took over as interim leader and speaker of the provisional parliament. On April 10, 2014 the UN Security Council approved a resolution sponsored by the Central African Republic's former colonial power, France, to create a peacekeeping force of over 11,800 soldiers to prevent further sectarian violence. (UNSC Resolution 11/2014)

3.13 Djotodia resignation

On 9 January 2014, Djotodia left for Chad to attend a CEEAC summit amid media speculation he was going to resign, though government officials denied this. The entire 135-member parliament was summoned to the summit in N'Djamena to discuss peace talks, which were suspended on 9 January while awaiting their arrival. (Al Jazeera 2014 Archives)
CEEAC Secretary-General Ahmat Allami said: "If you are incapable, if you are powerless in the face of the situation, make way for others who can do a better job." Likewise, in opening the meeting, host president, Idriss Deby, called for "concrete and decisive action" to stop the violence.

**Due to the continued sectarian violence, Djotodia faced pressure from the group's leaders to resign.** As a result, after the two-day summit, Djotodia resigned from the presidency on 10 January 2014. A statement by Allami announced the resignation and added that a new leader would be chosen after talks in Bangui. Speaker of parliament, **Alexandre-Ferdinand Nguendet, became acting president.** Prime Minister Nicolas Tiangaye also resigned. Following the announcement gunfire and celebration occurred in Bangui, including dancing, singing and honking horns in celebration. (Laccino, 2014)

There were also cheers at a camp for 100,000 displaced Christian civilians at the airport. **However, celebrations were marred by rampaging Christian militias, who destroyed mosques, attacked Muslim neighborhoods and businesses; amid reports some of them engaged in the cannibalization of a Muslim body in Bangui.** (McNeish, 2014)

Djotodia then left for Benin the next day where he was welcomed at Cotonou airport by Benin's Foreign Minister Nassirou Bako Arifari: "Benin accepts to welcome him at the request of member states of the Economic Community of Central African States and it is our contribution to the search for peace in central Africa." (Al Jazeera 2014 Archives)

Nguendet pledged that the "anarchy" in the country would swiftly end and warned the warring factions from Séléka and the anti-balaka Christian fighters: "To the ex-Séléka, to the anti-balaka and the lovers of looting, I'm giving you a severe warning: **The party is over. The chaos is over, the pillaging is over, the revenge attacks are over.**"

Similarly, **soldiers and police who had deserted amidst fears** of being targeted returned to duty as 12 January was reported as "calm." Chief of Staff General Ferdinand Bomboyke called on the troops to return to their barracks the next day. Colonel Desire Bakossa, who supervised the registration, said that the returnees "came in very large numbers and they're still coming. They answered the general's call. It's a relief. It's a very good sign."

The same process was also initiated for returning police as Nguendet said that the
police, who were absent from the streets of Bangui amidst the latest fighting, would be "redeployed within 72 hours and would take part in the disarmament process. On 12 January, reconciliation was reported in the southern Bangui neighbourhood of Bimbo with rival fighters striking a truce and embracing each other.

Nguendet also went to the airport, where about 100,000 people were sheltering, to urge them to return home. UN Special Representative Babacar Gaye said that Nguendet's profile could "help restore hope" and that the international community would have to help on the road "to free, credible and democratic elections." (UN News Center, 2014)

Yet the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs' John Ging said the country was in a "mega-crisis" and warned about the "wanton destruction" as posing a disaster warning. Foreigners continued to be repatriated by mid-month with 300 Malians returning on 9 January and over 1,000 people expected to return. He said that a large international effort was needed to restore stability. (BBC News, 2014)

French Defense Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian said a new leadership should be announced "as soon as possible" as "the aim is to move forward with elections before the end of the year. We need the National Transitional Council to find a provisional alternative." Foreign Ministry Spokesman Romain Nadal added: "We take note of the resignation. It is up to the CNT to decide what happens now. France does not interfere in any case with this process." (Al Jazeera, 2014)

3.14 Ex-Séléka and Anti-balaka fighting

On 27 January, Séléka leaders left Bangui under the escort of Chadian peacekeepers. The aftermath of Djotodia's presidency was said to be without law, a functioning police and courts. (UN News Center, 2014)

In the days after the election of the interim president, anti-Muslim pogroms and looting of Muslim neighborhoods continued in Bangui, including the lynching of the Muslim

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former Health Minister Dr. Joseph Kalite by **Christian self-defense groups**. Accounts state of lynch mobs, including that of uniformed soldiers, stoning or hacking Muslims then dismembering and burning their bodies in the streets. (Al Jazeera, 14 Apr 2014).

**The European Union decided to set up its first military operations in six years when foreign ministers approved the sending of up to 1,000 soldiers to the country by the end of February, to be based around Bangui.** Estonia promised to send soldiers, while Lithuania, Slovenia, Finland, Belgium, Poland and Sweden were considering sending troops; Germany, Italy and Great Britain announced that they would not send soldiers. (Al Jazeera, 23 Jan 2014).

The UN Security Council unanimously voted to approve sending European Union troops and to **give them a mandate to use force, as well as threatening sanctions against those responsible for the violence.** The E.U. had pledged 500 troops to aid African and French troops already in the country. Specifically **the resolution allowed for the use of "all necessary measures" to protect civilians.** The first batch of 55 EUFOR troops arrived in Bangui, according to the French army, and carried out its first **patrol** on 9 April with the **intention of "maintaining security and training local officers".** On 15 February, France announced that it would send an additional 400 troops to the country. (Al Jazeera, 20 Jan 2014).

French President François Hollande's office called for "increased solidarity" with the CAR and for the United Nations Security Council to accelerate the deployment of peacekeeping troops to the CAR. Moon then also called for the **rapid deployment of 3,000 additional international peacekeepers.** (Al Jazeera, 21 Feb 2014).

Because of increasing violence, on 10 April 2014, **the UN Security Council** transferred MISCA to a UN peacekeeping operation called the **Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA)** with 10,000 troops, to be deployed in September that year. **MINUSCA drew figurative "red lines" on the roads to keep the peace among rival militias.** (MINUSCA Archives)

France called for a vote at the **UNSC** in April 2014 and expected a unanimous
resolution authorizing 10,000 troops and 1,800 police to replace the over 5,000 African Union soldiers on 15 September; the motion was then approved. After an incident where civilians were killed that involved Chadian soldiers, Chad announced the withdrawal of its forces from MISCA in April 2014. (UN Archives)

As UN Secretary-General Ban-ki Moon warned of a de facto partition of the country into Muslim and Christian areas as a result of the sectarian fighting. He also called the conflict an "urgent test" for the UN and the region's states. Amnesty International blamed the anti-balaka militia of causing a "Muslim exodus of historic proportions." Samba-Panza suggested poverty and a failure of governance was the cause of the conflict. Some Muslims of the country were also weary of the French presence in MISCA, with the French accused of not doing enough to stop attacks by Christian militias. One of the cited reasons for the difficulty in stopping attacks by anti-balaka militias was the mob nature of these attacks. (Al Jazeera, 2014)

After three days of talks, a ceasefire was signed on 24 July 2014 in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. The Séléka representative was General Mohamed Moussa Dhaffane, and the anti-balaka representative was Patrick Edouard Ngaissaona. The talks were mediated by Congolese president Denis Sassou Nguesso. (Elion, 2014)

The Séléka delegation had pushed for a formalization of the partition of the Central African Republic with Muslims in the north and Christians in the south but dropped that demand in talks. Many factions on the ground claimed the talks were not representative and fighting continued with Séléka's military leader Joseph Zindeko rejected the ceasefire agreement the next day saying it lacked input from his military wing and brought back the demand for partition. (BBC News 25 Jul 2014)

Ngaissaona told a general assembly of Antibalaka fighters and supporters to lay down their arms and that Antibalaka would be turned into a political party called Central African Party for Unity and Development (PCUD) but he had little control over the loose network of fighters. In May 2015, a national reconciliation conference organized by the transition government of the Central Africa Republic took place. This was called the Bangui National Forum. The forum resulted in the adoption of a Republican Pact for Peace, National Reconciliation and Reconstruction and the signature of a Disarmament, Demobilization.
Rehabilitation and Repatriation (DDRR) agreement among 9 of 10 armed groups. (Reuters. 10 May 2014)

Months after the official dissolution of Seleka it was not known who was in charge of Ex-Seleka factions during talks with Antibalaka until on 12 July 2014, Michel Djotodia was reinstated as the head of an ad hoc coalition of Ex-seleka which renamed itself "The Popular Front for the Rebirth (or Renaissance) of Central African Republic" (FPRC). (Reuters. 13 Jul 2014)

Later in 2014, Noureddine Adam led the FPRC and began demanding independence for the predominantly Muslim north, a move rejected by another general, Ali Darassa, who formed another Ex-Séléka faction called the "Union for Peace in the Central African Republic" (UPC), which was dominant in and around Bambari, while the FPRC's capital is in Bria. Darassa rebuffed multiple attempts to reunify Seleka and threatened FPRC's hegemony. (Kleinfield, 2017)

Noureddine Adam declared the autonomous Republic of Logone or Dar El Kuti on 14 December 2015 and intended Bambari as the capital, with the transitional government denouncing the declaration and MINUSCA stating it will use force against any separatist attempt. Another group is the "Central African Patriotic Movement" (MPC), founded by Mahamat Al Khatim. (LaCroix International. 27 February 2017)

Since 2014, there has been little government control outside of the capital. Armed entrepreneurs have carved out personal fiefdoms in which they set up checkpoints, collect illegal taxes, and take in millions of dollars from the illicit coffee, mineral, and timber trades. (Foreign Policy, 05 Feb 2017)

At least 14 armed groups vied for territory, notably four factions formed by ex-Séléka leaders who controlled about 60% of the country's territory. In January 2015, talks in Nairobi between Joachim Kokate representing the Antibalaka and Djotodia and Noureddine Adam of FPRC led to another ceasefire agreement where they called for amnesty for all perpetrators of abuses and the removal of the current transitional authorities. (Project, 2017)

The transitional government and the international community dismissed the
deal as it excluded them from the negotiations and termed the parties "Nairobiists". By October 2015, Samba-Panza accused the Nairobiists of plotting a coup and dozens of FPRC combatants even walked from the north-east of the country to Sibut, a few miles from the capital, threatening the transitional authorities but were stopped by International forces. (Dukhan, 2016)

With the de facto partition of the country between ex-Séléka militias in the north and east and Antibalaka militias in the south and west, hostilities between both sides decreased but sporadic fighting continued. In February 2016, after a peaceful election, the former Prime Minister Faustin-Archange Touadéra was elected president. (IRIN, 2017)

In October 2016, France announced that it was ending its peacekeeping mission in the country, Operation Sangaris and largely withdrew its troops, saying that the operation was a success. (Foreign Policy, 2016)

By March 2014, the UNSC had authorized a probe into possible genocide, which in turn followed International Criminal Court Chief Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda initiating a preliminary investigation into the "extreme brutality" and whether it falls into the court's remit. The UNSC mandate probe would be led by Cameroonian lawyer Bernard Acho Muna, who was the deputy chief prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, former Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs Jorge Castañeda and Mauritanian lawyer Fatimata M'Baye. (UN Archives)

The ICC began prosecutions and Alfred Yekatom of the anti-Balaka who was involved in the 'Battle of Bangui' and Patrice Edouard Ngaïssona of the anti-Balaka were arrested in 2018, although no one from the ex-Seleka was arrested. (Human Rights Watch, 24 April 2019)

Tensions erupted in competition between Ex-Seleka militias arising over control of a goldmine in November 2016, where MPC and the FPRC coalition which incorporated elements of their former enemy, the Anti-balaka, attacked UPC. (Human Rights Watch, 16 Feb 2017)

The violence is often ethnic in nature with the FPRC associated with the Gula and
Runga people and the UPC associated with the Fulani. Most of the fighting was in the centrally located Ouaka prefecture, which has the country's second largest city Bambari, because of its strategic location between the Muslim and Christian regions of the country and its wealth. (LaCroix International. 27 February 2017)

The fight for Bambari in early 2017 displaced 20,000. MINUSCA made a robust deployment to prevent FPRC taking the city and in February 2017, Joseph Zoundeiko, the chief of staff of FPRC who previously led the military wing of Seleka, was killed by MINUSCA after crossing one of the red lines. (UN 2017 Archives)

At the same time, MINUSCA negotiated the removal of Darassa from the city. This led to UPC to find new territory, spreading the fighting from urban to rural areas previously spared. Additionally, the thinly spread MINUSCA relied on Ugandan as well as American special forces to keep the peace in the southeast as they were part of a campaign to eliminate the Lord's Resistance Army but the mission ended in April 2017. (Kleinfield 2017)

By the latter half of 2017, the fighting largely shifted to the Southeast where the UPC reorganized and were pursued by the FPRC and antibalaka with the level of violence only matched by the early stage of the war. (Aljazeera. 17 May 2017)

About 15,000 people fled from their homes in an attack in May and six U.N. peacekeepers were killed – the deadliest month for the mission yet. In June 2017, another ceasefire was signed in Rome by the government and 14 armed groups including FPRC but the next day fighting between an FPRC faction and antibalaka militias killed more than 100 people. Bloomberg. (24 June 2017)

In October 2017, another ceasefire was signed between the UPC, the FPRC, and antibalaka groups and FPRC announced Ali Darassa as coalition vice-president but fighting continued afterward. By July 2018, FPRC, now headed by Abdoulaye Hissène and based in the northeastern town of Ndélé, had troops threatening to move onto Bangui. (France 24, 13 July 2018)

In Western CAR, another rebel group, with no known links to Seleka or Antibalaka, called "Return, Reclamation, Rehabilitation" (3R) formed in 2015 reportedly by self-
proclaimed general Sidiki Abass, claiming to be protecting Muslim Fulani people from an Antibalaka militia led by Abbas Rafal. They are accused of displacing 17,000 people in November 2016 and at least 30,000 people in the Ouham-Pendé prefecture in December 2016. (Al Jazeera. 23 December 2016)

In Northwestern CAR around Paoua, fighting since December 2017 between Revolution and Justice (RJ) and Movement for the Liberation of the Central African Republic People (MNLC) displaced around 60,000 people. MNLC, founded in October 2017, was led by Ahamat Bahar, a former member and co-founder of FPRC and MRC, and is allegedly backed by Fulani fighters from Chad. (DeMorgan. 31 December 2017)

The Christian militant group RJ was formed in 2013, mostly by members of the presidential guard of former President Ange Felix Patassé, and were composed mainly of ethnic Sara-Kaba. While both groups had previously divided the territory in the Northwest, tensions erupted after the killing of RJ leader, Clément Bélanga, in November 2017.

Beginning around 2017, Russia began to increasingly support the government of Touadéra, whose personal guard became largely Russian as well. Three Russian journalists were killed in 2018 while investigating Russian mercenary groups in CAR. In August 2018, Russia and Sudan helped broker another tentative agreement among armed groups. (AFP. 17 January 2018)

After talks in Khartoum, an African Union led initiative led to an accord between the government and 14 rebel groups in February 2019, the eighth such agreement since the war started in 2012. As part of the accord, Ali Darassa of UPC, Mahamat Al Khatim of MPC and Sidiki Abass of 3R were given positions as special military advisers to the prime minister's office overseeing special mixed units made of government and rebel soldiers. This did not stop the violence, with 3R killing more than 50 people in several villages in May 2019. (Al Jazeera, 24 May 2019)

3.15 Reactions caused under the Djotodia Administration

1) Domestic

In the second weekend of December, following the death of 400 people in the
country, President Michel Djotodia said: "It is too much to say I have no control. I control my men. The men I can't control are not my men." On 25 December, Djotodia called for an end to the "massacres" and said: "Love one another! We find that in the Bible and the Koran", as he was surrounded by local Christian and Muslim religious leaders. He also announced a ban on all illegal demonstrations in Bangui and accused Bozizé and his supporters of being behind the violence which "massacres innocent Central Africans." He had earlier stated that even though he was a Muslim, he accepted that the CAR was a secular state and warned that ill-intentioned people wanted to start inter-religious conflict. (Al Jazeera, 2014)

2) International

In November 2013, the UN warned the country was at risk of spiraling into genocide, was "descending into complete chaos" and France described the country as "...on the verge of genocide." (Reuters, 2013)

The UNSC passed resolution 2122 ordering the deployment of MISCA for peacekeeping operations. France then sent additional troops to the few hundred already stationed there, bringing their total number of troops in the country to over 1,000. The UK also had support operations.

Similarly, the U.S. Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel ordered Africom to coordinate with France in sending its military aircraft to airlift Burundian troops to the country upon the former's urging for support.

Following violence in the second weekend of December that killed over 400 people, U.S. President Barack Obama spoke to the "proud citizens of the Central African Republic" and said they have the power "to choose a different path" than the violence that took place. (Fox News, 2013)

On a trip to Africa for the death and state funeral of Nelson Mandela, French President Francois Hollande then arrived in the country on 10 December, the day after the death of two French soldiers from the 8th Marine Infantry Parachute Regiment. Accompanied by Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius, he claimed that the intervention was "necessary if one wants to avoid carnage here" and that instead it "was time to act. It was soon going to be too late. [The clashes were] taking on a religious dimension with the risk of leading to a civil war. For weeks, massacres were conducted and horrendous violence was done to women and children. France is not here in the CAR out of any self-interest. France has come to defend human dignity." (Al Jazeera, 2013)
Upon arriving in the country, their Defense Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian said there was a need to end the "spiral of atrocities and sectarian violence that is under way. One of your first tasks is to disarm the militias, while ensuring that civilian populations, Muslims as well as Christians, do not become targets of blind reprisals." (Al Jazeera, 2013)

Fabius said on 15 December, about the possibility of renewed violence after a lull following the UNSC resolution mandating an intervention body, that this "is a real, big problem. Tomorrow, I’ll go to the Council of Foreign Ministers and I will ask our European partners, for stepped-up, more robust aid, including on the ground." Various forms of support had already come from Poland, the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain and Belgium; however domestic French support for the mission fell after the death of two French soldiers despite continued advocacy by Hollande. (Wood, 2013)

Fabius later said that "we will soon have troops on the ground from our European colleagues." Unnamed diplomats were reported to have suggested Belgium and Poland could send forces who would then be used to relieve the French forces securing the airport. (Wood, 2013)

In accordance with the UNSC resolution, the European Union imposed a ban on arms sales to the country in late December 2013. In early 2014, the EU’s state leaders asked Catherine Ashton for options in deploying forces to the country. She suggested a rapid deployment of troops to protect the population and humanitarian facilities. With discussion on the proposal occurring on 10 January, an approval could see 700-1,000 troops sent to the country. (International Business Times, 2014)

The commander of the Burundian battalion arriving in the country, Lieutenant-Colonel Potien Hakizimana, said that his 850 soldiers arrived in the country in mid-December aboard two U.S. military aircraft. The AU announced an increase of its 2,500 troops in the country to 6,000 on 13 December. Rwandan Foreign Minister Louise Mushikiwabo wrote on Twitter that "Rwanda was asked by the AU to contribute troops to the CAR and deploy urgently, and yes, right now the RDF is preparing to go," however she did not give a number as to how many soldiers would be sent, instead she said that they will leave "very soon" as of 20 December. (Al Jazeera English. 20 December 2013).

On 14 December, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon warned: "Too many people are scared and the country is on the brink of ruin ... I appeal to everyone to follow the path of peace. The bloodshed must stop. I have a clear message to all who would commit atrocities and crimes against humanity. The world is watching. You will
be held to account." The day before, UNICEF added that it had flown in tons of supplies, including blankets, jerry cans and medicine. (Deutsche Welle. 13 December 2013).

UNHCR's Maurice Azonnankpo said: "We have noticed several cases of traumatized people, a few cases of survivors of gender-based violence, and also a few cases of separated children [from] their families. We have our teams at all the [internally displaced persons] sites where they are conducting distribution of non-food items... to respond to the needs of these IDPs in Bangui." Meanwhile, the director of the AU’s Peace and Security department, El Ghassim Wane, said: "The decision by the Peace and Security Council (PSC) is to authorize us to increase the force. We can go up to 6,000, depending on the needs." (Al Jazeera English, 13 December 2013).

Moon later claimed that "the entire population of 4.6 million people is affected. And half of them are children." He added that 2013 was the year CAR descended into chaos and that a commission of inquiry was needed to look into reports of atrocities. An UNHCR spokesman said that 210,000 people were displaced. (Al Jazeera English, 18 December 2013).

By the first week of 2014, the UN political affairs chief Jeffrey Feltman told the UNSC that about 2.2 million people throughout the CAR need assistance. Further, about 513,000 people, or half the population, of Bangui had left their homes and about 100,000 people sought shelter at a camp at the airport. The EU was reportedly considering sending 1,000 troops to support the French forces in the country. (Al Jazeera English, 09 Jan 2014).

*Deutsche Welle* drew parallels to other Central African conflicts, in particular that of the Democratic Republic of Congo whose border could be used for further destabilization in the CAR. It also raised the issue of how the conflict in South Sudan has the potential of further destabilizing the region, and stated that the peacekeepers were poorly equipped to deal with these conflicts. Yet it added that MISCA and MONUSCO are important in stopping a "conflagration in Central Africa and in guaranteeing lasting peace." (Deutsche Welle, 14 Jan 2014).

### 3.16 Humanitarian consequences

By the middle of December 2014, 159,000 people were internally displaced
persons seeking refuge from the sectarian nature of the conflict in Bangui. Only a few of the 800,000 city's residents were still present while others had sought protection near a French military base and other areas. The airport vicinity housed about 40,000 people. Other aid workers also cited a looming humanitarian crisis with over 500,000 people displaced across the country since the fighting began. (Al Jazeera, 2014)

Many people were staying by the Bangui M'Poko International Airport. Aid agencies reported being under-equipped to deal with the humanitarian consequences, while the instability was worsening the situation. Up to 100,000 people were living in camps in the country. (Voice of America, 2014)

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) had started to airlift foreigners on 11 January 2014. On one of three charter flights over the weekend, 800 Chadians from a refugee camp near Bangui were repatriated. IOM Director Carmela Godeau issued a statement that read: "Several concerned governments including Mali, Senegal, Niger and Chad have already organized evacuation flights, but need additional resources to cope with all the migrants wanting to leave the CAR and those arriving home, who are often destitute. The evacuation of these migrants must be done quickly and in an orderly manner to avoid people trying to leave on their own overland and taking terrible risks, in desperation." (Al Jazeera, 2014)

3.17 Atrocities during the CAR Civil War:
1. **Human rights abuses include (ICG Crisis Watch, 2013)**

   1) The use of child soldiers,
   2) Rape,
   3) Torture,
   4) Extrajudicial killings,
   5) Forced disappearances.

2. **Religious cleansing**

   It is argued that the focus of the initial disarmament efforts exclusively on the Seleka inadvertently handed the anti-Balaka the upper hand, leading to the forced displacement of Muslim civilians by anti-Balaka in Bangui and western CAR. (Foreign Policy, 05 Feb 2017)

   While comparisons were often posed as the "next Rwanda", others suggested that the Bosnian Genocide's may be more apt as people were moving into religiously cleansed neighborhoods. Even while Seleka was closing in on the capital, clashes began in Bangui's PK5 neighborhood, where members of ethnic groups with ties to Séléka were attacked, such as the Gula. (Sayare, 2013)

   In 2014, Amnesty International reported several massacres committed by the anti-balakas against Muslim civilians, forcing thousands of Muslims to flee the country. Other sources report incidents of Muslims being cannibalized. In 10 April, MISCA troops escorted over 1,000 Muslims fleeing to Chad with a police source saying "not a single Muslim remains in Bossangoa". (Centre for African news, 05 Dec 2014)

   **Much of the tension is also over historical antagonism between agriculturalists, who largely comprise Anti-balaka and nomadic groups, who largely comprise Seleka fighters.** (Al Jazeera, 15 Feb 2017)

3. **Ethnic violence**
There was **ethnic violence** during fighting between the Ex-Séléka militias FPRC and UPC, with the FPRC targeting Fulani people who largely make up the UPC and the UPC targeting the Gula and Runga people, who largely make up FPRC, as being sympathetic to FPRC. In November 2016 fighting in Bria that killed 85 civilians, FPRC was reported targeting Fulani people in house-to-house searches, lootings, abductions and killings. (The guardian. 26 November 2016)

4. **Violence against aid workers and crime**

In 2015, humanitarian aid workers in the CAR were involved in more than 365 security incidents, more than Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia. By 2017, more than two thirds of all health facilities have been damaged or destroyed. (Relief Web, 3 March 2017)

The crimes are often committed by individuals not associated with any armed rebel groups. There have been jail breaks with more than 500 inmates escaping from Nagaragba Central Prison, including fighters of both Christian and Muslim militias. (The New York Times. 28 September 2015)

By 2017, only eight of 35 prisons function and few courts operate outside the capital. The international press freedom organization Reporters Without Borders said it was concerned that the rebel attacks were taking their toll on the ability of radio stations to operate in the CAR, with condemnation of the killing of journalist Elisabeth Blanche Olofio, who worked for Radio Bé-Oko which is part of a network of apolitical radio stations known as L'Association des Radios Communautaires de Centrafrique. (The Vatican Today, 8 January 2013)
3. 18 Casualties

**Mortality**

2013 fatalities were 2,286–2,396+: (BBC, 31 December 2013)

- March to April – around 130 people killed in Bangui.
- June – 12 villagers killed.
- August – 21 killed during the month.
- 9 September Bouca violence – 153 killed.
- October – 14 killed.
- 9 October – 60 killed in clashes.
- 12 October – 6 killed.
- December – 600+ killed in "Battle of Bangui", as antibalaka militias unsuccessfully attempt to overthrow Djotodia. Two children were beheaded with a total of 16 children killed in Bangui in late December.

2014 fatalities were 230+: (BBC, 31 December 2014)

- January – 22 people were killed after gunmen in Bouar attacked a convoy in an attempt to halt Muslim refugees trying to flee the violence.
- February – 75 people were killed in the town of Boda, in Lobaye province, according to a local priest. Anti-balaka militants attacked Guen resulting in the deaths of 60 people. As a result, hundreds of Muslim refugees sought shelter at a church in Carnot.
- 29 March - Chadian peacekeepers not a part of MISCA entered Bangui's PK12 district market and allegedly indiscriminately opened fire resulting in 30 deaths and over 300 injuries.
- 30 March – A Muslim throws a grenade at a group of Christian mourners resulting in 11 deaths.
- May – Séléka rebels kill at least 30 at a Catholic Church compound.
- 23 June – Anti-balaka forces killed 18 at Bambari. Several Séléka then killed 10 anti-balaka.[227]
- 8 July – 17 people were killed when Séléka forces attacked a Catholic church in Bambari.
- August – 34 people were reported killed by Séléka fighters around Mbrès.[228]
2015 fatalities were: (theguardian.com, 26 September 2015)

- September – At least 42 people were reported killed.

2016 fatalities were: (bbcnews.com, 29 October 2016)

- October – 25 people were reported killed in Bambari.

**Displaced people**

In May 2014, it was reported that around 600,000 people in CAR were internally displaced with 160,000 of these in the capital Bangui. The Muslim population of Bangui dropped 99% from 138,000 to 900. By May 2014, **100,000 people had fled to neighboring Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Chad.** As of 2017, there are more than 1.1 million displaced people in a country of about 5 million people, the highest ever recorded in the country, with about half a million refugees outside CAR and about 600,000 internally displaced. Cameroon hosted the most refugees, more than 135,000, about 90% of whom are Fulani, even though they constituted 6% of CAR’s population. (Human Rights Watch, 19 Jan 2017)

3.19 International response to the Crisis (EUFOR RCA EUMS Report 2015)

1) Organizations

- **African Union**

  Yayi Boni, then-chairman of the African Union, held a press conference in Bangui, stating, "I beg my rebellious brothers, I ask them to cease hostilities, to make peace with President Bozizé and the Central African people ... If you stop fighting, you are helping to consolidate peace in Africa. African people do not deserve all this suffering. The African continent needs peace and not war." Boni went on to call for dialogue between the current government and the rebels. **The African Union suspended the Central African Republic from its membership on 25 March 2013.**
• European Union

On 21 December 2012 the High Representative for Foreign Affairs Catherine Ashton called on the armed rebel groups to "cease all hostilities and to respect the Libreville Comprehensive Peace Agreement."

European Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid Kristalina Georgieva added that she was deeply worried over the situation in the country and that she strongly urged "all armed groups to respect international humanitarian law and the activities of humanitarians". On 01 January Ashton once again expressed concern over the violence and urged all parties involved to "take all necessary measures to end, without delay, all exactions against populations in Bangui neighborhoods that undermine chances of a peaceful dialogue."

On 10 February 2014, the European Union established a military operation entitled EUFOR RCA, with the aim "to provide temporary support in achieving a safe and secure environment in the Bangui area, with a view to handing over to African partners." (EUMS EEAS Archives)

• United Nations

On 26 December 2012 the U.N. announced it was pulling all non-essential personnel out of the country due to the worsening security situation. In a statement, U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon condemned the rebels' advance and warned that it had the potential to "gravely undermine the peace agreements in place." He also called on the government "to ensure the safety and security of U.N. personnel and its premises."

2) Contributing Countries

a) Regional

Gabon/ Chad/ Cameroon/ Congo/ Equatorial Guinea sent troops in 2013 to make up an African Union Multinational Force for Central Africa (FOMAC) peacekeeping force in CAR.
b) Others

- **Greece** – United Nations Security Council resolution 2134 approved deployment of the EU force into the Central African Republic with **Greece providing the Operational Headquarters, (OHQ) based in Larissa, Greece.**

- **Brazil** – On 25 December 2012, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil issued a statement "urging the parties to observe an immediate cessation of hostilities and any acts of violence against the civilian population" and called for "the restoration of institutional legality in the Central African Republic". The Brazilian government stated that it had been in contact with the small number of Brazilian nationals residing in the country.

- **Estonia** – On 9 May 2014, sent **55 troops** to join the EU's EUFOR RCA mission.

- **Georgia** – **140 troops** joined EU's military mission in the Central African Republic.

- **France** – On 27 December 2012, CAR President Francois Bozizé requested international assistance to help with the rebellion, in particular from France and the United States. French President François Hollande rejected the plea, saying that the **250 French troops** stationed at Bangui M'Poko International Airport are there "in no way to intervene in the internal affairs". Separately, a Foreign Ministry statement condemned "the continued hostility by the rebel groups", adding that the only solution to the crisis was dialogue.

- **South Africa** – South Africa had numerous troops in the CAR since 2007. A Special Forces unit protected President Bozizé under Operation Morero and a second group trained FACA under Operation Vimbezela. Defence Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula traveled to Bangui on 31 December 2012 to assess the situation. On 8 January 2013 the South African National Defence Force deployed **200 additional troops** to the CAR, half of the force authorized by President Jacob Zuma. On 21 March President Bozizé traveled to Pretoria to meet with Zuma, allegedly to discuss the 72-hour ultimatum that the rebels had given him. The South African troops from the 1 Parachute Battalion suffered 13 killed and 27 wounded while defending against the advancing Séléka. On 24 March 2013 SANDF soldiers began withdrawing to Entebbe air base, with the reported intention to return to the CAR to retake control.
from Séléka.

- **United States of America** – On 17 December 2012 the State Department's Overseas Security Advisory Council published an emergency message warning US citizens about armed groups active in Mbrèes and advising them to avoid travel outside Bangui. US Embassy personnel were prohibited from traveling by road outside the capital. On 24 December the State Department issued another warning. All non-essential personnel were evacuated, and the embassy switched to limited emergency consular services. On 28 December, the United States Embassy in Bangui suspended operations due to the ongoing rebel attacks; with Ambassador Laurence D. Wohlers and his diplomatic staff evacuating the country.

- **Serbia** – In accordance with Security Council's Resolution 2149, Government of Serbia approved engagement of Serbian Armed Forces. On 20 September 2014 two military observers and two staff officers are deployed. Later, on 11 December 2014, 68 more personnel have been deployed in this mission. On 15 December 2016, Serbia deployed team for emergency medical assistance and level 1 medical team, as part of the EUTM RCA (European Union Training Mission).
CHAPTER FIVE - CONCLUSIONS

According to Chapter 1, (Literature review) we see that Terrorism is, in the broadest sense, the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror among masses of people; or fear to achieve a religious or political aim. Terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act". Varied political organizations have been accused of using terrorism to achieve their objectives. These organizations include right-wing and left-wing political organizations, nationalist groups, religious groups, revolutionaries and ruling governments.

As we see from the previous analysis of Chapter 3, The Seleka coalition was clearly a Terrorist group, used by Djotodia for his own political gains. Political scientist Harold Lasswell defined politics as "who gets what, when, and how". Djotodia used violence in order to achieve this political gain, and also manipulated the Seleka Fighters by uprising them to revolt against a formal government using religious identities. Djotodia was totally un-credible seeing it clearly in his speech after the crisis erupted, when he called them "Love one another! We find that in the Bible and the Koran”

As we clearly see from VICE’s News Documentary – War in the Central African Republic, Before Djotodia’s Coup D’état, these minorities were living together without these atrocities happening.

We can clearly see the religious bias of attacks against civilians, a factor that is described as one of the causes of the crisis rather than as a result of a conflict of complex implications. The fact that their actions are not due to religious beliefs, because no leader or religious institution has supported them, and their goals seem to aim mainly to maintaining or attaining power and personal gain.
The roots of the current tragedy in CAR should not refer to religious factors, but to the establishment of a culture of predation in Central African society as an imitation of a State whose progressive collapse has left the way open to the actions of armed groups. Seleka and Antibalaka have seen in this religious bias an opportunity to use the "exploitation of religious differences", to present themselves as defenders of Muslims and Christians communities and to use enemy’s crimes to justify their own atrocities.

The type of violence used by the Seleka was collective violence and caused extreme fear and terror to the civilians. Thus the IDP’s and refugees erupted. A poor country with little infrastructure, became more damaged and being at the verge of spiraling into genocide, was descending into complete chaos.

The type of Terrorism was Political terrorism – Violent criminal behavior designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or substantial segment of it, for political purposes, thus Djotodia came to power. The Motivation techniques used were:

1) Intimidation
2) Perceived illegitimacy of the State
3) Religious beliefs/zealotry

With the civilian population being the center of gravity, the context in which terrorist tactics were used, was a large-scale, unresolved political conflict. The Type of conflict was:

1) Dominance of territory or resources by various ethnic groups
2) Imposition of a particular form of government

After the beginning of this Cycle of Violence, the only way to put an end to it was by External Intervention of Armed Forces, in order to establish a SASE. The EUFOR RCA operation was successful as we clearly see by the death toll before and after the external intervention. The most proper solutions were:

1) Separation of warring parties by geographical lines
2) Disarmament operations
3) Patrolling Operations by official Military Forces
4) Arms Embargo
5) Training the locals Mission
6) Humanitarian Aid assistance
7) Conduction of Lawful Elections
8) Ceasefire Agreements

The ending for this terrorist groups was

- Conversion to nonviolence via negotiations (EU, UN, AU, US, Intervention)
- Transition from terrorism into other forms of violence. (Reorientation).
- Resignation of a group's leader. (Djotodia)
- Entry of the group into a legitimate political process. (Negotiation - Elections).

In the aftermath of Djotodia's presidency, CAR became a state to be without law, a functioning police and courts, with the civilian population stricken with poverty. With the de facto partition of the country between ex-Séléka militias in the north and east and Antibalaka militias in the south and west, hostilities between both sides decreased but sporadic fighting continued. It took a Peacekeeping force of over 11,800 soldiers to prevent further sectarian violence and the rapid deployment of troops to protect the population and humanitarian facilities.

During the writing of this thesis while researching the sources for the conflict events, I observed also that during a crisis situation or war, the only credible source for a civilian outside of an army base (Soldiers can read official army documents on the crisis), to know the facts and the ongoing events the only credible sources are the Mass Media (TV, Internet, Radio). The mass media become a more Credible source, and the war Correspondent journalist or the Official Spokesperson of an Organization become something equivalent of a scientific author. This showed me the importance of having people in the peacekeeping force specialized in Spokesperson and Media Training, because after the crisis what remains public, of the events to be accessed in the future, (because the nature of the official Army Reports is to become classified) are only Mass Media Sources. This explains the tendency of Terrorist Groups to manipulate and exploit the media during a crisis.

Also while researching, I encountered that the most common visual symbols encountered in a terrorist group are: the Wolf, the 5 pointed Star, the Quran verse, the Globe, the Sword, the Fist, The Hammer, The Dove, the Letter A, the Swastika, the Sun, the Cross, Laurel leaves, the Circle, the Lightning Bolt, the AK47. Colors Used: Black, Yellow, White,
and Red. Civilians were targeted most of the time, Terrorists stayed away from organized Army Forces, and the IDP Civilian population feels secure and in peace near an official Armed Force

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