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WAR ACROSS LANGUAGE: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
VARIATIONS AFFECTING THE AMERICAN AND THE FRENCH REPORTING OF
CIVIL WAR IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

by

Craig A. Smith

A Thesis
Submitted to the Honors College of
The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts
in the Department of Foreign Languages

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Abstract

It is easy to forget that people all across the world read about the same events that you do, albeit published by different media outfits. What they read, though, can differ drastically. This study analyzed the *New York Times* and *Le Monde* for their content in reporting. Articles were examined from each paper to better understand what the focus, themes, and views were on the conflict in the Central African Republic, as expressed by each respective media outlet. Literature was collected to establish a basic knowledge of French colonialism and the Central African Republic. All of the selected articles for this study were published from November 26th, 2013 to December 6th, 2014. The French stories were translated and then analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively with the American articles in order to identify any differences and similarities present. The overall goal of this study was to add content to the body of knowledge pertaining to how media reflects the relationships between France and its former colonies and to compare this with American reporting on the same issue.

Key Words: French, France, Central African Republic, translation, colonial history, newspapers

Dedication

Dr. Burnett, Madame Rowland, and Dr. Angus;

You all taught me plenty more than just French, thank you.

To my family and friends who had to listen to me during this process;

Thank you all for having ears.

Acknowledgements

Dr. Burnett, you've been there along this rollercoaster of me taking on more obligations than I should and then waiting until the last minute to complete my work. Thank you for standing by me and having faith. Your academic guidance has been integral to this process, and I thank you for sharing your experience and knowledge with me.

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List of Abbreviations

CAR	Central African Republic
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
LM	<i>Le Monde</i>
FEA	French Equatorial Africa

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The past is often the key to the present and beyond. History affects everything around us. This is especially true for culture. Every nation has a history, some longer than others and some more colorful than others. France in particular has a long and eventful history as a nation. Much of its history from the 17th to 20th centuries is dominated by the country's efforts to colonize the world. Other European powers at the time were acting similarly and diplomatic efforts reflected the common efforts of the time. The Berlin Conference in particular resulted in the European powers division of Africa in the 1880s. At this conference France laid claim to much of Central and Northwest Africa. Worldwide, France succeeded in its colonial efforts, as even today remnants of French influence can be found in roots deep and shallow across the globe. France's huge impact can be seen today in the many educational, economic, and even political organizations that represent efforts in maintaining unity across the francophone world. Regarding the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, Marchand in *La Francophonie* (2006) said, "Avec 53 États et gouvernements et 10 membres observateurs, la francophonie réunit plus de 700 millions de personnes dans le monde et regroupe plus du quart des États membres de l'Organisation Nations Unies." [With 53 states and governments and 10 observing members, *La Francophonie* unites more than 700 million people in the world and comprises more than a quarter of the state members of the United Nations.-author's translation]. Not to mention the fact that French is one of two languages of the North

Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as well as a working language at the United Nations (UN) Secretariat while being one of the six official UN languages.¹

The interaction between France and those places it colonized left a lasting effect on the conquered. But what may surprise the reader is how much those relationships also influenced France. Due in large part to the unique French policy towards colonizing, a policy of assimilation, the people of the colonies were often quite more integrated than those under the colonial systems of some other European powers. As France instituted its own culture rather forcibly on many of its colonies, they themselves also left a heavy imprint back on the French culture. This exchanging and blending of cultures becomes very important as the timeline arrives in the present day. Both France and its former colonies have many examples of the blending of cultures that have lasted through the years since the French colonial empire ceased to exist with the independence of Algeria in 1962. At this point it would be helpful to establish a common definition for culture. Merriam Webster dictionary defines culture as “the beliefs, customs, arts, etc., of a particular society, group, place, or time”.² Recognizing the impact that history has on culture is crucial to understanding why nations are the way they are. Culture is expressed in almost limitless ways, but the focus regarding culture of this paper is how it is reflected through media, specifically newspaper articles.

As a French foreign language student, much of my academic career has been spent researching and learning about France and the world of French, from the roots of

¹ <http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/languages.shtml>; UN official languages webpage.

² <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/culture>; Query results for ‘culture’ from Merriam Webster’s online dictionary.

the language during the dawn of the last millennium to the role of boy bands in the 90s French music scene. One area that my studies focused on is the literature originating in former French colonies as well as the broader relationship between those former colonies and France in general. From my research on the subject, there is more research to be done on the former colonies and their respective relationships with France. This thesis aims to add content to this body of knowledge in regards to how media reflects those relationships.

To meet this goal, I have devised a study that looks at newspaper articles originating from France and the United States. The purpose of this study is to identify differences and similarities that exist between the newspaper reporting of the civil war in the Central African Republic (CAR) by the French and the Americans. Based on a limited study of 20 newspaper articles from two different newspapers, I will report what was found and offer objective analysis. Later on, I will subjectively speculate on some of the data and its meaning. Along the way it is also my hope that this study helps to build a better understanding of the conflict in the Central African Republic as expressed by articles from *Le Monde* and *The New York Times*.

Chapter 2: Historical Context and Overview

To understand new research on a topic, a reader needs at least a summary understanding of the so-called ‘basics’ in order to be at a level of knowledge conducive to appreciating the content of an academic inquiry. These needs and requirements are met under the auspices of this chapter. This basic but comprehensive section will cover the history of the French colonialism, the history of the Central African Republic, French colonial efforts in the CAR specifically, and finally the background of the recent civil war in the Central African Republic. We begin by reviewing French colonialism.

French Colonialism

Historians tend to agree that there are two distinct periods of French empire building. The first existed from the 17th century until 1814 by which time most of it had been sold (Louisiana Purchase), lost, or simply returned (Rosenblum, 1988). The second colonial empire lasted from 1830 with King Charles X’s reinitiating of colonization efforts to 1962 with the independence of Algeria. The Central African Republic falls into that second empire.

France had a unique method of colonizing when compared to other European colonizers. Instead of completely alienating the populace and attempting to replace the existing society with their own, in many places effort was made to incorporate and blend the two cultures. The French encouraged their colonial subjects to aspire to be French. That is, adopt the culture and language of France and become you will gain French citizenship. To do this the French imported many teachers in order to build up the educational system of the *indigènes*, or natives. This policy of assimilation rather than

subjugation was the French standard for most of both empire-building periods with the main exception being the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte (Nadeau and Barlow, 2006). The treatment still was not equal of course. The following quote from *La France de 1848 à nos jours* demonstrates an example discussing the French settlement of Algeria (Agulhon, M., Nouschi, A., Olivesi, A., and Stur, R., 2008).

Le système politique, économique et administratif imposé par les colons suscite des réclamations. Celles-ci prennent la forme de pétitions individuelles ou collectives, d'expression souvent maladroite. Elles demandent la fin d'abus ou décharges excessives. D'autres, plus politiques, revendiquent au mieux une égalité de traitement avec les Français (« Jeunes Algériens ») (p. 58).

[The political, economic, and administrative system imposed by the French colonists raised many complaints. These complaints took the form of individual and collective petitions, often clumsily expressed. They demand the end of abuses and excessive punishments. Other, more political, claims advocate for the equal treatment of indigenous with French settlers.-author's translation]

Successful examples do exist such as with the Four Communes of Senegal. Inhabitants of these areas retained their French citizenship until 1944 and even had voting rights and an elected Deputy to the French National Assembly in Paris.

France's efforts in building an empire stretched across the seven seas. In North America and the Caribbean, France established footholds in Canada, the Louisiana Territory, Haiti and a smattering of other islands. In South America, at one point Brazil was home to hundreds of French settlers, and French Guiana remains a department of France to this day. Parts of Oceania remain either French departments or territories such as French Polynesia and New Caledonia. In Asia, France occupied French Indochina until 1954 and also had influence in areas of India, China, and the Levant. Then of course, there was Africa. Missionaries and slave traders made up the majority of French involvement in Africa up until the mid-19th century. As Dickovick (2014) affirms,

“colonial interest quickened during the mid-19th century when the major European powers feared that one or another of them would obtain some valuable territory available to all nations, with a potential discovery of valuable metal ores and gems” (p. 115). Senegal was the first area to sustain increased French involvement and this special relationship led to the close ties referenced to previously with the Four Communes (Dickovick, 2014). The European land grab in Africa was going to go one of two directions, violent or peaceful. The result of this was the Berlin Conference.

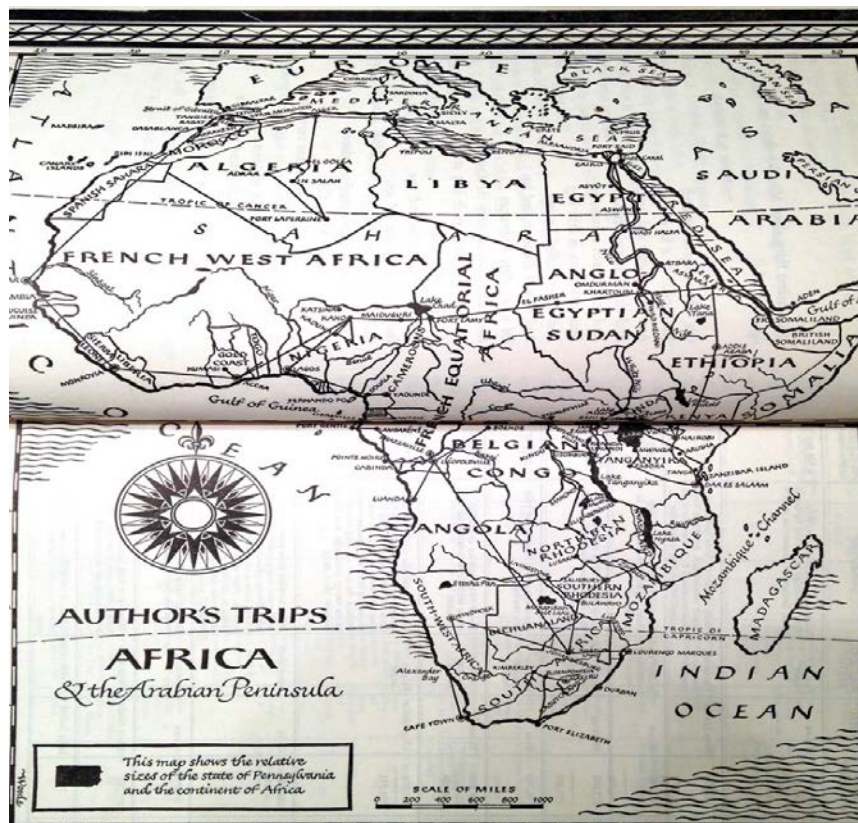
From Agulhon et al. (2008) we see that the goal of the Berlin Conference was to lift the barriers halting European development of Africa. King Leopold II of Belgium had started an economic venture in the Congo. Other European powers wanted to partake in the exploitation of Africa as well. With Germany entering the fold as a major power in Europe, the Berlin Conference of 1884 and 1885 was held in order to establish a shared understanding of rules governing actions in Africa. The result was the guarantee of unhindered navigation up and down the Niger and Congo rivers, the freedom of commerce in the conventional basin of the Congo, and the establishment that possession of territory in Africa was only official once all signatories of the Berlin Act had been notified of the possession (Agulhon et al, 2008). As Agulhon et al. write, “Après le traité de Berlin, on assiste à une véritable course entre les grandes puissances pour occuper et se partager les territoires africains (p. 232).” [After the treaty of Berlin, there was a race between the great powers to occupy divide amongst themselves all of the African territories.-author’s translation].

During the almost 100 years from 1854 until World War II, France added territories across almost a third of Africa. Rosenblum (1988) spends multiple chapters

discussing France's efforts in Africa in *Mission to Civilize: The French Way*. In the north, France claimed Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and briefly Libya. In the west, France settled these modern day countries under the name 'French West Africa': the Ivory Coast, Benin, Mali, Guinea, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Togo, Nigeria, and Gambia. In what the French called 'French Equatorial Africa' France settled Chad, the Central African Republic, the Republic of Congo, Gabon, and most of Cameroon. In the east the French took over Madagascar, Djibouti, Réunion, as well as some other locations.

The History of the Central African Republic

Most Americans would have difficulty placing the Central African Republic on a map. With that in mind, here are two maps portraying the African continent. The first is

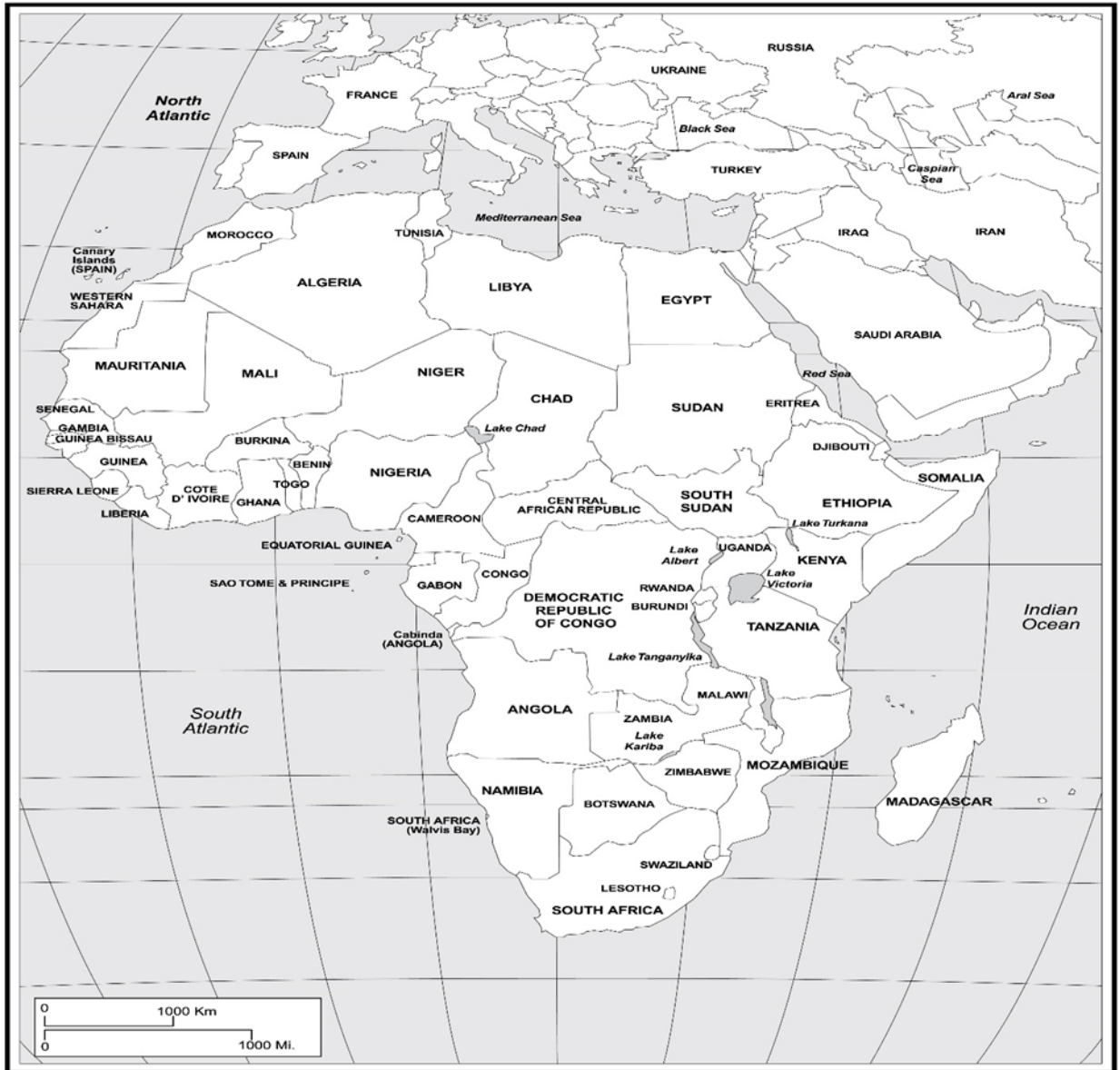


1950s political map of Africa; Gunther, *Inside Africa* (1955)

from the 1950s. John Gunther, renowned author of the *Inside* series of books, published this map on page 10 as well as both inside covers of his book *Inside Africa* (1955). We can clearly see the territory labeled “French Equatorial Africa.”

French Equatorial Africa (FEA) is unlikely to be familiar to many readers, and as discussed in the previous section, was a federation of five separate territories that later became modern day Chad, Gabon, an area of Cameroon, the Republic of the Congo, and the Central African Republic (then called Oubangui-Chari, the namesake for the modern day capital Bangui). Many political changes have taken place since that map was produced, but the next cartographical piece will visualize the incredible level of change from the 1950s. The territories that made up FEA are not designated as separate on the map from the 1950s, but the modern day borders can be seen on the modern map and how they fit in to French Equatorial Africa. On this map we can see that both French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa have undergone serious restructuring. Some other nations underwent name changes as well as the Central African Republic.

AFRICA



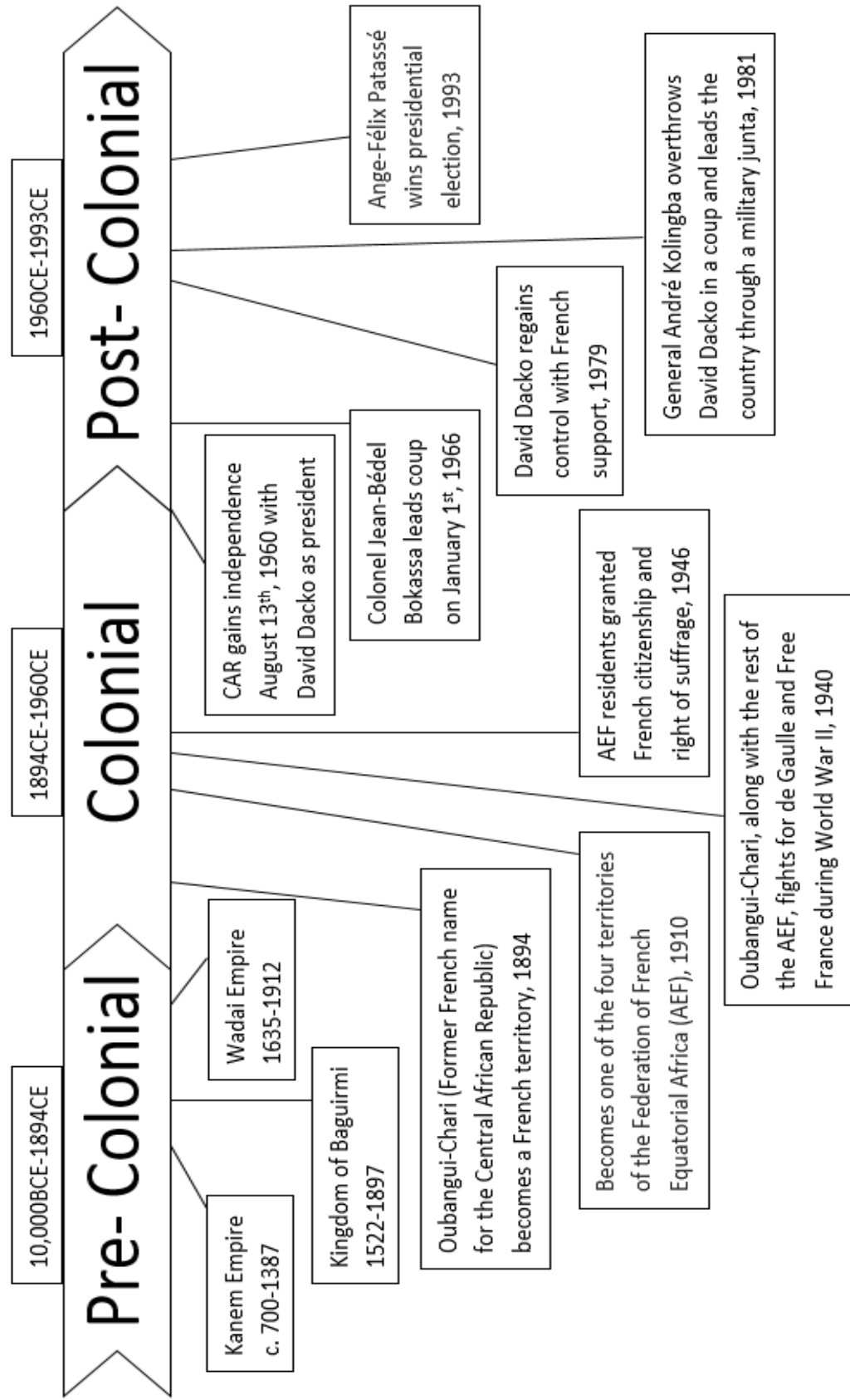
Produced by the Cartographic Research Lab
University of Alabama

The Central African Republic is a land-locked country slightly smaller than Texas, totaling 622,984 square kilometers.³ Located in Central Africa, it has a tropical climate and is located on a flat and vast rolling plateau with scattered hills in the northeast and southwest. French, Sangho, and tribal languages are the most common

³ Data gathered from the CIA World Factbook page on the Central African Republic; accessed April 19, 2015 at <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ct.html>.

tongues. Approximately half of the 5.2 million inhabitants are Christian with 15% practicing Islam and 35% practicing indigenous religions. Roughly 734,350, or 14%, of the population, live in the capital city Bangui. The average age of 19 years is low but reflects the average life expectancy of 51 years. With an estimated 436, 356 internally displaced persons in 2015, the situation in the CAR is dire.

The following timeline located on the next page shows readers a very basic summary of the history of the Central African Republic to 1993. The area that the CAR encompasses has exchanged hands many times in the past millennia, as well as having undergone many name changes. Looking at the pre-colonial era, it is interesting to note the overlap between French colonization and the Wadai Empire. For 18 years Oubangui-Cheri, the previous name for the CAR, was a French territory as well as an area of the Wadai Empire. This significant overlap reflects the rarely homogenous and complete colonizations that took place in much of Africa. The area of the CAR and the former FEA was larger than France itself, making complete settlement extremely difficult. From the *Encyclopedia Britannica* we know that during the colonial era, Oubangui-Cheri and the rest of FEA supported General Charles de Gaulle's Free France in World War II by resisting German influence in Africa (Central African Republic, 2014).



Central African Republic. (2014, August 10). In Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved February 10, 2015, from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/102152/Central-African-Republic/214025/The-arts-and-cultural-institutions>

Bobby-Evans, A. (2014, March 12). Central Africa Republic Timeline -- Part 1: From Prehistory to Independence (13 August 1960). Retrieved February 10, 2015, from <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/car/bl/CAR-Timeline-1.htm>

Gaining independence in 1960 started what would become a trend of failed, military-led governments. Since 1960, the longest any single leader has consecutively stayed in power is 13 years. This causes problems with continuity and establishment of functional government systems. Whether related or not, the governments of the Central African Republic have regularly been marred by high levels of corruption from the local levels all the way to the highest levels. Putsches remain a common way to change leadership in the CAR with the most recent one occurring in 2013.

The political climate in CAR has been particularly tumultuous during the past two decades. State leaders shifting their allegiances and coups taking place regularly have left multiple vacuums in the top echelons of government. A rebel uprising occurred in the northern part of the country in the early 2000s. This was coupled with the Darfur crisis spilling its refugees into the CAR and Chad. Finally, with the supposedly rigged reelection of President Bozizé in 2011, the Seleka alliance formed and tried in earnest to ensure the removal of the president. An agreement and alliance were short lived and Seleka member Michel Djotodia declared himself president in 2013. The escalation of the turmoil was rapid and President Djotodia, along with his government, resigned in 2014 leaving a transitional government led by Catherine Samba-Panza. The conflict is even more entangled due to religious differences present.

Recent Civil War in the Central African Republic

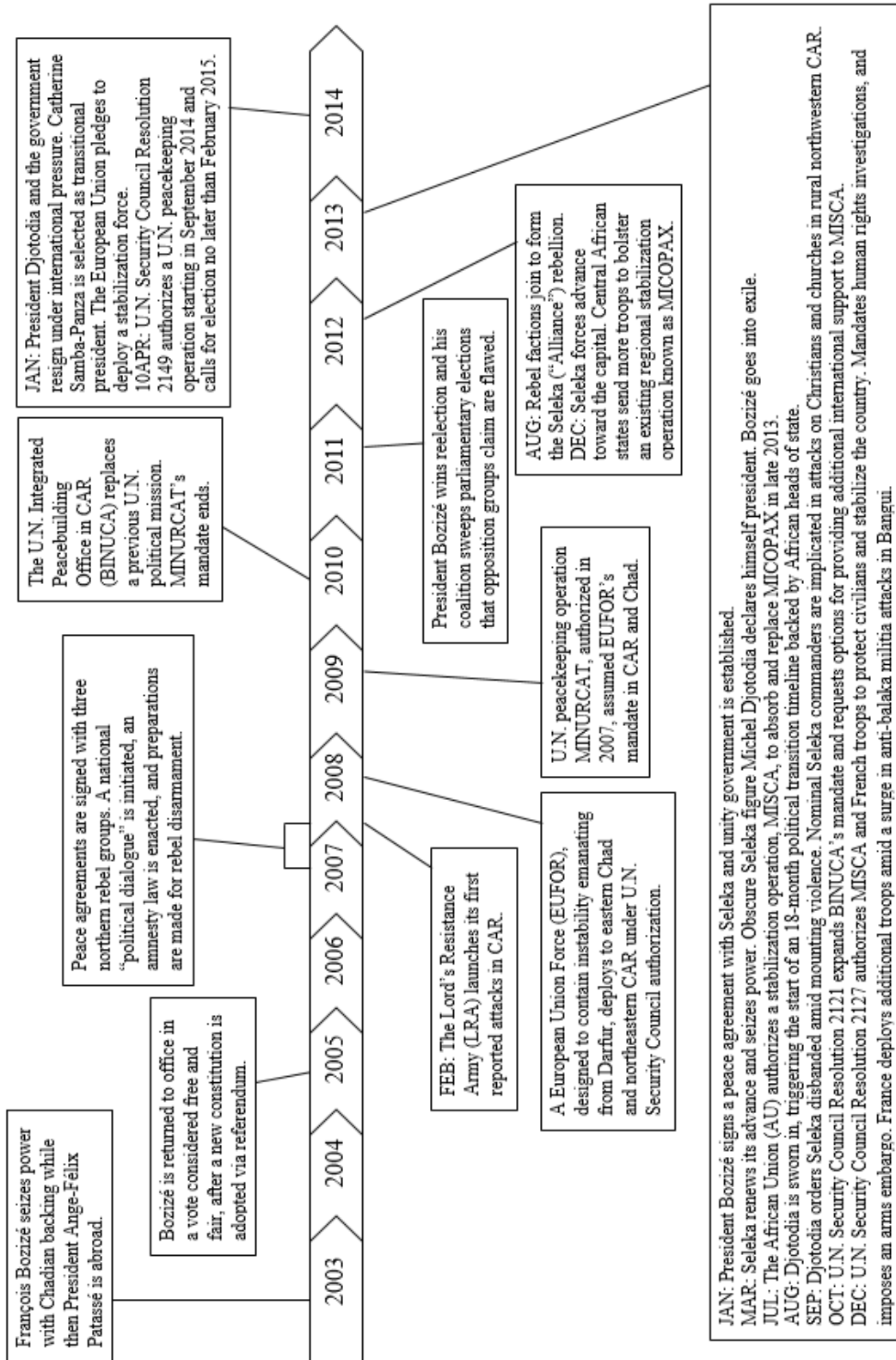
The civil war in the CAR began in earnest in 2012 with the alliance of rebel groups to form the Seleka rebellion, literally “coalition.” This group is mainly Muslim and formed as a result of what it felt were injustices committed by the Christian president

Bozizé. The Selekas helped to install Michel Djotodia as president after ousting President Bozizé. Facing off against the Seleka forces are the Anti-balakas. Anti-balaka translates to “anti-machete” in the Sango language and this represents the primary weapon of their main opponent, the Seleka. The Anti-balaka group is a radical Christian militia that has reportedly committed multiple atrocities against Muslim citizens and ethnic minorities.

Boulden (2013) examines how the United Nations interacts with African regional organizations and the African Union (AU). The primary goal is for the indigenous organizations to take the lead in crisis. Sometimes this is not realistic or possible for various reasons. This is the case with the conflict in the CAR. A couple of the surrounding countries, Chad for instance as well as South Africa, stepped up to deploy peacekeeping troops to the CAR but overall the African Union was unable to handle the issue. France sent in troops followed by the European Union and then the United Nations. An excerpt from the United Nations resolution regarding the Central African Republic can be found as Appendix A at the end of this paper. The French started out with 250 troops in the CAR, rising to 400 by the end of 2012 and eventually all the way to 2,000 right before the U.N. began increasing its troop count to 10,000 in country in December of 2014. Chad amid controversy pulled the last of its 800 troops out in April of 2013.

A detailed timeline outlining the years leading up to the conflict as well as major events during the conflict, is located on the next page. There are many acronyms representing different forces that were gathered to deploy to the CAR during the previous decade in support of the refugees from Darfur as well as to curb the sectarian violence of the recent civil war. France was the only European country to support the African

Union's initial mission in the CAR intent on halting the escalation of violence and the rapid dissolution of government.



Arief, A. (2014, May). Crisis in the Central African Republic (CRS Report No. R43377). Retrieved from Congressional Research Service website: <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43377.pdf>

Chapter 3: Methodology

The study conducted is a qualitative content analysis. The latent content (i.e. the deeper reasons under the surface of the text) and the manifest content (i.e. the actual text) were both looked at during this study. Ten articles covering the civil war in the Central African Republic were collected from both *Le Monde* (LM) and *The New York Times* (NYT). Emphasis was placed on finding articles that discussed similar aspects or events of the civil war, and all articles were published between November 26, 2013 and December 6, 2014. Each article was read and summarized. For the French articles, the titles were translated along with relevant quotes to be used in this document. Having both sets of articles in the same language, a proper content analysis could be conducted. Paragraphs and words were counted, placement within the newspapers was noted, and similarities and differences in content were identified and recorded.

Newspapers were chosen as the form of media for analysis because of the accessibility associated with how they are archived and searchable. Also, newspapers worldwide follow a similar structure in organization. The Central African Republic was chosen as the former French colony because it is located in Africa, as many former French colonies are, but also because it has recently been in the news due to its civil war. The civil war itself was chosen as the specific metric primarily for the same reasons CAR was chosen. The situation is ongoing and therefore provides a plethora of news for newspapers to report on. Alternatively, as someone with military ties, war is something familiar to my studies. The reason I chose France in the first place as the country whose relationships with former colonies I would examine, is that I am a French language student and as was previously stated, much of my study has been focused on France

during my undergraduate days. Therefore my appetite was primed for subjects related to France.

Le Monde was chosen to represent France based on its historical position as France's primary newspaper. The style of LM is unique, based on its historical start in 1944 with a clause granting the founder, Hubert Beuve-Méry, full editorial independence. According to its published dossier, *Le Monde* is a news source with a focus more on analyzing and presenting of facts rather than simple reporting.⁴ The following excerpt from *Le Monde*'s report on its operations briefly outlines what it attempts to do.

Le Monde est un quotidien indépendant qui n'obéit qu'à ses propres critères pour définir son traitement de l'information...*Le Monde* est un quotidien pluraliste. Il ne fixe aucune ligne à laquelle ses rédacteurs devraient se conformer. Il respecte la diversité de leurs opinions, à condition que celles-ci n'aillent pas à l'encontre des valeurs qu'il défend...*Le Monde* défend les valeurs de liberté, d'Égalité et de fraternité qu'affiche la devise de la République française.

[*Le Monde* is an independent daily newspaper that follows its own criteria in order to process the data it takes in... *Le Monde* is a pluralist newspaper. It sets no agenda for the editors to follow. It respects the diversity of opinions on the condition that they do not go against the values it seeks to defend... *Le Monde* holds liberty, equality, and fraternity in the same high regard as the Republic of France.-author's translation]

Several of the articles used in this study are found in *Le Monde Afrique*. This is a version of the paper that is primarily focused on African and published for African readership.

The New York Times was chosen to represent the American point of view because it is a renowned worldwide newspaper and also originates from the United States of America. According to the NYT's website, "The core purpose of *The New York Times* is to enhance society by creating, collecting and distributing high-quality news and

⁴ http://www.lombard-media.lu/pdf/FR/LeMonde_comment.pdf; Dossier on *Le Monde* and how it operates.

information. Producing content of the highest quality and integrity is the basis for our reputation and the means by which we fulfill the public trust and our customers' expectations."⁵ Both of the newspapers utilized for this analysis have high numbers of readership worldwide. In 2014, LM sold an average of 298,529 copies daily⁶. For the six-month period from March 30 to September 30, 2014, the NYT averaged 639,890 copies per day⁷. Neither of these readership values take into account digital subscriptions which are rapidly becoming a significant portion of the market for newspaper companies, but both newspapers do have the largest readership numbers in their respective countries.

The quantity of articles is the easiest piece of the methodology to question. Why choose ten articles from each paper, why not seven or 13? Limiting the sample to ten articles from each newspaper was manageable and fits the scope of this project. It also provides enough of a sample to present data that can be used to direct a future, more comprehensive study. The time sample of the civil war which the articles cover was limited to ensure that the articles did not cover too broad of a window into the conflict. The civil war in the CAR has been going on officially since December of 2012, and there are literally thousands of articles to choose from and limits had to be placed. November of 2013 to December of 2014 was chosen specifically because it was a particularly active period during the ongoing conflict.

⁵ <http://www.nytc.com/who-we-are/culture/standards-and-ethics/>; The *New York Times* "Who We Are" web page.

⁶ <http://www.statista.com/statistics/304642/le-monde-circulation/>; Statistics of newspaper circulation for *Le Monde*.

⁷ <http://www.statista.com/statistics/193792/average-paid-circulation-of-the-new-york-times/>; Statistics of newspaper circulation for *The New York Times*.

Chapter 4: Findings

Analyzing newspaper articles reporting on a war can be emotional. This presents a challenge because academic studies must be kept objective as best as possible. At the same time, a researcher can also end up becoming calloused to the events that make up the data. It is important to try and avoid something like this and to maintain our humanity in order to give the necessary respect to the dead and wounded that are the subjects of so many of these articles. Much like Nietzsche's quote, "if you gaze long enough into an abyss, the abyss will gaze back into you," France the colonizer did not return untouched from its journey colonizing the Central African Republic. The following photo depicts French soldiers in the CAR assisting a wounded Central African man. This photo represents the real tragedy of the conflict going on in the Central African Republic. It serves as a reminder that the numbers and articles that follow are real and represent real lives that have been destroyed. The picture also represents what I believe to be a strong connection between two cultures that are no longer connected as they once were. The wounded man later succumbs to his injuries.

WARNING: the following photo is quite graphic.



Copyright permission granted by Panos Pictures
Photo credit: William Daniels/Panos Pictures 2013

Articles

This section serves to introduce and summarize the articles used in the study. The following chart provides the titles to each article as well as the published date, translation for the French titles, and an identifier for the article. To simplify things, articles from *The New York Times* start with E (for English) and are numbered 1 through 10. Articles from *Le Monde* start with F (for French) and are numbered 1 through 10 as well. The summaries are in chronological order.

Table 1: Article Titles				
<u>Date</u>	<u>The New York Times</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Le Monde</u>	<i>author's translation</i>
E1	26-Nov-13 France adds troops in Central African Republic	F1	27-Nov-13 République centrafricaine : Questions sur une intervention française	The Central African Republic: Questions about a French intervention
E2	23-Dec-13 Archbishop and imam are united across battle lines in Central African Republic	F2	28-Nov-13 Que va faire l'armée française en République centrafricaine?	What will the French Army do in the CAR
E3	12-Feb-14 Warnings of ethnic cleansing in Central African Republic	F3	5-Dec-13 Six clés pour comprendre le conflit en République centrafricaine	Six keys for understanding the conflict in the Central African Republic
E4	20-Mar-14 U.N. warns of anti-Muslim violence in Central African Republic	F4	21-Dec-13 Centrafrique: l'armée française déploie tous ses moyens dans Bangui	CAR: The French Army concentrates its resources in Bangui
E5	1-Apr-14 U.N. issues new warnings on Central African Republic	F5	23-Jan-14 L'ONU se penche sur le sort de la Centrafrique	The UN debates the situation in the CAR
E6	3-Apr-14 Chad, amid criticism, will pull troops from force in Central Africa	F6	27-Jan-14 Centrafrique: Les Etats-Unis envisagent des sanctions "ciblées"	The United States is considering targeted sanctions in the CAR
E7	5-Apr-14 U.N. leader urges action in Central African Republic	F7	10-Feb-14 Hollande et Obama : "L'alliance entre nos deux pays s'est transformée"	Holland and Obama: The alliance between our two countrys has evolved
E8	27-Apr-14 Muslims leave Central African Republic capital under escort	F8	3-Apr-14 L'armée française hantée par le génocide rwandais	The French Army in CAR is haunted by memories of Rwanda
E9	13-May-14 Central African Republic: U.S. sanctions for former leader	F9	28-May-14 En Centrafrique, après l'attaque d'une église, une mosquée vandalisée	In the Central African Republic, a mosque is vandalised after an attack on a church
E10	4-Dec-14 Central African Republic: security improving, French general says	F10	6-Dec-14 En Centrafrique, retrait à risques pour la France	In the Central African Republic, withdrawal has risks for France

E1: In an article published November 26, 2013, the NYT reported that France was sending an additional 1,000 troops to the CAR. This number will add to the already 400 troops in country. The French defense minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, stated that the Central African Republic, a former colony, “is in collapse” and “we cannot have a country fall apart like that.” While the United Nations considers organizing a coalition peacekeeping force, the French are stepping up to the challenge of assisting the former colony.

F1: Published November 27, 2013 by *Le Monde*, this article discusses how French troops were in Mali only 10 months prior and in Cote d’Ivoire only 2.5 years prior. After refusing at the beginning of the year a request by Francois Bozizé to provide military support in an attempt to keep him in power, now Paris is dealing with sending troops to the CAR. The situation there has not stopped degrading. No one appears to be in clear control of either the Seleka or the Anti-balaka forces, and the memories of the 1960s and 1990s haunt the seasoned leaders who now once again face the question of intervening in Africa and the CAR.

F2: What will the French army do in the CAR? That is the topic of an article published on November 28, 2013 by *Le Monde*. France sent a contingent of 410 troops to serve as peacekeepers in the former colony, similar to actions France took in 1960 after the CAR gained independence. In the power vacuum left by the failure of the already weak government, religious and ethnic differences are rapidly turning into violent struggles. According to the article, “sur les 4,6 millions d’habitants de la RCA, 2,3 millions sont en “situations d’assistance humanitaire,” [Of the 4.6 million inhabitants of the CAR, 2.3 million are currently in need of humanitarian assistance.-author’s

translation]. The number of displaced persons in and from the CAR is high, numbering in the hundreds of thousands. The U.N. has yet to commit to any plan, but courses of action are currently being reviewed for execution.

F3: *Le Monde* released “Six keys to understanding the conflict in the CAR” on December 5, 2013. The first key is the repeated coups that have occurred in the CAR. Since independence in 1960, coups have been a recurring facet in the political world of the country. Bozizé himself came into power through a coup in 2003 and now lost his position to another one. The second key is how the chaos is being realized. Without any real authority in place, criminal elements and militant groups are acting with impunity. The third key is the religious premise of the conflict. The Seleka forces are primarily Muslim, and originate mostly from the northern half of the country which is also primarily Muslim. The Anti-balaka forces are primarily Christian and originate from the more populace and majority Christian southern half of the country. The fourth key is the alarming humanitarian situation. According to the U.N., lacking a rapid decisive humanitarian action, the crisis risks spiraling out of control. Half the population faces humanitarian issues and hundreds of thousands of citizens have been internally displaced or become refugees. The fifth key is the mission of the French Army. Officially commencing on December 5th, their mission is to find a humanitarian solution that is outlined through establishing security and a stable political situation. The sixth and final key is the U.N. mandate. Without a resolution from the U.N. and an accompanying commitment, there will doubtfully be a long term solution in the CAR.

F4: Published December 21, 2013 in *Le Monde*, this article describes the restructuring of French forces in the CAR. Following an intense attack on the airport in

the capital city of Bangui, French forces are pulling back to the airport in order to establish a stronger security basis from which to operate elsewhere in Bangui and the country. Among the wounded in the attack were a doctor from Médecins sans frontières (MSF) and an officer from the Chadian Army.

E2: In a country filled with internal conflict, two religious leaders are uniting and representing what they see as true religion. This December 23, 2013 NYT article discusses the actions of Archbishop Dieudonné Nzapalainga and Imam Oumar Kobine Layama. The two have become a beacon of solidarity in the sectarian violence riddled country. According to the Archbishop, “we have to leave this cycle of hate, or the state will fail.” Speaking of the Muslim rebels who overthrew the previous government, “they did much harm” said Imam Layama, “the former government has profited from the misbehavior of the Seleka. They have been able to use that, since the people suffered so much under the Seleka.” Archbishop Nzapalainga agrees that the Christian majority would have accepted, even welcomed a Muslim leader who governed justly. But the Muslim over throwers abused their newfound power and killed and pillaged like “bandits”. The sectarian violence is full of one side attacking the other, only to inspire revenge killings and reprisals which in turn inspire even more revenge violence. “Beacons of hope” to those remaining in the city, the Imam and Archbishop wish that others will follow their example, and that soon the “hate” can begin to heal.

F5: In an article published January 23, 2014, *Le Monde* commends the international community for finally coming together and agreeing that action must be taken in the CAR. The special council for the prevention of genocide at the United Nations, Adama Dieng, said of the CAR that they were “choqué par l’intensité du niveau

de haine entre communautés” [shocked by the intensity of the hate between the communities-author’s translation] of Christians and Muslims. In the same statement, Dieng called on the African states to take responsibility and to hold accountable one of their own. The current priority is now raising the funds to successfully send the U.N. backed force to the CAR.

F6: The United States announced sanctions against those it holds responsible in part for sending the CAR into a downward spiral of chaos, reports *Le Monde* January 27, 2014. The U.S. is pushing the message that if you commit humanitarian crimes, you will be held responsible for your actions. These sanctions come at an important time when the first female president, Catherine Samba-Panza, was just elected. The individuals affected by the diplomatic action will likely be severely hampered by the U.S. move.

F7: In a February 10, 2014 article in *Le Monde*, the relationship between France and the United States is lauded as being integral to the two countries. At a White-House joint press conference, the heads of state discussed multiple current affairs including a nuclear capable Iran, economic cooperation, and security in places like the CAR. The American president spoke about France being the U.S.’s oldest ally and how over the years the relationship between the two countries has grown and become stronger. He went on to commend France’s military action in the CAR in cooperation with the African Union mission there. For more information on the joint press conference between the two heads of state, excerpts from the press conference are located under Appendix B at the end of this paper.

E3: Tens of thousands of Muslims are undertaking a forced exodus from the Central African Republic as a result of the looming threat of Christian militias, reported

the *New York Times* on February 12, 2014. Northwest of Bangui in Yaloke alone, nearly all 30,000 Muslim citizens have fled. According to the article, the exodus highlights “the powerlessness of both a 1,600 member French peacekeeping force and the country’s shaky authorities to halt spiraling religious and ethnic violence.”

E4: In this article published March 20, 2014 in the NYT, the U.N. warns of anti-Muslim violence in the CAR. The chief of the United Nations human rights council, Navi Pillay, criticized the international community for acting slow and inadequately in response to the humanitarian catastrophe. According to Pillay, the CAR has become a country with such hatred that “people are not just killed, they are tortured, mutilated, burned and dismembered.” French forces now number 1,600 and will soon increase to 2,000. They are backed by 6,000 African Union troops and the European Union is preparing to send 1,000 more soldiers. Ban Ki-moon, the U.N. secretary general, has pleaded with governments for an additional 10,000 troops and 2,000 police officers. Funding drives for the relief effort have been futile as well with only 20% of the more than \$550 million needed being raised.

E5: On April 1st, 2014 the NYT reported new warnings issued by the United Nations. The director of international protection at the U.N. refugee agency said that “Bangui is heating up - it’s becoming a flash point.” The same agency issued statements reflecting its high level of concern regarding the some 19,000 Muslims who are basically besieged outside of Bangui. The agency fears they are at risk of being slaughtered by Christian militant groups. Citing a lack of funding, U.N. relief agencies fear the humanitarian crisis will only deepen in the coming months.

F8: Memories of the Rwandan genocide haunt the French Army, reports *Le Monde* in an April 3, 2014 article. Separated by only a few borders, the humanitarian crisis that the Army is responding to in the Central African Republic seems all too familiar only 20 years after the tragedy in Rwanda. It was too late by the time Paris decided to act in that situation. The same mistake would not be made this time. Particularly since many of the soldiers who fought in Rwanda are now at the higher echelon levels during this operation in the CAR.

E6: The April 3, 2014 NYT article on Chad pulling troops from the CAR discusses how this action benefits and complicates matters in the region. Since the political fight in the CAR turned into a violent sectarian conflict, there has been much controversy surrounding Chadian military forces operating in CAR. According to the Chadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Despite the sacrifices we have made, Chad and Chadians have been targeted in a gratuitous and malicious campaign that blamed them for all the suffering.” This statement comes only days after the United Nations human rights office in Geneva released a report documenting an incident in a Bangui market that supposedly implicates Chad and resulted in 30 civilians killed and 300 wounded, including children, people with disabilities, pregnant women, and the elderly who were all less able to run for their lives, reportedly unprovoked. The uproar surrounding Chad’s actions would have made the U.N. inclusion of Chad in any efforts to stabilize the CAR awkward. The situation is only more difficult because elsewhere in Africa, Chad is an important part in facing insurgent based threats like Al Qaeda affiliated groups.

E7: Ban Ki-moon, the United Nations secretary general, stopped in the Central African Republic on his way to Rwanda’s 20th remembrance of their genocide. He

stressed that the international community failed the people of Rwanda 20 years ago, and that they were in danger of repeating that failure now with the crisis in the CAR, reported the NYT on April 5, 2014. According to the Times the United States ambassador to the United Nations planned to make her second one-day visit to the CAR the following week. Moon urged the U.N. Security Council to authorize a U.N. peacekeeping force of 12,000. This is all a result of the nearly 640,000 Central Africans who have been forced to flee away from their homes

E8: On April 27, 2014 the NYT reported that peacekeeping troops escorted 1,300 Muslims out of the capital city of Bangui. This led to looting and the “removing one of the last pockets of Muslims from the capital of a nation torn apart by religious violence.” The diaspora of Muslims led to looting by the Christians from the majority-Christian neighborhood that surrounded the Islamic enclave. One Christian resident, Dieudonné Bignilaba, had the following to say about the situation, “For many years we lived together, but they were the ones who brought the weapons here to kill us.”

E9: In response to continued sectarian violence in the Central African Republic, the NYT reported May 13, 2014 that the United States is imposing sanctions on the former president Francois Bozizé and four other men that are reputed to be linked to the violence and human rights violations plaguing the country. This move follows the United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions that were implemented the previous week.

F9: Reflecting an all too common trend in the CAR, this story written in *Le Monde* on May 28, 2014 tells of a revenge attack carried out in Bangui. Assaultants executed an attack on a church. Citizens hid inside as militants sought to kill and destroy. Anti-balaka forces soon arrived and helped evacuate/protect the citizens. It is suspected

that the aggressors were paid mercenaries from neighboring Congo, as they spoke neither French nor the Central African national language Sango. The result of this attack was the revenge attack on a mosque located across town. Three young Muslims were also lynched at a football match in retribution for the destruction and harm at the vandalized church.

E10: On December 4, 2014 the NYT reported a piece of good news regarding the Central African Republic. According to General Eric Bellot des Minières, the commander of French forces in the CAR, the security situation has improved considerably and the French are making plans to reduce their military footprint in the country. The situation remains fragile but economic activity and political dialogue were both returning to the scene. France still had about 2,000 troops in the country.

F10: In this article published December 6, 2014 in *Le Monde*, the risks associated with the French Army pulling out of the CAR are discussed. As the military seeks to minimize its footprint in the country, the French commanders are trying to make sure that their departure does not leave a power vacuum fit to collapse and send things into a chaotic spin again. The departure of the French military does not mean that all humanitarian assistance forces will have left. 7,500 soldiers will still be on location under the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) mission.

The next table displays quantitative data from the collected articles. The data presented will be useful in the following two sections on article placement with the publications and article composition. The articles still follow the same designation scheme with the *New York Times* articles occupying the leftmost columns and *Le*

Monde's articles occupying the rightmost columns.

	<u>Paragraph Count</u>	<u>Word Count</u>	<u>Location</u>		<u>Paragraph Count</u>	<u>Word Count</u>	<u>Location</u>
E1	9	333	A7	F1	22	1721	Section 7
E2	12	541	A7	F2	17	1419	Africa Section 2
E3	26	1103	A10	F3	15	828	Africa Section 2
E4	10	483	A6	F4	16	1238	Africa Section 2
E5	8	331	A14	F5	13	1104	Africa Section 2
E6	21	832	A3	F6	6	442	Africa Section 2
E7	39	1348	A4	F7	8	749	Section 2
E8	11	420	Online	F8	6	512	Section 2
E9	1	95	A9	F9	10	695	Africa Section 2
E10	1	130	A13	F10	11	921	Africa Section 2
	13.8	561.6			12.4	962.9	

Placement within Publication

Being that the two newspapers are in fact, different, means that comparing the location where the articles were found is somewhat difficult. But the data is interesting if nothing else. For the articles from the NYT, almost all the articles were found in section A. Section A is the international section of *The New York Times*. The closest to the front page a single article got in the NYT was page A3 by article E6. E6 is the article about Chad withdrawing its forces from the CAR. The article farthest back in the paper was E5. E5 is the article about U.N. warnings regarding the 19,000 Muslims that were more or less besieged. One article from the NYT was published solely online. That article was E8 and reported the efforts by French forces to escort 1,300 Muslims out of Bangui.

The French articles which were accessed online are organized in a different fashion. The online paper still has a front page and it still follows the sections, but there is no way to identify the exact page number the article was found on in print. Two *Le Monde* articles were found in section two of the main paper. Section two is the international section. One, F1 about French troops so recently deploying to Mali and the Ivory Coast, was in section seven. Section seven is the insight section. All of the other articles were found in section two of the Africa version of the LM.

Article Composition

Article paragraph composition of the NYT articles range from one to 39. The average paragraph count of the NYT articles is 13.8. The articles from *Le Monde* average 12.4 paragraphs with a range of six to 22. The NYT articles' paragraph average is 11.3% more than that of the LM articles. Regarding word count, *The New York Times* articles have an average of 561.6 words with a range from 95 to 1,348 words. The LM articles average 962.9 words per article with a range from 442 to 1,721 words. By word count, the LM articles' average is 71.4% more than the average of the articles from *The New York Times*.

The similarities and differences sections will incorporate data from the previous two tables. On page 32, a new table can be found that lists three key terms for each article. These words or phrases reflect the main issue covered by each respective associated article. For every article, each term is listed as well as a translation for the key terms identified in the French articles.

Similarities

Regarding similarities, dates are immediately noticeable. Article E1 was published November 26, 2013 while article F1 and F2 were published November 27 and 28, 2013 respectively. Articles E2 and F4 were published December 23 and 21, 2013 respectively. Article E3 was published February 12, 2014 with article F7 published on February 10. Both papers published articles, E6 and F8, on April 3, 2014. Finally E10 and F10 were published December 4 and 6, 2014, respectively.

Two articles have titles with the word “sanctions,” although they were published four months apart. Both E10 and F10 discuss the potential French withdrawal of its forces from the Central African Republic. Quantitatively, the paragraph counts are very close to one another for the two sample groups. Regarding placement, the articles were all placed in similar sections. That is, all articles except one from each paper were found in the international sections of their respective papers. In the case of the key terms from the articles, many of the terms from both papers’ articles involve hate, genocide, religion, and violence. If the terms are viewed within a broader scope, more similarities are found with words like sectarian and specific acts of violence such as massacres.

Differences

Word count is an immediately evident difference. The greater than 70% difference is significant. Similarly, search results for the Central African Republic in the archives of the two papers reveals that there are 1,239 articles regarding the CAR from *The New York Times* spanning from December 1, 2012 to April 17, 2015. The same search for *Le Monde* yields 4,852. That is a tremendous disparity in articles. Within the

key terms, the NYT articles almost all mention religious violence or sectarian violence. The LM articles are not nearly as homogeneous. In the titles, three of the NYT articles mention the United Nations while only one article from LM does so.

Articles from *The New York Times* mention specific religions more frequently. Every single article mentions Muslims at least once. Multiple articles from *Le Monde* do not mention Muslims or Christians specifically. The articles published by LM also utilize language that is more critical of organizations like the United Nations. Article F5 accuses the United Nations of “mois d’indifférence” [months of indifference-author’s translation]. No articles from *The New York Times* uses such harsh language. This difference in tone is reflected in other articles as well along the same lines.

Table 3: Key Terms

Article	Key Term 1	author translation	Key Term 2	author translation	Key Term 3	author translation	Article	Key Term 1	Key Term 2	Key Term 3
F1	"l'intervention	<i>intervention</i>	pregénocidaire	<i>pre-genocidal</i>	l'urgence	<i>urgency</i>	E1	extrajudicial killings	failed state	vortex of violence
F2	le coup d'état	<i>putsch</i>	hétérogène	<i>heterogenes</i>	les clivages religieux	<i>religious divisions</i>	E2	sectarian tensions	religious violence	sectarian conflict
F3	le coup d'état	<i>putsch</i>	l'intervention	<i>intervention</i>	les clivages religieux	<i>religious divisions</i>	E3	ethnic cleansing	Muslim	religious violence
F4	les affrontements	<i>confrontations</i>	l'aéroport	<i>airport</i>	la tension	<i>tension</i>	E4	humanitarian catastrophe	religious extremism	instability humanitarian
F5	la haine	<i>hate</i>	génocide	<i>genocide</i>	le mandat de l'opération	<i>operational mandate</i>	E5	sectarian violence	hatred	crisis
F6	les sanctions ciblées	<i>targeted sanctions</i>	les violences interconfession- nelles	<i>sectarian religious violence</i>	l'intervention	<i>intervention</i>	E6	religious partition	sectarian conflict	ethnic cleansing
F7	la réconciliation	<i>reconciliation</i>	coopération	<i>cooperation</i>	l'Afrique	<i>Africa</i>	E7	sectarian conflict	religious partition	genocide
F8	le génocide	<i>genocide</i>	Rwanda	<i>Rwanda</i>	l'intervention	<i>intervention</i>	E8	religious violence	marginalization	violence
F9	les résolutions	<i>resolutions</i>	les violences	<i>violence</i>	les tensions	<i>tensions</i>	E9	sanctions ciblees	human rights abuses	sectarian violence
F10	sécuritaire	<i>safe</i>	le densification levels	<i>transfer of authority to local levels</i>	les massacres	<i>massacres</i>	E10	sectarian killings	fragile situation	security improving

Chapter 5: Discussion

Summary of Findings

Looking at the differences and similarities, there are plenty of both between the two different newspaper articles. Similarities are plentiful in placement, key terms, and paragraph count. Differences abound in areas of tone and word count.

Interpretation of Findings

Subjectively I believe this sample tells a predictable story. *Le Monde* represents a country that has troops in the CAR. The sons and daughters of France are in the red dirt of Bangui trying to save the lives of people harmed by the chaotic violence wreaking havoc upon the Central Africans. Of course their articles are going to have more words on average. They have more to say on the matter. And of course their articles are going to have a sharp tongue in regards to organizations like the UN which the French likely believe is dragging its feet on acting. France is burdened by being the European nation that answered the humanitarian call of the CAR. The *New York Times* represents a country that has no such ties to the CAR. The primary interest for an American audience about the civil war in the Central African Republic is the religious aspect of the violence, as the United States is over a decade involved in a war against religious extremists. I believe this is why the words Christian and Muslim appear more regularly in the articles published by the NYT.

Implications of the findings

When conducting research on an event, it is important to venture outside of your host culture in order to get a well-rounded view of others' interpretations of the same

events. As can be seen in this research and data, the same events can be portrayed in different or varied light. This is not necessarily a negative thing, but it is just important to recognize the potential for differences in published information.

Discussion of limitations of the study

The primary limitation of this study is the number of articles that were analyzed. Ten articles from each paper is not many. There are 1,239 articles regarding the Central African Republic from *The New York Times* spanning from December 1, 2012 to April 17, 2015. The same search for *Le Monde* yields 4,852. Using 20 out of a possible 6,091 articles represents only .3% thus leaving much room for further examination.

Discussion of future direction of research/how my data can be developed

In future studies, I suggest that more articles be included in order to provide a more accurate sample of the whole body of articles. Another potential avenue of approach is obtaining articles from multiple papers from each country. For instance in the United States, the *Wall Street Journal* could be included to represent a more financially-oriented paper. A similar French paper could be *Le Figaro*. Another interesting future possibility is to examine a different conflict. How would articles on the crisis in Mali compare to the articles from the CAR?

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis aims to add content to the body of knowledge regarding how newspaper media reflects relationships between France and one of its former colonies in comparison to American reporting of the same event. This goal was met by examining newspaper articles originating from France and the United States. Some differences and similarities were present between the two newspapers' articles. There was also plenty of content that was neither different nor similar and which reflected good journalism in reporting on only the who, what, when, where, and why. This study helped to add content to the body of research on the Central African Republic and the recent conflict there. In future studies of this kind, other conflicts, papers, and events can be looked at as well as just more articles of the same variety in order to provide a better or different view of cultural representation through media productions of two different countries.

Where is the Central African Republic now? As of April 16, 2015 there has been no grand resolution to the bloody sectarian violence that has plagued the Central African Republic for the last few years. An article written by Simon Allison from the South African newspaper, *Daily Maverick*, talks about the latest news on the CAR. In Nairobi on April 8, 2015 the two previous exiled presidents of the Central African Republic met to sign a ceasefire deal in an effort to stabilize the country. Former president Bozizé and former president Djotodia are the supposed leaders of the decentralized militant groups, the anti-balaka and the Seleka, respectively. This development means little though. Violence has actually increased, and Doctors Without Borders (Médecins Sans Frontières) is launching new operations in the CAR rather than scaling back as it was planning to do at the end of 2014. With elections tentatively scheduled for July of 2015,

the transitional government led by President Catherine Samba-Panza has a lot to do. We can only hope that the warring factions will abide by the peace accord signed in Kenya by these two deposed former presidents; however, given the violence of the past two years, it is unlikely the Central African Republic will know peace in the coming months.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Selected text from UN Security Resolution 2127 (2013)

Deployment of MISCA (Mission Internationale de soutien à la Centrafrique sous conduit africaine)

28. *Authorizes* the deployment of MISCA for a period of twelve months after the adoption of this resolution, to be reviewed six months after the adoption of this resolution, which shall take all necessary measures, consistent with the concept of operations adopted on 19 July 2013 and reviewed on 10 October 2013, to contribute to:

- (i) the protection of civilians and the restoration of security and public order, through the use of appropriate measures;
- (ii) the stabilization the country and the restoration of State authority over the whole territory of the country;
- (iii) the creation of conditions conducive to the provision of humanitarian assistance to populations in need;
- (iv) the DDR or DDRRR process led by the Transitional Authorities and coordinated by BINUCA;
- (v) national and international efforts to reform and restructure the defence and security sectors led by the Transitional Authorities and coordinated by BINUCA.

French forces

49. *Notes* the AU-PSC communiqué of 13 November 2013 welcoming the proposed strengthening of the French forces to better support MISCA and encouraging the AU Commission to work towards the establishment of an effective operational coordination between MISCA and the French forces;

50. *Authorizes* the French forces in the CAR, within the limits of their capacities and areas of deployment, and for a temporary period, to take all necessary measures to support MISCA in the discharge of its mandate as provided by paragraph 28 above; *requests* France to report to the Council on the implementation of this mandate in the CAR and to coordinate its reporting with the reporting by the African Union referred to in paragraph 32 above and *decides* to review this mandate within six months after its commencement and *calls upon* the Transitional Authorities to cooperate fully with the deployment and operations of French forces, in particular by ensuring its safety, security and freedom of movement with unhindered and immediate access throughout the territory of CAR and *further calls upon* neighbouring countries of CAR to take appropriate measures to support the action of French forces.

Appendix B

Selected text from “Press Conference by President Obama and President Hollande of France”, February 11, 2014

PRESIDENT OBAMA: “...Our military and intelligence personnel cooperate every day - keeping our nations secure and dealing with crises and challenges from Africa to the Persian Gulf. Our diplomats work side by side to help resolve conflicts and promote peace, from Syria to Iran. Our development experts help impoverished villages boost their agriculture and lift themselves out of poverty. And this level of partnership across so many areas would have been unimaginable even a decade ago. But it’s a testament to how our two nations have worked to transform our alliance. And I want to salute President Hollande for carrying this work forward.

François, you haven’t just spoken eloquently about France’s determination to meet its responsibilities as a global leader, you’ve also acted. From Mali and the Central African Republic to Syria and Iran, you have shown courage and resolve. And I want to thank you for your leadership and for being such a strong partner to the United States.

And in that spirit, I’m grateful for the progress that we’ve made today in four key areas. First, we’re standing shoulder to shoulder on the key challenges to global security. Our unity with our P5-plus-1 partners, backed with strong sanctions, has succeeded in halting and rolling back key parts of the Iranian nuclear program. We agree that next week’s talks in Vienna will be an opportunity for Iran to show that it is serious about a comprehensive solution that assures the world that its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes only...”

PRESIDENT HOLLANDE (As interpreted): “France and the United States are two countries which, due to their history, their place in history, but also due to their seat as permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, can act on security throughout the world for freedom, democracy, the rule of law.

And this is precisely what France did, with the help of our American friends, in Mali in order to make it possible for Mali to recover its territorial integrity. This operation was successful, and it was only successful because a decision was made by the international community; it was successful because Americans took part and because Europeans helped as well as Americans, who also gave their support. And a President has now been elected in Mali and the Malian state has now found its authority again.

We also intervened in the Central African Republic in a completely different context, admittedly, but the idea was to prevent what could have been a humanitarian disaster. There had been already brutal actions that affected a population that was already suffering a great deal. There are violence every day, there are clashes every day. But France does what it can with the help of other European nations and with the help of Americans.

And this bears witness to an exceptional situation in our history because our countries have always been allies, have always been friends, but now we trust each other in an

unprecedented manner. And this is characteristic of our personal relationship but also of our goals -- common goals.”