

National religious mottoes: when the State expresses itself in religious words

ABSTRACT

National symbols such as flags, coat of arms or emblems and anthems contribute to the agglutination of the human groups because they facilitate the identification and union of individuals of each human society. The same function has the national mottoes, which usually appear inside the coat of arms, but not always. The religious elements included in national symbols perform the same function as other non-religious elements. National mottoes, also the ones with a religious meaning, integrate human societies in a way that is not merely symbolic since they consist of a written communication with words or sentences that allow a total understanding by the members of the societies to which they are addressed and also by those who do not belong to them. The idea that is transmitted in a motto is much clearer than the one contained in the purely symbolic elements. The objective of this work is to discover the countries that currently, in spite of the process of secularization, maintain expressions of a religious nature in their mottoes and the result surprises by its high number. This work has been carried out within the research project “Multihuri. Diversidad y convivencia: los derechos humanos como guía de acción”, DER 2015-65840-R, MINECO-FEDER.

KEYWORDS: *religious symbols, motto, coat of arms, State, religion, heraldry*

Introduction: the motto as a national symbol and its effectiveness

Although the national mottoes are not so well known, they can be also added to the main national symbols, which are the flag, the coat of arms or emblem and the national anthem. All of them have a certain analogy with totems, because they are considered as objects with a meaning of identity shared by a community of people. These symbols, also called political symbols, have the function of uniting the members of different communities and creating a sense of belonging to it, regardless of the size or degree of sovereignty of that community. They are, therefore, a factor of cohesion among the citizens inside a community, strengthening the identity of the whole community. In fact, the integration of each person into a group requires and it is expressed through these symbols.

In addition, political symbols are able of generating emotions, arousing feelings, and touching the emotional side of the citizens. So, all symbols, also political ones, are a means of expressing mythical consciousness, in the same way that the concepts are a means of expressing theoretical awareness (García Pelayo, 1991, p.1005). This function exists in any element or expression contained in political symbols, regardless of their nature, although our work will focus only on the religious mentions that appear in national mottos, such as the mention to God or to a religious dogma.

It is true that several countries do not have an official national motto, or they have ceased to have it, or they have an unofficial one. But in the many countries that have them, national mottoes can strengthen the identity of the members of a community. In many cases, the motto appears in one of the “typical” national symbols, in the national coat of arms or in its national emblem; in other countries the national motto does not appear on the national emblem although to be official. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the different situations, since the degree of knowledge of the motto and its identity will be greater when it has an official recognition and if it appears in the same national emblem.

The English word ‘motto’ comes from Italian, with the meaning of ‘word’ or ‘sentence’, which derives from the Latin ‘muttum’ which had the

meaning of ‘mutter’. A motto is ‘a short sentence or phrase that expresses the aims and beliefs of a person, a group, an institution, etc. and is used as a rule of behaviour’ (Hornby, 2004, p. 830). National mottoes are usually found predominantly in written form and may be in any language, but Latin has been widely used, especially in the Western world. They are often found below the shield or the coat of arms; this placement stems from the Middle Ages. Spanish coats of arms may also display mottoes in the bordure of the shield.

On the other hand, the word that is used in Spanish language for the English word ‘motto’ is ‘lema’, which according with Real Academia de la Lengua Española (Royal Academy of the Spanish Language), it comes from the Latin Word ‘lemma’ and this one comes from the Greek ‘λήμμα’, whose first meaning is that of ‘argument or title that precedes certain literary compositions to indicate briefly the subject or thought of the work’; and, also, it is a ‘letter or ‘mote’ which is put on emblems and companies to make them more understandable’. Both meanings give us an idea of the sense of the motto as a way of expression or communication of the State towards its citizens, especially the second one, where next to the letters that are usually written inside the national coat of arms or emblems, it is also a new Spanish word: ‘mote’, which is very close and similar to the English ‘motto’. The word ‘mote’ comes from the Occitan or French, ‘mot’, that means ‘word’, and which in Spanish means “nickname given to a person by his own quality or condition”.

Another Spanish word used in heraldry as a synonym is ‘divisa’, which comes from the verb ‘divisar’ (Spanish for ‘to divise’, ‘to descry’) with several meanings related to mottoes, according to Spanish Royal Academy: ‘external signal to distinguish people, grades or other things; expression that formulates a thought, an ideal, a form of behavior, etc., that a person or a group of people assume as a norm, and a motto that is expressed sometimes in succinct terms, sometimes by some figures, and sometimes by both modes’. Finally, the verb ‘divisar’ comes from Latin ‘divīsus’ past participle of ‘dividere’ which means ‘to divide’ or ‘to distinguish. This verb, in heraldry, is used to ‘to distinguish’ family weapons, adding coats of arms’.

The word ‘divisa’ as a mean for distinguish persons, has specific uses in some branches of heraldry. So, in military heraldry ‘divisa’ is a ‘brief and expressive sentence that appears on a banderole or ribbon that usually is placed on the top or bottom of the coats of arms’ (Medina Ávila, 2014–2015, p. 202). By the other hand, in ecclesiastical heraldry, a ‘divisa’ is a generic voice applied to external signals that serve to differentiate people, degrees or things; second, it is assigned to an inscription that usually accompanies one or more figures to give them life. Usually the authors call ‘divisa’ the single figure (body) and so on same to the single inscription (soul) diversified this in different voices, among others, ‘motto’ and ‘mote’ (Monreal Casamayor, 2014–2015, p. 283).

Since an heraldic perspective, some rules of ecclesiastical heraldry are widely used in the national mottoes which are inside the national coats of arms, such as the inscription of the motto must come in capital letters, normally in saber, normally, without discarding the rest of enamels, put on a tape or a simple phylactery, without unnecessary reloading or curling and normally in the same enamel of the shield field; unlike other ‘divisas’ that come out of the top or are placed on the sides of the shield and even are located inside the same, in a strip, band or bordure, the ecclesiastical inscriptions must be placed outside the shield and preferably lower it; the ‘divisa’ expresses, among other purposes, a religious ideal, which is called ‘lema’, and it must be brief, of few words (up to four if possible), preferably written in Latin because it is the learned language that can say more with fewer words; they can also be written in national languages (Monreal Casamayor, 2014–2015, p. 288).

Religious mottoes found in the national coat of arms or in national emblems

There are many countries with Christian mottoes: Andorra, Dominica, El Salvador, Fiji, Grenada, Monaco, Nauru, Samoa, Surinam, Tonga, Tuvalu, Uganda, United Kingdom and Vanuatu.

So, the motto of Andorra is ‘Virtus unīta fortior’ (Latin for ‘United virtue is stronger’) was adopted in 1969, and actually it is regulated in art. 2.2 of the Andorran Constitution of February 2, 1993.

Dominica Island's motto is in the bottom of the coat of arms, and it says 'Apres Bondie c'est la Ter' (Antillean Creol for "After God, it is the Earth") which, also than God, it emphasizes the importance of the soil in the island with its economy based on agriculture. The coat of arms of Dominica was adopted on July 21, 1961.

The motto of the Dominican Republic is 'Dios, Patria, Libertad' (Spanish for 'God, Fatherland, Freedom'. The article 32 of the Dominican Constitution says that 'the National Coat of Arms (...) is crowned by an ultramarine blue ribbon in which the motto "Dios, Patria, Libertad" is read'.

El Salvador's motto is 'Dios, Unión, Libertad' (Spanish for "God, Union, Freedom"). The Coat of Arms of El Salvador, where the motto is, was created along with the current National Flag by the Legislative Decree of May 17, 1912.

The official Fiji's motto is 'Rerevaka na Kalou ka Doka na Tui' (Fijian for 'Fear God and honor the Queen'). It is at the bottom of the national coat of arms, adopted on July 4, 1908.

The Island o Grenada's motto is "Ever conscious of God, we aspire, build and advance as one people", in English. It was adopted in 1974, and it is at the bottom of the coat of arms.

The Principality of Monaco has also a Christian motto. In the bottom of the coat of arms, a ribbon display's the country's motto: 'Deo Juvante' (Latin for 'With God's help').

The Island of Nauru's motto is 'God's will first', in English. The ribbon under the coat of arms bears the national motto of the Republic since 1968 following the declaration of independence, and it began to be used officially in the early 1970s.

Nigeria's motto is 'Unity and faith, peace and progress' in English. It is in a banderole in the bottom of the coat of arms since it was approved in 1978, although the coat of arms dates back to May 20, 1960. Also, the article 15 of the Constitution of Nigeria, approved in 1999, says that 'The motto of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress'. The word 'faith' is linked to religion (Christianity or Islam, the bigger religions in the country), however, it is posible that such words

could be masonic. Among forty different masonic mottos used since eighteenth century, from a quantitative point of view, some of the most recurrent expressions are, among others, ‘justice’ (twelve times), ‘peace’ (five), ‘charity’ (four), ‘morality’, ‘hope’ and ‘faith’ (twice), or ‘blessing’ and ‘benevolence’ (one), (Ferrer Benimeli, 2014-2015, pp. 407–408). This reflexión can be also done for the mottoes of Suriname, Pakistan and Mali.

In Samoa, the motto is in the public seal, and it says ‘Faavae i Le Atua Samoa’ (Samoan for ‘Samoa is founded in God’). The public seal is defined by legislation as follows: ‘A silver shield (...) bearing the subscription of the motto “Faavae i Le Atua Samoa”, meaning in the English language “Samoa is founded in God”, the whole being contained within surrounding concentric circles between which are inscribed the words “The Public Seal of the Independent State of Samoa”. (Public seal of Samoa act 1973).

The motto of Suriname is ‘Iustitia, Pietas, Fides’ (Latin for ‘Justice, piety, faithfulness or Fidelity’). The coat of arms of Suriname was adopted on November 25, 1975. The words of this motto ‘pietas’ and ‘fides’ are primarily linked to Christianity, however, as said for Nigeria’s motto, it is possible that such words could not be linked to religion (Ferrer Benimeli, 2014-2015, pp. 407–408).

The text of the Tonga’s motto is on the scroll at the bottom of the coat of arms, and it reads ‘Ko e Otua mo Tonga ko hoku Tofi’a’ (Tongan language for ‘God and Tonga are my inheritance’). The Tongan coat of arms goes back to the times of the Constitution of the country, promulgated on November 4, 1885

The motto of Tuvalu is ‘Tuvalu mo te atua’ (Tuvaluan language for ‘Tuvalu for the Almighty’). The coat of arms was approved by the College of Arms and granted by royal warrant on December 3, 1976. The motto, additionally serves as the title of the Tuvaluan national anthem.

Uganda’s motto is ‘For God and my country’, in English. It is in the bottom of the coat of arms, which was adopted three weeks before the proclamation of independence by the Uganda Legislative Council. On 1 October 1962 the arms were approved by Governor of Uganda Walter Coutts, and formally established by law on 9 October.

The motto of the United Kingdom is 'Dieu et mon droit' (French for 'God and my right'). Indeed, within the shield there is also the motto of the Order of the Garter: 'Honi soit qui mal y pense', which in ancient French means 'Let those who think evil be reviled'. It was adopted by the King Henry V in the 15th century. The use of French for the British motto is due to the importance of this language in that times among the upper class and Henry V was also King of France. 'Dieu et mon droit' and it is also the motto of England, but Scotland's one is 'In my defense, God defends me'. Some other British territories have also religious mottoes, as the Island of Montserrat: 'A people of excellence, molded by nature, nurtured by God'. By the other hand, the motto of the Order of the Garter, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense') was supposedly used by King Richard I in 1198 at the Battle of Gisors, when he defeated the French, owing his royalty to the power of God, and therefore was not subject to any other power in Earth (Brooke-Little, 1978, pp. 205–222).

Finally, the motto of Vanuatu is also in the bottom of the coat of arms. It is 'Long God Yumi Stanap' (Bislama language for, 'In God we stand').

On the other hand, several countries have Islamic references in its mottoes such as Afghanistan, Brunei, Mali, Iraq, Morocco and Senegal.

So, in Afghanistan, the motto is the shahada or profession of Islamic faith, which, transliterated, says 'La illaha illa-lahu Muhammadun rasulu-lah' (Arabic for 'There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the envoy of Allah'). The shahada is also the motto of Saudi Arabia, but in this country it is not found in the emblem of the country, but in the national flag. The shahada ('sahida' in Arabic, for 'to witness') is the declaration of faith in a single god (Allah), according to the Islamic faith and the teachings of Muhammad. His acting is considered one of the five pillars of Islam, according to the Sunni concept. When pronounced sincerely, loudly and before the two witnesses required by tradition, anyone who has expressed it can be considered a Muslim (Martin, 2004, p. 723).

The Brunei's motto is 'Sentiasa membuat kebajikan dengan petunjuk Allah' (Malay for 'Always in service with God's guidance') It was adopted in 1940, and it is inside the emblem of the Sultatanate, written into the

‘Bulan’ (‘the crescent’) which is an Islamic symbol, It is due to the fact that Islam is the national religion of Brunei Darussalam. The full name of the country means in English ‘Brunei, the Abode of Peace’.

Mali’s motto, ‘Un peuple, un but, une foi’ (French for ‘One People, One Goal, One Faith’) goes back to 20 October 1973, and is actually regulated in the article 25 of the Constitution of Mali, of February 25, 1992. The mention to the fact in Mali’s motto could not be to a religious faith but secular, as it has been said about the Nigeria and Suriname’s mottoes (Ferrer Benimeli, 2014-2015, pp. 407–408). It is the same motto of Senegal.

In Iraq, the motto is the Islamic takbir: ‘Allahu Akbar’ (transliterated from Arabic ‘Allah (God) is the greatest’. The takbir is the formal expression of the Islamic faith for the Muslim people, and it is the first text of the call to prayer (‘adhan’) spoken by the muezzin. The motto is in the flag, in green words in Arabic kufic script, in the center of the central white edge of the flag, and it is also repeated inside the shield of the coat of arms, which has the same design of the flag. However, the motto in the bottom of the coat of arms said, simply, ‘Jumhuriyat Al-Iraq (Arabic for ‘Republic of Iraq’). ‘Allahu Akbar’ is also the Iranian motto.

The motto of Morocco is ‘Allah Al-Watan Al-Malek’ or ‘Yakuc, Tamurt, Agellid’ (transliterated from Arabic and Berber for ‘God, the Fatherland, the king’). It is the same motto in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, but non official there. Also, on the ribbon underneath the Moroccan coat of arms, adopted in 1957, there is written, in an Arabic inscription, the Verse 7 of the Sura 4 of Quran: ‘Idha ant tamjyd allh, waqal annah sawf numjiduk’ (transliterated), what means ‘If you glorify God, He will glorify you’.

The Pakistani motto says ‘Yaqeen-mukkam, ittihad, nizam’ (transliterated from Urdu, ‘Faith, Unity, Discipline’, is in the bottom of the coat of arms, and it was approved in 1954. As said before for Nigeria, Suriname and Mali, the word ‘faith’ could not be a religious sense, but, in this case, its sense could be self-confidence.

The motto of Senegal, as it was said, is exactly the same as Mali’s one: ‘Un peuple, un but, une foi’ (French for ‘A people, a goal, a faith’). It was adopted in 1985. Possibly, this fact is due to the fact that both countries

formed the Federation of Mali, an African State that existed between 1959 and 1960. In the case of Senegal, I think that the meaning of the word ‘foi’ (‘faith’) is undoubtedly religious due to the fact that there are other religious symbols in the national symbols of Senegal, such as the green star that appears in the flag and in the top of the coat of arms, with an Islamic meaning: the green is the colour of Islam.

There is only one Hinduist motto, the one of Nepal. It says: ‘Janani janpabhumisca svargadapi gariyasi’ (transliterated Sanskrit for ‘Mother and Motherland are greater than the kingdom of heaven’. That sentence comes back to Ramayana book; it was quoted by Rama when his brother Lakshmana expresses desire to stay back in Lanka. The motto is written at the base of the coat of arms, in a red scroll. The Nepali coat of arms was adopted on December 30, 2006.

Finally, some countries, usually in Asia, have religious references in her mottoes but not linked specially with any specific religion. So, Cambodia’s motto is ‘Cheate sasanea preahmhaksaat’ (transliteration, Khemere for ‘Nation, religion, king’), according with the article 4 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia which says: ‘The motto of the Kingdom of Cambodia is: Nation, Religion, King’.

Other official religious mottoes not founded in the national coat of arms or emblem

The religious motto of Philippines is ‘Maka-Diyos, Makatao, Makakalikasan in Makabansa (Tagalog for ‘For God, for people, for nature and for the State’). The motto derives from the last four lines of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Philippine Flag, enacted on February 12, 1998, the text of the pledge of allegiance, in English, is: ‘I am a Filipino / I pledge my allegiance / To the flag of the Philippines / And to the country it represents / With honor, justice and freedom / Put in motion by one Nation who’s / For God / for people / for nature / and for the State’. Its adoption came twelve years after the abolition of the country’s previous secular motto, ‘Isang Bansa, Isang Diwa’ (Tagalog for ‘One Country, One Spirit’) which was adopted in 1979. Actually, the

motto is not in the coat of arms, but it is incorporated into the Great Seal of the Philippines (Minahan, 2009, p. 151). The meaning of the motto is that Filipinos love God first before anything else. However, most Filipinos only look out for themselves and they don't abide by the doctrines of their Christian faith, which makes the motto problematic (Avila, 2011).

In Iran, the motto *de iure* is, as in Iraq, the Islamic takbir: 'Allahu Akbar' (transliterated from Arabic for 'Allah (God) is the greatest'). There is another motto in fact: 'Esteqlal, azadi, Jomhuri-ye Eslami' (transliterated from the Persian 'Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic'). The Iranian motto is not in the coat of arms, but in the flag which repeats twenty two times the takbir in kufic letters. The flag of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a tricolour comprising equal horizontal bands of green, white and red with the national emblem in red centred on the white band. The takbir is written eleven times in a stylised version of the kufic letters in white, at the bottom of the green and the top of the red band. This writing renders the flag non-reversible. This symbolises the calls of 'Allahu Akbar' on the night of 22 Bahman (February 11, 1979) when the national radio of Iran broadcast: 'From Tehran, the voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran' and marked the unofficial beginning of the Islamic Republic (the official day is 2 May).

The modern motto in the United States is 'In God we trust' in English. It is the official motto since July 30, 1956, replacing the motto which appears in the coat of arms or emblem of the country: 'E pluribus unum' (Latin for 'From many, one' which refers to the union of the thirteen colonies in one country and hasn't a religious meaning. Also, the last stanza of the United States Anthem 'Star-Spangled Banner', written by Francis Scott Key in 1814 and subsequently adopted as a national anthem, has one of the first references to a variation of this sentence: 'And this will be our motto: In God is our trust'.

Despite the modification, both mottoes are included in US currencies and *In Pluribus Unum* appears in the emblem. 'In God we trust' is also the motto of the State of Florida. Other American territories has also religious mottoes, such as Puerto Rico and American Samoa. Puerto Rican motto is in the bottom of its coat of arms, written in a white ribbon: 'Joannes Est Nomen Eius' (Latin for 'John (for St. John) is his name'), which is a quotation

from the Vulgate of the Gospel according to Luke (1:63). And the motto of American Samoa is ‘Samoa, muamua le Atua’ (Samoan language for ‘Samoa, let God be the first’), which is written in the inner bottom of the seal of the territory.

The Vatican City has no official motto. Each pope had his own, always in Latin. So, these have been the papal mottoes since 18th century: Papacy of Pius VII: ‘Pax’ (‘Peace’); Leo XIII: ‘Lumen in Cœlo’ (‘Light in heaven’); Pius X: ‘Instaurare omnia in Christo’ (‘Restore all things in Christ’); Benedict XV: ‘In you, Domine, you hoped; do not confuse in æternum’ (‘In you, Lord, I trusted, not to see me confused forever’); Pius XI: ‘Pax Christi in regno Christi’ (‘The peace of Christ in the kingdom of Christ’); Pius XII: ‘Opus iustitiae pax’ (‘The effect of justice will be peace’); John XXIII: ‘Obœdientia et Pax’ (‘Obedience and Peace’); Paul VI: ‘In nomine Domini’ (‘In the name of the Lord’); John Paul I: ‘Humilitas’ (‘Humility’); John Paul II: ‘Totus tuus, Mary, ego sum’ (‘I am all yours, Mary’); Benedict XVI: ‘Cooperatori veritatis’ (‘Cooperators of truth’), and Francis I: ‘Miserando atque eligendo’ (‘(He) looked at him with mercy and chose him’). Ecclesiastical heraldry includes two large groups: the pontifical one, which rules the Vatican curia, and the not pontifical one in which the other Prelates are included (Monreal Casamayor, 2014–2015, p. 283).

Countries with religious unofficial mottoes

Finally, there are some countries which religious mottoes haven’t an official recognition. They are, in alphabetical order:

Albania the unofficial motto is ‘Feja and Shqiptarit është Shqiptaria’ (Albanian for ‘The faith of the Albanians is albanity’), although, in this motto, the word faith is used in a non religious sense. The sentence of the motto is a verse of a poem by Naim Frashëri, national poet of Albania.

Qatar has not an official motto, but it is said that the unofficial one could be the first verse of the national anthem: ‘Innah hu allaen min Allah alladhi aqam alssama’ (być transliterated, in Arabic for ‘Swearing by God, who erected heaven’).

Denmark has not an official motto but the one of the royal house says: ‘Guds hjælp, folkets kærlighed, Danmarks styrke’ (Danish for ‘God’s help, the kindness of the people, the strength of Denmark’).

Also, Ecuador has not an official motto, but in some centavo coins of Ecuador, such as ones coined in the year 2000 there was written: ‘Dios, Patria y Libertad. Republic of Ecuador: Luz de América’ (Spanish for ‘God, Fatherland and Freedom. Republic of Ecuador: Light of America’).

One of the two mottos of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan says, as the official motto of another Islamic Kingdom, Morocco: ‘Allah Al-Watan Al-Malek’ (transliterated from Arabic for ‘God, the Fatherland, the King’) (Temperman, Jeroen (2010). p. 87). Nowerttheless in Jordan it is not officially recognised.

The unofficial motto of Liechtenstein says ‘Für Gott, Fürst und Vaterland’, (German for ‘For God, Prince and Fatherland’).

The motto of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta is ‘Tuitio Fidei et Obsequium Pauperum’ (Latin for ‘Defence of the faith and assistance to the poor’). It is the traditional and sacred misión of the Order, and it is almost a thousand years old and finds its roots in a hospital that was founded by the Order of Saint John to care for pilgrims at the Holy Land.

The Nicaragua’s non-official motto is ‘En Dios confiamos’ (Spanish for ‘In God we trust’), the same motto as the United States. It appears on the obverse of the bank notes and coins of the national currency, the Cordoba.

The Russian non official motto is ‘S Nami Bog’ (transliterated from Russian for ‘God is with us’). It was the official motto for the Russian Empire, from 1721 to 1917. The sentence is taken from the Biblia: Matthew 1:23, which refers to the prophecy written in Isaiah 7:14, glossing the name Immanuel as ‘God with us’: ‘Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us’. It is also a popular hymn of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

The Thailand’s one is ‘Chat, Satsana, Phra Mahakasat’ (transliterated from Thai, for ‘Country, Religion, Monarch’).

The non official motto in the United Arab Emirates is ‘Allah, al-Waṭan, al-Rais’ (transliterated from Arabic for ‘God, Nation, President’). The official

motto, which is in the coat of arms has not a religious meaning: ‘Shiear al-imarāt al-arabiāt al-mutahidat’ (transliterated from Arabic for ‘Emblem of the United Arab Emirates’).

By last, the Yemeni non official motto is ‘Allah, Al-Waṭan, Ath-Thawrah, Al-Wahdah (transliterated from Arabic for ‘God, nation, revolution, unity’).

Conclusion

In view of the large group of countries that today continue to include mentions of a religious nature in their national mottoes, it is necessary to highlight, on the one hand, that it is evident that these are countries of different nature and characteristics, although most of them have Christian or Muslim religious mentions; this is logical, because these are also the two major religions in the world today. It is true that secularization has been able to influence the fact that many of the countries that became independent at the time of decolonization and in recent decades have not religious mottoes or words related to religion in them.

On the other hand, independently of that, in such countries, the religious elements contained in their national mottoes, whether the motto appears on the national shield or not, contribute to the integration and identification of the members of the respective societies and to the image that each country transmits abroad.

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