Article

The Speech Politician Mauritanian in Shadow Pluralism (Analytical study),

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Abstract

Political discourse in Mauritania reflects the social, economic, and cultural transformations the country has undergone.

Mauritania has faced numerous challenges, ranging from identity issues and social divisions to political crises. This has significantly contributed to the development of political discourse, as parties and opinion leaders have sought to enhance their credibility by adopting new principles that meet the aspirations of the people.

With the increase in political awareness among citizens, transparency and fairness have become essential in this discourse to reflect people's concerns and promote effective participation in political life.

The early 1990s witnessed a major political transformation in Mauritania. On July 20, 1991, a new constitution was adopted, establishing a bicameral parliamentary system and allowing the establishment of political parties...

Anyone studying political discourse in Mauritania clearly realizes that it reflects a complex interplay between culture, religion, and social history, making it a powerful tool for communicating with citizens. This discourse is also distinguished by its diversity, combining traditional values with modern variables, which directly impacts the country's political life.

We can conclude that political discourse in Mauritania has profound implications that require everyone to exercise caution and strive to deliver a discourse that promotes the public interest.

INTRODUCTION:

Political discourse in Mauritania is a mirror that reflects the social, economic and cultural transformations that the country has undergone.

Mauritania has faced numerous challenges, ranging from identity issues and social divisions to political crises. This has significantly contributed to the development of political discourse, as parties and opinion leaders have sought to enhance their credibility by adopting new principles that meet the aspirations of the people.

As citizens' political awareness increases, transparency and fairness in this discourse become essential to reflect people's concerns and promote effective participation in political life.

This study seeks to address the subject of Mauritanian political discourse with a degree of study and analysis.

✓ the environment Politics in Mauritania:

Long years and numerous events have shaped contemporary Mauritanian political life from the 1940s to the present. We will pause at its most important milestones and explore its most prominent features and turning points... by discussing the political environment and events in Mauritania:

✓ Beginnings Pluralism Partisanship:

Mauritania witnessed significant political developments during the post-World War II period that shaped the political life of the country. In NovemberIn 1947, Ahmedou Ould Horma Ould Bebbana was elected to the French National Assembly representing Mauritania, marking the beginning of Mauritania's engagement in political life at the regional and international levels. In the same context, the General Union of Descentes of the Senegal River Region was formed in Dakar, which lasted until 1951, as a platform for promoting the political and social demands of individuals from this region[1].

And inIn 1948, the Mauritanian Progressive Union Party was founded in Rosso. It later became known as a party of tribal sheikhs and supporters of French rule. It was headed by Bouna Mokhtar, and his deputy was Sidi Mokhtar Ould Yahya Njai, who later played a prominent role in Mauritanian political life. Among its members was Mokhtar Ould Daddah, who later became the first president of Mauritania.[2].

And inIn 1950, the Mauritanian Concord Party was founded, headed by MP Ahmedou Ben Harma. The following year, the country's second legislative elections were held, pitting the Progressive Union Party against the Concord Party. Sidi Mokhtar Ould Yahya Njai, the Progressive Union's candidate, won his seat in the French parliament, although the elections were marred by fraud in favor of the Progressive Union, according to numerous sources.

By the year1952 The Progressive Union Party achieved success in the local elections, winning 12 seats in the local assembly, compared to one seat for the Harmony Party.

And inIn 1953, the French administration chose Ahmed Salem Ould Heiba as a second member of the Supreme Advisory Council for West Africa for the Progressive Union Party, alongside Suleiman Ould Cheikh Sidiya, indicating the growing influence of this party in political bodies.[3].

And in On November 24, 1955, the Mauritanian Youth Union was founded in Rosso, headed by Yacoub Ould Abu Madin, as a new platform to express the aspirations of Mauritanian youth.

And in1956: Progressive Union candidate Sidi Mokhtar Ould Yahya Njai won the third legislative elections and was chosen to represent the country in the French Parliament, beating candidates from the Al-Wiam Party and members of the Mauritanian Youth Union.

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[1]Ahmed, Salem, The Modern Mauritanian Political Path, published at the link:https://www.aljazeera.net/, 2004.
[2]Ahmed, Salem, previous reference.
[3]Al-Dali, Lama, Mauritanian Harmony Party, published at the link:http://elichaa.net/index.php, 2016.

All these developments served as the building blocks for the Mauritanian political system, contributing to shaping political awareness and strengthening national demands, thus establishing a new phase in the country's political history.[1].

In the yearIn 1957, French General Charles de Gaulle issued the "Framework Law," which aimed to grant French colonies greater autonomy under French sovereignty. One of the most notable outcomes of this law was the formation of a local assembly in each colony and a government council, allowing colonized countries some freedom to manage their own affairs. In this context, the Mauritanian Presidential Council was formed under the "Framework Law," with the Progressive Union dominating the majority of the council's seats.[2].

In May of the yearIn 1958, all Mauritanian political actors gathered at the Aleg Conference, which resulted in the creation of the Mauritanian Rally Party, headed by Mokhtar Ould Daddah, who became a pivotal figure in Mauritanian politics.

The idea of establishing a new capital for Mauritania instead of the Senegalese city of Saint-Louis was discussed, reflecting the ambition to build an independent national identity...

✓ Pluralism Democracy in Mauritania

The early 1990s witnessed a major political transformation in Mauritania. In AprilIn 1991, President Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya announced a referendum to approve a new constitution. The new constitution was approved on July 20 with over 90% of voters. This constitution established a bicameral parliamentary system, allowing the establishment of political parties...[3].

✓ Features and characteristics of Mauritanian political discourse

Political discourse in Mauritania reflects a complex interplay between culture, religion, and social history, making it a powerful tool for communicating with citizens.

This discourse is distinguished by its diversity, as it combines traditional values with modern variables, which directly impacts the country's political life.

The Mauritanian political discourse has collected the most important characteristics:[4]:

Islam as a reference: In Mauritania, Islam is not only a religious authority; it also serves as an influential element in defining national identity. Islam is used in political discourse to emphasize

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[1]Kamal, Hamash, Mauritania: The Formation of the Qatari State and the Role of the Army in Politics, Master's Thesis, Al-Quds University,2009.
[2]Ministry of State for Federal National Council Affairs, Development of Parliamentary Life in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, published at:https://www.mfnca.gov.ae/, 2016.
[3]Elaph Blogs, The Political History of Mauritania from Independence to the Present Day, published at the link:https://elaph.com/, 2006.
[4]Imad, Abdul Latif, Analysis of Political Discourse, National Library House, 1st ed.1, 2020.

moral values, helping to create a climate of trust between citizens and their leaders. This use strengthens the government's position on sensitive issues, such as combating corruption or improving public services, by demonstrating that these issues align with Islamic principles. Furthermore, Islam plays an important role in fostering cooperation between various political factions, as shared Islamic values are employed to seek collective solutions to national issues. This fosters a spirit of solidarity and cooperation in difficult times.[1].

Cultural and linguistic diversity: Mauritania's cultural and linguistic diversity presents both a challenge and an opportunity. The country is home to a diverse array of ethnicities, including Arabs and Black Africans, requiring political discourse to accommodate this diversity. This diversity creates ample space for dialogue, but it can also present challenges in understanding political messages, necessitating the use of inclusive language and a culturally sensitive approach. This diversity also makes some issues more important than others, such as minority rights and their inclusion in the political process. This underscores the need for a political discourse that ensures the representation of all, reflecting the government's commitment to promoting democracy and equality.

Criticism and transparency: Criticism is an integral part of political discourse in Mauritania. Expressing criticism and observations about government performance is a necessary step to enhance transparency and accountability. This criticism comes from various sectors, including civil society, activists, and journalists, contributing to positive pressure on the authorities. The proliferation of media and social media has also provided people with greater space to express their opinions and criticisms, enhancing the dynamism of political discourse. This openness to criticism is considered a sign of a mature political system, enabling citizens to participate effectively in political life[2].

Calls for national unity: Calls for national unity are increasingly prominent in political discourse in the context of internal and external challenges. Leaders recognize that social tensions can weaken the domestic front, so they seek to foster a spirit of unity through their rhetoric. These calls are particularly used in times of crisis, such as elections or social conflicts, to unify ranks and promote stability. They seek to build a sense of belonging among diverse social groups, fostering a

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[1]Ali, Al-Salabi, The Religious and Cultural Factor in the Formation of Islamic Identity, Al Jazeera Media Network, published at the link:https://www.aljazeera.net/, 2022.
[2]Majd, Khader, Characteristics of Political Discourse, published at the link:https://mawdoo3.com/, 2021.

desire for cooperation and joint action. Thus, discourse that emphasizes a shared identity contributes to strengthening ties among citizens and reflects efforts to promote social peace.[1].

Media impact: The media is a key factor in shaping political discourse. Traditional and digital media contribute to the dissemination of information and ideas, creating public dialogue on national issues. Media platforms are used to highlight specific topics, influencing public opinion and highlighting pressing issues.

On the other hand, media influence demonstrates the role the media plays in strengthening democracy by supporting transparency and public debate. However, this requires the media to be responsible for providing accurate and unbiased information, ensuring that political discourse reflects diverse opinions and voices.[2].

Populist style: Political leaders in Mauritania rely on populism to attract voters... through direct rhetoric that reflects their daily issues, creating a strong bond with the public.

This approach is particularly used during election campaigns, where the focus is on making concrete promises related to improving the standard of living. Additionally, politicians seek to promote themselves as an option that is relatable to the people, which fosters feelings of belonging and loyalty.

This type of discourse reflects the leaders' ability to understand social reality and makes them more able to influence public opinion.[3].

The relationship of discourse to social reality: Political discourse in Mauritania reflects citizens' realities and daily challenges, such as poverty and unemployment. This engagement is essential to ensuring politicians' credibility with their constituencies. Discourse includes clear references to issues related to sustainable development and basic services, reflecting leaders' concern for citizens' concerns. The ability to connect discourse to social reality enhances citizens' trust in political leaders, encouraging active participation in the democratic process. When citizens feel that their issues are taken seriously, they are more willing to support government programs and policies.[4].

✓ style And the impact The speech politician Mauritanian

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[1]The same reference.
[2]Sabbar, Muhammad, The Role of the Media in Political Decision-Making, published at the link:https://subulmagazine.com/, 2023.
[3]Imad, Abdul Latif, previous reference.
[4] Al Jazeera Media Network, Mauritanian opposition denounces rise in racist rhetoric, published at the link:https://www.aljazeera.net/.

custom Over the past decades, Mauritanians have embraced the art of politics as a means of securing their place in the public opinion and decision-making landscape. This practice has taken various forms, marked by disparities in opportunities and capabilities among various forces. The media has played a pivotal role in shaping political discourse, relying on the response of public opinion and the rapid spread of these discourses.

With the development of communication methods and the arts of electronic content creation, new patterns of joint action have emerged, allowing everyone, whether politicians, media professionals, or even non-specialists, to participate in blogging, which has become a new art used to convey ideas and opinions in innovative and diverse ways.[1].

Since the emergence of the modern state, its centrality has become the basis through which public interests are managed. This has prompted individuals to seek state support to obtain the necessary assistance for survival, having lost their livelihoods in rural areas and the foundations of their traditional rule. This has led to an awareness among those concerned with public affairs of the importance of proximity to the ruling authority, and an understanding of ways to win its favor and demonstrate loyalty. This has contributed to the formation of loyalist discourses that support state policies, as notables and supporters have taken it upon themselves to disseminate these policies and their visibility within the tribal cantons, which previously rejected all forms of organization. Over time, everyone has realized their need for an entity that possesses power and wealth, but they have also learned that there are limits that must not be crossed. Phrases have emerged that indicate the need to respect the laws and refrain from clashing with the state.[2].

In that unilateral context - where there was no refuge other than the state - politicians began to formulate their discourses to be sharp and effective in influencing, whether those who traditionally followed them or the state itself. They tried different types of discourses according to need and circumstances, which enabled some to gain the state's favor and avoid its consequences, while others failed and developed hostility towards it. With the passage of time, these found that they had lost their rights, which they could have obtained regardless of their position on the official discourse or the directions of the authorities.[3].

withIn the early 1990s, Mauritania announced a radical shift in its political landscape, establishing political pluralism, issuing a political parties law, and organizing elections.

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[1]Mohamed, Yahya, Politics, Media and Blogging in Mauritania, published at the link:https://alakhbar.info/, 2021.
[2]The same reference.
[3]Muhammad, Yahya, previous reference.

In this context, politicians played a fundamental role in preventing the rise of new discourses that conflicted with the prevailing discourse, despite the democratic slogans raised by the state. Political discourse became unified, represented by the voice of the ruling party, while all other discourses were characterized with negative epithets that contributed to distorting its image and that of the political leaders involved. This strategy relied on creating negative perceptions in the collective consciousness regarding the leaders of the opposition parties, reflecting a systematic policy aimed at strengthening control over public opinion. Despite the false nature of this political game, as the state continued to conceal its true intentions, it continued to present itself as a beacon of integrity to public opinion and the international community.[1].

inIn the era of pluralism we are living in, all opinions and positions are accepted, including freedom of political opinion, freedom of the media, and individual freedoms, provided they respect the law and do not exceed the limits of freedom to harm others. This is evident in the necessity of avoiding the spread of discord or the violation of sanctities.The separation of powers is also considered a fundamental principle, as it enhances the independence of the judiciary as an important pillar for the country's advancement after eliminating corruption and all unacceptable practices related to it.[2].

Returning to the political arena, it can be noted that the spread of awareness has been achieved through multiple factors, through the development of political discourse and its experience with various forms of resistance and alliance.

In the age of media, the communication channels that transmit messages have diversified, transforming politicians into effective opinion shapers. Their speeches resonate with audiences who hold similar positions, allowing them to influence segments of supporters of other political blocs[3].

During this period, the political arena witnessed a major transformation, with politicians increasingly relying on the media to assert their presence and support their discourse. However, these efforts often occur without consulting their popular bases, indicating a decline in their role as effective leaders in the awareness-raising process and in contributing to national development[4].

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[1]Presidency of the Republic - National Information Center, Mauritanian elections, published at the link:https://yemen--nic-info.translate.goog/2005.

[2]United Nations, Freedom of Opinion and Expression, published at:https://www.ohchr.org/, 2024.

[3]Suhair, Amouri, Political Discourse between Public Awareness and Intelligence Authoritarianism, published at the link:https://www.syria.tv/, 2023.

[4]Mohamed, Yahya, Politics, Media and Blogging in Mauritania, published at the link:https://alakhbar.info/, 2021.

Instead of working to build collective awareness and actively participate in overseeing the implementation of the people's interests, politicians are busy commenting on events via the media, making them more like journalists than political actors. Politics has sometimes become described as a profession of statements, with politicians focusing on issuing statements rather than actual field engagement.[1].

This reflects how the communication process has become limited to the transmission of information, while it should also include the interpretation and analysis of events—a role traditionally assigned to media professionals. Thus, it can be said that political discourse in Mauritania has lost some of its ability to directly influence social and political reality, with the gap between leaders and their supporters widening[2].

The relationship between the media and politics in Mauritania demonstrates that journalists often become partners with politicians, sometimes adopting their agendas and acting as "proxy warfare" for them. This serves to illuminate the actions of other politicians, helping to strengthen the media's position as influential figures in the political arena. However, the influence of political, ideological, or ethnic orientations on media institutions cannot be ignored, as certain restrictions are imposed on them that limit their independence. In some cases, these institutions receive support or guidance from political movements, subjecting them to specific standards, particularly when it comes to covering or providing opportunities for certain political forces. Journalists also seek to promote the success of their institutions, viewing this as part of their personal achievements, even though what they do is essentially part of their professional duties. This reflects the complex dynamic between politics and the media in Mauritania, where individual interests can overlap with public responsibilities, raising questions about the independence of media discourse and its ability to effectively influence public opinion.[3].

And on Despite the growing role of bloggers in the media and political landscape, their structural weaknesses in actions and statements negatively impact their discourse. Their crude methods of making unsubstantiated accusations and attacking public figures contribute to the deterioration of political and media discourse, diminishing everyone's credibility. Bloggers are part of the media landscape, and by adopting these methods, they create a negative environment that erodes public confidence in all parties. This approach, which sometimes resonates with audiences

[1]Nour El-Din, Bakis, The Role of the Journalistic Community in the Stages of Political Transition in the Arab World, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, published at the following link:https://lubab.aljazeera.net/, 2019.
[2]Nour El Din, Bakis, previous reference.
[3]Ahmed, Zayed, Introduction to Political Sociology, Egypt, Anglo-Egyptian Library,2001, p. 77.

unfamiliar with the correct model of political discourse, contributes to tarnishing the reputation of actors in this field. Consequently, the impact of Mauritanian political discourse is evident in how bloggers interact with the public and with each other, leading to negative repercussions for all.[1].

Mauritanian political discourse has been distinguished by several methods that have contributed to significant impacts, from which decision-makers, politicians, and opinion leaders have benefited:

Strengthening awareness National: Many politicians, media professionals, and national intellectuals seek to present ideas that contribute to building national identity and strengthening unity among various segments of society. Unfortunately, narrow interests and the pursuit of immediate benefits undermine this effort. When political discourse is directed toward personal or partisan gain, it offends national values and sows discord among the nation's citizens. Therefore, it is essential that discourse revolve around issues of concern to all, such as education, health, and economic development, which enhances national awareness and encourages a sense of true belonging.

Moreover, enhancing national awareness requires creating spaces for constructive dialogue and effective communication between various parties. Discussions on common issues must be encouraged, efforts must be unified to confront challenges, and positive discourse must be used that focuses on achievements and available opportunities, enhances the national spirit, and motivates citizens to actively participate in the construction process.[2].

The need for political and media calm The current political situation in Mauritania, which is characterized by a degree of calm, represents a unique opportunity that must be exploited. With political tensions declining, political and media discourse can shift toward offering practical solutions to pressing issues, such as unemployment and poverty. Attention must turn to how to leverage this period to build bridges of dialogue between parties and reduce divisions stemming from tribal or regional sympathies. It is also important for politicians and media professionals to agree on the importance of focusing on the public interest. Rather than being preoccupied with political disputes, discourse can serve as a tool for achieving sustainable development.

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[1]Abdullah, Omar. "Political and Media Discourse and Its Impact on Public Opinion in the Arab World: An Analytical Study." Journal of Political and Economic Sciences, Vol.15, Issue 2, 2021, pp. 45-67.
[2]Lahcen, Saeed, Title: "Political Discourse and its Role in Strengthening National Identity: A Case Study of Arab Countries," Publisher: Arab Center for Political Studies,2020. Pages: 150-175.

By promoting shared values and emphasizing national belonging, discourse can contribute to creating a more stable political and social environment.[1]

Confronting corruption and foreign agendas: Current practices indicate that there are negative influences of some external and internal agendas that seek to undermine credibility.

The government faces significant challenges in combating corruption, and political discourse must be a tool to combat it. This requires politicians and media professionals to adopt clear national positions that promote transparency and reveal the facts, rather than succumbing to temptations. All stakeholders must work to strengthen the national spirit by focusing on the country's supreme interests. Discourse must include calls for solidarity and move away from personal agendas. By adopting honest discourse, based on facts, corruption can be confronted and social justice achieved, helping to build a state based on laws and principles.[2].

The role of political parties: The ruling Justice Party recently announced the formation of a committee to review its political discourse to align it with the new era. This demonstrates political parties' awareness of the importance of adapting to current circumstances and adjusting their strategies to meet citizens' needs.

The new discourse should reflect the party's commitment to the principles of transparency and justice, enhancing its credibility in the eyes of the public. This trend coincides with preparations for the upcoming elections, which increases the importance of developing political discourse. Political parties must realize that winning voters' support requires listening to their concerns and offering practical solutions. By improving political discourse and presenting realistic programs, parties can strengthen their standing and achieve positive electoral results.[3].

The importance of facts and documents: Using facts and original documents is one of the most important elements of effective political discourse. When politicians and the media rely on facts instead of rumors, the conversation can shift from casual discussions to one based on solid evidence. For example, when the draft agreement between Mauritania and the European Union was circulated, it changed the nature of the discussions surrounding it from mere speculation to debatable facts.

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[1]Mohamed, Ibrahim, The Civil State in Mauritania... The Roots of the Crisis in the Origin of the Rift Between Society and State, published at the link:https://caus.org.lb/, 2019.
[2]Mohammed, Al-Aissawi, ((2016). Combating Corruption: Political and Economic Dimensions. Cairo: Center for Middle East Studies.
[3]Mohamed, Sheikh, Political Parties and Democratic Transition in Mauritania: Weak Structure and Frequent Splits, Al-Ijtihad Journal of Legal and Economic Studies, M8, v. 5, 399-416.

This shift in debate reflects the importance of transparency and credibility in political discourse. When accurate information is available, citizens can make informed decisions on issues that affect their daily lives. Therefore, all parties must provide accurate and clear information to enhance trust between the government and the people.[1].

Influence of public opinion: Public interest in political issues is growing, requiring the government to provide accurate and transparent information. The government's media campaigns aim to reassure citizens and affirm its commitment to their interests.

Good communication with public opinion can enhance trust between the government and the people, contributing to the country's stability. At the same time, the government must respond to citizens' demands and criticisms. Addressing citizens' concerns and working to address them is an aspect of political responsibility. Through positive engagement with public opinion, the government can gain citizens' support and achieve positive electoral results.[2].

The necessity of changing opposition strategies: The opposition in Mauritania faces significant challenges that require a reconsideration of its tactics. The continued use of harsh criticism has not achieved the desired results and may even have contributed to widening the gap between it and the citizens. It is important for the opposition to adopt a more polite and understanding discourse, which will help build bridges of trust with the public. Adopting a new strategy that includes dialogue and positive engagement with the government can strengthen the opposition's position. By offering constructive suggestions and actively participating in discussions, the opposition can gain greater support from citizens. Therefore, the next steps must be directed toward achieving tangible changes that support citizens' concerns and promote the building of a strong state with strong institutions.[3]

Rely on truthful information instead of fallacies and rumors: A political discourse may be primarily directed at the speaker's base of supporters, but it remains useless if it does not succeed in winning new supporters, without whom minority parties cannot grow.

If the government is as bad as the opposition claims, it should be easy to prove (mostly) this with clear documents and evidence, transparently and directly, including the names of the perpetrators of these crimes or instances of corruption, and the details of their crimes, including the location, time, and content. However, if the matter is nothing more than accusations

[1]Oscar, Barrera, Uriev, Zhuravskaya, Facts, alternative facts, and fact checking in times of post-truth politics, Journal of Public Economics, Volume 182, February 2020, 104123.
[2]Phillips, Davison, public opinion and government,https://www.britannica.com/.2019.
[3]United, Nations, Mauritania His Excellency Mohamed Old Sheikh El Ghazouani President,https://gadebate.un.org/, 2024.

unsupported by any evidence that citizens can verify and verify their source and credibility, this will fail to gain new supporters.

In addition, the government is the first to acknowledge the existence of corruption, abuse of power, and the plunder of public funds. It claims to be working hard to combat these phenomena and crimes. The spread of corruption is a reality that all Mauritanians agree upon, and this is nothing new.[1].

Changing political facades and leadership: Society's priorities, concerns, hopes, and aspirations change over generations and time, necessitating a change in leadership styles and facades, especially among those who claim to be fighting dictatorship. Nothing raises more suspicion about the practice of dictatorship than clinging to power (or leading an organization) for decades.

The consistent presence of the same faces, facades, and leadership over long periods suggests that they are sole proprietorships or private joint-stock investment companies, in which the leader/owner/shareholders have full control over them as they see fit. Political parties should be vital and dynamic systems based on intellectual and ideological foundations, not institutions owned privately by an individual or group of partners.[2]

CONCLUSION

Mauritanian society has witnessed significant social and economic transformations in recent decades, requiring all political actors to understand, adapt, and interact with them in a manner that serves the public interest. Political practice is based on dialogue and serious competition between ideas and levels of competence (at least in theory). However, it also requires adaptation to changes in the social and economic climate, a deep understanding of the dynamics of public opinion, and the mechanisms for attracting public support.

Although there is no magic formula for achieving success in this field, repeated failure remains a clear indication of an urgent need to change the method or appearance (leadership), or evidence of the rejection of a thesis presented by the public.

We can conclude that political discourse in Mauritania carries profound implications that require everyone to exercise caution and strive to present a discourse that promotes the public

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[1]Ahmed, Mohammed, Effective Political Discourse: What Can the Opposition Learn from the Interactions of the Migration Dialogue?, published at:https://regbetlemrah.com/, 2024.
[2]The same reference.

interest. Through collective action toward development and social justice, political discourse can become an effective tool in building a bright future for the country.
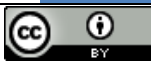
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Mohamed, Sheikh, Political Parties and Democratic Transition in Mauritania: Weak Structure and Frequent Splits, Al-Ijtihad Journal of Legal and Economic Studies, M8, v. 5, 399-416.

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Phillips, Davison, public opinion and government,https://www.britannica.com/.2019.

-United, Nations, Mauritania His Excellency Mohamed Old Sheikh El Ghazouani President,https://gadebate.un.org/, 2024.