

The Congolese Government and its Performance in Cultural and Political Matters: 1960-2021, Assessment and Perspectives

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Abstract – The sixties were marked by independence in Africa. During this period, several events took place. The original institutions have been confirmed. A French-speaking space was created: the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation, which later became the IOF. The latter is nowadays equipped with several structures of which the Congo has been a member since 1981. This gathering of French-speaking countries on a cultural basis has imposed the establishment of a rule of law in the various member countries. In its space, the OIF promotes the values of democracy, human rights and sustainable development. Political and cultural issues have been major concerns within the OIF. The qualitative and quantitative transformation of human resources remains essential to the development of the country. Concerning the political domain, since 1991, the Republic of Congo has been engaged in a transition towards multiparty democracy and a market economy. This transition was compromised during the 1990s by the succession of civil conflicts, to a large extent between militias of different ethnicities. The country only emerged from civil wars in 2000, when it began the process of reconciliation and reconstruction, a process well advanced but still unfinished. These two sectors require the establishment of viable strategies for greater success.

Keywords – Cooperation, OIF, Congo Culture And Politics.

INTRODUCTION

The Congo is one of the countries that fell victim to the slave trade, Western imperialism and French colonization. In the aftermath of the Second World War, which took place from 1939 to 1945, the African countries began in turn to claim their independence from their respective metropolises. In 1945, the United Nations (UN) was to play a very important role on the international scene. Its objective was to develop friendly relations between nations, based on respect for the principles of equality and the rights of peoples to self-determination. This approach has not left the Republic of the Congo indifferent, which continues to cooperate with friendly countries and international organizations with a view to ensuring its development and integrating itself into the concert of nations. Nowadays, the idea of colonies still seems to have won over the minds of metropolitan countries towards their former colonies. Globalization having become unavoidable, no country in the world can do without it, and to be visible, every country had to cooperate either with other countries or with international organizations. As a result, the Congo cooperates with the OIF in order to develop its cultural and political fields respectively. French in reality constitutes the mechanism by which France acts with its former colonies to establish its hegemony. Until today the Francophonie perceived as a war machine serving to maintain the former French possessions in the bonds of linguistic and especially colonial dependence with all that this entails as a consequence on the authentic being of Africans.

The constant concern of the Congolese authorities to preserve independence vis-à-vis the former metropolis. Thus wrote Mambou Gnali A.: *“From its birth, the Francophonie was perceived as a war machine serving to maintain the former French*

possessions in the bonds of linguistic and colonial dependence ".¹ that is to say the Congolese had in mind the idea of understanding his way of doing the changes are far from being made, because France presents a hidden form of pursuing its policy.

The objective of this research is to take stock of more than 60 years of cooperation between France and the Congo in order to identify approaches to solutions.

I. DEFINITION OF THE WORD COOPERATION

Cooperation can be seen as a policy of exchanges between two states². In 1828, Garnier *et al* say the following:

*Cooperation is defined as a method of economic action by which people with common interests which constitute a company or the rights of each to the management are equal and where the profit is distributed between the only partners in proportion to their activity*³.

It is also defined as a form of aid to certain developing countries in 1950.⁴ In other words, cooperation is an action of participating in a common work. Cooperation is also seen as a policy of understanding and cultural, economic or scientific exchanges between States; especially aid to the development of less developed nations. It is a form of collective organization which intends to promote in the economic and social field, a system based on a shared vision of the various actors, in a spirit of general interest, at the service of all the stakeholders. The bilateral or multilateral is reflected in the action of international organizations. It should be noted that this cooperation necessarily takes the form of agreements, treaties and conventions freely negotiated by the contracting parts⁵.

Cooperation in cultural matters is the fact of leading to growth or development. This fact is cultural because it relates to culture, defined as "a way of living according to norms and criteria rather than the sum of intellectual or material achievements of intellectual and artistic creativity: such as books, paintings, etc."⁶.

II. A DOMINATED ECONOMY

Since the 1960s, the Congo has been an underdeveloped country with an extroverted economy. Economically, the country shows the weakest performance. The whole of the country's income contributes only 3% of world trade. The country tends to be aloof from globalization. State resources depend above all on raw materials, that is to say the weakly industrialized annuitant economy. The country presents the picture of poverty. Using the techniques of the old metropolis such as: the colonial pact which is a system of development in the sole interest of the metropolis: it makes the colony produce only what is suitable for the metropolitan economy and reserves exclusivity in foreign trade.

The colony can therefore only have one customer and one supplier, the same: its metropolis. Consequences the colony has no economic independence. The prices of what it buys (expensive) and sells (cheap) are fixed by the metropolis, which takes care not to establish in the colony productions which could compete with its own.

Thus, the colonies become sources of "colonial commodities" such as sugar, coffee, cocoa, spices and raw materials such as cotton, produced on plantations, leather from large farms, etc. This conception has evolved and has not left the Congolese inert, hence the liberation from the economic and financial supervision of France.⁷ This means that this approach is over, then it should undergo the most profound changes, because the world is changing and people are trying to understand what does not work. These methods are rich for the development of others, they encourage them, for those who are eternally running at a loss. The Congo should therefore seek to orient the policy of its cooperation with other institutions, because for many years this cooperation

¹Aimée Mabou Gnali, 1998, Message on the occasion of the 10th^{day} of the Francophonie in *Bulletin of the Congolese Information Agency (ACI)* n^o special, p.16

²Daniel Morvan *et al*, 2010, *The Pocket Robert* p.154

³Y Garnier, M.*et al*, 2017, *Petit Larousse Dictionary*, Paris, Larousse, p.292

⁴Jean Dubois *et al*, 1977, *Larousse French Dictionary of Language*, p.405

⁵Hilaire Kevin Nzoussi, 2008, *Franco-Congolese cooperation in the field of health from 1960 to 1990*, Memoir of CAPES, p.2

⁶World Culture Report, 2000, UNESCO, p.296

⁷Third story from *antiquity to contemporary times*. Legal deposit N°7909-12- 1978 Edition 04

has not yielded the expected results. It should not only obtain political independence but also economic independence, a guarantee of development.

The economic situation of the Republic of Congo has experienced an average GDP growth rate of 5.8%, which places it at a level slightly above the average for all of sub-Saharan Africa in the years 2004-2006. In an economy 70% dominated by the oil industry (figures for 2006 show that the oil sector accounted for 64% of GDP, 85% of exports and 71% of tax revenue, source: African Development Bank/funds African Development Document based on results (DSPAR 2008-2012), December 2007. the country took advantage of the rise in international oil prices. (IMF, Country Report No. 06/262, July 2006). The primary balance is defined as continued by revenue excluding grants, less current expenditure other than interest less domestically financed capital expenditure net lending.) the surplus having reached more than US\$1.5 billion in 2007. The government set aside the surpluses resulting from the increase in oil tax revenues in a stabilization fund with the Bank of the States from central Africa. According to observers, this account would be worth approximately 3.56 billion dollars.

The following major factors are generally considered to have contributed to Congo's economic growth:

- Oil production: this sector experienced a development of these activities from 2000, to which must be added the rise in international prices;
- The timber industry: it is the second export of the country and the second source of tax revenue;
- Sugar production: although limited, it represents a high potential for the economy and could promote the creation of many jobs;
- The telecommunications sector: two mobile telephone networks extended their coverage to practically the entire country and invested some 10 million dollars in 2003-2005.
- Public investments: major infrastructure projects have been launched, such as the Imboulou project, which represented an investment of some 330 million dollars over a six-year period from 2003-2009.
- In addition to these petroleum products, non-oil revenues have started to rise again, reflecting increased but still insufficient economic activity. However, if only non-oil revenues are taken into account, the primary balance is still more negative.

This situation illustrates one of the many contradictions that characterize the country. Two parallel economies coexist. One is based mainly on the exploitation of oil and is oriented towards exports, it is modern and competitive; the other is traditional and based on agriculture, small and often unstructured businesses and a bloated public service. The Republic of Congo is also a heavily indebted country (according to the World Bank country report (www.worldbank.org/cg), external debt accounts for 806% of tax revenue, 338% of exports and 235% of GDP.) and is subject to debt relief under the Poor Countries Initiative in debt. Without remedying the issue of debt, we are still embarking on three main pillars which should enable the country to achieve sustainable growth, improving the quality of public expenditure, in particular by increasing expenditure in favor of the poor, as well as transparency and accountability in the budget process, measures to reduce the cost of business, including through governance measures to fight corruption.

It is undeniable that the reforms thus envisaged would go a long way towards solving the country's problems and would allow its inhabitants to benefit from growth much more than they have done so far.

At the human level health, schooling nothing is totally viable, in terms of health, there has been deterioration of services, increase in communicable diseases and excessive concentration of personnel and health services in urban areas. Two important factors are hampering Congo's efforts to ensure that its relative wealth translates into more notable improvements in human development indicators. These are the continuing effects of social tensions, disruption and destruction caused by civil strife, and weak governance overall. These points represent considerable difficulties for the future of the country.

. How to ensure the economic development of a State or regions suffering from misery?

Review of cooperation between Congo and France

The end of World War II brought the world into a climate of fear. This atmosphere has affected the behavior of human beings all over the world. And these states have come to understand that it is better to cooperate between states in all possible needs. To

preserve peace, allow economic or diplomatic exchanges or ensure the sustainability of a certain international order, cooperation is essential. Inspired by game theory and the main research traditions in the study of international relations (notably realism, liberalism and constructivism). It is in this sense that the theories of international relations are not separate from ⁸human modes of thought. There are thus easily identifiable cycles to follow trends. After wars or periods of strong international tension, a natural reaction favors more idealistic currents for which power, violence and security should not be placed at the center of international relations. Hence the importance of the concept of cooperation.

To this end, the Congo, in order to support its development, cooperates with the International Organization of La Francophonie. Following the agreements in 1981, the Congo became a member of the OIF. This French-speaking space the OIF promotes the values of democracy, human rights and sustainable development. Like the rest of the French-speaking African countries, several clauses have emerged after the acquisition of their independence, which France has promised in time to develop within its countries. Cooperation between the Congo and France exists in several areas. France continues to make these efforts to strengthen the Congo in the economic, political, socio-cultural and other fields. Through La Francophonie, France has helped the Congo; this cooperation, which dates back 40 years today, has developed in the following areas:

- Education, the organization has provided support in the editions of textbooks and capacity building for teachers;
- Culture and media, in 1990, the Congo benefited from a pilot project for a center for reading and cultural activities (CLAC). To increase people's access to books and promote the improvement of school results
- The rural radios had been installed thanks to the support of the OIF. But since 1997, these radios no longer broadcast, even though they contributed to the development of local cultures and popular traditions.
- On the political level, it accompanies the Congo during the elections and provides assistance for the maintenance of peace, good governance and the safeguard of democracy. This role played by France on the one hand is not negligible but it presents the limits to underline.

From the historical path there have been the abolitionist movements, negritude, pan-Africanism, decolonization to name a few. All these cries of alarm from Africans against the West ring in the void. We note that French-speaking Africa, of which the Congo is a part, remains exposed to all kinds of problems: terrorism, internal conflicts and crises in all ways. This economic dependence characteristic of neo-colonialism despite the policies of aid and cooperation, and the weight of the debt, of which the European powers remain among the main donors, still play an important role today in the impotence of the former colonized countries to set up development structures⁹. But his way of doing things has led Africans and the Congolese in particular to request a review of the treatment inflicted by this cooperation, for which a new era of negotiations is desirable economic partnership and conflict management”, foreign policy, summer 2003, n°2, p.335-350.

If Africans in general and Congolese in particular are able to live. They have proven it over time and through history, they have shown that they have gone through these different stages. What must be understood is that although Europe has signed cooperation and not promised development to Africans. What you have to see or seek to understand is that cooperation is different from development. Who says development is in relation to European models. Since, if we talk about socialism or liberalism, all these models are a failure for Africa and are foreign. Europe is tackling their way of doing politics to religion. Example human rights, sustainable development, democracy... are imposed. It is about reviewing things in another profound way. That is, cooperation being seen as a cooperative action, a branch of the social economy, based on association in work and participation in profits. Unfortunately, relations between the Congo and France do not share the same dimensions. From where what do we gain in a relationship so old that dates back centuries and that evolves only in one direction, no opposite? In the political cultural field, the Francophonie has never lived up to the interests of the Congolese. Since cooperation is primarily a method of managing relations between two population entities. This assumes that this relationship is based on equal opportunity in a physical and conceptual whole that is forged around a common desire of a common will to think and act together. It is at this level that it must be realized that empirical and conceptual epistemology is based on theories resulting from experiences lived at the level of States, Nations, Governments, Peoples, Alliances, groups of States, Organizations, international and industrial relations, culture and

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⁹Read about this JF BAYART, 1999, " *Africa in the world, a story of extroversions*", international criticism, autumn Africa in the world p.97-120

religions. The Republic of Congo is no exception to this theory, because international cooperation is one of the principles of international relations which involves the implementation of a policy that is both strategic and tactical, pursued and developed over a certain period of time and intended to make the existential experience of relations between States more intimate. France has put in place appropriate mechanisms by which it consists in maintaining and controlling its backyard. Such cooperation looks like a strong country cooperating with a weak country. While relations between France and the Congo within the Francophonie should actually be at the same level. It is, at the highest point, the promotion of values between States in relation of equal to equal, for example, between France and Congo, then between Congo and France and this was almost impossible.

What can cooperation bring to a country that poorly defines its policies and priorities? this is what must seek the involvement of the Congolese government in order to become aware of the improvement of its performance after these 35 years of membership in the Francophonie as a member.

Indeed, in his memoirs of hope (1970), General de Gaulle said the following:

Decolonization is not as an outcome but as a necessary transition "the change from colonization to modern cooperation, he writes, now has a great chance of being accomplished in such a way that it brings to France, not only the alleviation charges that have become unjustifiable, but still fruitful promises for the future" ¹⁰.

Independence, which ends up being a new form of imperialism, does not allow the Congolese people to find themselves, because by formally returning their international sovereignty to the colonies, while emptying it to a large extent of its content, and ensuring that the presence of the new States falls to leaders carefully selected and strictly supervised by the old metropolis. It is necessary to underline that the cooperation which was going to grant an important place for the Congo was as read differently by France; recent news that France's vision remains the same. However, in international relations, cooperation should ensure the values between the States in relations of equal to equal that is to say between France and the Congo, then between the Congo and France. Looking closely at France through the OIF continues to spread its domination and to always advocate its interests to the detriment of the Congo in particular and Africa in general. It is in this sense that in the memoirs of hope (1970), General de Gaulle himself describes decolonization noun as an outcome but as a necessary transition "the change from colonization to modern cooperation, he writes, has now great to be accomplished in such a way that it brings to France, not only the alleviation of charges that have become unjustifiable, but also fruitful promises for the future. That is, France did not abandon its former colonies: rather it rationalized, reinforced and sometimes forged the informal instruments of a new form of imperialism. This is what has taken the name of cooperation. ¹¹In other words, as long as African countries in general and the Congo in particular do not return to the lines of the proponents of Pan-Africanism, it is far from having equitable cooperation in all areas of development.

This means that France must adjust its domination, as Kwamé N'krumah had pointed out in the Gold Coast, Nnamdi Azikiwé in Nigeria, Léopold Sédar Senghor in Senegal, Félix Houphouët – boigny in the Ivory Coast..., because ¹²the setbacks of the colonial powers were destroyed during the second world war it was a question of strengthening nationalisms, their prestige. And the propaganda of the allies against Hitlerism which calls into question the notion of the superiority of the white race, as well as the highlighting of the principle of the rights of peoples to self-determination, principles enshrined in the charter of the Atlantic (1941) whose Americans then that of the United Nations (1945), favor the rise of the independence movements. Hence it is not a question of ensuring a fair relationship that benefits both the Congo and France, but it is a question that cooperation must first serve the interests of France or France. It is therefore a question of asking France to go beyond this way of doing things, because if we note, whatever the paths chosen - liberalism, socialism, strong state system or theocratic state, the countries that have gained independence remain subject to to the requirements of the globalized economy and this globalization has favored the maintenance, the accentuation, of their dependence on the former metropolises. This economic dependence on neocolonialism

¹⁰Read about General De Gaulle in his 1970 memoirs

¹¹Thomas Borel, Amzat Boukari et al, 2021 ed, from the threshold, in *"the empire that does not want to die a history of France Africa"* denounce these words of General de Gaulle of formal independence in the service of informal imperialism. p.973

¹²These African leaders expressed their feelings during the forum Africa, a continent in perdition? in the years 1940 -1945 during and after the Second World War.

despite aid and cooperation policies, and the weight of debt; the European powers remaining among the main donors still play an important role today in the impotence of the former colonized countries to put in place the structures for their development. And this marginalization of the African States in general and of the Congo in particular in international relations, and according to the cooperation between the Congo and its metropolis remains the key to the independence of the Congo.

The cooperation between the Congo and France provided by the OIF is far from being a beneficial fruit for the latter. And France must make an effort so that the idea of domination is replaced by that of voluntary association. Since, nowadays the political and economic relations between France and the Congo have resulted in a disintegration of social structures. Relying on certain personalities that it shapes, we are witnessing violent contradictions favoring the emergence of complex and torn nationalist movements not to appease the balance within the country. So to speak if we observe the independence of the Congo vis-à-vis France remains unthinkable. It must be both customer opinion and supplier of raw materials in favor of France.

At the recent political level, poor governance seems to be an anomaly or an essentially African political disease, including the Congo; corruption and patrimonialization of wealth (JF Bayart) are common in countries where control of power is often the issue of violent struggles between political actors. Poverty and social tensions are easily exploited by the ethnicity of discourses. Civil wars and dictatorial regimes claim many victims across the continent. The absence of political power controlling the entire territory allows the development of trafficking, both in arms and in raw materials (diamonds, cotton) or drugs, and local potentates. Africa is one of the first fields of intervention for development and one of the many faces of Africa's dependence. The Congo faces the same difficulties as the neighboring countries of Central Africa. Despite the openness to the international cooperation does not facilitate equality of relations between States. And these areas encompassing these raw materials are the subject of deadly conflicts, or continual latent war zones (as in Ituri in 2003 DRC). This is how we conclude that cooperation of course works, but equality of interests is still far from being achieved, because imperial domination is still in progress. France should make an effort to apply a policy favoring the countries with which it cooperates. It must support or relay its initiatives to overcome the difficulties of Africa and the Congo in particular. That is to say, by ensuring the relative success of these operations, it has contributed to multiplying operations linked to peace, development and democratization by involving the States.

It is also a question of noting in these manipulations, we notice that around the president emerges a bureaucratic bourgeoisie, from old chiefdoms or religious brotherhoods, which benefits from the state apparatus. This being for the benefit of the metropolis, the Congo must make an effort to solicit from France a frank collaboration in cooperation. Therefore, it is imperative to analyze the results of cooperation between the OIF and the Congo in cultural and political matters.

At the economic level, the Congo should analyze Congolese political facts expressed by certain citizens who generally favor notions such as dictatorship within Congolese democracy, the lack of frank collaboration and expectation between the so-called opposition and the presidential majority, the lack of a national dialogue worthy of its name. And this democracy is seen as a name, but in its highlighting one seems to read the application of the standards of another political regime which does not say its name, because good governance is far from being cited when looking at this way to make the Congolese authorities.

In terms of education, this research makes it possible to gauge the level of schooling in the Congo compared to certain countries in black Africa, since around the 1960s Congo was one of the most educated countries in black Africa. This cooperation has developed in the fields of education, culture and media and in the political field. Does the OIF, which advocates helping its member countries in the establishment and development of democracy, have sufficient means to monitor and rigorously implement it? Does the OIF, which proclaims its determination to fight against all forms of human discrimination, have sufficient authority to resolve effectively and according to standards the question of human rights in the Congo? And, declaring the desire to pursue and strengthen the conditions for sustainable development, is this desire effective in the Congo? In the end to make an assessment which will allow us to see if the results of this cooperation are acceptable or mitigated. To achieve development in the fields of education and for democracy, African countries in general, and those of the French-speaking world in particular, all call for international cooperation, through bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Observing this cooperation, does the Congo notice sufficient improvements in the aforementioned areas at what level it is time for the political will of the leaders to turn on themselves in order to ensure effective awareness for the better functioning of the Congo.

III. THE PLACE OF THE CONGOLESE ELITE

3.1. Changing partnership models

At the Europe-Africa summit which took place in 2014 (**where**) the results of this cooperation did not give the expected results announcing a negative balance. From this balance sheet sprang a slogan: "Let us forget the past, seeing the future". Africa in general and the Congo in particular is trying to find ways and means to make up for its economic backwardness. Hence the need to cooperate with more advanced countries and institutions. The purpose of this cooperation is to ensure the development of the Congo, to ensure the emancipation of women, at the level of the elites and the youth and to transcend the problems of poverty or even youth employment, to develop the models of the extractive industries. Ending the policy of monolithism that is never was good for the consumer.

It is only in this context that we will be able to achieve the objectives set and certainly arrive at development, although this is a long-term task. In reality, the Congolese people expect a lot from their leaders, to fill the hope of a whole people who sometimes engage in emigration.

By developing the spirit of patriotism, while drawing inspiration from other African countries, the Congo can build a solid foundation to ensure its development. The Congolese government must ensure the emancipation of women, whose role can also contribute to the development of the country, the level of the elites or the Congolese youth. Dealing with the central question of the fight against poverty. Transcending poverty issues, youth employment. Develop new models of extractive infrastructure. Exploiting and processing products or raw materials on site. This process will make it possible to build the factories. If the Congo can have two to three industries there, the employability of young people and the reduction of the unemployment rate can be effective. No country in the world advocates development without producing. It also reminds the government to analyze the results of this state of affairs. Although said, one brings help, observing such facts:

- Economically the reading is negative, no issue which is probably to ensure a lever for the Congolese economy while the same materials propel those who do not have;
- Politically, bad governance seems essentially a political disease. There is a tendency for confusion between private and state royalties. Wealth is common in countries where the control of power is often the issue of violent struggles between political actors. And he leaves memories like, poverty, social tensions are easily exploited by the ethnicism of speeches. Civil wars and dictatorial regimes claim many victims across the country. The absence of political power to control all its territory facilitates the illicit trafficking of arms or even raw materials. The idea of pacification remains so remote since the practices there are inhuman. From where to cover these errors the intervention of the UN troops leaves to make believe in the protection of the people who remain always sacrificed. The reading of a manipulation that goes from the top to the last layer of the population. Public order is always disturbed, everything is remote control even the supreme authority cannot ensure its vision, its know-how, nor its know-how. We are witnessing a very remarkable subjugation and above all that eternally depends on their economy. Such humanitarian and development aid is one of the many faces of our dependence.
- Demographically, it remains galloping, the illiteracy rate high, literacy does not even cover the entire Congolese territory, while education remains the basic key to the future of a country, because we cannot "to develop without training" as the former President of Congo, Professor Pascal LISSOUBA had estimated in his speech to the Congolese nation. Health suffers the same consequences of the impoverishment of the country; very high infant mortality, infectious diseases are the leading cause of death (malaria, measles, tuberculosis, etc.)
- At the level of the environment, it is a war without fire, a real geological and ecological scandal whose world is moving. It is the very source of regional and national conflicts, even at world level, because its Congolese wealth seems to be the particularity of the metropolis and of the Congolese people themselves. Whose spirit of the colonial pact remains unavoidable wood is an essential raw material, the richness of the fauna is in danger from uncontrolled poaching and is leading to the decline of the forest. But all these annoyances suggest that these times are over, we ask the Congolese government to go through peaceful negotiations with its metropolis in order to improve the quality of the management of the business of natural products from the Congo. That these changes are remarkable in the Congolese mentality. Let's try to do what we think, because everything that is imposed brings us to nothing. These foreign models remain effective only in relation to them. Exploiting our raw materials on the spot, to think about the adequacy training jobs of the young people. That this human capital trained

elsewhere can highlight their know-how learned in establishments in the West or Eastern Europe. What matters for the Congolese government is to make a return to nationalism. Study the favorable modalities for the development of the Congo and be part of the sending country of the development. To cease to be a stake in globalization but to take place within globalization to be considered on the international political scene. To assert itself in the determination of its cooperative point of view, that its contribution to world trade is effective. And make an effort to stop being subject to the universal law enacted by others. In order to transform the methods of exploitation of its raw materials. To be globally competitive, expand the market out in the vision of specific markets. That is to say the raw materials sold must not always be under the aegis or at the command of the French Franks.

IV. CONCLUSION

At the end of this research, it should be said that the cooperation between the OIF and the Congo has not enabled the Congo to achieve its objectives that it has set itself, in particular that of achieving harmonious development in cultural matters, mainly this is why in a world marked by the challenges of globalization where each country must make its contribution, it is important to choose its cooperation partners who are effectively able to meet the needs expressed by the country and to support it in the development process. Given that the soil and subsoil of the Congo are full of important raw materials, it is desirable that the Congo emerge from a cash economy for a diversified economy where the populations must take advantage of the advantages offered by their country. France Africa's record, we can say without risk of boasting, is very mixed and has not so far met the expectations of African countries in general. and Congolese in particular.

It is in this sense that François Xavier, looking further at the consequences of France-Africa, said the following: "Who will stop France-Africa? »¹³

Is it a question of doing justice to the Franco-African genocides that Pascal Krop underlined in view of this subjugation without accounting for the benefits of the colonies in the development of their nations¹⁴?

This ignorance of equality which has always remained impossible in front of the metropolises today pushes the African countries in particular the Congo to an awareness in order to redeploy on these natural products and to review the way of its business. In short, bilateral or multilateral cooperation must result in a new deal for it to be beneficial, because cooperation between the Congo and France or between the Congo and the Francophonie has always been to the detriment of the Congo. The win-win policy is far from targeted in economic cooperation and takes the form of tied aid.

THANKS

To all those who helped us in writing and correcting this article, that they find here, the expression of our sincere thanks.

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¹³François Xavier, 2000, *The arenas*, Paris, p123-124

¹⁴Pascal Krop, 1994, *The Franco-African Genocide. Should we judge the Mitterrands ?* Paris, Jean-Claude Lattis, p.73

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