

What strategy for reconciling the interests of Western countries and the sustainable development of developing countries?

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INTRODUCTION

The world order that emerged from the Second World War, based on the predominance of Western countries, in particular the United States and its European partners, is now being challenged by the rise of new players such as China, India, Brazil and Turkey, which are asserting their autonomy and influence on the international stage. These emerging countries, which account for a growing share of the world's population, production and trade, have developed their own models of development and governance, often distinct from those of Western countries. In 2019, the G7 countries, which bring together the main Western powers, still accounted for 46% of global gross domestic product (GDP) [1].

This hegemonic system is threatened by the shift of the economic centre of gravity towards Asia, which is accompanied by a strengthening of the military and diplomatic capabilities of these countries. The OECD has published projections for the next thirty years according to which Western countries, with the exception of the United States, will drop out of the top 10 most powerful countries for the first time in three centuries. Europe would lose its position as dominant power and would have to face competition from emerging countries, notably China and India. According to the OECD, GDP in the eurozone should grow by 1.9% in 2023 and 1.6% in 2024, compared with 8.5% and 5.4% respectively for China and 9.6% and 7.2% for India [2].

The eurozone's share of world GDP is set to fall from 14.2% in 2020 to 11.7% in 2050, while China's share is set to rise from 17.8% to 27.9% and India's from 6.8% to 13.5% [3].

China, which is set to become the world's leading economic power by 2050 according to a study by PwC1, is already positioning itself as a major economic power in the face of other regional blocs, notably the European Union and the United States, whose share of global GDP is expected to fall by 6 and 4 percentage points respectively by 2050 [4]. In 2020, it signed a customs agreement with 14 countries, the Regional

Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), forming the world's largest customs union and holding 36% of the world market [5]. It is also forging partnerships with several Asian and South American countries, including Peru, Venezuela and Brazil.

China also stands out for its technological performance and innovation. In 2021, it received 1.59 million patent applications out of the 3.4 million filed worldwide, i.e. 47% of the total [6]. It also filed 68,720 patent applications abroad, an increase of 16.9% on 2020 [7]. It is well ahead of the United States, Japan, the Republic of Korea and the European Patent Office. China is also the leading jurisdiction in terms of the number of patents in force, with around 3.5 million patents at the end of 2021 [8].

This upheaval in the global balance of power has major implications for Western countries, which see their influence and interests threatened in developing countries, where the strategic issues of the 21st century are at stake. Faced with this challenge, what strategy should be adopted to reconcile the interests of Western countries with the sustainable development of developing countries? This is the question that we will attempt to answer in this paper, by first analysing the nature of Africa's partnership relations with the West and the new poles, and then by examining possible strategies for safeguarding the interests of Western countries in developing countries by promoting the sustainable development of developing countries.

Keywords : world order, emerging countries, China, BRICS ,economic power, technological innovation ,partnership with Africa,sustainable development,strategy.

I. THE INADEQUACY OF WESTERN COOPERATION IN AFRICA

Africa has maintained historical, cultural and political relations with Western countries since colonial times. After African independence, these relations were transformed into

cooperative relations for development, based on official development assistance (ODA), trade and investment. Western countries are the leading donors of ODA to Africa, with \$48 billion in 2019, or 36% of global ODA [9]. They are also Africa's leading economic partners, with \$235 billion in trade in 2019, or 29% of Africa's foreign trade [10]. They are also the leading foreign investors in Africa, with \$505 billion in foreign direct investment (FDI) in 2019, or 41% of the total stock of FDI in Africa [11]. Western countries also support Africa in the areas of security, governance, education, health and the environment. In particular, they support regional and continental projects led by the African Union (AU) and sub-regional organisations. However, relations between Africa and Western countries are marked by tensions and disputes. Some criticise Western cooperation for being unbalanced and paternalistic, and for subjecting African countries to political and economic demands. Others question the effectiveness and relevance of Official Development Assistance (ODA), which does not meet the real expectations of African populations. Still others accuse Western countries of taking advantage of Africa's natural resources without promoting its industrial development or structural transformation. Finally, some point to the inconsistencies between the rhetoric and practices of Western countries, which defend democracy and human rights while supporting authoritarian regimes.

In what follows, we will attempt to analyse these assertions in order to understand the criticisms levelled at Western countries in terms of cooperation, and to decipher the developing countries' vision of the world in order to devise a strategy for rapprochement.

A. Western cooperation: false solidarity masking selfish interests

Western cooperation, which is supposed to provide economic, technical or humanitarian aid to developing countries or countries in transition, is contested by some who see it as a form of inequality and paternalism. In their view, the West follows an ethnocentric and neo-colonial logic, which enables it to pass itself off as a universal reference point and impose its interests and standards on the recipient countries [12]. They also criticise the lack of transparency, efficiency and accountability of those involved in development cooperation, whether governments, international organisations or NGOs [13]. They recommend a shift from cooperation to solidarity, based on mutual respect, intercultural dialogue and the involvement of local populations in initiatives that affect them [14].

B. Official Development Assistance: an illusion of development that does not serve the interests of Africans

Some people question the effectiveness and relevance of ODA, which is not adapted to the real needs of African populations. They argue that ODA is often linked to the geopolitical or economic interests of donor countries, which seek to strengthen their influence or support their businesses on the continent [15]. They also point out that ODA can have undesirable effects, such as reinforcing corruption, dependence or over-indebtedness in recipient countries, which are deprived of their sovereignty and their ability to define their own development policies [16]. They recommend an in-depth reform of ODA, which should be more transparent, more targeted and more participatory, taking into account the priorities and demands of local actors [17]. ODA includes grants, loans and equity investments by governments or public bodies of donor countries in recipient countries. According to the OECD, official development assistance (ODA) from member countries of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) to Africa will amount to 46.3 billion dollars in 2020, an increase of 4% compared to 2019.

B. The discrepancy between rhetoric and practice: an obstacle to trust

Some highlight the inconsistencies between the words and actions of Western countries, which defend democracy and human rights while supporting authoritarian regimes. They note that Western countries, in the name of their strategic or economic interests, often show indifference to human rights violations perpetrated by their allies, or intervene militarily to depose legitimate governments [18]. They also note that Western countries impose political or economic demands on African countries that benefit from their development aid, thereby reducing their sovereignty and their ability to choose their own development model [19]. They call for a fairer and more respectful relationship between Africa and the West, based on dialogue, cooperation and solidarity [20].

C. Is the West an unequal partner to resource-rich countries?

Others point to the fact that Western countries benefit from Africa's natural wealth without supporting its industrial development or structural transformation. They argue that Western countries, through their multinational companies, financial institutions and trade policies, gain access to Africa's mineral, energy and agricultural resources at very low prices, without regard for human rights, the environment or the sovereignty of the host countries [21]. They also regret the

fact that Western countries do not encourage technology transfer, economic diversification or regional integration in Africa, which would remain dependent on exports of raw materials and imports of manufactured goods [22]. They see Western cooperation as a form of neo-colonialism, aimed at maintaining their economic, political and military dependence on the former colonial powers. They call for fairer, more sustainable and more participatory management of Africa's natural resources, which should be used to finance its human and social development [23]."

D. The expatriation of profits: a scourge for developing countries

The exploitation of natural resources in developing countries raises the question of what happens to the capital derived from them. A significant proportion of this capital leaves the producing countries to go to the home countries of multinational companies or to low-tax jurisdictions. This phenomenon, known as capital flight, reduces the financial resources available for the development of developing countries.

According to an UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) study published in 2020, foreign direct investment (FDI) flows to developing countries fell by 12% in 2019, from \$706 billion in 2018 to \$623 billion in 2019. This decrease can be explained in particular by the fall in profits reinvested by multinational companies in these countries, which fell from \$254 billion in 2018 to \$200 billion in 2019. The share of profits reinvested in developing countries thus fell from 36% to 32% between 2018 and 2019, revealing a trend towards the expatriation of profits to the countries of origin or to tax havens [24].

According to a study by the IMF (International Monetary Fund) published in 2019, developing countries lose around \$200 billion in tax revenue per year due to tax evasion of profits by multinational companies. This loss represents around 1.3% of these countries' GDP and around 10% of their total tax revenue. Tax evasion of profits is mainly achieved by locating profits in tax havens, where tax rates are very low or non-existent. According to the same study, tax havens accounted for around 40% of the expatriate profits of multinational companies in 2015, or around \$250 billion [25].

According to a study by the Tax Justice Network published in 2020, developing countries lose around 245 billion dollars a year because of the lack of tax transparency on the part of multinational companies. This lack of transparency prevents the tax authorities in these countries from knowing the breakdown of activities, profits and taxes paid by these companies in each country where they operate. This situation encourages the artificial transfer of profits to

low-tax jurisdictions, to the detriment of the countries where these profits are actually generated. The study proposes introducing country-by-country public reporting for multinational companies, which would enable developing countries to recover around 89 billion dollars a year [26].

We can therefore state that tax evasion of profits is an obstacle to the development of developing countries. It deprives these countries of essential tax revenue to finance their public spending and their social and environmental investments. It creates unfair competition between companies that comply with tax rules and those that circumvent them. It accentuates inequalities between rich and poor countries and within countries. It hampers the economic, social and environmental development of developing countries. It is therefore urgent to implement effective measures to combat tax evasion of profits and strengthen international tax cooperation.

To meet this challenge, it is essential to enhance the transparency and accountability of those involved in the exploitation of natural resources. A number of initiatives have been implemented to this end, such as the EITI, which encourages the publication and verification of payments made by extractive companies to governments [27], or the Dodd-Frank Bill in the United States, which requires listed companies to disclose payments made to foreign governments for the exploitation of natural resources [28]. It is also necessary to strengthen international cooperation to combat low-tax jurisdictions and harmonise the tax rules applicable to multinational companies. With this in mind, the OECD's B.E.P.S (Base Erosion and Profit Shifting) project aims to limit tax base erosion and profit transfer practices [29].

We can therefore state that the repatriation of capital from the exploitation of developing countries' resources is a major brake on the sustainable development of these countries. It reduces their capacity to invest in essential areas such as education, health and infrastructure. It also reinforces inequalities between and within countries, by encouraging an inequitable distribution of wealth. Finally, it threatens the political and social stability of developing countries, by fuelling popular discontent and the risk of conflict. It is therefore urgent to put in place effective measures to control and regulate the financial flows linked to the exploitation of natural resources.

E. Tax optimisation: a sustainable development issue for developing countries

Tax optimisation refers to all the strategies implemented by commercial companies to reduce their tax burden in the countries where they operate. These strategies include

- Transfer price manipulation, which involves setting internal prices between subsidiaries of the same group that do not correspond to market conditions. In this way, trading companies can transfer their profits to subsidiaries in low-tax countries or tax havens [30].

- The use of international double taxation treaties, which are agreements between two countries aimed at avoiding the double taxation of income. Commercial companies can take advantage of these treaties to choose the country that offers the most advantageous tax regime or to create intermediate structures in third countries. This practice is known as treaty shopping [31].

- The use of shell companies, which are legal entities with no real economic activity, set up in tax havens to hold assets or receive income. Commercial companies can use these companies to conceal their true owner or beneficiary, or to relocate their profits to countries where they are taxed little or not at all [32].

Tax optimisation poses a major challenge for developing countries, which are deprived of the financial resources they need to finance their development. According to a study by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), illicit financial flows linked to tax optimisation accounted for \$50 billion a year between 2000 and 2015, or 10% of total illicit financial flows from developing countries [33]. These illicit financial flows reduce the capacity of developing countries to invest in key sectors such as education, health and infrastructure. They also reinforce inequalities between and within countries, by encouraging an inequitable distribution of wealth. Finally, they threaten the political and social stability of developing countries, by fuelling popular discontent and the risk of conflict.

To tackle tax optimisation, we need to strengthen international cooperation and tax transparency. Several initiatives have been launched to this end, such as :

- The B.E.P.S project of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which aims to limit tax base erosion and profit shifting practices. This project led to the adoption of 15 actions aimed at strengthening international tax rules, improving the exchange of information between tax administrations and preventing the abuse of tax treaties [34].

- The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), which aims to promote the publication and verification of payments made by extractive companies to governments. This initiative helps to increase the accountability of those involved

in the exploitation of natural resources and reduce the risks of corruption or tax evasion [35].

- The Dodd-Frank Act in the United States, which requires listed companies to disclose payments made to foreign governments for the exploitation of natural resources. This law aims to increase transparency and corporate social responsibility in the extractive sector [36].

We can therefore state that tax optimisation by commercial companies in developing countries is a major problem for the sustainable development of these countries. It reduces their tax revenues and their ability to finance their development. It accentuates inequality and poverty.

F. Labour exploitation: a debate on the ethics and responsibility of foreign investment in developing countries

Foreign direct investment (FDI) can contribute to the development of developing countries, but it can also have disadvantages. These disadvantages include the exploitation of labour, which may take the form of forced labour, child labour or precarious work. Foreign investors may not respect the work of local employees, applying unacceptable or illegal conditions. This has a negative impact on the well-being, quality of life, equality and sustainable development of developing countries. To prevent this exploitation, international cooperation and respect for human rights must be strengthened.

In developing countries, a significant proportion of the working population is confronted with inadequate remuneration for their work, due to the constraints of international competitiveness, the fragility of social dialogue or the vulnerability of employment. Foreign investors can help to perpetuate or exacerbate this phenomenon by favouring countries with the lowest labour costs, the lowest social standards and the most flexible regulations. Foreign investors can take advantage of power imbalances between home and host countries, between multinational firms and local players, and between employers and employees. Foreign investors may also adopt illegal practices, such as not respecting the minimum wage, not paying overtime, not paying social security contributions or not respecting trade union rights.

The underpayment of labour imposed on workers in developing countries by foreign investors has negative repercussions for the sustainable development of these countries. Underpayment affects workers well-being and quality of life, putting their health, safety and freedom at risk. Low pay increases inequality and poverty by depriving workers of a sufficient and stable income. Low pay undermines the economic development of developing countries by limiting their potential for growth, consumption and investment. Underpayment also threatens the social and environmental development of developing countries, by

encouraging informal work, child labour and the degradation of natural resources. This practice is perceived as a form of slavery in their own countries.

International cooperation and respect for human rights need to be stepped up to combat the underpayment of labour by foreign investors in developing countries.

II. AFRICA AND THE BRICS: AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR COOPERATION

Economic and political ties between Africa and the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) have grown stronger since the beginning of the 21st century. The BRICS countries are emerging powers that aspire to increase their presence on the African continent in an increasingly multipolar world. They organised a meeting with African leaders in Durban in 2013 to discuss opportunities for collaboration in the infrastructure, trade, investment and security sectors. They also expressed their desire to create a BRICS development bank to finance projects in emerging and developing countries. The BRICS countries are positioning themselves as alternative partners for Africa to the West, offering South-South cooperation based on mutual respect, mutual benefit and common development. Relations between the BRICS countries and Africa vary according to their interests and capacities. China is the most important BRICS partner for Africa. Africa has partnership relations with various international players, including Western countries, the BRICS countries and Asian countries. These relationships have consequences not only for the development of the African continent, but also for global geopolitical and geo-economic dynamics.

These new poles are challenging the monolithic system that the West is trying to impose on the rest of the world. What strategy should be adopted so that Western countries can preserve their interests and meet the conditions for cooperation with developing countries?

By monolithic system, we mean a model of economic and social development based on liberal capitalism, representative democracy, respect for human rights and integration into globalisation. This model is defended by Western countries, notably the United States and the European Union, which consider it to be the most effective and universal. However, this model is being challenged by other international players, who are putting forward alternatives based on other principles and values.

These players are grouped together under the term "new poles", which refers to emerging or developing countries that have acquired economic, political or cultural influence on the world stage. These new poles include the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), which will account for 42% of the world's population, 23% of global gross domestic product (GDP) and 17% of world trade in 2019 [37].

We should also mention the Asian countries, in particular China, which became the world's leading economic power in terms of GDP at purchasing power parity in 2014 [38], and India, which is expected to overtake the United States in terms of population in 2027 [39]. These new poles are challenging the monolithic system that the West is trying to impose on the rest of the world. They are asserting their right to choose their own development path, adapted to their historical, cultural and geopolitical context. They also denounce the inequalities and injustices engendered by the monolithic system, which would favour the interests of rich countries to the detriment of poor countries. They therefore propose alternative models, which may be based on socialism (as in China or Vietnam), authoritarianism (as in Russia or Turkey), nationalism (as in India or Brazil), multiculturalism (as in South Africa or Indonesia) or Islamism (as in Iran or Pakistan). These alternative models translate into economic and political practices that differ from those of the monolithic system, such as state control of the economy, restriction of individual freedoms, defence of national sovereignty or promotion of cultural diversity.

A. *The BRICS: strategies for cooperation and diversification in the face of the world order*

The BRICS are a group of developing countries that aspire to develop alternative strategies in the political, economic, social and financial spheres, in order to intensify their collaboration, influence and autonomy at global level. Here are some examples of these strategies:

On the political front : The BRICS are coordinating to defend their common interests in multilateral forums, such as the UN, the G20 and the WTO, and to reform global governance, in particular by demanding greater representation on the UN Security Council and the IMF [40]. The BRICS have organised 12 summits since 2009, the last of which took place in November 2020 by videoconference due to the Covid-19 pandemic [41]. They have also established forums for dialogue with other countries and regions, such as Africa, the Middle East and Latin America .

- On the economic front : The BRICS are developing their mutual trade and investment by creating facilitation and promotion mechanisms, such as the BRICS Business Forum and the BRICS Customs Cooperation Network . They are also seeking to diversify their trading partners and increase the added value of their exports . In 2019, the BRICS accounted for 23.6% of world gross domestic product (GDP), 16.3% of world trade and 42% of the world's population . Their intra-

BRICS trade reached 323 billion dollars in 2018, an increase of 163% compared with 2010 .

On the social front: the BRICS are committed to promoting sustainable development and reducing social inequalities, by implementing public policies aimed at improving education, health, social protection and employment . They also cooperate in areas such as science, technology, innovation, culture and sport . The BRICS have reduced the number of people living on less than \$1.90 a day from 961 million in 1990 to 191 million in 2015, a drop of 80% . They have also launched joint cultural initiatives, such as the BRICS film festival, the BRICS university network or the BRICS literary prize .

On the financial front :The BRICS are creating alternative financial institutions to the Bretton Woods institutions. The BRICS created the BRICS Development Bank in 2014, with an initial capital of USD 50 billion and an authorised capital of USD 100 billion , which aims to finance infrastructure and sustainable development projects in member countries and other developing countries . For example, in 2017, the Bank granted a loan of USD 470 million to India to finance an urban sanitation project, with an interest rate of LIBOR + 0.85% and a term of 20 years.

. They also launched the Contingent Reserve Arrangement in 2015, with an initial fund of \$100 billion, including \$41 billion from China, \$18 billion from Brazil, Russia and India and \$5 billion from South Africa , which is a mutual financial support mechanism in the event of a balance of payments crisis or pressure on exchange rates. Its aim is to finance infrastructure and sustainable development projects and to support the financial stability of member countries .

- They set up the New Development Bank Institute in 2016, which is a centre for research and training on development issues.

- They have developed joint cultural initiatives, such as the BRICS film festival, the BRICS university network and the BRICS literary prize.

The BRICS are seeking to strengthen their economic, political and cultural cooperation, and to propose alternatives to international institutions dominated by Western countries.

B. The BRICS: a diverse and contrasting group on political and cultural issues

The BRICS have adopted a cautious or critical stance on Western interventions in Libya, Syria and Mali, for example, and have expressed concern that these concepts could be used as pretexts to justify military or political interventions motivated by geostrategic interests^[42]. The BRICS have thus adopted a cautious or critical stance towards Western interventions in Libya, Syria and Mali.

In terms of cultural influence, the BRICS are seeking to strengthen their soft power, i.e. their ability to attract and persuade other international players through their development model, cultural identity, public diplomacy or technical cooperation^[43]. To achieve this, they have various instruments at their disposal, such as international media (e.g. Russia Today, CCTV or Press TV), cultural institutes (e.g. Confucius Institute or Alliance Française), university exchange programmes (e.g. IBSA Trust Fund or BRICS Network University) or solidarity initiatives (e.g. India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum or China-Africa Cooperation Forum^[44]). In this way, the BRICS aim to increase their visibility and credibility on the world stage, but also to counter Western cultural hegemony.

When it comes to human rights, the BRICS have contrasting records and divergent approaches. Brazil, India and South Africa are parties to the main international treaties on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, as well as to specific conventions.

III. DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION: A NECESSARY PARADIGM SHIFT

Globalisation has brought about major transformations in the economic and political configuration of the world, leading to changes in the balance of power between states and regions.

Globalisation has had two types of impact: economic and political.

The economic effects are linked to the increased competition that the new poles are bringing to Western countries in the markets of developing countries. The new poles offer comparative advantages that enable them to gain market share, strengthen their commercial and financial links with developing countries, and create regional zones of influence. Western countries, on the other hand, are seeing their competitiveness decline, their dependence increase and their influence in developing countries diminish. They also risk losing opportunities for growth, innovation and cooperation in strategic sectors.

The political effects are linked to the challenge to the international order established by Western countries after the Second World War. The new poles are challenging the principles and norms that govern this system, such as multilateralism and international law. They defend values and interests that are different from, or even opposed to, those of Western countries. They also oppose Western military or humanitarian intervention in the internal affairs of developing countries. They therefore seek to reform or challenge international institutions dominated by Western countries, such as the UN, the IMF and the WTO. They are also creating their own regional or thematic organisations, such as the African Union, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation or the G20. These actions are aimed at asserting their autonomy,

legitimacy and leadership on the world stage. Western countries, for their part, are seeing their credibility challenged, their influence contested and their security threatened by the new global powers.

In this context, how can developing countries ensure that their interests are respected and promote their development?

Western countries are facing a relative reduction in their power in the face of the rise of new players, notably China and India. According to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) projections for 2050, the eurozone's gross domestic product (GDP) should grow by 1.9% in 2023 and 1.6% in 2024, compared with 8.5% and 5.4% respectively for China and 9.6% and 7.2% for India [⁴⁵]. The eurozone's share of world GDP is expected to fall from 14.2% in 2020 to 11.7% in 2050, while China's share is expected to rise from 17.8% to 27.9% and India's from 6.8% to 13.5% [⁴⁶]. These figures show that the centre of economic dynamism is shifting towards Asia, and that these countries are also increasing their military and diplomatic capabilities. Europe will no longer be one of the dominant powers and will have to face up to the competitiveness of emerging countries on world markets.

Faced with the Western countries that have ruled the world for several centuries, the new poles are accompanied by several developing countries that are challenging the monolithic system that the Western countries are trying to impose. In addition, emerging countries such as the BRICS are proposing alternative models of cooperation that correspond to the developing countries' vision of the world.

A race is on for access to the world's wealth. How can this be achieved? Western countries need a paradigm shift in economic, political and social cooperation if they are to stay in the race.

What strategy should be adopted to reconcile the interests of Western and developing countries?

There is no single answer to this question, but several avenues can be explored. On the one hand, we need to recognise the legitimacy of the new poles in participating in global governance and expressing their opinions on major international challenges. This means reforming multilateral institutions, such as the UN and the IMF, to make them more representative and more accountable. It also means engaging in dialogue with them on a basis of equality and mutual respect, without seeking to impose a single model on them or to marginalise them. Secondly, it means stepping up cooperation with developing countries on the basis of common principles and shared interests. This means supporting their economic and social development through official development assistance, fair trade and responsible investment. It also means working with them on global issues such as climate change, the fight against terrorism and the promotion of human rights.

Globalisation has brought about profound changes in the economic and political organisation of the world, altering the balance of power between states and regions. Faced with these changes, how can developing countries defend their interests and promote their development?

Western countries are facing a relative decline in their power in the face of the emergence of new players, notably China and India. Europe will no longer be one of the dominant powers and will have to compete with emerging countries on world markets.

Faced with the Western countries that have dominated the world for several centuries, new poles have emerged, followed by several developing countries that are challenging the monolithic system that the Western countries are trying to impose. In addition, emerging countries such as the BRICS offer alternative models of cooperation that correspond to the developing countries' vision of the world.

A race is on for access to the world's wealth. How can this be achieved? Western countries need a paradigm shift in economic, political and social cooperation if they are to stay in the race.

What strategy should be promoted to reconcile the interests of Western countries with those of developing countries?

Two possible scenarios can be envisaged

A. Strategy for resisting change to the monolithic system

The first strategy is to preserve the same monolithic system by opposing change by any means possible. This strategy of confrontation involves the use of military force, economic sanctions and diplomatic pressure. This strategy has the disadvantage of the risk of armed conflict, and a very high economic and human cost. Strengthening alliances between developing countries that feel they have been wronged by the monolithic system. This strategy consists of perpetuating the existing system and making it last. In the long term, this approach will lead to failure, as the OECD forecasts demonstrate.

This strategy is based on the idea that the monolithic system is the only viable and legitimate model for organising international relations. It aims to maintain the status quo and defend the interests and values of Western countries, which have dominated the system since the end of the Second World War. It refuses to recognise the diversity and complexity of today's world, marked by the emergence of new players, new challenges and new aspirations. It opposes any reform or adaptation of the system that would call into question the privileges and advantages of Western countries. It uses coercion and threats to dissuade or repress any dissent or demands from developing countries.

This strategy is doomed to failure, because it cannot meet the needs and expectations of developing countries, which account for a growing share of the world's population and

economy. Nor can it address the global challenges that require international cooperation and coordination, such as climate change, poverty, migration and terrorism. It risks generating tensions and conflicts that threaten global peace and security. It runs counter to the principles of democracy, justice and solidarity that should guide international relations. It is therefore incompatible with sustainable development, which implies mutual respect, constructive dialogue and equitable partnership between countries.

B. Strategy for peace and dialogue between nations

The second strategy has the advantage of updating the monolithic system, making it more adapted to the challenges of the 21st century. However, it also presents major challenges, such as calling into question the gains and privileges of Western countries, resistance from players favouring the status quo or hostile to change, and uncertainty as to the results and consequences of the planned transformations.

This strategy of peace and dialogue between nations, which we believe to be the most appropriate, must take account of a fundamental aspect for developing countries: the issue of equitable sharing of the wealth generated by the exploitation of natural resources in developing countries. These resources, whether oil, gas, minerals (rare earths) or agricultural land, are often coveted by multinationals and major powers seeking to secure their supply or to monopolise profits. Yet these practices have harmful consequences for local populations, who suffer environmental degradation, violation of their land rights and corruption among the elites. Developing countries must therefore demand better governance of natural resources, based on respect for the principles of transparency, participation and responsibility. They must also negotiate fairer contracts with foreign companies, guaranteeing fair remuneration for resources and a redistribution of income to benefit social development.

To illustrate these issues, we can take the example of the mining sector, which represents a major source of revenue for many developing countries. According to World Bank data, mineral and metal exports accounted for 7% of total GDP in low- and lower-middle-income countries in 2019 [47]. However, these revenues do not always benefit local populations, who suffer the negative impacts of mining on their health, safety and environment. According to a report by Oxfam International, communities affected by mining face human rights violations such as forced displacement, water and air pollution, destruction of cultural heritage and repression of social movements [48]. Furthermore, developing countries do not always benefit from a fair share of the wealth generated by mining, due to their weak negotiating capacity, tax competition between countries or tax evasion by multinational companies.

We can therefore state that the fair sharing of the wealth generated by the exploitation of natural resources is a major challenge for the sustainable development of developing countries. It is an economic issue, because it enables public revenues to be increased and investment to be made in priority sectors such as education, health and infrastructure. It is also a social issue, as it helps to reduce poverty and inequality, and to strengthen human and social capital. Finally, it is an environmental issue, as it helps to preserve the natural resources and ecosystem services on which people's livelihoods depend.

This sharing must be enshrined in the articles of association of commercial companies in accordance with the following principles: the principle of wealth sharing, the principle of respect for the sovereignty of the host country and easy access to investment financing.

1)The principle of sharing the wealth created by foreign investment: This involves distributing the net profit generated by the activity between developing countries (DCs) and developed countries (DCs). However, it should be noted that in practice, before arriving at the net profit to be distributed, some commercial companies engage in tax evasion and avoidance, distribute enormous dividends and grant salaries and significant privileges, particularly to senior executives. This scourge is beginning to spread. The end result is a meagre profit. To avoid this kind of manipulation, an accounting system needs to be put in place that precisely defines the different accounting categories, accompanied by appropriate regulations.

According to this principle of sharing, half of the profits thus obtained can be repatriated, with the remainder used to finance the development of developing countries.

This wealth-sharing principle aims to ensure a fair and transparent distribution of revenues from the exploitation of natural resources between producer and consumer countries. It is a principle of justice and solidarity, which recognises the right of developing countries to benefit from their natural resources and to use them for their sustainable development. It is also a principle of cooperation and conflict prevention, promoting dialogue and trust between partner countries and contributing to regional and international peace and security [49],[50]. According to this principle of sharing, the benefits obtained must be reinvested in the human and social development of developing countries, taking into account the needs and priorities of local populations. It is also important to ensure that developing countries can diversify their economies and reduce their dependence on natural resources [51].

2)The principle of respect for sovereignty: The qualifications of the senior executives representing companies are important, because the defence of the interests of underdeveloped countries depends on their

managerial skills, since, over and above the creation and distribution of wealth, there are trade-offs to be made between strategic options such as the employment of local or foreign workers, general training and the transfer of knowledge and technology, the purchase of local or imported raw materials, the purchase of local or imported equipment, the reinvestment or repatriation of profits, the import of inputs or the use of local inputs, the export of raw or processed materials with high added value, the transfer of assets to whom, the location, the liquidation, the impact on the environment, etc. Economic development depends on all these factors. Economic development depends on all these decisions.

All strategic issues are decided by the representatives of the companies' management bodies. It is for this reason that the appropriation of decision-making power is fundamental if we wish to steer foreign capital towards shared growth that respects the sovereignty and interests of the partners.

3) *The principle of respect for the cultural values of the economic partner:* Economic cooperation implies a mutual commitment, reciprocal trust and shared responsibility⁵² If economic cooperation is to be effective and sustainable, it must recognise the sovereignty and legitimacy of the partner and avoid denigrating, scorning, devaluing or discrediting it. Denigration can take the form of abusive language, negative media campaigns, economic sanctions or political pressure.⁵³ This is a fundamental point that weighs heavily on relations between Western and developing countries.

This is a fundamental point that weighs heavily on relations between Western and developing countries. Western countries have often adopted a paternalistic, even neo-colonial attitude towards developing countries. They have imposed their economic models, standards and values, without taking into account the cultural, historical and social specificities of the partner countries. They have also taken advantage of economic inequalities to exploit the natural resources, markets and workforce of developing countries. These practices have given rise to feelings of frustration, mistrust, resentment and revolt in developing countries.⁵⁴

This point makes the difference in the direction of cooperation with the BRICS. They respect their economic partners, they recognise cultural diversity and multilateral dialogue, and they offer developing countries an opportunity for more equitable, solidarity-based and sustainable cooperation.^[55]

4) *Reforming international financial institutions to ensure easy and equitable access to investment finance:* The international financial architecture, which dates back to 1945 after the Second World War, is facing an unprecedented

challenge that it is in danger of failing to meet. It was designed by and for the industrialised countries of the time, without taking account of the major challenges of development. It has therefore had weaknesses from the outset, which are increasingly out of step with the reality and needs of today's world.

The existing architecture has not been able to support the mobilisation of stable, sustainable and large-scale funding for the investments needed to tackle the climate crisis and achieve the sustainable development goals for the eight billion people on the planet. It suffers from deep-rooted inequalities, gaps and inefficiencies.

To strengthen the mobilisation of stable, sustainable and large-scale financing for the investments needed for sustainable development, these institutions must be reformed in such a way as to make them more democratic:

To do this, we must

- Ensure the full participation of developing countries in the management of international financial institutions to ensure equal treatment of all countries.
- Reduce the debt of the poorest countries.
- Create new multilateral development banks to finance structuring projects in African countries (dams, power stations, communications infrastructure, etc.).
- Increase and facilitate public financing for developing countries (long-term loans, courageous interest rates).
- Mobilise public capital in developing countries.
- Mobilise private capital and regulate financing.
- Strengthen the capacity of financial institutions and support institutional reforms in developing countries.

In the face of global challenges such as climate change, pandemics and terrorism, it is necessary to develop effective and inclusive multilateral mechanisms that take into account the interests and needs of developing countries. It is also essential to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

C. *Strengthening international cooperation*

In the face of global challenges, we need to establish effective and inclusive multilateral mechanisms that take into account the interests and needs of developing countries. We must also guarantee respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. In addition, we need to stimulate cultural, scientific and educational exchanges between peoples, to promote dialogue, mutual understanding and diversity. We can therefore affirm that international cooperation and solidarity between peoples are essential conditions for the sustainable development of developing countries. They make it possible to strengthen the capacity of countries to meet global challenges, reduce inequalities between and within countries, and promote a culture of peace and dialogue between nations. They also require reform of international institutions, to make their governance more democratic and better adapted to the realities of today's world. Finally, they require political will and social mobilisation to

CONCLUSION

The exploitation of Africa's natural resources has been marked by the colonial past, which imposed on African countries an unequal system of trade with the European powers. African countries exported their raw materials at low cost, without benefiting from the gains linked to their processing. After independence, African countries tried to change the terms of their relationship with their former colonisers, but faced political, economic and military constraints.

Globalisation has changed the balance of power between states and regions of the world, leading to a decline in the relative power of Western countries in the face of the emergence of new players, notably China and India.

Today, the exploitation of Africa's resources is marked by competition between global players, notably China, the United States, the European Union, Russia and India. These players want access to Africa's resources to meet their growing needs for energy, metals and agricultural products. They are using a variety of means to achieve their objectives, including investment, loans, aid, trade agreements, diplomacy and military presence. They also want to strengthen their political and cultural influence on the African continent.

Exploiting Africa's resources poses major challenges for the continent's development. On the one hand, it can be an opportunity for African countries to generate income, jobs, infrastructure and technology transfer. On the other hand, it can be a source of conflict, corruption, economic dependence, environmental degradation and human rights violations. It is therefore crucial that African countries are able to control their natural resources and make the most of them for their sustainable development.

Exploiting Africa's resources is a strategic global issue that involves shared responsibilities between African countries and global players. It is a challenge that requires a long-term vision and a global approach that takes into account the economic, social, environmental and political dimensions of sustainable development. Western countries must reform their cooperation policies and listen to and understand the African language if they want to remain partners of African countries.

Finally, we have proposed a number of concrete avenues that we consider important, such as the sharing of resources from foreign investment, respect for sovereignty and access to funding for structuring projects to restore confidence and strengthen international cooperation and solidarity between peoples, which are essential conditions for the sustainable development of developing countries. We have highlighted the role of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which is based on the principle of international solidarity and sets ambitious targets to be achieved by 2030. We called for a reform of international institutions, to make their governance more democratic and more representative of the realities of today's world. Finally, we called for political will and social

mobilisation to implement the commitments made at international level.

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