



Strategies for conserving power in African democracies

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Abstract

This study attempts to show that democracies in Africa, especially those south of the Sahara, are trapped by political actors. Once in power, they rarely enforce and respect the rules of transparency, freedom of choice of the people during electoral consultations, yet dear to the exercise of the democratic game. Violence, in all its forms, which was at the heart of the struggles for power has changed shape. It has left the stage of indiscriminate and savage brutality for that more civilized of political trials for undermining the authority of the state of real or potential competitors.

New paradigms for the preservation of power are being built that meet the current demands of societies whose violent crises have been characteristic of them in recent decades.

Geographical entities, the instrumentalization of ethnicities and, the supposed, unconscious contribution of the churches of the new Pentecostal obedience serve as a springboard on which the new strategies of the conservation of political power. The same is true of the army, gendarmerie, police and justice, which, in turn, accompany the authorities to strengthen its authority and increase its influence by recruiting the first three entities, often out of norms and, for the setting to music trials that are difficult to understand in terms of the law.

These are, of course, the new modes of political causality that, like witchcraft, have influenced the behaviour of actors in power relations for some years (Missié, 2007). This is why, aware of the interest in these new approaches in the political game in Africa, Schartzberg (2000) believes that it is time for politicians to take these modes of political causality seriously, because as long as we will continue not to incorporate these different forms of causality into our studies, our theories of political behaviour will remain seriously incomplete.

All these approaches, in essence, respond to the new strategies whose foundations are circumscribed by Crozier and Freiberg (1977), in the strategic analysis that codifies the power relations between competing actors. There is power to note Crozier, when an individual A is able to obtain from an individual B a behavior that the latter would not have had without the intervention of A.

Keywords: strategies, conservations, powers, democracies, behaviour

Introduction

A study on power conservation strategies in African democracies needs to identify two important things.

The first is the observation made about the practices that characterize these democracies in the expression of the political game; institutions and the exercise of legality. These democracies seem to present in these characteristic aspects: in the first place the flaws that make their setting to music often become less the expression of the people holding sovereignty than that of an individual or a group of individuals which by various mechanisms but thought out in real or imaginary laboratories imposes its vision often in the name of the preservation of peace and stability.

The second is the construction around institutions and in these institutions conscious strategies but unconscious application by the people in order to perpetuate the longevity of the elites in power and the reproduction to power of actors close to them. This is to extend the neck to

democracy and give it a desired orientation validated gradually in the mental software of the people who sometimes begin to defend the advent of an African-style democracy that would build on the values of traditions local. And here again the evolution and clash of cultures and the loss of the landmarks linked to the origins of the most civilized by the culture of whites leave perplexed such reasoning that basically is built around or on the traditions of the majority group of those who control the state apparatus.

Political power in most African states, and since independence, had enshrined violence in its practice as the ultimate and legal strategy for the seizure and preservation of power. In the People's Republic of Congo, power was at the end of the gun and weapons should only be reduced when the victory of the Congolese revolution is complete.

These statements by Commander Marien Ngouabi, president of this Republic from 1968 to 1977, show how at the top of

this state, violence was the ultimate weapon of conquest and preservation of power. Unchannel violence, oriented towards unclear objectives, but brutal, blind and savage, the contours of which are set by those who use it for the purpose of preserving power. The coup d'état, in such a system, although, theoretically, condemned, its perpetrators often, to give form, challenged, becomes a legal form inscribed, even by simple moral understanding, in the life of the country. Marien Ngouabi, himself, will live the experience of his words by what he will pay with his life on March 18, 1977 after declaring before the organization of the women of the Congolese Labour Party on March 13, 1977 at the city hall of Brazzaville that when your country is dirty You have to wash it with your own blood.

These strategies, which had to do their time, still showed, from a new perspective, that of the development of these states, their limits. The colonizing powers, who are less likely to under-develop these countries and the misery of these peoples, but also to play on their own influence in the concert of nations, impose and obtain the advent of democracy. National Conferences are demanded and obtained by internal pressure forces supported by the desire of colonial power to advance political debate in these countries. Their sovereign character demanded and obtained by the speakers with regard to the moribund powers, without real influence and who managed, without saying it, formally, the current affairs strengthened the authority of the people who, through the political debate believed in the reappropriation of his destiny.

The first post-national conference elections seem to have given most of these countries and their people much-dreamed hope of the conquest of lost freedom. The expression of freedom expressed in most of the preambles of the constitutions has been found. In the Republic of Congo, Professor Pascal Lissouba, elected by direct universal suffrage, is a dream come true. His pan-Africanist vision is affirmed through a slogan the challenge of a continent, the hope of a generation.

It is well established that the continent he is talking about is Africa. This seems self-evident. But, what generation? His, less numerous at that time, his political generation, or the new one formed around the ideals of the sovereign national conference that paved the way for him to come to power.

This vagueness and lack of clarity in his vision of the exercise of the democratic game has opened the boulevard to struggles for power to a finer and more sophisticated strategy making cunning the element at the center of the management and conservation of power.

Later, in the case of the Republic of Congo, debates among intellectuals in consecrated spaces showed how new strategies other than violence were beginning to assert themselves in the political field. The sovereign national conference, once touted as a turning point in political history, began, in its approach, to be scratched and appalled, intelligently, by others, less to take stock and evaluate the application of its recommendations, only for strategic repositioning issues. Professor Charles Zacharie Bowao (2001) described it with a tinge of humour, characteristic of philosophers of its status as a historical trick.

History has thus become trapped by politicians who know, in such circumstances, political changes, to reposition themselves in relation to its course. She is still, certainly, in the eye of the political cyclone since they always seem to

write it in their own way by enrolling in her repertoire more, what they want than what she wants.

Power conservation strategies have changed hands. They have left, in some measures, the field of savage violence, unpublished and blind to move towards new strategies to generate, invent or rehabilitate.

So what are the new benchmarks on which the politicians in power refer to them to mobilize, for the purpose of preserving power in African democracies?

Violence would have really passed the hand, totally, has other strategies of mobilization for the preservation of power or, share it, with a more civilized image to do less harm, this field with new strategies that respond, at best, has the sociology of the moment?

What are these new strategies ultimately and what are the structures that help them apply?

Assumptions

Our hypotheses are from a broader and inclusive perspective that integrates both the social changes observed in political mores in recent decades in Africa as well as new approaches to Africanpolitical science. The political debate in Africa opens up new perspectives that tend to reconsider the old approaches to the preservation of power, incorporating new elements on which no intellectual could have thought, a few years ago.

The fundamental concern raised by our research questions conjures up ethnicity, the churches of the new Pentecostal obedience as less restrictive entities, at first glance, on which the policies rely to preserve the Power.

Violence, in its classic form - assassinations, early morning - seems to have disappeared. It remains, however, a weapon of persuasion through the exhibitions of the military arsenal during the great popular celebrations such as the Independence days and, the exceptions made in recruitments to the army, the police and the gendarmerie. At a time when other bodies of the state are subject to the vagaries of economic vagaries with the demands of international financial institutions.

Beyond the churches and ethnic groups on which political actors rely there are certain state institutions whose main actors find it difficult to ring a bell contrary to the will of the rulers, even if it is, sometimes, requires it, their job. The imaginary limits of the territorial space, carved by politicians, apart from the official ones, validated by the collective consciousness and, taught to the populations, as values reinforce this approach to the preservation of power by those who exercise it. The questions of the legitimacy of the actors in power and, the obvious poverty of the populations, contribute, in essence, to strengthen these dynamisms of the conservation of power.

Methodology

Our first approach is to observe the governance practices of the actors in power. They allow, in various parameters of action, to read the strategies of strengthening the positions of those in power and, to restrict those of real and potential or imaginary competitors. They also build on the instrumentalization of political actors, partners, who, for various reasons including that of personal positioning, can alienate their political project by sacrificing the privileged instrument of conquest of the Power.

In the Republic of Congo, for reasons apparently expressed, to put into practice the law of 12 May 2017 on political

parties, the formations of the ruling majority - Union of Democratic Forces of David Charles Ganao, and, the Patriotic Front of Hermella Doukaga - yet representative in the national parliament and in the local assemblies, were in turn dissolved by their leader after real or imaginary consultation of their base. This is to reinforce the dynamism of the Congolese Labour Party (PCT), whose president is the head of state who holds the powers and distributors of privileges.

The actors responsible for these political parties speak in support of their approach the non-national character of their party, whose law opens up the possibilities of merger or dissolution.

These arguments, though, well-founded seem difficult to keep. The speed in the decision-making of the main actors of these political parties and the reactions that follow give the impression of a certain instrumentalization of these parties in order to strengthen the ranks of the ruling party, including these actors, before the opening of the presidential campaign, call for the president's candidacy.

The second approach is documentary research. It should be noted that it has not been easy to seize appropriate documents to provide us with practical guidance on our approach. Classical theories experimented by sociologists and, in some measures, by Aron (2006) have allowed us to understand the approaches of policy in Africa in their strategies for conserving power.

Theoretical approach

The complexity of this study, in view of its importance, obliges us to rely on the work of Machiavelli and Raymond Aron to understand how symbolic constructions around peace and war are at the foundation of political action. The aim of the commission is to create synergies for the conquest and preservation of political power. According to Aron, politics is a successful action, but success sometimes requires the use of morally reprehensible means (Aron, op.cit.). But, our approach has focused more on the work of sociologists Bourdieu (2001) [3], Crozier (1977) [5] and Weber (1995), for whom the basis of any policy is the start of an effective strategy built around the factors of mobilization at value cont fearful. These factors, in the case of African democracies, overlap around traditions that refer to deep identity. The approach of these authors on issues of power, specifically on strategies of conquest and conservation, has demonstrated the inescapable place of strategy in the management of political power. It is useful to clarify the strategy to better understand it.

The Hachette Dictionary 2014; teaches us that strategy is an organization of all the operations of a war, of the defense of a country. The strategy, in this light, is conceived as à concept, essentially, military. It is therefore the ultimate weapon that military officials and intellectuals use to defend the integrity of the territory and, if necessary, extend its influence over others. As such, it is useful in politics to help win power or retain it.

The same dictionary tells us more that strategy is the art of combining operations to achieve a goal. It is therefore a complex, to the limit, ambiguous notion. Complexity and ambiguity are therefore at the heart of the strategy. Its execution components cannot be delivered at the risk of losing its substance. It is a purely operative concept. It does not decouple the behaviours or actions of the actors;

organizational context, which is a social construct in which they take place (Crozier and Friedberg, 1977) [5].

The actor, sometimes without clear and coherent plans, acts in the hope of uniting certain wills or weakening others, in view of the vagaries of the evolution of society.

The ideal of power, after its accession, would be to keep it, directly, if it has been, for as long as possible, in dictatorial systems or in some of the African countries whose constitutions have opened up by the influence of the so-called democratic leaders, the way to unlimited mandates, or if not, by the men of the serail who would be favoured or by opponents who would have facilitated accession after strong external pressure refusing to renew the mandate.

It is understandable why in African democracies those who come to power build all forms of strategies to stay there because, except in exceptional and rare cases, power entitles its holder, its children and loved ones, the the right to enjoy, without reservation, public goods, to use and dispose of it.

Little work has been devoted, at least in Africa, to the study of strategies for the conservation of political power. Nevertheless, reflections in the context of the religious as a factor in supporting the power and alienation of the people are well conducted. Missié (2007) quoting Marx, recalls that classical churches distill a discourse tending to legitimize the power in place. That is, according to the doctrine taught; poverty, suffering would be a matter of destiny, for the poor have the promise of being rich in the kingdom of heaven, the afterlife, that is, after death.

All of these approaches contribute to strengthening power conservation strategies with the support of certain social representations. The violence of the sorcellar imagination that Tonda (2005) [11] refers to in the game of political power reinforces this vision. Speaking of the 2002 parliamentary elections in Ngo in the Department of Plateaus in Congo, Ryos Tsoun, quoted by Elenga (2019) [7] reports on the behaviour of a candidate who feels harmed uses subterfuge to influence the population and invite them, in relation to with what she thinks of him, to renew his trust. Armed with certain banknotes, which he distributed as in almost all elections, Célestin Gongarad Nkoua patted the voters on their shoulders; with a broom supposedly mystically loaded, telling them in teke, their language of communication adja ayele. That you who are using my money, remember that you must vote for me. This portends that the one who receives money without voting for him will have problems with this gentleman who, in the imagination of this people, is perceived, in view of his age and experience as dealing with the higher spirits.

Having predicted at the time the fall of President Sassou, when all the political indicators of the moment predicted it, this man is considered, in his land as a visionary, a man who must be guaranteed personality and avoid going to contrary to his ideas at the risk of being struck by the gods. All these representations corroborate with the mentality of this people, deeply rooted in tradition, and, including the Kwé mbali, their guardian god would be ready to unleash his anger, on those who would not respect the established traditional order. Here, elders like this, especially, having held great political responsibilities, are seen as the link between gods and men and their behavior can only be dictated by the higher spirits to whom, without thinking, one should obey and respect.

These seemingly innocent and unconscious strategies incorporate the great sociological theories developed by the great authors.

In reality, it is a question of involving some authors who have taken stock of the strategies on power, in its management to better understand the mechanisms put in place for its conservation.

One thinks, above all, among other things, of Crozier (1977) [5] who, in his theory of strategic analysis believes that *there is power, when an individual A is capable of obtaining from an individual B a behavior that the latter would not have had without the intervention of A. for this to do to those who have a certain freedom of action is based on a set of rules that codify B's behaviour and limit his flexibility.*

The actors on whom power is supposed to rely to sustain themselves must be placed in such psychological conditions that they feel compelled to support those who govern by giving the impression that the actions taken in people are not obligations for them, but services of which they alone have the choice to operate. Actions for the people thus become privileges, favours of politicians and not obligations that will allow the action of power to be judged at the next election. It is in this that at the inauguration of several structures built to boost development, the people thank the authorities for their hospitality as if it were not their right.

These are, therefore, the unconscious strategies that Pierre Bourdieu is talking about. They allow conscious manipulation by integrating into the way of making the demands on which the manipulated populations find themselves without realizing that they are. God becomes an indispensable player in success as well as in the difficulties that men face.

In such a system, the recognition of patriarchs, charismatic leaders and moral authorities as in the Democratic Republic of Congo helps to disorient the freedom of opinion of the people by channeling it towards the veneration of these actors with any direction is expected and requested.

These approaches show the richness of the current debate in African political science in considerations centered on the management of power. Here, we are not interested in the strategies that lead to conquest, but those that consist of keeping it in the logic of African democracies.

For this study, we selected two types of strategies, not in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu, although they overlap. These strategies have effects on the life of power and its perpetuation, but above all the longevity of its actors who almost make a career out of it.

Beyond binding strategies with immediate effects, there are non-binding ones with long-term effects.

1. Compelling strategies with immediate effects

Strategy is a very common concept in political science as well as in the art of war. Pierre Bourdieu identifies two categories of strategies. Conscious and unconscious strategies. The former refer to a form of conscious manipulation, that is, the subjects used to play a role think that what they do, integrates their *modus vivendi*. They are not responsibly aware that their problems are being used and based on the position of decision-makers to manipulate them. This is done by allowing them to identify with those who manipulate them by various aspects related either to the territorial origin of the leaders or to the geographical affiliation whose contours are validated by policies.

Seconds do not allow manipulated subjects to realize this. They do not have to be fixed on the missions that will be entrusted to them in order to establish the influence of the power and its main actors. They believe they are exercising them in the normal context of their activities with a dose of finesse injected into practice without them really noticing. In this way, we want to show how leaders give special advantages to certain bodies of the state or to certain institutions in order to compel their staff to defend the existing. The army, the police, the gendarmerie, the judiciary and the often independent election supervisory body remain the most prominent structures on which power relies to maintain itself.

Defence and security structures are entrusted to men of trust, often those of the serail or close to confidants, although sometimes qualified in their field. They build within the system a network of influence, a chain of relationships maintained around the men of hands whose determination and commitment to serve command and power suffer severing. Recruitments in these structures are often done without regard to defence and security needs, or the economic content, but to generate jobs and force, for the absurd, these recruits to weave with those who govern relations of complicity in the point where the latter are ready to fight with anyone who would like to question the existing one.

The judiciary is also an important target in strategies for retaining political power in most African democracies. Magistrates are treated, in some countries, as extraordinary workers who benefit from the authorities in place, exceptional advantages. In the Republic of Congo, for example, magistrates, however, ranked at the top of the hierarchy of civil service employees, as well as certified teachers from high schools, administrators of Administrative and Financial Services (SAF) and doctors, receive, from the beginning of their careers, a salary that others can only receive after having worked for at least ten years. And, again, they must be, on a regular basis, advanced with financial effects.

Why such exceptional advantages, if not to compel them, when they say the right, to demand the line that will be dictated by the political in power, even by the absurd?

Why not give such privileges, immediately, to teachers, who are supposed to form the collective conscience and to the doctors on whom the lives of the whole population are based?

The answer is that this will be done gradually. But the choice of magistrates, first, is, in our view, a strategy that allows them to have a particular view, failing that, on the power, at least, on the holder of power and the whole system he controls. All these strategies, apparently illusory, are therefore understood only in relation to the structuring of power relations.

Basically, the strategies put in place are, in fact, about the preservation of power by its holder at the top. The main player is him and when we talk about power, we are talking about him first and not about the system as it works. The other players depend and are only effective in the system based on what it wants to do with it. It is in this sense that the notion of sorcellar imagination dear to Joseph Tonda is built in these systems. This approach allows the chief to be seen as an eminently mystical person; the power he holds and the cunning he uses to manipulate come from both God and the higher spirits. This construction is intended by the

leader who combines within it the effects of beneficial magic and evil witchcraft thus making his character both ambiguous and ambivalent. These aspects make him an outstanding man whose charisma that underpins his authority comes from God. He is close to them and only realizes what they ask him to do. This approach, which makes him a human exception, opens up symbolic systems; representations that crystallize in the collective consciousness. It becomes magical and integrates Weber's vision for whom what goes beyond the ordinary man is embodied in the extraordinary, that is, in the magic.

Another structure to establish its influence is, without a doubt, the supervisory body for elections. This body is intended, by the determination of the actors in the political game and, in competition, totally independent, in an attempt to reassure stakeholders of the peaceful and successful outcome of the elections. Often this independence is obtained as in the Democratic Republic of Congo with the independent National Electoral Commission. It is sometimes guaranteed by the status of the people who have to fly it. Unfortunately, this independence often falls into the dependence of the current power which, if not maintained, creates conditions to bring to power a man who would spare the former leaders and, keep them in a room, close to power and, sharing with him, the same living room.

The publication of the presidential election and the ensued protests over the president-elect; the position of the Congo Episcopal Conference demanding, before demanding that the page be turned; at the first Mass said by Cardinal Fridolin Ambongo Besungu at the Martyrs' Stadium of Pentecost on November 17, 2019, in many ways, the independence of this commission has been eroded to fall into dependency. The warm-ups between the staffs of the two political families in coalition government claiming, for some the gains of free basic education and for others, the tendency to go snooping in the past are tensions that contribute to the struggle for the recapture of power by some and to its preservation for others.

In neighbouring Congo, political actors other than those of the ruling coalition were unable to secure the restructuring of the election management and supervisory body. The 2016 presidential election was, strongly, contested. The results in some corners such as Boundji in the Department of The Bowl and, in some offices in Pointe Noire, were not published thus undergoing the credibility of this election and giving proof that this body is controlled by the since its candidate has been declared elected. Two opposition heavyweights, candidates for this election were arrested for contesting the results and, considering that one of them, General Jean Marie Michel Mokoko was the real winner. They were tried for breaches of state security.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the same negotiations took place regarding the election of President Felix Antoine Tshisekedi Tshilombo. Yet validated by the Independent National Electoral Commission, this election was contested by Martin Fayulu who continues to claim victory.

Beyond these conscious strategies, there are unconscious ones that the actors in power use to maintain their actions and perpetuate their influence. They have long-term effects and are built around abstract notions.

2. Unconscious strategies with long-term effects

They have as their underpinnings the instrumentalization of certain entities to which the force of identity is strengthened.

The tribe and ethnicity become social constructs on which actors must rely to take an interest in or exclude the dynamics of power. The ethnicity or department of the person who embodies the authority of the state can contribute to a promotion in the implicit logic that this entity is in power. On the other hand, the same entities other than those of the power holder or his wife may pose danger to its members that may even have an effect on their careers. These strategies allow the political space to be reconstituted in states where political actors have problems of legitimacy, almost challenged by their people for not doing what they expected them to do and, for having made politics a career. They compel actors, even unconsciously, to validate them in consciousness, to transmit them and, to practice them in recognition of the benefits obtained, for this purpose, or in remembrance of the evils related to them.

In the case of the Republic of Congo, political actors have built effective mobilization strategies around the northern and southern entities to circumvent their illegitimacy. These entities become centres of identification and mobilization allowing each member of the community to find themselves in the logic of the actors and, to do as they want. The centre, the east and the west do not exist to avoid eliciting evocations in these spaces that would weaken the action of the political actors who follow in the footsteps of the former. Tchitchelle; Tchicaya, Youlou, and Opangault, Bazinga being native to the south in relation to the capital, for some and from the north, in the same proportions, for others, allowed those who came after them- Massamba Debat; Nguouabi, Yhomby, Sassou; Lissouba- to validate these entities as bases of support to establish power.

In the late 1990s, these entities experienced upheavals, especially in the northern part. The limits of power at that time allowed, within this compact political north, fractures whose immediate effects were summed up in the stigmatization of Sassou's power. The responsibility for his failure became collegial, at first, to all the men of his home department. It was shrinking, later, to the brothers of the tribe the mbosi. This stigma gave rise to expressions of the genre of cuvétization and mbochization of power to describe the authoritarian excesses of the moribund power of the time.

Professor Pascal Lissouba, who was elected by the majority of Congolese by universal suffrage, wanted to turn away from this evidence in order to build his power and to build it on the fundamentals that characterize the three departments. The Niari from which it originates, Bouéza and Lekoumou, neighbours of the Niari. Beyond the territorial space, the Teke tribe spoken in these three departments was to serve as a springboard for power. It is, moreover, for this reason that the department of the Western Bowl had to be created in order to enable these teké peoples, too, to consolidate their alliance with the three departments mentioned above. One of the reasons for the creation of this administrative entity, beyond its obvious enclave, is the fact that the frames of this part of the bowl were less used, by those on the other side who remained in business for a long time. To materialize this alliance, Maurice Stéphane Bongonouara, teké of the Western Bowl, was appointed prime minister of the Lissouba government. Today, these strategies, while bearing, show their limitations in terms of the imbalances in development between the various localities. The churches of the new Pentecostal obedience, now, without certainly realizing it, let alone their followers, are real actresses in the

service of politicians. The messages they convey and the seminars they organize, all day long, help to disinterest those who are followers of political issues in order to claim happiness in heaven. They reinforce, therefore, the Marxist vision that makes religion the opium of peoples.

How, do not turn away from the essential concerns, for which, the solutions are found in politics, by active participation when it is forbidden the followers of these churches to make politics!

They have an interest, of course, in praying for the authorities and not meddling in active politics. They don't have to worry about what will be done tomorrow. The relationship between the misery of the people and the management of the rulers has an explanation only by the will of God whose exhortation of bliss reassures the followers of a better future in heaven. It is not permissible, in these circumstances, to make a critical analysis of the management of the rulers, but to support them with prayer since all authority comes from God. This form of evangelization, which, in essence, responds to the misery of the people in front of the authorities who think only of the next election, helps to calm the social climate and, to allow actors to sleep in peace without really worrying about the missions that should be theirs in serious countries. Religion thus becomes an unconscious pillar of power, a silent weapon, a faithful but anonymous accompanist whose action on the populations helps to establish the influence of power and, help its main actors to be reassured of what art policy is very easy to practice.

The themes of the seminars displayed in one of Brazzaville's main thoroughfares allowed us to understand the place and, the role of churches in demotivating followers in political activity thus supporting, without saying or knowing it, the actors Policies. These themes compensate political actors for their responsibility and incriminate the man himself. One can read, for example Jesus is the solution to all our problems; What's the point of winning the world if you lose your soul?

In the Republic of Congo, for example, these churches have had their coordination supported, for its formalization, by the president's wife. These arrangements reflect the support of the main actors of power to churches whose mission as organized promotes power. This support is more realistic by the Christian songs that share the space of cellars, buses, bars and other places of popular rejoicing, with the so-called songs of the world. The song the hour of victory of Marie Anne Abia allows us to understand, in many ways, how political actors are cleared of the difficulties inherent in the populations. God is solicited and summoned in all that happens to men. It is constantly put to the test to free men from their misery and to help young people solve their employment problems.

Since my childhood, sings it, my life is not much better, Jehovah

Poverty strangles me, blockage inhabits me;

Failure always concerns me

Dad, come quickly so I can witness the victory.

These churches swarm in almost every nook and cranny of the capitals of both Congo.

Traditional notabilities as custodians of mystical power are also used to control and, fall to the net of instrumentalization those who would escape or attempt to circumvent the religious. Structures like Otote, with the involvement of kanis (traditional notabilities) in the political

game become repellents of Christian populations. To this, we must associate the implicit or real place given to the practice of foreign lodges in the political dynamic. Freemasonry is presented, rightly or wrongly, as the mystical arm of power. A Freemasonry, certainly, poorly explained and internalized in the wrong way that presents it, in the reality of the Congolese or African milieu as contrary to its sociology. A witch lodge, some of which features initiation ceremonies whose excerpts seem to be chosen, at will, as negative to discourage those who would like to take an interest in politics to take their steps and, to claim what the leaders owe it to the people.

Faced with the failures of the State, linked to critical governance, on education and health issues, the government leaves the hand in these areas, has associative structures whose actors, if not politicians, are close. These structures, in the name of the generosity of their actors, rehabilitate or build schools and health centres in the localities of the interior and sometimes in large urban areas. In the department of plateaus in Congo, the Edith Lucie Bongo Ondimba Foundation, named after the former first lady of Gabon and the elder daughter of President Sassou, has worked, with colossal sums, to rehabilitate schools in Djambala, Lekana and Mpouya at the time, these tasks would be devolved to the state. The first wife of President Sassou, mother of the widow Bongo, also allowed herself to travel these places on this occasion to strengthen, through her presence, the influence of power by her physical proximity and, her apparent simplicity. On this occasion, she delivered a message from God about his mercy.

Why her physical presence in this department when she is not president of that foundation?

What place currently plays the plateaus in power, in a logic or the Union of Democratic Forces of President David Charles Ganao, native of this department was dissolved in the Congolese Labour Party, the main majority party in the Power?

It is obvious that the base of this party, essentially, made up of the inhabitants of this part of the territory sulks this act and, their reaction may later be reflected in the rejection, during the elections, of the candidates for the emblems of the ruling party.

The image of power must be treated through acts of rehabilitation of schools whose effects affect the large number and minimize issues of political interest. The wars within the ruling party over the presupposed succession between the executives of the plateaus - Mbochis - who seem to want to manage and, those of the Cuvette who do not intend to let go, justify these approaches of proximity by structures seemingly neutral whose generosity is evident like women mothers.

In addition to schools, traditional authorities and new religiosities, first ladies are, also by their status, true strategies for the preservation of power. Their humanitarian activism, at the bedside, of the elderly and the victims of natural disasters observed here and there, prove the determination they show alongside their husband senilators to retain power.

Conclusion

This study on power conservation strategies in African democracies has set itself the fundamental objective of analysing the new mechanisms that enable rulers, in these times of democracy, to retain power in outside of

recognized standards. The violence that has always been inscribed as the ultimate path of conquest and preservation of power has been eclipsed for a moment with the advent of democracy. It has resurfaced in a moderate form in a democracy and in various respects.

The first is the consideration and instrumentalization in the political game of the violence of the sorcellary imagination. The presence of traditional notabilities in their proximity to power, the spectre of foreign lodges perceived as witches in the collective imagination repel those who want to go into politics and stigmatize those who practice it.

The second, responding to the theoretical aspects of democracy that require alternation through elections, is the confiscation of the electoral system by the control of the indicated actors. The army, the police and the gendarmerie are recruiting by the sole will of the actors in power thus forcing the new recruits and, their leaders, to work willingly to maintain power in the state even though the real concerns people are struggling to improve. The liberalisation of Pentecostal churches adds to the myriad of strategies for the preservation of power by the rulers. Their messages soothe minds about God's eternal happiness reserved for his children in heaven. Satan and, not the rulers, is therefore the cause of all the misfortunes experienced by the people whose mission is to pray for the authorities. The canvas is constructed in such a way that no sphere escapes power and, to the rulers to remain possible for a long time and, if necessary, reproduce the species they will want to have after them. These new strategies for the preservation of power incorporate the logic of new modes of political causality that, like witchcraft, influence the behaviour of actors in power relations. It is time, notes Schartzberg (2000) that politicians take seriously these modes of political causality, because as long as we continue not to incorporate these different forms of causality into our studies, our theories of political behavior will remain seriously incomplete.

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