



EPU Research Papers

Democracy and Peace in Zimbabwe

Issue 12/08

**Project-Co-ordinator: Ronald H. Tuschl, Authors: Adama Sow / Schoresch Davoodi,
Editor: Janyce Konkin**

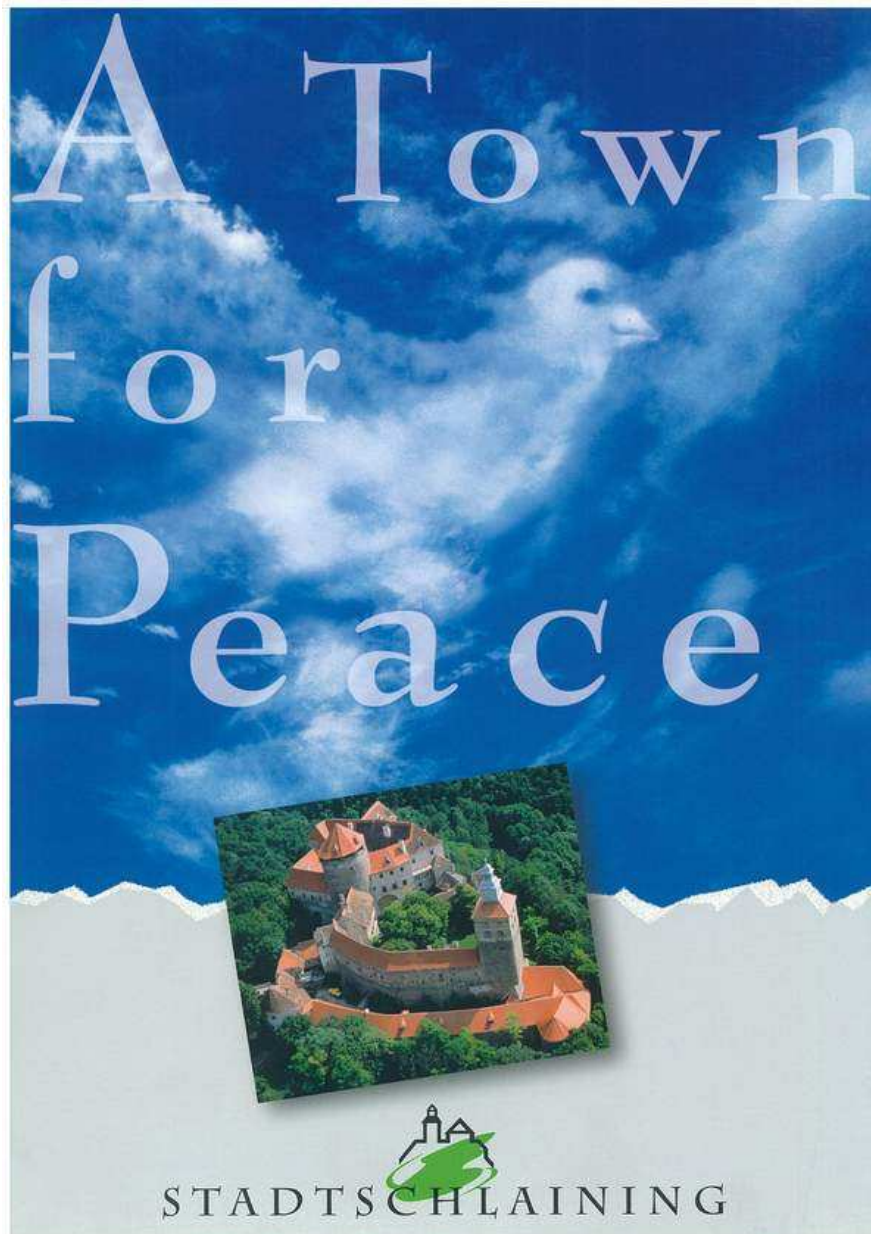


Table of Contents

Introduction.....	3
The Democratic Peace Theory.....	6
The Threat of Democratic Peace Theory.....	10
The Conflict in Zimbabwe and the Export of Democracy.....	14
Power-sharing as a Way out of Violence.....	18
Bibliography.....	20
Editorial	22

Introduction

The European Union and Africa share together a long common history. For centuries European and African countries have been in contact with each other. Empires in Northern Africa conquered parts of Europe, and in 19th century, during the time of Imperialism, European countries conquered most parts of Africa and founded their colonies. The north-west parts of Africa were French colonies, and the United Kingdom was able to control most parts of the southern and the entire coast of Eastern Africa except the parts which were part of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. After the end of the Second World War, the former European countries had to leave Africa. As result of the economic failure of the European countries during the war and the resources which were needed to build up western Europe, and to isolate the Soviet Union, the former great powers of France and Great Britain had to give up their empires. In the Suez crisis in 1956 both countries had to leave and to accept the policy of Egypt.¹ During the cold war, Africa was a region where mainly the United States and the USSR tried to enlarge their influence. Both sides helped different governments to stay on power, so their interests were safe. But Africa was not really a place where the two superpowers had as strong an influence as Europe. So Walter Kolarz wrote in 1962, that from 40 million communists in the world, just 50.000 were active in Africa.² The European countries tried to maintain their influence in their former colonies. Even when they lost their power to the USA and USSR, France and the United Kingdom, but also Germany, tried to use their strong economic ties to different African countries to have influence in the country. Germany supported the government in South Africa, and was sending weapons to Pretoria, which were used against black rebels who fought for equal rights in the country. Also South Africa was able to build up Weapons of Mass Destruction.

South Africa's Weapons of Mass Destruction offers an in-depth view of the secret development and voluntary disarmament of South Africa's nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons program, "Project Coast". Helen E. Purkitt and Stephen F. Burgess explore how systems used for nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons in South Africa were acquired and established beyond the gaze of international and domestic political actors. On the basis of archival evidence from Project Coast and their own extensive interviews with military and political officials, Purkitt and Burgess consider what motivates countries to acquire and build such powerful weaponry and examine when and how decisions are made to dismantle a military arsenal voluntarily. They also question how to destroy weapons safely and keep them from reappearing on international markets, and examine comparative strategies for successful disarmament in other nation-states.³

After 1989 and the end of the cold war the situation in Africa changed. Many old dictators had to resign and go into exile. In South Africa the old government resigned and black and white tried to build a country which had place for both sides. Russia was not able to keep its influence in Africa. With the end of the USSR in 1991 and the economic problems under Yeltzin, Russia lost its influence in the world. Russia lost also its territorial area, which it had controlled for centuries, and many new countries were founded, which were not well prepared for being independent.⁴ Therefore it became more important for Russia to

1 Teilhatte, Yves-Henri & de la Foe, Sylvie: Les États-Unis et l'islam, Paris 2006, p.80ff

2 Kolarz, Walter: The Impact of Communism in West-Africa in: International Affairs, Vol 38, No.2 (April, 1962), pp. 156-169

3 Burgess, Stephen F. & Purkitt, Helen E.: South Africa's Weapons Of Mass Destruction, Indiana 2005

4 Brzezinski, Zbigniew: Die einzige Weltmacht – Amerikas Strategie der Vorherrschaft, Frankfurt a. Main 82004, p.132

maintain its former areas in Central Asia and the former Soviet republics than to enlarge its influence in Africa. ⁵

Many African states had little choice than to accept the conditions the United States and the European Union made them. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) are controlled by western countries and dictated to African governments how they were to spend the money.⁶ The western and democratic countries, mainly the United States and the European Union, have the structural power, not just in the IMF and WB, but also through control of the World Trade Organization (WTO), and they use their power to influence these institutions in their foreign policy.⁷ African governments tried to develop their countries, but unfortunately have not had chances to find new markets for their products. Western countries protect their markets and support their own agricultural industry, which has a well-organized lobby and is able to control the policy of the G8 countries. For example, in the EU, the agricultural lobby is strong and against open markets in Europe.⁸

African countries had massive problems in the 90s as old structures collapsed and the big powers in the world tried to organize the world after the cold war. The United States, and also European countries ignored the war in former Yugoslavia. The policy of ethnocentrism made by the new leaders in the Balkan states was an important factor for these conflicts.⁹ And later, since the second half of the 90s the Western world tried to stop the troubles in Europe. So in 1999 NATO attacked Yugoslavia during the Kosovo war and created a new case for operations. As a consequence of this war, and later the Iraq War, the United Nations are discussing new methods of reaction and whether countries should be allowed to do preemptive attacks against other countries or not.¹⁰

The world has also changed since the attack of 9/11. With the attacks in New York and Washington the western world saw that they have to help undeveloped countries. Afghanistan was a threat, because in this failed state, Al-Qaida was able to build up its own structures and was able to attack western countries. This threat was also seen in other failed states, like Somalia. For western politicians such countries became more and more important. Another factor was that since the end of the Kosovo war, the EU was able to stabilize the Balkans, and the new countries were working to become a member of the EU. Stephan Haessler wrote in 2004, that this „social“, „secular“ and „democratic“ Europe is serving to unite Europe and provide them with a sense of common identity. On the other hand, it has also begun to pose a challenge to the US.¹¹ Africa was, during the 90s and the first half of the first decade of the new millennium, still not interesting for Europe and the „united“ European society. For them the war in Iraq and the colored revolutions became more interesting.

The debate about the future of Europe has Turkey and also Ukraine in their main focus. The electoral triumph of opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko and the victory of the

5 Mangott, Gerhard: Russlands Außenpolitik – Fähigkeiten und Optionen in: Filzmaier, Peter et. al. [ed]: Internationale Politik, Vienna 2006, pp. 199-225

6 Ziegler, Jean: Die neuen Herrscher der Welt – und ihre globalen Widersacher, Munich 2002, p. 208ff

7 Becker, Maren a.o.: Globalisierung und Global Governance, Paderborn 2007, p. 157f

8 Russau., Christian: Durchsetzung internationaler Handelsregime zwischen Europäischer Union (EU) und dem Gemeinsamen Markt des Südens (Mercosur)?, Berlin 2004 , p.8

9 Sow, Adama: Ethnozentrismus als Katalysator bestehender Konflikte in Afrika südlich der Sahara, am Beispiel der Unruhen in Côte d'Ivoire, Stadtschlaining 2005, p.3f

10 Gareis, Sven B. & Varwick, Johannes: Die Vereinten Nationen – Aufgaben, Instrumente und Reformen, Opladen, 42006, pp.282-285

11 Haeseler, Stephan: Super-State – The new Europe and it's challenge to America, London 2004 , p.139

Ukrainian people over their country's corrupt leadership represent a new landmark in the post-communist history of eastern Europe, a seismic shift Westward in the geopolitics of the region.¹² In Eastern Europe, like Ukraine and Belarus, the European Union and also Russia tried to enlarge their influence. Many Ukrainian politicians are afraid of Russia. The country is still divided on whether it should have closer ties to Moscow or Brussels. Yuliya Tymoshenko wrote in 2007 before she became, for the second time, the prime minister of Ukraine, that Russia's imperial ambitions did not end with the fall of the Soviet Union. The Kremlin has returned to expansionism, trying to recapture great-power status at the expense of its neighbors, warns one of Ukraine's most prominent politicians. (Note: Are you still referring to Yuliya Tymoshenko as the "prominent politician"? If not, then you need a reference on who you are referring to. But if so, then I would recommend the following rewording from 2 sentences back: Yuliya Tymoshenko, one of Ukraine's most prominent politicians, wrote in 2007 before she became, for the second time, the prime minister of Ukraine, that ... etc. The Kremlin has returned to expansionism, trying to recapture great-power status at the expense of its neighbors, she warns.) The United States and Europe must counter with a strong response -- one that keeps Russia in check without sparking a new Cold War.¹³

The 21st century has changed much. The biggest change was 9/11. As a result of the deaths in New York and Washington the United States has changed their policy. George W. Bush had to act more in foreign policy as planned before the attacks. The geopolitical situation has changed and the United States tried to use their power to operate against the Taliban in Afghanistan. As a result they cooperated with Pakistan under Musharaf. Islamabad had to stop their support of the Taliban, so the traditional Afghanistan policy on Pakistan was failing.¹⁴ If they wanted to be more independent from the Arabic countries, the United States had to change their Middle East policy. The rise of China and India showed the Western world that they needed more and new sources for their resources. At the moment at the beginning of the 21st century more than 50% of China's oil supplies are from the Middle East.¹⁵ The rivalry with the United States and to a lesser extent India, Russia and Europe, proved to China that they required new sources of oil and other resources. Kay Möller wrote that China's interests in Africa, south of Sahara, is mainly politically inspired, except in Sudan, Gabon and Angola which are sources of oil for China. The rest of the economical potential has, since the 90s, been more potential than reality.¹⁶ For the United States, Africa became an important goal in their foreign policy. Africa has many new oil fields and for the US it's closer to their ports and also more stable, than the Middle East. The United States hopes to get much control of the oil in Africa. Here they are operating against China, which needs more and more oil for its own industry and the EU. The EU was, for a long time, able to dominate its former colonies and also European oil companies were able to control large areas of the African oil. During the cold war the United States were more interested in the Gulf than in Africa.

12 Karatnycky, Adrian. Ukraine's Orange Revolution, in: Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 2, (March/April 2005), pp. 35-52

13 Tymoshenko, Yuliya: Containing Russia, in: Foreign Affairs, Vol. 86, No. 3, (May/June 2007), pp. 69-82

14 Davoodi, Schoresch & Sow, Adama: The political crisis of Pakistan in 2007, EPU Research Paper Issue 08/07, Stadtschlaining 2007, p.3

15 Möller, Kay: Die Außenpolitik der Volksrepublik China 1949-2004, Wiesbaden 2005, p.207

16 *ibid.* p. 240

The Democratic Peace Theory

The democratic peace theory is very important and popular in modern times. With the end of USSR many people suggested that the world would become a more peaceful place. But many of the new democracies in the world have remaining conflicts. Bear F. Braumoeller wrote in 1997 about this case, that a democratic peace in the region of former USSR is therefore viable but particularly vulnerable to national issues, as well as to the effects of a concentration of political power in the hands of a narrow group of elites.¹⁷ Steele criticizes in 2007, from a constructivist point of view, that ontological—liberal democratic peace researchers' focus on events leads to an incomplete understanding of processes, structures, and agency. He wrote also, that epistemological—unlike constructivism, liberal democratic peace research fails to acknowledge the contamination of subject and object, or that state agents use theory to inform their actions; thus the traditionally positivist emphasis on outcomes instead of processes makes for faulty conclusions; and normative—liberalism's radical celebration of the individual desocialized states thereby inhibiting, in structural terms, the reflexive monitoring of actions.¹⁸

Still liberal scholars and politicians favor the Democratic Peace Theory. It's very popular and since 9/11 the United States has been changing its foreign policy. Many people thought that failed states are the reason for global terrorism. In failed and unfree countries like Afghanistan and Somalia, Al-Qaida was able to build up training camps and hide themselves. Terrorist organizations need such areas to organize themselves. Conditions like these are alternatively characterized as state versus sub-state conflicts, religious conflicts or the outgrowth of the rise in fundamentalism, class struggles between the West and the Third World resulting from globalization, and the lack of democratic governments in those states that breed terrorists. Whereas religious conflict is difficult to fix if true and globalization hard to stop, the democratic peace offers promise because changing the form of government is a conceivable goal. But would it help? Samuel Huntington provides an interesting, if unintended, challenge to the democratic peace in both *The Third Wave* and *The Clash of Civilizations*. If democracy is reversible under some circumstances, can it really lead to a lasting peace? If there are cultural divisions in the world, are these necessarily united by polity? If racism is real, does polity really eliminate it? According to Huntington, the democratic peace falters.¹⁹ The majority think that failed states can be stabilized if they have democratic structures. With such structures people hope that different groups will be integrated in the society and needn't use military force for their policy.

The government under G.W. Bush hoped to create a new democratic Iraq. They hoped a democratic Iraq would be a first step in the democratic development of the Arabic countries. These countries are mainly not free. Former US governments supported these governments in order to control the oil. Now this policy should be changed. The United States said that they want to do an active role in supporting democracy around the globe and especially in the Middle East. Bruce Russett from Yale wrote about this topic, that the invasion of Iraq has been justified, *ex post*, as for the purpose of promoting democratic peace. It does not, however, appear to have been a principal goal *ex ante*. Most democratic peace theorists, moreover, do not endorse democratic regime change by

17 Moeller, Bear F. : *Deadly Doves: Liberal Nationalism and the Democratic Peace in the Soviet Successor States*, in: *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Sep., 1997), pp. 375-402

18 Steele, Brent J.: *Liberal-Idealism: A Constructivist Critique*, in: *International Studies Review* 9 (1) 2007, pp. 23–52.

19 Xenias, Anastasia: *Can a Global Peace Last Even If Achieved? Huntington and the Democratic Peace*, in: *Can a Global Peace Last Even If Achieved? Huntington and the Democratic Peace*, in: *International Studies Review* 7 (3) 2005, pp. 357–386.

great-power external military intervention. Success is difficult to achieve (usually at high cost), and the conditions in Iraq were not promising even had the occupation been carried out more competently. Greater success in democratization has been achieved by UN peacekeeping operations, and by various regional international organizations using a variety of peaceful measures to ensure free elections, constrain authoritarian leaders, and empower democratic forces. International organizations, notably those whose membership is largely composed of democracies, are especially likely to succeed in promoting democracy.²⁰ Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett wrote that democratic states are in general about as conflict- and war-prone as non-democracies, but democracies have rarely clashed with one another in violent conflict. They first show that democracy, as well as other factors, accounts for the relative lack of conflict. Then they examined two explanatory models. The normative model suggests that democracies do not fight each other because norms of compromise and cooperation prevent their conflicts of interest from escalating into violent clashes. The structural model asserts that complex political mobilization processes impose institutional constraints on the leaders of two democracies confronting each other to make violent conflict unfeasible. Using different data sets of international conflict and a multiplicity of indicators, they find out that democracy, in and of itself, has a consistent and robust negative effect on the likelihood of conflict or escalation in a dyad; also both the normative and structural models are supported by the data; and support for the normative model is more robust and consistent.²¹ Harald Müller and Jonas Wolff wrote in 2004, that in recent years, a formerly rather isolated strand of democratic peace theory has experienced an impressive renaissance: the monadic idea of a general, albeit only relative, peacefulness of democracy. This is, firstly, due to new statistical support indicating that democracies are slightly, but significantly less involved in war than others, and that they initiate wars less frequently than non-democratic states. Secondly, even the most sophisticated dyadic explanations suffer from serious flaws. However, the (re-)turn to monadic explanations is neither necessary nor convincing. After all, the “dual finding” – that democracies though not fighting each other are in war with non-democracies in many cases and initiate such wars from time to time – remains valid. And the main weakness characterizing existing dyadic approaches can be attributed precisely to an unsolved tension between monadic premises and dyadic reasoning. We propose a genuine dyadic perspective that regards democratic features as fundamentally ambivalent and particularly contingent on the question of whether the interacting unit is another democracy or not. In relation to non-democracies, the normative imperative on war and peace deriving from liberal thought appears to be bifurcated between a “militant” and a “pacifist” view. Thus, the inter-democratic peace, the reality of “democratic wars” and the vast differences in external conduct dividing the community of democratic states can be explained.²²

Immanuel Kant wrote in 1795 in his work: „Zum ewigen Frieden,“ that at first no country should start to operate in the internal affairs of other countries.²³ He also wrote that just Republics are able to save peace. In Republics the people are more sensible and capable of handling such a question. As opposed to a monarchic state, in a republican state the people who decide, have also to take the consequences of such a decision.²⁴ But also other authors, like Machiavelli, wrote that Republics are more peaceful and if they need a

20 Russett, Bruce : Bushwhacking the Democratic Peace in: *International Studies Perspectives* 6 (4) 2005,pp. 395–408

21 Maoz, Zeev & Russett, Bruce: Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986, in: *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (Sep., 1993), pp. 624-638

22 Müller, Harald & Wolf, Jonas: *Dyadic Democratic Peace Strikes Back - Reconstructing the Social Constructivist Approach After the Monadic Renaissance*, Frankfurt 2004

23 Kant, Immanuel: *Zum ewigen Frieden*, Stuttgart 1984, p.6

24 *Ibid.* pp. 10 - 13

bigger territory they get it by forming a confederation between many republican states instead of starting a war to conquer the area.²⁵ Ernst-Otto Czempiel wrote in 1986, that peace needed the democratic republican system. And this political system needs peace too.²⁶ Thomas Risse-Kappen wrote, in 1996 that it is still accepted that democratic countries are peaceful in their relationship to each other. Democratic countries are linked economically and conflicts between democratic countries are often solved by third parties or international organizations. But there is no answer if democratic countries are generally more peaceful than non-democratic countries.²⁷ He also wrote about this topic in 1995 that, democracies are Janus-faced. While they do not fight each other, they are frequently involved in militarized disputes and wars with authoritarian regimes. The article argues that these two empirical findings on the dyadic level are under-theorized. After reviewing the prevailing explanations for the 'democratic peace', the article presents a social constructivist perspective starting from the so-called normative approach. To a large degree democracies create their friends and enemies — 'us' and 'them' — by inferring either defensive or aggressive motives from the domestic structures of their counterparts. On the one hand, they follow behavioral norms, externalizing their internal compromise-oriented and non-violent decision rules in their interactions with other democracies. On the other hand, the presumption of potential enmity creates a realist world of anarchy when democratic states interact with authoritarian regimes.²⁸ In analyzing the policy of the United States and the EU after 9/11 it can be said that democratic countries tried to promote their own political system. So they are not generally more peaceful than other political systems.

The relationship between Russia, which is a democratic country and NATO countries is full of conflicts. Putin criticizes that Russia wanted a peaceful policy but NATO countries and the United States are not interested and continue their aggressive policy towards Russia.²⁹ Since the presidency of Putin the relationship between Russia and the West has cooled once again. A major conflict between Russia and the West is the different point of view about democracy. Russia said they are going to create their own Russian way of a democratic country. The West argues that Russia is transforming back into a dictatorship and the democracy is in danger. Putin's policy is to create strong new ties and to rebuild the power of the central government.³⁰ Russia changes its behavior: much of the new policy towards the opposition in Russia is declared as protection of democracy and the state.³¹ It is more similar to Rousseau and his *volonté générale* than to the Federalists who wanted to protect the minority in the political process. Western politicians and scholars analyse democratic and political governments from their own political point of view. So for many foreign analysts Russia is not a democratic country. The western societies tried to change this case and try to use their influence to transform Russia into a more Western country.

Many authors opposed the part of democracy peace theory, that democratic states are generally not aggressive. John M. Owen IV wrote in Foreign Affairs Issue November/December 2005 about the book „*Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies*

25 Czempiel, Ernst-Otto: *Friedenstrategien*, Paderborn a.o. 1986, p.117

26 Ibid. p. 143

27 Risse-Kappen, Thomas: *Konfliktprävention durch Theorie?*, in: *Internationale Politik*, (8) 1996, pp. 8-16

28 Risse-Kappen, Thomas: *Democratic Peace — Warlike Democracies?* in: *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (1995) pp. 491-517

29 Schröder: *Arne: Russland, Europa und die USA in München: Sicherheitspolitik zwischen alten Gegensätzen und neuer Offenheit*, p.2

http://www.politik-im-netz.com/01_akt_t.pdf

30 Vogel, Heinrich: *Rußland ohne Demokratie – Konsequenzen für das Land und die europäische Politik*, Berlin 2004, p.8

31 Ibid. p. 11

Go to War“, that mature democracies may not fight each other. But immature democracies can be quite bellicose. Unfortunately, Iraq might end up fitting the pattern.³² There is a controversy in the question of democracy export. To change a government and to install a democracy is not a guarantee of a successful and stable government that will have peaceful behavior in foreign policy. It is suggested that it is necessary to have some social basics before there can be successful installation of a democratic system.³³

The democratic peace theory and global governance

The end of cold war led many western people to think that their system was the best. In their eyes the western democratic way of life is the winner of the Cold War. Wolfgang Merkel wrote that the second Gulf War has raised a number of socio-political questions, including whether waging war is a successful method for creating new democracies. Research on past armed interventions shows that war can indeed lead to democracy, but only if certain requirements, such as the continued support of 'hybrid' states after the conflict, are fulfilled.³⁴ The end of Cold war showed that the old confederations like the USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were failing. But political and economic communities like the European Union were still very popular. In the 90s many Eastern countries believed in the so called western World. For them, democracy and the „free market“, which is just a euphemism for capitalism, are a unity.

In the 90s foreign policy became increasingly more complicated. The number of NGOs which were registered at the UN rose rapidly.³⁵ Also NGOs became, since the 90s, more and more professional, working like professional companies. For the product of NGOs it is important to measure the effectiveness of their work.³⁶ NGOs became more and more like companies who were creating input for peace and were a new important factor in global governance. The new political economy showed that the classic state lost his monopoly in foreign politics. In the 21st century increasing numbers of factors became significant. This was because of the rising numbers of democratic countries since the end of the cold war. This new power of NGOs and their ability to set new agendas, created new impulse in foreign policy. The reports about the crisis in Somalia, reported by NGOs and published by media like the New York Times, created a debate in the United States so that the Clinton Administration reacted. Soon after these reports the United States was starting a humanitarian operation in Somalia.³⁷

Global governance became a much more important factor in foreign policy. The nation state lost his monopoly in foreign politics. Today the state has to share his power with many different powers who all try to influence foreign policy. Many new grassroots organizations have been able to influence political campaigns and to set new themes on the political agenda. Democratic rules became more and more important in foreign affairs. Democratic countries were more closely linked, and in Europe much of the power, even of the new independent countries, were soon transformed into new organizations such as the EU or NATO. Todd wrote about the impact of increased literacy on independence, and the fact that many former undemocratic countries had to change their governments because

32 Owen IV, John M.: Iraq and the Democratic Peace in: Foreign Affairs, Vol 84, no. 6, (November/December) 2005, pp.122-127

33 Schmidt, Manfred G.: Demokratietheorien, Opladen 32000, p.450f

34 Merkel, Wolfgang: Demokratie durch Krieg,
http://wzb.eu/zkd/dsl/pdf/Demokratie_durch_Krieg-WZBMit111.pdf

35 Sow, Adama: Chancen und Risiken von NGOs – Die Gewerkschaften in Guinea während der Unruhen 2007, EPU Research Paper Issue 03/07, Stadtschlaining 2007, p. 7

36 Frantz, Christiane & Marten, Kerstin: Nichtregierungsorganisationen [NGOs], Wiesbaden 2006, p.64

37 Zangel, Bernhard & Zürn, Michael: Frieden und Krieg, Frankfurt a. Main 2003, p.261f.

their population became progressively more independent and wanted more influence in the political participation.³⁸ Ziegler wrote that in Brazil more and more people want to be independent from the international institutions like the IMF, who are seen as a threat for democracy in Brazil.³⁹

The Threat of Democratic Peace Theory

The peril of the democratic peace theory is that many people believe that democratic states are more peaceful than other states. For instance, politicians and scholars can argue that if the political system of a country is changed, the country becomes more peaceful than it was in the past.

The solidarity of democratic countries can be transformed into a solidarity of exporting democratic structures around the world. For many people, the end of the cold war was a symbol for the victory of democracy. Germany and Japan are popular examples for the theory that if the political system was changed, the countries became more peaceful. Wolfgang Merkel wrote that this is not true. He wrote in 2006, that normally after the change of a system the new democratic countries would not be like Germany, Italy and Japan since the end of the 2nd World War. It is more likely that new democratic countries are changing their official system, but are not true democratic countries. He argues that normally such countries like Cambodia are „hybrid democratic“ countries. And such hybrid regimes are about 60 percent often in wars than pure democracies or undemocratic regimes.⁴⁰ Unstable democratic countries are a threat for their neighbors. New democratic parties can be founded on ethnic roots and so the different ethnic groups can transfer their problems into the political system. In the worst case, the new and weak democratic structures can collapse. Höpken wrote about the situation in Bulgaria since the end of the communist period, where the different parties in Bulgaria were working on de-escalation of the inner conflicts between the different ethnic groups.⁴¹ In contrast were the strong parties in the former Yugoslavia or USSR who were using a nationalistic program, and so many conflicts were escalating. The EU tried with its foreign policy to stabilize the new democracies. The countries which want to join the EU must guarantee human rights and democracy.⁴² The EU is, for many weak democracies in Middle- and Eastern Europe, a chance for stabilizing their democratic systems. The EU is a chance to develop the country and that the different groups, like the farmer, can benefit from money from the EU. So the democracies in Eastern Europe were stabilized by the EU. Nationalist movements had no chance to guarantee economic prosperity, like the parties who wanted to join the EU.

The elites in the western world believe that only a democratic system is able to prevent conflicts. So democratic elections are today, at the beginning of the 21st century, an important part in nation building. Compared to the 20th century, undemocratic positions are not as popular as democratic ones. At the moment there is no overriding ideology, except maybe that of Islamic fundamentalism, which is undemocratic and very popular. The communist movement was collapsing in 1989 and also China is today not a pure communist country. Of course, there must be separation between the political and the economic system in a country. Many people, even in the Anglo-Saxon parts of the world,

38 Todd, Emmanuel: Weltmacht USA ein Nachruf, Munich 2003, p.245f

39 Ziegler, Jean: Das Imperium der Schande, Munich 2005, p. 192-210

40 Merkel, Wolfgang: Demokratie durch Krieg? , p.1

41 Höpken, Wolfgang (ed.): Revolution auf Raten - Bulgariens Weg zur Demokratie, Oldenborg 1996, p. XXVII

42 Brunn, Gerhard: Die europäische Einigung von 1945 bis heute, Stuttgart 2002, p.295

believe that democracy and a capitalistic system are two parts of the same medal: that it is important that both systems are in a country to create freedom. That is not true. A capitalist system need not preclude political freedom. The Peoples Republic of China or Germany under Hitler are good examples. Also Chile under Pinochet was a pure capitalistic country, but there was not any political freedom. Rousseau wrote that in a perfect democratic country, the people have to be economically equal because if a society is too heterogenic there will be too many conflicts and the system will collapse.

Still a criticism of this is that democracies that are not stable often fall victim to populist leaders. It is what Max Weber called charismatic leadership. A democratic society needs always different leaders in the political process. Leaders of democratic parties or social movements are also important, including for instance, leaders of labor unions. A charismatic leader is important in democratic systems. He needs his power to influence the people. Since the time of mass-media the style and what the different candidates and leaders are wearing and how they say something, has become more important than the political messages. Today democratic countries live in the time of mass-media. The democratic society is influenced by the media, which creates new topics in the political discussion. There is also the opinion that media can create policy and not just report it. Otfried Jarren wrote about media and politics, that there is a threat that media have become more and more an independent factor. Also they won't accept the rules which are given by the democratic organs like the parliament for example.⁴³ Another criticism is that today the placement of politics is more important than a factual acquaintance of questions of common welfare.⁴⁴ The „third wave” of democracy which started in 1989 comes nearly twenty years later to an end. Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution wrote in 2008, that after decades of historic gains, the world has slipped into a democratic recession. Predatory states are on the rise, threatening both nascent and established democracies throughout the world. But this trend can be reversed with the development of good governance and strict accountability and the help of conditional aid from the West.⁴⁵ If the West has to support these kind of movements, so many governments and also the people can not create their own way of democracy. It could be similar to the times of the cold war, when the Western World tried everything to contain the USSR and expand its own influence in the world.

The enlargement of NATO and other organizations of democratic countries can be seen two ways. On the one hand, a greater NATO is able to stabilize the new and unstable democratic countries. But if this case is analyzed by a realistic theory, then the alliance of Democratic countries in NATO gets stronger and stronger with every new member. And every new member of NATO increases the power of the US. For the undemocratic countries outside the „democratic Commonwealth”, a word Harald Müller uses to describe the democratic countries in Europe and North-America which are linked by many different kind of organizations, they can see the rising power of democratic countries as a threat. On the other hand the rising power changes the foreign policy of the democratic countries into a more aggressive way to undemocratic ones.⁴⁶ During the NATO Meeting in 2008 NATO was not able to expand to Eastern Europe. Russia was against any NATO

43 Jarren, Otfried: „Mediengesellschaft“ - Risiken für die politische Kommunikation in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B41-42, Bonn 2001, pp. 10-19

44 Balzer, Axel & Geilich, Marvin: Politische Kommunikation in der Gegenwartsgesellschaft - Politikvermittlung zwischen Kommunikation und Inszenierung, p.18

45 Diamond, Larry: The Democratic Rollback – The Resurgence of the Predatory State, in: Foreign Affairs, Vol. 87, No. 2, (March/April) 2008, pp. 36-48

46 Müller, Harald: Supermacht in der Sackgasse? - Die Weltordnung nach dem 11. September, Frankfurt a. Main 2003, p.53

members at its borders and President Bush was not able to do anything against the strategy of Germany. The NATO meeting in Romania was not successful and the Russian President Putin warned NATO during the meeting to expand to the Russian border.⁴⁷ NATO sees itself now as an organization of democratic countries which have to stabilize the new and weak democratic countries. Russia still sees NATO not as a partner but as a rival for its interests in Europe. Putin tried to stop similar movements, such as the one in Ukraine, so that there would not be a similar revolution.

Larry Diamond wrote in his article in *Foreign Affairs*, in large, strategically important countries, such as Nigeria and Russia, the expansion of executive power, the intimidation of the opposition, and the rigging of the electoral processes have extinguished even the most basic form of electoral democracy.⁴⁸ The democratic movement gets weaker and weaker and the Western World is not able to use its economical power and its political influence to support the democratic movement in the world. The major problem for the West is that with the end of the 90s the hegemony of the Western world came to an end. The United States, which has dominated the world, lost its power and its influence during the Leadership of G.W. Bush. Since 9/11 the United States started the War on Terror. But during that new kind of war, the United States lost their reputation in the world. They do not accept Kyoto, and with the camp in Guantanamo they lost their reputation. With that kind of behavior, they have come under pressure from the new actors in world policy. Richard N. Haas wrote about the new world order, and what will follow the U.S. dominance as the world becomes more and more multi-polar. International relations in the 21st century will be defined by non-polarity. Power will be diffuse rather than concentrated, and the influence of nation-states will decline as that of non-state actors increases. In his opinion Washington can still manage the transition.⁴⁹ But it can not dominate the new world order.

Even before the time of G.W. Bush and the war in Iraq, some scholars wrote that the United States are not able to have a hegemony in the world. David Wilkinson wrote in 1999, that the current configuration of the world system is unipolarity without hegemony. He added that plausible exit scenarios from the current unipolar non-hegemonic phase exists for the U.S. hegemony, for bipolarity and tri-polarity (via the rise of the EU and/or China) or for multi-polarity (via U.S. Introversion.) Non-hegemonic unipolarity affects the characteristic structure of „deadly quarrels“ in the world system and allows some approaches in the policy issue of „deadly quarrels“ not readily available in less centralized system structures.⁵⁰ A popular western position is that democracy and economical wealth are linked. A country has to be a democratic one to have a successful economical situation. Political freedom and wealth can not be separated. This position is very popular in the United States. Since the end of World War Two, the United States views their way of life as a symbol for good governance.

The threat of the democratic peace theory is that the United States, and a bit less the West, can try to support, with all kinds of power, the democratic movement and try to use the methods of the cold war. So democratic countries can use military force to export democracy. Jeffrey Pickering and Emizet F. Kisangani from Kansas State University wrote

47 Der Tagesspiegel: Putin warnt Nato vor "direkter Bedrohung" April 4th, 2008

<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/international/Nato-Gipfel:art123,2506905> 16.04.08

48 Diamond, Larry: *The Democratic Rollback – The Resurgence of the Predatory State*, p. 36

49 Haas, Richard N.: *The Age of Nonpolarity – What will Follow U.S. Dominance*, in: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 3, (May/June),

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501faessay87304/richard-n-haas/the-age-of-nonpolarity.html>

50 Wilkinson, David: *Unipolarity without Hegemony*, in: *International Studies Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, *Prospects for International Relations: Conjectures about the Next Millennium* (Summer, 1999), pp. 141-172

in 2006 about military actions by democratic states against undemocratic ones. They said about foreign military intervention, that this is the most common type of interstate military force over the last decades. They said also, after analyzing more than 1000 cases, that they do not leave a significant imprint on governing institutions or economic growth rates. Also there is no imprint on physical quality of life in developing democracies. But they can help to democratize non democratic targets.⁵¹

For the neo-conservatives in the US, the source of instability is bad governance. Bad governance is a reason for failed states, and failed states are a secure harbor for terrorists. In their eyes it is necessary to reform the Arab countries.⁵² The United States have to democratize these countries. But in the end the new wars will be very similar to those which had been fought in the cold war. Olivier Roy wrote that the idea of democratization of countries is today very popular. Many NGOs and Institutions like the World Bank are creating programs to stimulate processes to democratize and transform societies into western-like society.⁵³ Unfortunately modernization does not change a society automatically into a liberal and democratic one.⁵⁴

These programs show a new kind of a mission and are very similar to the paroles of the colonialism during the Imperialism area in 19th and 20th century. In the eyes of the elites in the former colonies, these parallels are easy to see, but the problem is, there is no way to communicate with western people about this topic. The result is frustration in the relationship between North and South and this lack of communication and respect on both sides was a reason for the failure of the EU-African Meeting in 2008.

A main problem is that many western and „free“ countries have sympathy with countries that have a similar political culture. So since the end of the cold war, many governments tried to end the way of realistic foreign policy and are following the ideology of democratic peace. In the eyes of many people in the Western world, the fall of the USSR was not a result of the reforms during Gorbachev. It was mainly a result of the structural mistakes of the Soviet political and economical system. Ironically Putin was able to recreate the state, which was destroyed during the time of Jelzin and has now strengthened the Russian state. In contrast to the Western world, he has translated the democratic system into the Russian political culture, which prefers a strong state. This is the reverse of the Western, and here mainly US, political culture, which sees the government mainly as a threat, in opposite to European positions.⁵⁵ The same can be said to the Russian political culture.

It is also a threat, that if a Western country tried to modernize a country without analyzing the culture and the political culture of the target country, it would not be able to create a stable democratic country. A good example for such a failure is the US policy in Iraq, after the US had occupied the country.⁵⁶ The crusade for Democracy has a long tradition in democratic countries. Democratic countries see their system as a universal one.⁵⁷ Spencer R. Weart wrote in 1998, that the zone of democratic peace is going to expand. He said that existing democracies will keep striving, prudently or not, to reproduce their own kind, and

51 Kisangani , Emizet F. & Pickering, Jeffrey: Political, Economic, and Social Consequences of Foreign Military Intervention, in: *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (Sep., 2006), pp. 363-376

52 Roy, Olivier: *Der falsche Krieg, - Islamisten, Terrorismus und die Irrtümer des Westens*, Berlin 2007, p.39ff

53 Ibid. p. 44f

54 Roy, Olivier: *Der islamische Weg nach Westen*, Munich 2006, p.154

55 Todd, Emmanuel: *Weltmacht USA – Ein Nachruf*, p. 222

56 Roy, Olivier: *Der falsche Krieg, - Islamisten, Terrorismus und die Irrtümer des Westens*, p.

57 Weart, Spencer R.: *Never at War – Why Democracies will not fight one another*, Yale 1998, p.270f

wherever a new democracy emerges they will tend to support it against its enemies.⁵⁸

The Conflict in Zimbabwe and the Export of Democracy

In 2008 the European Union and the governments of many African countries had a meeting. It was a huge failure. Between the EU and many African governments the discussion about the situation in Zimbabwe was the reason for the failure.

Zimbabwe is often criticized for the situation of Human Rights abuses in the country. The U.S. Department of State writes that since 2000, the United States has taken a leading role in condemning the Zimbabwean Government's increasing assault on human rights and the rule of law, and has joined much of the world community in calling for the Government of Zimbabwe to embrace a peaceful democratic evolution. In 2002 and 2003, the United States imposed targeted measures on the Government of Zimbabwe, including financial and visa sanctions against selected individuals, a ban on transfers of defense items and services, and a suspension of non-humanitarian government-to-government assistance.⁵⁹ Zimbabwe is a good example of „bad governance“. Bad governance describes the failure of policy in a country or a political structure. A study published by the CATO Institute in 2004, wrote that bad economic policy—bad governance—matters a great deal for economic development. Their estimates suggest that bad governance can easily destroy significant per capita growth in countries that can least afford it. That has clearly been the case in most African countries.⁶⁰ Zimbabwe is actually ranked 151st on the Human Development Index.⁶¹ Zimbabwe is ranked Not Free in the 2008 edition of *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House's survey of political rights and civil liberties, and in the 2007 version of *Freedom of the Press*.⁶² The life expectancy between 2000 and 2005 was falling because of AIDS to about 35 years.⁶³ This shows the low development of the country. Amnesty International reports on the bad human right situation in the country.⁶⁴ In its last report they wrote: „*The human rights situation continued to deteriorate, in a context of escalating poverty. Freedom of expression, assembly and association continued to be curtailed. Hundreds of people were arrested for participating or attempting to engage in peaceful protest. Police were accused of torturing human rights defenders in custody. The situation of thousands of people whose homes were destroyed as part of Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order) in 2005 continued to worsen, with no effective solution planned by the authorities. The government continued to obstruct humanitarian efforts by the UN and by local and international non-governmental organizations.*“⁶⁵

The government of Zimbabwe is not very popular in the Western world. Mainly the mass-media reported about the bad human rights situation generally, and specially about the conflict between the black African government and the white European farmers, who lived in the country and were forced to leave their farms. The media in Europe and the United

58 Ibid. p.296

59 US State Department: Background Note Zimbabwe,
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5479.htm> 16.04.08

60 Osborne, Evan: Measuring bad governance. in: The Cato journal. Vol. 23, No. 3, 2004, pp. 403-422

61 United Nations Development Programme (ed.): Human Development Report 2007/2008, New York 2007, p.288

62 Freedom House: Zimbabwe Summit Tests SADC Integrity, April 11th 2008
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=70&release=645> 21.04.08

63 Filtzmaier, Peter et al. : Internationale Politik, Vienna 2006, p.151

64 Amnesty International: Zimbabwe
<http://thereport.amnesty.org/eng/Regions/Africa/Zimbabwe> 17.04.08

65 Amnesty International (ed.): Amnesty International Report 2007, London 2007, p.286

States are mainly on the side of the farmer and there is no discussion about the reasons for such a behavior by Mugabe. Mainly it is seen as a method by the government to create a new enemy so the people won't be against the government in Harare. Zimbabwe is seen as a failing state. It still has a government, unlike Afghanistan for example, but the country is in a worse economical situation.

Mugabe came to power after a war against the white government which was led by Smith. Mugabe won the free elections after the war, because he had demonstrated that only he could end the war. Also Mugabe was able to present himself as the man most able to reunify the families and end the European and white domination of the country.⁶⁶ Many other people who were working on the liberation of Zimbabwe in the 80ies had accepted the leadership of Mugabe and the ZANU.⁶⁷ He was at the beginning a hope for his country, but things had changed over the years. Robert I. Rotberg, Director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and President of the World Peace Foundation, wrote in 2000 in *Foreign Affairs*, that venal (corrupt) leaders are the curse of Africa, and Robert Mugabe is a walking reminder of how much damage they can do. No mere thug like Idi Amin, the gifted Mugabe created modern Zimbabwe and then robbed it of its enormous potential. The comparatively well-run, well-off country that he inherited is now a corruption-riddled, autocratic mess sent into economic free fall by its kleptomaniac president's whims -- including tampering with elections, sending troops to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and hiring goons to invade white-owned farms. An indulgent world contributed to Mugabe's sense of invincibility. Rotberg added, that instead, he and his ilk should be ostracized.⁶⁸ Mugabe tried always to present himself as a man who was fighting against the whites who had repressed the black people. He wrote in 1987 in *Foreign Affairs*, that the Republic of South Africa is both engaging in a 'vicious and ugly' civil war and 'waging an undeclared war against its neighbors'. After reviewing RSA intervention in Mozambique and Angola, and arguing that the front-line states are opposed to apartheid, not to whites or to Western interests, there were calls for US policy-makers to match words with deeds, namely by backing a policy of economic sanctions.⁶⁹

In the late 90s of the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century, Mugabe used the social problems between the white people and the black ones to start racial conflicts in order to stay in power. In 2002 CNN reported that the Commercial Farmers' Union told CNN that 2,900 farmers must prepare to surrender their farms to landless Zimbabweans in line with Section 8 of the government's Land Requisition Act.⁷⁰ For Mugabe this act was a part in his agenda to mobilize the people for his party and to keep his image as the man who had liberated the country from the influence of the white people who had occupied the country. He used the problems with the land to mobilize the people and used the white minority as a patsy. Mugabe said he uses the internal conflict between the races to liberate and to democratize the people. A research paper by Maguwu, published by European University of Peace Studies, wrote in 2007 that it is wrong to see the conflict as a conflict between two races. The situation is more complicated. The land reform in Zimbabwe was not

66 Johnson, Phyllis & Martin, David: *The Struggle for Zimbabwe – The Chimurenga War*, London 1981, p.328

67 Ranger, Terence: *The Changing of the Old Guard: Robert Mugabe and the Revival of ZANU*, in: *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Special Issue on Contemporary Politics (Oct., 1980), pp. 71-90

68 Rotberg, Robert I.: *Africa's Mess, Mugabe's Mayhem*, in: *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 79, No. 5, (September/October 2000), pp. 47-61

69 Mugabe, Robert G.: *Struggle for Southern Africa*, in: *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 66. No. 2. 1987/1988 (December/January) , pp. 311-327.

70 CNN.com: *New crisis for Zimbabwe farmers*, June 24, 2002 Posted: 1:18 PM EDT (1718 GMT)
<http://archives.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/africa/06/24/zimbabwe.farmers/index.html> 21.04.08

without politically motivated violence and racial hatred. But of further concern is the violence against the opposition supporters who, just like the perpetrators, did not own any land. The exercise was carried out in an atmosphere of war, with the government officially code-naming it Third Chimurenga (Third war of liberation). The example of Iraq and Afghanistan reveals that war is not a good carrier for democracy. Violence is always likely to lead to revenge and more violence.⁷¹

So Mugabe is not able to use the conflict as a method to democratize the country and to solve the social problems of the people. The war against the white minority is not a method to liberate the people. He uses the methods he knows and he tried to see the actual conflict as a new chapter of a fight he had begun once long ago. Mugabe is, because of his past, very popular by many African leaders. Many leaders in Africa see him as a man who liberated his country. So they refused the Western critics to Mugabe's policy, as some kind of new Colonialism. But British Prime-Minister Brown continues to criticize Mugabe's policy. The British paper Daily Mail wrote on April 12th 2008, that Gordon Brown made a dramatic intervention in Zimbabwe's disputed election, issuing a stark warning to President Robert Mugabe that international patience with the regime was "wearing thin".⁷²

The German Chancellor Angela Merkel criticized Mugabe during the EU Africa Summit. Merkel has changed the German foreign policy. During the time of Gerhard Schröder, Germany opposed the idea of exporting democracy and was trying to make a policy of balance of power. But this has changed with Angela Merkel. Soern Ken wrote about the meeting between US President George W. Bush with the new German Chancellor Angela Merkel at the White House on 13 January 2005, that the meeting paved the way for an easing of tensions between Germany and the United States after three years of friction. In what Merkel called the opening of a 'new chapter' in US-German relations, she promised to work closely with Washington to achieve a common approach to the nuclear crisis in Iran. The two leaders also laid the groundwork for greater cooperation in the war on terror. And in an important shift in German policy, Merkel proclaimed that 'NATO is the forum' for transatlantic discussions about security. As American strategists digest all the good news, however, they will be most happy about her indirect repudiation of the long-standing Franco-German axis. Merkel's efforts to strengthen Germany's bilateral ties with pro-American allies such as Britain and Poland will restore to Berlin its traditional role as mediator between Europe and America. Merkel's ascendancy will therefore re-establish a healthy balance in Europe, one that Atlanticism is in outlook.⁷³ Merkel has changed the German foreign policy. Germany got closer ties to the United States and she tried to put a main focus on Human Rights in the world. *Realpolitik* has not a high priority in the German foreign policy during the government of Angela Merkel. Merkel was heavily attacking Mugabe and his policy during the EU-Africa Summit in December 2007.⁷⁴ Mugabe replied that Merkel is arrogant and she and other western countries are talking wrong things about Zimbabwe. Also the president of Senegal was protecting Mugabe.⁷⁵ However, the British

71 Maguwu, Farai: Land Reform, Famine and Environmental Degradation in Zimbabwe, EPU Research Papers, Issue 06/07, Stadtschlaining 2007, p.15

72 Daily Mail: Brown issues stark warning to Mugabe as the defiant Zimbabwean President snubs emergency summit, April 12th 2008
http://www.dailymail.co.uk/pages/live/articles/news/worldnews.html?in_article_id=559167&in_page_id=1811
23.04.08

73 Kern, Soeren: The United States, Germany and the new Balance of Power in Europe (ARI),
<http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/893/Kern893.pdf> 25.04.08

74 SPIEGEL-Online: Merkel rechnet mit Mugabes Politik ab, December 8th 2007
<http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,522185,00.html> 25.04.08

75 Die Welt: Diktator Mugabe wirft Merkel Arroganz vor, December 9th 2007
http://www.welt.de/politik/article1444696/Diktator_Mugabe_wirft_Merkel_Arroganz_vor.html 25.04.08

Prime Minister Brown had a similar point of view to Merkel and, as noted above, was against Mugabe at the EU Africa Meeting. Because of Mugabe, Brown refused to come and meet the other presidents and African Leaders during the meeting. He announced that in July 2007.⁷⁶

For the Western politician it became increasingly complicated to act right in such cases. Since the beginning of the 21st century, Western countries and societies tried to export their kind of society and democracy. Africa is, in the western view, still a continent which needs to get democratized by the Western world. At the same time however, many people and leaders in Africa became more and more independent, but they are also afraid that the European leaders will not accept them as equal partners.

Many people in the Western world see Africa as a number of failed states which are not able to reform themselves. Therefore many Western think-tanks and institutions believe that Democracy is the key to reform the African countries and societies. Actually many people in the Western world are against Mugabe. His reputation is very bad in the Western public opinion. James R. Arnold wrote that Mugabe had betrayed his original promises of freedom and work between white and blacks. Instead Mugabe and his party had established a dictatorship based on terror. Human rights organizations worldwide criticize his policies.⁷⁷ Now the situation in Zimbabwe has become more and more critical. Zimbabwe had elections in early 2008. Many people do not believe that Mugabe will accept the vote, if he loses the elections. At the end of April more than two weeks after the elections there are still no official results. But many people believe that Mugabe had lost them. Parallel to the reports of the elections NGOs like Human Rights Watch reported that Mugabe uses force against its people to stay in power.⁷⁸ Mugabe's party, the ZANU-PF, lost the elections, and also a recount of the votes initiated by the ZANU-PF did not change the results in the country.⁷⁹ Reports said Mugabe does not respect the results and tried to act against the opposition in the country.⁸⁰ The government of Zimbabwe has a bad reputation in the western world. For example, the U.S. opposition that branded Zimbabwe an "entirely inappropriate" choice, Zimbabwe was re-elected in 2005 to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.⁸¹ The government of Zimbabwe has a similar problem to the government of Guinea in 2006. Both are under the pressure of NGOs and their western allies to change their behavior. The British Prime Minister Gordon Brown virtually accused Robert Mugabe of trying to steal Zimbabwe's presidential vote. He also told a meeting of the UN Security Council on April 16th 2008, that no one believes Mugabe won.⁸² For Mugabe it became more and more complicated, because in contrast to the EU-African summit, South Africa could not support him as much as he and Mbeki wished. The Washington Post reported that "South Africa Joins Call for Release Of Zimbabwe Election Results." The paper wrote also that the comments of Maseko, the South African

76 The Sunday Times : Brown: I'll stay away from summit if Mugabe goes, July 15th 2007
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article2076007.ece> 25.04.08

77 Arnold, James R.: Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe, Minneapolis 2008, p.7f

78 Tagesanzeiger: Stichwahl zwischen Tsvangirai und Mugabe, April 30th 2008
<http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/dyn/news/ausland/866300.html> 01.05.08

79 Baseler-Zeitung: Zimbabwe: Opposition auch nach Neuauszählungen vorne
<http://www.baz.ch/news/rss.cfm?keyID=d9d08a04-1208-4059-9e63e3737491f484&startpage=1&ObjectID=89DE3E4D-1422-0CFC-2087FA00D577EEB9> 01.05.08

80 Tagesanzeiger: Mugabe-Partei hat Wahlen verloren, April 26th 2008
<http://www.tagesanzeiger.ch/dyn/news/ausland/865036.html> 01.05.08

81 CNN.online: Zimbabwe retains human rights role, April 28th 2005
<http://edition.cnn.com/2005/US/04/27/zimbabwe.un/index.html> 01.05.08

82 Guardian.co.uk: No one thinks Mugabe won election, Brown tells UN, April 16th 2008
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2008/apr/16/foreignpolicy.zimbabwe> 01.05.08

government spokesman, came amid mounting international frustration with both Mugabe and South African President Thabo Mbeki, the most powerful diplomatic player in the region.⁸³ South Africa and the Western countries got more and more in conflict about Zimbabwe. South Africa rejected the idea of sending a UN-Team to Harare to observe the situation in the country.⁸⁴ Mbeki's policy towards Zimbabwe was also criticized by his rival Zuma. Zuma said: *"The region cannot afford a deepening crisis in Zimbabwe. The situation is more worrying now, given the reported violence that has erupted in the country."*⁸⁵

The solidarity between the democratic states and their supporters is against Mbeki's solidarity with his partner Mugabe. It would be dangerous for the ANC if the party became too close with Mugabe and his policies because they could lose their own reputation. Zuma presented himself more as a supporter for Democracy and opposed the position of the authoritarian and unfree governments in Africa.⁸⁶

Power-sharing as a Way out of Violence

For Zimbabwe there is a way to solve this crisis in a peaceful way. The people who are leading the different groups must accept each other as partners in this crisis. Those opposed to Mugabe have to reject the idea of bringing him to a court, like people in the Western world would like to see. Such a result would not be acceptable to the followers of Mugabe and could escalate the situation. The opposition should be on the one side, very careful in accepting too much help from the western countries, which would present a Western solution, made by their own culture but would not be compatible with the African civilization. Elderly people have a high reputation in African cultures. They are respected people and the society accepts their influence. Mugabe had done much for the country, and had liberated the country from the whites; but sadly he used his experience gained under Smith to continue the fight, so Zimbabwe lost many of its chances.

Zimbabwe needs many reforms and a new government needs to stabilize the economy. It is true that democracy will help the country on their way to reforming their economical situation. But it would only be able to work if the new government has much respect of the people, and don't fill their pockets with money. The democratic system can help to stabilize the inner political situation and so the country would be able to get reintegrated into the world economical system. Zimbabwe has to cooperate with its white minority and has to respect the ownership of the farms. Instead of stealing the land, a new government should try to use taxes to transfer money to the people. The country needs the know-how of the farmers to get development started. A war between the people will continue the brain-drain of the country and weaken the political, economical and social situation.

In many developed countries, the agricultural sector has jobs just for a minority of people, so the country is able to create jobs in other parts of the economy. By doing this, a new democratic government could gain the trust of the international organizations like the World Bank and so on. A new democratic government has the chance to also get support from the experts who emigrated. But this new government must also cooperate with the

83 Washington Post: S. Africa Joins Call for Release Of Zimbabwe Election Results, April 18th 2008
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/04/17/AR2008041701699.html> 01.05.08

84 Tagesschau:

85 Independent Online: World media criticises Mbeki, April 17th 2008
http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=68&art_id=vn20080417055059226C424051 01.05.08

86 24.com: Zim delay not acceptable – Zuma, April 22th 2008
<http://www.24.com/news/?p=afa&i=897340> 01.05.08

old elites. Mugabe and his followers are still in a strong position. They maintain a big influence in the country and the opposition should try to cooperate with them. They should tell them that they won't start a war against them, but should also recommend that they should accept the peaceful change. They should cooperate with the new generation of African leaders and ignore the members in the African elites who are not interested in a peaceful change, and still show respect for Mugabe as the man he was in the past. In African societies the generational conflict dominates the inner African policy.

This conflict about new ways of life and resources of the country was always a big catalytic factor in African conflicts and wars. The young generation was influenced with new ideas from outside of Africa and so they rebelled against the old establishment. The reason is simple: with old people who are not interested in creating something new it is hard to work. On the other hand they should cooperate with the new forces in the countries, especially in South Africa, where the ANC has tried to distance itself from Mugabe. Here the new governments will have a chance to cooperate and to develop the country. Both groups should share the power. More is seen in Johan Galtung's model of power-sharing. The Western world should try to help the African moderators to handle the situation in Zimbabwe by themselves. It will be harder if the Western World tries to use their economical power in a confrontational way to overthrow the government in Zimbabwe. Even when such a method might gain more political power for the Western Leaders they could present their population as a fighter for democracy, and therefore they won't have enough respect and reputation for the new projects they need to stabilize the country and use good governance for Zimbabwe.

Mugabe is an old man, his time is over, but he should be accepted as a part of the history of the country. The democratic countries shouldn't act too fast, because it is good for their ideology to export their system. Democracy can only be successful if it is widely accepted by all, including the strong minorities. If it is not, the democratic system stands the chance of collapsing and the reputation of Democracy will be damaged.

Bibliography

- Amnesty International (ed.): Amnesty International Report 2007, London 2007
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew: Die einzige Weltmacht – Amerikas Strategie der Vorherrschaft, Frankfurt a. Main 82004
- Brunn, Gerhard: Die europäische Einigung von 1945 bis heute, Stuttgart 2002
- Burgess, Stephen F. & Purkitt, Helen E.: South Africa's Weapons Of Mass Destruction, Indiana 2005
- Czempiel, Ernst-Otto: Friedenstrategien, Paderborn a.o. 1986
- Davoodi, Schoresch & Sow, Adama: The political crisis of Pakistan in 2007, EPU Research Paper Issue 08/07, Stadtschlaining 2007
- Diamond, Larry: The Democratic Rollback – The Resurgence of the Predatory State, in: Foreign Affairs, Vol. 87, No. 2, (March/April) 2008, pp. 36-48
- Filzmaier, Peter; Gewessler, Leonore; Höll, Otmar; Mangott, Peter: Internationale Politik, Vienna 2006
- Frantz, Christiane & Marten, Kerstin: Nichtregierungsorganisationen [NGOs], Wiesbaden 2006
- Gareis, Sven B. & Varwick, Johannes: Die Vereinten Nationen – Aufgaben, Instrumente und Reformen, Opladen, 42006
- Haass, Richard N.: The Age of Nonpolarity – What will Follow U.S. Dominance, in: Foreign Affairs, Vol. 87, No. 3, (May/June), <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501faessay87304/richard-n-haass/the-age-of-nonpolarity.html>
- Haeseler, Stephan: Super-State – The new Europe and it's challenge to America, London 2004
- Höpken, Wolfgang (ed.): Revolution auf Raten - Bulgariens Weg zur Demokratie, Oldenborg 1996
- Jarren, Otfried: „Mediengesellschaft“ - Risiken für die politische Kommunikation in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B41-42, Bonn 2001, pp. 10-19
- Johnson, Phyllis & Martin, David: The Struggle for Zimbabwe – The Chimurenga War, London 1981
- Kant, Immanuel: Zum ewigen Frieden, Stuttgart 1984
- Karatnycky, Adrian. *Ukraine's Orange Revolution*, in: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 2, (March/April 2005), pp. 35-52
- Kolarz, Walter: The Impact of Communism in West-Africa in: *International Affairs*, Vol 38, No.2 (April, 1962), pp. 156-169
- Maoz, Zeev & Russett, Bruce: Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986, in: *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (Sep., 1993), pp. 624-638
- Mangott, Gerhard: Russlands Außenpolitik – Fähigkeiten und Optionen in: Filzmaier, Peter et. al. [ed]: Internationale Politik, Vienna 2006, pp. 199-225
- Merkel, Wolfgang: Demokratie durch Krieg, http://wzb.eu/zkd/dsl/pdf/Demokratie_durch_Krieg-WZBMit111.pdf
- Moeller, Bear F. : Deadly Doves: Liberal Nationalism and the Democratic Peace in the Soviet Successor States, in: *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (Sep., 1997), pp. 375-402
- Möller, Kay: Die Außenpolitik der Volksrepublik China 1949-2004, Wiesbaden 2005
- Müller, Harald: Supermacht in der Sackgasse? - Die Weltordnung nach dem 11. September, Frankfurt a. Main 2003

Müller, Harald & Wolf, Jonas: *Dyadic Democratic Peace Strikes Back - Reconstructing the Social Constructivist Approach After the Monadic Renaissance*, Frankfurt 2004

Osborne, Evan: Measuring bad governance. in: *The Cato journal*. Vol. 23, No. 3, 2004, pp. 403-422

Owen IV, John M.: Iraq and the Democratic Peace in: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 84, no. 6, (November/December) 2005, pp.122-127

Risse-Kappen, Thomas: Democratic Peace — Warlike Democracies? in: *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (1995) pp. 491-517

Risse-Kappen, Thomas: Konfliktprävention durch Theorie?, in: *Internationale Politik*, (8) 1996, pp. 8-16

Rotberg, Robert I.: Africa's Mess, Mugabe's Mayhem, in: *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 79, No. 5, (September/October 2000), pp. 47-61

Roy, Olivier: *Der islamische Weg nach Westen*, Munich 2006

Roy, Olivier: *Der falsche Krieg, - Islamisten, Terrorismus und die Irrtümer des Westens*, Berlin 2007

Russau., Christian: *Durchsetzung internationaler Handelsregime zwischen Europäischer Union (EU) und dem Gemeinsamen Markt des Südens (Mercosur)?*, Berlin 2004

Schmidt, Manfred G.: *Demokratiethorien*, Opladen 32000

Schröder, Arne: *Russland, Europa und die USA in München: Sicherheitspolitik zwischen alten Gegensätzen und neuer Offenheit*, http://www.politik-im-netz.com/01_akt_t.pdf

Sow, Adama: Chancen und Risiken von NGOs – Die Gewerkschaften in Guinea während der Unruhen 2007, EPU Research Paper Issue 03/07, Stadtschlaining 2007

Sow, Adama: Ethnozentrismus als Katalysator bestehender Konflikte in Afrika südlich der Sahara, am Beispiel der Unruhen in Côte d'Ivoire, Stadtschlaining 2005

Steele, Brent J.: Liberal-Idealism: A Constructivist Critique, in: *International Studies Review* 9 (1) 2007, pp. 23–52

Teilhatte, Yves-Henri & de la Foe, Sylvie: *Les États-Unis et l'islam*, Paris 2006

Todd, Emmanuel: *Weltmacht USA ein Nachruf*, Munich 2003

Tymoshenko, Yuliya: Containing Russia, in: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 3, (May/June 2007), pp. 69-82

Vogel, Heinrich: *Rußland ohne Demokratie – Konsequenzen für das Land und die europäische Politik*, Berlin 2004

Weart, Spencer R.: *Never at War – Why Democracies will not fight one another*, Yale 1998

Wilkinson, David: Unipolarity without Hegemony, in: *International Studies Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, *Prospects for International Relations: Conjectures about the Next Millennium* (Summer, 1999), pp. 141-172

Xenias, Anastasia: Can a Global Peace Last Even If Achieved? Huntington and the Democratic Peace, in: *Can a Global Peace Last Even If Achieved? Huntington and the Democratic Peace*, in: *International Studies Review* 7 (3) 2005, pp. 357–386.

Zangel, Bernhard & Zürn, Michael: *Frieden und Krieg*, Frankfurt a. Main 2003

Ziegler, Jean: *Das Imperium der Schande*, Munich 2005

Ziegler, Jean: *Die neuen Herrscher der Welt – und ihre globalen Widersacher*, Munich 2002

Editorial

Tuschl, Ronald H. (Project-Co-ordinator) / Sow, Adama / Davoodi, Schoresch (Authors) / Konkin, Janyce (Editor): Democracy and Peace in Zimbabwe, EPU Research Papers, Issue 12/08, © European University Center for Peace Studies (EPU), Stadtschlaining/Austria 2008.