

## Security and Democracy in the Post–September 11 Era



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*I*n 1989, an empire that wasn't—fell. A new era of democracy rushed into the gap created by the fall of the Soviet Union and the breakup of the empire into discrete states. A new term was born, “nation building,” and applied during the twelve years that elapsed between 1989 and 2001.

Americans knew about projects and programs, development and reconstruction, and we had an idea about the critical elements that were required for a democratic nation. Putting all of this together, we ushered in an era of nation building, committing substantial resources, technical knowledge, and expertise to the project.

We vaguely recognized that democratic nation-building related to the security of the United States, its allies, and the West generally. At the same time, as Americans began to believe that “democracies do not go to war with one another,” we developed a more intense interest in creating stable governments to foster trade, economic development, privatization, and global exchange through new markets.

### THE NEED TO REGULATE MARKETS

It might be fair to say that between 1989 and 2001, American policymakers gave relatively higher priority to democracy as a primary vehicle for supporting market economies—and relatively lower priority to market economies as a primary vehicle for supporting democracy.

What is the basis for this assertion? To function in an equitable manner, market economies require rigorous regulation. Yet the democracies that began developing after the fall of the Soviet Union rarely, if ever, had the institutional capacity, professional management, or systems in place to regulate capitalism. The result was “crony capitalism”—private corruption and state corruption. Those in power came to benefit

more from an unregulated economy than they could realize by providing their constituencies with equitable economic opportunity, health and educational benefits, or open-society institutions and services.

With market-economy policies trumping democratic institution building, economic and social inequities rapidly became apparent in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. In the transition from authoritarian rule to democratic governance, a new set of conflicts emerged. These conflicts appeared simultaneously with all the conflicts and issues long suppressed by authoritarian regimes. Ethnic and national minority issues, environmental degradation, and social repression became common subjects of newspaper articles, intellectual discussions, and minority focus within the activist, political, and intellectual communities of the new democracies.

In addition, the simultaneous process of democracy building and market-economy generation has created conflicts.

As figure 14.1 summarizes, the fall of authoritarian regimes released long-repressed issues, creating conflicts in the transition to democratic society and conflicts between democracy building and unregulated market economies. Democratic theory, practice, and institution building generate tensions and issues by their nature. Even when regulated, market economies generate competition, monopolistic tendencies, and aggregation of wealth and other resources. To reduce the tension generated by the democratization of the market economy requires well-managed state regulatory systems. For example, corporations seeking protection of intellectual property rights can achieve their goal only through a professionally managed state regulatory enforcement system. This is difficult to achieve in a market managed by crony capitalism supporting a corrupt political structure.

## DEMOCRACY AS A SECURITY ISSUE

Before September 11, 2001, we saw these issues and conflicts as complex dimensions of nation building and conflict management. After September 11, many now appre-

<p>Conflict Management in the Context of Nation Building: Three Domains of Conflict</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflicts suppressed by authoritarian regimes</li> <li>• Conflicts created in the transition to democratic society</li> <li>• Conflicts that persist under democracy, where a managed regulatory market economy is absent</li> </ul>

**Figure 14.1.**

ciate that democratic nation building really is a security requirement and that democracy is the best response to terrorism by America and the west.

Democracy is America’s best security against global terrorism. Policymakers can no longer acquiesce to state policies that disproportionately impact the well being, health, educational opportunities, and livelihood of citizens in developing democracies. These fundamental issues are the *sine qua non* of democracy. They are the foundation of the security of the democratic state. They serve as a bulwark against terrorism at home and abroad.

The era of nation building that opened in 1989 was closed by terror on September 11, 2001. In the new era, as an instrument of state and global security, democracy building is a minimal requirement of security and should be a primary focus of foreign policy. Recognizing that the “marriage” between developing democracies and emerging market economies cannot be severed, we need to closely examine what is required in the new democracy era of post–September 11 security. Figure 14.2 highlights the requirements.

Even a passing review of these daunting requirements signals both the degree of their complexity and the need for their integration. In developing these requirements in transitioning societies, democracy builders have come to learn that two

What Is Required to Build a Democratic Nation with a Market Economy?
<p>Democracy Requires:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constitutional governance</li> <li>• Elected and accountable representatives</li> <li>• Rule-of-law-based institutions</li> <li>• Credible systems for dispute management</li> <li>• Civilian control over security and military forces</li> <li>• Open and free press</li> <li>• Open and engaged civil society</li> <li>• Institutions of learning, education, and health</li> <li>• Religious freedom and tolerance</li> </ul>
<p>Market Economy Requires:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Macroeconomic stability</li> <li>• Property rights and a legal regulatory infrastructure</li> <li>• Regulated competitive markets</li> <li>• Transparency and lack of corruption</li> <li>• Access to fair and open international, cross border, and regional markets</li> </ul>

Figure 14.2.

primary preconditions govern the likelihood of success: time and consistency of effort. While resources are essential, none of the requirements in figure 13.2 can be accomplished in a few years. They require consistent, patient, and persistent effort to achieve success.

When, as I believe now is necessary, democracy is framed as a security issue, democracy builders can look at other long-term security strategies and draw comparisons. Because security is most often expressed in military terms, it is fair to draw on military examples to express what now is needed for democracy building perceived as a security requirement. Several military examples come immediately to mind. They include the Demilitarized Zone in Korea (fifty years), NATO (fifty years) and United Nations peacekeeping forces on the border between Israel and Syria (forty years).

For example, we were prepared to commit resources, personnel, and political will over a fifty-year period to ensure the security of the Korean Peninsula and like territories. This is the type of commitment required to make democracy a bulwark of security in the post-September 11 era of democracy building. Maintenance of effort and sustained resources have secured the military peace. Similar requirements now are needed to secure the peace that democracy offers in developing societies. Nothing short of such security will keep America and the west safe from terror in the short and long term.

As in 1989, we live in a new period requiring new thinking, concepts, resource allocation and commitment. In the post-September 11 era, we need to rethink all that we learned and apply it anew to achieve new goals.

Democracy must trump market inequities for our security at home and abroad. Developing democracies need equitable systems of justice, market opportunities, social services, and safety nets. They need access to the benefits that have made Western democracies strong in today's terms. The benefits include access to education, gender equality, human rights, good health, medicines, and social advancement. Such benefits must be developed as practical, well-financed policies, not as vague, lofty goals. Goals do not provide security; only results, achieved through accomplished tasks, now can protect us.

Democracy promotion has to be our foreign policy. It is the only policy that secures our common interests at home and abroad.

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