

## National Security Worldviews

*What are your values?*



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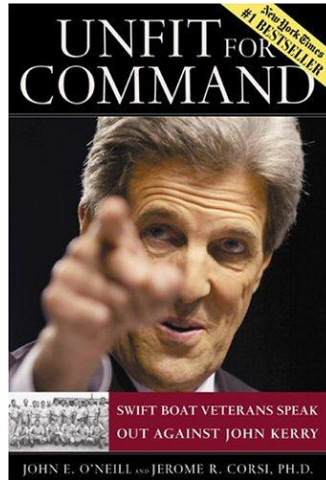
**Today's workshop will give you the tools to:**

- Consider your own values
- Understand the values of other communities: the left, the right, the military
- Learn the progressive security story and how to effectively persuade others to support your policies



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Remember this?



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For 40 years, progressives have been pushing a rock uphill...



Every time we talked about national security, our ideas were seen as weak.



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And that perception meant we could not pass good policy...



**Anti-War =  
Pro-Terrorism**

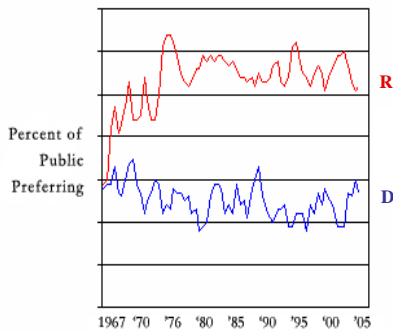
When progressives are seen as “soft,” our national security and our principles suffer



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Or get into office...

Party More Trusted on National Security Issues, 1967-2005



polling compiled by Loren Griffith "What Went Wrong," Truman National Security Project, May 2005

Since Vietnam, every time national security was a top 3 issue for the electorate, progressives lost elections.



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Now we have an historic opportunity to take back this issue. For the first time since 1968, the security gap is closing.

**Q: Which party is better on national security?**

**Republicans: 43%**

**Democrats: 41%**

\*Not all Democrats are progressive, not all Republicans are conservative - but this is the easiest rule of thumb, since it is how polling is done.

Democracy Corps/Greenberg Quinlan Rosner May 2009



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**Q: Better handling of the War on Terror?**

**Democrats: 41%**

**Republicans: 41%**

**Q: The situation in Iraq?**

**Democrats: 47%**

**Republicans: 37%**

**Q: Afghanistan?**

**Democrats: 44%**

**Republicans: 32%**

Democracy Corps/Greenberg Quinlan Rosner May 2009



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**While conservatives had lost ground,  
progressives did not really gain ground.**

**Democrats: 33% (-6% since Dec '08)**

**Republicans: 22% (-4% since Dec '08)**

**Independents: 39%**

The proportion of Independent voters is at its  
highest in 70 years.



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**And the gap has not completely closed.  
Progressives still have some serious issues**

Q: Which party do you associate with 'too  
hesitant to use force'?

**Democrats: 59%**

**Republicans: 21%**

Q: Better at **ensuring a strong military**?

**Republicans: 58%**

**Democrats: 27%**

Q: With "patriotic"?

**Republicans: 45%**

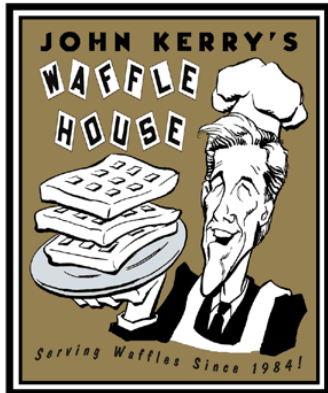
**Democrats: 28%**

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner polling July 2008 Democracy Corps, May 2009 Greenberg Quinlan Rosner polling May 2009, Democracy Corps – Greenberg Quinlan Rosner polling Feb 2010



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These are not policy issues: they are about perceived values. This is our big weakness.



Q: What is the #1 reason why you believe Democrats are weak on security?

“They follow the polls/change position based on public opinion”

LOST BY A 33% MARGIN!



Progressive Values:

What Are Our Core Beliefs?



National security communication is *not* about policy—it's about character.



Americans don't know which security policies they prefer. They want to find someone with similar values and trust them.



*“It is much easier to look at someone and say, ‘What are those person's values -- are they like mine or not? If they are like mine, I can trust this person to come up with policies that are in my interest because they share my values.’ This is what happens in a lot of politics.”*

-- Donald Braman, Anthropologist, George Washington University Law School



***Why don't Americans know what progressives believe  
and value—  
when clearly, progressives hold deep values?***

***Too often, progressives speak about policies,  
not values.***

***We assume values are clear and implicit in  
progressive policies.  
They are not.***



***We can connect with the persuadable center—  
without giving up our policies—if they feel we  
share their values.***



If people feel you are “like them”—that your emotional reactions are the same—they will trust you to lead them on policy. **You must connect before they will listen.**



**But you can't lead anyone until you know  
what you believe.**

**And you can't connect until you can  
empathize with others.**



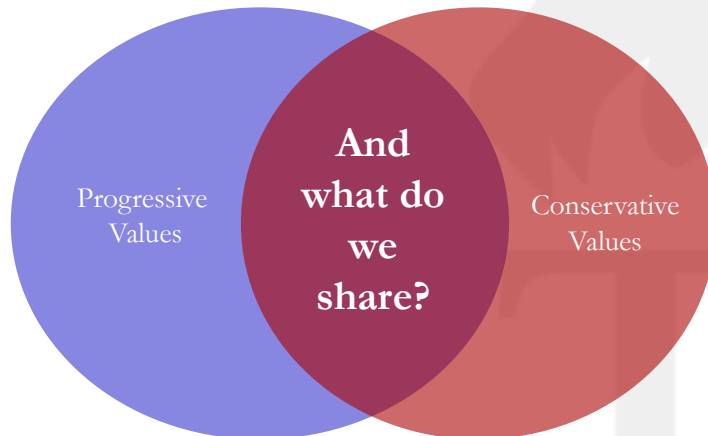
**What are your core values?**

**What values make you see yourself as  
a progressive?**

**And how do those affect your  
beliefs about security?**



## So how do our values differ?



## The left and right draw values from two traditions that are in tension with each other.



### Classical Liberalism

- Gov't is monarchy; fundamentally unjust
- Need private space outside gov't intervention
- Human rights
- Tolerance



### Classical Republicanism

- Gov't is democracy
- Participation in gov't is a right—an honor
- We must make people "fit" as citizens who rule over us
- Rights have boundaries



## We also have strong religious traditions.



### Social Gospel

- WWJD: He preached forgiveness and inclusion
- Society is strong when we love our neighbor as ourselves



### The World is Impure

- Keep society strong with clear moral rules
- Isolate people who violate rules to maintain society

**The left tends to draw on the first, the right on the second**



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**Americans have a deep commitment to rationality and progress—but we are not blind to emotion and evil.**

### Caricature of a liberal:

“Evil” is not real - It’s all culture and we can rationally convince anyone

### But we know:

Culture & genes work together—there are bad people in the world and we need to pay attention to emotion



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**Out of those traditions come...**



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**...5 core values of progressives:**

**Human rights and civil rights  
(Liberalism)**

**We exist in community and should contribute to the common good  
(Classical Republicanism)**

**Government should support social justice  
(Liberalism merged with Republicanism)**

**Tolerance and inclusion: standing with the oppressed or marginalized  
(Liberalism/Social Ministry)**

**Together, we can progress and create a better world  
(Enlightenment Rationality/Social Ministry)**



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## And the 5 core values of the conservatives:

Property rights  
(Classical Liberalism)

Law-abiding individuals should be free and unfettered  
(Classical Liberalism)

Strong communities require exclusion/a strong moral law  
(Christian Puritan/Calvinist)

Human nature always has the capacity to do evil  
(Christian Puritan/Calvinist)

Tradition is good  
(Feudalism/Pre-Enlightenment)



## These values are not opposites. They emphasize different aspects of life.

### The left focuses on society

“How can we fix our society, or another’s, to lessen violence?”



### The right focuses on individuals

“How do we capture and punish bad people?”



The persuadable middle tends to hold both beliefs.



## To communicate effectively, we must connect and then lead.

### 1) Get “in the circle” emotionally with the persuadable middle

- You understand there are bad people in the world who deserve punishment
- Make it clear that we want to keep America/our communities safe
- Show our belief that America can be a good country



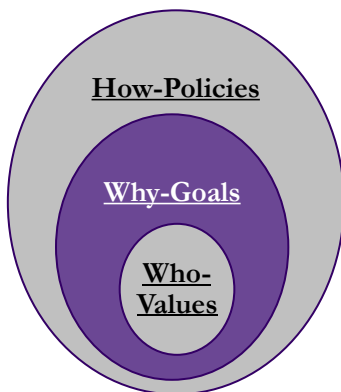
### 2) Lead from that connection to your worldview

Only after we connect emotionally with root values will our audience listen to



## Progressive Values and National Security-

## What's Our Security Story?



## How do values shape foreign policy ideas?



**Pacifism**

**Anti-  
Imperialism**



**Realism**

**Neo-Conservatism**



**Liberal Internationalism**



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## 5 Security Ideas Unite Most

**We need a strong military** to fight threats that warrant, and to act as a deterrent.

We know that many of **today's threats cannot be solved militarily**—we need to beef up all our national security abilities. Energy independence, language skills, and stronger diplomacy are all essential for defending America.

**We are stronger with allies** to share burdens, and when we have the respect to get other countries to follow our lead. Legitimacy gives us power because we can get other countries to assist in our security.

**Creating opportunity overseas to counter humiliation and radicalism is crucial** to sustainable security. We must work to create hope abroad, while maintaining a strong military to deter threats and defend our community when needed.

**America's values, our constitution, and the hope we offer the world are our greatest strengths.** Maintaining these, even in the face of danger, is what makes America great. We do not give up who we are at home for security abroad.



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## People remember stories—not policies.

Our national story tells Americans how we see them, how we see the world, and how we will act.

It must be simple, clear, and memorable.



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## The conservative security story: “High Noon.”



- Allies will leave you in the lurch
- Bad guys are easily seen and easily separable—they don’t change sides and we don’t have to worry that our actions create more of them
- In the end, only force works



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## The progressive security story must:

- Reflect our values
- Provide a picture of the world that explains why we support our policies
- Convince the persuadable middle that our story is better—we have to be able to say there are bad people who need to be stopped and punished



But there are easy stories that are traps.  
**They do not reflect our values.**  
And conservatives use them against us.



## Trap #1:

**Progressives believe injustice, not personal wrongdoing, causes security threats.**



The persuadable center needs to know that you believe some actions are *simply wrong*. Poverty and injustice do not force people into violence: not all poor people turn to terrorism. Americans want to know you're not letting people off the hook.



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## Trap #2:

**Progressives see America as Goliath—the cause of instability in the world.**



This portrayal of America as the bad, bumbling, overreaching, and arrogant giant emerged in response to Bush and the Iraq War.

It paints the picture that involving ourselves in the world makes us a target of the world's hate—we will be safe when we withdraw.



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## This story may work for the case of Iraq, but it doesn't fit with the rest of our values.

It suggests that progressives don't like America and don't believe we can do good. It has made many Americans feel that progressives don't believe in anything.



In reality, there are many threats in the world the US has not caused. And there are values we want to pursue overseas: human rights, women's rights, equality of opportunity.



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## We have a strong progressive security story.



Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, progressives had a consistent and simple story:  
**Speak Softly, Carry a Big Stick, Live our Values. This Builds Our Allies, Isolates Our Enemies, and Gives Us Force if Deterrence Fails.**



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**We want America to be secure and powerful.  
We believe we should be a great nation, and  
an inspiration to others.**

We need to **build alliances** and opportunity to create a stable world with strength and legitimacy on our side. We also need a **strong military** to fight or contain threats that arise. **We need both**, neither is enough on its own.



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## Why should progressives lead?

We've won two world wars—and **FDR** allied with Russia to end WWII, turning an enemy into an ally.



**Kennedy** created Special Operations forces. Conquered space. Faced down the Russians during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

**Truman** built the DoD, started the CIA, and created the NATO alliance. We rebuilt Europe and turned our worst enemies into friends through the Marshall Plan.



**Clinton** enlarged NATO, stabilizing Eastern Europe. Ended war in Bosnia with Dayton Accords. Ended genocide in Kosovo. Started serious national planning against terrorism.



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