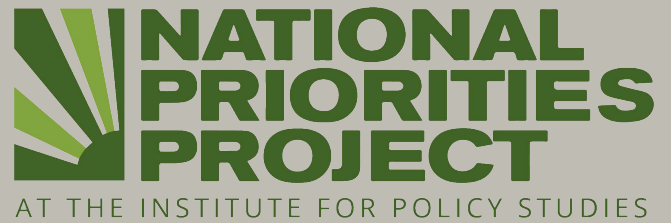




PRINCIPLES FOR REFRAMING THE NATIONAL SECURITY NARRATIVE



HISTORY AND CONTEXT OF THESE NATIONAL SECURITY NARRATIVE PRINCIPLES

In August of 2020, historic levels of national protest in the United States against the system of white dominance and anti-Black racism coincided with the crisis of the Covid pandemic. At the same time, there was a rise in national security rhetoric from inside and outside the government to describe these events. Given this moment, Open Society-U.S. (OSUS) saw an opportunity to set in motion a fundamental narrative change in the US national security story from one that invokes structures of marginalization and violence to one that centers inclusion and wellbeing of our diverse communities and interdependent world.¹

Over a six-month period, a dozen colleague organizations gave shape to this project. Convenings first focused on identifying the characteristics of the dominant US narrative around national security and then helped to pull out values important to an alternative approach. The cohort was led by OSUS in partnership with Women of Color Advancing Peace, Security, and Conflict Transformation (WCAPS) and Othering and Belonging Institute (OBI), with later assistance from Narrative Initiative. Perspectives spanned movement building among veterans and university students, organizers fighting US Sinophobia, climate and racial justice activists; women of color; and reform efforts across foreign policy, global health policy, and local political dynamics in Portland, OR, among others.²

The conversations and written outputs highlighted challenges of reshaping or upending a narrative that is deeply rooted in the US imagination and its sturdiest and most opaque institutional architecture. The cohort found that while the national security label conveys importance, urgency, and a commitment to resources, it leaves open questions of for what purpose, defined by whom, and on whose behalf. The group concluded that the dominant national security narrative 'otherizes' and over-militarizes its subjects with a negative impact on rights and liberties domestically and internationally. While the national security label might convey much needed urgency in the context of a pandemic or the climate crisis, it also serves as a cover for excessive government secrecy, executive overreach, and an excuse for bad acts and impunity. As Narrative Initiative observed, the dominant narrative themes in our national security discourse drive a "fatalist excusal" of egregious harms that are in fact neither inevitable nor acceptable. From President Ford's 1976 dishonest

¹ The work of this project cohort and its subsequent working group does not represent an institutional position of Open Society Foundations or any individual organization that formed a part of the cohort or working group; rather we hope it represents a collective effort to generate ideas and share them with a wider public

² A number of papers were not published, but several were and are available as follows:

<https://www.tni.org/en/publication/abolish-national-security>

<https://www.newamerica.org/political-reform/reports/the-meaning-of-security/>

https://peoplesaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/JIG_AntiAsianRacismReport_2021_0608.pdf

https://issuu.com/wcapsnet/docs/policy_papers_by_woc_-_redefining_national_security

<https://globalhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Security-to-Solidarity-Paper.pdf>

reflection on Japanese internment (“We know now what we should have known then”) to President Obama’s breezy and dismissive observation about ongoing illegal practices in the so-called “war on terror” (“We tortured some folks”), we see how deeply embedded assumptions about national security policy are inimical to achieving justice and accountability.

In late 2021, in a second phase of this project, OSUS convened a narrative change Working Group, co-led by Narrative Initiative and OBI, with representatives from Institute for Policy Studies, Western States Center, and WCAPS. One of the tasks of this Working Group was to draft a set of narrative principles that could be used by a variety of narrators to reframe national security discourse in a way that effectively disrupts its negative effects and places human wellbeing and thriving at the center. Through an iterative process, the Working Group teased out a group of principles that we feel are ready to share more broadly.

The idea behind narrative principles is to equip as many narrators as possible to frame their messages in a way that, over time, will shift the public’s assumptions and understanding about a field of discourse—in this case, the discourse around national security. To equip the largest possible group of narrators, we try to minimize specific content in favor of principles articulated in broad terms of values and vision. This allows narrators to apply the principles over a broad range of fields and contexts, and thereby reinforce and amplify the narrative change work of partners narrating in other arenas.

We invite social justice narrators to use these principles when communicating about national security issues, or about issues that may be overshadowed by a mainstream discourse of “national security.”

We know that many narrators who focus on a certain area may search these principles for language that pertains specifically to their work and concerns. But as you approach these principles, bear in mind the intention is that they should have as much flexibility in application as possible. There may be values and concerns that we all share that do not receive specific attention in the principles. This is because including too many prescriptive or affirmative statements risks turning the principles document into a manifesto, which obviously would serve a different purpose. By the same token, these principles are not meant to substitute for specific policy recommendations or advocacy goals, which must necessarily be further grounded in detail and tactical considerations. Rather, these are anchoring principles that we hope might check unintended incorporation of common harmful narratives.

Accordingly, we suggest that you approach the principles with this question: can you use the principles to frame your communications and still be true to your core mission and priorities? If the answer is yes for you and many others working in this space, then the principles have achieved their aim. If, on the other hand, you feel that applying the principles would distort or detract from your communications goals, or if these principles do not seem to overcome problems you find inherent to the dominant national security narrative as it plays out in your space, we encourage you to expand on these principles or develop new ones in dialogue with your practice community. As situations evolve, and power shifts occur, our narrative strategy should adapt.

NARRATIVE PRINCIPLES FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

Our public discourse is seeded with ideas about security that are so deeply embedded we may often be unaware that we are invoking or reinforcing them in our own narration. These principles have been drafted with a view to shine a critical light on those deeply embedded ideas, and equip audiences to envision a different reality, organized around the health and thriving of our human communities and natural world. In particular, we hope to call out and eradicate narratives that sow human division and weaponize fear. We also reject narratives that falsely insist that peace for some can only be achieved through the deprivation of justice for others. Finally, we wish to call attention to the very poor record of security solutions to political problems: in the medium and long term, the only guaranteed outcomes to security-based solutions are diversion of public resources and postponement of inevitable crises. In contrast, an affirmative emphasis on the values we wish to see at the center of our discourse reveals the possibility for transformative solutions based in human and natural well-being.

With these concerns in mind, these are the principles we encourage people to use in framing their communications in debates where “national security” may be invoked.

PRINCIPLE 1

PROTECTION OF LIFE

Center life, including human communities and the environments that sustain them. Choose language that reflects the lived daily human struggle to attain conditions that protect life, including, e.g., a healthy natural environment, full recognition of every human being’s equal value and dignity, the freedom to enter voluntarily into economic and social relations, and freedom from both physical violence and systemic oppression.

PRINCIPLE 2

OPPORTUNITY TO THRIVE

We wish for a transformation to sustainable political and economic order organized around well-being. The current “national security” approach pulls us ever further from this goal, normalizing a world view where insecurity and hardship for most is seen as an acceptable tradeoff for “security” for

some. We recognize a general trend in which actions and policies justified on national security grounds are predicated on centralizing power among elites and diverting resources away from meeting broader human needs. We seek to promote a collective vision of well-being, in which individuals and collectives can exercise power over resource decisions, including the freedom to reject harmful and extractive security policies in favor of resource uses that sustain life.

SUSTAINABILITY. True security lies in having the material conditions to sustain individual and community life beyond the decision-making elites. We reject state-centric models of security that accept extractive economies and destruction of the natural environment as “necessary evils.”

DIGNITY. The dignity of persons, human collectivities, cultures, and the natural environment is essential to well-being. We reject “security” narratives that do not recognize the centrality of dignity.

PEACE AND JUSTICE. We understand “peace” to be not merely the absence of armed conflict but the presence of justice. Both depend on the ability of individuals and collectives to pursue authentically meaningful lives according to their beliefs.

PRINCIPLE 3

INTERDEPENDENCE/SOLIDARITY

We can only heal and repair our home planet through collective action that recognizes the interdependence of all human communities and natural systems. We seek to forge and strengthen solidarity across communities and geographies, and to not repeat divisive, zero-sum frames of national security that engender adversarial feelings toward some human communities, such as threat inflation and scapegoating. We do not repeat frames that dehumanize or exceptionalize persons or peoples based on their characteristics or circumstances. In particular, we recognize the harmful prevalent narrative framing that posits an inextricable link between security and US hegemony.

PRINCIPLE 4

TRANSFORMATIVE SOLUTIONS

We recognize that security-based measures do not resolve problems; instead, they forestall reckoning with contestations over power and resources. When narrating in this space, we seek to highlight solutions that would transform situations of friction or conflict. Security measures are rooted in zero-sum thinking; solutions that transform arise from a holistic vision of human communities whose conflicts do not eclipse their essential interdependence.

PRINCIPLE 5

ACCOUNTABILITY/RULE OF LAW

Individually and collectively, states are governed by domestic and international legal frameworks that constrain and compel their conduct. Respect for the rule of law, by honoring norms and principles such as transparency and ascertainability of the law, accountability for the application (and violation) of legal rules, mechanisms for review, and others, is considered a hallmark of a state's legitimacy. At the same time, we recognize that in some circumstances, rules entrench systemic injustices or are applied unfairly. Though this framework is not perfect, we believe that demanding compliance with applicable rules (both internal and international) is a useful way to shift the conversation and foster awareness of the fact that much of what is done in the name of "national security" does not conform with widely accepted global standards. We provoke people to question what other ends and interests are served by our narrative framing when we communicate about national security. We invite people to be guided by the question: does your narrative and rhetorical framing advance justice for those most affected?

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