



Alan Khazei's Approach to BIG CITIZENSHIP:
A Blueprint for American Policy

A New Strategy for *Pragmatic Internationalism*

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**ALAN
KHAZEI**
U.S. SENATE

Alan Khazei's Plan for America's Role in the World

Through his career as a social entrepreneur, Alan has traveled to more than 30 countries to meet with leaders in government, business, and the social sector. His work has taken him to all corners of the globe, including China, India, Russia, Eastern and Western Europe, Northern Ireland, Israel, South East Asia, Brazil, Egypt, and South Africa. He understands the importance of a global perspective in addressing the issues that the citizens of Massachusetts care about.

Alan has a unique approach to making change happen. With a proven track record of organizing movements on behalf of change, he knows how to mobilize key players at the grassroots and in the legislature. He has built diverse coalitions that have successfully worked to establish AmeriCorps and keep it funded, and to achieve the largest expansion of national service since the New Deal through the Edward M. Kennedy Serve America Act. Alan will apply this same general strategy to foreign policy and international diplomacy. By bringing key players to the table, connecting stakeholders with shared values, and mobilizing stakeholders with a common agenda, we can enact policies that serve the people rather than lobbyists or PACs. This has been his approach to government for more than 20 years, and it is a role he will continue to play as Senator.

Guiding Principals

- The global issues we confront—climate change, clean energy, nuclear proliferation, the scarcity of basic resources, extreme poverty, failing states, pandemics, terrorism—are deeply interrelated. They cannot be solved by military means alone, nor by unilateralism. The United States needs to continue to lead and work in concert with our allies. The United States must adopt a new Grand Strategy that emphasizes the importance of using all aspects of national power— economic, military, political and our principles, founding ideals and our citizens—to meet our global objectives.
- The world has long been—and will continue to be—inspired by American ideals. Each citizen, who travels abroad, has the potential to be an ambassador who can communicate those ideals to the rest of the world, as well as bring a global perspective back home with them.
- Many of the international institutions that guide our global system—the United Nations, NATO, the World Bank, and IMF—date from the period immediately following World War II. We need to reform and update them by introducing a culture of entrepreneurial, innovative thinking that allows us to better respond to the challenges and opportunities of the 21st

Century. We also need a similar period of creative thinking to develop new institutions that meet the times we live in.

- We must confront the challenge of climate change and recognize it as an existential threat to our very life on the planet. It is an environmental issue, an economic issue, an energy issue and a national security issue. It also represents an opportunity to embrace clean energy, free ourselves from foreign, mid-east oil and launch a new, green jobs revolution that will drive our economic prosperity.
- We must embrace the ideal of a world free of nuclear weapons and develop a global system to monitor and stop all other entities from acquiring them.

Alan Khazei's New Strategy for Pragmatic Internationalism

Afghanistan and Pakistan

I have spent my life in civilian service, but have not been in the military. I have many friends, however, who have put their lives on the line for our country. The most sacred decision an elected official can make is to put our troops in harm's way. I was the only candidate to discuss Afghanistan in my announcement speech, because it is such an urgent issue.

I do not support an increase in troops in Afghanistan. We need to adopt a comprehensive foreign policy strategy, not just a military strategy. We must better clarify our mission, set concrete goals and objectives, be honest about the costs in American lives and treasure, implement a time line, and develop an exit strategy. Most of all, we have to convince the American people to support our policy going forward. History has shown that if the American people do not support our involvement in foreign conflicts, they are not sustainable. Finally, we need a greater focus on aid and development. We must continue our engagement in Afghanistan with a comprehensive, smart power strategy that engages all aspects of our national capabilities, not just the resources of the Department of Defense. We cannot finalize our strategy in Afghanistan until we know what government we will be dealing with. Senator Kerry deserves our thanks and praise for finally convincing President Karzai to participate in a run-off election as there are serious questions and concerns about the legitimacy and capability of the Karzai government. Also, we must keep in mind the lessons of history. No foreign military power has ever succeeded in Afghanistan going back to Alexander the Great, Ghangis Kahn, the British Empire and the Soviet Union. We have now been bogged down in Afghanistan for more than eight years and things are getting worse not better. It took us only four years to defeat Hitler, the Nazis and Imperial Japan in World War II. We should look seriously at moving from a counter-insurgency strategy to counter-terrorism strategy.

The challenges we face in Afghanistan today are reminiscent of the choices President Kennedy faced during the Cuban Missile Crisis. The President's military advisors presented him with two options: either bomb Cuba or invade. Both options would have likely led to nuclear war.

Kennedy pushed for alternatives, and eventually pursued a naval blockade with intensive shuttle diplomacy to give the USSR a face-saving way out of the crisis by trading our obsolete missiles in Turkey for their missiles in Cuba. President Kennedy working with his brother Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General, saved the planet from nuclear catastrophe.

We need the same sense of urgency and entrepreneurial, creative thinking in Afghanistan and Pakistan to prevent either country from becoming a haven for terrorists. We need to realign our emphasis from Afghanistan to Pakistan. We are spending sixty-five billion dollars annually in Afghanistan but only 2.2 billion dollars in Pakistan while most of Al Qaeda is in Pakistan, the violence has been rising there, and Pakistan has nuclear weapons. We also have a new, democratic government in Pakistan that we can work with as a partner.

An essential aspect of a smart power strategy is regional diplomacy and engagement. The U.S. cannot solve entrenched challenges alone, but must look to engage neighbors and allies in a collective effort. Without this coordination, our actions will ultimately be ineffective. I have always looked towards coalitions to solve the pressing challenges we have here at home, and it is an approach that I will continue as Senator.

Iraq

I strongly opposed the Iraq War and the Bush administration's doctrine of "preventive war." The Iraq War has been a disaster and, along with the preventive war policy, led to an all-time low in relations between the U.S. and much of the rest of the world. Fortunately, President Obama has already done much to restore our standing in the eyes of the world's people.

I support the process to remove all U.S. combat troops from Iraq, and I believe it should be finished as quickly as possible in a way that minimizes danger and disruption. President Obama has committed to this objective, and as a Senator I would encourage and strongly support the withdrawal. The U.S. military should invest resources into ensuring that the Iraqis can effectively manage the security environment in their own country.

Nuclear Weapons Proliferation

I was honored to receive the endorsement of the Council for a Livable World. As a founding signatory of the "Global Zero" compact, I strongly support the vision of moving toward a world free of nuclear weapons. As Senator, I would make this issue a top priority and work to

galvanize a citizen movement to accomplish this goal, as well as calling for multilateral negotiations, including with Russia, for deep reductions in our nuclear arsenals.

It is unacceptable that the United States has waited so long to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and I believe its ratification should be a top priority for the administration and the Senate. As a Senator, I would work to motivate citizens to support and advance the treaty.

I am strongly opposed to building new nuclear weapons systems. Instead, to assure our national security, I strongly support efforts like the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, initiated by Senators Nunn and Lugar, to greatly reduce the dangers posed by nuclear stockpiles

and other materials in Russia and the former Soviet states. Unless we fully fund the programs and work to control nuclear material, it is virtually inevitable that terrorists will eventually gain access to a nuclear weapon. This is the single greatest security threat we face, and as a Senator I would push the appropriations process to ensure these critical programs are sufficiently funded. This is the most cost-effective way to protect our security.

I will use my proven record of bringing people together—at the grassroots and in the legislature—to help solve the nuclear proliferation challenge. We must convene leaders at summits and at negotiating tables to eliminate nuclear weapons from their arsenals, institute treaties for the permanent elimination of such weapons, and improve structures that monitor attempted nuclear proliferation among governments and non-governmental entities. I will build on the grassroots organizing method that successfully restored funding for AmeriCorps to fuel a broad-based coalition of organizations and citizens who embrace the movement to eliminate nuclear weapons from all countries' defense arsenals.

Military Reform

I believe the US needs comprehensive military reform. We are still organized to respond to Cold War threats with outmoded weapons systems. We fundamentally need to adjust our strategies to respond to current asymmetric threats, such as terrorism and insurgencies.

I fully support the decision to end the tactically obsolete F-22 aircraft program, and it is clear that there are other systems that are outdated or ineffective and must be put to a close. We must fund our military at a level that will safeguard our security, and we must also be more aggressive in rooting out wasteful spending. The procurement reform bill sponsored by Sens. Carl Levin and John McCain earlier this year is an excellent example of a bipartisan approach to solving our spending challenges.

It will take enormous effort to continue such reforms in a system with such highly entrenched interests. For this reason, I am refusing to take any PAC or lobbyist money, which has proven to

be a barrier to reform. As Senator, I will make decisions based only on the interests of the citizens of Massachusetts and the American people.

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