

## Options in Brief

### Option 1: Direct an Expanded Assault on Terrorism

The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or those nations who harbor terrorists. As the sole remaining superpower, the United States has no choice but to take on the job of rooting out terrorism wherever it exists. It is the U.S. government's responsibility and duty to protect its people and make the world safe from terrorists. The war on terrorism is a worldwide struggle and the United States must move forward with a worldwide offensive to combat it until all who threaten peace and security are destroyed. Although it is helpful to have the cooperation of other nations, the United States must be prepared to fight terrorism—using whatever methods it takes and alone if necessary—wherever and whenever it threatens. Nothing less than U.S. freedom is at stake.

### Option 2: Support UN Leadership to Fight Terrorism

Terrorism is a global, not a national, problem. Today U.S. security and the security of the rest of the civilized world depend upon the ability of countries to work together to address this universal threat. The United States must recognize the UN as the entity with the legitimacy to develop and maintain a long-term, truly international effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism worldwide. The United States must play a leadership role in strengthening the effectiveness of the UN on security matters and offer our military, intelligence, and economic support to a UN-led effort to eradicate terrorist cells wherever they are found. The United States must stand with the world community against lawless terror.

### Option 3: Defend the Homeland

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 brought a new message to U.S. citizens. The United States has been attacked in its homeland, and U.S. citizens feel a vulnerability not felt in more than sixty years. High-profile U.S. foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against the United States and created enemies intent on doing harm. The time has come to lower the U.S. foreign policy profile, get the United States out of the sights of terrorists, and build up U.S. national defenses. While civil liberties are important, the U.S. public must recognize that it is living in a new world. The government must be allowed to take new steps to protect U.S. security.

### Option 4: Address the Underlying Causes of Terrorism

Terrorism is a crime against humanity and cannot be tolerated. But further military action will only perpetuate the cycle of violence. The United States must abandon any plans for further military action and join with others to address the deeper issues underlying terrorism. Terrorism feeds on the frustrations of some of the world's most disadvantaged peoples. The United States must join with the developed world and devote its attention and its resources to launching a targeted "Marshall Plan" that addresses the underlying causes of terrorism. The United States also must examine its own policies in many parts of the world to see that it is not inflaming long-standing local and regional conflicts, fueling discontent, and creating a breeding ground for anti-American sentiment.



## Option 1: Direct an Expanded Assault on Terrorism

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The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or those nations who harbor terrorists. The United States cannot allow the disease of terrorism to plague the nation and the world. To protect U.S. security at home and U.S. interests abroad, the United States must draw a clear line. On one side are freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. On the other are the forces of lawlessness and terrorism.

As the sole remaining superpower, the United States has no choice but to take on the job of rooting out terrorism wherever it exists. It is the U.S. government's responsibility and duty to protect the U.S. public and make the world safe from terrorists. The attacks of September 11, 2001 required a swift and decisive military response. Having driven the Taliban out of power in Afghanistan and put al Qaeda on the run, the United States went on to remove Saddam Hussein from power. It should not let up. The war on terrorism is a worldwide struggle and the United States must move forward with a worldwide offensive to combat it until all who threaten peace and security are destroyed. As the United States saw in the war in Afghanistan, it is helpful to have the cooperation of other nations. Nevertheless, the United States must recognize—as it did in Iraq—that U.S. interests will not always be the same as those of its allies or the rest of the international community. The United States also must accept that the internal constraints of other countries will frequently limit their ability to collaborate on U.S. terms. The United States must be prepared to fight terrorism—using whatever methods it takes and alone if necessary—wherever and whenever it threatens. Nothing less than U.S. freedom is at stake.

### What policies should the United States pursue?

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- The United States should take the war on terrorism to any nation that harbors international terrorists.

- The United States should devote more of its resources to its military forces.

- The United States should increase its intelligence capacity.

- International agreements and treaties, like the Geneva Conventions, should not be allowed to hinder the U.S. pursuit of terrorists or intelligence information.

- The United States should encourage and work with any indigenous forces willing to fight a terrorist group and the government that supports it.

### Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

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- The United States should act in the name of peace and the rule of law, but when U.S. interests are threatened the United States must be willing to defend itself with military force—preventively if necessary. National security must be the top priority.

- The attacks of September 11 have demonstrated that the world is a dangerous place. There is no place to hide. The United States must concentrate its efforts on those issues that are of vital importance to U.S. interests.

- U.S. citizens must realize that their country's strength and influence present an irresistible target for hatemongers and terrorists. There is no hope for compromise with fanatics who despise U.S. values and the U.S. way of life. On the other hand, by standing up for U.S. values the world can become a safer and more humane place for everyone.

## Arguments for

- Acting alone when necessary avoids the difficulties that arise from seeking cooperation with other nations that have different political interests and constraints.

- The only way to avert imminent threats to U.S. security is to act preventively.

- By engaging indigenous forces to fight terrorist groups and their government sponsors, as the country did in Afghanistan, the United States can save U.S. lives.

- Being free of the bureaucracy and political constraints of multinational decision making will allow the United States to respond more quickly where and when it needs to.

## Arguments against

- As the U.S. expands the war on terrorism under its own leadership and on its own terms, anti-American sentiment in other countries will only increase, fueling further terrorism.

- It will require the help of many nations to break up the decentralized network of terrorist cells that currently exists around the world. If the United States acts without regard for international law, it will lose international support.

- A failure to abide by international laws like the Geneva Conventions will weaken the international respect for this important agreement and expose U.S. soldiers to abuse and mistreatment if they are captured.

- Getting involved with indigenous forces may be expedient at the outset but the risk is too great that, after the victory, the United States will be dragged into supporting and protecting groups that it really does not approve of or that it cannot trust.

- Al Qaeda is the central threat to U.S. security. The United States can't afford to waste its resources going after countries that don't pose an immediate threat to the United States.

- This response fails to address the underlying causes of terrorism, including a deep-seated resentment of the United States, and will instead only lead to a continuing cycle of violence and more deaths of innocent people.

- Military action overseas diverts resources needed for protection here at home.

- Using U.S. military might as a response to terrorism is bound to result in the deaths of innocent civilians. The country must respond to terrorism in ways that preserve U.S. national ethics and democratic traditions.

## Option 2: Support UN Leadership to Fight Terrorism

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**T**errorism is a global, not a national, problem. When the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were attacked on September 11, 2001, the nations of the world came together in recognition that these attacks were more than attacks on the United States—they were crimes against humanity. Today U.S. security and the security of the rest of the civilized world depend upon the ability of countries to work together to address this universal threat.

In the weeks following the September 11 attacks, the United States worked swiftly to build a coalition of nations prepared to employ a range of diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and military resources to identify, find, and stop the perpetrators of the attacks. Since then, the United States has made several significant, largely unilateral, security decisions—most notably the U.S.-led war with Iraq. This has been a mistake. The time has come to recognize the UN as the entity with the legitimacy to develop and maintain a long-term, truly international effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism worldwide. The United States must back away from unilateral action and play a leadership role in strengthening the effectiveness of the UN on security matters. The United States should offer its military, intelligence, and economic support to a UN-led effort to eradicate terrorist cells wherever they are found. Together, the United States and the UN must hold those who have perpetrated terrorist acts accountable by bringing them to justice before the International Criminal Court. The United States must also support UN efforts to eradicate biological and chemical weapons worldwide and to strengthen nuclear arms control. The United States must stand with the nations of the world against lawless terror and contribute its strength to the international community to address and ultimately eliminate the threat of terrorism.

### What policies should the United States pursue?

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- The United States should lead efforts to strengthen the hand of the UN on security matters. This would include strictly observing all international treaties and law.
- The United States should debate any response to future terrorist acts against the United States before the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council and abide by the Council's decisions.
- The United States should become a member of the International Criminal Court and prosecute international terrorists there.
- The United States should carefully follow all existing treaties (including the Geneva Conventions) and should work with the UN to strengthen the conventions limiting nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons.

### Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

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- Ours is an interdependent and interconnected world. The security of countries around the world is threatened by international terrorism. In today's increasingly complex world, the United States has no choice but to accommodate the interests of a broad and disparate group of nations.
- A long-term effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism will require the full participation of the international community. If the United States demonstrates its commitment to multilateral decision-making and to abiding by the international treaties that govern countries' behaviors, the world will be a safer place.
- A unilateral U.S. foreign policy only fuels the spread of anti-American sentiment around the world and makes the United States less secure. If U.S. citizens are to regain a sense of security in today's troubled world, the United States must share decision-making and leadership with the community of nations affected by terrorism—including Islamic nations—to address the threat of terrorism.

## Arguments for

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- Cooperating as a partner with other nations through the UN will create a truly international response to terrorism, one that reflects the interests and needs of all of the international community, and denies hiding places to terrorists anywhere.

- International cooperation brings together the financial, diplomatic, and intelligence tools necessary to address international terrorism.

- The UN is only as strong as its member states. In order to make the UN effective as an international organization it must have the full support of the United States.

- The members of the international community will not continue to collaborate unless the decision-making takes all perspectives and interests into account. This will only happen if leadership is shared.

- Relations with traditional U.S. allies were severely strained when the United States initiated the war with Iraq without UN approval. The United States cannot afford to isolate itself further from the international community.

## Arguments against

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- When U.S. interests are threatened—here or abroad—the United States has a right to do what is necessary to defend itself, with or without the support of other nations and international organizations.

- Any international coalition will be ineffective without strong U.S. leadership. For that leadership to be effective, the United States must not be constrained by others in either the nature or the timing of its response.

- The UN already has conventions prohibiting terrorism and biological weapons and has been unable to enforce them. Why will the UN be any more effective now?

- The UN is too slow, too weak, and too indecisive to make any real difference. Giving the institution more power is at best a long-term proposition. It won't do anything for the terrorist threat today.

- While an international effort may be necessary to correctly identify the perpetrators of terrorism and bring them to justice, terrorism will not end until we address its root causes.

- Accommodating other nations' interests in a UN campaign against international terrorism will lead the United States to compromise its national values and force it to support positions abroad with which the U.S. public does not agree.

- If the United States pledges to join with the UN in an all-out campaign against international terrorism, it may be forced to spend its own resources on international initiatives that the U.S. people may not fully approve of at the expense of defending the country at home.

## Option 3: Defend the Homeland

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The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 brought a new message to U.S. citizens. The United States has been attacked in its homeland, and U.S. citizens feel a vulnerability not felt in more than sixty years. In the wake of the attacks the stakes rose still higher as a new threat—biological terrorism—reached into the workplace and even into U.S. homes. Still more chilling is the prospect that terrorists could use nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons and that they could strike at any time.

Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent hundreds of billions of dollars a year defending U.S. allies in Western Europe and East Asia. The United States has distributed tens of billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. And what does the United States have to show for its efforts? High-profile U.S. foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against the United States and created enemies who are intent on doing harm. Our recent military involvement overseas—most notably in Iraq—makes this situation even worse. The United States would be foolhardy to expand its international efforts into a wider assault on terrorism. The time has come to lower the U.S. foreign policy profile, get the United States out of the sights of terrorists, and build up U.S. national defenses. With the funds saved as a result of sharply reduced U.S. international involvement, the United States can devote significant national resources to the protection of the U.S. homeland. Finally, while civil liberties are important, the U.S. public must recognize that it is living in a new world. The government must be allowed to take new steps to protect U.S. security.

### What policies should the United States pursue?

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- The United States should scale back its foreign involvement by cutting foreign aid programs and reducing its military presence abroad—especially in the Middle East.

- The United States should build up its intelligence capacity with a focus on understanding the threats that face the United States at home.

- The United States should launch a coordinated national effort to develop defenses against the new threats that face the U.S. public—biological, chemical, or nuclear attacks.

- The United States should establish a national identity card, tighten immigration laws, closely watch high-risk ethnic groups, and allow broader monitoring of communications in order to keep tabs on potential terrorists.

### Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

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- A nation's first responsibility is to defend its citizens from harm. The establishment of a Department of Homeland Security was an important first step in addressing U.S. vulnerability at home, but it is only a beginning.

- Meddling in the affairs of other nations and peoples inevitably creates resentment against the United States.

- The United States must look out for its own interests first. Focusing on other countries' problems is a waste of precious resources at a time when those resources are needed at home.

## Arguments for

- The United States is in a world where a small handful of angry individuals can wreak havoc with a small amount of weapons-grade biological or chemical material or a “dirty bomb” in a suitcase. Being prepared for such attacks will save U.S. lives.

- By limiting any response only to those who directly threaten the United States, the country will avoid needlessly drawing the wrath of a wider circle of terrorist organizations.

- Taking sides in the battles of other nations (such as Israel’s struggles with Hezbollah) only increases U.S. vulnerability. The less the United States is involved in the affairs of other nations, the more secure it will be.

- Resources saved from international involvement can be redirected to promote enhanced security at home.

## Arguments against

- Terrorism is globalized. It will be impossible to get a full picture of the terrorist threats facing the country if the United States does not bring its intelligence resources together with those of the rest of the world. That integration of intelligence capacity will not happen if the United States withdraws from the international community.

- Withdrawing from the international community will not protect the United States from possible attack. As long as there are haves and have-nots in the world, the United States will remain a target for terrorism. There is nowhere to hide.

- As evidenced by the September 11 attacks, the United States cannot defend itself against all possible means that terrorists have at their disposal. The only practical and moral choice is to address the root causes of international terrorism.

- A determination to address U.S. vulnerability to international terrorism solely with civil defense measures at home will inevitably lead to compromising the civil liberties on which the nation was founded. At that point, what is the United States protecting?

- The threats to U.S. security are not only at home. The United States must be prepared to act preventively in other regions of the world to stop attacks before they happen.

- The terrorist threat is everywhere. It is better to fight terrorism on foreign soil than to have it come again to U.S. shores.

- If the United States is going to ensure the continuing flow of oil from the Middle East, it must maintain its military presence in the region. The United States cannot assume that the international community will do this.



## Option 4: Address the Underlying Causes of Terrorism

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**T**errorism is a crime against humanity and cannot be tolerated. But further military action will only perpetuate the cycle of violence, dragging the United States into a war of strike and counterstrike that could last for generations. The United States will not solve the problem of terrorism simply by punishing terrorists. To focus the response to terrorism only on those who perpetrate terrorist acts is to treat the symptom rather than the disease.

The U.S. public must recognize that terrorism aimed at the country grows out of a deep resentment of the United States—particularly in the Islamic world. Clearly the United States must devote resources to improving security at home. But if the United States is going to end the cycle of violence in which it is caught, it must accept responsibility for providing the largest share of the financial aid needed for reconstruction in post-war Afghanistan and Iraq. In addition, the United States must abandon any plans for further military action elsewhere. Finally, the United States must join with all civilized nations around the world to address the deeper issues underlying terrorism. Terrorism feeds on the frustrations of some of the world's most disadvantaged peoples. The United States must join with the developed world and devote its attention and its resources to launching a targeted "Marshall Plan" that addresses the underlying causes of terrorism—poverty, injustice, political powerlessness, hatred, and lack of human rights, including education and health care. The United States also must examine its policies in many parts of the world to see that it is not inflaming long-standing local and regional conflicts, fueling discontent, and creating a breeding ground for anti-American sentiment.

### What policies should the United States pursue?

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- The United States should provide more resources in support of the UN's reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. It should end its military operation in Iraq, turn control of the reconstruction effort over to the Iraqis, and provide whatever aid is necessary to ensure a successful transition to self-rule and a peacetime economy in Iraq.

- The United States should refocus its funding priorities to improve the quality of life of disadvantaged populations around the world.

- The United States should work for just resolutions to long-term political conflicts (such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) that provide breeding grounds for terrorism.

- The United States should end its support of regimes that do not support human rights and democratic principles, and affirm its commitment to the Geneva Conventions and international law.

### Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

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- Building a more equitable and cooperative world will not be easy. In the end, the U.S. public must recognize that its fate is bound together with the fate of all of humanity. The United States must be prepared to meet the global challenges of the future together with other nations.

- Only by addressing the underlying causes of terrorism, including those conditions

that have fed a deep-seated resentment of the West, will the United States be able to reduce the threat of terrorism.

- Addressing poverty and despair among the world's least fortunate is the right thing to do. If the United States is going to present itself as a model for others, it must reconcile its actions abroad with its stated principles.

## Arguments for

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• If the United States does not address the underlying causes of terrorism—including poverty, injustice, powerlessness, hatred, and in some cases U.S. policy—it risks feeding anti-American rage and creating new recruits to terrorist networks.

• Taking a leadership role in addressing the humanitarian needs of populations in failing states will reduce animosity toward the United States. This is not only a humanitarian issue; it has become a security issue as well.

• In order to be a credible force in addressing terrorism, the United States must demonstrate that it understands the causes of terrorism and is committed to taking action to address them.

• By addressing the underlying causes of terrorism, the United States will be able to avoid putting U.S. civil liberties at risk from repressive homeland security measures.

## Arguments against

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• Addressing the underlying causes of terrorism will take time. Meanwhile, the United States remains vulnerable to more terrorist attacks. Homeland security can only do so much. The United States has to act now to stop these terrorist attacks at their source.

• Neither the United States nor the international community has the resources to address all of the underlying causes of terrorism.

• The United States cannot afford to redirect so much of its budget to development efforts overseas at a time when those resources are needed to build up our defenses at home.

• If the United States focuses its efforts on long-term solutions, it will be allowing terrorists to commit horrible crimes without immediate consequences. This will invite additional attacks both at home and abroad.

• Terrorists are angry people who hate the United States and the West for ideological and political reasons. The origins of terrorism have little to do with perceived economic and social injustice.

• There will always be hatred. There will always be violence. No amount of foreign aid will change this. The United States has no real control over anything but its own security.