

Some argue that groups break up primarily because police defeat them.³ *Policing* involves the use of police and intelligence units to collect information on terrorist groups, penetrate cells, and arrest key members. A law-enforcement approach may also include developing antiterrorism legislation. This can involve criminalizing activities that are necessary for terrorist groups to function, such as raising money or recruiting openly. As one study concluded, “Terrorism is a crime, and therefore the primary mechanism of any liberal democracy in its efforts against it should be its criminal justice system.”⁴

Others contend that terrorist groups can be defeated primarily by *military force*. As MIT political scientist Barry Posen argued, “Offensive action and offensive military capabilities are necessary components of a successful counterterror strategy.”⁵ This involves deploying military forces to capture or kill key members of the terrorist group. In some cases, it might include using military force against states that assist terrorist groups, to undermine their support base. It can involve the use of air strikes and standoff weapons against terrorists and those who harbor them, supported by special operations forces on the ground.⁶ Even unsuccessful offensive actions that force terrorist units or cells to stay perpetually on the move to avoid destruction may help to reduce their capability. Constant surveillance makes it difficult for them to plan

³ See, for example, Lindsay Clutterbuck, “Law Enforcement,” in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004, pp. 140–161; Ross and Gurr (1989, pp. 409–409); Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State*, 2nd ed., Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1986; Michael A. Sheehan, “Diplomacy,” in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004, pp. 104–105.

⁴ Clutterbuck (2004, p. 157).

⁵ Barry Posen, “The Struggle Against Terrorism: Grand Strategy, Strategy, and Tactics,” *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Winter 2001–2002, p. 39–55, p. 47.

⁶ Timothy D. Hoyt, “Military Force,” in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004, pp. 162–185; Cronin (2002–2003, p. 55); Trager and Zagorcheva (2005–2006, pp. 118–120); David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” in Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M. Ludes, eds., *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004, pp. 46–73, p. 60.