

and organize. Constant pursuit makes it dangerous for them to rest. In short, this argument assumes that even the threat of military force may be critical to exhaust terrorists and deter their state sponsors.⁷ Military force can include intervening abroad, such as the U.S. operations in Afghanistan in 2001 or Israeli operations in Lebanon in 1982.⁸ It can also include intervening domestically, such as Turkish military incursions against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan, or PKK) or Russian military actions against Chechen groups.⁹ States generally use military force domestically when a terrorist group is involved in an insurgency and seeks to overthrow the government or secede from it.¹⁰

As one study concluded: "The use of military force has hastened the decline or ended a number of terrorist groups, including the late-19th-century Russian group Narodnaya Volya, Peru's Shining Path, and Kurdistan Workers' Party."¹¹ Military force was critical to the U.S. response after the September 11, 2001, attacks. As President George W. Bush stated in response to the attacks, the primary counterterrorist response was a military one:

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines,

⁷ Posen (2001–2002).

⁸ David Rapoport argued that military defeat of terrorists in such countries as Lebanon caused the end of what he called the *third wave* of terrorism in the 1980s. See David C. Rapoport, "The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism," *Current History*, Vol. 100, December 2001, pp. 419–424, p. 421; David C. Rapoport, "Terrorism," in Lester R. Kurtz and Jennifer E. Turpin, eds., *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, San Diego, Calif.: Academic Press, 1999, pp. 497–510; and Rapoport (2004, pp. 3–4).

⁹ Cronin (2006, p. 30); Mark Kramer, "The Perils of Counterinsurgency: Russia's War in Chechnya," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 3, Winter 2004–2005, pp. 5–62.

¹⁰ An insurgency is a political-military campaign by nonstate actors seeking to overthrow a government or secede from a country through the use of unconventional—and, sometimes, conventional—military strategies and tactics. On the definition of insurgency, see *Guide to the Analysis of Insurgency* (1986, p. 2) and U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, Washington, D.C., joint publication 1-02, ongoing since 1972, p. 266.

¹¹ Cronin (2006, p. 30).