

Index

AAA. See Argentinian Anti-communist Association Abidjan Peace Accord, 60-62 absolute war, 1-2 accidental guerrillas, 143-144 Action Directe, 82, 178-179 actor image of escalation, 39 Afghanistan, 5, 12–13, 78, 93, 121–122, 124, 126-127 political entrepreneurs and, 14 warlords in, 6-7 Africa, 49-50, 90-91 African National Congress (ANC), 69-70, African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), 77 agency, 67-68, 84 Air India, 116 airplane hijacking, 115, 183 Akali Dal, 141-142 Al Nusra, 93 Al Qaeda, 5-6, 78, 93, 119-120, 121, 173 Algeria, 5, 12-13, 25, 96, 218 alienation, 159, 212-213 All National Congress of the Chechen People, 181 ambushes, 125 anarchism, 12, 113-114 ANC. See African National Congress Angstrom, Jan, 19-20 Anthony, Charles, 102 anthrax, 111 anti-imperialist violence, 151

APO. See Außerparlementarischen Opposition Arambu (General), 54, 115-116 areas of conflict, 113 Arendt, Hannah, 106 Argentina, 51-52, 53-55, 65, 69-70, 115-116, 122 Argentinian Anti-communist Association (AAA), 55, 63Argentinian Revolution, 53 Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, 61-62 Arms and Influence (Schelling), 25 Arrostito, Norma, 54 arson, 116-117 Art, Richard, 82 Asahara, Shoko, 130 Asian financial crisis, 145 assassinations, 116-117, 133-134 atrocity shift, 108-109, 151, 194, 197-199, 205 atrocity threshold, 24, 25, 26-28, 31, 38-39, 104-109, 178 crossing of, 190-191 limitation of, 27 audience costs, 71 Aum Shinrikyō, 111, 130 Außerparlementarischen Opposition (APO), 148-149 authoritarian regimes, 49, 51, insurgency and, 90 struggle against, 98-99 Al-Awlaki, Anwar, 121



258 Index

Baader, Andreas, 135-136, 149-151 Chechnya, 13-14, 79, 123, 159, 180-181, balance of power, 25-26 181-185, 190-191, 202-203 Balkan interventions, 26-27 chemical weapons, 111 barbaric violence, 25-26 China, 24 Christian Democrats (CDU), 148 barbarity, 8 bargaining theory, 12 Christian elite groups, 73 Basayev, Shamil, 183 civil liberties, 50-51 Basque ETA movement, 172-173. See also civil rights, 74-76 civil war studies, 4, 6, 43-44 Euskadi Ta Askatasuna battle of Dien Bien Phu, 77 civilians, 8 battle of Elephant Pass, 103 casualties, 177-178 belligerents, 3, 36, 82-83, 187-188, indiscriminate targeting of, 26-27 189-190, 191 violence against, 25 Beslan school massacre, 183, 190-191, 205 clandestine financing, 145 Betancur, Belisario, 169 classical strategic thought, 30 Bhindranwale, Sant Jarnail, 142 Clausewitz, Carl von, 1-4, 8, 40-41, 57, bin Laden, Osama, 24, 78, 121, 138 175-176, 189, 212-213, 222-223 Black Panthers, 138-139 clients, 48 Bloody Sunday, 75-76, 107, 116, coercion, 7, 15, 17, 67-68, 94 210-211 effectiveness of, 78-79 Bolivar, Simon, 168 legitimacy and, 161, 173 Brigate Rosse, 5, 51-52, 92, 129, coercion-control mechanism, 25 Cold War, 1, 19, 21, 24, 28, 33-34 152-154, 171 brinkmanship, 20 Cole, USS, suicide attack, 83-84 Buddhism, 101 collaboration, 161 Bulgaria, 122 collective action, 48 bureaucracy, 135 collective punishment, 77 Busher, Joel, 178-179 Collins, Eamon, 177-178 Colombia, 80, 96, 163, 170, 201 Cabral, Amílcar, 77 colonialism, 49-50 commitment threshold, 28-30 Cairo, 73 communication revolution, 117-118 camaraderie, 126-127 competition of outrage, 31 Canada, 166 capabilities, 42, 47, 132, 161, 176, 178, concessions, 3, 67, 80-83, 86, 107, 195-196 212-213 conducive opportunity structure, 48 augmentation of, 122-123 conflict termination, 113 de-escalation, 42 conflict transformation, 36 limited, 70-71 conflict-limiting norms, 35-36 over-estimation of, 91-92 confrontation, 71 reinforced, 104-105 Congress Party, 141-142 repression and, 121 congruence, 89-90 violence and, 89-90 contention, 47-48, 80 Carlos the Jackal, 92-93 contingency planning, 128-129 Catholicism, 74 conventional bombing, 117, Caucasus, 14 121, 164 causal mechanisms, 44-45 conventional military forces, 118-119 conventional war, 101 CDU. See Christian Democrats Central African Republic, 12-13 Cordobazo, 56, 54, 107 chain-ganging, 132, 136 Coser, Lewis, 22-23 Chamorro, Pedro Joaquín, 99 cost-benefit calculations, 11, 20-21, charismatic authority, 162-163 33-34, 160



Index 259

Cotabato, 73 defection, 36, 132, 186-187, 203-204 counter-insurgency, 57, 78-79, 180-181 dehumanisation, 128-129 counter-measures, 7, 121-122, 125, 146, de-legitimation self-, 187-188, 191, 201-202 195-196, 206, 212, 221 counter-movements, 51-52 shift, 201-202 threshold, 178-179, 187-188 counterterrorism, 7 credibility, 92, 157 Della Porta, Donatella, 129, 152, 154 Crenshaw, Martha, 91 democracy, 49, 50-51, 63-64 Creveld, Martin van, 8 non-democratic states, 51 criminal activity, 145-146 terrorism and, 90 demonstration effects, 119 criminal organisations, 145-146 denazification, 218 criminal prosecution, 71 Cross, James, 165-166 deprivation, 11 Cuban missile crisis, 21 desertion, 36 Cuban revolution, 98 deterrence, 33-35, 174-175, 187 culminating points, 213 Deutsch, Morton, 28-29 cultures of shame, 58 devolved power, 135 cumulative knowledge, 43-44 diaspora populations, 84 cyber weapons, 112-113 Dien Bien Phu, 77 Dirty War, 154-155 Daase, Christopher, 211-212 dissent, 128-130 Dagestan, 183 divide and rule, 137-138, Dalla Chiesa, Carlo Alberto, 153-154 143, 155, 192-194, Day of the Montoneros, 56 206, 219 De Gaulle, Charles, 85, 164-165 Dominican Republic, 168 Debray, Regis, 98-99 drones, 138 decentralised organisational structure, 135 Dubrovka theatre, 183, 190–191 decision-making structures, 137 Dudayev, Dzhokhar, 182 decolonisation, 12, 217 Dutschke, Rudi, 148 de-escalation, 3, 19-20, 24, 32-33, 36-38, dynamite, 111 158, 200 Eastern Congo, 145 accidental, 37-38 economic self-betterment, 10 capabilities and, 42 causal processes of, 189-191 economic underdevelopment, 49 causes of, 175 Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation defection and, 186-187 Front (EPRLF), 133-134 de-legitimation threshold and, 178-179, Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS), 133-134 187-188 deterrence and, 33-35 Eelam War I, 102 difficulty of, 28 Eelam War II, 103 Eelam War III, 103 foreign support and, 203 inability shift and, 202-203 Eelam War IV, 103 inability threshold and, 180-181 El Salvador, 70, 146-147, 163 measuring, 38-40 ELN. See National Liberation Army norm convergence and, 35-36, 179, 202 emotional satisfaction, 146-147 political will and, 42 empirical material, 44 Ensslin, Gudrun, 135–136, 149, 149–151 repression and, 79 scenarios of, 205 EO. See Executive Outcomes termination of conflict and, 174-175 EPL. See Popular Liberation Army EPRLF. See Eelam People's Revolutionary theorising on, 213-214 defeat, 215, 216-218 Liberation Front



260

EROS. See Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students escalation, 192 actor image of, 39 causal processes of, 189-191 controlling, 221-222 dimensions of, 39 existing ideas about, 24 external pressure and, 136-137 extremity shift and, 155-156 group extremity shifts and, 127-128 horizontal, 38-39 initial, 155 measuring, 38-40 phenomenal image of, 39 political will and, 41 restraints and, 175-178 scenarios of, 204 substitution and, 125 targeting of civilians and, 25 theorising on, 208 threshold of commitment and, 28-30 thresholds of, 192 vertical, 38-39 escalation dominance, 30-31, 176-177, 211-213 escalation ladder, 20, 31 escalation trap, 27, 91-92, 93, 108, 172, 201-202, 211-213 Brigate Rosse and, 129 escape from, 93 need to acquire territorial control and, ETA. See Euskadi Ta Askatasuna ethical boundaries, 27-28 ethnicity, 8, 12, 13 Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), 13-14, Evera, Stephen van, 43 Executive Outcomes (EO), 60-62 exogenous processes, 156 external pressure, 136-137, 142-143, 155, extremity shift, 140, 151-152, 155-156, 185, 191, 192-194, 206, 207-208 Ezeiza massacre, 54

factionalisation, 128, 131 failed states, 26–27, 49–50 Fanon, Franz, 68–69 Index

FARC. See Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia Fearon, James, 71 First World War, 218 FLN. See Front de Libération Nationale FLQ. See Front de Libération de Quebec Focoism, 5, 62-63, 98-99 force multipliers, 118 foreign influence, 89-90 foreign intervention, 26-27, 85-86, 116-117 foreign sanctuary, 191 foreign support, 185-186, 203 fragmentation, 128, 137 free rider problem, 14 Freedman, Lawrence, 89 freedom of association, 51, 52 freedom of movement, 52, 76 freedom of political organisation, 51 freedom of speech, 50-51, 52 Freetown, 58 French Revolution, 48 friction, 175-176 Front de Libération de Quebec (FLQ), 80-81, 85, 163, 163-166, 178-179 Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), 96, 134, 218 FSLN. See Sandinist National Liberation Front

Gaddafi, Muammar, 58-59 Gandhi, Indira, 141-142, 209-210 Gandhi, Rajiv, 102, 171 geographical conditions, 39 German Federal Criminal Office, 148 German reparations, 218 German Revolutionary Cells, 92-93 German Socialist Students Association, 148 Germany, 5, 127-128, 148-151 Ghana, 58-59 Giap (General), 77 Gill, K.P.S., 142-143 global jihad, 17, 24, 50, 163 GN. See National Guard Golden Temple, 142-143 Gomez Hurtado, Alvaro, 170 Good Friday agreement, 131, 180, 214–215 goods, provision of, 94 Gorman, Tommy, 69-70 Great March, 16 greed, 8, 58 grievance, 11, 58, 63-64, 91, 194-195



Index 261

local, 91 Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF), 102-103 retaliation and, 120 Indian Union, 141 group cohesion, 120 indiscriminate force, 99 indiscriminate killing, 32, 105, 107, group demise, 32-33 group dynamics, 126, 128, 136 189-190, 197-198, 205 individual determinants, 126 group extremity shifts, 127–128 individual participation, 143-144 group think pressure, 128-130, 136, Indochina, 5, 77 192-193 Guatemala, 159 infiltration, 36 guerrillas, 4, 15-16, 45, 167 injustice, 11 accidental, 143-144 institutionalisation, 6 ideology and, 16 insurgency, 4, 15-16, 37, 45, 73, 101, 178, urban, 90-91, 167-168 203, 220-221 Guevara, Che, 64-65, 98-99 actors in, 143-144 Guinea-Bissau, 77 authoritarian regimes and, 90 Gurr, Ted Robert, 8-9 central dilemma of, 94-96 Guru Nanak, 141 choice of strategies of, 90-91 conventional bombing and, 121 Haig, Alexander, 151 counter-insurgency, 57, 78-79, 180-181 hegemony, 134 logic of, 95 Helman, Gerald, 49-50 patrimonialism and, 52-53 Hezbollah, 122 political opportunity structure and, 90 Hinduism, 141 punishment of, 34-35 hit and run attacks, 125 rural, 100 Holbrook, Donald, 178-179 state-building and, 158 horizontal escalation, 38-39 strategy of, 78-79, 88, 125 humiliation, 159 targeting by, 114-115 hunger strikes, 149 terrorism and, 16, 17-18, 19, 91 "Hypotheses on Misperception" (Jervis), 43 intermediaries, 216 "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War" internal group processes, 126, 221 (van Evera), 43 internal pressure, 176 hypothesis focused research, 43-44 internal radicalisation, 136 internal unity, 137 international affairs, 12, 19 Iberian peninsula, 16 ideological extremism, 131 international crises, 71 ideological struggle, 126 international humanitarian law, 34-35 ideology, 12, 13-14, 91, 162-163, 194-195 International Islamic Brigade, 183 changeability of ideological content, 15 international relations, 43-44, 89 guerrillas and, 16 inter-rebel group conflict, 222 local grievances and, 91 Intifadah, 145 political opportunity and, 126-127 intimidation campaigns, 15 IEDs. See Improvised Explosive Devices intra-rebel conflict, 6-7 illicit diamond miners, 59 IPKF. See Indian Peacekeeping Force immaterial incentives, 146-147, 156 IRA. See Irish Republican Army imperialism, 148 Iranian revolution, 12 Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), Iraq, 12-13, 119-120 Irish diaspora, 123 110-111, 117, 121-122 inability shift, 202-203 Irish Republican Army (IRA), 13-14, inability threshold, 180-181, 187-188 69-70, 74, 82, 131, 214-215 apologies offered by, 177-178 incarceration, 71

Libya and, 123

India, 102, 123, 141-142



262 Index

Irish Republican Army (IRA) (cont.) legitimacy, 86-87, 133, 134, 157, 162-163, Provisional, 116, 172-173 195-196, 214, 215-216, 221 recruitment for, 75-76 coercion and, 161, 173 ISIS. See Islamic State in Iraq and Syria collaboration and, 161 compromising, 212-213 Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), 18-19, de-escalation and, 158 117-118, 172-173 de-legitimation threshold and, 178-179, Israel, 81, 121 187-188 issue salience, 65-66 Front de Libération de Quebec and, Italy, 5, 51-52, 152-154, 171 163-166 gaining, 171-173 losing, 171-173 Jabidah massacre, 72 Jaffna Peninsula, 102 routes to, 160-161, 166 Janis, Irving, 128 self-de-legitimation, 175 Jenkins, Brian, 116-117, social order and, 162 177-178 state, 121 Jervis, Robert, 43 territorial control and, 161 liberated zones, 95 jihadist groups, 13-14 Jones, David Martin, 209-210, 211 Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), 96-97, 101-104, 106, 119, 123 Kabbah, Ahmed Tejan, 61-62 assassinations by, 133-134 Kaczynski, Ted, 5 political opportunity structure and, Kadyrov, Akhmad, 184-185 104-105 Kahn, Herman, 20, 31, 38-39, 40, 175-176, Liberia, 14, 50, 58-62, 96 208-209 Libya, 58-59, 120, 123 Kamajors, 62, 63 linearity, 210-211 Kanu, Abu, 58-59 low perceived integrative potential, 28 Karuna (Colonel), 133-134 LTTE. See Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam Kenya, 173 Luminoso, Sendero, 138-139 Khalistan, 139-140, 142 Khasaviurt Agreement, 183 M-19, 80, 96, 163, 170, 178-179, 201 Khobar Towers bombing, 83-84 Mack, Andrew, 57 Macklin, Graham, 178-179 kinship ties, 159 Kissinger, Henry, 216-217 Maguindanao (tribe), 72 Klein, Hans Joachim, 92-93 mainstream politics, 32-33 Malayan Communist Party, 159 Konkret (magazine), 149 Koroma, Johnny Paul, 61-62, Malayan Emergency, 159 Managua, 97-98 63-64 Kuperman, Alan, 26-27 Mandela, Nelson, 69-70 Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), Manila, 73 Mansaray, Rashid, 58-59 Mao Zedong, 16, 77, 95, 102, 167 labour unions, 154 continuing importance of, 114-115 Laporte, Pierre, 166 Maranao (tribe), 72 Laqueur, Walter, 92 Marcos, Ferdinand, 74, 72, 73, law of diminishing returns, 92, 93, 108 209-210 leaderless resistance, 5, 135 Marighella, Carlos, 64-65, 68-69 leadership, 126-127, 129-131, 136 martial law, 76, 72-74, 165-166 Lebanon, 83-84 Marx, Karl, 126-127 left-wing activism, 5 Marxism, 12, 13-14, 135-136, 163, 164, left-wing political violence, 51-52 177-178, 201



Index 263

material capability, 31 nationalism, 12, 62, 134 material incentives, 145-146, 156, suicide terrorism and, 13-14, 116-117 187 negotiation, 36, 67, 80-83, 86, 124, Mau Mau rebellion, 173 154-155, 170, 195-196 Maza, Emilio, 54 neo-fascist movements, 152 Mearsheimer, John J., 221-222 neo-patrimonialism, 49 Medina, Fernando Abal, 54 network structures, 135 Neumann, Peter, 25, 27, 91-92 Meinhof, Ulrike, 135-136, 149 Meins, Holger, 149 Nicaragua, 96-100, 122, 132-133 Mercado, Jose Raquel, 168 Nigeria, 12-13 Merom, Gil, 78-79 9/11 attacks, 16-17, 83-84, 111, 114-115 micro-level conflict, 9 non-democratic states, 51 Middle East, 134 non-response, 83-84 military defeat, 42 non-state actors, 3, 7-8, 22 military effectiveness, 118 state-rebel collusion and, 4 military intervention, 53 use of conventional strategies by, 15 military regimes, 95-96 violence and, 11, 126 military terminology, 128-129 non-violence, 67, 83 norm convergence, 42, 174-175, Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), 72-74, 100-105, 123, 132-133 179-180, 191 de-escalation and, 35-36, 179, 202 Mitrione, Dan, 171 shift in, 33 Mitterand, François, 82 threshold of, 35-36 MNLF. See Moro National Liberation Front North Africa, 119-120 mobilisation, 88 Northern Ireland, 74, 74-76, 107, 196, 201 Momoh, Joseph Saidu, 59-60 Loyalist groups in, 145-146 monopoly of force, 195-196 Omagh bomb in, 131 Montoneros, 51-52, 56-57, 63-64, 95-96, political opportunity structure in, 76 115-116 NPFL. See National Patriotic Front of moral hazard, 26-27 Liberia NPRC. See National Provisional Ruling Moro, Aldo, 153-154, 171 Moros, 72, 73 Council Mozambique, 25-26 Mueller, John, 145 October crisis of 1970, 163 Museveni, Yoweri, 41 Ohnesorg, Benno, 149 Muslim communities, 72 Oklahoma City bombing, 83-84 Muslim elite groups, 73 Olson, Mancur, 94 Muslim West, 141 Omagh bomb, 131 mutually hurting stalemates, 36-37, On Violence (Arendt), 106 174-175 OPEC. See Organization of the Petroleum **Exporting Countries** Operation Blue Star, 142-143 narrative, 117-118 National Dialogue (Colombia), 169 opportunistic actors, 143-144 National Guard (GN), 99, 100 order, provision of, 94 National Liberation Army (ELN), 167, 170, organisational cohesion, 70-71 organisational survival, 135-136, 177-178 National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), 196-197 Organization of the Petroleum Exporting 58-62 National Provisional Ruling Council Countries (OPEC), 92-93, 150-151 (NPRC), 59-60, 65 outbidding, 133-134, 136, 192-193, 206 national self-determination, 12 overreaction, 69



264 Index

overwhelming force, 67, 77-80, 86, political opportunity structure, 14, 47-48, 195-196, 215 51-52, 62 changing of, 194-195 PAIGC. See African Party for the ideology and, 126-127 Independence of Guinea and Cape insurgency and, 90 Verde LTTE and, 104-105 Pakistan, 123, 141-142, 185-186 misreading, 171 Palestine, 121, 126-127, 145, 180, 202 in Northern Ireland, 76 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), patrimonialism and, 145 reinforcements in political will and, 88 Palk Strait, 123, 185-186 role of, 63-64 Pape, Robert, 116-117 terrorism and, 90 parity, 36-38, 175 time and, 124 passive support, 159-160 transitions between, 93 path dependency, 28-29, 195, 209 violence and, 47, 57 patrimonialism, 48-50, 52, 64, 77, 179-180 political participation, 50-51 dynamics of, 132 political polarisation, 63 insurgency and, 52-53 political power, 48 political violence, 9, 10 neo-, 49 contentious politics and, 47-48 political opportunity structure and, 145 social relations and, 162 explanations of, 11 Somoza family and, 97 left-wing, 51-52 Patriotic Union Party (UP), 170 organised, 12 popular support and, 158-159 patrons, 48 Pearson, Lester, 164-165 prerequisites for, 194-195 Penitence Law, 152-154 study of, 127 Pentiti legislation, 152-154 sub-state, 25 People's Liberation Organisation for Tamil political will, 1-2, 12, 40-41, 47, 86-87, Eelam (PLOTE), 101, 133-134 213-214 perception biases, 28-29, 155 calculations of, 177-178 Peron, Isabel, 55 de-escalation and, 42 Peron, Juan, 53-55, 63 escalation and, 41 personal incentives, 146-147 limited, 70-71 Petersson, Magnus, 19-20 reinforcement of, 86, 88, 104-105 phenomenal image of escalation, 39 politics, 9, 10-11, 40-41 Philippines, 72, 72-74, 104-105, 196, 217 Popular Liberation Army (EPL), 167 popular support, 86-87, 158-159 PKK. See Kurdistan Workers Party PLO. See Palestine Liberation Organization post-territorial arguments, 18-19 PLOTE. See People's Liberation power base, 88 Organisation for Tamil Eelam power disparity, 86 Prabhakaran, Velupillai, 102, 104 polarisation, 193-194 policy relevance, 219-221 Premadasa, Ranasinghe, 102 political calculation, 177 Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1979, 101 political capital, 86-87 previous commitments, 155 PRN. See Process of National political change, 15 political entrepreneurs, 14, 63-64, 134, Reorganisation 194-195 Process of National Reorganisation (PRN), political expediency, 141-142 56, 55, 95-96, 154-155 political Islam, 12-13, 181 Prolonged Popular Warfare, 98 political murder, 113-114 propaganda, 117-118



Index 265

propaganda by deed, 68-69, 117-118, 119, all-out, 79 capability and, 121 de-escalation and, 79 Protestantism, 74, 76 provocation, 69-70, 86, 166, 195-196 effectiveness of, 78-79 campaigns of, 68-69 extreme, 99 organisational cohesion and, 70-71 mechanism, 71 repression and, 72, 104-105 provocation and, 72, 104-105 trap, 71-72, 86 reputation, 126-127 psychology of shame, 163 resentment, 11 restraints, 175-178 public confidence, 158-159 public goods, 130-131 retaliation, 33-34, 120-121, 198, 206, 219 public support, 91-92, 121, 158-160 revenge dynamic, 147 punishment, 33, 34-35, 77, 118-119, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), 6-7, 145-146, 170 T 2 T Punjab Crisis, 139-140, 141-142, 144, 217 Revolutionary People's War, 77 revolutionary war, 16, 95 Putin, Vladimir, 184-185 Richardson, Louise, 82 right-wing extremism, 5, 51-52, 83, 135 radicals, 22-23, 81 RAF. See Rote Armee Fraktion risk assessment, 128-129 Rand, 37-38 risk transfer effect, 110 rivalry between rebels, 116-117 Rapoport, David, 12 Raspe, Jan-Carl, 149-151 Roberts, Adam, 70 rational choice theory, 135, 160, 195 Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF), 5, 51-52, rational legalistic structures, 49, 50-66, 77, 92-93, 135-136, 148-151, 171, 162, 179-180 178-179 moderate response by, 67 killing police officer, 190-191 revenge dynamic and, 147 terrorism and, 52-53 rationality, 208-210 situational entrapment and, 154-155 Ratner, Steven, 49-50 Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), 74 RUF. See Rebel United Front rebel actions, second and third order effects rural environments, 108-109 of, 34 rebel cohesion, 137 Russia, 79, 182 Russian Federation, 24 rebel collective utilitarian model of strategy, 23 Rwanda, 41 rebel culture, 10 rebel fragmentation, 127 Sabah, 72 rebel longevity, 122-123 saliency, 65-66, 86-87, Rebel United Front (RUF), 10, 62, 63-64, 179, 211 92, 96, 161 saliency shift, 191, 192, 194, 197, 206, rebel violence, 7 207-208 culture and, 15 sanctuary, 185-186 escalation of, 9 Sandinist National Liberation Front instrumental approach to, 8 (FSLN), 96-100, 100, 122 social science investigations on, 8-9 recruitment by, 143 solidarity and, 129 splits experienced by, 132-133 Sandino, Cesar Augustino, 97-98 under-investigated areas of, 44 reciprocity, 210-211 Sankoh, Foday, 58-59, 63-64 regicide, 16 Sarawak, 72 religious authority, 162-163 sarin gas, 111, 130 Schelling, Thomas, 20, 25, 30, 31, 35-36, religious feast days, 124 repression, 51, 56, 55, 57, 67, 71, 77 89, 118-119, 179



266 Index

Schleyer, Hanns Martin, 150-151 Spanish civil war, 15, 134 secession, 72 SPD. See Social-Democratic Party Second World War, 41, 134, 152, 175-176, spoilers, 131-133, 136, 140, 143, 192-193, security dilemma, 25-26 spoils of war, 145 security services, 136-137, 139-140 Sri Lanka, 15, 45, 80, 96–97, 101–105, 132, self-defence, 89-90 202-203 self-de-legitimation, 187-188, 191, stalemate, 32-33, 36-38, 174-175 201-202 state, role of, 68-72, 222 Sendero Luminoso, 138-139 state-building, 158 sensitivities, 29-30 state-rebel collusion, 4 Shankill bombing, 172-173 state-rebel confrontations, 27-28, 42-43, Sierra Leone, 25–26, 58–62, 63–64, 65, 92, 65-66, 89, 158 states, role of, 45 107, 161 Sikh community, 116, 123, 137-138, Stedman, Stephen, 131 Stevens, Siaka, 58, 59-60 142-143 Sikh East, 141 Stockholm International Peace Research Sinhalese nationalism, 101 Institute, 113 situational entrapment, 28-29, 143-144, Strachan, Hew, 2-3 151-155, 192-193 Strasser, Valentine, 59-60, Smith, M.L.R., 25, 27, 91–92, 209–210, 63,65 strategy 2 T T Smith, Rupert, 147 choice of, 89-91 social contract theory, 162 classical strategic thought, 30 social goods, 160 conventional, 15, 101-104 social interaction, 69 FSLN switching focus of, 97-100 social learning process, 129 insurgency of, 78-79, 88, 125 social meaning, 146-147 irregular, 101-104 social media, 117-118 rebel collective utilitarian model of, 23 social mobilisation, 47, 56, 53-57, 58-60, strategic effect, 118 of terrorism, 69, 88 substitution, 8-9, 110, 185, 199-200 social movements, 5 social order, 147, 162 escalation and, 125 social organisation, 90 of tactics, 116-117, 121-122 social psychology, 35-36 of targets, 115-116 social relations, 147 territorial control and, 122-123 social relationships, 94 time and, 124 social revolution, 98 Sudan, 6-7, 12-13 social solidarity, 9 Sufi Islam, 181 social support, 93 suicide attacks, 101, 118 Social-Democratic Party (SPD), 148 suicide terrorism, 8-9, 103, 134, 185 solidarity, 126-127, 128-129 demonstration effect and, 119 external pressure and, 137 nationalism and, 13-14, 116-117 rebel violence and, 129 Sulu islands, 72 social, 9 Summers, Harry, 217-218 sunk costs, 93 Somalia, 12–13, 48, 150–151 Somoza family, 96-97, 132-133 Sunningdale agreement, 180 South Africa, 69-70, 131 surveillance, 136-137 South American death squads, 131 Symbionese Liberation Army, 138-139 South Sudan, 15 Syria, 15, 119-120 Soviet Union, 14, 181 Syrian civil war, 111



Index 267

tacit coordination, 118-120 transnational, 85 weapons of mass destruction, 112 tactics, TTO scripts of, 118-120 Western Europe and, 51 substitution of, 116-117, 121-122 third-party intervention, 84-86, 122-123, tactical engagement, 125 140, 155, 192-194, 197, 198, 206 Tilly, Charles, 15 Taliban, 5, 119-120, 172-173, 185-186 Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation time, 124 (TELO), 101, 133-134 Toft, Ivan, 57 Tamil Nadu, 123 Transformation of War (van Creveld), Tamil political representation, 102 Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), 101 Trudeau, Pierre, 165-166 TULF. See Tamil United Liberation Front target selection, 113-114 targeted killings, 77, 138-140, 155, 156, Tupumaros, 171 tyrannicide, 16 192-194, 219 targets, 113-116 Tausūg (tribe), 72 Uganda, 41 TELO. See Tamil Eelam Liberation Ukraine, 15 Organisation Umkhonto we Sizwe, 91 termination of conflict, 132, 174-175, uncertainty, 132 215-216 unemployment, 145 termination of hostilities, 32 United Kingdom, 58, 61-62 territorial control, 89-90, 94, 95, 103, 221 United Nations, 84-85, 113, 216 challenges to, 125 United States, 7, 120, 178-179 lack of, 95-96 unwitting sensitivities, 155 legitimacy and, 161 UP. See Patriotic Union Party urban environments, 108-109 need to acquire, 158 urban guerrillas, 90-91, 167-168 substitution and, 122-123 terrorism, 4, 7, 8-9, 34, 45, 78, 129, use of force, 67-68, 71 220-221. See also suicide terrorism utilitarian paradigm, 127 central dilemma of, 91-93 choice of strategies of, 90-91 vertical escalation, 38, 110 coercion and, 17 victory, 216-218 concessions and, 80-81 Vietcong, 40-41 conventional bombing and, 121 Vietnam War, 40-41, 125, 148, 216-217 counterterrorism, 7 violence, 3, 7, 50. See also political violence; democratic states and, 90 rebel violence enablers for, 112-113 anti-imperialist, 151 flexibility of, 125 capabilities and, 89-90 goal of, 17-18 against civilians, 25 insurgency and, 16, 17-18, 19, 91 coercion and, 67-68 negotiation and, 81 after concessions, 81 overwhelming force and, 78-79 consequences for engagement in, 6 political opportunity structure and, 90 crossing of thresholds in, 43 power of, 157 decline of, 42-43 rational legalistic structures and, 52-53 deterrents of, 121 revolutionary, 146 development of, 141 secrecy and, 106-107 discriminate, 105, 107 strategic application of, 95 dynamics of, 21-22 strategies of, 69, 88 ending, 214-216 strength of, 93 engagement in, 143 suicide, 8-9, 13-14 escalation trap and, 27



268 Index

```
violence (cont.)
                                                analogy of chameleon for, 2-3,
  establishing authority while exercising,
                                                   222-223
    94-95
                                                as bargaining process, 30
  group dynamics and, 128
                                                civil war studies, 4, 6
  indiscriminate, 25-26, 79, 106-107, 108,
                                                conventional, 15, 101
                                                development of, 45
    111-112
  individual explanations for, 127-128
                                                key elements in, 3-4
  initial outbreak of, 76
                                                logic of, 9
  justification of, 13-14
                                                natural propensity
  level of, 91-92, 157, 158, 178, 213-214
                                                   to escalate of, 1-2
  limitations on, 10-11, 176-177, 178-179
                                                non-state actors in, 3
  logic of, 22
                                                outbreak of, 76
  as means of communicating, 155
                                                parameters of, 40-41
  non-state actors and, 11, 126
                                                revolutionary, 16, 95
  non-violence, 67, 83
                                                scientific study of, 1
  in Northern Ireland, 74-76
                                                spoils of, 145
  within patrimonial regimes, 49-50
                                                thresholds in, 31
  patterns of, 85
                                                weariness, 36
  political opportunity structure and, 47,
                                              War on Terror, 78
                                              warlords, 6-7
  production of, 2-3
                                              waterbed effect, 8-9
  as propaganda by deed, 68-69
                                              weaponry, 110-113
  RUF and, 62, 63-64
                                              weapons of mass destruction, 112
  signalling function of, 131
                                              Weathermen, 178-179
  social mobilisation and, 56-57
                                              Weber, Max, 48, 130, 160
  spread of, 29-30
                                              Western Europe, 51
  symbolic, 55
                                              Wohlstetter, Albert, 21
  termination of, 173, 214
                                              Wohlstetter, Roberta, 21
  thresholds of, 52-53, 83
                                              world revolution, 95, 135-136, 171,
La Violencia (civil war), 167
                                                   177-178, 201
                                              World Trade Center bombing,
Wahabism, 181
                                                   83-84
Walt, Stephen M., 221-222
Waltz, Kenneth, 89
                                              Yemen, 12-13, 119-120
war. See also specific wars
```

Zartman, William I., 36

absolute, 1-2