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End of the cycle: assessing ETA's strategies of terrorism

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ABSTRACT

In May 2018, the Basque insurgent group *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA) officially disbanded after a 60-year struggle. This inquiry assesses ETA's violent campaigns using recent conceptual and theoretical advancements from the field of terrorism studies. Three conclusions concerning the group's strategies of terrorism are advanced. First, ETA regularly targeted civilians to achieve goals other than coercing the Government of Spain; these objectives included out-bidding rival separatist groups and spoiling negotiation processes. Second, ETA's most rapid period of organizational growth occurred as the result of an aggressive terrorist campaign, demonstrating that civilian targeting can serve as a stimulus to rebel group recruitment. Finally, while terrorism did not advance ETA's primary political objective of creating an independent Basque state, it did enable the group to assume a leading position within the radical Basque separatist movement, helping extend ETA's lifespan and making the group an embedded actor within the contentious political processes surrounding the question of Basque self-determination. Collectively, these conclusions support recent theoretical findings arguing that non-state terrorism often enables insurgent groups to prolong their lifespans while paradoxically making it more difficult for them to advance their long-term political objectives.

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Introduction

In May 2018, *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA), a separatist organization that had struggled since 1958 to create an independent state for the Basque people, declared it had reached the 'end of the cycle' and formally disbanded.¹ At the time of the announcement, ETA was one of the world's longest active insurgent organizations. In addition to its durability, ETA was also a highly destructive and politically influential actor. Over the course of its existence, the group carried out over 2000 violent terrorist attacks, assassinated General Francisco Franco's chosen successor, and directed a proxy political party that won seats in both regional and national parliaments.² Although

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ETA adopted a ‘war on all fronts’ approach to insurgency – stressing political action as well as armed struggle – the group is most infamous for its use of terrorism and regularly attacked civilians, security forces, and infrastructure in Spain in order to advance its goals. While terrorism was consistently one of ETA’s strategic tools, the group’s motives for targeting non-combatants shifted over time. Notably, ETA often used terrorism to achieve limited organizational objectives rather than to advance directly its long-term aspirational goal of independence for the Basque region. What specific objectives did ETA seek to achieve by using terrorism? Did targeting non-combatants enable the group to further these goals?

This inquiry applies conceptual and theoretical advancements from recent literature on terrorism studies to analyze ETA’s civilian targeting. Specifically, it employs new work on the audiences of terrorist incidents to advance several claims about the motives and strategic efficacy of ETA’s various terrorist campaigns. First, ETA regularly used terrorism to achieve goals other than altering government policies. Instead, ETA often targeted civilians to achieve intermediate organizational objectives including signaling its commitment to Basque independence in order to outbid rivals and influencing the direction of the radical Basque separatist movement by spoiling negotiations. Second, ETA reached its peak strength and political influence while it carried out an aggressive terrorist campaign between 1976 and 1982. In those years, Spain’s nascent democracy attempted to quell Basque separatists primarily through autonomy provisions and the release of political prisoners detained in the Franco era. During this period, ETA’s primary objective was consolidating its position as the focal oppositional organization through which Basque separatism would be contested. Finally, although terrorism did not enable ETA to obtain independence for the Basque region, targeting civilian non-combatants did help ETA grow from a small, unknown group of roughly 50 individuals into a principal actor in the contentious political processes surrounding Basque independence. From an organizational perspective, therefore, terrorism enabled ETA to gain widespread exposure, political influence, and status within the radical Basque separatist movement. The group used this reputational capital to prolong its existence and to play a significant role in the movement for Basque self-determination.

The remainder of this article proceeds as follows. First, to provide broader theoretical context for ETA’s varying terrorist strategies, the inquiry reviews recent scholarship examining the audiences of terrorist campaigns and the practice of civilian targeting in insurgencies. This section summarizes the many possible motives behind terrorist campaigns as well as the ways in which these campaigns are assessed by scholars. Second, ETA’s varying strategies of terrorism are evaluated with reference to recent arguments about the motives behind civilian targeting. This section demonstrates that

ETA often used terrorism to influence audiences other than the Government of Spain and that ETA's civilian targeting frequently was intended to achieve limited organizational goals that would prolong the group's existence. Third, implications drawn from an analysis of ETA's armed struggle are evaluated with reference to broader theory on the progression of insurgencies. Specifically, ETA's development, durability, and decline align with recent theoretical findings arguing that insurgent groups that use terrorism may extend their lifespans while also, paradoxically, reducing their ability to obtain policy concessions from governments.³ Finally, the inquiry's conclusion summarizes central arguments and suggests directions for future research.

Terrorism, audiences, and organizational objectives in insurgencies

Insurgent organizations are non-state actors that use means outside existing legal processes in an effort to gain political control over territory ruled by a sovereign government.⁴ Insurgent groups often employ violence to advance their interests; however, there is significant divergence across groups with respect both to overall levels of violence and to the types of targets they select. A major distinction scholars make when examining insurgent violence is variation between military targeting and civilian targeting.⁵ When rebel groups attack a government's military, the violence is typically classified as guerrilla warfare or, less frequently, conventional warfare.⁶ Conversely, non-state terrorism is the threat or use of violence against civilian non-combatants to advance a group's political objectives by influencing third party audiences distinct from the victims of attacks.⁷ Researchers largely agree that terrorism is a form of signaling intended to alter audiences' calculations about extremist groups' capabilities, credibility, and resolve. The audiences of terrorist campaigns can include governments, extremist groups' sympathizers, and specific identity populations within a country – including religious, ethnic, and political subgroups.⁸

There are several underlying ways groups seek to use terrorism to influence audiences. Specifically, organizations target civilians to advance objectives that may include attrition, intimidation, provocation, outbidding, and spoiling.⁹ Groups that adopt a strategy of attrition seek to coerce government audiences through inflicting maximum destruction and suffering on a population.¹⁰ Meanwhile, the strategy of provocation seeks to use limited terrorism to bait governments into repressing their own citizens, potentially causing a popular backlash against the state.¹¹ Terrorist intimidation occurs when extremist organizations attack non-combatants in an attempt to influence and control the behavior of civilian audiences through the logics of deterrence or compellence.¹² Outbidding takes place when groups carry

out terrorist attacks when competing with rival organizations for scarce resources and support from the same underlying civilian population.¹³ Finally, spoiling involves efforts by extremists to derail peace negotiations or post-conflict settlements between governments and rival groups within their broader oppositional movement.¹⁴

Increasing academic focus on the audiences of terrorist campaigns has led to renewed debate over the strategic efficacy of terrorism in insurgencies. Most research addressing this question contends terrorism is a sub-optimal strategy that rarely results in outright victory for rebels.¹⁵ Scholars supporting this viewpoint maintain that targeting civilians has the unintended consequences of increasing the resolve of governments and delegitimizing oppositional groups and therefore ultimately reduces levels of rebel recruitment and support among the broader population.¹⁶ For these reasons, many scholars argue terrorism is ineffective because it rarely results in organizations achieving their long-term policy goals.¹⁷ However, an alternate perspective maintains that terrorism's strategic efficacy should not be assessed simply by using the metric of regime change or major government concessions – goals that few insurgent groups ever attain – and that instead scholars should identify the specific objectives groups seek to achieve by using terrorism in order to assess its utility.¹⁸ Put differently, to evaluate terrorism it is necessary to first determine what audiences groups seek to influence by targeting non-combatants and subsequently to assess civilian targeting based on those precise motives.¹⁹

With respect to ETA, when evaluating the organization one must distinguish between the group's long-term, aspirational objectives and the specific audiences the group sought to influence in distinct terrorist campaigns. From its inception, ETA's long-term political goal was creation of a sovereign Basque state that would include territory in both Spain and France. While this goal did not waver throughout most of ETA's lifespan – and indeed was key to symbolically distinguishing it from less radical Basque nationalist groups like the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), which did not openly advocate separatism – many of ETA's terrorist campaigns were not immediately intended to win outright independence. Instead, ETA often used terrorism to advance more focused organizational goals and to enhance its status within the radical Basque separatist movement. The inquiry's following section identifies the varying audiences ETA attempted to influence in its distinct terrorist campaigns and evaluates the efficacy of each of these campaigns.

Assessing ETA's strategies of terrorism

This section reviews the varying audiences ETA sought to influence in distinct campaigns between 1958 and 2011, when the group's last terrorist incident occurred. ETA's insurgency is broken down into five sections that

roughly follow periodization schemes of the group's strategic development outlined in previous research.²⁰ This assessment of ETA is distinct from prior investigations because it applies recent theoretical literature from the field of terrorism studies to the group's strategies of civilian targeting. While past research on ETA has made valuable scholarly contributions tracing the group's strategic interactions with the Spanish government, historical origins, interpretation of Basque nationalist thought, and the internal divisions and factions within the organization, no work to date has evaluated the group's strategies of civilian targeting by applying contemporary research on the audiences of terrorist campaigns to ETA's armed struggle.²¹ To be clear, this inquiry is not intended to serve as a comprehensive historical account of the interactions between ETA, the Government of Spain, and the many organizations comprising the broader Basque nationalist movement. Previous work has reviewed these relationships in meticulous detail.²² Rather, the more limited goal of this inquiry is to assess ETA's strategies of civilian targeting using recent theoretical work on terrorism, and in this way to serve as a model for future investigations that evaluate the strategic efficacy of political violence by non-state actors.

ETA's strategic progression involved four phases in which the group used terrorism to influence distinct audiences, as well as a period immediately following the group's formation when ETA employed strategic non-violence. Figure 1 depicts ETA's distinct terrorist campaigns between 1968 and 2011, distinguishing government/police targets from civilian/business targets using data from the Global Terrorism Database.²³ Note that by itself target selection cannot be used to identify ETA's broader strategies. That is, inferences about the audiences of terrorist attacks require additional information

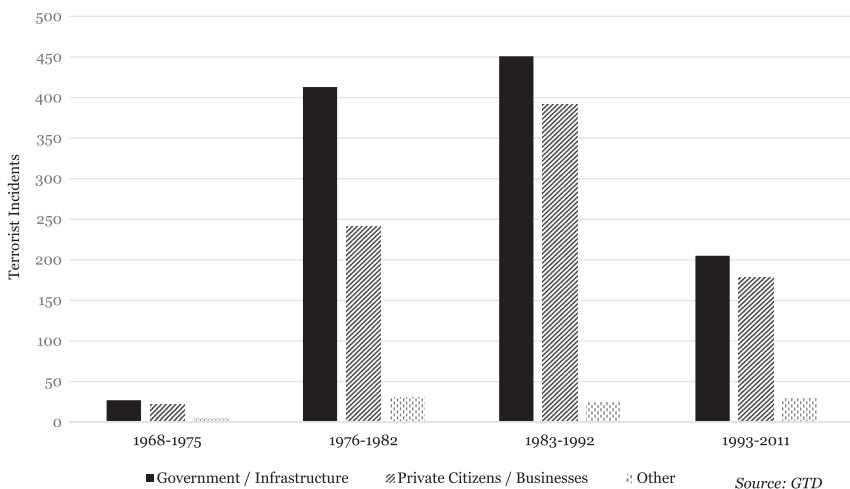


Figure 1. ETA's terrorist attacks in major campaigns.

about a group's motives. To identify ETA's varying strategic goals across the group's lifespan, targeting patterns were assessed alongside historical accounts of ETA's internal strategic deliberations in order to make determinations about the group's broader goals.

Between 1968 and 1975, ETA primarily used a strategy of terrorist provocation intended to cause the Franco regime to repress the Basque population. In this period, ETA's terrorism was used to alter the strategy of the dictatorship: the group calculated state terrorism would subsequently shift civilian support in the Basque region toward ETA. From 1976 to 1982, during Spain's transition to democracy, ETA underwent a schism in which a significant portion of its membership formed a new group called ETA *politico-militar* (ETA-pm), which largely abandoned armed struggle and attempted to integrate into the nascent democratic process in Spain. During this period, the remaining members of ETA adopted a strategy of outbidding, increasing the group's terrorist violence in order to signal its resolve to ardent Basque separatists. From 1983 to 1992, following the dissolution of ETA-pm, ETA adopted a strategy of attrition. During this phase, ETA sought to inflict maximum pain upon the Spanish population in order to compel the Government of Spain to recognize an independent Basque state. Finally, since 1992 – while ETA has rhetorically remained committed to separatism – the group's terrorism has largely been used to spoil peace negotiations in order to prolong its own lifespan and maintain its position of prominence within the radical Basque separatist movement.

Period 1: strategic non-violence (1958–1968)

Recent scholarship examining insurgencies recognizes that rebel groups do not always use violence; rather, insurgents often opt to use non-violent tactics – which may include labor strikes, protests, boycotts, and other forms of activism – to publicize their grievances to sympathetic audiences and thus advance their interests.²⁴ Strategic non-violence is distinct from principled non-violence, in which groups decide to eschew militarism for ethical reasons, because it involves the calculated decision to forego using terrorism or guerrilla warfare.²⁵ That is, strategic non-violence is employed because a group's members believe it offers the organization the best chance to advance its goals. Although ETA is mainly known as a terrorist organization, during the first decade of its existence the group primarily used non-violent tactics to increase its organizational capacity and to gain support from radical Basque separatists.²⁶

After the Spanish Civil War, the Franco regime remained alarmed by the persistence of revolutionary Basque nationalism, which was perceived as a challenge to Franco's efforts to create a homogenous 'Spanish' culture and strong state institutions. For this reason, after the conflict General Franco

annulled the Basque provinces' previous autonomy status, prohibited the use of *Euskera* – the Basque language – in public settings, and outlawed flying the Basque flag.²⁷ The PNV, which had led the Basque region's ethnonationalist resurgence for decades, was forced underground and opted to redirect its energies away from achieving Basque independence.²⁸ This pivot caused some radical proponents of Basque separatism to abandon the PNV and, in 1958, a small faction of committed separatists formed ETA, a group singularly focused on Basque independence.²⁹ ETA's founders believed the Basque people had a natural right to self-determination and that this right should be obtained in the shortest possible period. From its inception, therefore, ETA pursued nothing less than outright independence for the Basque region.

Rather than instigate an immediate armed uprising, ETA's initial goal was to mobilize support using methods of non-violent resistance including organizing strikes, holding meetings, and disseminating propaganda.³⁰ With these tactics, ETA sought to create a robust organizational structure, increase recruitment, and develop a regional network of support among fellow separatists.³¹ In these early stages of the organization's existence, ETA's leaders realized the group did not possess the capacity to sustain an armed rebellion. Furthermore, they understood that the organization did not have sufficient financial resources or tactical military capability to consistently carry out violent attacks.³² For these reasons, ETA almost entirely refrained from using violence during its first decade of operation and did not carry out a fatal attack until 1968.³³

Although non-violence was adopted in part to evade a harsh response from the dictatorship, Spain's intelligence services learned of ETA's existence within a year of the group's formation and set out to detain and imprison its members.³⁴ In the early 1960s police detained and jailed over 100 ETA operatives, including many members of the organization's leadership.³⁵ These incarcerations disrupted the group's activities, diminished its capabilities, and set back its development.³⁶ In addition, ETA's remaining activists were forced underground and could devote less time to recruitment, mobilization, and advancement of the organization's military capacity. Thus, government detention of ETA's leaders during the first decade of the group's existence was relatively successful in containing its growth, holding ETA's active membership to under 300 members.³⁷

Period 2: terrorist provocation (1968–1975)

While terrorism is often viewed as a strategy of coercion, researchers have long acknowledged that some groups use limited terrorism to elicit increased repression from governments rather than to force major policy concessions.³⁸ This strategy of provocation is intended to instigate a violent

and indiscriminate state response to rebellion, negatively influencing civilian audiences' perceptions of the government and potentially shifting the population's allegiance toward insurgents. Therefore, provocation is not a strategy intended to coerce, but rather to induce a government into choosing what insurgents believe is a suboptimal strategy. ETA's first major terrorist campaign was an effort to apply the strategy of terrorist provocation to the Basque struggle for independence by inciting the Franco regime and subsequently gaining support from the Basque population.

After undergoing a series of internal debates and leadership changes, in 1968 ETA embarked on a new strategy referred to as the 'action-repression spiral', which was intended to provoke the Franco regime into repressing the Basque population.³⁹ ETA envisioned the action-repression spiral advancing in a three-step process. First, the group would undertake a series of attacks against targets who supported the dictatorship or symbolized Franco's rule. Second, in response to these attacks the regime would unleash a campaign of repression on the Basque people. Third, the aggrieved Basque population would gradually mobilize against the government and coalesce around ETA. ETA believed that eventually government repression would prompt Basques to revolt against Franco, ultimately leading to the creation of a sovereign Basque state.⁴⁰

ETA began the action-repression spiral in 1968 when the organization assassinated Melitón Manzanas, San Sebastian's police superintendent.⁴¹ Between 1968 and 1975, ETA carried out 54 attacks that killed 44 individuals, many with a direct association to the dictatorship. Also, in this period ETA carried out one of its most high-profile operations: assassinating General Franco's chosen successor, Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, in an attack in Madrid that brought the group worldwide publicity. While ETA's first major terrorist campaign was certainly destructive, it did not rival the intensity and bloodshed of the group's future operations, which involved far more incidents and resulted in hundreds of casualties. One reason for the relatively low number of attacks during this time was ETA's small size and lack of military capacity, which was still being developed. Additionally, ETA's objective during the action-repression spiral was not to inflict maximum destruction on the regime or population. Instead, it was to carry out limited, selective terrorist attacks that would cause the Franco regime to overreact.

The Franco dictatorship's response to ETA's provocation was swift and brutal. The regime declared a suspension of constitutional guarantees in the Basque region and called for widespread detentions of suspected ETA operatives and their supporters. In 1968 alone, almost 2000 Basque citizens were detained by Franco's security forces.⁴² Police also arrested members of ETA's central committee. As Clark notes, 'almost every key [ETA] leader on the Spanish side of the border was caught in these raids, causing the structure of the organization in Spain to crumble'.⁴³ Irvin comes to a similar conclusion arguing

that the Franco regime's repression during this period resulted in ETA going through two generations of leaders in three years and 'what leadership remained was in disarray, and rank-and-file members were exhausted'.⁴⁴

To ETA's dismay, the intended audience of its provocation campaign, the pro-nationalist Basque population, was dissuaded from supporting the organization or engaging in rebellion more generally out of fear of imprisonment and torture.⁴⁵ ETA had envisioned government repression inciting a popular revolution in the Basque region.⁴⁶ Instead, government reprisals nearly destroyed the organization and caused numerous internal splits.⁴⁷ By 1975, ETA's membership fell to approximately 150 members and its capacity to recruit, organize, and carry out future attacks was severely curtailed.⁴⁸

In summary, the popular backlash ETA hoped would emerge as a result of its application of the action–repression spiral did not materialize, largely because the Franco regime's security forces maintained a sustained program of repression threatening severe consequences for dissidents. Furthermore, as a relatively small organization, ETA was severely impaired by the regime's operations, which debilitated its organizational structure. While ETA was weakened as a result of the government response to its initial terrorist campaign, the group did gain an increased public profile in the Basque region – and throughout Spain – from several high-profile attacks as well as from public trials conducted by the regime.⁴⁹ Therefore, although ETA struggled to survive through the final years of the dictatorship, it emerged from the Franco era with increased name recognition and continued commitment to pursuing Basque independence.

Period 3: terrorist outbidding (1976–1982)

Insurgent groups often compete with rival organizations over scarce resources, popular support, and recruits.⁵⁰ Rivalries between insurgent organizations with similar goals can lead some groups to try and demonstrate their superior commitment to potential supporters. In these scenarios, more extreme actors may adopt a strategy of terrorist outbidding, which involves augmenting levels of political violence to signal an organization's superior resolve and capacity to audiences unsure about whom to support.⁵¹

As Spain began its transition to democracy after the death of General Franco in 1975, ETA underwent a schism that split the group into two separate organizations: *ETA-militar* (ETA) and *ETA-pm*. Although ETA had been divided into numerous internal factions during its early development and had previously endured splinters, the schism that occurred at the end of the Franco era was the group's most significant rupture. Following the break, ETA adopted a strategy of terrorist outbidding in an effort to become the focal actor in the Basque separatist movement.⁵² In contrast, *ETA-pm* deprioritized violence and sought to develop a mass movement seeking to integrate itself into Spain's emergent democracy.⁵³

In the years after Franco's death, both the transitional Government of Spain and later the democratically elected government controlled by the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) attempted to end the conflict with Basque separatists by enacting autonomy provisions for the Basque region, negotiating with various nationalist groups, and releasing political prisoners.⁵⁴ UCD Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez supported amnesty for a number of imprisoned Basque militants, many of whom were viewed as legitimate opponents of *Franquismo* rather than extremists. Before Suárez's election, there were over 1000 Basque political prisoners; however, by 1979, 900 of these had been released.⁵⁵ The Suárez government also granted the Basque region significant autonomy. The 1979 Guernica Statute created an official Basque autonomous community with control over its own fiscal affairs, health care, education, tax collection, and local law enforcement.⁵⁶ *Euskera* was made an official language of the region and was approved for use in the public education system.⁵⁷ The UCD government believed that by granting these concessions, it could address widespread grievances in the Basque region that had emerged during the Franco dictatorship and in this way reduce support for radical separatist organizations.

Surprisingly, in response to policies promoting increased Basque autonomy and prisoner releases, ETA amplified the consistency and destructiveness of its terrorism. Between 1976 and 1982, the group carried out 684 violent incidents resulting in 892 casualties.⁵⁸ Three factors account for this decision. First, ETA's members were deeply committed to winning outright sovereignty for the Basque region. While the UCD government was certainly more sympathetic to Basque nationalism than the Franco dictatorship, members of ETA were not willing to settle for autonomy measures alone. Instead, they believed continuing the armed struggle was the only way to achieve independence. Second, the few remaining members of ETA saw the emergence of ETA-pm – and other less extreme separatist organizations – as a challenge to the group's own existence. In response to this threat, ETA employed terrorism to signal the group's complete dedication to separatism to ardent supporters of self-determination. Third, during and after the transition to democracy, the Government of Spain permitted elements of the country's security forces to engage in heavy-handed counterterrorism tactics that included torture of detainees. These polices – reminiscent of Franco era repression – helped ETA increase recruitment.

In contrast to ETA's augmented terrorist campaign, ETA-pm sought to create a broad-based popular movement by aligning itself with Basque labor and youth groups, while also continuing to carry out terrorist attacks.⁵⁹ ETA-pm also engaged in ceasefires to negotiate with the Government of Spain in an effort to address the issue of Basque sovereignty. These talks were unsuccessful in securing the removal of state security forces from the Basque region or in extracting a statement from the government committing

to a process of self-determination.⁶⁰ In the end, ETA-pm's inability to achieve major concessions, coupled with the group's perceived lack of commitment to separatism, caused significant internal dissension. This led to reduced support from hardline proponents of Basque sovereignty. Facing an internal collapse, in 1982 the group dissolved itself.⁶¹ Some former members of ETA-pm received amnesty, while others chose to resume the armed struggle and rejoined ETA.

In contrast to the collapse generated by ETA-pm's move toward moderation, ETA's outbidding campaign enabled the group to advance its organizational capacity in several ways. First, by 1982 ETA's size had increased to over 1000 members from under 300 in 1976.⁶² ETA thus experienced significant growth as a result of increased civilian targeting, winning support from radical Basque separatists.⁶³ In addition, ETA's political affiliate, *Herri Batasuna* (HB), achieved electoral success during this period, becoming the second most popular political party in the Basque region.⁶⁴ Finally, ETA's staunch commitment to independence permitted the group to emerge as the principal actor within the radical Basque separatist movement, which was made up of dozens of political and social organizations collectively known as the Basque National Liberation Movement (MLNV). While the PNV remained the central actor when it came to Basque nationalist politics, it did not overtly pursue the more ambitious goal of separatism. For this reason, ETA's violent campaign – which demonstrated its unwillingness to compromise on the question of independence – resulted in increased support from the most hardline proponents of Basque self-determination and enabled ETA to establish a small but steadfast base of support in the region.

Period 4: terrorist attrition (1983–1992)

Terrorist attrition involves efforts by an extremist group to alter government policy by inflicting maximum destructive damage on a society.⁶⁵ Groups adopting a strategy of attrition believe they can coerce government audiences into submitting to their demands, in effect calculating that governments will acquiesce rather than endure the cost of future attacks. By 1982, after the dissolution of ETA-pm, ETA had become one of the leading oppositional organizations in the broader movement struggling to attain independence for the Basque region. Viewing its previous terrorist campaign as at least partially successful and sensing potential weakness from the newly elected socialist government, in 1983 ETA embarked upon a campaign of terrorist attrition intended to compel the Government of Spain into committing to Basque self-determination.⁶⁶

In 1982, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) won national elections. The socialists were strongly committed to eliminating any vestiges of the dictatorship from government and, for this reason, some analysts predicted

that their victory would prompt ETA to halt its militant campaign.⁶⁷ Instead, claiming that there was little difference between the PSOE and the Franco regime, ETA doubled down on its use of terrorism.⁶⁸ From 1983 to 1992, the group conducted its most destructive campaign carrying out 866 violent attacks that resulted in 1282 casualties.⁶⁹ Furthermore, while ETA's previous terrorist campaigns largely targeted the military or government, the group's campaign following the PSOE's election targeted civilians not affiliated with the state in 45% of incidents.⁷⁰ The high rate of attacks against non-government targets exhibited ETA's new strategy of attrition: the group now sought to maximize the level of suffering it could inflict on the country in a bid to compel the government to accept Basque sovereignty.

By adopting a strategy of attrition, ETA believed it could make the newly elected PSOE government appear incapable of providing internal security for Spain's citizens. Given the fragile state of Spain's democracy, the group calculated that the PSOE would grant significant concessions to ETA rather than endure significant bloodshed. PSOE Prime Minister Felipe González, however, was determined to put a halt to ETA's violence and to back up the tough stance on terrorism the socialists had taken during the election campaign.⁷¹ Therefore, rather than grant major concessions, the PSOE adopted a two-track approach designed to cripple ETA. Track one involved enhancing existing police and intelligence capabilities through new legislation, funding, and training. Concurrently, track two called for the creation and support of secret paramilitary organizations, collectively known as the Antiterrorist Liberation Groups (GAL), which were given license to use torture and targeted assassinations to weaken ETA.⁷² These groups were directed by members of the Spanish Ministry of the Interior, Guardia Civil, and military intelligence officers – many with prior ties to the Franco regime.⁷³

To better equip the Spanish security forces confronting ETA's campaign of attrition, the PSOE developed a new anti-terrorism policy known as the Special Northern Zone Plan (Plan ZEN).⁷⁴ This series of programs increased spending for counterterrorism operations in the Basque region and trained police in counterterrorism tactics and psychological warfare.⁷⁵ Additionally, in 1984 a new antiterrorist law was passed that lowered the legal requirements necessary for police to arrest and detain suspected ETA militants.⁷⁶ As a result of these two policy initiatives, in 1985 over 900 people were arrested on suspicion of supporting militant Basque separatist organizations.⁷⁷ The Socialist government's most successful counterterrorism operation occurred in 1992, when in tandem with French security services, it captured ETA's Executive Committee in Bidart, France.⁷⁸ The raid in Bidart was a devastating blow for ETA. The group's leadership structure was left in disarray, and important organizations in the radical Basque separatist movement began to question ETA's continued relevance.⁷⁹

In addition to lawful security measures taken to degrade ETA, in 1983 high ranking officials in the PSOE government secretly approved the creation of the GAL.⁸⁰ For decades, much of ETA's leadership had operated in the Basque region of southern France, largely out of the reach of Spanish authorities.⁸¹ The GAL targeted ETA leaders in this sanctuary through kidnappings, bombings, torture, and assassinations.⁸² From 1983 to 1987, the GAL killed 27 individuals and wounded dozens of others. Its targets included ETA members and HB officials, but it also killed several individuals unaffiliated with these groups.⁸³ Since the GAL's activities were clandestine, initially there were few political consequences resulting from its operations. However, as information about the GAL's activities emerged through a series of investigative reports in the 1990s, the PSOE suffered a severe public backlash.⁸⁴

In summary, while an outbidding terrorist campaign during Spain's transition to democracy successfully enabled ETA to solidify a dedicated base of support, the group's decision to amplify civilian targeting during the early years of PSOE governance did not alter the government's stance on Basque independence. ETA's campaign of attrition was unable to cause sufficient damage to compel the Government of Spain to acquiesce to the group's demands. On the contrary, ETA's persistent militancy caused the PSOE to make the group's elimination a primary policy objective. ETA's attrition strategy had the unintended consequence of increasing the resolve of the government audience it sought to compel. The PSOE's subsequent counterterrorism measures – which largely focused on capturing and killing ETA members – severely weakened the group between 1983 and 1992.⁸⁵ The imprisonment of a large part of the organization's leadership during this period resulted in a substantial reduction in ETA's operational capacity to plan and execute violent attacks.⁸⁶ Furthermore, the resulting internal destabilization and public backlash to ETA's indiscriminate targeting caused the group to lose support and credibility among Basque separatists, marginalizing ETA with the very constituency whose backing it needed to continue its struggle.

Period 5: terrorist spoiling (1993–2011)

Declining extremist organizations often continue to exist for extended periods of time although they possess little realistic chance of achieving their long-term objectives.⁸⁷ While formerly influential insurgent groups no longer possess the necessary strength or popular support to seriously threaten governments, they may retain sufficient reputational capital – based on a legacy of violent attacks and public notoriety – to influence the dynamics of broader oppositional movements and peace processes. This strategy of terrorism, often referred to as 'spoiling', involves efforts by more

radical elements of a nationalist movement to disrupt negotiations between a government and moderates, influencing the behavior of both these audiences.⁸⁸

After 1992, ETA's operational capacity and membership declined as a result of the aggressive counterterrorism measures carried out by the PSOE over the previous decade.⁸⁹ In its weakened condition, ETA's remaining leadership concluded that the organization could not win outright independence for the Basque provinces through a violent campaign of attrition.⁹⁰ Instead, ETA adopted a strategy of spoiling, carrying out limited terrorist attacks in an effort to influence relations among the broader Basque nationalist movement, various radical separatist organizations in MLNV, and the Government of Spain. In this phase, ETA internally acknowledged that to advance its interests it required support from the myriad radical leftist and separatist organizations operating in the Basque region, many of whom questioned ETA's tactics and relevance.⁹¹ To that end, the purpose of ETA's terrorism was to ensure that these increasingly influential actors were committed to the group's core principles of independence and unification of the entire Basque region, including territory in France.⁹²

To impose its agenda on the broader nationalist movement, ETA initiated a new plan known as the Democratic Alternative in conjunction with the MLNV in the mid-1990s. This plan called for harnessing the collective power of Basque nationalist actors to negotiate with the Government of Spain, while simultaneously igniting a broad social revolution in the Basque region.⁹³ The Democratic Alternative did not call for an end to terrorism, and during this period ETA actually broadened the scope of its targeting to include actors within the Basque left – including intellectuals, judges, and local politicians – who it sought to influence. Additionally, in tandem with the MLNV, ETA also began to promote a form of mass urban violence known as *kale borroka*, which involved riots and destruction of private property by radical Basque youth groups.

As ETA and other organizations in the MLNV attempted to implement the Democratic Alternative, in 1996 the PSOE lost national elections to the conservative Partido Popular (PP), putting an end to almost 14 years of socialist rule. José María Aznar, Spain's new prime minister, was adamant that the PP would not grant concessions to ETA. Instead, Aznar believed that the insurgent organization could be destroyed using legitimate police tactics in conjunction with expanding the government's legal authority to dismantle ETA's proxy political organizations.⁹⁴ In addition to a new government opposed to even minimal concessions, public opinion in the Basque region began to shift decidedly against ETA as a result of the group's continued indiscriminate violence.⁹⁵ Although terrorist incidents carried out by ETA were declining, the group's practice of striking non-government civilian targets continued after 1992, with 43% of its operations falling into this category during the final phase of the insurgency.⁹⁶

For these reasons, and at the urging of organizations in the MLNV and broader nationalist movement, ETA agreed to an indefinite ceasefire in September 1998 as part of the Lizarra Pact.⁹⁷ The ceasefire was an effort to unite all actors in the Basque nationalist movement behind a set of core principles. Radical separatists in the MLNV along with moderate nationalist groups including the PNV, Eusko Alkartasuna (EA), and Elkarri, spearheaded a declaration calling for political solutions to the question of Basque self-determination and a right for the citizens of the Basque provinces to determine their political future. For the next 15 months, ETA sought to use this cessation of violence to bring the PP government to the negotiating table and strengthen its own deteriorating position. Aznar was skeptical that ETA intended to permanently halt attacks; nonetheless, his government contacted the group through backchannels and arranged a meeting in Geneva.⁹⁸ When representatives from the two sides met, however, it became clear that the PP government was unwilling to accept any proposal from ETA that did not involve a permanent cessation of violence and the group's eventual dissolution.⁹⁹ ETA's immediate refusal to meet these demands effectively ended any further dialogue. Frustrated by the absence of progress with the government and by the perceived lack of urgency displayed by moderate nationalist organizations, ETA announced an end to its ceasefire in November 1999.

In January 2000, ETA renewed its terrorist campaign killing Lt. Colonel Pedro Antonio Blanco in Madrid. Dozens more attacks took place over the following months. ETA's renewed violence was an acknowledgement that the group's methods and goals were fundamentally incompatible with more moderate Basque nationalist groups involved in the Lizarra Pact, including the PNV and EA. ETA's attacks were now intended to disrupt the process set into motion by Lizarra and to reassert the group's position as a leader of radical Basque separatists. Additionally, ETA sought to use terrorism to isolate nationalist movement actors – who had at least nominally associated with ETA in the Lizarra Pact – from mainstream politics and force them toward more radical positions. However, the group's efforts at spoiling backfired in two ways. First, although moderate Basque nationalist groups associated with the Lizarra Pact were criticized by pro-Spanish and right-wing actors in the region, they did not abandon the existing political order or ongoing relations with the Government of Spain. Instead, nationalist actors quickly disassociated themselves from ETA and its proxies. Second, ETA's renewed terrorist campaign caused the Government of Spain to enhance its counterterrorism measures.

In response to the ceasefire's termination, Aznar doubled down on the government's commitment to destroy ETA. Using expanded legal powers, raids by Spanish security forces over the next 3 years would further weaken the already faltering organization.¹⁰⁰ In addition to capturing and

prosecuting ETA members, the PP expanded legal challenges to the wider network of political and social organizations that supported ETA. Most notably, in August 2002 the parliament passed the *Ley de Partidos*, which outlawed political parties with ties to organizations that used terrorism. Shortly thereafter, HB – now renamed *Batasuna* – was permanently banned as a political party by Spain’s parliament and Supreme Court.¹⁰¹ The government’s termination of *Batasuna* sent a signal to other organizations in the MLNV that association with ETA would not be tolerated. The move was effective. By the mid-2000s, ETA was marginalized politically, even among radical Basque separatists, and its membership dwindled to just a few dozen individuals. Though the organization persisted until 2018, ETA was all but decimated by 2011 when it announced a unilateral cease-fire as the first step toward its eventual dissolution.

In summary, in the final phase of its insurgency, ETA largely used terrorism to influence the political interaction between radical separatists, moderate Basque nationalists, and the Government of Spain. Although ETA abandoned the belief that political violence could directly coerce the government into granting sovereignty to the Basque region, the group targeted civilians to spoil overtures between a united nationalist front and the government. The group sought to shift the broader Basque nationalist movement toward a more radical position aligned with ETA’s core principles: continuing to demand nothing less than self-determination and unification of all Basque provinces including territory in France. ETA’s terrorism in this period did not advance its interests. Rather than radicalize moderate nationalists or derail the existing political order, ETA became isolated as other movement actors denounced indiscriminate terrorist violence and adopted alternative methods to advance the cause of Basque separatism. Moreover, ETA’s terrorism permitted the PP and subsequently the PSOE government led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero to pass and enforce new counterterrorism laws making political association with ETA illegal. These actions marginalized the group and, combined with frequent police raids, weakened the organization until it ceased to be an influential political actor.

Theoretical and policy implications

How do the results of ETA’s civilian targeting align with contemporary theory on the strategic utility of non-state terrorism in insurgencies? Furthermore, are there any counterinsurgency policy implications to be gleaned from an analysis of the government responses to ETA’s protracted rebellion? With respect to the first question, examination of the results of ETA’s varying terrorist strategies corresponds with findings in recent research arguing that terrorism often extends the lifespan of insurgent groups but rarely helps them achieve their long-term objectives.¹⁰² ETA’s

early terrorism, intended as a provocation, allowed the group to disseminate its message and to publicize its existence to sympathetic audiences. The Franco regime's resulting harsh campaign of repression did not spark a revolution in the Basque region; however, it did help make ETA a widely known organization. Subsequently, during Spain's transition to democracy, ETA used a strategy of terrorist outbidding to gain the support of radical Basque separatists, allowing the group to develop a solid core of members and sympathizers. The group's committed base of support and national profile propelled it into a leadership position among radical Basque separatist organizations. Therefore, terrorism helped ETA advance organizational objectives by making the group well known, capable of effectively recruiting followers, and supported within a larger movement, attributes that enabled ETA to survive for decades.

While terrorist provocation and outbidding prolonged ETA's lifespan, terrorist attrition did not enable ETA to successfully coerce the Government of Spain. Over the group's long history, ETA sought to compel numerous Spanish governments to grant independence to the Basque region. ETA, however, failed to alter major government policy, even when the group carried out its most destructive terrorist campaign in the 1980s. Therefore, attrition did not enable ETA to achieve its ultimate policy objective. Like many other extremist groups that use terrorism, civilian targeting had the unintended consequences of increasing the resolve of the government and turning the broader population against the group, eventually marginalizing ETA among Basque separatist sympathizers.¹⁰³

From the perspective of counterinsurgency strategy, under the UCD and PSOE governments Spain's approach to addressing the challenge posed by ETA incorporated elements of a hearts-and-minds campaign. Increased political autonomy for the Basque region as a result of the 1979 Guernica Statute, promotion of Basque cultural diversity, prisoner releases, and negotiations with ETA-pm, all acknowledged the grievances of the Basque people, who had suffered severe repression under the Franco dictatorship. A central goal of the UCD government with respect to the Basque region was the creation of local and regional institutions that would allow Basques to govern themselves. Despite increased autonomy for the region, however, ETA grew in both membership size and political influence during Spain's democratic transition by receiving support from committed separatists who demanded outright independence. Likely, reasons for the mixed results of the state's reconciliation measures during this period include its ambivalence toward right-wing violence in the Basque region and clandestine promotion of paramilitary groups that carried out terrorism, both of which served to spur support for ETA and delegitimize the government. Additionally, ETA's growth during these years corresponds to recent findings that suggest insurgent groups may be particularly successful in periods of political transition between authoritarianism and democracy.¹⁰⁴

In addition to autonomy reforms, the Government of Spain defeated ETA by using targeted police raids aimed at degrading ETA's ability to conduct operations and recruit new members. ETA was not decapitated – no single operation targeting the group's leadership resulted in its destruction – instead the organization was slowly marginalized by decades of sustained police and intelligence work made possible by the passage of tough and expansive counterterrorism laws. This period of the insurgency thus supports theoretical claims made by Jones and Libicki, who argue that a significant portion of insurgencies end as a result of security force operations informed by accurate intelligence.¹⁰⁵

Lastly, previous research in the field argues that foreign assistance and sanctuary are often crucial factors enabling rebel groups to flourish.¹⁰⁶ During its existence, ETA did not benefit from significant material assistance from a foreign state; however, France provided the organization with a de facto sanctuary for many years. Shortly after ETA was created, a large portion of the organization's leadership relocated to the Basque territory of south France to avoid being captured by Franco's security forces. This would become a recurring pattern over time as numerous ETA leaders fled to France once they were identified by Spanish intelligence. From the early 1960s until 1976, the French government largely disregarded ETA's activities. With the security provided by this safe haven, ETA used towns such as St. Jean-de-Luz, Hendaye, Bayonne, and Biarritz to conduct training, store weapons, hold meetings, and construct safe houses.¹⁰⁷

Through 1975, the Government of France did little to discourage ETA from operating within its borders; however, after Franco's death France began to tighten restrictions on ETA operatives.¹⁰⁸ The major reason for this alteration in French policy was the changing political situation in Spain. Until 1975, ETA militants had been looked upon as political refugees. After Franco's death, however, France began to view ETA operatives as terrorists rather than asylum seekers. By 1978, French police began rounding up known ETA members and deporting them to Spain. In subsequent years, France collaborated more aggressively with the Government of Spain and, in 1984, the two governments signed an agreement committing to work together to address the challenges posed by ETA's presence in France. Continuing French cooperation with the Government of Spain helped further weaken ETA in the late 1980s and 1990s. For this reason, foreign sanctuary must be included alongside shifts in terrorist strategy as a significant factor in explaining both ETA's longevity and eventual decline.

Conclusion and directions for future research

This inquiry has evaluated ETA using recent theoretical arguments made in the literature on non-state terrorism. The core argument advanced is that ETA often used civilian targeting to further objectives that would enhance the group's

organizational capacity and standing within the radical Basque separatist movement rather than to directly coerce the Government of Spain. That is, ETA regularly used terrorism to influence audiences who could help the group survive. From a strategic perspective, terrorism enabled ETA to publicize its grievances and ideology and to gain name recognition, attributes that helped the group form and maintain a relatively small but committed base of support. Furthermore, terrorism signaled ETA's resolve to extremist actors in the Basque region, enabling it to outbid more moderate competitors such as ETA-pm. Ultimately, ETA was unable to convert its organizational growth into political progress. When the group adopted a strategy of terrorist attrition, it could not compel the Government of Spain to alter major policy toward the Basque region and instead caused the state to expand both its political and military counterterrorism operations. ETA's persistent commitment to militancy after the strategy had clearly failed gradually caused the group to lose support and to forfeit its prominent position within the Basque separatist movement.

Finally, this inquiry recommends two areas for future research in the fields of non-state terrorism and insurgencies. Chief among these is the identification of alternate metrics to assess the strategic utility of non-state terrorism. Scholars typically evaluate the efficacy of civilian targeting by observing whether it enabled groups to coerce governments by compelling them to alter major policies; however, as this inquiry has demonstrated, extremist groups often use terrorism to achieve limited organizational objectives rather than to advance their long-term goals. For this reason, more research should focus on assessing the audiences groups seek to influence by using terrorism. Second, further investigation is necessary to identify when violent and non-violent strategies of insurgency and counterinsurgency advance organizations' interests. A review of the numerous insurgencies that have taken place since World War II demonstrates instances when both violent and non-violent strategies have furthered the strategic goals of both governments and rebels. Scholars have yet to develop conclusive theory explaining why non-violent tactics sometimes succeed and why at other times violent strategies of insurgency and counterinsurgency prevail. Due to the complexity of these conflicts, it is possible that no general theory can account for the role that strategy plays in all cases. Instead, it is more likely that several 'middle range' theories are necessary to construct explanations linking strategy to the development and outcome of insurgencies.

Notes

1. Ormazabal, "ETA to Announce Definitive End in French Basque Country in May"; Rodríguez, "Basque Terrorist Group ETA Plans to Dissolve Fully by the Summer"; Minder, "Basque Group ETA Disbands, After Terrorist Campaign Spanning Generations"; Hedgecoe, "ETA: Basque Group Disbands but Leaves Deep Wounds for Spain."

2. LaFree et al., "Spatial and Temporal Patterns," 9.
3. Fortna, "Do Terrorists Win?" 519–556.
4. Findley and Young, "Fighting Fire with Fire," 380; Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," 112.
5. Carter, "Provocation and the Strategy of Terrorist and Guerrilla Attacks."
6. Ibid.
7. Sandler, "The Analytic Study of Terrorism," 257.
8. Kydd and Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism."
9. Ibid.
10. Pape, *Dying to Win*.
11. See note 5 above.
12. Kalyvas, "The Paradox of Terrorism in Civil War," 97–138.
13. Bloom, "Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding," 61–88.
14. Findley and Young, "Terrorism, Spoiling, and the Resolution of Civil Wars," 1115–1128.
15. Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," 42–78.
16. Stephan and Chenoweth, "Why Civil Resistance Works," 7–44.
17. Fortna, "Do Terrorists Win?" 539.
18. Krause, "The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence," 259–294; Thomas, "Rewarding Bad Behavior," 804–818.
19. Mahoney, "More Data, New Problems."
20. Ibarra Güell, *Evolución Estratégica de ETA*; Sánchez-Cuenca, *ETA Contra el Estado*.
21. Letamendia, *Historia del Nacionalismo Vasco y de E.T.A.*; Payne, *Basque Nationalism*; Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism*; Mansvelt-Beck, *Territory and Terror*.
22. Elorza et al., *La Historia de ETA*; Ibarra Güell, *Evolución Estratégica de ETA*; Sánchez-Cuenca, *ETA Contra el Estado*; Whitfield, *Endgame for ETA*.
23. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, *Global Terrorism Database*.
24. See note 16 above.
25. Ibid., 9–10.
26. Zirakzadeh, "From Revolutionary Dreams to Organizational Fragmentation," 72.
27. Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 231.
28. Watson, *Nationalism and Political Violence*, 186.
29. Fernández, "Between Francoism and Democracy," 21.
30. Ibarra Güell, *Evolución Estratégica de ETA*, 65.
31. Watson, *Nationalism and Political Violence*, 209; Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 35; Fernández, "Between Francoism and Democracy," 22.
32. Ibarra Güell, *Evolución Estratégica de ETA*, 65–66.
33. Sánchez-Cuenca, *Explaining Temporal Variation*, 1.
34. Bew et al., *Talking to Terrorists*, 177; Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 35.
35. Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 35.
36. Zirakzadeh, *A Rebellious People*, 149–150; Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 37.
37. Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 221.
38. Blankenship, "When Do States Take the Bait?" 381–409.
39. For more on provocation as a strategy see Kydd and Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," 133–173.
40. Sánchez-Cuenca, *ETA Contra el Estado*, 60.

41. Ibarra Güell, *Evolución Estratégica de ETA*, 69–74.
42. Pestana Barros et al., "The Timing of ETA," 337; Luis de La Calle and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca, "Killing and Voting in the Basque Country," 96.
43. Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 51.
44. Irvin, *Militant Nationalism*, 74.
45. Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 241–242; Mahoney, "Splinters and Schisms."
46. Ibarra Güell, *Evolución Estratégica de ETA*, 69.
47. Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 50; Llera et al., "ETA: From Secret Army," 116; Fernández, "Between Francoism and Democracy," 26–27.
48. Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 221.
49. Fernández, "Between Francoism and Democracy," 26–27.
50. Bakke et al., "A Plague of Initials," 265–283; Krause, "The Structure of Success," 72–116.
51. Mahoney, "Splinters and Schisms."
52. Muro, "ETA During Democracy," 41.
53. Llera et al., "ETA: From Secret Army," 119–120.
54. Clark, *Negotiating with ETA*, 3.
55. Rogelio Alonso, "Pathways Out of Terrorism," 695–696.
56. Pestana Barros et al., "The Timing of ETA," 96.
57. Bew et al., *Talking to Terrorists*, 184–185.
58. See note 23 above.
59. Llera et al., "ETA: From Secret Army," 118–120; Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism*, 186.
60. Clark, *Negotiating with ETA*, 90–92.
61. Clark, *Negotiating with ETA*, 103–106; Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism*, 242–250; Reinares and Alonso, "Confronting Ethnonationalist Terrorism," 121.
62. Llera et al., "ETA: From Secret Army," 127.
63. Reinares and Alonso, "Confronting Ethnonationalist Terrorism," 109.
64. Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism*, 229.
65. Kydd and Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," 59–66.
66. Sánchez-Cuenca, *ETA Contra el Estado*, 73–109.
67. Sullivan, *ETA and Basque Nationalism*, 249.
68. See note 23 above.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Encarnación, "Dirty Wars in Spain," 951–952; Argomaniz and Vidal-Diaz, "Examining Deterrence and Backlash," 164.
72. Whitfield, *Endgame for ETA*, 58–60.
73. Right-wing terrorist organizations affiliated with the state operated in the Basque region prior to the creation of the GAL. Some of these organizations include Batallón Vasco Español and Alianza Apostólica Anticomunista (AAA).
74. Woodworth, *Dirty War, Clean Hands*, 68.
75. Whitfield, *Endgame for ETA*, 58.
76. Ibid.
77. Encarnación, "Dirty Wars in Spain," 953.
78. Whitfield, *Endgame for ETA*, 74.
79. Sánchez-Cuenca, *Explaining Temporal Variation*, 6–7.
80. Encarnación, "Dirty Wars in Spain," 950–972.
81. Ibid., 954.
82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., 950–972.
84. Alonso and Reinares, “Terrorism, Human Rights, and Law,” 275.
85. See note 79 above.
86. de la Calle and Sánchez-Cuenca, “La Selección de Víctimas,” 62.
87. Connable and Libicki, *How Insurgencies End*, 34–49.
88. Kydd and Walter, “The Strategies of Terrorism,” 72–76.
89. See note 79 above.
90. Whitfield, *Endgame for ETA*, 78.
91. Ibid., 74–78.
92. Ibid., 94–95.
93. Alonso, “Pathways Out of Terrorism,” 695–713.
94. Whitfield, *Endgame for ETA*, 81.
95. Ibid., 79–105.
96. See note 23 above.
97. Argomaniz and Vidal-Diez, “Examining Deterrence and Backlash,” 166.
98. Whitfield, *Endgame for ETA*, 93.
99. Ibid.
100. Sánchez-Cuenca, “Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism,” 297–298.
101. HB changed its name in 1998 to *Euskal Herritarrok* (EH) to allow the party to participate in elections. In 2001, EH was renamed simply *Batasuna*.
102. See note 3 above.
103. Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work.”
104. Regan and Bell, “Changing Lanes or Stuck in the Middle: Why Are Anocracies More Prone to Civil Wars?,” 747–759; Chenoweth, “Terrorism and Democracy,” 355–378.
105. Jones and Libicki, *How Terrorist Groups End*, 18–19.
106. See note 87 above.
107. Clark, *The Basque Insurgents*, 215.
108. Ibid., 216.

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