VIOLENT NON-STATE ACTORS IN WORLD POLITICS:
THEIR FORMATION, ACTIONS, AND EFFECTS

A Thesis in
Political Science
By
Diane L. Dutka

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2006
The thesis of Diane L. Dutka was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Glenn Palmer  
Associate Professor of Political Science  
Thesis Adviser  
Chair of Committee

D. Scott Bennett  
Professor of Political Science

Navin Bapat  
Assistant Professor of Political Science

Catherine Wanner  
Assistant Professor of History and Religious Studies

Marie Hojnacki  
Graduate Director, Department of Political Science

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School.
Abstract

In the recent past, terrorism has come to the fore as a major international problem. In addition, other violent non-state actors, such as insurgents or freedom fighters, have played an increasingly visible role in world affairs. A look at history, however, reveals that such actors have played an important part in world affairs for quite some time. Their role(s), however, have never been studied systematically. Instead, they are generally filtered out of studies on conflict; not even appearing on the radar screen of the typical scholar of international affairs. In this dissertation, I introduce a data set which I have compiled on such actors, and I perform some preliminary tests to determine the extent of their influence. I also discuss questions for future research on this topic.
## Table of Contents

List of Tables........................................................................................................Page v

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review ..................................................Page 1

Chapter 2: Data Collection ..................................................................................Page 21

Chapter 3: Summary of Data ..............................................................................Page 51

Chapter 4: Research Design and Hypotheses ....................................................Page 107

Chapter 5: Results...............................................................................................Page 140

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Questions for Further Study ...............................Page 173

Bibliography.........................................................................................................Page 190
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Number of APAGs Present</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>APAG Formation Years</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>APAG Fate</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Years of Existence</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>APAG Size</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>APAG Goals</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Control Variables for Full Sample</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Control Variables for Escalation Sample</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Control Variables for 1890-1914 Period Only</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Control Variables for 1990-2001 Period Only</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for Full Sample</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for 1890-1914 Period Only</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for 1990-2001 Period Only</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Models of APAG Presence and Dispute Onset</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for Full Sample</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for 1890-1914 Period Only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.7 Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for 1990-2001 Period Only

Table 5.8 Models of APAG Number and Dispute Onset

Table 5.9 Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for Full Sample

Table 5.10 Models of APAG Presence and Dispute Escalation
Chapter 1
Introduction & Literature Review

Introduction

In recent years, political violence performed by non-state actors has come to the forefront of international relations. Terrorist groups have engaged in increasingly provocative activities, and in some cases, these activities have been the catalyst for interstate wars. The United States, in particular, has committed its military forces to defeating terrorism, in other words, to fighting a non-state, rather than a state, enemy.

Intrastate conflict, which often does not involve regular military forces, has also proliferated during the past fifteen years. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, conflicts have broken out in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Some of these, such as at least part of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, can be characterized as interstate conflicts between newly independent states. Most of these conflicts, however, include a large non-state component. The conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, for example, began as an internal Soviet conflict in which the primary participants were non-state militias. This eventually grew into an interstate conflict, after Armenia and Azerbaijan achieved independence. Paramilitary forces continued to play a large part on both sides, however.

The breakup of Yugoslavia is another instance in which non-state actors played an important role. Conditions in Bosnia were widely described throughout the media as a “war”, although few regular military forces participated. Instead, various paramilitaries, sometimes supported by state allies, prosecuted the “war” entirely on their own.

The presence of non-state actors, be they terrorists, paramilitaries, insurgents, or some other type, has long been a part of international conflict, but this phenomenon has
traditionally been understudied. Realism, the traditionally dominant paradigm in international relations, looks exclusively at state actors, assuming that non-state actors do not have an impact on international relations. While Thucydides (1993), considered to be the father of both international relations and the realist paradigm, does consider the role of domestic institutions and cultural differences in the states that he studies, his study assumes that the main actors in conflict are states (or in his case, city-states). Later realists, such as Machiavelli (1995), and Hobbes (2000) emphasized the role of the state and advocated strong states as a bulwark against chaos. Later realists focused their analysis on the balance of power (see Claude 1962, Haas 1953, Bremer & Mihalka 1977, Wagner 1986), but that balance was always assumed to be maintained between states. It was taken for granted that no non-state actor could possibly act as a balancer against a state, and so non-state actors could effectively be ignored. Morgenthau (various years) discusses the concept of the national interest, which is by definition the interest of the state.

In later years, neo-realists made important changes to the paradigm, but they continued to focus their explanations on the state. Waltz (1979) is particularly concerned with the centrality of the state. He argues against the idea that non-state actors (in this case corporations and other economic actors) have gained enough power in the international system to rival states. While non-state actors may have some importance, in the last analysis, it is states that really matter. Waltz does not even discuss the role of violent non-state actors in international relations, probably because such actors remained marginal at the time that he wrote.
Competing non-realist paradigms, such as liberalism or idealism, do consider the role of actors other than states. These paradigms, however, tend to emphasize the role of non-violent international organizations, as well as looking at the behavior of democratic governments in international affairs. The darker side of non-state actors in international relations, therefore, remains under-theorized.

Liberal thinkers such as Locke, Kant and Wilson (see Walter 1996, Weinstein 2000, Williams & Booth 1996) concerned themselves with domestic and international institutions and how these institutions could be developed to prevent conflict (both domestic and international). In this view, non-state institutions are seen as mitigating conflict rather than causing additional conflict. Contemporary liberal thinkers look at the role of domestic politics and regime type in states’ international behavior (see Zacher & Matthew 1995, Moravcsik 1997, Keohane & Nye 2001), but they are more focused on how domestic audiences can mitigate conflict than on how certain types of non-state actors may increase conflict. In addition, liberals often look at democracies and at how the views of the majority of citizens influence the state’s international behavior. The scholar of terrorist, guerrilla, or insurgent movements, however, looks at how a very small group of people within a much larger state may have a disproportionate influence on the foreign policy and international behavior of that state.

In addition to theoretical biases, historical biases also explain why the role of non-state actors in international relations is not well-understood. Most histories of wars and major conflicts between states emphasize the role of state actors to the exclusion of other actors. Considering World War II, for example, most historians concentrate entirely on the role of politicians, diplomats, and regular soldiers. Few historians of World War II
discuss the resistance movements that spread throughout occupied Europe and that even had strong followings in Germany and Italy. What role, if any, the members of these organizations, who were clearly not regular soldiers or representatives of an established government, played in the outcome of the war is not even discussed, except in a few specialized histories that concentrate almost exclusively on resistance movements.

A third reason that non-state actors are under-studied is the difficulty of collecting data on them. It is relatively easy to gather data on states in terms of the size and strength of their militaries, whereas it is much harder to determine the number of members that a terrorist group or insurgent movement has. Uncovering patterns of state support for violent non-state actors, which could be expected to be associated with more traditional forms of interstate conflict, is extremely difficult, because these ties are in most cases deliberately obscured.

Despite the obstacles associated with studying the impact of non-state actors on international relations, it has important implications for understanding interstate conflict both in the contemporary world and in the past. In cases where terrorist groups are active, they have the opportunity to affect policy, both that of their sponsor state and that of their target state. Indeed, the very purpose of terrorism is to affect policy in a desired direction. It would be logical to assume that terrorist groups would have success in influencing the security policy of the states with which they interact, since successful terrorist groups have the ability to mount a credible threat to the lives and property of the citizens of these states.

Terrorist groups and other types of non-state actors (insurgents, participants in civil wars, etc.) have played an important role in interstate conflict throughout history. I
will demonstrate, through the course of this dissertation, that terrorism, and its impact on interstate relations, has had an important impact on interstate conflict for at least the past 100 years. Nevertheless, there are reasons to believe that the impact of terrorist groups and other violent non-state actors on interstate conflict is becoming more important over time. (Hoge & Rose 2001; see essays by Walter Laqueur and Stephen E. Flynn) There are two primary reasons for this. The first is that changes in technology and social conditions are making it easier for small numbers of people (who may not even be connected to a state) to kill larger numbers of people and to engage in more disruptive behaviors. In the past, mass killing was generally confined to state actors, since it necessarily involved large numbers of people to carry it out. At the present time, this is becoming less true. The September 11, 2001 attacks were carried out by a relatively small group of people, including 19 hijackers and an unknown, but probably relatively small, number of support personnel. They were nevertheless able to kill almost 3,000 people, something that would have been almost inconceivable 100 years ago. If terrorists were able to successfully deploy unconventional weapons, there could be an even greater disparity between the number of perpetrators involved in an attack and the number of people killed in the attack.

The second condition that allows smaller numbers of terrorists to carry out increasingly lethal attacks is that developed societies present attractive opportunities for the terrorists. Increasingly complicated infrastructure gives the terrorists numerous possibilities for attack. Looked at another way, in the early 20th century Balkans, it would have been nearly impossible for a group the size of the 9/11 hijackers to kill several thousand people at one time. The population of this era was spread out in such a
way that there would have been no opportunity to kill so many people in one fell swoop. Killing a similar number of people over a longer period of time may have been possible, but this would have given the authorities considerable time to respond. The difficulty in which modern societies find themselves is that large concentrations of population allow terrorists to engage in mass killing in such a short amount of time that authorities have no opportunity to respond.

These two factors combine to give terrorist groups more lethality and more autonomy from state sponsors than they have had in the past. This allows terrorist groups themselves to play a more important role in interstate conflict. Whereas in the past, terrorists could carry out an action and then act in support of their state sponsor if it became embroiled in conflict as a result, at the present time, terrorists can take much more of an active role and are less dependent on the support of their state sponsor. In the remainder of this chapter, I intend to discuss the literature, largely on terrorism, but also on intrastate warfare and insurgency. I will then lay out the plan for the rest of this dissertation. I will finish by defining exactly which groups I plan to study. In this introduction, I have discussed terrorist groups, insurgent groups, and participants in civil wars, to name a few. While these groups have some obvious similarities, they also have important differences. I will discuss the limits of my project in terms of which groups will be included and which will not.

**Literature Review**

An extensive literature exists on both terrorism and intrastate conflict (mainly civil wars and insurgencies). The vast majority of this literature approaches the topics from a different angle than the one that I use. Some of the literature looks at the
relationship between non-state actors and interstate conflict, but this represents only a small part of the overall literature. Much of the literature on non-state actors is descriptive in nature; containing histories of particular terrorist groups rather than approaching them from a theoretical perspective.

One strand of the literature on terrorism is focused on the individuals who participate in terrorist groups. This literature relies heavily on psychology and/or sociology to explain why individuals choose to become terrorists. Crenshaw (2000a) uses this approach. Her work concentrates on explaining the differences between traditional terrorism and the “new” terrorism, which is generally based on religious worldviews. Altran (2003) also looks at a particular type of terrorism. He focuses on explaining why individuals participate in suicide terrorism. Altran concludes that individuals are motivated to become suicide terrorists because of their beliefs rather than because of poverty or deprivation. Austin (2004) also comes to the conclusion that terrorists are motivated by ideology rather than deprivation, although his approach is more sociological than psychological. He argues that terrorism becomes imbedded in traditional social fault lines after time. While many studies that try to explain terrorists’ motivations are recent, Purkitt (1984) is an early example of this perspective. He looks at how to address the root causes of terrorists’ grievances.

In contrast to the individual level studies, many studies in the terrorism literature are group oriented. There is also an extensive group oriented literature on participants in civil wars and insurgencies, which is closely related to the terrorism literature. This literature also tries to explain the logic of terrorists’ actions (or civil war or insurgency
participants), but it looks at this question from the perspective of the group as a whole rather than from the individual’s perspective.

Other studies look at terrorist groups from a group level perspective. Pape (2003) looks at the familiar subject of suicide terrorism, but rather than offering an explanation for why an individual would participate in suicide terrorism, he looks at the problem from the perspective of the group. Pape explains that suicide terrorism possesses a strategic logic from the point of view of the group as a whole. Kydd & Walter (2002) look at how terrorist groups affect relations between states in cases where an attempt is being made to pursue a peace process. They argue that terrorist groups have been highly successful at sabotaging peace processes. Terrorists sow mistrust among moderates on both sides, and terrorists have their greatest negative impact when moderates are perceived to be strong. If moderates are truly strong and motivated to enforce the peace, then why do terrorists continue to commit attacks?

There are also a number of group level studies of revolutionary or insurgent groups that are relevant to my work. Differentiating between insurgent, revolutionary, and terrorist groups is often difficult, and different scholars may classify the same group in different ways. Ginkel & Smith (1999) look at why revolutions succeed or fail. They focus on the interaction between revolutionaries and the state, and how this impacts the success or failure of the revolutionaries’ cause. In the same vein, terrorist groups have a point of intersection with the state, both with their target state, and potentially, with a state sponsor as well. These relations obviously have an impact on the success, or lack thereof, of the terrorists’ cause. Fearon & Laitin (2003) look at the background conditions that favor insurgencies. They argue that the most dangerous places in the
post-World War II world were those areas where insurgencies could be fought successfully. Some terrorist groups follow insurgent tactics, and hence would be included in a study of this kind. Other groups follow different strategies, but they still are influenced by the type of environment in which they operate.

Some studies of revolutionary or insurgent groups focus on the relationship between these groups and the states in which they exist. These studies are particularly relevant to my work, since I seek to explore the nexus between non-state, violent political groups and states. Walter (1997) argues that civil wars usually end with the elimination of one side or the other, and that negotiated settlements are only possible when there is a third party guarantee. Atlas & Licklider (1999) look at why civil wars either recur after a settlement or remain settled. They find that recurrence usually occurs when there is strife between former allies. Finally, Walter (1999) claims that credible guarantees are necessary for civil wars to end, and that third-party guarantees are generally necessary for commitments to be credible.

Returning to the literature on terrorism per se, there also exists a literature on the relationship between terrorism and interstate conflict. This piece of the literature is most relevant to my work, since it addresses similar questions. There has not been much empirical work done in this area; most of the work is highly theoretical. It is also more recent in terms of its inception than are some other strands of the literature on terrorism. Tugwell (1991) looks at the possibility of using the military to combat terrorism domestically, but does not suggest any way that terrorism could be connected with larger political and military trends throughout the world. Singh (1995) argues that state sponsored terrorism could be either a substitute for traditional warfare (page 119) or a
catalyst for interstate conflict (page 131). O’Brien (1996) provides one of the few empirical studies linking terrorism to international conflict, but his research question is somewhat different from mine. He looks at whether international conflict causes terrorism, and finds that during the Cold War terrorist incidents increased after one of the superpowers experienced a foreign-policy crisis. Crenshaw (2000b) also takes up this subject. In the “Remaining Questions in the Literature” section of her review, she discusses the possibility of terrorism leading to interstate conflict, but she does not provide any evidence for or against this proposition. She also includes a section on “Responses to International Terrorism” which does discuss the use of military force, but it is mostly focused on domestic security programs aimed at reducing terrorism.

Following the attacks of September 11, 2001, a few more scholars showed a willingness to take up this question. Heymann (2001) argued that most terrorist host states would not have allowed an attack such as that of Sept 11 to occur because they would have feared US retaliation. Heymann does not explain why the Taliban regime in Afghanistan was willing to be host to a plot that threatened its very existence. Posen (2001) claims that host states can often combat terrorism more effectively than can outside forces, and that the US should focus on coercing states to stop supporting al-Qaeda and similar groups, rather than using its own military to fight terrorist groups.

These articles, particularly that of Posen, contain a certain amount of prescription, and resemble the policy oriented and opinion literature on terrorism. A great many articles have been written in the past five years about terrorism, terrorist groups, and the like, and this literature has been aimed at influencing policy in one way or another. Stern (2003), writing in *Foreign Affairs*, looks at al-Qaeda’s adaptability and compares it with
that of other terrorist groups. Chellaney (2001) looks at terrorist groups in Southern Asia. She explores their history, and discusses strategies for countering terrorism in this region.

Other scholars writing policy oriented work take a slightly more theoretical approach. Rotberg (2002), in *Foreign Affairs*, writes about the security implications of failed states. He also explains why states fail, and gives suggestions on how to prevent state failure. Carothers (2003), also writing in *Foreign Affairs*, discusses the tension between working with cooperative tyrants on terrorism related problems and the American policy of promoting democracy as a way to combat terrorism. He also discusses the problems inherent in trying to promote democracy. Walt (2001) discusses a series of lessons learned as a result of the September 11 attacks, considers what the US must do next, and discusses future policy issues related to counter-terrorism.

Another category of policy oriented studies of terrorism are those that are primarily opinion pieces. While opinion and editorial pieces about terrorism proliferate, I will mention only a few of the more scholarly pieces. Byford (2002) questions the idea of a “War on Terrorism”, arguing that war can only be pursued against specific terrorists rather than against terrorism itself. Carter (2001) argues that neither current US military policy nor current US law enforcement mechanisms are particularly well-suited to combating terrorism. He also gives advice for how the homeland security program should work.

Sandler (1993) have a slightly more novel take on studying which policies work best in terms of counter-terrorism. They argue that terrorists will pursue substitutionary policies in response to counter-terrorism efforts. For example, if metal detectors are installed in airports to prevent hijackings, terrorists will switch to a less “hardened” target. Baermann & Conybeare (1994) consider the optimal rate of retaliation that would prevent further attacks. They argue that only unanticipated levels of retaliation will deter future attacks, and that this deterrence is generally only temporary. Enders & Sandler (2000) consider whether terrorist attacks are becoming more lethal over time. They find that highly lethal attacks generally follow a lull in terrorist activity. They also reiterate their argument that terrorists can easily substitute targets when their original targets are protected as a result of counter-terrorism policy.

Thus far, I have discusses works that were primarily concerned with terrorism on a theoretical level. While some studies focused on particular groups, they were using these groups to illustrate particular theoretical points about terrorism or terrorist groups. There is also an ample descriptive or historical literature on terrorism. This consists primarily of studies or histories of particular terrorist groups and biographies of prominent terrorists. While these works do not present clear theories of terrorism, they do make assumptions about how terrorist groups operate that have implications for my work. The descriptive literature can be divided into two groups: those studies that assume that state-sponsored terrorist groups provide a substitute for traditional warfare, and those studies that see terrorist groups as taking advantage of weak states and forcing these states to “sponsor” the terrorists, possibly leading to increased conflict.
The first group, that sees state sponsorship of terrorists as a substitute for traditional warfare, was prominent during the Cold War. Adams (1986) claims that terrorist and revolutionary groups were used by both superpowers to advance their goals during the Cold War. Alexander & Gleason (1981) argue that the Soviet Union sponsored terrorist groups to do things that it could not do openly during the Cold War. Ellingsen (1988) makes the comment that states in general can sponsor terrorist groups that can do things that would lead to war if the state did them openly. Murphy (1989) says that terrorism is a substitute for conventional warfare on the part of the state sponsor. Segaller (1987) argues that sponsoring terrorist groups provides a way for one state to intervene in another’s affairs short of all-out war. This view became much less popular after the 1980s. However, Gurr & Cole (2000) did argue that state sponsors would prevent terrorist groups from obtaining unconventional weapons because they fear the consequences if they were ever found out. This indicates that state sponsors still try to advance their goals through terrorist groups’ actions, and that they would prevent terrorist groups from engaging in actions that would have negative repercussions for the state sponsor.

Since the end of the Cold War, the majority of the descriptive literature on terrorism has shifted to the view that “state-sponsored” terrorist groups are really groups that take advantage of weak states. The state that is sponsoring the group has little choice but to acquiesce in the terrorist groups’ activities, and the state has very little control over the terrorists. Combs (2003) says that state “sponsors” are generally supported by powerful terrorist groups rather than vice versa. Benjamin & Simon (2002) claim that failed states provide the best environment for terrorists. Failed states are obviously not
able to provide many resources to terrorist groups, since these states lack even the rudimentary resources of a non-failed state. Allison et al (1996), looking at the possibility of a nuclear attack, argue that the probability of a nuclear attack against the United States has actually increased because of the loose nuclear material from the former Soviet Union and its potential to be used by terrorists. This view indicates that the terrorists who would potentially be using a nuclear device would not be constrained by any state sponsor that feared the consequences of being involved in such an attack. Cameron (1999) makes a similar argument. He says that terrorists can use unconventional weapons without fearing retribution because they are so hard to track down by the target state. Again, this is discounting the possibility that a state sponsor would actively try to prevent the terrorist group from using unconventional weapons because it feared retribution for itself.

**Defining Non-State Actors**

The definition of what constitutes a terrorist group is notoriously fluid. Often, states designate those organizations that they dislike as terrorist groups, while they refer to similar groups that they support by another name, such as “freedom fighters”. “Non-state actor” is a less emotive term to use for these groups than is “terrorist group”; however, this term runs into problems of its own. Non-state actors include many non-violent political organizations that could not be considered terrorist groups by any stretch of the imagination.

Bremer and Palmer developed a preliminary coding manual for non-state actors in 2002. I used this manual as the basis for my data collection, making changes and
additions where appropriate. Bremer and Palmer design their coding manual so that they include only those non-state actors that “used violent means to attain their political ends.” They label these organizations Armed Political Action Groups and refer to them by the acronym of APAGs, a convention that I will follow throughout the rest of this dissertation. The following qualifications for what constitutes an APAG come from Bremer & Palmer’s (2002) work.

First and perhaps most importantly, an APAG is not a state or a part of a state’s regular military forces. It may be a proto-state, such as the Palestinian Liberation Organization or one of the Chechen groups, but it may not be an internationally recognized government or the military forces of a government that is so recognized. Information about the size and capabilities of states’ regular militaries is included in the national capabilities section of the Correlates of War project, and therefore does not need to be recollected. By definition, terrorist groups are almost always non-state actors. While states may be concerned about other states that act as terrorists’ sponsors, the fact that they call an organization a terrorist group indicates that they do not believe it to represent the legitimate armed forces of a particular state. This definition does, however, pose a problem in how to deal with irregular military forces.

In one example of many, the Turkish government created an organization called Teskilat-I Mahsusa (the Special Organization) during the early part of the 20th century. The organization’s function was to carry out ethnic cleansing and genocide in or near combat zones during the various wars that Turkey engaged in at the time, and this group was not considered part of the regular armed forces. Nevertheless, it was controlled by the Turkish government as directly as was the regular Turkish military. Therefore, I have
decided not to include it (or similar groups) among those APAGs for which I collect and analyze data. Although I will not include these groups, I do believe that they merit further consideration. Groups of this type would not be included in current Correlates of War figures on military size because they are not part of the regular armed forces. The fact that early 20th century Turkey controlled such a group, however, is potentially important. Teskilat-I Mahsusa provided military resources to the Turkish government that may have had an impact on that government’s willingness to engage in war or on the outcome of wars that the Turkish government fought at that time. One of the many things that I discovered while doing this research is that even using very precisely defined terms to describe non-state actors, I still found a great many gray areas when I began to collect data on them.

Once we have eliminated states and proto-states from the ranks of APAGs, there are four main characteristics of group behavior, constitution, and function that must be fulfilled in order for the group to be considered an APAG. First, it must be a group of some sort; lone assassins or terrorists that are not affiliated with a particular network are not included. While lone terrorists may have an important impact on international relations by influencing the foreign policy of a particular state, they are best considered in terms of the aggregate level of instability in a particular country. It would be very difficult to determine precisely the number of lone terrorists or assassins in any particular country, a better strategy would be to count the number of terrorist attacks, assassinations, etc. that occur in the country. Such data is currently available, and does not need to be reproduced here. Instead, I concentrate on the groups themselves as potential actors. Rather than comparing the effects of varying levels of APAG-related
violence in a state, I compare the characteristics of APAGs, and assess how APAGs with different characteristics might have an effect on the APAG’s influence on international conflict.

One potential difficulty with this part of the definition is that many lone assassins have been affiliated with political organizations that resemble APAGs, but the assassin’s violent actions were not organized by the group, and in many cases the group specifically condemned the use of violence. This was particularly common among Russian revolutionary and particularly anarchist groups. While some Russian groups, the Bolsheviks among others, engaged in violent activities and clearly qualify as APAGs, many others concentrated on propaganda and spreading information. These groups do not count as APAGs, even if some of their members engaged in violence, unless there is some evidence that the group actively supported the violent actions of its members. In practice, it is often difficult to determine whether a particular individual’s action was organized by an APAG or not. Government authorities are often quick to assume a conspiracy and to take action against a particular anti-government group, even if the group itself was not involved in the violent action taken by one of its members. In these cases, I will follow the consensus of historians on whether the group actually engaged in violence or not.

Second, in order to qualify as an APAG, the group must be oriented toward action rather than toward trying to change public opinion through education, information dissemination, etc. Using this criterion, I have decided to eliminate those groups that were primarily information oriented but whose members participated in violent political actions on their own, such as the aforementioned Russian revolutionary organizations of
the early 20th century. Since my focus is on international conflict, the focus on action oriented groups makes sense. While information oriented groups have a role in shaping the general political climate in which a state interacts with other states, they do not have the opportunity to be a catalyst for conflict in the same way that an action oriented group would. Also, in cases where a group could act as a catalyst for an inter-state dispute, it is important to distinguish action oriented groups from information oriented groups. In the case of action oriented groups, I can look at the aftermath, in terms of international conflict, of some action that they took; but in the case of information oriented groups, this is impossible. Information oriented groups would be expected to have an effect that would be felt over a very long period of time, and this is more difficult to put to a rigorous test.

Third, an APAG must be political in nature and have a political goal. While most APAGs engage in some form of crime, criminal gangs that do not have political goals are not considered to be APAGs. Additionally, if a group begins as an APAG but loses its political goal somewhere along the line, it ceases to be an APAG at the point when it no longer seeks a political goal. This often happens when a group achieves its objective or when the tide of international events turns so strongly against the APAG’s objective that it ceases to be a realistic goal to pursue. For example, the Italian Mafia was created as a patriotic political organization to effect the unification of the Italian city states. After achieving this goal, the group continued to exist as a criminal organization. In the case of some of the APAGs in the Balkan Peninsula, they degenerated into merely criminal gangs after international events during the First and Second World Wars made their original goals unattainable. This is particularly true of APAGs that operated in
Macedonia; their story will be told in more detail in a later chapter. APAGs, by their very nature, create an environment for their members in which secrecy and working outside the law are the norm. In addition to the fact that APAGs must use illegal means to achieve their goals, they often also use illegal means to support themselves. Many APAGs, for example, support themselves by active involvement in the drug trade (a practice that dates back at least to the early 20th century) or by engaging in robbery and/or extortion. APAG members gain contacts in the underworld through these practices, and they often keep up these contacts and use them for personal profit long after their political motivations have seemingly disappeared.

Since my dissertation focuses on APAGs’ effects on international politics, considering only groups that are overtly political in nature is appropriate. While non-political criminal gangs may also have an effect on international relations in some cases, this effect and the mechanism by which it works would be different from the effect of the actions of a primarily political group. Also, it is important to note that in order to qualify as an APAG, a group’s primary goal or goals must be political. Many predominantly criminal organizations nevertheless have some secondary political goals, usually associated with creating a more hospitable political environment for themselves. These groups would not qualify as APAGs unless their primary goal(s) was also political.

Fourth and finally, an APAG must engage in some form of violence in order to achieve its objective. Examples of violent activity include ambushes, assaults, arson, assassinations, bombings, extortion, hijackings, kidnappings, violent protests, sabotage, armed robberies, weapons seizures, and various types of armed warfare (see Bremer & Palmer 2002). This is similar to the idea of the group being action- rather than
information-oriented, but it adds the idea that the actions taken by the group to achieve their political goal (or at least some of them) must involve violence. Groups that are action-oriented, but practice some form of non-violent resistance are not considered to be APAGs. Again, the focus on conflict justifies the exclusion of non-violent groups. While non-violent groups often have an important impact on international relations generally, they are less important when studying international conflict specifically. Again, specific violent actions can lead to specific results in the sphere of international conflict. While non-violent actions may also have an effect on international conflict, this is more difficult to measure and hence will not be considered in the present study.

Conclusion

In this introductory chapter, I have given the overall outlines for my project. I have discussed the importance of terrorist groups and other non-state actors for international relations. I have highlighted the gaps in the literature in terms of the relationship between these actors and state actors. Finally, I have discussed the coding rules that I will use to determine which non-state actors qualify as Armed Political Action Groups, or APAGs, on which I will focus the rest of my study.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the data collection in more detail, and I will talk about the overall sample and each of the variables on which I collected data. In the third chapter, I will provide a summary of the data that I collected, as well as a short blurb on each APAG. In chapter 4, I will discuss my hypotheses and procedures for analyzing the data. In chapter 5, I will present the results. Chapter 6 will be the conclusion, in which I will discuss the overall findings and provide direction for future research.
Chapter 2

DATA COLLECTION

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss in some detail the data that I collected, and how I collected it. I begin by explaining the impetus for the project, and how this led to the case selection. I then explain the case selection in more detail. I next discuss each variable, the procedures that I used to collect data on it, and the strengths and weaknesses of the data in the data set that I built. Many of the variables on which I collected data are not going to be used for analysis in the present dissertation. My goal in the data collection phase was to develop a data set with information on APAGs that would parallel data sets currently in use that confine themselves to interstate conflicts. The data on APAGs could then be used with the data on interstate conflicts to create models of conflict that would include both state and non-state actors. In order to accomplish this, I have collected data on a broad range of questions associated with each APAG. Not all of this data is relevant to the specific research questions that I will address in this dissertation, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. In this chapter, however, I will provide the scholar with information about other data that I collected, and I will speculate on how some of it could be used to answer other, more sophisticated research questions, in the future.

Explaining the Project

The impetus for this project came from the update of the Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID) data set for the Correlates of War project. (See Ghosn, Palmer, & Bremer
I participated in the update of this project during the summer of 2001, at which time I worked on identifying and coding disputes among states in Central and Eastern Europe and the Middle East. This update included the decade of the 1990s. In both regions that I studied, I discovered that there was a great deal of political violence that did not qualify as an interstate dispute, and hence was not captured by the data.

In the Balkans, for example, political violence on the scale of war had occurred throughout the first half of the 1990s. This violence, however, was generally not carried out by regular armies, or any other state actors, for that matter. Therefore, it was not included in the Militarized Interstate Dispute data. In the Middle East, the situation became even more complex. Many non-state actors carried out attacks that had ramifications for the relationships between states. Hizballah, for example, carried out numerous attacks against Israel from Lebanese territory. These attacks led to Israeli threats of force and sometimes uses of force against Lebanon. As the data now stands, Israel is the initiator of these disputes and Hizballah’s role is discussed only in the footnotes. This distorts the picture, however, because Israel’s actions were taken as a result of a provocation, and this is not captured by the present analysis.

Other members of the Correlations of War update team were concerned about similar issues. It appeared to us that non-state actors were playing an increasing role in interstate violence, and that our data collection methods needed to be expanded to reflect this change. We also questioned whether the involvement of non-state actors in interstate affairs was necessarily a new thing. We theorized that such organizations may have
played an important role in interstate disputes for a long time, but since their role had never been assessed before, it remained at the margins of empirical testing.

**Case Selection**

Since the impetus for this project came from studying Eastern Europe and the Balkans, that region was a natural place to start collecting data. This region has several other advantages as well. Large numbers of independent states have existed for a long time in this region. Many Balkan states became independent by throwing off the Ottoman yoke throughout the 19th century. By the early 20th century, most of the present-day Balkan states had achieved independence. (See Wandycz 1992; Johnson 1996; and Carnegie Endowment report 1996) In the Middle East, by contrast, independent states did not begin to appear until after World War I, and it was not until the end of World War II that complete decolonization took place there. (See Boston University Department of History 1998) In other regions of the developing world, independence did not come until even later.

As I mentioned in the previous section, one question that I had when starting this project was whether non-state actors were playing an increasing role in interstate relations, or whether their role had been constant over time, but was receiving greater attention currently than it had in the past. In order to answer this, I needed to have data on non-state actors in at least two time periods, preferably far apart enough in time as to represent distinctly different periods. It would have been possible to compare the 19th century Balkans to another region in the present-day, and I considered this option. However, I felt that it was best to look at the same region in two different periods because
it would allow for a certain amount of historical continuity. I would not have to learn all of the political issues that led to APAG formation in two completely different regions; rather, I could trace the development of one region over time. Although the issues have changed substantially over the last 100 years in the Balkans, as they have presumably throughout the world, I was surprised by the amount of historical continuity between the two periods. Histories of particular countries and regions generally discuss all or most of the APAGs that were active in the region during the time period which they cover. This makes it simpler to gather data on multiple APAGs in a short period of time. Also, in some cases, over long stretches of time, I find that similar issues resurface. The arguments made about nationalities and how state borders should be changed to better reflect the ethnic character of the state were remarkably similar in the late 19th century and in the late 20th century. In some cases, the same pieces of territory were disputed during both time periods.

In addition, collecting data on Eastern European APAGs has a number of practical advantages as well. In general, reporting on events in Eastern Europe is better than in other parts of the world. Also, I had studied this region for a number of years prior to beginning graduate school, and so I felt more comfortable collecting data on this region than on any other.

The definition of which countries constitute Central and Eastern Europe is somewhat fluid. In the earlier period, from 1890 to 1914, the countries that I included were: Albania, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany, Greece, Romania, Russia, Turkey/Ottoman Empire, and Serbia. Many of the more familiar countries of Central Europe such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary were part of the Austro-Hungarian,
German, or Russian Empire at this time, and hence they do not appear as separate
countries on my list. I have included Turkey, although it might more properly be
described as a Middle Eastern country. Turkey had a long history of involvement in
Eastern Europe. It had once controlled significant portions of the territory of the Balkans.
While the Ottoman Empire had by and large retreated from Europe by 1890, it still
retained territory in Macedonia until the year before the outbreak of the First World War.
Furthermore, there were ongoing rivalries between the various states in the Balkans and
the Ottoman Empire during this period, and many of the APAGs in the region had Turkey
as either their target or (less commonly) their sponsor.

In the later period, from 1990 to 2001, the data set includes many more countries.
They are: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Austria, Belarus, Bosnia-Hercegovia, Bulgaria,
Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia,
Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine,
and Serbia (Yugoslavia). Even with this significantly larger number of countries, I found
that many of them had large regions that were not completely under their sovereignty.
These areas were also prone to APAG action, which in some cases created a dilemma.
For instance, Chechnya is still recognized internationally as being part of Russia.
However, Russia does not have complete control over Chechnya, and in fact APAG
leaders have been the de facto rulers of Chechnya for the past 10 to 15 years. Russia has
sponsored APAGs whose objective it was to replace the Chechen government. In this
case, there is a civil war within a civil war, and Russia is intervening in this second level
civil war within its break-away province. I expect that in the later period, the effect of
APAGs will be under-represented, since they appear to be more active at the intra-state level than at the inter-state level.

**Variables Collected**

This section will describe in detail the variables which I collected on each APAG, how I collected the data, and the limits to the data. During the early period, I relied on histories of the region and the relevant countries both to develop a list of APAGs and to gather data on these APAGs. During the later period, I also looked at histories and/or contemporary accounts of the conflicts in the region. In addition, I looked at newspaper and periodical accounts, and often used these to supplement the data that I gathered from the histories, as well as to identify new APAGs. I will provide a list of the most relevant source materials at the end of this chapter.

One difficulty that I encountered throughout the data collection phase was determining the reliability of sources. Although historical and contemporary material on this region abounds, much of it is written to prove an ideological point rather than as an impartial investigation into the events in Eastern Europe. Many historians who cover this region are partisans of one particular nationality, and these historians tend to write apologia for the policies of that nationality. This is particularly a problem in many of the older histories, which in the case of small APAGs are my only source of information. In addition, much of the historical literature that was written prior to the 1990s in this region was written by Marxist historians. They often try to prove that principles of Marxism were at work in the history of the region rather than giving a factual account of what happened. Despite these problems, I have a good deal of confidence in my data.
Whenever possible, I tried to triangulate sources, and use more than one source. I have indicated the source for all of the material related to APAGs’ goals, ideology, and purpose.

**APAG Role in Conflict**

I look at this variable in three phases, the APAG’s pre-conflict role, its role in the conflict, and its post-conflict role. The rationale for collecting data on this variable is that while APAGs can be correlated with disputes and war, this does not necessarily imply causation. I will argue that APAGs should be associated with higher levels of conflict, and I test this hypothesis using correlation only. In the future, however, I would like to look at the role that APAGs have in conflict directly, in order to determine whether they are actually the driving force behind higher levels of conflict, or whether the correlation is due to outside factors. Many APAGs, for example, have large paramilitary wings that can even outnumber the regular army of the state in question. If a particular state can count on the support of a large paramilitary APAG, it may be willing to fight against a larger or better equipped army, since it can count on this supplement to its regular army.

In terms of APAGs’ pre-conflict role, I will look at what effect the APAG had on the outbreak of conflict. This effect could be very subtle, such as putting pressure on the government to adopt a more hawkish policy than they would have otherwise; or it could be more blatant, such as committing a terrorist act that leads directly to retaliation. There are also many roles between the two extremes that the APAG could play pre-conflict. Looking at the role of APAGs during a conflict, I found that many APAGs fielded military units that fought alongside the regular armies of the states involved. This is
significant, because these units were often quite large, and they provided substantial support to relatively small state armies. I also found some evidence of APAGs being involved in ethnic cleansing during conflicts. In terms of APAGs’ post-conflict role, I did not find very much information. Many APAGs disappeared during conflicts, and those that remained in existence generally did not play an important role in bringing the conflict to termination. It is possible, however, to think of cases where APAGs could play an important role in settling conflicts, and I will continue to look for evidence of this in the future.

The major limitation to this variable is the fact that it is subjective. While in some cases, an APAG’s action leads directly to war, in many others, the APAG’s actions were very subtle. This makes it difficult to prove unambiguously that the APAG’s actions were the cause of the conflict. It is basically a historian’s point of view. While this is a problem, I think that this piece of data could be very useful for future research. It could be used to compare conflicts in which one or more APAGs are present to those in which no APAGs are present. Having at least a basic idea of how APAGs were connected to particular conflicts can give additional insight into how APAGs affect the conflicts in which they participate.

*APAG Formation Year*

This variable contains the year that the APAG first came into existence, or the most reasonable estimate of that date available. The variable actually contains two parts, the first being the decade in which the APAG came into being, and the second being the best estimate of the exact year when the APAG came into existence.
In some cases, I was able to develop a fairly good estimate of the actual year of the APAG’s origin. Some histories provide information about the founding of the APAG, including the year in which it was founded. In other cases, I estimate the founding year. In cases where detailed information about the APAG’s activities was available, I use information regarding the first time that the APAG was involved in an attack to date its beginning. This is slightly problematic, given that it is possible for an APAG to exist for many years without carrying out any attacks. I found, however, in cases where I had both a precise beginning date and a detailed record of the group’s activities, that it was unusual for an APAG to exist for a long period of time without engaging in violent behavior. Therefore, I felt that it was reasonable to assume that an APAG came into existence around the time of its first major attack.

The other way that I dated APAGs’ formation year when it had to be estimated was by looking at the APAG’s goals and determining what might have affected them. For example, many APAGs in the Balkans came into being as the result of wars in the area. Some were organized to fight in the wars, and others were organized because of widespread dissatisfaction with the outcome of a particular war. If I know that an APAG was organized to work for the revision of a treaty that ended a war in the region, I assume that the APAG came into existence shortly after the end of the war.

The limitations of this variable mainly concern the unavailability of data on many APAGs. I have studied the APAGs for which precise data on formation is available, and tried to model the other APAGs’ formation years after this, but this assumes that the APAGs for which I was able to obtain a precise formation year are typical of APAGs in general. I look for specific events that might have triggered the APAG’s origin. Most
APAGs were formed either in response to an ideology, or in response to a particular event. An instance of the former are the Marxist groups that formed in response to Marx’s ideas as represented in *Das Kapital* and the *Communist Manifesto*. An instance of the latter are the Serbian nationalist groups that formed following Austria-Hungary’s annexation of Bosnia in 1908. In the former case, it is difficult to date the formation of the APAG, unless I have specific information about its origin. In the latter case, I usually date the group’s origin as the year when the formative event occurred. I have no reason to believe that APAGs for which I have a definite origin year differ systematically from APAGs for which I do not, but if there are systematic differences, then my methods of estimation will be reinforcing biases in the data.

**APAG Termination Year**

This variable is similar to the previous variable, of APAG formation year, but it was even more difficult to find accurate data for this variable. The termination year is measured in the same way as the formation year, with an estimate of the decade in which the APAG disbanded, followed by an estimate of the precise year in which the APAG’s termination occurred. As was the case with the previous variable, I combed the historical literature for information on when a particular APAG disappeared from the scene. In about half of the cases, I was able to find a precise termination year. In the other half, I estimated the termination year based on criteria similar to those that I used for the formation year. First, I looked at the APAG’s major actions. In cases where the APAG stopped being active, and I could find no more information on it, I assumed that it faded away around that time. Secondly, I looked at major international events that may have
led to APAGs’ disappearance. A major war or regime change would be an example of a
catastrophic event that I would expect to lead to the disappearance of APAGs in the
affected area. In cases where APAGs were active in a country right up until the outbreak
of a war or regime change, I look for evidence of the APAGs being active afterwards. If
none exists, I look at how the outcome of the war or regime change may have affected the
APAG. For example, if the APAG’s goals were achieved, and I can find no more
evidence that the APAG was active, I assume that it disbanded following this
achievement. Finally, in some cases, I found evidence that an APAG that became active
during one of the periods under study (1890-1914 and 1990-2001) continued its existence
after the period had ended. There were a number of APAGs in my sample that existed
until the 1920s or 1930s, for example. In these cases, I noted the year of the APAG’s
demise as precisely as I could.

APAG Fate

This variable will tell the reader what happened to the APAG. In some cases, the
APAG is still in existence, and this will be noted along with the date of the most recent
information available about the group. In other cases, the APAG merely faded away and
is not mentioned in the literature after a brief period. I will code these APAGs as having
voluntarily disbanded, along with those APAGs for which I have hard evidence that they
made the decision to disband. Other APAGs were defeated and eliminated. In those
cases, I indicate this, as well as indicating whether the APAG was eliminated by its
sponsor state, target state, or another state. While the target state would have a strong
incentive for trying to eliminate the APAG, I found several cases where the sponsor state
eliminated the APAG because of its fear of retaliation for the APAG’s activities. The Black Hand, for example, was eliminated by the Serbian government during the First World War, because Serbia suffered severely during the war, and the government held the Black Hand responsible for the war and its consequences. Therefore, the Serbian government sought to punish the Black Hand, and had its leaders executed for treason.

I also have the option of coding the APAG as having splintered into many groups. This was not overly common, since in most cases where an APAG split, the majority of the group remained together and only a fraction of the group split off. Some APAGs transformed into non-violent groups, although this was also not particularly common. More common, for APAGs that either achieved their goals or became so discouraged as to give up their original objective, was either transformation into a non-political group or becoming part of the government. APAG leaders in general had extensive ties to the underworld, and they could put these to work for financial gain once they had given up on their original political objectives. In cases where APAGs were successful, they were often able to integrate into the government. Sometimes they disbanded their militias, but more often they were integrated into the regular army.

I also have codes for merging with another group and transforming into a non-violent group. A few examples of each of these behaviors exist, but they are not very common. Some very small APAGs would merge with larger groups in order to have a bigger influence. A small number of APAGs decided after a short time to give up violence and concentrate on political and cultural goals that could be pursued without recourse to violence.
This variable will be coded from the historical literature. In cases where APAGs disappear but there is no information available about what happened to them, I will consider them to have disbanded. In cases where the last reported activity was fairly recent, I will assume that the APAG is still in existence. The fact that so many APAGs merely disappear, and I am left to speculate as to what happened to them, is the main weakness of this variable. I provide as much information as I can about dates when I know the APAG to have been active, or to still have been in existence. This will provide other scholars with a starting point as to what may have happened to the APAG. The possible APAG fates that I coded were: splintered into multiple groups, transformed into non-violent group, became part of government, merged with another group, transformed into non-political group, defeated and eliminated, and voluntarily disbanded.

Types of Activities

With this variable, I provide information about the violent activities for which I know the APAG to have been responsible. I also note when it was alleged, but never proved, that the APAG was involved in a particular attack. I only code groups as APAGs when it can be demonstrated that they engaged in at least one APAG-related activity. If a group was known to be involved in robberies or assassinations, for example, it could be coded as an APAG even if it was impossible to pinpoint exactly which robberies or assassinations were actions of that particular APAG. Particularly spectacular actions were notes, but were not necessary in order for the group to qualify as an APAG. The categories for types of activities are: ambushes/assaults, arson, assassinations, bombings, extortion, guerrilla attacks, hijackings, kidnappings, landmine laying, armed protests,
robberies, sabotage, conventional war, guerrilla war, weapons seizures, and WMD attacks. I must find information indicating that each group participated in at least one of these activities, in order for me to consider it to be an APAG. While one instance of involvement in violent activity is sufficient to consider the group an APAG, I note all activities in which the APAG engaged. This variable also includes a notes section, in which I list the dates and as many details as possible for each action in which the APAG was involved. I also note if I had found any information that the APAG was involved in espionage.

The main purpose of this variable is to establish that each group truly qualifies as an APAG. In order to establish this, it is necessary to provide examples of violent actions in which the group engaged. In addition, this information could be used later to construct chronologies of APAGs’ activities in more detail. The main weakness of this variable is its incompleteness; it is very difficult to get an accurate assessment of all of the activities in which an APAG engaged. The data for this variable will come from the historical record and from contemporary newspaper accounts.

**APAG Size**

This variable was originally conceived as containing two parts, giving one estimate of the approximate size of the APAG at its peak, and giving another just prior to the time when the APAG first became involved in international conflict. I was hoping to determine whether APAGs were most likely to act as the catalyst for conflict when they were at their peak in terms of size, or whether they were more likely to do so when they
had already begun to decline. Unfortunately, I was not able to get such detailed information.

While in a very small number of cases, I was able to find more than one estimate of the APAG’s size, I was not able to determine exactly when the estimate was derived. Therefore, I confined myself to giving one estimate of the APAG’s size and assuming that this represents the peak size for that APAG. If I find more than one estimate of size, I take the largest credible estimate.

The variable for APAG size contains both an estimate and a precise measure. I first place the APAG in a category according to a logged version of its size. The categories are: 1-10 members, 11-100 members, 101-1,000 members, 1,001-10,000 members, 10,001-100,000 members, 100,001-1,000,000 members, and more than 1,000,000 members. After placing the APAG in one of these categories, I also indicate the best point estimate of the APAG’s size.

The information for this variable comes from the historical literature. It is a somewhat weak variable, because a point estimate for the APAG’s size was only available in about half of the cases. In a few cases, the literature gave a rough estimate of the size even though a point estimate was unavailable. In the other cases, I estimated the APAG’s size based on the size of similar APAGs and the capabilities and effectiveness of the APAG in question.

Geographical Areas of Operation

With this variable, I look at where the APAG was active in as much detail as possible. I include both areas where the APAG had training camps and safe havens and
the places where the APAG carried out attacks. I note as much as possible what the APAG was doing in each place where it was active (i.e., whether it carried out attacks or had a base or safe haven). I always list the country where the APAG was active, but I try to also include cities and provinces where groups were particularly active.

The information included in this variable comes from the historical literature, as well as from contemporary newspaper accounts. Finding the exact locations of APAG attacks was relatively simple, since these were generally reported. In some cases, the APAG’s base or safe haven was mentioned as well. There may be some bias in the reporting, with places where the APAG attacked being more visible than areas of operation that acted as safe havens.

**Prominent Leaders and Members**

This variable lists the leaders of the group, as well as any particularly prominent members. The variable serves a number of purposes. First, it helps in identifying groups. Many APAGs are referred to by non-English names in the historical literature, and sometimes names that have been transliterated into English are not spelled consistently. If I find two groups with similar names and the same leaders, I assume that they are alternate names for the same organization.

In determining the APAG’s sources of support, it is important to know whether the APAG had members with the means to support it. Some APAGs had wealthy patrons or leaders who possessed the means to finance the APAG’s activities. APAGs need financial and material support, and I expect that the more forthcoming this type of support is for the APAG, the less constrained the APAG will be in its actions. Two of the
most common ways for APAGs to gain financial and material support is through state sponsors or through wealthy patrons. This is a two-edged sword, however, because when an APAG has either one state patron or one independent patron who is responsible for most of its financial and material support, then that patron will be able to control the APAG’s activities by threatening to cut off the support. An APAG that has multiple patrons (either states, wealthy individuals, or a combination) will be in a stronger position vis-à-vis any one particular patron than will an APAG that has only a single patron. A general knowledge of the financial and other resources of the group’s leaders can give insight into whether this type of patronage is possible.

Knowing the principle members of the APAG also gives me some insight into whether any of them were well-connected politically. In many cases, the leaders of APAGs were also leaders in the military and/or intelligence services of the state sponsor. This would give them additional leverage over their state sponsors that could be exploited in case their sponsor turned on them. Finally, knowing who the leaders of the group were gives me additional avenues to search for information on the group. The biggest weakness of this variable is that for quite a few APAGs, no information is available as to its leaders, and hence the data is missing.

**Stated Aims/Ideology/Purpose**

For each APAG that I coded, I searched the historical literature for a succinct definition of the group’s aims. At times, I needed to paraphrase, but whenever possible, I included a direct quote. The main problem with this, of course, is that it makes me dependent on historians’ perceptions of the APAG’s aims, and this does not always
match its real aims. APAGs that were concerned with territory, for example, would often argue that they sought autonomy for a particular piece of territory, but after gaining autonomy, they began to seek independence for the said territory. In other cases, the APAG claimed to seek independence for a certain territory, but after achieving it, they moved on to wanting to add the territory to another state. In these cases, it is very difficult to ascertain whether the APAG’s goal actually changed over time, or whether it asserted one goal at the beginning while holding the more ambitious goal secretly.

The focus on stated goals helps some in this regard. If the APAG asserted a certain goal, I take this at face value, even though it may have had other goals as well. In cases where an APAG clearly had more than one goal, either at the same time or in succession, I refer to both goals. If it was clear that one goal was subordinate to the other, I note this; and if it was clear when the APAG changed from one goal to the other, I note that as well.

I include as much detail as possible when discussing APAG goals. In the case of many early 20th century Russian APAGs, the goal was to overthrow the czarist regime. Different APAGs, however, had different ideas as to what should replace it. While the Bolsheviks sought to impose a Communist government, other radical socialists sought to establish a different type of communitarian government, or even anarchy, in its place.

In terms of making this variable operational in a large-N study, it is necessary to collapse APAG goals in to a few similar categories. While I do not use this variable in the analytical portion of this thesis, I did some preliminary coding to operationalize this variable. Dividing APAGs that sought territory from APAGs with other goals was relatively simple, but it caused problems when comparing APAGs that sought
independence for a particular region with APAGs that had irredentist goals. As I have mentioned above, it is often difficult to tell these types of APAGs apart. It is also relatively easy to identify APAGs that sought regime change, although considerable diversity exists in terms of what type of regime the APAG wanted to replace the existing one. Finally, there was a residual category of APAGs with other goals. These groups usually either participated in ethnic cleansing of some type, or they sought to prevent ethnic cleansing by other groups.

*Principal Sources of Financial and Material Support*

From this variable, I gathered data on who is sponsoring the APAG. Sources of support may be countries, private individuals, other APAGs, or money-making activities of some kind. In most cases, I found a state sponsor for the APAG. This will be noted, along with whether the state in question sponsored the APAG throughout its entire existence, or whether it only sponsored the APAG for part of the time. If the sponsorship was short-lived, I will include the approximate dates from which it lasted. I will also include as much information as possible about whether the state’s support was limited to financial support, or whether it also provided the APAG with safe haven.

In some cases, wealthy individuals sponsored APAGs. Sometimes, these individuals were either the founder of the APAG or prominent members of the APAG. In other cases, the APAG was skilled at fund-raising among sympathizers who did not actively join the APAG. For example, an ethnically-based APAG might collect financial support from wealthy members of that ethnic group who are not willing to themselves participate in the APAG’s violent activities.
In other cases, one APAG will provide the means of support for other APAGs. The sponsor APAG could allow other APAGs with similar goals to use its training camps, for example. Or, it could provide the other APAGs with money and/or weapons. In some cases, the sponsor APAG does this because both groups have a common enemy. In other cases, they hold ideological similarities that cause the stronger group to seek to assist the other.

Finally, some APAGs develop their own means of support through revenue-generating activities. Some APAGs engage in the drug trade. Since they already have ties to the underworld, and many of them participate in weapons-smuggling, adding drug smuggling to this mix provides an additional way of generating revenue. I have found evidence of APAGs engaging in the drug trade as early as the 1920s, and this may go back even farther in time. Other APAGs, notably the Bolsheviks, engaged in bank-robbing and extortion to support themselves. Some APAGs were able to seize the weapons that they needed from retreating armies, for example, in many of the Soviet successor republics. I provide as much information as possible about these activities, including exactly what they were, and for how long they went on.

What I hope to capture with this variable is the position of the APAG in terms of its support and potential support. Many APAGs have no visible means of support and are dependent on the resources of their members. While even such APAGs can do considerable damage in certain attacks, I believe that in order to have a sustained impact on interstate conflict, an APAG needs to have a firmer basis of long-term support. Ideally, the APAG would have at least one state sponsor, and preferably more than one. An APAG with a single state sponsor, and no other means of support, would be fairly
easy for the state sponsor to rein in, and I expect that the state sponsor would do this if it felt its own position being threatened by the APAG’s activities. On the other hand, an APAG with its own means of support, either through the extensive resources of its members, or through its revenue-generating activities, would be harder to rein in because the state sponsor would have to do more than simply cutting off the APAG’s finances. An APAG that has multiple state sponsors is in an even stronger position, because it has another safe haven to which it can flee if it incurs the wrath of its other state sponsor.

The information contained in this variable will come from the historical literature. The main problem with this variable is its possible incompleteness. In looking at actions that a state will take that are by definition covert, it is possible that I have missed some state involvement. In addition, in many cases, the APAG’s means of support are not clear. I assume that these APAGs relied on the resources of their members and hence engaged in more limited activities. However, it could be that these groups possessed means of support of which I am not aware.

**Links to Other Groups and States**

This variable is very similar to the previous variable, except that it implies a lower threshold of cooperation between the APAG and other groups and states. While the previous variable only contains cases where there was evidence that the APAG received financial or material support from the state or group, this variable contains any group or state to which the APAG was linked in any form. In practice, there is a great deal of overlap, and this variable does not yield a great deal of new information. However, it
does provide some insight into APAGs that coordinated with each other, but did not receive financial or material support from each other.

Sources

A complete list of the sources used for data collection is available in the Sources Bibliography. I began looking for sources by searching the Library of Congress catalog by the names of famous APAGs. I compiled a preliminary list of sources this way. I then cross-referenced the sources listed in the bibliographies of these works. I also read general histories of each country in the regions under study for the period under study. In cases where an interstate or intrastate war occurred within the region, I read some general histories of this war, to determine whether there was any APAG involvement in the war. Finally, I searched Lexus-Nexus for news reports on APAGs that have operated in the recent past. In most cases, I identified the APAG through one of the general histories, and then I searched for more information about it on Lexus-Nexus. In a few cases, however, I discovered new APAGs that were linked with the groups that I had already identified.

Generally, I assumed that no APAGs existed if I could find no evidence in any of the histories for their presence. This may not be completely accurate; it is possible that small and not overly active APAGs existed that do not appear in the historical literature. I was also limited to sources that were available in either English or French, and this prevented me from using untranslated Eastern and Central European sources. Nevertheless, I think that I have a relatively complete listing of the APAGs present in the region for the time periods covered. I collected data both on APAGs that were very
active and on APAGs that were relatively short-lived, and only engaged in a small number of actions.

By and large, I found a great deal of continuity between sources in reference to APAGs. When I found information on an APAG from more than one source, the sources generally agreed on such basic information as its number of members and goals. In cases where they did not, I list the information provided by each source in the notes section.

Notes

This section contains any information about the APAG that I found pertinent that did not fit in to any of the other categories. Mostly, it contains narratives of actions taken by the APAG that were noteworthy. These are usually attacks, but this section also contains information about major conferences or lobbying efforts in which the APAG participated. Whenever possible, I included the date of the action, so that the researcher could search contemporary newspapers for further information.

I also included information about the APAG’s relations to other groups, in terms of formation and termination. If the APAG was a splinter group from another APAG, I noted this, as well as the reason for the split, if known. I also noted if there were any splinter groups from the group under study.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I briefly outlined the variables on which I collected data, as well as the data collection procedures. I first discuss the impetus for the project and outline the reasons for my sample selection. I then discuss each variable in some detail, noting
both its strengths and weaknesses, and I discuss the main sources for the project. These variables provide the raw data for the analysis. In most cases, I will perform some transformations on variable that I use in the analysis. These will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. In this chapter, I sought to provide the reader with a general idea of how the data was collected, and what variables might be used in future studies. I only use a small number of the variables collected in my analysis, but I want to make all of the potential variables known.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the data that was actually collected. I will provide summary statistics for the main variables, and I will speculate on the processes by which APAGs form and gain state sponsors. I will also provide short narrative summaries of the APAGs on which I collected data. This chapter’s purpose was to give the reader a general idea of where the data came from, as well as some of the caveats associated with it, in preparation for delving deeper into the data.

**Source List**

**Late 19\(^{th}\)/Early 20\(^{th}\) Century Balkan APAGs**


*Bulgaria: An Account of the Political Events during the Balkan Wars.* (1919) Chicago: Macedonia-Bulgarian Central Committee. (Note: This is a translation from French of a memorandum presented by the Bulgarian government at the Peace Conference in Paris. As such there is no author listed.)


Ramsaur, Ernest Edmondson. (1957) *The Young Turks: Prelude to the Revolution of


Stebbing, E.P. (1917) At the Serbian Front in Macedonia. London: John Lane Company.


Walshe, Douglas. (1920) With the Serbs in Macedonia. New York: John Lane Company.

Wyon, Reginald. (1904) The Balkans from Within. London: James Finch and Company Ltd.

Late 19th/Early 20th Century Russian APAGs


**Late 19th/Early 20th Century Caucasus APAGs**


Hovannisian, Richard G. (1967) *Armenia on the Road to Independence, 1918*. Berkeley:
Late 20th/Early 21st Century Balkan APAGs


Late 20th/Early 21st Century Caucasus APAGs


Russia’s Role in the Conflict. Vol 7, No 7.


Chapter 3
Summary of Data

Introduction

This chapter contains my observations on general and specific characteristics of APAGs, as well as a short summary of the data available about each APAG in my sample. Many of these characteristics will not currently be subject to empirical test, either because of data limitations or because of the way that I set up the data for my particular empirical tests. For example, since I will use dyads of nation-states as my unit of analysis, I will not look too closely at the characteristics of particular APAGs. In many cases, multiple APAGs, with differing characteristics, are involved with the same nation-states, and it is not possible to distinguish between them using this methodology. Nevertheless, I will discuss these characteristics and offer some insights into how others might approach them. In my own empirical tests, I concentrate on the effect that APAGs have on interstate relations. In this chapter, however, I offer some basic insights into why APAGs form, why and how they obtain state sponsors, and how long they continue to exist.

I begin by discussing my sample in general terms. I give descriptive statistics about how many APAGs I found and where they were located. I also make some general observations about which regions or time periods may have been specifically prone to APAG formation. Obviously, the limitations of my data make it impossible to rigorously prove that there were particular times or places in which APAGs were more likely to form, but I present my interpretation of the data that I have in hopes that as more data on APAGs is collected, these patterns will become clearer.
I next consider the role of state sponsorship in APAG formation. I cannot at this point discuss with a great deal of confidence the reasons that APAGs form, but I do consider the role that state sponsorship plays in forming and sustaining APAGs. I also discuss some potential reasons that states may use to justify their sponsorship of APAGs. I also look at some more specific characteristics of APAGs, namely how long they exist and what their ultimate fate is. In this section, I only offer description, but I hope that it will lead to stronger theorizing about this aspect of the APAG cycle. I next discuss APAG size and the number of APAGs that are operating in a particular area. Finally, I discuss APAG goals, and how they might impact APAG behavior.

In the next section, I include summaries of the various APAGs that I discover. I organize them by region and time period. I begin each section with a short discussion of the background, and I talk about the issues that led to APAG formation, as well as about any states that I would consider prone to become APAG sponsors in that region. I follow this with a paragraph on each APAG, which contains the information that I was able to find about it. In some cases, I have extensive information on the APAG, but in others, I was able to find very little data. In most cases, I have enough data to provide at least a basic understanding of the APAG. In cases where I estimated information about the APAG, I discuss this at some length.

**General Characteristics about APAGs**

I identified 60 APAGs in the course of my research. Twenty-nine of these groups existed in the later period, from 1990 to 2003. These groups were mainly split in their location between the Caucasus, which had 16 APAGs, and the Balkans, which had 12.
There was one other APAG, Dniestr, that existed in the region of Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine. The APAGs in the late 20th century Caucasus were the most diverse, including numerous groups representing the Chechens (some of which fought against each other), Georgians, ethnic minorities fighting the Georgians, Armenians, and Azeris. In the Balkans, the APAGs included Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian Muslim, and Albanian groups.

(Table 3.1)

There were 31 APAGs that I identified in the earlier period, from 1890 to 1914. The earlier period lasted about eleven years longer than the later period, but it saw the emergence of roughly the same number of APAGs. This could mean several things. First, it could indicate that APAG formation was more common in the later period than it was in the earlier period. Second, it could indicate that information on APAGs is more readily available in the contemporary period, and therefore APAGs appear to be more prevalent than they were in the past. Third, it appears me that there are certain periods of crisis that lead to increased levels of APAG formation. I will discuss these periods in more detail later in this chapter. However, suffice it to say for the moment that I believe that there are particular times when APAG formation becomes more common. After these times pass, many existing APAGs continue to flourish, but new APAGs are much less likely to be founded. The period from 1989 to 1995, for example, saw the formation of 22 APAGs, while the period from 1996 to 2003 saw the formation of only four APAGs. This may be a statistical artifact, of course, because it is possible that more APAGs have been formed in this region since 1996, and they have not yet achieved enough prominence to be reported in the literature. A similar pattern emerged in the
earlier period, however, and this leads me to believe that it may be a real phenomenon with important consequences for the study of APAGs. APAG formation ceased completely for the last three years of the earlier period, with the last APAG of the earlier period being founded in 1911 (the infamous Black Hand organization). The last eight years of the earlier period (1906-1914) saw the formation of only four APAGs. While APAG formation appears to have been more spread out temporally in the earlier period, it does show signs of tapering off in the half-decade or so before the outbreak of the First World War. For this reason, I believe that APAG formation was about as common in the earlier period as it was in the later period. I would guess, although I cannot prove, that if this study was extended ten years into the future, I would find that relatively few APAGs would form in this region during the course of that time.

(Table 3.2)

More than half of the APAGs that I identified in the earlier period existed in the Balkans. Out of a total of 31 APAGs, 17 of them were in the Balkans. The Caucasus and Russia each saw the emergence of seven APAGs. These findings indicate a certain amount of continuity between the earlier period and the later period. Both periods saw the emergence of APAGs in the Balkans and the Caucasus. If Chechnya is counted as part of Russia rather than as part of the Caucasus in the later period, then it could be argued that both periods saw the emergence of APAGs in exactly the same places. To a certain extent, this is unremarkable, given the fact that the study was regionally driven, and hence I would expect to find APAGs appearing in the same regions during both periods, particularly when regions are defined as broadly as I have defined them. On the
other hand, it is remarkable to me that in both periods I found no evidence for the emergence of APAGs in the region broadly defined as Central Europe (including present-day Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia). This may have been an artifact of the precise dates that I chose or of lack of information, but I did find it remarkable that this region appeared to lack violent political groups in both periods. An extension of the data set in terms of time and location would demonstrate whether there really are certain regions in which APAGs are more or less likely to emerge over time, or whether this is simply an artifact of the limited data set with which I worked. At this point, I can only mention it as a topic for further study because I do not have the necessary data to perform a rigorous test of this phenomenon.

Despite the broad overlap in terms of the regions where APAGs emerged, there were also important differences between the early period and the later period. The most remarkable was the emergence of religion as a dividing line in the later period. In the Balkans, for example, the later period saw conflict between various predominantly Christian countries and peoples (Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia) and predominantly Muslim countries and people (Albania, Bosnian Muslims). Both sides sponsored and were represented by APAGs. In the early period, by contrast, many APAGs were involved in conflicts between Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria (all nominally Christian countries) and between Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (again, both predominantly Christian). The early period also saw APAGs that were involved in conflicts between the predominantly Christian countries of the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire. I am not sure, however, whether this represents continuity with the present or not, because many of these APAGs that represented the predominantly Christian communities of the
Balkans formed alliances with Muslim APAGs in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Nationalism, rather than religion, appeared to create the divisions in the early period, while religion played a more important role in APAG formation in the later period. Nationalism played an important role in APAG formation in the later period as well, but it appeared that predominantly Christian ethnic groups were more likely to ally with each other in the later period, whereas in the early period, they were more likely to see each other as nationalist rivals.

A similar pattern emerges in the Caucasus. In the early period, many of the Armenian APAGs sought to secede from the Ottoman Empire, but most of them also sought to gain territory in Russian Armenia. The motivation for conflict was based on a stateless ethnic group seeking territory at the expense of a weakening multi-national empire. In the later period, on the other hand, the Christian versus Muslim aspect of the conflict became more pronounced, with Armenians fighting Azeris, Georgians fighting Muslim separatists, and Russians fighting Chechens. Even in Russia, the contrast is pronounced. While the Russian government had fought Chechens throughout much of the 19th century, in the earlier period under study, the Russian APAGs generally operated around Moscow and in European Russia. They were not ethnic or religious separatists, but rather ideologues who sought to change the way that Russia was governed. In the later period, APAGs in Russia represented groups (generally Muslim) that sought to separate themselves from Russia.

This contrast between the earlier period and the later period is not perfect. Predominantly Christian Serbian APAGs did fight predominantly Christian Croatian APAGs in the later period, and there was some cooperation between some Muslim
APAGs and predominantly Christian countries. Even in Russia, I found that the Russian government supported some Muslim APAGs that opposed Chechen separatism. I do think that it is important to note that while nationalism played a central role in APAG development in both periods, the definition of nationalism seems to have changed over time. In the early period, it seemed to be defined more narrowly, with similar ethnic groups becoming enemies, whereas, in the later period, major differences in culture and religion opened up fault lines between ethnic groups. Ethnic groups that had similar (or the same) religions appeared to be less likely to become enemies in the later period.

**APAG Formation and State Sponsorship**

The question of why APAGs emerge in certain regions but not in others is also an interesting one to which I can propose only hypothetical answers. One possibility is that the relative wealth or poverty of the region determines whether or not APAGs are likely to emerge. Although Central Europe was by no means the most wealthy or economically progressive region in the world in either period, it was more successful economically than either the Balkans, or the Caucasus, or Russia, for that matter. If APAGs are more likely to form among the economically marginalized segments of society, they would be less common in regions that are relatively richer, and this appears, at least on the surface, to be supported by the available data.

Another possibility is that the presence or absence of a potential state sponsor plays a major role in determining whether or not APAGs will form in a particular place. Two-thirds of the APAGs that I researched had at least one state sponsor. State sponsors can assist APAGs in various ways, ranging from providing financial support to allowing
the APAG to establish bases on the sponsor’s territory to giving the APAG actual military or intelligence support. An APAG that has a state sponsor has advantages over an APAG without a state sponsor. This becomes particularly important in cases where state sponsors provide APAGs with the use of their territory or with military or intelligence support. Once an APAG has established bases in a sympathetic state, it has a place from which to operate where it does not have to fear retribution from the authorities. This gives the APAG an advantage over a similar group that must be always on its guard because it lacks a safe base from which to operate. In practice, it is often difficult to determine whether a state sponsor has offered its territory to an APAG, or whether the state sponsor’s government is simply too weak to enforce the law in all or part of its territory. In the latter case, one or more APAGs may use the state’s territory as a base with impunity without the state having the ability to take action against it. If the APAG is powerful enough to be able to present a credible threat to the state, it should operate in the same manner as would an APAG that has the open cooperation of its state sponsor.

An APAG that has links to the military or intelligence services of its state sponsor is in an even stronger position than an APAG that has a state sponsor that merely provides it with territory. States that sponsor APAGs are often relatively weak and unstable politically. They tend to be the kind of states where the civilian government does not necessarily have control over its military and intelligence services, and are often prone to coups or military takeovers of the government. This gives the APAG a great deal of leverage over the government, because the government may fear that it would lose power if it took the actions necessary to rein in the APAG. In addition to the threat
that APAGs can pose to their state sponsors if they have links to the military or intelligence services of that state, there are obvious benefits that APAGs gain from such links. Military and intelligence services have access to resources that can benefit the APAG in targeting another state (or the government of the state sponsor, if need be). Even many relatively poor states can have powerful military and intelligence sectors that significantly augment the capabilities of the APAGs that they sponsor.

APAGs that have links to the military or intelligence services of their state sponsors are less common than are APAGs that have a state sponsor. In the overall sample, two-thirds of the APAGs had at least one state sponsor, while only one-third of the APAGs had links to the military or intelligence services of a state sponsor. These figures are fairly consistent across time. Looking at the early period in isolation, 70% of the APAGs had a state sponsor, while only 35% had the cooperation of the military or intelligence services of the state. In the later period, state sponsorship was somewhat less common. Only 57% of the APAGs had a state sponsor, and 30% had links to the military or intelligence services of that state.

These concerns are important when considering how to counteract APAGs’ activities. One strategy that has been followed by many states that were the target of APAGs’ violence is to try to coerce the government of the state sponsor to rein in the APAG. The United States is currently pursuing this strategy. Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the United States overthrew the Taliban government because it would not turn over al-Qaeda suspects to the United States for trial. At the time, President Bush claimed that the government of any country that supported terrorism would be subject to the same fate as the terrorists. This policy aims to coerce states that
support APAGs, in this case terrorist groups, into either reigning in the APAG, so that it ceases to commit attacks, or turning over APAG leaders to the target state for trial and punishment.

In a situation where the state sponsor is weak and is being effectively blackmailed by the APAG, either in terms of the APAG using the state’s territory or in the more extreme case of the APAG having links to the state’s military and/or intelligence services, this strategy appears flawed. Even if the government of the state sponsor were to be replaced, if it is not strengthened as well, it is likely to fall prey to the APAG’s threats as well and to be ineffective in reigning in the APAG. While it is often difficult in practice to determine whether a particular state lacks the ability or merely the will to rein in an APAG that it sponsors, it appears to me that both cases occur, and that they represent qualitatively different relationships between the APAG and the state sponsor that will have different consequences in terms of interstate relations.

The presence of a potential state sponsor, then, gives APAGs numerous advantages and may encourage APAG formation. Aggrieved parties may be more likely to organize violent opposition to states whose policies they dislike when they believe that they are likely to be able to receive the support of at least one state, whether this support is voluntary or coerced. In my research, I have focused on the effects that APAGs’ presence have on international relations. I have not theorized in depth what conditions make it more likely that a particular APAG will receive state support; rather I take the presence or absence of state support as a given characteristic of the APAG. Nevertheless, it is possible to consider some basic conditions and how they might affect APAGs’ propensity to gain support.
One necessary but not sufficient condition for an APAG to receive state support is the presence of a state that has a common cause. This does not guarantee that the APAG will receive support, since a state may agree with some or all of an APAG’s goals and still find it too risky to openly support this APAG. However, when there is no state with a reason to support the APAG, the chances of it receiving state support are almost nonexistent; and, I would argue, this makes APAGs less likely to form in the first place. The reasons that a state may want to support an APAG fall into two broad categories, common beliefs or a common enemy. In the case of common beliefs, the state seeks to help the APAG achieve its goals because it shares those goals, at least to some extent. For example, a state that seeks to gain land in which members of the same ethnic group live may support an APAG that seeks a similar irredentist goal. Or, a state that seeks to promote the interest of its co-religionists may support an APAG that also represents members of this religion.

This can be seen in action in the case of the Balkans. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Balkans were home to a number of independent states that had irredentist goals, such as Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece. All of these states supported APAGs of the same ethnic group with irredentist goals. In Central Europe, on the other hand, there was no independent state of Poland, or the Czech Republic, or Slovakia, or Hungary at this time, and hence no potential state sponsor for APAGs representing these ethnic groups. In the late 20th century Balkans, these states continued to exist, but potential state sponsors had arisen from another quarter as well. A number of predominantly Muslim states in neighboring regions had developed an interest in promoting Islam and the interests of Muslims, and hence they provided suitable sponsors.
for APAGs representing Balkan Muslims. While at least a few predominantly Muslim states had existed for centuries, at some times these states actively engaged in activities to promote Islam, while at other times they eschewed these activities. Therefore, depending on the time period in question, a Muslim APAG may or may not have had the opportunity to receive state sponsorship. I believe that the prospect of state sponsorship is taken into account by APAG leaders at the outset, so that in cases where such sponsorship is unlikely to be available, APAG formation is inhibited.

**APAG Fate and Length of Time of APAG Activity**

Precise formation and termination dates for APAGs were often hard to find. In general, formation years were more readily available than were termination years. Of 60 APAGs that I identified, I was able to determine a formation year for all but ten of them. For 19 APAGs, almost twice as many, I was unable to determine a precise termination year. An additional nine APAGs were assumed to be still active at the time of the cut-off. One difficulty in determining precise formation and termination dates is that many APAGs simply faded away. If an APAG was no longer active, but there was no information available about what had happened to it, I estimated a termination date for it. In the later period, if there was some evidence of the APAG being still in existence close to the time of the cut-off date, I assumed that it did not have a termination year. Forty percent (24 out of 60) of the APAGs under study ultimately faded away. Nine were still in existence at the cut-off point, and another nine were ultimately defeated and eliminated. Seven APAGs became part of the government in either their sponsor or
target state. Five APAGs voluntarily disbanded, and four transformed into non-violent groups. A final two APAGs merged with other groups.

(Table 3.3)

Most APAGs were relatively short-lived. Half of the APAGs under study (30 out of 60) existed for between one and five years. Only two APAGs existed for less than one year. Eleven APAGs existed for between five and ten years, and 12 APAGs existed for between ten and fifteen years. Only five APAGs existed for more than fifteen years. Of course, these are estimates, and as I mentioned above, they are based on imprecise data in at least one-third of the cases. Nevertheless, I think that these numbers indicate that most APAGs are relatively short-lived, but that a substantial minority (almost 10%) exist for long periods of time.

(Table 3.4)

**APAG Size and Number of APAGs Operating in a Given Area**

APAG size was difficult to measure. For almost half of the APAGs under study (28 out of 60) I could find no information at all as to the size of the APAG. This was a bigger problem in the early period, in which I found size information on 12 APAGs and no information as to the size of the remaining 19 APAGs. In the later period, I found at least approximate size information for 20 APAGs, while I lacked any size information for the remaining nine APAGs. In the early period, for the APAGs for which I did find size information, I found that they were evenly distributed, with three APAGs having less than 100 members, three APAGs having between 100 and 1,000 members, another three
APAGs having between 1,000 and 10,000 members, and a final three APAGs having more than 10,000 members. I suspect that there were actually more small APAGs, because 15 of the 19 APAGs with an unknown number of members were either known to have existed for a very short period of time, or simply faded away after one or two actions. This leads me to believe, although it does not prove, that they had a small number of members, and hence could easily fade away.

(Table 3.5)

In the later period, a somewhat different picture emerges with regards to APAG size. First, I was able to find at least an approximate size for about two-thirds (20 out of 29) of the APAGs in this period. I found no APAGs with fewer than 100 members, seven groups with between 100 and 1,000 members, four APAGs with between 1,000 and 10,000 members, and nine APAGs with more than 10,000 members. I am relatively confident of the estimates that I found for APAG size, at least at the level of the broad categories listed above. Most sources also gave a point estimate of the size, but I found these to be less robust across sources. For those APAGs where I found more than one estimate of size, they would often vary as to whether the APAG had 2,500 or 3,500 members, or whether it had 80,000 or 150,000 members. While these are large discrepancies, they would not lead to a change in the APAG’s place on the log scale presented above. In most cases, I found only one estimate of the APAG’s size (if that), and hence comparisons among different size estimates were moot.

I also looked at how many APAGs were operating in a given area at a given time. I considered this question at the state level, looking first at how many APAGs were
targeting a particular state in the sample, and then looking at how many APAGs each state in the sample sponsored. I found that slightly more than half (53%) of the states in the sample were not the target of any APAGs at all. A further 25% of states were the target of one APAG, slightly less than 10% (9.11%) were the target of two APAGs, 6% were the target of three APAGs, and the remaining 7.5% were the target of four or more APAGs. In the case of APAG sponsors, 60% of the states in the sample did not sponsor any APAG, about one-third sponsored one APAG, 5% sponsored two APAGs, and one and a half percent sponsored three APAGs.

Looking at the early period in isolation, I found that APAG targeting and APAG sponsorship were more common. Only about 40% of countries in the sample were not the target of any APAG. Almost one-quarter were the target of one APAG, nine percent were the target of two APAGs, four and a half percent were the target of three APAGs, and nine percent were the target of four APAGs. The remaining 13% were the target of five or more APAGs. Only 36% percent of the countries in the sample did not sponsor any APAG in the early period. 57% sponsored one APAG, and 7% sponsored two APAGs.

In the later period, a lower percentage of the countries in the sample were involved with APAGs, both in terms of being APAG targets and in terms of being APAG sponsors. 57% of the countries in the sample were not the target of any APAG in the later period. One-quarter were the target of one APAG, 9% were the target of two APAGs, and the remaining 9% of countries were the target of three or more APAGs. The most number of APAGs that any country was the target of in the later period was six, representing less than 2% of the total sample. In the case of APAG sponsors, almost 69%
of the countries in the sample in the later period sponsored no APAG. One-quarter of the countries sponsored one APAG only, about 4% sponsored two APAGs, and slightly less than 2% sponsored three APAGs. It should be remembered that the later period includes a much larger number of independent states in the sample, and therefore, although a lower percentage of states sponsored APAGs, the number of APAGs operating in the region and receiving some form of state sponsorship remained relatively constant.

APAG Goals

Categorizing APAG goals was somewhat difficult. I divided the APAGs under study into four broad goal categories. I divided those APAGs that sought territory into two categories, the first being those groups that sought to gain autonomy or secede from an existing state, and the second being those irredentist groups that sought to acquire additional territory for an existing state. In practice, these groups were a bit hard to differentiate, because often an APAG would argue that it sought autonomy or independence for an ethnic minority within a particular country, and at the same time, the APAG was receiving support from a state that was ethnically similar to (or the same as) the ethnic minority in question. This leads to the question of whether the APAG sought autonomy or independence as its ultimate goal, or merely as a first step in securing the territory for the other state. Generally, I relied on the judgments of historians in these matters. I also considered regime change as a possible APAG goal. Finally, I had an “other” category for any APAG that had a goal other than the previous three. In practice, these were largely APAGs that sought to protect a particular group of people, or to
persecute a particular group of people, but who had no other obvious interest in terms of territory or regime change.

(Table 3.6)

Overall, about one-third (21 out of 60) of the APAGs sought autonomy or secession. Sixteen APAGs had an irredentist goal, thirteen sought regime change, and ten had an “other” goal. In the early period, eleven APAGs sought autonomy or secession, seven were irredentist, nine wanted regime change, and four had an “other” goal. In the later period, ten APAGs had autonomy or secession as their goal, nine were irredentist, only four sought regime change, and six had an “other” goal. The numbers appeared to be fairly robust across time, with the notable exception being that APAGs that sought regime change appeared to be far less common in the later period.

APAG Summaries

This section will contain more detailed information about the APAGs for which I collected data. My aim in this section is two-fold. First, I seek to give a general introduction to each group, and to describe its main characteristics. Second, I want to give the reader a general idea of what type of information is available in my data. As I have mentioned previously, much of the data will not be used in my analysis. This is partly because of the methodologies that I use and partly because some of the data is qualitative. I hope to give the reader some ideas about how this data could be quantified and used in later research.
Late 19\textsuperscript{th}/Early 20\textsuperscript{th} Century Caucasus

APAGs in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century Caucasus were almost exclusively associated with Armenia. They tended to be nationalist in nature, and they sought to carve an independent Armenia out of the Ottoman Empire and/or the Russian Empire. These groups were somewhat similar to the Armenian independence movements that sprang up nearly a century later. One difference between Armenian APAGs in the earlier period and the later period is that in the later period they focused on obtaining land almost exclusively from Russia; whereas, in the early period they were more concerned with obtaining land from the Ottoman Empire. Some of the Armenian APAGs in the early period did seek land from Russia, but they were as likely to receive support from Russia in their designs on Ottoman land. In the later period, some Armenian APAGs sought some sort of nebulous revenge against Turkey for the Armenian genocide, but they did not generally actively seek to gain Turkish territory.

Another difference between the early period and the later period in the Caucasus is the absence in the early period of APAGs among the Muslim populations of the Caucasus. This may be an artifact of the fact that the Muslim peoples of the Caucasus were understudied during this period, but I found no evidence of organized violent political groups among them. In the parts of the Caucasus that belonged to the Ottoman Empire, this may have occurred because the Empire itself was Muslim-dominated. Muslims within the Empire may have had less of an incentive to engage in nationalist violence, since they saw themselves as the main beneficiaries of the Empire’s dominion. In the case of Muslims in the Russian Caucasus, I do not have a good explanation for why they did not organize into APAGs in this period. I know that the Chechens mounted
resistance to the Tsar’s government in the first half of the 19th century, and that they were brutally suppressed. (See Gammer 1994) It may be that by the end of the 19th century, they were simply too weary to engage in organized political violence. It is also true that powerful Muslim states were in short supply during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Ottoman Empire had been “the sick man of Europe” for over a century, and Persia had come under the de facto control of European colonial powers. Therefore, Muslims in the Caucasus would have been hard pressed to find a willing state sponsor. This may have inhibited them from organizing.

*Armenian Social Democratic Organization (Gncchak)*

Not much information is available on this APAG. It existed in the late 19th/early 20th century Caucasus. It appeared to combine Armenian nationalism with social democratic principles. It is most famous for its attempted assassination of Prince Golitsyn, the commander-in-chief of the Caucasus on October 14, 1903. Its main activities were assassinations and robberies.

*Dashnaksutiun (Union)*

This Armenian nationalist APAG is also known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Dashnak, and Tashnak. It was formed in 1890 in Tbilisi, in present-day Georgia. It originally sought the liberation of only those Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, and it received support from Russia until 1903. In 1903, Dashnaksutiun became anti-Russian as well as anti-Turkish because of changes in Russian policy towards the Armenians and the withdrawal of Russian support from the
group. Dashnaktsution received consistent support throughout its existence from Persia as well as from Armenian benefactors living in Russia. Dashnaktsution engaged in assassinations, extortion, guerrilla attacks, sabotage and guerrilla war. It led a revolt in Sassun in 1904.

Dashnaktsution also governed an independent Armenian state at the end of World War I, during which time it waged three wars and eventually united all Armenians into a quasi-independent country. This independent Armenia was short-lived, losing power to the Russian Bolsheviks by the early 1920s. Dashnaktsution’s last known activity was the assassination of Archbishop Tourian, Prelate of the Armenian Church in America in December 1933. An APAG with the same name emerged in Armenia in the early 1990s; however, it is not clear that the organization remained in existence continually between the dissolution of independent Armenia and its re-emergence 70 years later.

Young Armenia Society

Very little is known about this organization. It operated briefly (from 1889-90) in Russian Armenia. Its main activity was engaging in guerrilla attacks. It was an Armenian nationalist organization, but its precise aims are unknown.

Hunchakian Revolutionary Party

This Armenian APAG was founded in Geneva, Switzerland in 1887. It sought autonomy for Turkish Armenia, and it planned to establish a socialist society once it had gained autonomy. This group carried out assassinations, guerrilla attacks, and armed protests. There is no evidence that it received financial or material support from any
other group or state. Its ultimate fate is also unknown. It was active until the mid 1890s, but it disappears from the literature after that.

*Armenakan Party*

This group operated more widely among Armenian communities. Founded in 1885 in Van, it had links to Turkish Armenia, Persia, Russia, and Armenian communities in the United States. It sought to gain Armenia’s independence through revolutionary methods. It engaged in guerrilla warfare, in some cases undertaking the defense of Armenian civilians who were under attack by Turkish troops. The ultimate fate of the Armenakan Party is unknown, but it was in existence at least until the mid 1890s.

*Late 19\textsuperscript{th}/Early 20\textsuperscript{th} Century Balkans*

Like the late 20\textsuperscript{th} century Balkans, the late 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century Balkans was a hot-bed of APAG activity. The issues, while broadly related to nationalism in both cases, differed substantially between the two eras. In the early period, the issues centered around the decay of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires and the conflicts that arose over how to divide the spoils of these empires. The Bulgarian question provided the point of departure for many APAGs in the region. Bulgaria had been part of the Ottoman Empire for centuries, but it began agitating for independence in the later part of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. In 1878, Bulgarians, assisted by Russia and some of the Western powers, won their freedom from the Ottoman Empire. The original Bulgaria included the land that would eventually become known as Macedonia. Shortly after the original peace treaty, however, the Great Powers convened a conference in which it was decided to
return Macedonia to the Ottoman Empire, for geopolitical reasons. This led to unrest and the formation of APAGs among both Bulgarians and Macedonians who sought to liberate Macedonia from the Ottomans. This was eventually achieved in the First Balkan War in 1912. Afterwards, conflict broke out among the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Greeks, because most of Macedonia was given to Serbia and Greece rather than Bulgaria.

In the case of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it was also experiencing a slow decline, illustrated by its loss of Italian territory and its loss of control over the northern German states. In 1908, the Empire annexed Bosnia from the Ottoman Empire. This brought it into conflict with Serbia, since Bosnia had many Serb residents. APAGs sprang up among the Serbs that sought to unite all of the lands populated by Serbs. One of these APAGs eventually touched off the First World War, by his assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne.

In both cases, the APAGs tended to represent a small country that was taking on a decaying empire. A few cases existed of APAGs that fought countries that were somewhat evenly matched, but this was much less common. In the later period, by contrast, almost all of the APAGs were representing countries that were, at least on the surface, evenly matched with their rivals. The haphazard way in which international borders were drawn in the Balkans, however, contributed to the rise of APAGs in both periods. The fact that borders were drawn with little or no attention to the wishes of the local populations left nationalist APAGs with a golden opportunity to gain support. Over time, these borders have shifted, but they remain somewhat artificial, and hence can be exploited to further a particular APAG’s agenda.
**Young Turks**

This group emerged with the support of the army of the Ottoman Empire in 1891. After being inactive during the period 1897-1906, it staged a successful coup against the Ottoman government on July 3, 1908. The Young Turks remained a part of the Ottoman government until being purged in 1919 after the Ottoman defeat in the First World War. The Young Turks sought to overthrow the government of the Ottoman Empire and replace it with a constitutional government. They were headquartered in Salonika, and they had affiliates in cities throughout Western Europe, especially important were Paris and Geneva. The Young Turks were also well-represented in Constantinople. The Young Turks had links to many other APAGs that were active in the Ottoman Empire at this time, as well as to the Ottoman army. They were particularly well-represented in Macedonia, where they had links to both the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and to the Ottoman army’s Macedonian division.

**Preporod (Rebirth)**

This group was the only Slovene APAG that I discovered. It sought the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and it also had a pan-Slavic, or Yugoslav, orientation. Preporod was active sometime during the early 20th century, but exact dates were not possible to come by. I found very little information about its sources of support, except for the fact that it had links to the Young Bosnians. Its main activity was organizing violent strikes.
Young Bosnians

Also known as Mlada Bosna, this group was one of the more powerful APAGs in the early 20th century Balkans, in the years leading up to the First World War. I was unable to find precise beginning and end dates for this group, but I know that it existed at least from 1912 until the outbreak of the First World War. The Young Bosnians sought the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the creation of a South Slav state containing Slovenes, Croatians, and Serbs. Serbs predominated in the organization, but it did maintain more of a pan-Slav character than did most other South Slav APAGs, which essentially confined themselves to Serbian nationalism. The Young Bosnians also sought economic and social modernization for the new country that they proposed to create. The Young Bosnians were active throughout Bosnia, as well as having affiliates in Switzerland and France. I found no evidence that the Young Bosnians had a state sponsor. However, I did discover that they had links to many other APAGs in the region, such as the Serb secret societies Narodna Obrana and the Black Hand, and more pan-Slav groups such as Sloboda and Preporod. The Young Bosnians were responsible for assassinations, armed protests, and violent strikes. They attempted to assassinate the governor of Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1910, and they attempted to assassinate the governor of Croatia in 1912. They were involved in the successful assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914.

Serbian Defense

This group was founded in 1905 in order to assist the Serbian regular forces in guerrilla warfare. The group was particularly active in fighting the Bulgarians in
Macedonia. Serbian Defense received support from the Serbian government and from the Serbian military. The ultimate fate of this group is unknown. I suspect that it faded away during or shortly after the First World War.

**Narodna Obrana**

One of the more powerful and interesting APAGs, Narodna Obrana (translated as National Defense or The People’s Defense) began as a Serbian cultural organization. It became involved in espionage, sabotage, and preparing for war against the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1908. It also engaged in assassinations and arms smuggling. Unlike some of the pan-Slavic nationalist groups of this era, Narodna Obrana had a strong Serbian bent from the beginning. I found no evidence that this group was supported by the Serbian government per se, but it included many of the Serb political and military leaders in its membership, and it received support from these people. Narodna Obrana was the parent group of the Young Bosnians and the Black Hand. Narodna Obrana was active in Serbia, in Bosnia and Hercegovina, in Slovenia, in Istria, and it organized clubs in the United States among South Slav immigrants. It had transformed itself into a non-violent group by the time that the First World War began, but the exact timing of the change is not known.

**Slovenski Jug**

Slovenski Jug sought to foment a revolution that would create a unified South Slav state. Its primary activity was sabotage. It received support from Serbia and from the Serbo-Croatian community in Austria-Hungary. It also had links with the Young
Turks. The group was founded in Serbia sometime in the very early 20th century. It disbanded in 1909.

National Federative Party

This group broke off from the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization in 1908. Like the IMRO, the National Federative Party sought to establish an independent Macedonia. The National Federative Party, however, went further in seeking a socialist Macedonia that would consist of a loose confederation of provinces. Its sources of support are unknown, as is its ultimate fate. I suspect that it was not particularly long-lived and may have disappeared in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars or World War I.

Association for Killing the Serbs

This group sought to destroy the Serbian presence in Macedonia. It was founded in 1897 in Salonika, but most of its activity took place between 1904 and 1906. Its primary activities were arson, robberies, and guerrilla attacks. It is unclear what sources of support this group had. I also have no positive information as to what the ultimate fate of this group was. I suspect that since it was not very active after 1906, it faded away soon after.

Society of St. Sava

This group sought to promote Serbian national consciousness among the inhabitants of Macedonia. It appears to have also engaged in some violent activities. The Society of St. Sava was founded in 1886 and lasted until 1891. It received financial
support from the Serbian government, especially from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This support was withdrawn in 1891, and this led the group to disband.

**Slobada (Freedom)**

Slobada sought to destroy the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to create an independent state of South Slavs. It engaged in assassinations. Slobada followed a strong Serbian nationalist bent while cooperating with some of the groups that were more committed to pan-Slavic ideals. Slobada enjoyed a particularly close relationship with the Young Bosnians. Slobada’s exact years of existence and ultimate fate are unknown. I assume that this group came into existence during the early 20th century and disappeared by the end of World War I.

**Supreme Macedonian Committee (Vrhoven Komitet)**

The Supreme Macedonian Committee was one of several APAGs that operated in Macedonia during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It was founded in 1895 in Sofia, Bulgaria. Also known as the External Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee, the Supreme Macedonian Committee was closely connected with Bulgaria. It received support from the Bulgarian government, from the Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand, from the Bulgarian army, from Austria-Hungary and Turkey during World War I (these two countries were allied with Bulgaria during the war), and from its own businesses and investments. The Supreme Macedonian Committee was supported by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, the other great APAG
that was concerned with the Macedonian question, but the two groups’ relationship was sporadic, involving both cooperation and conflict.

The Supreme Macedonian Committee sought to wrest Macedonia and Thrace away from the Ottoman Empire and to unite them to Bulgaria. The group actually had more support among the population of Bulgaria than it did among the Macedonians. Its ultimate fate is unknown, but it still existed during the First World War. I would suspect that it faded away shortly after this, because its numbers had been declining from the late 1890s onward, and it is never mentioned in the literature after World War I. The Supreme Macedonian Committee was particularly active in northern Macedonia.

The Supreme Macedonian Committee engaged in many violent activities, including assassinations, extortion, guerrilla attacks, kidnappings, robberies, sabotage, and guerrilla warfare. Most of its assassinations were of prominent members of rival APAGs or of prominent individuals who had opposed their activities. The Supreme Macedonian Committee mobilized armed guerrilla bands in Macedonia and Thrace in the summer of 1895, and it was involved in the Ilinden rebellion in Macedonia in August of 1903.

**Macedonian Committee**

This organization was founded sometime in the early 20th century to promote Greek interests in Macedonia and to defend Macedonian Greeks against terrorism from Bulgarian Macedonians. It participated in guerrilla war. It was supported by the Greek government. It existed until 1908, and it was forced to disband when the Young Turks came to power.
The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)’s aims were complex. It sought the autonomy (and later, independence) of Macedonia from the Ottoman Empire. Once this was achieved, and the bulk of Macedonia was appended to Serbia, IMRO began to agitate for Macedonia to come under Bulgarian control. Some scholars argue that IMRO had sought Bulgarian control of Macedonia from the beginning, while others argue that IMRO had originally sought independence, but later came under Bulgarian tutelage, and hence abandoned its original aims.

The history of IMRO’s support and financing is equally complex. It began receiving the support of the Bulgarian government in 1903. Bulgaria diminished its support to IMRO after its defeat in the First World War but increased it again after the IMRO-inspired 1923 coup in Bulgaria. IMRO also received support from some back channels of the Bulgarian government, such as the Supreme Macedonian Committee (a Bulgarian-sponsored APAG), the Bulgarian army, and the Bulgarian Tsar. During the First World War, some of Serbia’s enemies, namely Austria-Hungary and Turkey, supported IMRO. After World War One, Fascist Italy (which had territorial claims against Serbia), Soviet Russia, and the Croatian Ustasi movement allegedly supported
IMRO. In addition, IMRO produced a great deal of income for itself through drug trafficking, robbery, kidnapping, and private donations.

IMRO operated throughout Macedonia and Bulgaria. In the early years, its activities were centered on the city of Shtip, and it was strongest in Western Macedonia. After World War I, IMRO operated from a base in the Petrich District of Bulgarian Macedonia.

IMRO engaged in many different types of activities. It engaged in assassinations, extortion, kidnappings, armed protests, robberies, sabotage, conventional and guerrilla war, and weapons seizures. It also participated in militia training, smuggling, and drug trafficking. IMRO led three insurrections in Macedonia, in 1895, in 1902, and in 1903 (the Ilinden uprising). It also directed combat units in the Balkan Wars of 1912-3 and in the First World War. IMRO precipitated a coup in 1923, when it felt that it was losing influence with the current Bulgarian leadership, which led to the assassination of then-Prime Minister Stambolisky. IMRO assassinated leaders that opposed it throughout its existence. By the 1930s, IMRO had degenerated into a criminal gang that showed less and less interest in politics. However, it allegedly was involved in the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia in 1934, the year that it was destined to be eliminated.

Revolutionary Brotherhood

This APAG also sought Macedonian independence, but it was more overtly pro-Bulgarian and anti-Serbian from the beginning. Founded in Salonika in 1897, the Revolutionary Brotherhood faulted IMRO for its lack of a strong pro-Bulgarian stance. At this time, IMRO sought to liberate Macedonia from Ottoman control, but it did not
take a strong stand on what Macedonia’s ultimate status should be. The Revolutionary Brotherhood was created to fight against IMRO and ultimately to bring IMRO under Bulgarian control. It was supported financially by Bulgaria, the Bulgarian church, the Supreme Macedonian Committee, and by wealthy Bulgarians. The Revolutionary Brotherhood plotted to kill leading members of IMRO, but it was not very successful. In 1900, the group voluntarily disbanded, and all of its members joined IMRO, in order to try to subvert it from within. They had more success in this endeavor, as IMRO took on an increasingly pro-Bulgarian stance.

*Ethnike Hetairea (National Society)*

This APAG sought to promote Hellenism in Macedonia and in other areas that had formerly been part of the Greek Church. It also aimed to prepare Greece for a future war against the Ottoman Empire. Ethnike Hetairea was founded in 1894 in Athens; it was the offshoot of various small Greek secret societies. It engaged in guerrilla warfare and guerrilla attacks. It was dissolved by the Greek government in 1897 after the Greco-Turkish war because Greek leaders blamed the organization for the war. Ethnike Hetairea was supported by the Greek military and by Greek benefactors throughout the world. It was active in the Greek irredenta, especially Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus. It was most successful in southern Macedonia in the cities of Siar, Petrich, Kostur, and Salonika.
Black Hand (Crna Ruka)

One of the most famous APAGs of this period, and also one of the most influential, the Black Hand also went by the name Union or Death or Ujedinjenje ili Smrt. The Black Hand emerged in 1911 from the Narodna Obrana group, which the Black Hand’s founders thought had become too accommodating. It lasted until 1917, when it was eliminated by King Alexander I of Serbia, who had decided that he could not trust its leaders. The Black Hand operated in Bosnia, Macedonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Voivodina (in southern Hungary), Montenegro, and Serbia. The Black Hand followed a pan-Serb ideology which advocated Serbian hegemony over the South Slav states. It was supported by the Serbian Crown Prince (later King) Alexander, by Serbian military intelligence, by Narodna Obrana, by the Young Bosnians, and allegedly, by the Russian military.

The Black Hand is most famous for its role in the events leading up to World War I, but it also played a role in the two Balkan Wars of 1912-3. It was influential in causing these wars, and it contributed armed units to the fight in both cases. The Black Hand’s leaders were mostly Serbian military officers. It contained most of the officers who had participated in the 1903 coup that installed a new Serbian royal family. This connection between the Black Hand’s leading members and the Serbian royal family led the royals to provide a certain amount of support for the Black Hand’s activities, and to oppose any interference with the Black Hand on the part of the Serbian civilian government. In addition to assassinations, the Black Hand also engaged in sabotage.
Late 19th/Early 20th Century Russia

The history of APAGs in late 19th and early 20th century Russia provides a contrast with that of APAGs in other times and places. Almost all of the APAGs that operated in Russia in this period sought to overthrow the regime. In the other regions and time periods, the vast majority of APAGs had a goal related to territory, and only a few APAGs sought regime change as their primary objective. Very few Russian APAGs had a state sponsor in this period. Of those that did, most of them received sponsorship during the First World War from Russia’s enemies, and hence they had spent most of their existence without a state sponsor. One interesting point is that it could be argued that Russian APAGs in this period were more successful than most other APAGs. The Tsarist government did fall, and it was replaced by a Marxist government, which was sought by at least some of the APAGs that were active in Russia during this period. The territory-seeking APAGs, while better-connected in terms of state sponsors, did not necessarily achieve their objectives. I do not have a good explanation for why Russian APAGs took on such a different character from APAGs in other parts of Central/Eastern Europe. Russia in this period was an empire, as was Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. However, in Russia APAG activity took the form of agitation for regime change, while in the other two empires, it took on more of a secessionist character, with ethnic minorities seeking to gain territory for their own states. The reasons for this difference in character deserve further study.
Anarkhisty-Obshchinniki (Anarchist-Communists)

This group sought to overthrow the Russian government and establish anarchy in the early years of the 20th century. It was founded sometime in the very early 20th century in St. Petersburg. Its primary activities were arson, bombings, and robberies. In December 1905, it merged with another Russian APAG, called Beznachalie. During its existence, Anarkhisty-Obshchinniki was active throughout Russia, but mainly in St. Petersburg. I was unable to locate any information on its sources of support, leading me to believe that it was self-funding.

Union of SR – Maximalists

This was another Russian APAG that sought the overthrow of the Russian regime. Not much information is available about it, since it was extremely short-lived. It was both founded and eliminated in 1906, after carrying out one spectacular bombing. The Union of SR – Maximalists blew up the summer home of one of the Czar’s most trusted ministers, killing 32 people. No information is available about sources of funding or links to other groups.

Bund

This APAG, also known as the All-Jewish Workers’ Union and the Jewish Social Democratic Union, represented the radicals among the Jewish population of the Russian Empire. The decision to include this group was somewhat of a problem, because individuals belonging to this group practiced terrorism, but the group condemned these practices at the national level. However, local Bund leaders took part in terrorist acts, so
I decided to include the Bund as an APAG. Its members participated in assassinations, extortion, robberies, sabotage, and violent strikes. The Bund was founded in 1897 and its ultimate fate is unknown. I know that it existed at least until 1906, and I suspect that it endured until the Bolshevik seizure of power. The Bund’s precise ideology is not known, but it did attempt to subvert the Russian government. It operated throughout the areas that are today Lithuania, Poland, and Russia, usually near areas of Jewish settlement.

*Latvian Social Democrats Combat Organization*

This APAG was also known as the Latvian Social Democratic Workers’ Party and the Social Democracy of the Latvian Land. Its precise aims are unknown, but it sought to overthrow the Russian government. It engaged in arson and assassinations. It was founded in 1904 in Riga, which later became the capital of Latvia, and it operated in Riga and the surrounding areas. No information is available on either the ultimate fate of this group or on its sources of support.

*Without Authority (Beznachalie)*

This Russian APAG, founded in 1905 in St. Petersburg, sought to establish a state in Russian that was both Anarchist and Communist. It operated in large cities throughout Russia. It participated in arson, bombings, and robberies. I was unable to find any information on either Beznachalie’s sources of support or its ultimate fate.
Chernoe Znamia (The Black Banner)

This APAG also sought to overthrow the Russian government and to replace it with a free communal society. It was particularly active in the frontier provinces of the west and south of the Russian Empire. Its primary activities were assassinations, bombings, extortion, and weapons seizures. Chernoe Znamia came into being in 1903, but no information is available as to what happened to it. I was also unable to locate any information about its sources of support.

Bolsheviks

This group sought to overthrow the Russian regime (both under the Czar and under the provisional government) and establish a Communist regime. The Bolsheviks split off from the other Marxists in 1903, but they did not begin engaging in armed activities until 1905. Their primary activities consisted of assassinations, bombings, guerrilla attacks, and robberies. In 1917, they became the government of Russia. The Bolsheviks were active throughout Russia. The Bolsheviks did cooperate somewhat with Anarchist movements, although their ideologies were opposites of each other. During the First World War, the Germans provided some support to the Bolsheviks, most notably in that they assisted Lenin’s return to Russia.

SR Combat Organization (Boevaia Organizatsiia)

This group sought to overthrow the Czarist regime through targeted political assassinations of key leaders. It also engaged in arson, extortion, guerrilla attacks, robberies, and sabotage. Although the SR Combat Organization had Socialist tendencies,
it concerned itself with all exploited classes rather than with the proletariat exclusively. The SR Combat Organization had links to many social revolutionary groups in Russia, as well as to the Armenian Dashnaktsutiun. Lacking a state sponsor, the SR Combat Organization supported itself by robberies and extortion. The SR Combat Organization was founded in 1901 and lasted until 1905, when it was disbanded by the political party with which it was associated.

**Late 20th Century Caucasus**

This region includes APAGs in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Chechnya. The break-up of the Soviet Union unleashed ethnic conflict in this region, and most of the parties were either represented exclusively by APAGs, or they sponsored one or more APAGs in addition to using their regular armies. One reason for this is that the region was made up of new states that had just gained their independence with the fall of the Soviet Union. Most did not have established professional armies, and so APAG sponsorship provided an opportunity for them to develop an army of sorts. Some of the APAGs in this region represent ethnic groups that have no independent state to this day, so they do not possess professional armies and have to rely upon APAGs to promote their interests.

APAG activity began in the region with Armenia. Even before the break-up of the Soviet Union, Armenians were organizing for independence and to have the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh transferred from the Azerbaijani Soviet to the Armenian Soviet. This led to the creation of several APAGs, some of which continued to operate in independent Armenia. Several APAGs also came into existence to represent
the Azeris around this time. The war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which broke out almost immediately after these two states became independent, included a number of APAGs on both sides that assisted in the fighting.

APAGs also arose quickly in the independent state of Georgia. Muslim separatists fought for their independence in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. These APAGs received considerable support from Russia, which sought to bring independent Georgia more completely under its control. Georgia itself also sponsored a militia that represented its interests.

In Russia itself, APAG activity centered around the Chechens. Chechen separatists fought for independence, while Russia sponsored rival Chechen warlords that agreed to support union with Russia if they gained power. The Chechen situation presented an interesting paradox in terms of coding. Because Chechnya is not recognized as an independent state, Chechen groups are considered to be based on Russian territory. The Russian government, however, did not have full control over this region for much of the time period in question. At times, Russia would be supporting a Chechen APAG that sought to replace a Chechen leader. Since Chechnya cannot be listed as the target state, because it is not recognized as a state, the target state had to be Russia. In this case, Russia was both the sponsor and the target of this particular APAG. This indicates that some APAGs will have to be assessed at the sub-state level in terms of their sponsors or targets.
Armenian Revolutionary Federation

This APAG represented ethnic Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh and fought Azeris in this province. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation achieved joint control of Karabakh in the early 1990s. The first reports about the Armenian Revolutionary Federation date from 1992, although some scholars argue that the group had existed in exile since the 1920s. Since I could not positively establish this, I have chosen to date its formation as 1992, the year that it first appeared in Armenia. Its last reported activity occurred in 1999, and I assume that it is still in existence. This group is involved in assassinations and war, both conventional and guerrilla. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation supports itself through the narcotics trade and other illegal activities. It is linked to the Hai Heghapokhakan party in Armenia, but I could not establish whether or not it receives support from the Armenian government.

Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (A.S.A.L.A.)

This APAG emerged as a Marxist group in 1975. It has consistently sought to establish an independent Armenia, and when this goal was achieved in the early 1990s, the A.S.A.L.A. turned its attention to adding land that was populated by ethnic Armenians to Armenia proper. In its early years (from its formation until the mid-1980’s), A.S.A.L.A. concentrated on attacking Turkey for two reasons. First, it sought to take revenge for the Armenian genocide of 1915. Second, it sought an independent Armenia on land that currently belongs to Turkey. At this time, A.S.A.L.A. was supported by the Soviet Union, Syria, Iraq, and a number of Middle Eastern APAGs, such as the PKK and some of the Palestinian groups. After the break-up of the Soviet
Union, A.S.A.L.A. relocated to Armenia and began receiving the support of the Armenian government. It turned the bulk of its attacks against Azerbaijan. A.S.A.L.A. relocated its headquarters to Nagorno-Karabakh and changed its name to The Army of Nagornyy Karabakh. It is assumed to be still in existence, as it was continually engaging in operations up until the cut-off point of the data collection (2003). Its primary activities are assassinations, bombings, and guerrilla war.

Armenian National Army (ANA)

This APAG was very short-lived; it was formed and disbanded in the same year (1990). Its purpose was to provide defense for ethnic Armenians against the Azeris in the Caucasus and against the central government in Moscow. The ANA engaged mostly in ambushes and weapons seizures. It was supplied by weapons seizures from departing Soviet troops. When the Soviet Union unraveled, the Armenian National Army was disbanded by the Armenian Supreme Soviet and most of the ANA’s members were eventually incorporated in the regular army of the newly independent Armenian state.

Karabakh Army

This APAG was one of the most influential in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Its main purpose was to fight for Nagorno-Karabakh’s independence from Azerbaijan, but it engaged Azerbaijan in fighting in other areas as well. Its primary activity was war, both conventional and guerrilla. The Karabakh Army allegedly received financial and material support from the Armenian government, and it also seized weapons from departing Soviet troops. The Karabakh Army emerged in 1992, and by 1994 it had
effectively gained control of Nagorno-Karabakh, leaving it in possession of 20% of Azerbaijan’s territory by the end of the war. The Karabakh Army was still in existence, although not actively fighting, as of the summer of 2003.

_Azerbaijani Popular Front (APF)_

This APAG represented the Azeris in their conflict with Armenia. It sought to secure Nagorno-Karabakh as a non-autonomous part of Azerbaijan. After Armenia and Azerbaijan became independent of the Soviet Union, the Azerbaijani Popular Front organized a blockade of Armenia in order to prevent Armenia from aiding Nagorno-Karabakh. The APF also engaged in ambushes, armed protests, violent strikes, and the destruction of border installations. The APF maintained a particularly strong presence in the Nakhichevan province of Azerbaijan. The APF came into existence in 1989, following disturbances in Nagorno-Karabakh. It was incorporated into the government of Azerbaijan in 1992, when it became a political party. One of its candidates eventually won the presidency of Azerbaijan.

_Temporary Council (Vremmenyi Sovet)_

This Chechen APAG, led by Avturkhanov, opposed the Chechen president Dudayev. It favored union with Russia rather than independence. Not surprisingly, this APAG received open support from the Russian government. The Temporary Council operated in a loose alliance with the Chechen warlord Lahazanov. The group operated in Chechnya around Nadterechnyi. It existed from 1994 until late 1995, at which time it
voluntarily disbanded. The group’s name has also been translated as the Interim Council. Its primary activity was war, both conventional and guerrilla.

*Chechen National Congress*

This Chechen APAG was also relatively short-lived. It was formed in November of 1990 in Grozny and had become a Chechen political party by 1991. It sought to establish Chechnya as a state independent of Russia. It engaged in guerrilla attacks, armed protests, and war against Russia. It did not have any state sponsors, but it did have resources in the form of its leader’s personal fortune as well as weapons that it had stolen from retreating Russian soldiers. This group was also called Gantemirov’s National Guard and the All-National Congress of Chechen Peoples.

*Labazanov’s Militia*

This group operated in Chechnya, particularly around Argun. It opposed the Chechen president Dudayev. Its primary activity was war, but it was not clear whether it was involved in conventional war, guerrilla war, or both. The group received support from the Russian intelligence services because it was seen as a rival to Russia’s enemy, the Chechen separatists. The group also had a loose alliance with Vremmenyi Sovet. Labazanov’s Militia was founded in 1994 and was eliminated in 1996 when Labazanov was assassinated.
**Gantemirov’s Militia**

This Chechen APAG was led by Gantemirov, formerly of the Chechen National Congress. This group also opposed Chechen president Dudayev and received support from Russia. It existed from 1994 to 1996, and it participated in war during this time. It was eventually installed as a puppet government in Russian-controlled Chechnya. Gantemirov was arrested and imprisoned on corruption charges by the Russian authorities in 1996, leading to the dissolution of his militia.

**Congress of Peoples of Ichkeria and Dagestan**

This Chechen APAG sought to pressure the Chechen proto-government to insist on full independence. It also sought to form an Islamic republic which would include independent Chechnya and Dagestan. It was supported by wealthy Muslim patrons, had links to the Wahhabi movement in Dagestan, and allegedly had links to Osama bin Laden. This group organized a number of spectacular hostage-takings in Russia, including one that occurred in a hospital in southern Russia in 1995, and one that occurred in a Moscow theater in mid-October 2002. It also trained fighters and sent them to fight on behalf of Muslims in diverse places such as Chechnya and Yugoslavia, among others. The group was founded in 1998 and is probably still in existence. It has been mentioned as existing in reports as late as August of 2003. While the group was mainly concentrated in Chechnya and the Russian Caucasus more generally, it also sent fighters to conflicts to fight on behalf of Muslims throughout the world, in the former Yugoslavia, for example.


**Supreme Military Majlisul Shura of the United Forces of the Caucasus Mujahedin**

Very little information is available about this group, which is also known as the United Force of Caucasian Mujahideen. It fought against the Russians in Chechnya, but its precise founding date, as well as any information regarding its system of financial and material support, remain unknown. It was led by Basaev, who was also the leader of the Congress of Peoples of Ichkeria and Dagestan and the mastermind of several spectacular terrorist attacks within Russia.

**Battalion of Kamikaze Shahid**

This was another Chechen APAG run by Basaev. No additional information is available regarding its years of operation or its sources of support.

**Caucasus Confederation**

This group is also known as the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus and the Confederation of Caucasus Mountain Peoples. It was founded in 1990 and is probably still in existence. Its last reported activity occurred in the spring of 2002. Its primary activities are bombings and war, both conventional and guerrilla. The Caucasus Confederation is active throughout the Caucasus, particularly in Chechnya, Abkhazia, and Ossetia. It supports nationalist and separatist movements throughout the Caucasus and opposes any conciliation with Russia. It seeks to recreate the pre-Soviet Mountain Republic of the North Caucasus. It has sent fighters to Chechnya to fight against the Russians and to South Ossetia and Abkhazia to fight against the Georgians.
Abkhazia – Interior Forces

This group sought Abkhazian independence from Georgia. It was considered to be the armed forces of the unrecognized state of Abkhazia, and it engaged in both conventional and guerrilla warfare. The Interior Forces emerged in 1992, and they became part of the Abkhazian government in 1993. I was unable to establish what support from or links to other states this group might have.

White Legion

This Georgian militia fought both the Abkhaz and the Russian peace-keeping troops in Abkhazia. It was involved in bombings, guerrilla attacks, kidnappings, landmine laying, and sabotage. It sought to keep Abkhazia as a part of Georgia. It emerged in late 1996, and its first action was reported in 1997. It was still active as of the summer of 2003. The White Legion was allegedly sponsored by Georgia, but it confined its operations to Abkhazia. The White Legion was particularly active in hostage-taking.

Zviadists

This Georgian APAG represented supporters of ousted Georgian president Gamsakhurdia. It was allegedly sponsored by Russia, which sought to make the current Georgian government more pliable. By sponsoring the current government’s rivals, Russia hoped to force this government to make concessions. The Zviadists also benefited from weapons seizures in Abkhazia. The Zviadists also received some support from Abkhazian officials, who refused to cooperate with Georgian efforts to combat the movement. The Zviadists emerged in Grozny, Chechnya in late 1991. They became
particularly strong in western Georgia. Although their leader, Gamsakhurdia, has committed suicide, the group may remain in existence. The last violent incident in which it participated was throwing rocks at the police on May 26, 2001. The Zviadists’ primary activities included kidnappings, landmine laying, hostage-taking, and both conventional and guerrilla war.

**Late 20th Century Balkans**

This region includes the former Yugoslavia and Albania. Like the late 20th century Caucasus, this region erupted into violence following the collapse of Communism in the late 20th century. During the first part of the 1990s, most of the violence centered on Bosnia, where Serbs, Croatians, and Muslims fought each other for control and territory. The Serb APAGs were generally the strongest, and many of them received strong support from the Serbian government. Croatian APAGs also received some support from newly independent Croatia, and some Bosnian Muslim APAGs received support from Middle Eastern countries.

At issue in the conflicts in the Balkans was how to divide up Yugoslavia and its many ethnic enclaves. While Slovenia withdrew from Yugoslavia relatively peacefully, Croatians and Serbs fought each other over how to divide up Croatia. Bosnia was even more difficult to divide, as its population was mixed, with Bosnian Muslims being a plurality of the inhabitants, and Serbs and Croatians representing a substantial portion of the population. As was the case in the Caucasus, because the states in question were new and did not have very effective organized armies, they relied on APAGs to carry out their policies.
The conflict in Bosnia had wound down by 1995. In the late 1990s, ethnic conflict continued to occur in the Balkans, this time between ethnic Albanians and Serbs. It is interesting to note that at this time, Serbia did not rely upon APAGs to carry out its program. Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo did organize APAGs that fought the Serbs, however. Ethnic Albanians also organized an APAG in Macedonia that fought the Macedonian government. At issue in both cases were Albanian enclaves that the Albanians hoped would become independent, or at least gain autonomy.

**Bosnian Serb Army (BSA)**

This group, also known as the Army of the Serb Republic in Bosnia, broke off from the Yugoslav National Army in May of 1992. It existed until 1995, when it became the armed forces of a (for all intents and purposes) independent Serbian state in Bosnia. The Bosnian Serb Army was a Serb paramilitary group that fought both Croatians and Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia and engaged in ethnic cleansing. It operated in Bosnia and received support from the government of Serbia.

**Arkan’s Tigers**

This group, also known as the Serb Volunteer Guard, the Arkanites, and Arkanovci, was one of the most powerful APAGs representing the Serbs in the wars in the Balkans. Arkan’s Tigers was a Serbian nationalist group that fought both Croatia and Bosnia. It participated in both conventional and guerrilla warfare, and it also engaged in ethnic cleansing. The Tigers were supported by both Milosevic’s secret police and by the Serbian state generally. They operated in Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia, and they fought
alongside the Yugoslav army in Croatia and Bosnia as well as participating in massacres and ethnic cleansing. They emerged during the late 1980s, and they are not mentioned as being in existence after the war in Bosnia ended in 1995. I assume that they disbanded around this time.

*White Eagles*

This Serb para-military emerged in 1991 and existed until the end of the war in Bosnia in 1995. The White Eagles fought against both Croatians and Muslims in Bosnia. In addition to engaging in warfare, the White Eagles also participated in sabotage. It was affiliated with the Serbian National Renaissance Party. It operated in Bosnia and in those areas of Serbia which were populated by non-Serbs.

*Chetniks*

Also spelled as Cetniks, this Serbian para-military emerged in 1990. Like the other Serbian para-militaries, it fought against both Croatia and Bosnia. The Chetniks opposed the Communist government of Yugoslavia and favored the return of the monarchy. They sought the deportation of non-Serbs from Serbian territory. This group was linked to the Serbian Radical Party, but I did not identify any other sources of outside support. The Chetniks engaged in war and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia. I assume that they disbanded at the end of the war in 1995, since they are not mentioned in the literature after this time. The Chetniks’ primary activities were war, both conventional and guerrilla, sabotage, and ethnic cleansing.
**Krajina Army**

Also known as the Serb Army of Krajina, this Serb para-military fought Croats (primarily) and Muslims during the Yugoslav wars. It received support from the Serbian regular army and from the Serbian government. The Krajina Army broke off from the Yugoslav National Army in 1993. It existed until 1995, when it was eliminated due to losses to Croatia and waning support from Serbia. It operated in Serb-populated areas of Croatia, and primarily in Krajina.

**Croatian Defense Council (HVO)**

This APAG was a Croatian paramilitary group that fought in Bosnia. At first it was allied with the Muslims against the Serbs, but it began fighting the Muslims in 1993. The Croatian Defense Council received support from the Croatian government, from wealthy Croats in Western Europe, and from the HOS paramilitary. Prior to 1993, it also received support from the Muslim Bosnian Army. The Croatian Defense Council was formed in the very early 1990s (1990 or 1991) and existed until 1995, when it became part of the armed forces of independent Bosnia. It operated in both Bosnia and Croatia.

**Croatian Liberation Force (HOS)**

This Croatian APAG was an ally of the aforementioned HVO. The Croatian Liberation Force was a fascist para-military that fought against both Serbs and Bosnian Muslims. It sought to establish a greater Croatia which would include parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vojvodina, and Montenegro. It received more limited support than HVO.
received. The Croatian Liberation Force’s only known outside supporter was the Croatian neo-fascist political party Hrvatska stranka prava. HOS was founded in 1991, and no mention of it is made after 1993, so I assume that it disbanded sometime around that time. It took part in many activities, including war, ethnic cleansing, and massacres in Croatia and Bosnia.

**Green Berets**

This APAG was a Muslim para-military that fought both Serbs and Croatians in Bosnia. It was linked to a political party, the Muslim Party of Democratic Action. The Green Berets was founded in 1991 and is not mentioned after 1993. I assume that it disbanded some time in 1993.

**Alija’s Army**

Alija’s Army was another Muslim para-military that fought Serbs and Croatians. It was also known as the Muslim Army and the Muslim Bosnian Army. It addition to engaging in war, Alija’s Army also participated in ambushes. It existed from 1992 until 1995 and operated only in Bosnia. While not linked to any political party in Bosnia, it did receive financial and material support from Muslim countries, most notably Iran.

**Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)**

This APAG sought to win autonomy or independence for Kosovo, and may have sought the eventual union of Kosovo with Albania. The group existed from 1993 until 1999, when it voluntarily disbanded, and its function was taken over by other groups.
The KLA operated both in the Kosovo province of Serbia and in Albania. The KLA received state support from Albania throughout its existence, and from the United States from 1998-1999. It also received material and financial assistance from the Albanian diaspora, the narcotics trade, and from wealthy Muslims in other countries. The KLA’s primary activities included ambushes, assassinations, bombings, guerrilla attacks, and kidnappings.

National Liberation Army (NLA)

This Albanian APAG emerged from the recently disbanded Kosovo Liberation Army in 2001. It sought to protect the rights of ethnic Albanians wherever they were threatened. It fought against the government of Macedonia, which it claimed was oppressing its ethnic Albanian minority. Its primary activity was guerrilla attacks. The NLA existed as an APAG until 2003, when it transformed into a non-violent group. It operated primarily in Macedonia and Kosovo. It was supported by the Albanian government, by wealthy Albanians in the diaspora, by the resources of the disbanded Kosovo Liberation Army (most of which had originally come from the West), and by extortion and smuggling. The National Liberation Army operated bases in Kosovo, but without official sanction.

Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac (UCPMB)

This group also emerged from the Kosovo Liberation Army, in 2000. Its primary activities were ambushes and guerrilla attacks. It transformed into a non-violent group in 2003. UCPMB sought to gain independence for Kosovo and to establish it as a homeland
for ethnic Albanians from south Serbia and west and north Macedonia. It operated in Macedonia, especially in the Presevo Valley, and in southern Serbia. It received funding from wealthy Albanians, but did not have the support of any state or organized group.

Late 20th Century Eastern Europe

This region is actually more notable for its lack of APAGs. Only one APAG formed in this region, although the region also experienced the removal of the yoke of Communism at the same time as the other regions in this study. Ethnic minorities existed in many of the states in this region, and their presence did lead to some conflict, but not to large-scale violence or to the formation of significant numbers of APAGs. The reason for this is not entirely clear, but would make an interesting topic for future study.

Dniestr

This APAG operated in the Dniestr region of Moldova. It sought to remove this region from Moldova, and either to establish it as an independent state, or to unite it with Russia or Ukraine. Dniestr’s primary activities were ambushes and guerrilla attacks. The group emerged in 1992, and its last reported violent activities occurred in 1994. I believe that it is still in existence as a non-violent group. It received support from the Russian army and the Russian government.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described my data. I have included a summary of each APAG under study with the highest possible degree of detail about that APAG. I have
also discussed some patterns that I see in the data and speculated on what they might be
telling us about APAGs in various stages of their life cycle. At this point, I can offer no
rigorous tests of these patterns, because my data is simply too limited both in terms of the
number of APAGs identified and their limited focus in terms of time and space. I have
provided food for thought, however, for other scholars to consider as they look at
different aspects of this question.

I provide the reader with a broad overview of how many APAGs I found and
where these APAGs were located. I also discuss specific aspects of APAGs in some
detail, such as their relations with their state sponsor, their ultimate fate, their size, and
their goals. I provide my own view of the macro-level phenomena that contribute to
APAG formation, state sponsorship, and termination. While I lack the necessary data to
test these views, I hope that they will provide other scholars with a framework for
looking at APAGs, as well as questions to consider.

In the next chapter, I will shift to data analysis. I choose to look at the effects that
APAGs have on interstate relations, specifically on the likelihood that Militarized
Interstate Disputes and more violent forms of interstate conflict will occur. I shift from
offering explanations for APAGs’ existence to taking their existence as a given, and
looking at how it impacts the world of states around them. If I can demonstrate that
APAGs have a significant impact on the behavior of the states around them, it will
provide a further reason to study the questions related to APAGs’ existence in the future.
### Table 3.1

**Number of APAGs Present**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Caucasus</th>
<th>Balkans</th>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late 20th C.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 19th/Early 20th C.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.2

**APAG Formation Years (Groups Active during Study Period)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of APAGs Formed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prior to 1890</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1895</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-1900</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1905</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-1910</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1915</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior to 1990</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-1995</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-2000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2003</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APAG Fate</th>
<th>Number of APAGs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Still in Existence</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Became Part of Government</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faded Away</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntarily Disbanded</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defeated and Eliminated</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Became Non-Violent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merged with Another Group</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Existence</th>
<th>Number of APAGs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than One</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One to Four</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five to Nine</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten to Fourteen</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen or More</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3.5

**APAG Size**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size Range</th>
<th>Early Period</th>
<th>Later Period</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 100</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-999</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-9,999</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 or More</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information Available</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.6

**APAG Goals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Early Period</th>
<th>Later Period</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secession/Autonomy</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irredentism</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regime Change</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

Research Design & Hypotheses

Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss how I used the data that I collected to test hypotheses about how APAGs affect international conflict. Many of the variables that I discussed collecting in Chapters 2 and 3 will not be included in these empirical tests. The way that I have structured my data sets some limits of what characteristics of APAGs I can include in my empirical tests. I have included information about all of the data that I collected in the previous chapters in order to give the reader an idea of what characteristics of APAGs could be studied in the future. In this chapter, I will discuss in more detail those variables that I will test in the next chapter.

I will begin by discussing the dependent variables, and describing the data that I use to measure these variables. I will explain why I have chosen to operationalize the variables in the way that I have. I will then discuss the independent variables. I will again explain in detail the operationalizations that I used, and provide some descriptive statistics about both the dependent variables and the independent variables. I will also include a section on control variables and a section on other variables. In the “other variables” section, I will include information on how I might operationalize some of the variables that I am not going to use in this analysis. The purpose of this is to give the reader some ideas as to how some of the other data that I collected could be used in the future. I will explain in this section why I am not going to use these variables in the present analysis. I will continue with a section on the methodology of the study.
I will next turn to developing a theory of how APAGs affect the onset and the escalation of interstate disputes. I discuss the impact that I expect the presence of an APAG in one or both members of the dyad to have on dispute onset and escalation. After I have discussed the role that I expect APAGs to play in a general way, I will provide a number of specific hypotheses about the relationship between APAGs and dispute onset and escalation that will be tested in the next chapter. I will explain the rationale behind each hypothesis and explain how it relates to the overall theory of the relationship between APAGs and states.

**Operationalization of Variables**

**Dependent Variables**

I will consider the effects of APAGs on two different categories of dependent variables: interstate dispute onset and interstate dispute escalation. In both cases, I will use the Militarized Interstate Dispute (MID) project’s data set to provide the data for the dependent variables. (See Ghosn, Palmer, & Bremer 2004; Ghosn & Bennett 2003; and Jones, Bremer, & Singer 1996) This data includes a report of every instance of a threat, display, or use of military force by one country against another. In addition to indicating that a militarized dispute between two countries occurred on a particular date, the data also includes some information about how the dispute was resolved, and whether it escalated. I will use this data to determine whether a dyadic-level interstate dispute occurred in a particular year between two participants, and whether such a dispute escalated.
In the case of dispute onset, using the MID data set to measure this dependent variable is straight-forward. I can use the MID project’s measure as is to determine whether or not a dispute occurred. Although disputes occur infrequently within the sample, they are common enough that I will have sufficient data for statistical analysis. In the case of dispute escalation, measurement is much harder. There is more than one way that dispute escalation could be measured. The most intuitive, perhaps, is whether or not the dispute led to a war. Using this measure is problematic, however, for reasons that I will discuss in a later section. I have decided to use some other measures that are available through the MID data. While not perfect, I hope that by including more than one measure of escalation, I will discover the overall relationship between APAGs and dispute escalation. I will discuss the measures of dispute escalation in more detail in a later section.

**Dispute Onset**

In the first part of my analysis, I consider the effects that APAGs have on the likelihood that there will be an occurrence of an interstate dispute. The analysis will have a binary dependent variable which represents the occurrence or non-occurrence of a MID. I will use as my sample all of those pairs of states (hereafter referred to as dyads) in which both states exist in the region that I have selected for the sample population. The sample population includes all states in Central and Eastern Europe during the periods 1890-1914 and 1990-2003. The unit of analysis will be the dyad-year, meaning that there will be an observation for every pair of states where both states fall into the sample region for each year of the sample. In practice, some states enter or exit the system
during both of these periods, so that the list of independent states in the region at one point in the sample may not be exactly the same as the list would be at a later point. I will include states as they enter the system according to the rules defined by the Correlates of War project, and they will be dropped from the sample when they exit the system. The list of which countries fall into the region is provided in Chapter 2, along with the reasons that those countries were selected.

The unit of analysis is the non-directed dyad year, meaning that there will be one observation for each pair of countries in the sample each year. The alternative is to use directed dyads, in which there would be two observations for each pair of countries per year, one in which each country was the potential initiator of a dispute. Directed dyads are used to test theories that consider which state is more likely to be the initiator of a dispute. For example, if I believed that states that sponsor APAGs are more (or less) likely to initiate disputes than other states, I could use directed dyads to test this. Using non-directed dyads, as I have, only tells me how APAG sponsorship (or being the target of an APAG) affects a state’s overall likelihood of being involved in a dispute. It says nothing about whether this state is more likely to be the initiator or the target of a dispute.

In an ideal situation, I would be able to predict whether the APAG’s sponsor was more likely to be the initiator or the target of a dispute, or whether APAG sponsor had the same likelihood of initiating a dispute as other states. This is very difficult to do in practice, because of the rules governing how the data is collected and how the initiator and the target are identified. The state that is considered to be the initiator of a dispute is the state that took the first militarized action in the dispute. In a case that involves APAGs, determining which state was the initiator becomes more murky.
If a state sponsors an APAG and that APAG takes some action against another state, this would not count as an interstate dispute under existing rules. Disputes involving surrogates are not considered to be interstate disputes unless one of the states retaliates by taking militarized action against the other state. As a concrete example, Israel experienced numerous attacks by Hizbullah over the course of the 1990s. Since Hizbullah was based in Lebanon, Israel generally retaliated by taking some sort of militarized action against Lebanon. According to the MID project’s coding, in this case, Israel would be the initiator of the dispute and Lebanon would be the target. When the role of Hizbullah is taken into account, however, it appears that Israel is the target and Lebanon (or at least Lebanon’s proxy group) is the initiator. It could then be asked whether the Lebanese government is in control of Hizbullah, or whether the initiator should be one of the states that is more active in providing Hizbullah with support (i.e. Syria or Iran). (See Byman 2003 and the Economist article 2005)

On the other hand, I could argue that APAG sponsors are more likely to be the initiators of disputes under present MID project coding rules. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, which was discussed in detail in the previous chapter, is credited by many historians with pressuring the Bulgarian government to adopt a more hawkish policy vis-à-vis Macedonia, and hence causing Bulgaria to be the initiator of disputes with the surrounding countries over Macedonia. Examples similar to the above abound. A case could be made that APAG sponsors are more likely than are other states to be the target of a dispute, and a case could be made that they are more likely to be the initiator of a dispute. Since very little previous work has been done on this topic, I thought it wise to forego speculation on the directionality of disputes. Instead, I will
concentrate on how APAGs’ presence affects the overall likelihood of conflict occurring. Determining whether sponsoring (or being the target of) an APAG has a significant effect on a state’s propensity to become involved in interstate conflict will present enough of a challenge for the present. If it is established that states that sponsor (or are the target of) APAGs are more likely to become involved in conflict, then more research can be done later to determine the exact mechanism by which this occurs.

Using non-directed dyad-years for my sample gives me 4,393 total cases, in which a dispute occurred in 141 cases (slightly more than 3% of the sample). Due to the presence of missing values in the independent variables, I end up with 4,117 cases of which 138 represent disputes (again, about 3% of the sample). When I divide the data and look at the 1890-1914 period in isolation, I have 1,138 dyad-years (cases) of which 52, or slightly more than 4.5% experience dispute onset. In the sample from the 1890-1914 period, no cases are lost due to missing values, so I end up with 1,138 usable cases. In the 1990-2001 period, I begin with 3,255 cases, of which 89, or 2.7%, experienced dispute onset. I lose slightly fewer than 300 cases because of missing values, and I wind up with an N of 2,979 cases in the 1990-2001 period, of which 86, about 2.9%, experienced dispute onset.

**Dispute Escalation**

In the second part of my analysis I look at the effects that APAGs have on the likelihood that the disputes that do occur between states will escalate. To measure dispute escalation, I would like to use the occurrence of an interstate war as the dependent variable. The MID data includes information on whether a particular dispute
escalated into full-scale war, and this is the most obvious measure of dispute escalation. Using escalation to interstate war as the dependent variable is problematic, however, because there were no interstate wars in Europe at the end of the 20th century. Organized mass violence in Europe during this period was confined to internal and civil wars, and these would not be suitable to study under a dyadic framework. Although there were a number of interstate wars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, I decided against using a dependent variable for which there would be no variation for at least half of the sample. Although the sample is small enough when I confine myself to those dyad-years that experienced a dispute that I am not able to separate the sample out into two periods, I still want to avoid using a measure for which there is no variation in the 1990-2001 period. The reason that I used data from two distinct periods is that I wanted to demonstrate that APAGs have similar effects on dispute onset and escalation over time. If there are no examples of dispute escalation in one of the periods under study, I will not be able to establish whether or not APAGs affect dispute escalation similarly over time.

Instead of using interstate war as the measure of escalation, I have decided to use three different operationalizations for escalation, the data for which can be obtained using the data from the MID project, and all of which will provide more variation on the dependent variable. These three operationalizations are the presence of fatalities in a MID, the use of force in a MID, and reciprocation in a MID. All three are binary variables.

In looking at dispute escalation, I will use the full sample only; I will not divide up the sample into the 1890-1914 and 1990-2001 periods. The sample of disputes from which I draw my data on escalation is much smaller than the sample of all dyads, since
only a very small percentage of dyads experienced a dispute. To cut down on the sample further, by dividing it into two periods, would eliminate any explanatory power that the data had, because the sample size would be so small. The unit of analysis will be the dispute, and the operationalizations of dispute escalation will be as follows.

**Presence of Fatalities**

In terms of fatalities, the MID data includes a number of categories for the approximate number of fatalities in a dispute, as well as the precise number of fatalities, if known. Previous works have used fatalities as a measure of the severity of conflicts. (See Moul 1994; Bercovitch & Langley 1993; and Cioffo-Revilla 1991) Fatalities have also been used to determine the amount of collective violence occurring in a society. (Thompson 1989)

I have decided to divide the fatalities data into a binary variable, with the presence or absence of fatalities being the important factor, rather than the precise number of fatalities. Since the MID project keeps data only on military fatalities, this is the measure that I will use. It is possible that some of the disputes that are coded as having no fatalities actually did involve some civilian fatalities, but I do not have access to this information. The MID project considers a dispute to be a war when there are at least 1,000 military fatalities. While a reasonable threshold, it is not based on any particular theory. Therefore, it is reasonable to look at the fact that military fatalities were present in a dispute as having crossed a threshold of escalation. Other criteria could be used, for example, the presence of 100 or 500 military fatalities, but I chose to use the presence of
any military fatalities because any numerical threshold would be somewhat arbitrary and I wanted to allow for the maximum amount of variation on my dependent variable.

The presence of fatalities in a dispute naturally implies that this dispute was particularly intense. However, in many cases, fatalities occur in one attack or clash and the dispute does not continue. Therefore, if escalation is viewed as occurring only when disputes become increasingly heated over a period of time, then the presence of fatalities would not necessarily represent escalation, although it could. On the other hand, if escalation is viewed as occurring in disputes that are particularly contentious, whether they began on a highly contentious level or whether they reached this level over a period of time, then the presence of fatalities would represent a good measure of escalation. Since my argument focuses on the fact that I believe that dyads that involve APAGs will engage in more contentious disputes than dyads that do not, measuring escalation in terms of the presence of more highly contentious disputes is workable. I will code the presence of fatalities as a dichotomous variable, coded “zero” if no fatalities occurred and coded “one” if one or more military fatalities occurred. In the sample, about 29% of the cases involve fatalities of some kind. There are 41 cases of MIDs that involve fatalities out of 141 total cases (dyads in which a dispute occurred).

Use of Force

In terms of the use of force, precise data is available through the MID data. Many previous studies have used the use of force as their dependent variable. (See McLaughlin Mitchell & Moore 2002; Gelpi 1997; and James & Oneal 1991) The data includes five possible levels of hostility in each dyad: no militarized action, threat to use force, display
of force, use of force, and war. The use of force thus represents the next highest level of disputes, after war. I will code all cases of either “use of force” or war as uses of force in my binary dependent variable. All others will be coded as representing no escalation. This measure is not a perfect one for escalation. In fact, I believe it to be the weakest of the three operationalizations that I suggest for dispute escalation. Many disputes begin with a use of force, and hence do not represent escalation in the sense that escalation means that a dispute is becoming increasingly hostile over time. If escalation is seen as representing disputes that reach higher levels of hostility, however they come to that point, then the use of force is a good measure of escalation. While uses of force can be very short-lived and include few if any fatalities, they still represent more serious disputes than mere threats. Since I was not able to use the onset of an interstate war to measure escalation, which I believe to be the most straightforward measure, I have included multiple measures for escalation. I included the use of force as a measure of escalation because I preferred to have as many measures as possible, but I expect it to be a weaker measure than the other two measures that I propose.

The data provided by the MID project on the use of force is similar to the data on fatalities. MIDs can involve the threat, display, or use of force, with the use of force representing the highest level of hostility. While clearly MIDs that involve the use of force are more severe than MIDs that involve only the threat or the display of force, many MIDs involving the use of force do not meet all of the criteria necessary to be considered wars. The MID project codes disputes as to their contents, and it includes the use of force and war as the two highest levels of dispute. (See Ghosn, Palmer, & Bremer 2004) I will use this measure to develop a dichotomous variable which will be coded
“zero” if the dispute included only the threat or display of force, and “one” if the dispute included the use of force. The use of force is employed more commonly than the presence of fatalities. Overall, the use of force occurred in 54.6% of cases where MID onset occurred (77 cases out of a total of 141).

Reciprocation

Reciprocation has also been used to measure dispute escalation. (See Prins & Sprecher 1999 and Siverson & Tennefoss 1984) In terms of reciprocation, the data gives the level of hostility for each country in the dispute separately. The levels of hostility do not necessarily need to be identical in both participants, and in many cases, they are not. In a case where one country threatens to use force against another country, but the other country does nothing, the threatening country would have a hostility level of 2 (representing the threat to use force) but the target state would have a hostility level of 1 (no militarized action). In the case of reciprocation, both states in the dyad would have to have taken some militarized action, although they would not necessarily need to have experienced the same level of hostility. In order to code this variable, I divided all of the cases into two categories, those in which both states had taken some militarized action and those in which only one state took militarized action. Reciprocation does imply that a dispute is becoming more intense over time. The other measures of escalation will pick out those disputes that are most intense, but they do not necessarily demonstrate that the dispute is becoming worse over time. Reciprocation, while it does not necessarily determine that each state is taking more hostile actions against the other, at least implies that the target state is reacting to the actions of the initiator state in the dispute. In the
sample of all disputes, I found that 44 out of 141 disputes (or a little more than 30%) involved reciprocation.

**Independent Variables**

**Presence of APAG(s) where One Member of the Dyad is the Sponsor and the Other is the Target**

This variable will be coded dichotomously using the data that I have collected, which is discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3. For each APAG that I identified, I listed its sponsor state(s) (if any) and target state(s). I coded this binary variable, the “presence of APAG(s) where one member of the dyad is the sponsor and the other is the target”, as a “one” if one member of the dyad sponsored an APAG that had the other member of the dyad as a target. In all other cases, the variable was coded “zero”. Included in the “zero” code were those dyads in which neither state was an APAG sponsor or target, as well as those dyads in which one of the states was a sponsor or a target, but the APAG was unrelated to the other country in the dyad. In some cases, an APAG had either multiple sponsor states, multiple target states, or both. In these cases, I considered the APAG to function at this level in any dyad that is made up of one of the sponsor states and one of the target states regardless of whether or not other sponsor or target state(s) existed.

In the full sample, looking at dispute onset, there are 165 cases of APAGs existing where one state in the dyad was the sponsor and the other was the target, out of a total of 4,393 cases (APAGs where the sponsor and target were both in the dyad represent about 3.75% of total cases). Looking at the 1890-1914 period only, there are 102 cases where APAGs are present with one member of the dyad as the sponsor and the other as the
target, out of a total of 1,138 cases (dyads where APAG sponsors and targets are both present represent almost 9% of cases in this sample). Looking at the 1990-2001 period only, there are 63 cases where an APAG’s sponsor and target are both present in the dyad, out of a total of 3,255 cases (cases where one member of the dyad is the sponsor of an APAG and the other is the target represent slightly less than 2% of cases in this sample). Changing the focus to dispute escalation presents a different pattern. Dyads in which APAGs are active are disproportionately represented among those dyads that experienced a dispute. Of 141 cases where dispute onset occurred, 37 of them (or about 25%) had APAGs active where both the APAG’s sponsor and its target were present in the dyad.

**Presence of APAG Sponsor or Target in the Dyad**

In looking at the presence of APAGs in dyads were only one member is involved with the APAG, I will use the same information that I used to look at their presence when both members of the dyad were involved with the APAG, except that I will include some APAGs that would not have met the criteria for inclusion using the above measures. I will include a measure of whether either state in the dyad (or both states in the dyad) is a sponsor or a target of an APAG. These variables will again be dichotomous. The “Sponsor” variable will equal “one” when at least one member of the dyad was an APAG sponsor, and the “Target” variable will equal “one” when at least one member of the dyad was an APAG target. These variables will include dyads where the other state was the target or sponsor of the APAG, as well as dyads where the other state had no relation to the APAG. I will use these variables to determine whether APAGs only have an effect
on disputes between states that have a direct connection to them, or whether they also affect disputes between their sponsor state (or target state) and other seemingly unrelated states.

In the full sample, at the level of dispute onset, there are 2,086 cases where at least one member of the dyad is the target of an APAG, out of a total of 4,393 cases. This means that in slightly less than half of the cases (47.5%) at least one of the members of the dyad is an APAG target. Looking at the 1890-1914 period only, there are 671 cases of at least one member being an APAG target, out of a total of 1,138 cases, meaning that 59% of the total cases involve an APAG target. In the case of the 1990-2001 period only, there are 1,415 cases where at least one member of the dyad is an APAG target, out of a total of 3,255 cases, or 43.5%. In terms of dispute escalation, there are 141 total dyads where dispute onset occurred, and 117 of them had at least one member which was an APAG target. This means that 83% of all dyadic-level disputes involved at least one state that was an APAG target.

The presence of an APAG sponsor in the dyad is slightly less common, which is understandable given that some APAGs do not have any state sponsor while all APAGs by definition have at least one target state. In the full sample, there are 1,733 cases of at least one member of the dyad being an APAG sponsor (39.5% of the total cases). In the 1890-1914 period, there are 730 cases (slightly less than 2/3 of the total), and in the 1990-2001 period, there are 1,003 cases of the presence of APAG sponsors (31% of the total). APAG sponsors are also more highly represented in dyads that experience dispute onset than in dyads which do not. Almost two-thirds (92 cases out of 141 total cases) of dyad-years where dispute onset occurred involved at least one state that was an APAG sponsor.
Number of APAGs Sponsored By State or Targeting State

I developed this variable to look at the effect that being targeted by or sponsoring multiple APAGs might have on a state. I determine the number of APAGs that a particular state either was targeted by, on the one hand, or sponsored, on the other hand, during the same years. If a state is targeted by multiple APAGs, it does not necessarily follow that they are all sponsored by the same state, or even that they all have state sponsors. By the same token, if a state is sponsoring multiple APAGs, it is not necessary that they all focus on the same issue or even that they all target the same country. What I am interested in here is the aggregate number of APAGs that the member of the dyad is either targeted by or sponsoring.

In the case of target states, a little more than a third (58 out of a total of 165) of the dyads involved states that were targeted by only one APAG, at the level of dispute onset. 18% were targeted by two APAGs, slightly more than a quarter were targeted by four or five APAGs, and only 9% of the dyads involved a state that was targeted by six APAGs, the maximum number in the sample.

Looking at the 1890-1914 period only, there is a bi-modal distribution, with slightly more than a quarter of the dyads in question having a state being targeted by either one or four APAGs. Slightly less than 9% of the sample was targeted by 6 APAGs, which were the maximum number. Looking at the 1990-2001 period, almost
half (49.2%) of the dyads involved a state that was targeted by only one APAG. Another 24% were targeted by two APAGs, and only 9.5% were targeted by size APAGs.

Looking at dispute escalation, I find that slightly more than a third of the states that experienced dispute onset were targeted by two APAGs. 21.6% were targeted by only one APAG. The remainder, about 44%, were targeted by more than two APAGs.

In the case of APAG sponsors, there were always fewer APAGs involved. The maximum number of APAGs that any state sponsored at one time was three, and this occurred only in about 3.5% of the total cases (6 out of a total of 165), at the level of dispute onset. More than three-quarters (77.6%) of the dyads involved an APAG sponsor that sponsored only one group, while slightly less than 20% involved a state that sponsored two.

During the 1890-1914 period, 82% of the dyads where APAG sponsors were involved featured a sponsor of only one APAG, while about 18% involved a sponsor of two. This pattern continues in the 1990-2001 period, where 70% of all dyad-years where an APAG sponsor was involved featured a sponsor of only one APAG, 20% of these dyad-years involve a sponsor of two APAGs, and 10% of these dyad-years involve a sponsor of three APAGs. At the level of dispute escalation, I find that almost two-thirds of the dyads that experienced dispute onset were composed of a state sponsor that sponsored only one APAG. A little more than a quarter of the dyads where dispute onset occurred involved a state sponsor of two APAGs, and about 8% involved a state sponsor of three APAGs.

Other Variables
As I mentioned in the introduction, I collected data on a number of variables that represented characteristics of APAGs. Rather than lump all groups into one category, I separated them by some of the characteristics that they possessed. While I was able to collect this data, I will not be able to use much of it for this analysis. The difficulty comes in the dyadic framework of my analysis. The unit of analysis is the dyad-year, rather than the APAG. In quite a few cases, more than one APAG is operating in a dyad at the same time. If I tried to divide dyads between those where large APAGs were operating and those where small APAGs were operating, for example, it would be problematic in the case of a dyad in which both a large APAG and a small APAG were operating. Similar problems could be found with most of the other variables related to APAG characteristics.

One possible solution to this problem would be to make the APAG the unit of analysis. I could then look at how the different characteristics of APAGs make some more likely to act as catalysts for conflict, while others are less likely to play that role. The difficulty with this approach is in gathering and evaluating data. It is hard to determine in practice whether a particular APAG actually “caused” a dispute or war. Although many disputes have the actions of APAGs as their ostensible cause, it is hard to determine exactly what this means. In the case of the First World War, for example, numerous APAGs were operating within the two original belligerents (Serbia and Austria-Hungary) and other APAGs were operating in other countries that eventually became belligerents in this war. It is often argued that the Black Hand started World War I with its assassination of the Austrian Archduke in Sarajevo. Many other factors, however, contributed to the outbreak of the First World War, and I think that it is not
possible to determine exactly how much of the blame should be placed on the Black Hand.

What I hope to accomplish with this empirical analysis is to determine whether APAGs’ presence in a particular country or dyad affects the probability that a dispute will occur and/or escalate. While I expect that different types of APAGs will affect conflict differently, I will leave aside these differences for the moment and assume that all APAGs behave in the same way. If I demonstrate that APAGs have enough of an effect on conflict to be empirically interesting, then I can consider ways to include characteristics of APAGs, such as size, length of existence, goals, etc. in more detailed research in the future.

**Control Variables**

**Capabilities Ratio**

This ratio demonstrates the difference between the material capabilities of the two members of the dyad. (See Singer, Bremer, & Stuckey 1972 and Singer 1987) The data comes from the Correlates of War project National Capabilities data. A Composite Indicator of National Capacity (CINC) score is calculated from data on the country’s amount of six indicators: military personnel & military expenditure, iron & steel production & energy consumption, and total population & urban population. The capability score for each member of the dyad is reported. The ratio is determined by dividing the capability score that is larger by the total of the two capability scores. A high score means that this state is much more powerful than the other state in the dyad, while a low score indicates that the members of the dyad approach parity.
A state’s capabilities compared to those of its potential adversary are an important factor in determining whether or not conflict will erupt between them, for obvious reasons. There is debate in the literature over whether a balance of power between states or a preponderance of power in the hands of one state is the best situation for preserving peace. (See Moul 2003; Morton & Starr 2001; Wayman 1984; Morgenthau; and Organski & Kugler 1980) Nevertheless, power capabilities will definitely have some sort of an effect on potential adversaries’ decisions about whether or not to engage in conflict.

In looking at dyads where APAGs are involved, relative capacity is an interesting phenomenon. It is possible that states that are much weaker than their potential adversaries are more likely to sponsor APAGs, because they hope to use APAGs as a covert means of attacking their adversary without provoking an attack from a much more powerful adversary. If this is the case, and the sponsor’s strategy is successful, I would expect to see very few disputes occurring in dyads where there is a large discrepancy between the power capacities of the two states. It is also possible that APAGs tend to attach themselves to weak states, and that these states prove a tempting target for the target state to retaliate against. Fighting APAGs directly is difficult for most states, and it may be more attractive to the target state to take action against the sponsor state. If this is the case, then I would expect conflict to become more likely as the power capacities of the two states diverged.

**Joint Democracy**

This variable will be coded with data from the Polity project. (See Jaggers & Gurr 1996) Polity gives each country a democracy score from 1-10 each year. Scores of
7 or above are generally considered to indicate the presence of a democratic government. I receive the raw scores from Polity and then create a dummy variable for joint democracy which is coded “1” if both states in the dyad score a 7 or above in terms of democracy.

The relationship between democracy and APAGs is an interesting empirical question. Ample evidence exists that democratic countries are less inclined to go to war against each other, the so-called “democratic peace”. (See Chan 1997; Levy 1989; Russett 1990; Rummel 1983; and Small & Singer 1976) It would be possible to extrapolate from this that democracies are inherently more peaceful, and hence they would be less inclined to sponsor terrorist groups. APAGs include groups that might not necessarily be considered terrorist groups per se, and so they are more likely to have some democratic sponsors. Nevertheless, extremely violent APAGs, which I would expect would be more likely to act as catalysts for disputes, might have a hard time receiving support from democracies. The people of a democracy could object to a policy of supporting a violent group that threatens to provoke conflicts with their neighbors. If this is the case, then APAG sponsorship should be rare in democratic dyads, and hence conflict will be less likely to occur.

Alliance

Whether or not an alliance exists between two states should have an important impact on whether or not conflict erupts and escalates between two states. The convention wisdom is that two states that are allied with each other would not engage in conflict since they would have similar foreign policy goals. (See Gulick 1995;
On the other hand, some scholars have argued that an alliance may actually make conflict more likely since it will provide arenas for the two states to disagree. (See Christensen & Snyder 1990; and Siverson & Starr 1991; Vasquez 1993) I include this variable as a control while remaining open about the effect that I would expect it to have.

The data on alliances comes from the Correlates of War alliance data set. (See Gibler & Sarkees; Singer & Small 1966; and Small & Singer 1969) The data includes three possible types of alliances: defense pacts, neutrality or non-aggression pacts, and ententes. These are coded from one to three with a defense pact representing the highest level of alliance.

**Distance**

Similar to contiguity, the distance between states would be expected to play an important role in their likelihood of engaging in conflict. States that are geographically close to each other have more potential for getting into conflict. Conflict is also easier to sustain when two states are close to each other. Close proximity makes it easier to send troops and supplies to another country, making conflict more feasible. For this variable, I use Correlates of War data, which determines distance as the distance between the capitals of the two countries.

Correlation matrices of the control variables are provided at the end of the chapter in Tables 4.1 through 4.4. Table 4.1 shows the correlation matrix for the control variables using the full sample. Table 4.2 shows the correlations for the escalation sample only. This sample comprises those dyads that experienced dispute onset. Table
4.3 presents the correlation matrix for the onset sample for the 1890-1914 period only, and Table 4.4 shows the correlation matrix for the onset sample for the 1990-2001 period only. None of the correlations are particularly high, indicating that this is not an issue for the analysis.

Methodology

I will use logistic regression with robust standard errors for all of my data analysis since I am using dichotomous dependent variables in all of my tests. I will begin by assessing the effects of APAGs on MID onset. First, I will assess the overall impact of APAG presence on dispute onset. I will use all dyads in the appropriate sample, and include the presence of an APAG where either both members of the dyad or only one member of the dyad is connected with it as an explanatory factor. I will also look at the number of APAGs involved in a dyad as an explanatory variable in the case of dispute onset.

I will then consider the impact of APAGs on dispute escalation. I will use three different dependent variables to measure escalation, which were discussed in a preceding section. I will run one test using each of the measures of escalation as the dependent variable, and I will compare whether or not the results are similar or different using the three measures. I will use as my sample all dyads in which a MID occurred, whether or not there were any APAGs present.

I will convert the coefficients from my logistic regressions into predicted probabilities. I will estimate how much the change in various independent variables changes the probability of a dispute occurring, or of dispute escalation occurring. I will
compare the predicted probabilities of conflict using various combinations of independent variables.

**Theory & Hypotheses**

**APAGs and Dispute Onset**

In the past, APAGs have played an important role in the onset phase of some Militarized InterState Disputes (MIDs). MIDs are defined as disputes between one or more states in which the threat, display, or use of military force is employed against another state. An example of APAG involvement in such a dispute is the dispute that eventually became the First World War. The background to this dispute was that members of an APAG, the Black Hand, assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne. This action led to a conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, because Austria-Hungary argued that the Black Hand was supported by Serbia. A MID began when Austria-Hungary issued an ultimatum to Serbia demanding that members of the Black Hand be extradited to Austria-Hungary for trial and threatening the use of military force if Serbia did not comply with this request. More recently, a MID occurred between the United States and Afghanistan because of the Taliban government’s refusal to hand over al-Qaeda leaders following al-Qaeda’s attack on the United States on September 11, 2001. Currently, the MID project does not include any information at all about the APAGs’ role in these and other MIDs. I think that this is an important weakness in the current data, and that considering the role of APAGs will provide useful insight into the causes of Militarized Interstate Dispute onset.
I will concentrate on the role that APAG presence plays in dispute onset. In my empirical analysis, I will consider whether the mere presence of an APAG in a dyad (or monad) has an effect on the likelihood of dispute onset. I will not consider the relative power of the APAG, but merely the question of whether there is one present or not. To date, there has not been any empirical analysis of the effects that APAGs (or terrorist groups, insurgent movements, etc.) have on international dispute onset, so this is the logical place to start. Once it can be established that APAGs do, indeed, have an effect on the likelihood of MID onset, it will be appropriate to discuss how this effect could vary among APAGs.

**APAGs and Dispute Onset where Both APAG Sponsor and APAG Target are Present in the Dyad**

APAG activities where both the state sponsor and the target are present in the dyad are the most intuitive catalyst for dispute onset. In this case, an APAG that is sponsored by one state takes an action against a target state. The target state then retaliates against the state sponsor by initiating a dispute. It is also possible that the state sponsor would initiate a dispute against the APAG’s target in order to protect the APAG.

*Hypothesis 1:* A MID is more likely to occur in a dyad that consists of an APAG sponsor and target than in any other dyad.

**Presence of APAG Sponsor or Target in the Dyad**
APAGs could also have an effect on dispute onset when only an APAG sponsor or target is present. The reasons that this could happen are not as clear as the reasons that APAGs would affect dispute onset when both the sponsor and the target are present in the dyad. While there is a clear reason that an APAG sponsor and target would get into a dispute with each other, the reasons that an APAG sponsor would get into a dispute with another state are not as easy to understand. Nevertheless, I think that sponsoring an APAG could lead a state to be more likely to become involved in disputes with states other than the direct target of the APAG.

While an APAG’s target has a clear reason for coming into conflict with the APAG’s sponsor, the target state may have allies that would also engage in conflict against the sponsor state on the target’s behalf. An example of this is the response of Britain and other NATO countries to the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States. Even though these states were not themselves the target of the attacks, they did engage in a dispute against the sponsor state (Afghanistan) that was related to the sponsor state’s involvement with APAGs.

Countries that are the targets of APAGs would also have reasons to be more likely to experience MID onset. Following the logic of diversionary conflict, governments might hope that by engaging in conflict with other countries, they will unite their own people against the APAG. Conversely, countries that are the targets of powerful APAGs may be attractive targets of other countries because they are perceived as being weak.

*Hypothesis 2:* A MID is more likely to occur in a dyad where there is an APAG operating
within the territory of at least one member of the dyad than in a dyad where there is not an APAG operating within either state’s territory.

I do not have a reason to think that the effect will be systematically different depending on whether the state in question is the sponsor or the target of the APAG; therefore, I assume that the effect will be approximately the same for sponsors and targets. I do, however, expect that the overall effect of APAGs when only the sponsor or the target is present will be less important than their effect when both the sponsor and the target are present in the dyad. In the latter case, there is a clear reason that the two states would come into conflict over the APAG; in the former case, the logic requires more of a stretch to understand why conflict would occur.

**Multiple APAGs**

Another important factor to consider is the effect that multiple APAGs targeting or being sponsored by a single state would have. In the case of states that are targeted by APAGs, almost one quarter of the states in the sample are targeted by more than one APAG. In the case of sponsors, only a small number sponsor more than one APAG, but many of these states that sponsor multiple APAGs appear to be particularly conflict prone. From the historical research that I have done so far, it appears that the longer a conflict lasts and the more intractable it becomes, the more likely it is that multiple APAGs will come into being around it.

I expect that the greater the number of APAG sponsored by a state in the dyad or targeting a state in the dyad, the higher the likelihood of a dispute occurring will be. The
presence of multiple APAGs also provides more opportunities for conflict to occur. If we assume that there is a certain amount of chance involved in whether an APAG’s attack will be successful and whether its sponsor will face retaliation, then the greater the number of APAGs carrying out attacks, the greater the probability is that one of them will succeed.

Hypothesis 3: A MID is more likely to occur in a dyad where there are multiple APAGs being sponsored by a member of the dyad or targeting a member of the dyad than when there is only one APAG being sponsored by or targeting a member of the dyad.

**APAGs and Dispute Escalation**

While APAGs can act as a catalyst for dispute onset, I believe that they can also impact dispute escalation or the lack thereof. Specifically, I believe that in some cases APAGs’ presence will make it more likely that a particular dispute will escalate to war. APAGs form an important part of the domestic “audience” for each state that is engaged in a conflict. Recent work on the effects of domestic politics on conflict has demonstrated that domestic politics are important for explaining escalatory behavior during conflicts.

In cases where APAGs are present, I expect that they would have a disproportionately large impact on their government’s behavior. Robert Putnam (1993), in his theory of the relationship between domestic politics and international agreements, argues that even a small number of citizens may have a strong influence on their
government’s behavior if they are capable of and willing to use violent action; however, he never develops this point. I think that APAGs can have a powerful effect on escalating conflict because in some cases they have the power to mount a credible threat against their own government if it concedes too much in an agreement. As Putnam demonstrates, agreements are harder to reach in cases where a domestic audience takes an extreme position and has the ability to hold the government to it. In the case of disputes, escalation is more likely to occur in cases where no agreement can be reached between the two states involved.

APAGs, by their presence and the threats that they can make against their own government if it concedes too much, can prevent agreements that would have been acceptable to both states had there been no APAGs involved. Also, I argued in the previous section that APAGs themselves may act as a catalyst for inter-state disputes. In these cases, the APAG would have a very strong incentive to use whatever resources it has to prevent cooperation, since cooperation in this case would almost certainly mean the demise of the APAG.

In the previous chapter, I mentioned that I would use three different operationalizations for dispute escalation. I will consider the presence of fatalities, the presence of the use of force, and the presence of reciprocation in the dispute as indications of dispute escalation. I expect that all three measures will react in the same way to the independent variables. I plan to demonstrate the robustness of the independent variables’ impacts on escalation by using the three different measures.
APAGs and Dispute Escalation where the Dyad Consists of an APAG Sponsor and Target

I believe that dyads where an APAG sponsor and its target are both present will have similar experiences in dispute escalation and dispute onset. In cases where a dispute occurs in a dyad consisting of an APAG target and sponsor, I expect the APAG to put pressure on its sponsor not to accept compromise agreements with the target state. In almost all cases, the APAG in question has a more radical goal than the state sponsor is willing to adopt. Therefore, a compromise that might be acceptable to the sponsor state might not be acceptable to the APAG. The APAG, which has the means to use violence against the target state, may turn and attack the sponsor state (or its leaders) in order to prevent a compromise that is unacceptable to the APAG. Furthermore, the fear of retribution from an APAG for an unacceptable compromise may cause the sponsor state’s leaders to refuse a compromise that they might have accepted had the APAG been absent.

In many cases, the APAG itself is the cause of the dispute. For example, after the al-Qaeda attacks against the United States in September 2001, the United States demanded that Afghanistan hand over top al-Qaeda leaders or face retribution. In an earlier example, the dispute that led to the First World War began after the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne by a Serbian-sponsored APAG in Sarajevo. Austria-Hungary demanded that Serbia had over the militants or face war. In both cases, the state sponsor did have some incentive to comply with the target state’s demand. The sponsor state was facing war with a much more powerful country that had the ability to put an end to their regime. They were (at least technically) offered a reprieve if they
would dismantle the APAG, which on the surface would not affect the sponsor state’s government directly.

As in the case of political compromises that are unacceptable to the leadership of the APAG, having the state sponsor dismantle the APAG would certainly meet with fierce resistance. The state sponsor may be unwilling to take action against the APAG because it fears retaliation. Therefore, the sponsor refuses to cooperate with the target’s demands, and this leads to dispute escalation.

**Hypothesis 4:** A MID is more likely to escalate in a dyad that consists of an APAG target and sponsor than in other dyads.

**Dispute Escalation when an APAG Sponsor or Target is Present in the Dyad**

APAGs may also influence dispute escalation when only the sponsor or the target state is present, although this seems less certain than that APAGs would influence dispute escalation when the dyad includes both the sponsor and the target. As I mentioned in the section on APAGs and dispute onset, APAGs’ targets may bring other states into the dispute. Since APAGs have the ability to sabotage cooperation and make their sponsors’ policies more radical, their presence should lead most disputes to be more escalatory in nature. If the dispute is with a state that is not the APAG’s declared target, but is related to the target in some way, the escalatory nature may relate to it as well.

In the case of APAG targets, a case could be made that they would be either more or less likely to experience MID escalation. I think, however, that the case for them being more prone to escalation is more persuasive overall. The argument for APAG
targets being less prone to escalation would say that the target wants to conserve its resources for fighting the APAG directly and does not want to get into escalatory conflict with another state. Conflict with other states would take away resources from combating the APAG and might even give the APAG more arguments to use against the target.

Conversely, there are also important reasons why being the target of an APAG could lead to an increase in MID escalation. When a country experiences severe attacks at the hands of an APAG, it will be strongly inclined to seek retaliation. While it would make the most sense to seek retaliation against the APAG directly, or against the state that sponsored it, this is not possible in all cases. It is difficult for a state to fight an APAG directly, particularly because it is not always possible to locate the APAG. It is not always clear which country or countries are sponsoring a particular APAG, and the APAG’s target may suspect some country of sponsoring the APAG even if it actually did not. This could lead to escalatory disputes between the target and the suspected sponsor, even though the suspected sponsor was not an actual sponsor, and hence the dyad does not really consist of the APAG’s sponsor and target. Following the logic of diversionary war, it is possible that a state that is the target of an APAG will be more likely to become involved in escalatory conflict with other states because it wants to appear to be doing something about the violence that is occurring. Conflict with another state could distract citizens from the problems associated with the APAG.

**Hypothesis 5:** A MID is more likely to escalate in a dyad where there is an APAG operating within the territory of at least one member of the dyad than in a dyad where there is not an APAG operating within either state’s territory.
Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a research design for the empirical results that I will present in the next chapter. I have discussed in detail the dependent, independent, and control variables that I will use in my analysis. I have also discussed the methodology of the study. Finally, I have provided an overall framework for looking at research questions related to APAGs and interstate relations. I have provided five specific hypotheses about APAGs and interstate conflict. Three of these hypotheses relate to APAGs and dispute onset, and the other two hypotheses relate to APAGs and dispute escalation.

I had two main goals in this chapter. The first was to provide the research design that I will test in the next chapter. The second was to discuss avenues of research that could be pursued in the future. Because of the way that I structured my data, in addition to the limitations imposed by my relatively small sample size, there were many interesting questions that I was not able to put to an empirical test. I provided some commentary on these questions, however, to give the reader some ideas as to where research on APAGs could go in the future. In the next chapter, I will provide the results of my empirical tests. While these represent potential answers to only a portion of the questions that I have considered in this chapter, they also represent the first attempt to systematically study the effects that APAGs have on international relations at the dyadic level.
### Table 4.1 Correlation Matrix of Control Variables for Full Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Joint Democracy</th>
<th>Capacity Ratio</th>
<th>Alliance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Democracy</td>
<td>0.1135</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity Ratio</td>
<td>0.2244</td>
<td>0.0412</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance</td>
<td>-0.0087</td>
<td>-0.0179</td>
<td>0.0120</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.2 Correlation Matrix of Control Variables for Escalation Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Joint Democracy</th>
<th>Capacity Ratio</th>
<th>Alliance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Democracy</td>
<td>-0.0176</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity Ratio</td>
<td>0.0321</td>
<td>-0.0870</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance</td>
<td>0.2014</td>
<td>-0.0903</td>
<td>0.0850</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.3 Correlation Matrix of Control Variables for 1890-1914 Period Only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Joint Democracy</th>
<th>Capacity Ratio</th>
<th>Alliance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Democracy</td>
<td>0.1164</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity Ratio</td>
<td>0.0680</td>
<td>-0.0973</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance</td>
<td>0.1814</td>
<td>0.0438</td>
<td>0.0485</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.4 Correlation Matrix of Control Variables for 1990-2001 Period Only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Joint Democracy</th>
<th>Capacity Ratio</th>
<th>Alliance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Democracy</td>
<td>0.0464</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity Ratio</td>
<td>0.2818</td>
<td>0.1034</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance</td>
<td>-0.0757</td>
<td>-0.0809</td>
<td>0.0057</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

Results

Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the results of my empirical tests. I will begin by discussing my findings related to APAG presence and dispute onset. I will then look at the number of APAGs present in a dyad, and how this affects dispute onset. Finally, I will look at the effects of APAG presence on dispute escalation.

Because my dependent variables were all dichotomous, I used logit models to test them. Therefore, my coefficients do not have easily understandable interpretations. I will use predicted probabilities to interpret my coefficients. I will consider the change in the predicted probability of dispute onset (or dispute escalation) given the presence or absence of an APAG and, in some cases, the number of APAGs involved in the dyad.

In the first part of my analysis, where I look at dispute onset, I look at the various periods separately, and present the results from each as well as from the combined data. I also present the results separately for each measure of dispute escalation. I conclude each section with an overview of the results for that section, as well as any thoughts that I have on future directions for that aspect of APAG research. I end with a conclusion that discusses the results overall, and suggests some directions for future research. The tables of results are included at the end of the chapter, as well as a summary table that presents the overall results and compares them against my original expectations.
**APAGs and Dispute Onset**

Tables 5.1 through 5.3 show the correlation matrices for the principle independent variables. Table 5.1 displays the correlation matrix for the full sample, Table 5.2 displays the correlation matrix for the 1890-1914 period only, and Table 5.3 displays the correlation matrix for the 1990-2001 period only. None of the correlations are high enough to cause me to be concerned about lack of independence among the independent variables.

(Table 5.1)

(Table 5.2)

(Table 5.3)

Table 5.4 displays the results from the models of APAG presence and dispute onset. Overall, the models show support for the proposition that APAG presence has a significant, positive effect on the likelihood of dispute onset. Model 1 shows the effects that APAGs had in the data overall, including all dyads in the sample from the years 1890-1914 and 1990-2001. Model 2 shows the effects that APAGs had looking at the dyads from the 1890-1914 period in isolation, and Model 3 shows the effects that APAGs had in the dyads from the 1990-2001 period only.

(Table 5.4)

**The Full Sample**

Overall, I find strong support for the proposition that APAG presence has a significant and positive effect on the likelihood of dispute onset occurring. Looking at
APAG presence overall, I find that all three variables related to APAG presence have significant positive effects on the probability of dispute onset. There is a baseline probability of a dispute occurring of about 0.67%. This represents a dyad where there are no APAGs active, it is not a joint democratic dyad, and all other control variables are set to their means.

About one-third of the sample is composed of joint democratic dyads. These dyads are actually slightly more likely to experience dispute onset than are dyads that are not composed of two democracies. Going from a dyad where joint democracy is not present to a dyad where it is raises the probability of dispute onset from just over 2/3 of a percent to 1%. For non-joint democratic dyads, adding an APAG whose sponsor and target are both members of the dyad greatly increases the probability of dispute onset from 2/3% to 17.6%. If the countries in the dyad are both democratic, the probability rises to 25%.

Slightly less than 2.5% of the dyads where an APAG was active and its sponsor and target were members of the dyad were joint democracies. Therefore, I would assume that the “typical” dyad in which an APAG is active is not a joint democratic dyad. Following this convention, I find that the “typical” dyad in which an APAG is present along with its sponsor and target will have a 17.6% chance of experiencing dispute onset. This is much higher than the probability for a similar dyad where no APAG is active (over 80% of the non-joint democratic dyads in the sample do not involve both the sponsor and the target of an APAG).

APAGs also have significant positive effects on the likelihood of dispute onset occurring when only APAG sponsor or targets are involved in the dyad. For non-joint
democratic dyads, having one member of the dyad be the target of an APAG more than triples the probability of dispute onset, from 0.67% to 2.6%. In terms of APAG sponsors, the effect is still statistically and substantively important, although smaller. For a non-joint democratic dyad, the probability of dispute onset rises from 0.67% with no APAG present to 1.2% when one member of the dyad is an APAG sponsor.

1890-1914

Looking at the two periods separately, I find similar patterns to the results from the full sample, although the results are more muted. In the 1890-1914 period, APAGs continue to have a statistically significant, positive effect on the likelihood of the occurrence of dispute onset if both the sponsor state and the target state are present in the dyad, but APAGs where only the sponsor or the target state is present do not have a statistically significant effect for either APAG sponsors or APAG targets. For a non-joint democratic dyad with no APAGs, the baseline probability of dispute onset is 3.3%. Adding an APAG whose sponsor and target are both members of the dyad to this baseline raises the probability to almost 9%. Adding an APAG sponsor or target to a scenario in which the control variables are set to their means does not produce much of a substantive change in the predicted probability of dispute onset (the probability remains between 2.7% and 3.6%), indicating that APAGs in the 1890-1914 period had neither a statistically significant nor a substantively important impact on interstate disputes when the sponsor and target states were not both present.

Joint democracy has no statistically significant effect in the 1890-1914 period, and only 2.4% of all dyads in the sample are jointly democratic. Adding an APAG where
the sponsor and target states are members of the dyad to a joint democratic dyad more than doubles the likelihood of dispute onset, leading to an increase from a 4.5% chance of dispute onset to an almost 12% chance of dispute onset.

1990-2001

In the 1990-2001 period, all three variables related to APAG presence regain their statistical significance. The joint democracy variable also regains its significant, positive effect on dispute onset, and joint democratic dyads become more important substantively, representing 45% of the sample during the 1990-2001 period. The baseline probability of dispute onset for a non-joint democratic dyad with no APAGs present is very low, only about 0.2%. Adding an APAG where the sponsor state and target state are both members of the dyad to this dyad raises the probability of conflict to almost 29%.

In the case of joint democracy, there are more examples of APAGs being active along with both their sponsor and target states than there were in the 1890-1914 period. About 6% of the APAGs with both their sponsor and target states in the dyad in the 1990-2001 period were present in joint democratic dyads. There is a baseline probability of conflict occurring of about 0.5% in a joint democratic dyad with no APAGs. Adding an APAG that has a sponsor and target state present in the dyad to this dyad increases its propensity for dispute onset to almost 50%.

As I mentioned previously, the effect of APAG sponsors and targets regain their statistical significance in the 1990-2001 period. For non-joint democratic dyads, the likelihood of conflict increases from 0.2% when no APAGs are present, to almost 2% when an APAG target is one of the members of the dyad, and to 0.5% when an APAG
sponsor is a member of the dyad. For joint democratic dyads, the probability of conflict increases from a baseline of about 0.5% (with no APAGs), to 4.5% when an APAG target is a member of the dyad, and to 1.3% when an APAG sponsor is present in the dyad.

Overview

Hypothesis 1 from Chapter 4, about APAG presence in dyads with their sponsors and targets and dispute onset, receives overwhelmingly strong support from the data. In all possible cases, having an APAG active that had both its sponsor and target states in the dyad had a statistically significant, positive effect on the likelihood of dispute onset. Hypothesis 2, about APAG sponsor or target presence and dispute onset, also receives some support from the data. Both the presence of APAG sponsors and the presence of APAG targets lead to an increase in the probability of dispute onset both overall and in the 1990-2001 period. It was only in the 1890-1914 period that the results were insignificant for APAG sponsors and targets.

Going into the project, I had expected to find stronger support for Hypothesis 1 than for Hypothesis 2. It is easier to understand intuitively why an APAG would be the catalyst for an increase in the number of interstate disputes when the dyad consists of its state sponsor and target than it is to understand why an APAG sponsor or target that is unrelated to the other state in the dyad would be associated with such an increase. In the case of APAG sponsors and targets, I made some arguments about why they might be associated with an increase in the number of disputes, but I expected these to be less important than the explanations of APAGs’ effects when looking at dyads where both countries were involved in the APAG’s activities. What I did not expect, however, was
to find that APAG sponsors and targets had an impact on interstate disputes in one period but not in the other.

Two explanations are possible. The first is that the sample is too limited to make comparisons between the two periods. Although neither sample was particularly small in terms of cases (the smaller sample contained 1138 cases) the samples contained data from only one region, and this may have constrained the data. While I would not want to make any generalizations about the effects of APAG activity in terms of APAG sponsors or targets based on such a geographically limited sample, I believe that there is another, better explanation for why APAGs had a strong, positive impact on dispute onset in the 1990-2001 period but not in the 1890-1914 period. Since the sample from the 1990-2001 period was roughly three times as large as was that of the 1890-1914 period, this may have caused the overall results to resemble those of the 1990-2001 period rather than those of the 1890-1914 period.

The reason that I believe that APAG sponsors and targets in the 1990-2001 period were more likely to have an effect than were APAG sponsors and targets in the 1890-1914 period is that APAGs in the contemporary period are less self-contained than were APAGs a century ago. Contemporary APAGs tend to have wider ambitions and connections than did the APAGs of an earlier period. I found evidence that some Chechen and Bosnian APAGs had ties to al-Qaeda and other militant Middle Eastern groups. Many Middle Eastern APAGs have even wider ambitions, carrying out attacks against the United States and other Western states, while claiming that their main goal(s) pertain to politics in the Middle East. While my data ends in 2001, and hence does not include very much of the “War on Terrorism” (and most of my data is from a region that
has been less important for the War on Terrorism than the Middle East or Asia), it does appear that modern APAGs tend to have far-flung ambitions that could be perceived as a threat by countries that are not officially considered to be one of the APAG’s target states.

By contrast, in the earlier period, APAGs engaged in very few actions against states other than their one or two target countries. Therefore, third party countries would be less likely to see them as a threat and hence less likely to take action against them. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), which I discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, was a Bulgarian and Macedonian APAG that targeted, at various times, the Ottoman Empire, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. It was actively involved in at least three wars, and was one of the most powerful and longest-lived of the APAGs in the sample. However, I have found no evidence that it engaged in any activities against any of the countries of Western Europe, even though several Western European countries played an active role in depriving IMRO of its territorial ambitions. The Black Hand, one of the most successful APAGs in this period (at least in terms of fomenting conflict), focused entirely on targeting Austria-Hungary and Serbia’s Balkan neighbors who tried to deprive Serbia of its territorial ambitions in Macedonia. These APAGs, despite their power, were not perceived as a threat by any states other than their target states, and so there was no reason for a third party to come into conflict with their state sponsors on the APAG’s account.

There are several reasons why modern APAGs would be less self-contained than were their predecessors, and it is not clear to me which reason is the most important. Perhaps all of the explanations are equally valid. As the world becomes more integrated
overall, it becomes more difficult for any phenomenon, from disease to social movements to war, to remain contained within a small area. APAG leaders have access to modern methods of travel and communications, and hence it is more possible for them to engage in activities in a wider geographic area than it was a century ago. APAG leaders also have greater access to information than did APAG leaders in the past, because of improved communications. This gives the leaders access to information about conflicts in other parts of the world that they may want to participate in out of conviction, or that they may want to exploit for their own cynical purposes.

In addition to having greater access to a wider geographical area, it appears that modern APAGs are more likely to have wider ambitions than did the APAGs of a past era. This is particularly true of Muslim or Islamic APAGs, which can draw on support from other APAGs (and sometimes governments) from many parts of the Islamic world. While most of the APAGs in both parts of my sample were more likely to be connected with nationalism than with religion, I did find some evidence of religiously-based APAGs in the 1990-2001 period, while I found none in the 1890-1914 period. A religiously-based APAG would inherently have a wider field of possible supporters than would a nationally-based APAG, because there would be more states that would have the potential to agree with the goals of the APAG. A Serbian nationalist APAG, for example, would most likely only appeal to other Serbs, and this would greatly limit the number of countries to which this APAG could look for support. An Islamic APAG, on the other hand, could potentially appeal to Muslims, and Muslim governments, in a few dozen countries, because there are multiple Muslim-majority countries in the world.
It is possible that APAGs with religious connections are more likely to come in to conflict with third parties, because these third parties see them as an indirect threat. If a particular country is threatened by a religiously-based APAG, it may actively seek to undermine other APAGs that have a basis in the same religion, even if these APAGs are not targeting this particular state directly.

Modern states are also more likely to see terrorism as a global threat rather than as something that only affects them when they are one of the designated targets. Recently, the American military has engaged in operations against terrorists in the Philippines, and the United States is at least tacitly supporting Russian anti-terrorist campaigns in Chechnya. Neither the Philippine nor the Chechen APAGs have engaged in any direct attacks against the United States, but since they are linked to al-Qaeda, the United States sees them as a threat. Even before the beginning of the War on Terrorism, states tended to look at terrorism as a global problem that needed to be dealt with at the international level, rather than as a problem that could be confined to dyads where APAGs were active in both members of the dyad. For all of these reasons, it has become harder to contain the activities of APAGs in recent years, and they are now likely to influence interstate conflicts both in cases where only an APAG sponsor or target is present in the dyad and in cases where both states are present in the dyad. APAGs’ influence is still most important, however, in cases where both the sponsor and the target states are members of the dyad.
**APAG Number and Dispute Onset**

Tables 5.5 through 5.7 display correlation matrices for the data from this part of the analysis. Table 5.5 contains the full sample, while Table 5.6 contains data from the 1890-1914 period only, and Table 5.7 contains data from the 1990-2001 period only. None of the correlations are sufficiently high to be a cause for concern for my analysis.

(Table 5.5)

(Table 5.6)

(Table 5.7)

Table 5.8 displays the results from the models that look at the number of APAGs involved in a dyad and dispute onset. The results show some support for Hypothesis 3, particularly in the 1990-2001 period. As in the previous table, Model 4 shows the results from the full sample, Model 5 shows the results from the 1890-1914 period only, and Model 6 shows the results from the 1990-2001 period only.

(Table 5.8)

**The Full Sample**

Overall, I find that as more APAGs are involved in a dyad, the probability of that dyad experiencing conflict increases. Multiple APAGs had a stronger effect in the case of APAG sponsors, but in the case of both APAG sponsors and APAG targets, the presence of multiple APAGs has a significant, positive effect on the likelihood of dispute onset occurring. This model has a baseline probability of a dispute occurring of about
1.4%. This represents a dyad where there are no APAGs active and all control variables are set to their means.

If one state in the dyad is the target of one APAG, the probability of dispute onset occurring rises to 1.57%. In the sample, the greatest number of APAGs that targeted a particular state at any one time was eight. If eight APAGs are targeting one of the states in the dyad, then the probability of dispute onset rises to 3.8%. In the case of APAG sponsors, if one of the states in the dyad sponsors one APAG, the likelihood of dispute onset rises to 2.5%. If the state sponsors three APAGs, the maximum number that occurred within the sample, the probability of conflict is 8%.

These probabilities assume that only APAG sponsors or targets are active. If one state in the dyad is the target of eight APAGs, and at least one of these APAGs is active in both the target and sponsor states, the probability of a dispute occurring becomes almost 16%. In the case of a sponsor that sponsors the maximum number of APAGs (3), and at least one of the APAGs is active in both members of the dyad, the probability of a dispute occurring rises to 29%.

Of course, real dyads contain many different combinations of APAG sponsors, targets, and APAGs that are active in both countries. It is hard to isolate a “typical” case for study. I have demonstrated, however, that as more APAGs become involved in a dyad, the probability of conflict rises. This is an important finding, because the converse could also be argued. It could be argued that when multiple APAGs are involved in a dyad, it is evidence that there is division among the APAGs in question. This would indicate that such APAGs are less powerful than are APAGs in which a single group represents the interests of the non-state actors. This would imply that having multiple
APAGs involved in a dyad would actually make conflict less likely (at least if you accepted the proposition that strong APAGs are more likely to be the catalyst for conflict than are weak APAGs). My findings indicate that as the number of APAGs involved in a dyad increases, the probability of conflict increases as well. Whether this indicates that the presence of multiple APAGs in a dyad implies increased APAG strength remains to be seen.

**1890-1914**

In the 1890-1914 period, neither the presence of an APAG sponsor nor the presence of an APAG target is statistically significant, although the presence of an APAG with both its sponsor and target state remains significant. This follows the pattern that was established in the models from the previous table. The substantive effects of APAG sponsors and targets are tiny as well. The baseline model, where no APAGs are present, has a 2% probability of experiencing dispute onset. With the maximum number of APAGs targeting a state (8), the probability only rises to 4%. The same pattern is in evidence in the case of APAG sponsors. In this part of the sample, the maximum number of APAGs sponsored by one state is two, in which case there is also a 4% probability of dispute onset.

In the case of APAGs that are present with both their target and sponsor states in the dyad, these do achieve statistical significance, although only at the 0.05 level, rather than at the 0.01 level, as in previous models. In the case where a state is the target of eight APAGs, and at least one of these is active in both of the states in the dyad, there is
an almost 9% chance of dispute onset occurring. Similarly, in the case of a state that is the sponsor of two APAGs, the chance of a dispute occurring rises to 9%.

1990-2001

Looking at the 1990-2001 period only, the effects of APAG sponsors and targets regain their significance, although APAG targets are significant only at the 0.05 level. The effects of APAGs that have both their sponsor and their target states in the dyad remain statistically significant in this model. The probability of a dispute occurring in a dyad with no APAGs is 1%. When one of the states in the dyad is targeted by one APAG, this probability rises only very slightly, to 1.4%. In this part of the sample, the greatest number of APAGs to target one state in any one year was six. When six APAGs target one of the members of the dyad, the likelihood of conflict rises to almost 3%. In the case of APAG sponsors, sponsoring one APAG raises the probability of conflict to 2.2%, while sponsoring three APAGs (the maximum in the sample) raises the probability of conflict to 7%.

Conflict became particularly likely to occur in the 1990-2001 period when there were multiple APAGs involved, and at least one of these APAGs had both their sponsor and target in the dyad. When one state in the dyad was targeted by six APAGs, and at least one of these APAGs was active in both members of the dyad, the probability of conflict was 23%. When one state in the dyad sponsored three APAGs, and at least one of these was active in both states, the probability of a dispute occurring rose to 44%.
Overview

Hypothesis 3, which states that the presence of multiple APAGs will be associated with a higher probability of dispute onset, receives some support from the data, although it is not as strongly supported overall as are Hypotheses 1 and 2, about APAG presence and dispute onset. Looking at the full sample, I find that dyads where APAG sponsors or targets are present are more likely to experience conflict than are dyads where no APAGs are present. On the other hand, the effect of an APAG sponsor or target’s presence is much less important than is the effect when both members of the dyad are involved with the APAG. Being the sponsor of an APAG is more likely than being the target of an APAG to be associated with increased levels of conflict than is being the target of an APAG. Although APAG targets on average were associated with higher numbers of APAGs than were APAG targets, states that sponsored the maximum number of APAGs in the sample were still more likely to experience conflict onset than were states that were the target of the maximum number of APAGs in the sample.

In the 1890-1914 period, the effects of APAG sponsors and targets lose their significance. The number of cases in this sample is still relatively high, 1138, so I do not necessarily think that the lack of significance can be attributed to small sample size. I have theorized in the previous section about reasons that APAG sponsors or targets may have had less significant effects in terms of promoting conflict in the 1890-1914 period than they did in the 1990-2001 period. These reasons may well hold true as well for cases where multiple APAG sponsors or targets were present. If the presence of one APAG in a dyad does not increase the likelihood of conflict occurring, then it is less likely that having multiple APAGs engaged in that dyad will be the catalyst for increased
conflict. APAGs that are active in both members of a dyad do have a significant and positive effect on the probability of conflict in the 1890-1914 period, mirroring the effects that I found in the first part of the analysis.

In the 1990-2001 period, APAG sponsors and targets regain their significance, while APAGs that are active in both members of the dyad remain a significant factor in terms of promoting conflict. The pattern is similar to the overall pattern of multiple APAGs and conflict. Both APAG sponsors and APAG targets were more likely than states that had no involvement with APAGs to experience dispute onset. APAG sponsors were more likely than were APAG targets to experience dispute onset. The presence of APAGs that were present in both members of the dyad had a stronger impact on the likelihood of conflict than did the presence of APAG targets or sponsors on their own, even in the case of APAG sponsors. The marginal effects of APAG presence were greatest in the 1990-2001 period, indicating that their presence is becoming a more important phenomenon over time.

The results of this section and the last section indicate that APAG presence does have a statistically and substantively significant effect on the likelihood of conflict occurring. Although APAGs have been widely assumed to be associated with higher levels of state to state conflict, I have demonstrated empirically that this is true. I was unfortunately not able to test any of the specific characteristics of APAGs, and how they have an effect on the likelihood of conflict. I had to confine myself to looking at the presence and number of APAGs in the dyad, since I was using dyadic level data for my study. Future studies should be structured so as to include more specific information about each APAG. The fact that the presence of multiple APAGs had a significant effect
on the likelihood of conflict indicates that APAGs are not necessarily all equal and do not necessarily all have the same types of effects. Whether incorporating more detailed characteristics of APAGs in the model would demonstrate more significant effects remains to be seen, of course, but my present research indicates that it is a worthwhile avenue to pursue.

**APAGs and Dispute Escalation**

Table 5.9 shows the correlation matrix for the data on escalation. All three models used the same data, so only one correlation matrix was necessary. This is the only correlation matrix in which high levels of correlation occur. There is a strong negative correlation between dyads in which an APAG sponsor and an APAG target are both present and those dyads in which only an APAG target or an APAG sponsor are present. This seems to indicate that when dispute involving APAGs occur, they tend to occur in dyads where APAGs are connected with both members of the dyad, and where there are no extraneous APAGs present that are involved with member of the dyad but not the other.

(Table 5.9)

Table 5.10 displays the results from the models of APAG presence and dispute escalation. The models show some very limited support for the idea that APAG presence encourages dispute escalation; however, this does not come across as clearly as do the results in the case of APAG presence and dispute onset. APAG presence in both states in the dyad has a positive effect on the probability of dispute onset only in one case, while
the presence of an APAG sponsor or target has a negative or indifferent effect on the likelihood of conflict. Rather than splitting up the sample by period, I have used the full sample in all three models, because of data limitations (the number of cases had decreased to 138). Instead, the three models represent three different operationalizations of the dependent variable. Model 7 measures escalation as the presence of fatalities in the dispute, Model 8 measures escalation as the use of force, and Model 9 measures escalation as reciprocation.

(Table 5.10)

**Escalation Measured as the Presence of Fatalities**

Using the presence of fatalities as the measure of escalation, I find that the presence of an APAG in both countries in the dyad has no significant effect on the likelihood of dispute escalation, while the presence of an APAG target in the dyad reduces the chances of dispute escalation. The presence of an APAG sponsor has no significant effect on dispute escalation.

About 29% of the disputes in the sample involve fatalities. An APAG with a presence in both members of the dyad is present in one-quarter of the dyads. An APAG sponsor is present in about two-thirds of the dyads, and an APAG target is present in 83% of the dyads. In a dyad where no APAGs are present, but all other variables are set to their means, the likelihood of fatalities occurring is 45%. Adding an APAG that is present in both members of the dyad increases this probability to 69%, which is not a statistically significant difference. Adding a state that is the target of an APAG reduces
the likelihood of escalation to 16%. Having one state in the dyad be an APAG sponsor has no significant effect on the likelihood of escalation.

Control factors, such as contiguity, distance, joint democracy, the capacity ratio, and alliances, have no significant effects on the likelihood of fatalities occurring. Therefore, I have set these variables to their means, rather than comparing the effects that giving them different values would have on the outcome.

**Escalation Measured as Use of Force**

Slightly more than half (54.6%) of the dyads in the sample where dispute onset occurred involve the use of force. None of the variables, either explanatory or control, had a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of the dispute involving the use of force. The baseline probability of escalation, in a case with no APAGs, was 63%. This hardly changed, rising only to 69%, in the presence of an APAG that is involved with both states in the dyad. The probability of escalation fell to 44% when one state in the dyad was an APAG target, and it rose slightly to 69% when one state in the dyad was an APAG sponsor.

**Escalation Measured as Reciprocation**

Using reciprocation as the measure of escalation, I find that the presence of an APAG where both members of the dyad are associated with the APAG again has a significant and positive effect on the likelihood of dispute escalation. The two variables associated with APAG sponsors and targets both have insignificant effects, but a few of
the control variables show statistically significant effects for the first time when using dispute escalation as the dependent variable.

For a dyad with no APAGs, the probability of the dyad experiencing a reciprocated dispute is 11%. When an APAG that is associated with both members of the dyad is active in such a dyad, the chances of escalation increase to 51%. When an APAG target only is present, the predicted probability of reciprocation occurring is 8%, and when an APAG sponsor only is present, the predicted probability of reciprocation becomes 13%.

Overview

The sample for this part of the analysis was much smaller than was the sample for APAGs and dispute onset. In the case of escalation, the sample was limited to only 138 cases between the two periods, and this may have been too small to yield real statistical power. This may explain why most of my results were insignificant.

Although most of the results did not achieve statistical significance, some consistent patterns did emerge that should be studied more closely when more data is available. In all three cases, the presence of an APAG that is associated with the two members of the dyad increased the probability of dispute escalation occurring. This phenomenon was only statistically significant in one case, but it did occur in all three cases. This indicates that not only are APAGs an important factor in encouraging dispute onset when they are involved with both members of the dyad, they are also associated with higher levels of dispute escalation.
In the case of states that are the targets of APAGs, I found that these states are actually less likely to experience dispute escalation than are dyads that do not contain an APAG target. This relationship was only significant in one of the models, but it was consistent across all three models. This was the only case where APAGs were associated with lower levels of conflict. It is reasonable to think that states that are threatened from within by an APAG would be less inclined to engage in conflict with other states. While they might be willing to escalation conflicts against the APAG’s sponsor, in hopes of dissuading the sponsor from continuing its support, they will not want to engage in serious conflict against other states, since this would distract them from their efforts against the APAG(s) that is targeting them. Therefore, states that are in this position will have a strong incentive to settle their disputes with other states with a minimum of escalation.

In order to test this proposition more fully, I would need to look more in depth at how disputes that involved APAG targets were settled. Most disputes, particularly those that have low levels of escalation, merely fade away without a clear resolution. Some disputes, however, end with one side very clearly backing down or prevailing. It would be interesting to see whether states that are APAG targets are more likely to back down in disputes, as I have indicated could be the case in the previous paragraph. Testing this proposition, however, would require much more data, since only a small percentage of disputes involve one of the members actually backing down; and with the present sample, I begin with only 138 cases of dispute escalation, or lack thereof. This is another interesting topic for future research.
In the case of APAG sponsors, there was no consistent pattern of effects, except that none of the effects were statistically significant. When escalation was measured as the presence of fatalities, APAG sponsors were less likely than others to experience dispute escalation. Using the other two measures of escalation, the likelihood of dispute escalation increased in the case of APAG sponsors. Since none of these effects were significant, and there was no consistency in the types of effects that occurred, I suspect that having one APAG sponsor in a dyad does not make a great deal of difference in the probability that the dyad will experience escalation.

Conclusion

This chapter presented results to five specific hypotheses about the relationship between APAGs and dispute onset and escalation. I demonstrated that APAG presence is associated with higher levels of dispute onset, and that this relationship increases as more APAGs are involved. I found some limited evidence that APAGs are also associated with higher levels of dispute escalation; however, this relationship was much less clear, and most of the variables were statistically insignificant.

It is important to remember the limited nature of my sample when interpreting my results. In the case of dispute onset, I had a relatively large sample in terms of the total number of cases; however, the sample was limited both geographically and temporally. I think that a good case can be made for the general applicability of these findings, given that they were robust across two time periods. The fact that both samples were from the same region; however, begs the question of whether there is something specific to this region that would cause it to have different results from those of other regions. I do not
believe that this is the case, but in the absence of data on other regions, it is impossible to answer this question finally.

In looking at APAGs and dispute escalation, my sample was severely limited, to less than 150 cases. Many of these results were not statistically significant, but this may have been because of the small sample size rather than because the relationships themselves did not exist. A larger sample size, preferably one that included more regions and more cases of escalation to war, could potentially answer this question. My results indicate that APAGs do have an effect on states’ dispute behavior that is worthy of study. While much has been written, both in the academic and popular presses, that assumes that APAGs have an effect on disputes, I have demonstrated this to be true.

In previous chapters, I discussed some other research questions that I would like to address in the future. These questions would separate out different types of APAGs; for example, by size or goal. I would then compare the effects on different types of APAGs on states’ dispute behavior. As I mentioned previously, it was not possible to test these questions in the present study because of the structure of my data. Since I have demonstrated the overall importance of APAGs; however, I have provided a framework for future research that indicates that this is an important field of study. Had I discovered that APAGs had no effect on states’ conflict behaviors, then it would not be necessary to compare the effects of different types of APAGs.

As it is, it may be discovered in the future that all APAGs behave in fundamentally the same way, regardless of their size, goals, etc. This finding would be consistent with my current research, but would indicate that no further insights are available when differentiating between different types of APAGs. On the other hand, it is
also possible that future research will discover that the characteristics of APAGs play an important part in determining what effect these APAGs will have on conflict behavior. In that case, I will have provided a first step in understanding APAGs, but their effects will prove to be much richer and more complex than what I have outlined in this chapter. In the next chapter, I will provide a conclusion to the work that ties the work together and provides suggestions for future direction. The results tables are available at the end of this chapter.
Table 5.1 Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for Full Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member of Dyad</th>
<th>APAG Target Present</th>
<th>APAG Sponsor Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member of Dyad</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Target Present</td>
<td>-0.1741</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Sponsor Present</td>
<td>-0.1472</td>
<td>0.2043</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for 1890-1914 Period Only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member of Dyad</th>
<th>APAG Target Present</th>
<th>APAG Sponsor Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member of Dyad</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Target Present</td>
<td>-0.3138</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Sponsor Present</td>
<td>-0.3482</td>
<td>0.0636</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.3  Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for 1990-2001 Period Only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>APAG Target Present</th>
<th>APAG Sponsor Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APAG is Sponsored by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Member of Dyad &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targets Other Member of Dyad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Target Present</td>
<td>-0.0895</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Sponsor Present</td>
<td>-0.1184</td>
<td>0.2429</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.4  Models of APAG Presence and Dispute Onset

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1 Both Periods</th>
<th>Model 2 1890-1914 Only</th>
<th>Model 3 1990-2001 Only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coef.</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Coef.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Present that Targets One State in the Dyad and Is Sponsored by the Other</td>
<td>3.462</td>
<td>0.340***</td>
<td>1.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Target Only One State in Dyad is APAG Target</td>
<td>1.390</td>
<td>0.280***</td>
<td>0.108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Sponsor Only One State in Dyad is</td>
<td>0.619</td>
<td>0.219***</td>
<td>-0.193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousands of Miles Joint Democracy</td>
<td>-0.234</td>
<td>0.179</td>
<td>-0.513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capability Ratio Alliance</td>
<td>-0.160</td>
<td>0.085*</td>
<td>0.117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-3.263</td>
<td>0.555***</td>
<td>-3.962</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N                      | 4117                          | 1138                          | 2979                          |
Wald chi2               | 160.41                        | 25.75                         | 145.61                        |
Log Likelihood          | -530.553                      | -201.228                      | -310.113                      |

*: p<.1; **: p<.05; ***: p<.01
Table 5.5  Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for Full Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member of Dyad</th>
<th>Number of APAGs Targeting State</th>
<th>Number of APAGs Sponsored by State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member Of Dyad</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of APAGs</td>
<td>0.2211</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targeting State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of APAGs</td>
<td>0.2339</td>
<td>0.1680</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsored by State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6  Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for 1890-1914 Period Only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member of Dyad</th>
<th>Number of APAGs Targeting State</th>
<th>Number of APAGs Sponsored by State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member Of Dyad</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of APAGs</td>
<td>0.2066</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targeting State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of APAGs</td>
<td>0.2442</td>
<td>-0.0636</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsored by State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.7  Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for 1990-2001 Period Only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member of Dyad</th>
<th>Number of APAGs Targeting State</th>
<th>Number of APAGs Sponsored by State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APAG is Sponsored by One Member of Dyad &amp; Targets Other Member of Dyad</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of APAGs Targeting State</td>
<td>0.2121</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of APAGs Sponsored by State</td>
<td>0.1606</td>
<td>0.2316</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.8  Models of APAG Number and Dispute Onset

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of APAGs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targeting State</td>
<td>0.139</td>
<td>0.044***</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.155</td>
<td>0.082*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of APAGs</td>
<td>0.635</td>
<td>0.044***</td>
<td>0.342</td>
<td>0.295</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.666</td>
<td>0.137***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponsored By State</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Present that Targets One State in the Dyad and Is Sponsored by the Other</td>
<td>1.574</td>
<td>0.259***</td>
<td>0.855</td>
<td>0.360**</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.379</td>
<td>0.367***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>-0.225</td>
<td>0.174</td>
<td>-0.505</td>
<td>0.249**</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.162</td>
<td>0.126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capability Ratio</td>
<td>-0.907</td>
<td>0.612</td>
<td>0.516</td>
<td>1.147</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.744</td>
<td>0.774**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance</td>
<td>-0.193</td>
<td>0.085**</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.158</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.235</td>
<td>0.115**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Democracy</td>
<td>0.218</td>
<td>0.231</td>
<td>0.273</td>
<td>1.035</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.365</td>
<td>0.260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-2.636</td>
<td>0.555***</td>
<td>-3.903</td>
<td>1.061***</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.080</td>
<td>0.722***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N: 4117, 1138, 2979
Wald chi2: 167.65, 27.92, 117.83
Log Likelihood: -538.733, -199.898, -330.701

*: p<.1; **: p<.05; ***: p<.01
Table 5.9  Correlation Matrix of Explanatory Variables for Full Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>APAG Target Present</th>
<th>APAG Sponsor Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APAG Target Present</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Sponsor Present</td>
<td>-0.6831</td>
<td>0.1701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Sponsor Present</td>
<td>-0.4770</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG is Sponsored by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Member of Dyad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Targets Other Member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Dyad</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Dyad</td>
<td>-0.6831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Sponsor Present</td>
<td>-0.4770</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.10  Models of APAG Presence and Dispute Escalation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model 7</th>
<th>Model 8</th>
<th>Model 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Fatalities</td>
<td>Use of Force</td>
<td>Reciprocation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coef.</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Coef.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAG Present that Targets One State in the Dyad and Is Sponsored by the Other</td>
<td>0.994</td>
<td>0.717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only One State in Dyad is APAG Target</td>
<td>-1.466</td>
<td>0.574**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only One State in Dyad is APAG Sponsor</td>
<td>-0.115</td>
<td>0.600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousands of Miles</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Democracy</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>0.643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capability Ratio</td>
<td>-0.756</td>
<td>1.369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>0.206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.244</td>
<td>1.319</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N  138  138  138
Wald chi2  25.80  15.34  28.06
Log Likelihood  -68.749  -88.043  -67.474

*: p<.1;  **: p<.05;  ***: p<.01
Chapter 6

Conclusion & Questions for Further Study

In this dissertation, I have developed a framework for the study of Armed Political Action Groups (APAGs) and their effects on international relations, particularly international conflict. I began by discussing the importance of APAGs, both historically and in the contemporary world. I then defined APAGs, developed some hypotheses about how I expected them to influence international conflict, and tested these hypotheses. I demonstrated that APAGs are important actors in international conflict, and that their presence has a dramatic effect on the likelihood of interstate disputes occurring. There were also systematic differences in how APAGs affected international relations based on whether there was only one APAG present or multiple APAGs present. This indicates that further research, in which APAGs with different characteristics could be compared, is needed.

Research on APAGs fills a hole in both the theoretical and the empirical literature. In terms of the theoretical literature, quite a bit of research has been done on terrorist groups, insurgencies, and other movements that are included under the APAG rubric. Much of the literature on this type of movement focuses on explaining the motivations of the movement and its members, rather than on considering what effects the movement might have vis-à-vis other groups and states. Other literature on this topic is policy oriented. This literature makes recommendations about how policy makers might counter terrorism, insurgency, or whatever type of movement they are discussing. Much of this literature is oriented around combating a particular group, although some of it does look at combating terrorist or insurgent violence in general.
A small amount of empirical literature exists on terrorist and/or insurgent movements. None of this literature directly addresses the research questions to which I have sought answers, however, and many questions similar to mine are found in the “remaining questions” sections of other scholars’ reviews. This indicates that my work fills a gap in the empirical literature that has existed for some time. Other scholars have noticed this gap previously, but it remains generally unfilled.

One problem that researchers have when studying terrorism, or a related field, is the problem of definitions. No universally accepted definition for terrorism exists. Cynics argue that groups are labeled as “terrorists” by those states that oppose their goals. Even if this is not the case, developing a workable definition that applies cross-nationally is problematic. A large variety of violent non-state actors are involved in international relations, and it is not always clear whether they are politically motivated, or whether they are simply criminal elements. Even in the case of groups that are known to be politically motivated, assigning blame for violent actions can be tricky. Individuals who are associated with a particular radical political movement can commit politically motivated violent actions, for example, without the permission or cooperation of the group overall. In some cases, the group actually condemns the use of violence to further its aims.

Criminal groups are no easier to define away. My interest, as well as that of most scholars studying terrorism, is in groups that are motivated by an explicitly political vision. Criminal gangs, while they may have an effect on politics, are usually not motivated by visions of political change. In practice, however, the line between criminal groups and terrorists, insurgents, etc. is less fine. Many politically motivated terrorist
groups participate in criminal activities, such as drug smuggling, to make money to support their activities. While narco-terrorism has received widespread attention in recent years, I found evidence of terrorist groups taking part in drug smuggling as early as the 1920s. Some APAGs lost their political convictions over time and degenerated into criminal gangs. Sometimes, this occurred after the APAG had achieved its political purpose. For example, the Italian Mafia began its existence as a patriotic movement that sought to unify the diverse Italian city-states. After achieving this objective, the organizations continued to exist, but they lost their political roots. On the other hand, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization did not achieve its dream of uniting Bulgaria and Macedonia. After almost 40 years of trying, the organization gradually lost its political purpose and engaged in criminal behavior for profit.

The first necessity of this project, then, was to develop a workable definition for those violent non-state groups on which I sought to collect information. Following Palmer and Bremer’s (2002) work, I give a definition for APAGs, and then go on to collect data according to this definition. While obviously this definition is not perfect, it provides a good starting point. I sought to document as clearly as possible the APAG’s goals, as well as the means that it used to achieve them. Unlike many scholars of terrorism, I did not make a judgment as to whether or not the APAG’s goals, or its means of achieving them, were justified. Instead, I sought to provide accurate descriptive data about the APAG, its goals, and its activities.

In the future, I expect that other scholars will be able to collect additional data on APAGs using the same coding rules. Eventually, the APAG data set could expand both spatially and temporally. I have already looked at two distinct time periods in order to
determine whether APAGs have had the same effects on international relations over time. According to my findings, APAGs have had the same basic pattern of influence on international relations over time. Although a particular effect may have achieved statistical significance in one period but not in the other, I did not find any major discrepancies between the effects that APAGs had in the two periods. A spatial expansion of the sample will either lend further credence to the idea that APAGs in different time and places have the same effects, or it will indicate that APAGs behave differently depending on where they are located.

Although I did not develop a comprehensive theory of how APAGs behave, I did provide a series of hypotheses about their effects on international relations. My main goal in this research was to demonstrate that APAGs had observable effects on international affairs and that these effects were substantively important. If I could show that APAGs have a significant effect on international conflict, then it would be worthwhile to examine APAGs in more detail to determine if there are systematic differences between the behavior of large APAGs and that of small APAGs, for example. On the other hand, if I had discovered that APAGs do not have an effect on international conflict, or that their effect was so small as to be substantively insignificant, then it would not be worthwhile to encourage others to pursue this path of research. My research indicates that APAGs are a worthwhile topic of study for scholars interested in international conflict, and that understanding the effects of APAGs’ presence and behavior will shed additional light on the process of international conflict.
Major Findings

My findings fall into two main categories: general observations about APAGs that I discovered during the course of data collection, and specific, statistical relationships between APAGs and interstate conflict behavior. I discovered that APAG formation tends to be concentrated in time, with large numbers of APAGs being created almost simultaneously, followed by long periods with very little APAG formation (or none at all). There appeared to be a great deal of continuity across time in terms of the locations where APAGs emerged, but the ideologies that those APAGs ascribed to changed dramatically over time. APAGs’ ideologies appeared to be influenced by their propensity to endear the APAG to potential state sponsors. It appears that only a small number of the APAGs that come into existence are truly powerful. Powerful APAGs tend to be large, long-lived, and to have connections to the military and/or intelligence services of at least one state. These APAGs represent about 10% of the total APAGs in the region, but they appeared, at least at first glance, to be associated with much higher levels of conflict.

The presence of one or more APAGs is associated with higher levels of interstate conflict. This does not in itself prove that the APAGs themselves are the catalyst for conflict. It is possible that APAG presence is a symptom of underlying conflict between states, and that it is this conflict that manifests itself in frequent disputes between the states. Nevertheless, there is anecdotal evidence that APAGs act as the catalyst for conflict, and my data is consistent with this view. It is not clear whether or not APAGs make conflicts and disputes more intractable. I found conflicting evidence as to whether dispute escalation was more common when APAGs were involved.
Questions for Future Research

Numerous questions remain to be addressed related to this topic. These questions are both theoretical and empirical. While I developed hypotheses about APAG behavior, I did not develop an over-arching theory of how APAGs interact with their sponsor state(s) and target state(s). There are also a large number of empirical questions that have yet to be tackled related to APAGs. In earlier chapters, I discussed data that I collected but that I did not use in the current research. I will now address how some of this data could be used in the future to provide additional insights about APAGs, as well as addressing some of the theoretical questions surrounding APAGs.

Theoretical Questions

One of the most important theoretical questions to which this research leads is that of the precise nature of the relationship between APAGs and their sponsors, and how this relationship plays into international conflict. There are two main possibilities as to how this relationship might lead to higher levels of international conflict than normal. The first possibility is that states that sponsor APAGs desire to engage in policies that would necessarily lead to conflict, and that these states want to disguise their actions. Sponsoring an APAG thus provides a “fig leaf”, and the state can deny that it is responsible for the APAG’s actions. This would be particularly important in recent history, as there is currently a stigma attached to initiating war and large-scale conflict. A state that seeks to do so may be able to use an APAG to engage in an action that would cause its rival to initiate conflict. The sponsor state could then deny responsibility, claiming that the APAG acted on its own. This would make it appear that the target state
of the APAG was the real initiator of the interstate conflict, and this could have ramifications vis-à-vis third parties to the conflict. If this is the case, APAGs could be associated with higher levels of international conflict because they are a necessary proxy for states to use when they seek to initiate conflict.

On the other hand, the second possibility is that APAGs seek weak state sponsors that they can exploit. In this case, the APAG might be willing to engage in mass-casualty terrorism, or other types of severe attacks, against its target state, since the APAG’s leaders believe that they could successfully go underground, and that retaliation would probably be limited to actions against the state sponsor. Particularly in cases where the APAG is established in multiple countries, or has reason to believe that it would easily be able to get a new state sponsor, the APAG has no incentive to use restraint when dealing with the target state. When two states engage in a dispute, they have an incentive to calculate their behavior so as to avoid certain outcomes. For example, if one of the disputants is significantly weaker than the other, the weaker state has an incentive to make some efforts to appease the stronger state, in order to avoid having to fight a stronger enemy. When APAGs are involved, however, they may have less hesitancy about taking on a stronger foe. If the APAG’s leaders think that the group could survive the state sponsor being attacked by the target state, the group may go ahead with an action that the state sponsor would have prevented, if it had the ability. In this case, APAGs would be associated with higher levels of international conflict because their incentive structure differs from that of states, and therefore, they engage in activities that promote conflict that states would avoid.
In practice, it is difficult to completely distinguish these two possibilities. A relatively strong state sponsor, that has the ability to constrain the APAG’s behavior, will have an incentive to argue that it cannot. The state sponsor could pursue a strategy of pretending to be weak and unable to control the APAG precisely so that it can avoid retribution for its actions. If other states, particularly the target state, believe that the sponsor is too weak to prevent the APAG from attacking, they may refrain from taking action against the sponsor state. The sponsor state is then able to engage in actions that would have severe repercussions had it engaged in them openly.

It thus may be very difficult in practice to distinguish whether a particular state sponsor is an exemplar of the first scenario or of the second. Nevertheless, the two scenarios provide the basis for additional theoretical speculation as to the role of APAGs in interstate disputes. Taking a closer look at the policy preferences of the actors involved is one important way in which a theoretical look at APAGs, their state sponsors, and their target states could advance. APAGs are usually organized around one particular issue (usually land, but sometimes regime or policy). The APAG’s preferences on this issue could be mapped and compared with those of the leadership of the state sponsor. Then, the researcher could look for evidence that the APAG affected the preferences of the state sponsor’s leaders. For example, did the state sponsor’s leaders adopt a more hawkish policy after the APAG came into existence? Did spectacular actions on the part of the APAG (or threats that the APAG made against the state sponsor’s leaders) lead to a change in the leaders’ policy preferences? Furthermore, how do these preferences relate to those of the target state? I would expect that APAGs would take a more hawkish position vis-à-vis their target state than would the leaders of their state sponsor.
However, it is possible that it is the APAG itself that makes agreement impossible. If the preferences of all three actors could be mapped, it would be possible to determine whether there is room for agreement between the sponsor state and the target state over the issue if the preferences of the APAG are not taken into consideration. If so, that would indicate that an agreement between the two states would be possible, if the APAG were absent. A further question would be whether the APAG is able to influence policy sufficiently in its state sponsor to effectively prevent agreement, or whether the APAG relies on violent attacks to cause conflict between its state sponsor and its target state.

**Empirical Questions**

While much theoretical work remains to be done on the role of APAGs in conflict, many empirical questions remain as well. Most important, from my point of view, is the question of the differences between different types of APAGs. Very little theoretical or empirical work has been done on this subject. Research on terrorist groups, insurgencies, and other such groups tends to lump them all together and to seek variation only in terms of the states involved, or in terms of other outside factors. It is either assumed that APAGs have no variation on internal characteristics that would be important for their influence, or these questions are not addressed because the scholar lacks detailed information about the internal characteristics of the groups in question. My data provides relatively detailed information on sixty APAGs, and it would be relatively easy to add to this sample, since I have included detailed information about how I coded the variables. I would like to focus on empirical questions for future research in three main areas: APAG power, APAG ability to influence the government of its state sponsor,
and APAG goals. While other APAG characteristics could also be important, I believe that the variables associated with these three areas would provide the best insight into how different types of APAGs influence international relations.

*APAG Power*

For obvious reasons, an APAG’s power should have an effect on how successful the APAG is at influencing interstate relations. Powerful APAGs should be more inclined to have a strong effect, whereas weak APAGs should have a small effect, or possibly no effect. Determining what constitutes a powerful APAG is somewhat problematic, however. Size would seemingly be an important factor, with large APAGs being more potent than small APAGs. On the other hand, it is possible that at some point, the APAG is weakened by additional members. There may be an “ideal” size for an APAG; the point at which it is large enough to undertake sophisticated actions, but not so large that it develops a complicated infrastructure which it must expend resources maintaining.

Another aspect of APAG power is access to resources. While a greater number of members may at some point act as a “dead weight” and constrain the APAG’s activities, it is difficult to see how access to additional resources could ever reduce an APAG’s power. What is more problematic is how to measure the APAG’s access to resources. Size is fairly straightforward, given that figures are available. Measuring access to resources would force the scholar to look at how many states provided resources to the APAG, as well as any additional resources that may be available to the group (ie through drug trafficking, extortion, wealth of members, etc.). Quantifying this is difficult. One
method could be to determine the number of sponsors and argue that the more sponsors (or outside sources of support) a group has, the more powerful that group is. One problem with this approach is that not all state sponsors are equal, either in terms of the resources that they have available to give to the APAG, or in terms of how willing they are to provide resources to the APAG. A state that is powerful on its own will have more resources to provide to the APAG. However, such a state may see its sponsorship of the APAG as a peripheral matter, and may be unwilling to devote all of the available resources to the APAG. A state that is a great power may be sponsoring several APAGs in different parts of the world, and this will limit the amount of attention that it would pay to any one group.

Measures to determine the access that each group has to resources need to be developed. These measures, combined with the number of members in the group, could be used to develop a scale of APAG power. Then, the effects of strong APAGs could be compared with those of weak APAGs to understand how APAG strength influences how APAGs affect international conflict. In many cases, multiple APAGs operate within the same dyad at the same time. In these cases, I would suggest an additive formula, in which the strength of the various groups would be combined to produce an aggregate for each state sponsor and target. However, this aggregate score might need to be weighted by the number of groups involved, so that dyads where the APAGs were very fragmented (larger numbers of groups with fewer members each) would receive a lower score than dyads where one or two APAGs had a similar number of members. I am assuming that when APAG members are divided among larger numbers of groups, their power will not be as great as if they were all members of one group.
APAG Influence Over State Sponsor’s Government

Returning to the questions that I asked in the theoretical section, it appears that the degree of control that the sponsor state’s government has over the APAG and vice versa is very important for determining how the actors will interact. While this question requires more work on the theoretical level, it could also be addressed at the empirical level. In order to do this, the scholar would have to develop measures of influence, both influence that APAGs over their state sponsors and influence that the sponsors have over the APAGs. Then, empirical observations could be made as to whether conflict behavior is different based on the power relations among the actors involved.

One promising avenue for pursuing this subject is to look at who exactly in the government of the state sponsor supports the APAG. While sometimes it was “the government” of the state sponsor in general, in the case of some of the most important and influential APAGs, it turned out that the group had ties to the military and/or intelligence establishments in that country. Cases where APAGs have ties to such organizations may indicate that the APAG has an important influence over the government of the sponsor state. Military and intelligence agencies often have the ability to act independently of the civilian leaders, and they may threaten such action if the civilian leaders make a serious attempt to reign in the APAG. As an APAG becomes more integrated with the military and/or intelligence structures of the state sponsor, it may become much harder for the civilian leadership to take action against it, because the government could not do so without risking harm to the rest of the military or intelligence establishment.
Another avenue for studying the amount of independence that the APAG has from its state sponsor is to look at alternative sources of support that are available to the APAG. While an APAG may have adequate financial resources on the basis of wealthy members or patrons, it is worthwhile considering whether an APAG also needs a secure base of operations. This would consist of a “safe haven”, a place from which the APAG could operate without fearing retribution. A state sponsor generally also functions as a safe haven. The loss of this secure base could be devastating for an APAG, and this prospect could lead the APAG to moderate its behavior so as to prevent the target state from taking actions that would effectively eliminate the safe haven.

On the other hand, the APAG could have another state sponsor that would be willing to provide safe haven, in the event that the current safe haven were to disappear. In some cases, APAGs may not need a safe haven where a government explicitly protects them, because they are able to take advantage of particularly weak and unstable countries. If they can operate in ungoverned areas, and do not fear retribution, then APAGs may be less inclined to moderate their activities in order to protect their safe haven. I would expect that as APAGs become more powerful vis-à-vis their state sponsors, interstate conflict should become more likely, and that interstate conflict should become more likely as APAGs have less need of a safe haven within the territory of their state sponsor(s). These are empirical questions, however, and they must be addressed using appropriate data.
**APAG Goals**

Thus far, I have discussed differences among APAGs in terms of resources available to the APAG, the group’s power, and the group’s ability to influence its sponsor state and other states. However, equally important for understanding the APAG’s actions, and their effects, is the ideology or motivation of the APAG. While APAGs will have limitations placed on them by the extent of their power and influence or lack thereof, APAGs will also be motivated to act based on their goals and motivations. I would expect that the greater the change that the APAG seeks from the status quo, the more violent the APAG’s actions will be, and hence the more likely it is that interstate conflict will occur. Unfortunately, the level of change from the status quo that the APAG seeks is difficult to measure. However, it may be instructive to consider whether there are systematic differences between cases where an APAG seeks land (the most common APAG goal), and cases where the APAG seeks a different goal. A system to quantify the amount of change that the APAG wanted from the status quo (ie the amount of land that the group wanted or some measure of how much it sought to change the government) could be developed in time. This measure could be used to determine whether APAGs affect conflict differently based on how ambitious their goals are. I would expect that APAGs with very ambitious goals would be more likely to be associated with interstate conflict, since these APAGs would have the strongest incentive to engage in radical actions.
Both in terms of the research questions that I addressed in this dissertation, and in terms of the additional research questions that I propose, I seek to understand how APAGs might influence interstate conflict. However, at this point, I can only measure this in a very indirect way. I look for evidence that an APAG was active in a particular dyad at a particular point in time, and then I look at the conflict behavior of this dyad. It is possible, however, that these dyads could be experiencing conflict for reasons that are unrelated to the APAG. The direction of causality could go in the other direction, with APAGs appearing in dyads that are already experiencing conflict.

In order to address these possibilities, it would be necessary to gather more detailed information on how APAGs are associated with conflict. For example, for each dispute or war under consideration, the scholar could seek evidence of an APAG’s involvement. If there was a dispute or war between the APAG’s sponsor state and its target state, but there was no evidence that the APAG had played a role in this dispute, then this dispute should not be viewed as having been brought on by the APAG, despite its presence.

Another advantage to looking for specific evidence linking APAGs to disputes is that it allows for more fine grained distinctions to be made among the groups. Currently, I can only determine whether there was any APAG activity within a particular dyad, and if so, how many APAGs were involved. I would like to be able to distinguish among different types of APAGs, as I have discussed on the previous pages, and I would like to determine how the differences among these APAGs affect their influence. The difficulty with this approach is that there are often multiple APAGs active within the same dyad. If
a strong APAG and a weak APAG are both active within a particular dyad, and this dyad experiences elevated levels of conflict, it is not clear which APAG was responsible for the higher levels of conflict, or if the fact that multiple APAGs were involved is what explains this higher level of conflict. If I could gather data more detailed data on how exactly APAGs are associated with conflict, then I could ascertain how different types of APAGs affect conflict without having to worry about the results being biased by the presence of another APAG in the dyad that had no effect on the conflict.

The scholar will have to put some theoretical thought into how to measure which APAGs had an active role in which conflicts. In some cases, it is very clear that an APAG’s action was the *causus belli* for an interstate dispute or war. In other cases, it can be demonstrated that an APAG provided troops for its sponsor state in a war. In some cases, historians argue that the actions of particular APAGs led to wide-spread instability, and may have influenced the policy of their state sponsors in such a way that interstate conflict became more likely. In this third case, the researcher will have to be very careful to establish the criteria for determining that the APAG was indeed responsible for precipitating the dispute. The researcher will have to weigh historians’ opinions carefully, and to make the ultimate determination as to the group’s responsibility, or lack thereof, for the outcome.

*APAGs and Other Dependent Variables*

Finally, I have focused exclusively up until now at looking at APAGs’ effects on interstate disputes and wars. While this is an important avenue of research, and one in which APAGs could have a great deal of importance, for obvious reasons, I do not
believe that their influence should be limited to this one field of endeavor. Many APAGs seek regime change within the government of their target state, and future research could look at whether APAG activity is associated with higher levels of regime change than is the norm in countries where APAGs are not active.

APAGs themselves could also be an interesting dependent variable. Particularly if it could be demonstrated that different types of APAGs influence international relations differently, it would then be interesting to determine what circumstances lead to the creation of different types of APAGs. There appear to be patterns in the data, which I discussed in Chapter 3, in terms of APAG formation and termination. A clearer understanding of how this works could have interesting theoretical implications as well as important policy implications.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


*Bulgaria: An Account of the Political Events during the Balkan Wars*. (1919) Chicago: Macedonia-Bulgarian Central Committee. (Note: This is a translation from French of a memorandum presented by the Bulgarian government at the Peace Conference in Paris. As such there is no author listed.)


Naumann, Friedrich. (1917) *Central Europe.* London: P.S. King & Son, Ltd.


Oots, Kent Layne. (1986) *A Political Organization Approach to Transnational*


Stebbings, E.P. (1917) *At the Serbian Front in Macedonia*. London: John Lane Company.


Walshe, Douglas. (1920) *With the Serbs in Macedonia*. New York: John Lane Company.


Wyon, Reginald. (1904) The Balkans from Within. London: James Finch and Company Ltd.


Diane Dutka

**Vita**

**Education**

**Ph.D. in Political Science,** Pennsylvania State University  
(Expected Spring 2006)
- International Relations (major field), Comparative Politics  
  (minor field), Methodology (third field)
- Dissertation Title: Violent Non-State Actors in World  
  Politics: Their Formation, Actions, and Effects

**M.A. in Political Science,** Pennsylvania State University  
(Spring 2002)
- International Relations (major field)
- Thesis Title: The Effects of Internal Instability on  
  International Disputes and War
- Award: College of Liberal Arts Graduate Scholar (Fall  
  2002)

**B.A. in International Relations,** Boston University (Spring 2000)
- Graduated *Summa Cum Laude*
- Elected to Phi Beta Kappa Society
- Received the College Prize for Excellence in International  
  Relations upon graduation
- Completed the entire program in three years

**Work Experience**

**Joint Warfare Analysis Center**
International Military Analyst (Fall 2004-Present)
- Serve as analyst responsible for matters involving U.S.  
  military forces
- Research current political issues
- Provide recommendations based on analysis to JWAC  
  customers, including Combatant Commands and senior  
  policy makers
- Assist in development of study methodologies