

# Contents

List of Tables .....	11
List of Figures .....	11
Preface .....	13
List of Abbreviations .....	15
1 Introduction: Internationalizing intrastate conflict .....	17
1.1 State of research .....	19
1.2 Theoretical overview .....	21
1.3 State sponsorship of terrorism .....	23
1.3.1 Definitions .....	23
1.3.2 Pyramid or rag rug? Patterns of sponsorship revisited.....	26
1.4 Research questions.....	30
1.5 Research design .....	31
1.6 Outline of the book .....	34
2 Realist alliance theory and the quest for the optimum balance .....	35
2.1 Neorealism: A theory of foreign policy constraints.....	36
2.1.1 Foreign policy in neorealism: Sealing Pandora's (black) Box? .....	36
2.1.2 In-, not outside the box: Taking domestic politics seriously.....	37
2.2 Neoclassical realism: A theory of mistakes.....	37
2.2.1 Neoclassical realism and the state .....	38
2.2.2 Third World only? Neoclassical realism and regime insecurity .....	40
2.2.3 Regime type and autonomy .....	41

2.3	'Whoe'er would form eternal bonds... Alliance formation .....	42
2.3.1	The external security dilemma .....	42
2.3.2	The domestic security dilemma.....	43
2.3.3	A simple equation? Costs and benefits of alliance formation ...	44
2.3.4	Conclusion: Alliances in a multifaceted security environment .....	49
2.4	'...should weigh if heart to heart responds.' Alliance management .....	50
2.4.1	The alliance security dilemma.....	50
2.4.2	How the security dilemma influences alliance management ....	51
2.4.3	Domestic politics in the alliance dilemma .....	53
2.4.4	Conclusion: Risk management in alliances.....	54
3	Realism and state sponsorship of terrorism .....	55
3.1	Informality and secrecy in alliance politics .....	55
3.1.1	Formality: From shaking hands to signing treaties .....	55
3.1.2	Publicity: Can a secret deter anyone?.....	56
3.2	When your best friend is said to be invisible: Non-state actors in alliance politics .....	58
3.2.1	Non-state actors in international politics.....	58
3.2.2	How terrorism affects national security .....	60
3.2.3	Shadow boxing? Realism and the war against terrorism .....	62
3.3	Sponsorship as a functional equivalent to interstate alliances.....	64
3.3.1	What terrorist groups need support for.....	64
3.3.2	A bird in a gilded cage: The alliance security dilemma from a terrorist perspective .....	68
3.3.3	State sponsorship and the security dilemma.....	70
3.4	When do states decide to sponsor? .....	75
3.5	Sponsorship and the alliance dilemma.....	77
3.5.1	Abandonment risks in sponsorship relations.....	77
3.5.2	Entrapment risks in sponsorship relations.....	77
3.6	Sponsorship and the domestic alliance dilemma .....	80

4	Research design: Assessing state sponsorship of terrorism .....	83
4.1	Independent variable: Systemic incentives for alliance behavior.....	83
4.2	Conditional variable: Domestic politics .....	86
4.3	Dependent variable: Sponsorship commitment .....	88
4.3.1	Hosting .....	89
4.3.2	Military support.....	89
4.3.3	Financial support .....	90
4.3.4	Endorsement.....	91
4.3.5	Conclusion.....	92
4.4	The Case of Syria.....	94
5	From joint defeat to open war: Syria & Fatah .....	99
5.1	Nature of the Sponsorship Dilemma.....	99
5.1.1	Drifting apart: The power imbalance between Syria and Israel.....	100
5.1.2	Bridging the gap? Fatah/PLO's capacity as an ally .....	102
5.1.3	Severity of conflict.....	107
5.1.4	Availability of alternative allies .....	109
5.1.5	Strategic interest in upholding the alignment.....	110
5.1.6	Conclusion.....	112
5.2	Domestic politics: The Struggle for Syria .....	114
5.2.1	Ties that divide: Ba'thist factionalism 1963-70 .....	116
5.2.2	One to rule them all: Assad's consolidation of power .....	122
5.2.3	Conclusion.....	125
5.3	Syria's policy towards Fatah (1964-1976).....	127
5.3.1	Hosting .....	127
5.3.2	Military support.....	130
5.3.3	Financial support .....	133
5.3.4	Endorsement.....	134
5.3.5	Conclusion.....	137
6	The outstayed welcome: Syria & the PKK .....	141
6.1	Nature of the sponsorship dilemma .....	142

6.1.1	A clear superiority: The power imbalance of Turkey and Syria .....	142
6.1.2	Added value: The PKK's capacity as an ally .....	145
6.1.3	Severity of conflict .....	152
6.1.4	Availability of allies .....	155
6.1.5	Strategic interest in upholding the alignment.....	156
6.1.6	Conclusion.....	159
6.2	Domestic politics: A looming succession crisis .....	162
6.2.1	To Hama and back again (1976-1985).....	164
6.2.2	Constraining praetorianism: A family affair .....	170
6.2.3	Conclusion.....	172
6.3	Syria's policy towards the PKK (1978-1998).....	175
6.3.1	Hosting .....	175
6.3.2	Military support.....	178
6.3.3	Financial support .....	180
6.3.4	Endorsement.....	181
6.3.5	Conclusion.....	183
7	A shifting balance: Syria & Hizballah .....	187
7.1	Nature of the sponsorship dilemma .....	188
7.1.1	A decisive edge: The power imbalance between Syria and Israel.....	188
7.1.2	Hizballah's capacity as an ally against Israel.....	191
7.1.3	Severity of conflict.....	198
7.1.4	Availability of allies .....	200
7.1.5	Strategic interest in upholding the alignment.....	203
7.1.6	Conclusion.....	206
7.2	Domestic politics: Power transition and external shocks .....	208
7.2.1	The heir apparent.....	210
7.2.2	Seasons in Damascus.....	213
7.2.3	The emergence of the triumvirate .....	215
7.2.4	Conclusion.....	217
7.3	Syria's policy towards Hizballah (1989-2006).....	220
7.3.1	Hosting .....	220

7.3.2	Military support.....	223
7.3.3	Financial support .....	226
7.3.4	Endorsement .....	227
7.3.5	Conclusion.....	231
8	Findings and implications .....	237
8.1	Formation of sponsorship .....	238
8.2	Patterns of sponsorship .....	241
8.3	Theoretical implications .....	246
8.4	Avenues for further research.....	249
8.5	Policy implications .....	251
9	Literature.....	253