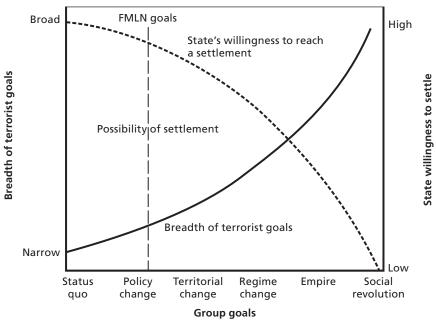
Figure 4.1 FMLN Goals and Settlement Prospects



RAND MG741-4.1

more likely nonviolent tactics may be possible. This is particularly true if there are clear alternatives to terrorism, such as protests. As Martha Crenshaw noted, "opportunities for collective action, such as mass protest or revolution, may occur independently of government actions." Or "government repression may be a catalyst for the short of mass mobilization that makes terrorism unnecessary, or a transition to democracy may permit effective legal opposition."⁴⁵ Unlike the peace-settlement option, terrorist groups that pursue this path do not necessarily reach a formal agreement with the government. They calculate that pursuing their goals through nonviolent, civic means has greater benefits and lower costs. Indeed, most terrorist organizations are strategic calculators. They use violence to achieve specific political purposes, such as coercing a target government to change policy, mobilizing additional

⁴⁵ Crenshaw (1996, p. 266).