Consequently, they are influenced by cost-benefit calculations. Resorting to terrorism has benefits if a group can successfully achieve its goals. But it also has costs. Terrorists must be constantly underground and on the run, because government security forces are trying to capture or kill them. Terrorism provokes repression that some organizations believe they cannot survive. As Martha Crenshaw noted, "some revolutionaries perceive government strength as an obstacle to using terrorism."[48] Hans-Joachim Klein, a former West German terrorist, wrote that the experience of participating in a terrorist action (seizing ministers from the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] in Vienna in 1975) convinced him to abandon the underground. He was tired of being constantly on the run and living covertly, and he could not adjust to a set of beliefs he regarded as callous and cynical with regard to human life.[49]

This is why politics cannot always be viewed as separate from policing. In some cases, opportunities for collective action, such as mass protest, may occur independently of government actions. But government action may also be a catalyst. An effective coercive policy against terrorist groups can make terrorism too dangerous and unproductive to continue—even in cases in which government security forces are unable to capture or kill key members of the group. The government response can contribute to the internal costs of terrorism by provoking organizational disagreements. Other costs associated with terrorism may be more significant than the direct or indirect penalties that governments can exact, especially in democracies. One of the most important costs is the withdrawal of popular support. The attitude of an initially sympathetic community on which any terrorist organization depends may change as a result of terrorist actions.[50] This is sometimes referred to as *backlash*.[51]

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[48] Crenshaw (1996, p. 254).

[49] Hans-Joachim Klein, *La Mort Mercenaire: Témoignage d'un Ancient Terroriste Oust-Allemand*, Paris: Seuil, 1980.

[50] Crenshaw (1996, pp. 262–266).

[51] Ross and Gurr (1989); Ted Robert Gurr, "Terrorism in Democracies: Its Social and Political Bases," in Walter Reich, ed., *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States*