The Urban Threat: Guerrilla and Terrorist Organizations

Introduction

Background

Throughout history, urban guerrilla and terrorist groups have attempted to achieve their objectives through non-traditional and often violent means. As the recent embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania and urban guerrilla operations over the last ten years indicate, these forms of urban operations will continue well into the next millenium. In fact, projected increases in urbanization, especially in developing nations, point to a rise in such activity.

It is widely accepted that urbanization, predominately in developing countries, will increase rapidly over the next 20 years as population rates increase and the rural populace migrates to urban areas to find employment. If the infrastructure of these cities can not keep pace with this increased urbanization, the inhabitants of these cities will become quickly disgruntled. Unemployment rates will soar as more people flock to the cities to find fewer and fewer jobs. Disease will become rampant as these people establish "shanty towns" with poor sanitation, no medication and little food. In their quest for survival, these disgruntled people are likely to join groups aimed at improving their predicament, usually through violent means. This is the environment in which our forces will find themselves operating in the 21st century.

Urban guerrilla groups and terrorist organizations clearly constitute one of the greatest threats to our forces abroad. Because of the randomness and unpredictability of guerrilla offensive operations and terrorist acts, it is important that all service members, private through general, understand these organizations and the threat that they pose. Although rarely the ultimate target, individual Marines on liberty may very well find themselves the immediate target of such a group. By teaching Marines about similar groups prior to and during deployments to hostile areas, we instill in them a situational awareness that can lead to successful mission accomplishment and utlimately save lives. This study provides a thorough description of the organization, objectives, and tactics of several known urban guerrilla and terrorist groups and is a valuable resource for Marines deploying to foreign countries. If included in a threat-training package for deploying units, it will assist greatly in the establishment of a tactical mindset for deploying units, thereby reducing their vulnerability to urban guerrilla and terrorist attacks.

This paper examines the nature of urban warfare from the perspective of irregular paramilitary groups; i.e., the kinds of organizations that U.S. expeditionary forces are likely to encounter while engaged in peacekeeping, humanitarian operations, and regional stabilization. More specifically, the paper profiles the nature and composition of such groups, identifies their most likely objectives, and discusses how they go about achieving those ends.

In pursuing these objectives, the paper develops broad composite pictures based upon past activities of paramilitary groups originating in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. These are then presented as generalized lessons about likely behavior. In drawing these generalizations, we stuck to several basic rules. First, we examined foreign groups only when they were operating outside the United States and were not arrayed against U.S. security forces. Second, we concentrated on where paramilitary events took place, not the nature of the group. Consequently, we were able to get around the problem of determining what constituted an "urban" group by focusing on whether actions took place in cities or the countryside.

Our approach offers both advantages and disadvantages. On the plus side, building composites allows us to examine a wide variety of groups operating in many different settings over the last 50 years. Such diversity produces both analytical richness and permits greater confidence in our generalizations about the behavior of paramilitary groups operating in cities. Taking a generalized approach along functional lines also allows us to consider the experience of far more groups than would be possible in individual case studies. On the down side, amalgamating experience blurs distinctions among the groups, their situations, and how they responded to the uniqueness of the problems they faced. We have tried to minimize the seriousness of this problem by noting significant departures from the norm where appropriate.

The Spectrum of Urban Threats

- Regular Armies
- Civil Wars/Army Factions/Quasi-Military Units
- Partisans With Outside Support
- Insurgents
- Militarized Criminal Gangs
- Communal and Commodity Riots
- General Lawlessness/Gang Violence
- Demonstrations

The next problem we faced was distinguishing what kinds of groups we would focus upon given the wide range of potential forces the U.S. military might face in an urban environment. Ultimately, we decided to concentrate on the middle of the spectrum presented; that is, groups which could be described as "insurgents", "terrorists", and militarized criminal groups with a political agenda. Having said that, it is difficult to define what constitutes each category since there is little agreement among experts in the field. Indeed, we found ourselves in the predicament of Justice Stewart of the U.S. Supreme Court who once wrote that while he could not define pornography, he certainly knew it when he saw it.

Like Justice Stewart, we believe that it is possible to identify "insurgent", "terrorist", or militarized criminal groups even if we cannot define them precisely. Instead, of using generic definitions we developed several tests for determining which organizations to examine. First, the group had to use violent means to achieve its political objectives. Second, it had to be well armed and be organized in a quasi-military or paramilitary fashion. Third, the group had to be irregular; i.e., not under the control of the state's military forces like reserves or partisans. Finally, a significant amount of the group's activities had to occur in cities (even if the group itself was primarily based in rural

areas). We labeled groups, which met all these conditions, as "urban guerrillas" or "terrorists" and included them in our data set.

CATEGORIZING URBAN GUERRILLA GROUPS

Extensive professional literature about such groups divides them into five types based upon their objectives. The first two categories consist of nationalist and separatist organizations.   Although closely related, nationalist and separatist groups have a major difference. Nationalist groups like the Greek National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) which operated in Cyprus and the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria sought to force the occupying British and French colonial administrations leave their native lands.   Separatist organizations, by contrast, are usually spawned by failures to integrate and assimilate particular ethnic minorities into the wider society of a nation state. Ethnic separatist groups (like Basque Fatherland and Liberty, Provisional Irish Republican Army, and the Kurdistan Workers Party) come to see civil servants and government administrators as "colonizers" who are there to enforce discriminatory and uncongenial policies, especially in the areas of language, religion, economic opportunities, and other important symbolic issues. This drive for ethnic identity and sovereignty is so strong that ethnic separatists want independence regardless of the economic consequences. As events in Bosnia and Rwanda testify, separatist sentiments are becoming an ever more important force in the post-Cold War world. Indeed, one study sponsored by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service even goes so far as to claim that ethnic conflict "is the predominant motivation of political violence in the post-Cold War era."

The third, and most widely discussed, category is composed of ideologically motivated groups. Marxist-oriented groups like the Red Army Faction in Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy as well as the Tupamaros in Uruguay and M-19 in Columbia dominated this category throughout the Cold War period. The collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, however, has deprived many of these organizations of substantial financial support, sources of training, and sanctuary on which they depended in the 1970s and 1980s. Also the apparent failure of Marxist-Leninist economics in those countries seems to have lessened its appeal as a role model for would-be urban guerrillas. Although of declining importance, leftist groups are a far from being extinct.

Not all of the ideologically motivated are attracted to Marx. Indeed, a growing number of right-wing, neo-fascist groups are emerging. Right-wing political violence has, for example, become especially troublesome in Germany over the last few years. Disillusion with mainstream political parties, the economic strains of reunifying East and West Germany, and resentment over the influx of immigrants who are blamed for taking away jobs at a time high unemployment have created a climate in which right-wing extremism thrives. In 1992 alone, violence by right-wing groups in Germany led to 17 deaths and over 2,000 injuries. Last year was similarly violent when the German government recorded 669 attacks by such groups. Right-wing extremist violence is also on the rise in other parts of Europe and Russia.

The fourth category consists of the religiously motivated and cults.   Groups in this category are similar to those in the previous one except that their members substitute religion for ideology. Otherwise, they behave in similar ways. Islam is the primary driver of most such groups today. Notable examples of current Islamic groups include HAMAS, the Armed Islamic Group in Algeria, and the Islamic Group in Egypt. There are also organizations like Aum Shinrikyo in Japan which seem to be better characterized as cults than real religions.   According to one study only 8% of all international terrorist incidents involve such organizations. Nonetheless those incidents accounted for 30% of the people killed by "terrorist" acts between 1982 and 1993.

The history of religiously motivated paramilitary groups goes back a long way. Indeed, the word "zealot" comes from a militant Jewish sect that waged a ruthless campaign of individual assassination and mass murder against the Romans between 66-73 A.D. The Zealots also engaged in a primitive form of chemical warfare by poisoning wells and granaries used by the Romans as well as sabotaging the water supply of Jerusalem. Even the word "assassin" traces its origin to a religiously inspired terrorist group operating in what is now Syria and Iran between 1090-1272 A.D. Its assassins (literally "hashish-eaters") would ritualistically imbibed hashish prior to committing murder in their drive to expel Christian Crusaders.

Organized criminal elements like the nacroterrorists in Latin American and the Russian Mafia are emerging as a new threat and constitute the fifth category of paramilitary organization. These organizations use violence to achieve political ends. Narcoterrorists of the Medelin drug cartel in Colombia, for example, instigated a campaign of car bombing and murder in the 1980s. This campaign eventually culminated in 1991 with the Colombian government amending the constitution to forbid extraditing drug lords to the United States as well as backing away from a crackdown on the cocaine industry. Over a 24-month period, this campaign cost more than a thousand lives and did millions of dollars worth of property damage. The rival Cali Cartel even maintains a distinct military wing. In a similar fashion, the governments of Pakistan and Brazil had to use the army to reassert control over parts of Karachi and Rio de Janeiro after they fell under the defacto administrative control of organized criminal gangs. A "criminal revolution" in Russia is also seeking to claim political power, especially at local and regional levels. This even includes the use of murder and physical intimation to influence the official process of privatizing former Soviet State resources. Organized criminal groups also use widespread violence to intimidate prosecutors, judges, juries and well-known political figures from the public and private sectors that opposed them. At times, organized criminal elements may take advantage of the activities of other kinds of urban groups to achieve their own criminal purposes. Property speculators, for example, took advantage of communal rioting in Calcutta to instigate the destruction of a lower-middle class Hindu enclave so that they could subsequently build a shopping complex on the land. To hide their criminal nature, such groups often cloth themselves in vaguely populist, anti-establishment political rhetoric to generate sympathy or outright popular support from the man in the street.

The most recent development is the appearance of single-issue groups like extreme animal rights activists and radical environmentalists constitute the fifth type. The Animal Liberation Front (ALF), with chapters in 7 countries, typifies such violent single-issue groups. ALF tactics include: firebombing, vandalism, physical harassment, and even attempted murder. According to the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service, ALF gained "a fearsome reputation" after trying to kill two British scientists by attaching a bomb to their car and exemplifies "a growing militancy" among several like-minded animal rights groups. This reputation is well deserved. Incidents attributed to ALF are now averaging 80 per month in Britain. Radical environmentalists are also blamed for fire-bombing the French Embassy in Perth, Australia in 1995 to protest the resumption of French nuclear testing at Moruroa atoll.

Not all groups fit neatly into only one classification. The Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), for example, are both ethnic separatist organizations with left-wing ideological agendas. That notwithstanding, it is clear that the PIRA and the PKK both have much stronger ethnic separatist agenda than ideological motives. Also there is the case of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) which seems to fit somewhere between a nationalist and an ethnic separatist group depending upon one's viewpoint. Fortunately, an exclusive taxonomy is not essential to the outcome of this study.

PROFILE OF MEMBERS AND GROUPS

Size

The active membership (i.e., fighters) of urban guerrilla and terrorist groups is usually small in the context of the overall population of large metropolitan areas in which they operate. Leaders of such groups want their groups to be visible, not vast. Consequently, there is often a conscious decision to restrict membership in active service elements to only a few people. The leadership of the Jewish Irgun in Palestine in the 1940s never wanted, nor could have probably used, many operational people. Likewise, the leader of the EOKA in Cyprus chose to maintain a small organization. EOKA active membership never exceeded 350 people, few of whom were full time. In fact, the backbone of the EOKA consisted mainly of 85 members in Nicosia and another 34 in Limassol at the height its power. According to one analyst, "reliable police statistics" indicate that the total number of active terrorists in all European groups combined only totaled between 970 and 1,000 members in the period 1976-1979.

There are several reasons why "less is often more" when it comes to the size of urban guerrilla organizations. For one thing, small organizations require less money to equip and maintain – not an insignificant consideration, as we shall see later. More importantly, however, small organizations make it easier to ensure security in the face of intense government scrutiny. Indeed, the larger the movement, the greater the danger of detection. The experience of the Tupamaros in Uruguay is illustrative. They began with only about 50 members in 1965 but grew to almost 3,000. This success was their undoing for the very size of the movement made it easier for security forces to track

down its members, eventually to arrest many of them, and destroy their organization. The Provisional Irish Republican Army had similar problems; i.e., large numbers of active service personnel made it easier for the British to infiltrate the organization and made it more vulnerable to informers. The human dynamics of such groups also works in favor of limited membership. That is, there is a tendency to form factions and splinter groups if the original organization becomes too large.

The size of the active service component of urban guerrilla and terrorists groups generally ranges from a couple of hundred at the low end to a couple of thousand members at the high end.   The following estimates of the number of hardcore operational activists for some of the major urban paramilitary groups illustrate this point:

- Basque Fatherland and Liberty-- 200
- Irgun in Palestine -- 200
- FLN in Algiers only – 200
- PIRA – 250-300
- EOKA in Cyprus – 350 maximum, often less
- M-19 in Colombia – 1,000
- Armed Islamic Group in Algeria – several hundred to several thousand

Demographics of Membership

Surprisingly the type person who becomes an urban guerrilla or terrorist remains essentially the same regardless of culture, geography, or era. As we shall demonstrate below, such a person is generally young, single, male, and has some education. Additionally, in the case of ideologically motivated groups, a member is likely to come from a middle or upper family.

As a rule, the frontline cadre of paramilitary organizations are generally young people in their early to mid 20s. Exceptions to this rule sometimes occur like in the case of the Provisional IRA and various Islamic groups that use teenagers, sometimes as young as 12-14 years old. The leadership, on the other hand, is generally much older, usually being in their the mid-30s to early 40s. Again however, there are some notable exceptions like the cases of Carlos Marighella (the world's leading theoretician of urban terrorism) in Brazil who was 58 at the time of his death and the policy leaders of Palestinian groups who are often in their late 40s or early 50s.

The operational cadre is predominantly male -- as much as 80% of the time between 1966 and 1976 according to one study. This observation was echoed by another paper devoted exclusively to the topic of women as terrorists that concluded: "women have played a relatively minor role in terrorist violence in the last thirty years." Case studies into the behavior of individual groups reinforce these general findings. For example, only one quarter of the Tupmaros in Uruguay were women. Limiting the role of women is apparently a long-standing practice among urban guerrilla and terrorist groups. This is suggested by a study that found that women made up only 25% of all Russian terrorists prior to the 1917 revolution. The Greek EOKA operating in Cyprus during the 1950s

forbade women to serve as fighters altogether. Predictably, most strict Islamic groups follow the same practice even today. Even in ultra-liberal German groups of the 1980s like the Red Army Faction and the Movement Two June women never accounted for more than one-third of the operational personnel. The Provisional Irish Republican Army takes a somewhat different approach but achieves much the same result by maintaining a separate section for women called the *Cumann na mBan*.

Although discouraged from participating in field operations, women nonetheless still played a significant part in urban guerrilla and terrorist organizations. Women have often played key roles in organizing, leading, and planning the activities of such groups. Lelia Khalid and Fuska Shigenobu for instance led the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Japanese Red Army respectively. Norma Ester Arostito was a cofounder of the Argentine Montoneros and served as the group's chief ideologue until her death in 1976. Gudrun Ensslin was the mastermind behind many of the Red Army Faction's most daring escapades like breaking Andreas Baader out of German government custody.

Traditionally, women have dominated support activities like collecting intelligence, serving as couriers, operating safe houses, and storing weapons, documents, and funds. Relegating women to support functions is not just the result of the groups having male chauvinist leaders. Indeed, there are some sound operational reasons why women dominate intelligence and courier functions. Security forces the world over are less suspicious of women, often letting them enter areas denied to men under the guise of being wives and mothers. Also security personnel are often less suspicious of a group of women living alone than they are of the same size group of men. Consequently, it is easier for women to operate accommodation drops, safe houses, and secure storage sites.

Some sociologists believe that this pattern may be changing and that significantly more women may become frontline fighters in future. They note women in Latin America, Europe, and parts of Asia are playing ever-larger roles in society and the economy. They deduce that wider participation of women in general economic activity will eventually spill over into other endeavors like urban guerrilla warfare. On the more practical side, these same sociologists observe that women are also acquiring many new, and highly relevant, skills as new opportunities open to them in military service and industry. More specifically, such observers note that the military and police organizations are now teaching large numbers of women to shoot guns and handle explosives. Similarly, work on farms, in forests, and in mines also familiarizes women with explosives. These academics then forecast that the acquisition of such new skills will make it much easier for women to participate more fully in frontline, violent activities of urban guerrillas and terrorists.

Members of these groups are generally unmarried for a variety of mutually reinforcing reasons. (Indeed, one study of 350 Asian, South American, Middle Eastern, and European terrorists arrested between 1966 and 1976 discovered that 75 to 80% of the prisoners were single.) Operational requirements place a premium on mobility, flexibility, initiative, secrecy, and total dedication to the cause. Attributes that often

conflict with the demands of married life. In a few cases among German groups, some married people severed all ties with their spouses and children in order to serve their cause more fully and effectively. Age may be another reason why so many frontline activists are single. They are generally young (12 to 25 years old) – a time of life when many of their contemporaries are also still unmarried.

There are some exceptions to this rule, most notably among the Tupamaros in Uruguay and the Provisional Irish Republican Army. These exceptions, however, illustrate the greater risks and heavier logistical demands entailed by employing large numbers of married activists. The arrest and interrogation of 13 wives created a significant morale problem for the Tupamaros. This, in turn, virtually forced the group to attempt their rescue by attacking a women's prison in Montevideo. The imprisonment of married male cadre has raised similar morale and security problems for the Provisional Irish Republican Army. The organization must provide financial support to keep up group morale, ease the minds of those imprisoned, and ensure that the PIRA prisoners do not feel compelled to trade information to British authorities for reduced sentences in order to ensure their families' financial well being.

The leaders, and sometimes the rank-in-file membership, of urban guerrillas and terrorists are often well educated. A detailed study found that two-thirds of most ideologically motivated groups had at least some university training. This is hardly surprising since universities are traditionally the primary recruiting grounds for such groups. Over time, however, the overall educational level of ideological groups can decline. The well-educated first generation leadership of the Italian Red Brigades ultimately gave way to a second that was "less intellectual." Ideologically motivated groups in Turkey echo the experience of the Italian Red Brigades. There too students or university dropouts dominated the groups from both the political right and left through 1975. Subsequently, non-students with only limited formal schooling came to dominate the rank-in-file membership. Indeed, a sizeable portion of these Turkish groups after 1975 came from urban squatter settlements called *gecekondus* and the poorest segments of society.

The same statistical study found that only 40% of the leaders and members of nationalist and separatist groups between 1966 and 1976 had any university training. This observation is consistent with case studies of individual nationalist and separatist groups. Indeed, one caustic account of the Provisional Irish Republican Army insisted that "their leadership has practically no intellectuals." Lower educational levels, especially among separatist groups, is hardly surprising since discrimination in educational opportunities is one of the grievances which leads them to revolt in the first place.

The social backgrounds of members vary widely depending upon the type of group. From the 1880s onward, children of middle and upper-middle class backgrounds were usually the dominant element of ideologically motivated groups. A statistical review found that well over two-thirds of the members of such groups came from middle or upper class families. Although their parents were part of the established social order, they were often frustrated in their efforts at upward social and economic mobility. Also, the

parents generally had liberal political outlooks, frequently advocating the desirability of significant social and political change.

The father of Gudrun Ensslin (a leader of the Red Army Faction) is a good example of such people. He was a socially conscious clergyman who believed there was much wrong with post-World War II German Society. In an open letter addressed to "all those parents who were seriously concerned about the mutual conflicts between parents and children during the last 10 to 15 years", he claimed that an increasing number of young people were unable to adjust to the social environment of Germany. He went on to blame the injustices and dishonesty of society for producing neurosis, depression, and psychosis that made it difficult for German youth to adjust. The background of Victor Polay, co-founder of the Tupac Armaru Revolutionary Movement, is similar to that of Gudrun Ensslin. His parents were both left-wing political reformers who were active in the Peruvian labor movement of the 1930s.

Such a liberal family background may not be the only explanation for why so many ideologically motivated activists came from middle or upper class families. One theory maintains that only middle and upper class families could afford to send their children to universities where these parental views were coupled with the radical socioeconomic doctrines so popular in university circles in the 1960s and 1970s. The combination of the two forces, in turn, was what led many middle and upper class young people to adopt terrorism and guerrillas methods. At other times, upper class children from more politically conservative family backgrounds turned to urban violence out of boredom. In the case of India, for example, "youth of the idle rich" sometimes engaged in communal violence simply for "excitement."

Members of national and separatist groups, by contrast, almost always consist of people from lower social backgrounds than those that populate ideological groups. Membership in the violent Loyalist militias in Northern Ireland, for example, comes predominantly from working class neighborhoods and enjoys little middle class support. The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Basque Fatherland and Liberty consist mainly of the same kind of people. However to the extent that nationalist and separatist groups have a left-wing orientation, they are more likely to be populated by white-collar workers and intellectuals with middle class backgrounds.

There are several reasons why nationalists and separatists come primarily from the ranks of the unemployed and the working class. Membership often offers the societally disadvantaged a way of gaining social status. (Possession of a gun, for example, is an important status symbol in many communities.) Joining also offers the recruit a chance for adventure or a way of relieving boredom. Rioting in Northern Ireland, for example, was considered a form of entertainment after awhile. There are other, more practical, explanations as well. Members of such groups often feel their upward social mobility is blocked by the behavior of administrators appointed by a colonial power or drawn from members of a different ethnic group. This ingrained resentment of conditions makes them predisposed to violence and hence become natural recruiting targets by nationalist and separatist organizations. At other times, simple economics is the lure. Membership

in paramilitary organizations offer a lucrative source of income from the extortion, kidnapping, bank robbery, and drug trafficking methods used by such groups to finance their activities. This is an especially important issue to the unemployed with little education coming from urban slums.

Organization

Most of urban guerrilla and terrorist organizations are organized in a non-hierarchical fashion. Even where vertical definition exists, it generally consists of relatively few layers. Typically, such groups are composed of several three to ten person cells that are tightly compartmented from each other in the interest of security. (This pattern is pretty consistent across time, regardless of the nature of the group, or its location.) The FLN in Algeria during the late 1950s and early 1960s provides a good example of such organization. An FLN military director in each region headed an organization consisting of three 11-man groups. Each group was composed of three 3-person cells plus a chief and a deputy. Additionally, there was a 50 to150-person bomb network that was responsible directly to the zonal commander. Similarly, the Tupamaros in Uruguay were organized into two to six member cells linked together to form "columns" that operated in particular geographic areas. All the columns were then subordinated to an overall executive committee. The current Provisional Irish Republican Army employs much the same structure as the Tupamaros, although their nomenclature is somewhat different. For example, the PIRA has an "Army Council" that serves much the same function as the executive committee of the Tupamaros and has "Active Service Units" instead of cells.

In some cases, there is also functional specialization among the cells. Some groups, for example, appear to have maintained separate cells devoted exclusively to activities like intelligence, sniping, executions, bombings, propaganda, and robberies.

Actual control is typically diffuse with each cell having a good bit of operational autonomy. Decision-making structure within today's Islamic fundamentalist groups in Algeria is "informal" with most decisions coming via consultation and consensus. Similarly, operational cells within the "columns" of the Italian Red Brigades enjoyed considerable operational autonomy. There is also a large degree of autonomy among PIRA Active Service Units (i.e., cells) operating in north and south Belfast from upper level commanders. When the Northern Command of PIRA wished to raise campaign funds for an upcoming election, it apparently issued instructions for all Active Service Units to raise the money, but issued no instructions as to how they were to go about doing so. Thus, questions of interpretation and implementation were left up to individual local commanders. In a sense, the relationship between the command elements of many of these organizations can best be described as one of influence more than control at the tactical level. Command elements seem to have much greater influence in determining overall objectives and strategies.

There are, however, some notable exceptions. The Greek EOKA was a thoroughly centralized and authoritarian organization being, in the words of one observer, merely "an extension of the leader's will and personality." This same observer goes on to describe

the EOKA's command structure as consisting of "one Field Marshal, a score of lieutenants, and the rest privates – and not to many privates." One suspects that the small size of the EOKA, coupled with the fact that it was primarily concentrated in two cities on a small island, made such centralized command and control possible.

Some social psychologists and sociologists, however, argue that the one leader/everyone else followers principle is the preferred one for many charismatic and messianic leaders. In small groups, it is possible to establish a "centrifugal infrastructure" which resembles the solar system with the leader in the center as the sun and the members rotating around him like planets. Indeed, it is only possible in small group where the leader can regularly interact with all of its members.

The "centrifugal infrastructure" has some important consequences for the organizational behavior. The leaders of such groups must do more than plan operations and give orders. They must be participants in virtually every action since their participation is extremely important to the rank-and-file members because they view him as a charismatic father figure. Indeed, their continued fealty to the leader may depend upon him personally leading them into battle. The "centrifugal" system also ensures more rapid communication thereby increasing tactical flexibility in combat operations. Direct access to the leader permits him to identify and implement the most ingenious schemes as well as to mobilize against targets of opportunities. The latter again enhances operational flexibility. Finally, in such groups the leader must personally select and recruit each member. Indeed, the leader's role as sole recruiter in such organizations is pivotal since incoming members generally think more in terms of the "magnetic and ego-gratifying" qualities of the leader than they do about the group's chances for success.

Armament

Urban guerrilla and terrorist groups are lightly armed by professional military standards since they generally stick to small arms, automatic weapons, and explosives. At the upper end, such groups sometimes use rocket-propelled grenades and mortars. This is somewhat surprising since some well-heeled groups the Provisional Irish Republican Army and narcoterrorists could certainly afford to procure much heavier weapons if they chose to do so. Carlos Marighella's *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* may provide some insight into their thinking when he explains:

"We would leave ourselves open to the most stunning defeats if we burdened ourselves with heavy arms and with the tremendous weight of the ammunition necessary to fire them, at the same time losing our precious gift of mobility."

While the weapons of choice remain pretty constant, the quantities vary widely from group to group. Some groups rarely have enough weapons to go around. The Jewish Irgun in Palestine for example only had enough arms after four years of operations to equip one third of its 2,000 members. By contrast, the Irgun's chief's Zionist rival Haganah began operations with an inventory of 22,000 rifles, 11,000 submachineguns, 1,500 light machine guns, a small number of medium machine guns,

800 mortars, 72 anti-tank weapons, and four 75mm field guns. Likewise, the Provisional Irish Republican Army is estimated to have sufficient arms and ammunition in storage to equip two battalions. While it is difficult to attest to the accuracy of these estimates, it is known for certain that the Garda of the Irish Republic seized 800 firearms of all types and 300,000 rounds of ammunition bound for the PIRA between 1985 and 1993. (These are very significant numbers given that the total fighting strength of the PIRA is estimated to range from 200 to 400 people depending upon the source.)

Bombs were the overwhelming preference of urban guerrillas and terrorists for more than a century. Indeed, bombing accounted for 46% of all international terrorist attacks carried out between 1968 and 1994. This percentage rarely fell below 40% or exceeded 50% during that period. The U.S. Army's Field Manual FM-7-98 offers different numbers in making the same point. According to FM-7-98, 67% of all terrorist incidents in the 1980s were bombings. One group alone (the Greek EOKA) planted 4,750 bombs in its campaign against the British. (Only about 60% of which actually detonated.)

Explosive devices are popular because they are easy and cheap to produce, have variable uses, are often difficult to detect, and are hard to trace after the event. Additionally, bombs can be detonated remotely thereby allowing the perpetrator to get well away from the scene before the device explodes. Finally, bombings are not manpower intensive since bombings are usually only a 2 or 3 person jobs that do not make the same logistic, organizational, and intelligence demands upon the organization as kidnappings, assassinations, or building takeovers. This is probably an important consideration since the active service elements of most groups are small 3 to 10 person cells. Thus, bombs will probably remain the weapon of choice in future since they continue to offer convenient, inexpensive, and relatively low risk means of drawing attentions to their causes.

Urban guerrillas and terrorists employ a wide variety of explosive devices. These include:
- Vehicle bombs – cars/trucks filled with explosives, booby-trapped cars, explosives attached under a seat, hood, or the main body of the vehicle
- Postal bombs – delivered as letters and packages
- Grenades – extensively used against embassy compounds; this category also includes a PIRA anti-vehicle grenade called a "drogue bomb" which consists of about 230 g of explosive packed into a big baked bean can attached to a throwing handle
- Culvert bombs and land mines – a favorite of the PIRA
- Trashcan and mailbox bombs
- Firebombs – the most popular type is a time-delayed incendiary often carried in a cigarette packet or a cassette tape container
- Bicycle bombs
- Booby-traps – commonly triggered by trembler devices and photo cells
- Nail bombs – used as anti-personnel devices
- Wall bomb – explosives are packed inside a wall which is then replastered

- "Walkaway" bombs – an individual walks up with a package or briefcase, deposits the bomb in a very public place like department stores, railway stations, airports, and strolls away.

These devices can be detonated in many different was. The most popular of which are:

- Command activation – radio signals, electronic leads, or pull wire/mechanical strikers. Other more sophisticated methods include radar signals and microwaves.
- Self-detonation by subject/target. This method includes trip wires, pressure devices, light sensitive detonators, and electric detonators
- Time delay – clocks mechanisms, burning fuses, chemical delay, atmospheric pressure

Groups have a wide choice of potential sources and kinds of explosives with which to make their bombs. During the Cold War, it was relatively easy for such organizations to get military grade explosives like Semtex from Eastern Europe and some radical Middle Eastern states like Libya. Semtex was much prized because it was relatively safe to use, high quality, and difficult for security forces to detect. The collapse of Communism and the demise of the Warsaw Pact has shut off many traditional suppliers from Eastern Europe. In the short run, this is probably more of an annoyance than a major impediment because it is still possible to buy military grade explosives that have been smuggled out of laxly guarded military depots of the Former Soviet Union. (For example, the Russian intelligence service in May 1996 claimed that the PIRA was trying to buy weapons for the Estonian territorial reserve force – a claim that Estonia flatly denies.) Also, some groups still have a large inventory of Semtex on hand. The Provisional Irish Republican Army, for example, is reputed still to have 3 tons hidden away. Groups can also steal or buy commercial explosives like gelignite, Frangex, and Gelemex from legitimate businesses and/or industrial supply houses.

Alternatively, some groups simply resort to making their own explosives from commercial chemicals that are readily available. The PIRA, for example, has become very skilled in making explosives by mixing either nitro-benzene or diesel oil with fertilizer. Producing such explosives is not a difficult technology to master.

The Internet now makes it easy for even the neophyte to make explosives. One website called *Beserk! Home for the Mis-Guided* offers advice on how to make a "Chemical Fire Bottle", "Plastic Explosives from Bleach", and napalm. (Its constructor goes on to advise that: "All of this info is dangerous, so be careful! I don't want anybody injured.") Another website called *The Anarchist's Cookbook* offers recipes for a wide variety of explosives and bombs, including: thermite bombs, touch explosives, letter bombs, paint bombs, two kinds of napalm, landmines, dynamite, nitroglycerin, nail grenade, a "pipe hand grenade", and something called a "tennis ball bomb." This same site also provides advice on making detonators (e.g., underwater igniters, making fuses, mercury fulminate, a delayed igniter from a cigarette, and igniters from book matches). A third website entitled *EXPLOSIVE FUN* not only offers information about making explosives, it also

has sections on where to get the basic ingredients and excuses to offer when buying the raw materials. This site also flashes the following message across the screen: "If you don't understand something – then contact me." The creator of *EXPLOSIVE FUN* also maintains a running count on how many people have accesses the site. According to this record, we were the 2176th visitor.

Urban guerrillas and terrorists employ a wide range of small arms. Typically, the armory of such groups contains the following kinds of small arms:

- Hand guns – Browning 9mm, CZ70, Remington 45, FN 9mm GPA pistols, Webley .455
- Assault rifles – AK-47/AKM, Armilite AR-15, M-16, Heckler & Koch G3
- Sniper rifles – Barrett M82A1
- Submachine guns – Uzi 9mm, MAC-10, Skorpion 7.65mm
- Machine guns – DShK 12.7mm, FN MAG 7.62mm

Rocket propelled grenades (RPG) also enjoy considerable popularity, especially the RPG-7. The PLO, for example, frequently ambushed Israeli M113 armored personnel carriers in Lebanon in 1982. These PLO ambushes with Soviet-designed RPGs produces extensive casualties in part because of the tendency of the M113-s aluminum armor to catch fire after being hit by an RPG round. In some Israeli units, men became so frightened at the possibility of RPG induced fire that they simply walked next to their M113 or rode outside rather than risk being burned to death. More recently, an unidentified group fired 3 RPGs at a limousine carrying Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze in February of 1998. It is also suspected that the PIRA has about 40 RPGs in its inventory.

The Provisional Irish Republican Army has also deployed several types of homemade, throwaway mortars "to devastating effect" against a wide range of targets over the years. Press releases by the Royal Ulster Constabulary even go so far as to describe these mortars as the undoubted "favorite weapon of the Provisional IRA." This assertion is reinforced by the fact that PIRA used its homemade mortars on average of once every ten days in the six months prior to the 1994 cease-fire. The targets of PIRA mortar attacks include reinforced police and military compounds, British military facilities outside Northern Ireland, Heathrow airport outside London, and once against the British Prime Minister's official residence at 10 Downing Street during the Gulf War. Members of PIRA Active Service Units have also used their mortars in a direct-fire mode against police and military vehicles as surrogates for RPG anti-tank weapons.

Although the PIRA has field up to 17 different mortar variants, they all are constructed in basically the same way. Some number of homemade mortar tubes are mounted on the back or inside of a hijacked truck or van. These tubes are sealed on one end and fitted with an electrically detonated charge that launches the projectile out of the tube. They are usually one-shot weapons because they are very difficult to reload quickly, but have considerable destructive effect because several tubes are fitted together and fired salvo fashion. Typically, these mortars fire 40-60 pound projectiles from 80 to 300 yards.

The "Mark 10" version which was used against 10 Downing Street, for example, can heave a six-inch shell containing 24 pounds of explosives up to 300 meters. These improvised mortars have several problems. First, they are very inaccurate and so must be used either as area weapons that depend upon saturation for effect or in a direct-line of sight fashion (as against vehicles at fairly short ranges). The other major difficulty is that many of the rounds have failed to explode on impact.

The Provisional Irish Republican Army may not be alone in using mortars. The Jewish Irgun in the mid-1940s also manufactured its own mortars. There are also unconfirmed reports claiming that the Iranians and some unspecified Japanese Groups have also employed improvised mortars.

The vast majority of terrorists and urban guerrilla groups have relied primarily upon two basic weapons (guns and bombs) for more than a century. Indeed, the statistics about their activities suggest to some analysts that most organizations are very conservative when it comes to choosing their tools.

Some technologically more adventuresome groups have recently begun breaking away from these historical norms. The Aum Shinrikyo cult, for example, carried out multiple chemical attacks against Japanese subway passengers on March 20, 1995 that killed 12 and injured 5,500. A member of the same group threatened a massive nerve gas attack at 11 stations of the Koltsevaya line of the Moscow subway three years later. They are not alone. German police confiscated a coded diskette containing information on how to produce mustard gas from a neo-Nazi group in February of 1996. In a third episode, a Chechen leader threatened to turn Moscow into an "eternal desert" via radioactive waste. To demonstrate their potential for doing so, the Chechens directed a Russian news agency to a small amount of cesium-137 (a highly radioactive material used for industrial and medical purposes) in a shielded container that the news agency found in a Moscow park. According to a subsequent assessment by the U.S. Department of Defense, the park would have been contaminated by low level radiation if that small amount of cesium-137 had been dispersed in a bomb blast. Use of non-fissionable radioactive materials is unlikely to produce large numbers of casualties. However, they could lead to serious physical disruption of urban activities and interruption of economic activity as well as causing psychological trauma to a workforce or population.

Although heavily dependent upon commercially produced weapons, many groups have active research, development, and production programs as well. Indeed, nearly all explosive devices are homemade. Furthermore, groups like the PIRA employ university educated technical specialists in their ranks to design and construct sophisticated timing and remote control mechanisms for bombs and mortars. These same people also developed techniques for countering the British Army's "disruptive" radio signals by using radar guns and microwave receivers. The Jewish Irgun operating in Palestine in the mid-1940s also established arms manufacturing centers to produce hand grenades, Sten guns, mortars, and various types of mines.

The Aum Shinrikyo had similar facilities that were designed to produce a variety of chemical agents, including sarin. Japanese Police raids on Aum Shinrikyo facilities uncovered a four-story chemical factory under construction, including a "half-finished computer control room." Japanese police investigators also discovered that the cult was experimenting with biological agents and had plans to build a multi-story bacterial research facility, complete with a decontamination room. Apparently, Aum Shinikyo members were also converting two radio-controlled miniature helicopters, ostensibly into crop dusters using pesticide-spraying equipment they already had. Additionally, there is evidence that the cult tried to mine its own uranium in Australia and had obtained a classified document that described a technique for enriching uranium using laser beams.

Finances

Urban insurgents and terrorists cannot live by enthusiasm alone. Even Marxist idealists need a great deal of money because urban operations are expensive. A couple of historical examples shed light on the extent of this problem. The small Jewish Irgun that operated in Palestine during the 1940s needed 2,500 British pounds per month in 1945 just to meet normal operating expenses – no small sum for those times. Special operations (which were often crucial to the Irgun's success) were extra. Just one spectacular escape, for instance, might (at 3,000 pounds) cost more than the normal operating budget of an entire month. The amount needed for large groups to keep operating is sometimes staggering. The 1983 battle for Tripoli lasted 45 days and cost the PLO more than $26 million. The PLO spent approximately $580,000 *each day* to pay its soldiers as well as to purchase extra arms and ammunition to continue that battle. Another observer estimates that the PLO spends $100 million per year on its military wing – Al Fatah. Even the small, ultra-leftist German Red Army Faction needed lots of cash. This group is estimated to have raised 1.7 million Deutsche Marks from robbery and extortion by the mid-1970s. Such large sums quickly pass through the hands of urban paramilitary organizations. The Italian Red Brigades, for example, spent one entire million-dollar ransom within a year.

In a sense, urban paramilitaries are "businesses" and, like their more everyday counterparts, have certain recurring expenses. They must provide at least minimal wages and benefits to their frontline "employees". The experience of the PLO provides a useful illustration of these expenses. Each Palestinian who joined the PLO in Lebanon during the early 1980s received between 700 and 1,000 Lebanese pounds per month which was roughly the equivalent to the average monthly wage of a Lebanese farm worker. Additionally, each man's wife was paid 650 Lebanese pounds a month plus another 25 pounds for each child under sixteen. Similarly, the Provisional Irish Republican Army also pays each of its fighters a nominal stipend each month as well as provides financial assistance to the families of jailed members. Loyalist groups like the Ulster Defense Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force also had to provide salaries for full-time members plus provide support to prisoners and their families. Additionally, such groups must pay monthly rent on safe houses and storage facilities as well as pay at least some of the group's transportation costs. (Not all transportation can be stolen.) Beyond these

housekeeping and force maintenance expenses, urban guerrillas and terrorists must expend a good bit upon arms and explosives.

Consequently, urban paramilitaries are in constant need of large amounts of money, often running into the millions of dollars. The only measure of how much they need to continue operating is what some groups have raised in the past. The PLO is one of the largest, and arguably the richest, such organization in the world. In the mid-1980s, the total annual income from various PLO factions was estimated to exceed $1.25 billion. According to its own estimates, the PLO lost $350 to $400 million in income from its business interests destroyed by the 1982 Israeli invasion into Lebanon. It is also estimated that the PLO shifted more than $400 million out of Lebanon to Switzerland and Jordan in a single week in 1982 when the Israelis prepared to besiege Beirut.

The PLO is not the only group to bring in large amounts of money. The Provisional IRA also generates millions of dollars a year, mostly from illegal activities. In one instance, the PIRA allegedly got 1 to 2 million British pounds in financial assistance from the Libyans. One scheme for manipulating British currency and Customs regulations in the early to mid 1980s is believe to have netted the PIRA between $250,000 a year in bad years and as much as $3 million per year in good ones.

Urban paramilitary groups need such large amounts of money in part because of inefficiencies in their collection and distribution process. Sometimes, a group must split the "take" with its criminal partners. For example, the Red Brigades in Italy had to divide one $2 million ransom evenly with the Camorra criminal syndicate. Ransom money and the proceeds from bank robberies usually must be laundered through professionals because the authorities have a list of the serial numbers of the individual bills. The cost of doing so is high -- usually a running 30% of every note exchanged. Because paramilitary organizations primarily operate as cash economies, it is difficult for the leadership to "audit" funds. Consequently, some of the money sticks to the fingers of those who raise the illegal funds. Even Colonel Gadaffi would sometimes keep the "revolutionary taxes" collected by the PLO from Palestinians living in Libya depending upon his attitude towards the PLO at that particular time.

The leadership of all of these groups recognizes that some degree of skimming is inevitable given the cash nature of their financing. They are willing to tolerate such skimming as long as it remains within "reasonable" bounds. As one veteran member of Northern Ireland paramilitary group explained it: I don't much mind a man buying a new car every now and then. I just don't want him to take the wife and kids on vacation to Spain every year.

Kidnapping for ransom has remained one the most popular and enduring techniques for raising money everywhere, especially in Latin America and Europe. In fact, kidnappings for ransom accounted for 7.9% of all incidents over the last decade. Marxist groups in Latin America have often shaken the money tree vigorously in the past through hostage and ransom schemes. The U.S. State Department calls ransom one of the major sources of finance for such Latin American groups and claims that guerrillas in Colombia earn

"millions of dollars" each year in this way. In one episode alone during 1996, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) demanded $1 million for a kidnapped U.S. citizen. In 1994, kidnappers in Guatemala earned more that $35 million by seizing 3 to 4 wealth people per month on average. Basque Fatherland and Liberty also often engages in kidnapping for ransom schemes and, on several occasions, has received ransoms of more than $1 million. Perhaps the most audacious recent ransom demand came from the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement which unsuccessfully tried to extort $100 million from Japanese companies for the release of business executives held hostage in the Japanese Embassy in Lima, Peru.

Kidnappers favorite targets are rich businessmen or the in-country executives of major multi-national corporations. Kidnapping such people serves two (perhaps equally important) purposes for urban revolutionaries. Practically, the ransom provides essential operating funds to the group at considerably less risk than bank robberies. But equally important, such actions are seen as striking powerful psychological blows at the social hierarchy of the state, the detested capitalist system in general, and/or at the "international imperialism" of multi-national corporations in specific. This offers the secondary benefit of increasing the political standing of the group among its main target audience. Thus, ideology and financial gain coalesce into a single act whereby the state is weakened and the urban revolutionary's coffers are filled.

It is not just businesses that pay large ransoms. The Basque Fatherland and Liberty, for example, extracted between $4.5 and $5.6 million dollars from the family of Lius Suner Sanchis, Spain's wealthiest businessman. This same group also got a large ransom (some claim as high as $14 million) from the family of Cosme Delclaux. Families usually become a secondary target of opportunity if a business or government refuses payment as a matter of policy. The cases of Lius Suner Sanchis and Cosme Delclaux notwithstanding, the net result of families paying kidnappers is usually a smaller ransom because personal resources are far less than corporate ones.

Sometimes, groups have "kidnapped" valuable animals instead of people. In one case, the Provisional Irish Republican Army tried unsuccessfully to ransom Shergar (a racehorse valued at 10 million British pounds in 1984) back to its owners. (The failure was due to the incompetence of the PIRA negotiators.) The Italian Red Brigades tried the same thing in the late 1970s; this time seizing a second-rate racehorse that they believed to be "priceless." The owner refused to pay or negotiate, instead preferring the insurance to the horse. Faced with such intransigence by the owner, the group then shot and ate the horse. Subsequently, the "kidnappers" (who were also factory workers) were greeted by a chorus of neighs every time they came to work.

Kidnapping for ransom can be unbelievably lucrative. The Exxon Corporation, for instance, paid $14.2 million to a Marxist group in Argentina to release Victor Samuelson, one of their executives. The all time record, however, is $60 million paid to the Monteneros in Argentina for returning the Juan and Jorge Born who owned the grain-exporting firm of Bunge & Born. In addition to the $60 million ransom, the group insisted that the company distribute $1 million in food and clothing to the poor. Some

estimate that $350 million total went to guerrilla and terrorist groups between 1968 and 1985, with $150 million of that amount coming from U.S.-based companies.

Over time, the announced payoff from kidnapping appears to have declined. This may be illusionary because businesses often do not admit to kidnapping since to do so would invite government pressure to withhold the ransom. Also, firms have an interest in denying payoffs both to discourage imitators and to hide the extent of their business losses. Some multinational companies stated policy of not ransoming kidnapped employees might be no more than a public gesture to appease the local government. Companies and governments have very different priorities in kidnap situations. Firms want the employee returned whereas the local government wants to deny funding to the insurgent or terrorist group. (The Argentine government for example complained that the $60 million paid for the return of Juan and Jorge Born equaled one third of the national defense budget.)

Differing priorities often put firms and government at odds in kidnap situations. The same holds true for the families of kidnapped diplomats versus their home government. Indeed, families and governments may develop an adversarial relationship since the families are willing to do anything to assure the victim's return while the government steadfastly opposes any ransom which may finance subsequent activities by urban paramilitary groups. (Governments are right to be concerned. The takeover of the Japanese Embassy in Lima by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement was financed by the $1.2 million ransom paid for returning a Bolivian businessman.)

Differing priorities lead to situations where firms and families either deny that any money changed hands and/or refuse to supply any information to security forces that might assist in the return of the victim. Company officials in Argentina in the 1970s often went so far as to deny reports to the police that the victim had been kidnapped, claiming instead that the executive was either away on business or taking a vacation trip. At times, private sources will do what governments will not. When M-19 seized the Dominican embassy in Bogota in 1980, the Colombian government refused M-19's $50 million dollar ransom demand. Private sources, however, paid M-19 $2.5 million despite the Colombian government's wishes. The family of Richard Starr, a U.S. government employee stationed in Colombia, paid his kidnappers $250,000 in 1980 despite the U.S. State Department's official policy of not negotiating with terrorists.

This situation is complicated still further by the advent of kidnap insurance that is now available to potential victims. Indeed, some Italian judges believe that the very existence of such policies is one of the main reasons why kidnapping was turned into a veritable industry in the 1970s and 1980s. Insurance companies (and their negotiators) are primarily interested in minimizing the financial impact of getting the victim back. They have few incentives to assist the government and little responsibility for how the insurgents and terrorists subsequently use the money. One observer thinks that this creates "an unintentional conspiracy" where the kidnapper, victim, and insurance company have found a level at which they are all prepared to work together. The insurgents and terrorists get their money, potential victims are assured of getting released

without having to dig into their personal assets, and the insurance companies get their premiums. Only the government is left out in the cold in this arrangement since it is the one that must bear the consequences of subsequent violent actions financed through this cozy arrangement.

Bank robberies provide another major revenue stream to insurgent and terrorist organizations. Individual robberies sometimes yield spectacular results. The Provisional Irish Republican Army, for example, collected 40,000 British pounds from one bank in Londonderry in May of 1972. Three Berlin bank robberies by the Red Army Faction in September 1970 netted the group 200,000 Deutsche Marks. The same group got another 115,000 Deutsche Marks from two banks in Kassel during 1971 plus 285,000 Deutsche Marks from the Kaiserlautern branch of the Bavarian Mortgage and Exchange Bank in 1972. The most lucrative heist, however, occurred in 1982 when the Christian Phalange Militia teamed with the PLO to loot $50 to 100 million in gold, jewelry, and cash from the British Bank of the Middle East in Beirut.

Although clearly criminal acts, insurgents and terrorists go to great lengths to justify bank robberies as legitimate political statements. One pamphlet put out by the Red Army Faction, for example, describes such acts in the following way:

> "No one claims that bank robbery of itself changes anything…. For the revolutionary organization it means first of all a solution of its financial problems. It is logistically correct, since otherwise the financial problem could not be solved at all. It is politically correct because it is an act of dispossession. It is tactically correct because it is a proletarian action. It is strategically correct because it serves the financing of the guerrilla."

Groups have long strong-armed "revolutionary taxes" from local businesses, the general population, and ex-patriots abroad through threats and violence. Sometimes, friendly third-party states have even assisted the group in collecting such "taxes" from local immigrants. During the 1970s and 1980s, every Palestinian was obliged to donate 5 to 10% of his income to the PLO. In two places (Libya and Algeria), the government permitted this amount to be deducted before the worker received his pay. The Kurdistan Workers Party follows the same practice of "taxing" Kurdish "guest workers" in Germany today.

Loyalist and Catholic paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland have advanced the protection racket to a veritable art form. Money extorted from pubs, small businesses, and private households (plus bank raids) generated nearly 1 million British pounds for such groups in 1972. Eventually, nearly every major legitimate business in Northern Ireland was paying protection money. Indeed, one "senior [British] civil servant" estimated in 1985 that: "Belfast has got to the stage now where contracts automatically have ten per cent built in on the cost of everything from a pint of beer to window glass for houses, to pay off the paramilitaries."

Their extortion methods were initially quite crude. Thugs visited an establishment and threatened vandalism (and worse) if the owner did not pay up.   Later, the Loyalist paramilitaries established legitimate security companies that remained under their control even though the companies operated inside the law in every other way. In the words of one senior police official in Northern Ireland during the mid-1980s:

> "Prospective clients approached by these companies generally accept the offer of services. There is no need any more for the terrorists to produce guns or anything, although the prospective client knows full well what sort of trouble may be just around the corner if the doesn't pay up. Without overt threats, it is very difficult for [the police] to prove anything."

By 1985, just two such companies controlled by the Ulster Defense Association had an annual turnover in excess of 200,000 pounds.

The transportation, distribution, and sales of illegal drugs have become another major source of funds for many urban insurgent and terrorist groups. The profits from such efforts are so large that, in some cases, the potential for personal profits in drug trafficking may be a major recruiting incentive in places like Turkey and Northern Ireland. The involvement of some groups is extensive. The Kurdistan Workers Party, for example, has had over 300 members arrested on various drug-related charges since 1984 with over half the arrests taking place in Germany. It also appears that Loyalist groups in Northern Ireland are taking advantage of contacts originally made with organized crime to run guns to now smuggle drugs into Northern Ireland and to distribute drugs for the paramilitaries in Britain.

Predictably, the groups with the strongest ties to the drug trafficking business come from Latin America. M-19 and FARC from Colombia both get a large percentage of their funds from drugs. Both groups provide protection to drug producers in exchange for large payments. (Some claim that M-19 and FARC are merely extorting protection money for the drug producers.) Estimates of how much the insurgents receive from drug traffickers vary widely. One source claims that FARC levies a 10% protection fee while other say they receive a flat $15,000 per shipment. There are also claims that drug producers pay a $20,000 bonus for each government light plane or helicopter shot down.

Urban paramilitary groups often work with otherwise apolitical criminal elements outside the drug arena.   Criminal gangs are frequently the silent partners of urban revolutionaries in Italian kidnap operations. Additionally, professional criminals are essential in helping urban paramilitaries launder ransoms and money taken in bank robberies because authorities know the serial numbers of the bills. Sometimes, such groups enlist low-level assistance from criminal elements like when the FLQ in Montreal recruited pickpockets and drifters from the *hangers* (gang territories) of the city.

Occasionally, groups earn money by simply selling their services to others. Perhaps the best example of this comparatively rare fund-raising technique is the Japanese Red Army (JRA). Carlos "the Jackal" commissioned the JRA to seize the French Embassy in The

Hague in 1974 as well as to bomb a popular Paris discotheque. Later in 1986, the JRA reportedly struck a lucrative deal with Libya to respond to U.S. aircraft bombing Tripoli and Benghazi. Fearing, further U.S. retaliation, Libya commissioned the JRA (acting under the pseudonym of the Anti-Imperialist International Brigade) to strike overseas U.S. facilities. The JRA did so in June 1986 with an attack against the U.S. embassy in Jakarta with remote-controlled mortars. Subsequently, the JRA "commemorated" the U.S. air strike's first anniversary with mortar attacks on three U.S. diplomatic facilities in Madrid. According to newspaper reports, the Provisional Irish Republican Army once considered a similar offer whereby Iran would fill a lengthy PIRA weapons shopping list plus provide $6 million in cash if the PIRA would assassinate leading Iranian dissidents living in Europe.

Not all of the money comes from criminal activities. Genuine local and overseas supporters often contribute money willingly. Also friendly governments (or at least governments wishing to cause mischief) frequently provide money to urban paramilitary groups as well. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies often gave training, weapons, and limited financial support to selected groups during the Cold War. Sometimes nations like Iran are fired by a revolutionary zeal to advance the cause of like-minded individuals still do so today. At other times, nations like Iran and Libya use foreign groups as surrogates to strike at enemies that are either too strong or too dangerous attack in any other way. For example, Libyan and Iranian desires to injure Britain apparently were behind their financial and materiel support to the PIRA in Northern Ireland. Other states currently sponsoring such groups include Syria, Sudan, and Iraq.

In the final analysis, adequate financing (regardless of source) is absolutely critical to a group's prospects for success. Insufficient funds marginalize a group and cause it to wither away. Thus, adequate funding is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the success of any would-be urban paramilitary group.

PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

Culture shapes the values of many urban paramilitary groups and sometimes motivates them to actions that seem unreasonable to foreign observers. One of the major cultural determinants of behavior is the perception of "outsiders" and the expected threat they pose to an ethnic group's survival. Fear of cultural extermination often leads to violence that may seem irrational to those outsiders. Also in societies in which people identify themselves in terms of group membership (e.g., family, clan, tribe) there may be a willingness to self-sacrifice seldom seen elsewhere.

Religion may be the most volatile of cultural identifiers because it encompasses deeply held values. Also religion can reinforce ethnicity to make a conflict more intractable. This sentiment is echoed in an interview with Abu Mohammed, a prominent member of a radical Islamic group in Algeria today. As he explains to the interviewer, "According to Islamic Law you cannot negotiate with apostates." Abu Mohammed goes on to say even more succinctly: "no talks with heretics."

Religion may also make the conflict more cruel and violent. Sh'ia Islamic groups, for example, have committed only 8% of all international incidents since 1982, but have accounted for 30% of all deaths from terrorist acts worldwide. The religiously motivated see violence first and foremost as a sacramental act or as a divine duty executed in direct response to some theological imperative. Their actions are morally certain and divinely sanctioned. Salaman Rushdie's experience after having his works labeled as blasphemous by Ayatollah Khomeni in 1989 illustrates this point well. In the following five years, various Islamic groups targeted Rushdie's publishers, translators, and stores selling his books, killing 113 people in more than 20 countries in the process.

The political culture of some societies also predisposes people to become urban insurgents and terrorists. Many societies like Algeria, Somalia, and Afghanistan have failed to develop a political culture that can accommodate opposing points of view. Predictably, such societies have few mechanisms for peaceful resolution of differences. Instead, they are predisposed by tradition to use violence to effect political change.

The behavior of individual urban guerrillas and terrorists is also shaped by certain psychological traits. Usually, for example, they are motivated to act in response to a real or perceived grievance. They are very sensitive to the injustices done to them and quick to accuse others. They become, in the words of one psychologist, insatiable "justice collectors" who seek retribution and amelioration of that grievance. That is, they respond to what they perceive as an "intolerable" injustice by taking matters into their own hands. Typically, such an individual goes through four basic psychological stages before becoming a "justice collector". First, an individual becomes aware of either a real or imaginary oppression. Second, the individual no longer comes to see oppression as natural or as unavoidable. Third, the person comes to believe that his oppression is the result of arbitrary social circumstances. Finally, the individual begins to believe that action is possible to redress the situation by violent self-help methods, presumably because no other course of action will alleviate his grievances.

Some psychologists also think that the impulse to violent action stems, in part, from an individual's personal dissatisfaction with his life and accomplishments. Often such a person feels that his self-esteem is constantly under attack and suffers from a sense of powerlessness in his personal life. Thus, the act of violence stems directly from the individual's sense of low self-esteem and humiliation. Through his act of violence, the individual seeks the humiliation of those he holds responsible for his condition. As one analyst observed, activism can give meaning to otherwise empty lives.

Urban guerrillas and terrorists also project their own anti-social motivations onto others, thereby creating a dualistic "us versus them" outlook. The motives of those outside the group are evil. Those of the group are righteous. According to this way of thinking, there is only one path to correct behavior – the one sanctioned and approved by the group. The group reserves to itself the right to judge and punish the behavior of others. This also allows members of the group to dehumanize their victims and removes any

sense of ambiguity from their minds. This, in turn, permits the group to justify violence against virtually any target outside itself.

Predictably, activists are often absolutists and "true believers" who reject the idea of compromise and lean toward maximalist positions. They also demand unanimity and are intolerant of dissent within the group. This explains why urban guerrilla and terrorist groups are prone to splintering and why those breakaway groups tend to be more intellectually rigid and violence prone than the parent organization. From such perspectives, negotiations are dishonorable at best and treasonous at worst. Such unwillingness to compromise thus often leaves groups with a stark, binary choice – victory or defeat.

Individual urban guerrillas and terrorists also have a deeply rooted psychological need to belong to a group. Group acceptance is often a stronger motive for joining than the stated political objectives of the organization. In such circumstances, individuals tend to define their social status in terms of group acceptance.

Perhaps because of the powerful psychological attraction of belonging, some groups lose their focus and the struggle eventually becomes more important than attaining their stated objectives. For this reason (and also because the original aim may be elusive in any case), the struggle must never end. Consequently, announced aims may change just at the point where victory appears in sight. This behavior pattern may explain why the PIRA abruptly returned to violence in 1997 just when, in the words of *The Economist*, "many of its demands [for inclusion in the political process] were being met." At other times, groups may reject their apparent success, choosing to believe that it is false, inadequate, or resulted from the duplicity of outsiders. In a sense, urban guerrillas and terrorists often fear success because it threatens to dissolve the bonds of group belonging and, hence, personal psychological security. Thus, urban guerrillas and terrorists may reject an apparent victory and continue to fight long after the war is won in the eyes of the world.

As one might suspect, such people are inclined to violent behavior. Indeed, Carlos Marighella (the leading theorist of urban guerrilla warfare) claims that "The urban guerrilla's reason for existence … is to shoot." This is a combination of both pragmatic risk-benefit calculations and subconscious impulses. At the rational level, violent acts attracts the world's attention to the group's cause, intimidates its foes, and demonstrates the impotence of the government to provide security. At the subconscious level, violence relieves an urban guerrilla's or terrorist's constant sense of anger about his personal condition. They come to believe that one must destroy in order to save.

Violence is directed both inwardly and outwardly. Indeed, violence is often used against members of the group who do not conform to the "party line" or who are wavering in their commitment. Inwardly directed violence against a wayward member also provides a powerful warning for others. Members often find that is much easier to join such an organization than to leave it. Violence also provides a way of reinforcing the loyalty of people in the target constituency and of distancing them from government authorities. As

we shall discuss in more detail later, Provisional Irish Republican Army behavior provides many examples of such outwardly and inwardly directed violence.

Historically, the violence of non-religiously motivated groups has been rather selective in nature, designed more to produce a big media "splash" than lots of casualties. Indeed, fewer than a dozen terrorist incidents since the beginning of this century have produced more than 100 deaths at one time. The U.S. State Department estimates, for example, that only 314 people total were killed by international terrorists in 1994 and another 165 in 1995. One observer even goes so far as to claim that our outrage over such violence is disproportionate to the number of its victims since the total number of such victims over the last twenty years has not equaled the casualties from one ordinary day of combat in World War II.

The small total body counts for any given year reflect the low per incident casualty rates of each act. Official U.S. State Department estimates for 1993, for example, includes the following representative entries:

- A van bomb explodes outside a Coca-Cola plant in Lima killing 2 and injuring 2 – January 22
- Eleven passersby and employees hurt after a car bomb explodes outside IBM's headquarters in Lima – January 28
- Members of the Kurdistan Workers Party threw hand grenades at a number of hotels and restaurants frequented by foreigners in Antalya (Turkey) causing 28 injuries – June 27
- One killed and 20 hurt when a bomb detonates beneath a hotel shuttle bus in Lima – October 25
- One person dead and 20 injured during a coordinated set of attacks by the Kurdistan Workers Party against Turkish diplomatic and commercial facilities in 6 Western European cities – November 4.

Groups fired by religious fervor or apocalyptic zeal are much less discriminating and intentionally more deadly than their secular counterparts. As already mentioned, Sh'ia Islamic groups have accounted for only 8% of all international terrorist incidents since 1982, but have produced 30% of the deaths. It is also noteworthy that the only group attempting to cross the threshold of using bona fide weapons of mass destruction was the Aum Shinrikyo cult in its chemical attack on the Tokyo subway during 1995. This one attack produced 5,500 injuries of 6,291 injuries recorded worldwide from all international terrorist incidents in 1995 by the U.S. State Department. (The 1995 total represents a ten-fold increase in the number of casualties from 1994.)

Higher casualty rates from religious and cult groups are not accidental. They consciously strive to kill all of their enemies, in part because god has sanctioned it and in part because they see their enemies as non-people. This point is illustrated by the chilling words of senior Islam cleric Imam Sheikh Ahmad Ibrahim's oft repeated call to arms: "Six million descendants of monkeys [i.e., Jews] now rule in all the nations of the world, but their day, too, will come. Allah! Kill them all, do not leave even one." Similarly, the Aum

Shinrikyo's attack on the Tokyo subway was intended to kill thousands, only technical difficulties prevented them from succeeding.

People who prefer action to words predominate in urban guerrilla and terrorist groups. By nature, they are impatient people who typically seek instant gratification via their actions. Action is also important as a means of maintaining group self esteem, sense of purpose, and legitimacy. Additionally, action provides a way of building more intensely personal loyalties and group solidarity through mutually shared experiences. In small organizations led by charismatic father-figures, action provides a vehicle for revalidating his authority and claim on the loyalty of his followers. Eventually, some urban guerrillas and terrorists become, in the words of one psychologist, "action addicts" who crave the action "high" in the same way that other addicts long for drugs or alcohol.

Urban revolutionaries are usually quick to learn from the successes of others. The number of embassy takeovers, for example, exploded after the Iranians seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. One detailed study of embassy takeovers between 1971 and 1981 also discovered that incidents were "contagious"; that is, they did not fall randomly throughout the decade, but rather occurred in clusters. In much the same way, kidnappings for ransom also skyrocketed after a few spectacular successes in Latin America. Airline hijackings in the late 1960s and early 1970s followed much the same pattern. It is for this reason that many analysts worry that the use of chemical, nuclear, and biological weapons will grow markedly in the wake of Aum Shinrikyo's pioneering nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway.

The behavior of urban guerrillas and terrorists is also adaptive. They learn from their own experience (especially past mistakes) and modify their tactics accordingly. Japanese student radicals, for example, adapted to police tactics by equipping themselves with helmets, gas masks, and long bamboo poles when staging street demonstrations. They also developed more sophisticated riot tactics in response to standard police procedures for dealing with street demonstrations. They formed 5-6 man commando squads, which staged diversionary attacks in one part of the city as a way of drawing police attention away from the site of the big demonstration. According to one German official, the Red Army Faction also "closely studied every court case against them to discover their weak spots." After learning that the German police could usually obtain fingerprints from the bottom of toilet seats or inside refrigerators, the Red Army Faction began applying a special ointment to their fingers that, after drying, prevents fingerprints.

Secular groups are usually very pragmatic when approaching risk/cost versus benefit tradeoffs. This explains, in part, why urban guerrillas and terrorists prefer time-delayed bombs and mortars – devices that allow them to be safely away from the scene when they go off. Menachem Begin's decision-making calculus regarding the desirability of instituting a campaign of terror against the British in Palestine in the mid-1940s is illustrative of this process. He began by considering the possibility that the Irgun's actions might prompt the British to massacre innocent Palestinian Jews as the Germans had done. He quickly concluded that the British would not run amok and slaughter the Jewish community either as a matter of policy or through spontaneous reaction. He

believed that world opinion, if not their own character, would prevent them from doing so. He also stressed to his contemporaries that even if British commanders in Palestine wished to employ murder as an instrument for gaining compliance, the British Government would not permit this approach. Consequently, it was safe to begin the Irgun's campaign of terror in Palestine. Some Western analysts also believe that the secular PLO has refrained from assaulting Americans or launching attacks on American soil because they wanted to influence American public opinion. According to this line of reasoning, the PLO made the "cold-blooded political calculation" that killing Americans would harm their political cause.

Individuals motivated by religion or cult philosophies are far less pragmatic. Indeed, they seem far more willing to throw away their own lives; perhaps because they see it as a sacred duty or believe they will be appropriately rewarded for their sacrifice in the afterlife. Perhaps in the end these people are not heroic martyrs dying in the service of a holy cause but rather, as one psychologist theorizes, "mere victims of self-deception and puppets of their own illusions and delusions." Sometimes, there is no clear link between an action and a group's grievance. Aum Shinrikyo, for example, made no demands and had no stated goals when it put nerve gas in the Tokyo subway. Aum Shinrikyo's act seemed to have more to do with revenge than to achieve rational policy objectives.

OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES

The focus of this paper now shifts radically. Up to this point, it has concentrated on identifying who these people are and why they behave in the fashion they do. From here onward, the discussion switches to operational questions like what do urban guerrillas and terrorists want and how do they go about achieving those ends? This section focuses on objectives and implementation strategies while the next deals with the tactics.

Urban guerrillas and terrorists all seek a political rather than military victory. (Indeed, many groups realize that military victory is impossible from the very outset.) Therefore, their basic goal is control of men's minds rather than occupying territory. They are, in the words of one observer:

> "…political partisans for whom success or failure will hinge less on what happens on the battleground than on their capacity to get their message across, to erode the morale of the forces of order, and to induce a general "climate of collapse".

The backbone of their strategy is, therefore, persuading rather than compelling people to do as they wish. This is essentially the strategy of the weak whose success depends upon how others respond to it.

The first step along that road is to separate the loyalty of the target constituency from the governing authorities by creating an "us versus them" mentality with the insurgents/terrorists and the constituency on one side and the authorities on the other. Algeria in the last 1950s and early 1960s provides just such an example. The French refused to withdraw from Algeria because they claimed it was an integral part of France.

(A claim accepted by many Algerians and by much of world public opinion.) Thus, the central and decisive issue for the group seeking independence was to convince the local population that they were not "French." What the FLN did was to goad the French administrators into demonstrating the unreality of their claim that there was no distinct Algerian nation. After repeated acts of violence, French administrators reacted in a predictable fashion. They began to treat all people of non-European origin as suspects. Thus, all Algerian Muslims came to be seen by the colonial administration as "suspects" and hence different than Algerian settlers of European origin. The French authorities confirmed these suspicions by transferring all French Army units composed predominantly of Algerian Muslims to France and replacing them in Algeria with troops of European origin. By these actions, the French inherently conceded the claims of the FLN, polarized the situation, and demonstrated unmistakably that they regarded no Algerians as Frenchmen except for European settlers. The final outcome was probably inevitable from that point onward.

Urban guerillas and terrorists also seek to break down the existing social structure and encourage a general feeling of insecurity and disorientation. Such conditions generally benefit the urban guerillas and terrorists because they discredit governmental authorities. At the same time, it forces the population to side with whichever group is in position to provide protection and/or apply coercion.

These groups also seek to sap the morale and break the will of the authorities through a strategy of psychological leverage and attrition. This strategy was the keystone of the Irgun's campaign to oust the British from Palestine. Basically, Menachem Begin (leader of the Irgun) decided to destroy British prestige by continuing to offer them a series of unacceptable (and even humiliating) choices until they withdrew. If Britain persisted, it must do so by utilizing methods that would bring international censure and offend the British public's sense of decency and self-respect. On the other hand, failure to maintain order would make the British colonial administrations everywhere appear weak and vulnerable. Begin hoped that continuously attacking British facilities and members of the British establishment in Palestine would eventually break British resolve.

At the same time, urban guerrillas and terrorists also try to demoralize the local security forces. One popular technique is to selectively assassinate members of the same ethnic community as the urban guerrillas and terrorists. This approach has been used extensively in Northern Ireland against Catholic members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, against ethnic Greeks serving with the British colonial police force in Cyprus and against the Calcutta police by Naxalite guerrillas. Soldiers are also a popular target of violence. In Cyprus, the EOKA even encouraged passive resistance aimed at the families of British soldiers as well.

Attacking members of the security forces serves several purposes. First, it discourages members of minority ethnic groups from cooperating with the local administration. This is important because it lends the ring of truth to claims by the urban guerrillas that the police and soldiers are just tools of the dominant ethnic group or "colonial" administration. This helps move the community into an "us versus them" stance as the

urban guerillas and terrorists wish. Cleansing the police of "collaborators" is also important because such men know the ethnic community well, including family politics, major personalities, and habits of everyone. Such policeman can move among the population at will and bring back important intelligence. Second, it allows such groups to bring pressure on whoever remains to cooperate lest they too be killed. Urban guerrillas and terrorists also hope to induce a "Fort Apache" mentality in both the police and the military. That is, police and security forces become increasingly cut off from intelligence, afraid of moving among the people, and feel themselves barricaded both physically and psychologically. At this point, the urban guerrillas and terrorists have driven an important wedge between the man-in-the-street and the authorities.

Paralyzing the judicial system is another important objective in the overall strategy of breaking down the normal social structure and thereby sowing feelings of insecurity. As the head of one official British commission on Northern Ireland noted: "the main obstacle to dealing effectively with terrorist crime in the regular courts of justice is intimidation by terrorist organizations of those persons who would be able to give evidence for the prosecution if they dared." Indeed, there is strong evidence that 30 cases of direct coercion of witnesses took place between 1972 to 1973 in Northern Ireland. Intimidation also extended to members of juries in Northern Ireland. Urban guerrillas and terrorists also target prosecutors and judges as well. The Red Brigades of Italy, for example, assassinated the Attorney General of Genoa in 1976, the President of the Turin Bar Association in 1977, and the Lieutenant-Colonel of the *Carabinieri* who commanded the unit responsible for maintaining order in court rooms in 1979. The Red Army Faction in Germany carried out a bomb attack against a Federal Judge in Buddenberg in 1972 and at the same time threatened further actions against public prosecutors and judges. Narcoterrorists, infuriated by government crackdowns, assassinated the Colombian Minister of Justice in 1984 as the initial step in a campaign aimed at intimidating the Colombian political and judicial systems. The Islamic Group killed a high-ranking Egyptian police official in 1996 as part of general campaign of hit-and-run attacks on the police. Three years before, this same group tried unsuccessfully to assassinate Egypt's Minister of the Interior.

Urban guerillas and terrorists also hope that the paralysis of the security and judicial systems may push the government to adopt repressive, extra-legal methods and to abridge the constitutional rights of ordinary citizens. (The Uruguayan military in 1971, for example, felt compelled to take over the counter-guerrilla campaign and to try suspects in military rather than civil courts.) The government comes to be seen as increasingly arbitrary and totalitarian thereby heightening popular discontent. Groups may also hope that such methods will arouse the ire of liberals within the government thereby dividing the cabinet and inciting trouble with the legislature.

Urban guerrillas and terrorists also have a secondary objective in breaking down the security and judicial systems. They hope to become the defacto arbitrator of disputes and dispensers of justice. They also try to position themselves as protectors of the community from rival ethnic or religious groups. Persistent, but unconfirmed, reports of "Black Courts" operating in Russia are an example of this phenomenon. According to

these reports, various Russian criminal gangs have established ad hoc tribunals to which legitimate businesses submit civil disputes because regular Russian courts lack jurisdiction. Leaders of the gangs make a judgement, establish damages (after taking a percentage off the top), and enforce the collection of those damages from the losing party. Likewise, the Provisional Irish Republican Army's prestige received an important early boost when its members defended a Catholic church from a Protestant mob intent on arson when the British security forces were slow to respond.

Although urban guerrilla and terrorist groups are generally not interested in "occupying" territory, they sometimes try to establish defacto "liberated areas" or "no-go" zones, often through the erection of barricades. In some cases, these areas were intended to be quasi-permanent structures (e.g., in Belfast) whereas in other situations there were merely temporary. An example of the latter was the erection of 60 barricades (eleven-deep on some boulevards) by Parisian demonstrators in 1968. In these areas, the urban paramilitaries seek to supplant formal government administrative services and controls. They also attempt to exclude rival groups from operating within these zones.

Turkey offers a classic example of this situation. By the late 1970s, various leftist, rightist, and Kurdish paramilitary groups were openly challenging the Turkish Government's authority in many of the *geckondu* (squatter settlements) in Istanbul and Ankara. In these areas, rival paramilitary groups created *kurtarilmis bolgeler* ("liberated zones") in which they established defacto government structures. These groups also battled with each other in "turf disputes" – much like youth gangs in American cities. Boundaries of a group's territory were usually marked off by distinctive graffiti painted on the walls of buildings. The establishment of similar "no go" areas from which the police were excluded in parts of Belfast and Londonderry was one of the primary reasons for the entrance of the British Army into Northern Ireland in August of 1969.

Groups may seek to aggravate domestic economic difficulties as a way of further discrediting the government. The Tupamaros in Uruguay did so believing that economic deterioration was generally bad for the government's popular standing. The Tupamaros also rationalized the populous would blame the government, not them, even if the Tupamaros had a major hand in that economic deterioration. Basque Fatherland and Liberty and the Islamic Group have followed the same logic in attacking the tourist industry in Spain and Egypt respectively in the 1990s.

Urban paramilitary groups also seek to "internationalize" the dispute. That is, they hope to entice other countries or international bodies to pressure the local authorities or outside interventionists into negotiations (thereby legitimizing their status) at a minimum or into concessions at best. Current Islamic groups in Algeria have worked steadily to involve third parties in Algeria's domestic troubles. These radical Islamic groups counted from the outset upon help from established Islamic states like Iran, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Saudi Arabia. Later they hoped that the United States, France, and the European Community would intervene on their side as well.

Conversely, such groups hope to "localize" the situation if international assistance is flowing to the side of the local government; i.e., convince the outside party to refrain from offering political, military, or intelligence assistance to the local government. One way of doing this is to conduct "out-of-theater" operations aimed at targets on the soil of the offending country. With this idea in mind, the Provisional Irish Republican Army committed 276 bombings between 1973 and 1977 in Great Britain. The same group perpetrated another 120 incidents in Great Britain from 1980-1993. In a similar fashion, radical Islamic groups from Algeria placed bombs in the Paris Metro in 1995 as a way of bringing the reality of the Algerian war home to ordinary French citizens.

One of the central issues for all such movements is how to get its message across and how to advertise its existence. Thus, urban paramilitary groups engage in a series of high-profile acts (bombings, abductions, and assassinations) which are bound to draw headlines. This need for publicity is partly pragmatic. Groups must be seen to exist, their demands must be broadcast, and the government must be shown to be impotent. Otherwise, urban paramilitary groups fade away into obscurity and irrelevance. Members of such groups also probably need recognition for deep-seated psychological reasons as well. Many of them suffer from a sense of low self-esteem and so probably need the constant ego boost that news coverage can provide. Urban guerrilla and terrorist organizations probably cannot exist without media coverage; indeed, the smaller the group the more it depends upon publicity for continuing viability.

The media obliges by ensuring that the whole world is watching. In a sense, the media becomes the urban guerrilla and terrorist's best friend. As the chief villain in a recent James Bond movie explains, nothing sells newspapers like bad news. A psychologist echoes that claim. He believes the public is "titillated" by such violence and so comparatively minor events receive coverage out of all proportion to their actual effect upon people's lives. This same psychologist claims that this dramatic appeal makes terrorist acts a "glamorous growth industry" that will continue so long as "the mass media, under the guise of information, entertain their public in prime time with stories of terrorism and titillate the imagination of an increasingly more passive public." At the same time, the explosion of news providers (newspapers, television, cable networks, the Internet) makes the media ever more ravenous for exciting stories.

Urban paramilitary groups and the media are locked together into an inexorable symbiotic partnership of mutual need and benefit because violence is news. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish which is the instigator and which the respondent. There are unconfirmed reports coming out of Algeria in the late 1950s and early 1960s to the effect that some journalists actually conspired with paramilitary groups to get good stories. According to these reports, many of the most startling pictures from Algeria were obtained when a photographer was tipped off in advance as to the time and place of an incident so that he could be on-hand to get the picture. American television networks also allegedly paid over $1 million a week to the terrorist group that had hijacked a TWA airplane during the Beirut crisis of 1985 to assure sole access to the developing hostage crisis. ABC News also reportedly paid the Amal Militia in Lebanon $30,000 for sole access to a hostage interview and another $50,000 to cover the "farewell banquet".

The desire for publicity and recognition can even lead paramilitary and terrorist groups to shift their operations from the countryside to cities. Journalists, TV cameras, and a large audience are always present in cities. In the words of one Guatemalan guerrilla:

> "If we put even a small bomb in a building in town we could be certain of making the headlines in the press. But if the rural guerrilleros liquidated some thirty soldiers there was just a small news item on the last page. The city is exceedingly important both for the political struggle and for propaganda."

Leaders of North African and Arab groups reached the same conclusion as their Latin American counterparts. As one Algerian said, "Is it better for our cause to kill ten of our enemies in a remote village where this will cause no comment, or to kill one man in Algiers where the American press will get hold of the story the next day?" The general lesson drawn by most groups is well summarized in a comment by one of the leaders of the anti-British forces in Aden when he said: "The struggle in the countryside was not worthwhile, because no attention was paid to it." Thus many groups have concluded that urban paramilitaries can make the world watch whereas rural guerrillas toil in obscurity.

Unfortunately, people become easily satiated and quickly bored with what recently excited them. Consequently, there is always pressure on urban paramilitary groups to undertake more audacious, more provocative, and more violent acts to ensure remaining on the front page. The Provisional Irish Republican Army's out-of-theater operations against British interests in England and Europe are an example of this phenomenon. They apparently realized that bombings in Northern Ireland had lost much of their shock value after two decades of violence. Therefore the PIRA shifted their bombing campaign to Britain proper and to Europe since targeting these sites still had the capacity to disturb people and grab the attention of the news media. Chechen groups also realized the psychological shock value of operating on Russian soil. Therefore, they sent a 100-man raiding party to seize hostages in the Russian town of Budyonnovsk in June 1995 and then followed that operation seven months later by capturing a hospital and maternity home in the town of Kizlar. Botched rescue attempts by Russian security forces in both cases led to an even greater propaganda victory for Chechen paramilitary forces.

Some revolutionary groups are now bypassing the news media and going directly to potential sympathizers via the Internet. Supporters of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, for example, were posting rebel "communiqués" on a dedicated Web page the day after the group seized in Japanese Embassy in Lima, Peru. Subsequently, Internet "surfers" from the United States and Canada logged onto this site more than 16,000 times during the next 10 days. Other revolutionary groups on the Internet include Mexico's Zapatista guerrillas, Colombia's FARC, and Peru's Shining Path.

Shifting operations outside the country has important strategic advantages that attract many groups. As just mentioned, attacks outside the country have great news value. But even more important, urban guerrillas and terrorists often move their activities abroad when the local security forces begin achieving results. The PIRA, for example, shifted

to targets in England and on the European continent because Northern Ireland's security forces had become increasingly effective and had seriously restricted the PIRA's operational freedom. The effectiveness of Israeli security forces also probably explains why Islamic fundamentalist groups so often strike outside Israel.

Out-of-theater operations offer one more way to demoralize military personnel by demonstrating to them that they can never truly escape the battle zone. The Provisional Irish Republican Army attacked British bases on Gibraltar in 1988 in part because the Royal Anglian Regiment had just returned from a tour in Northern Ireland and in part because British troops trained for upcoming missions in a large cave containing a replica of an Irish village. The *Republican News* (a pro-PIRA newspaper) explained the group's rationale for attacking British soldiers in Germany in 1980 as follows:

> "Between tours all of them are either stationed in Britain or overseas and here they can rest from the dirty work they are doing…they think they can forget about Ireland until the next tour, but we intend to keep Ireland on their minds so that it haunts them and they want to do something about not going back."

Finally, out-of-area strikes also help internationalize the conflict when third party states become concerned that the conflict between the urban paramilitary forces and the local government has spilled over into their country. As one pro-PIRA newspaper so eloquently explained in 1980: "Overseas attacks also have a prestige value and internationalize the war in Ireland…we have kept Ireland in the world headlines."

Proper timing is another central feature in the strategies of urban paramilitary and terrorist groups. The timing of the attack (e.g., a religious holiday, a weekend, or immediately following a successful government operation) may catch the security forces in a lower state of readiness and its people less alert. This may explain why Algeria's Armed Islamic Group (GIA) hijacked an Air France Airbus A300 on Christmas Eve 1994 to demonstrate its demands that France stop supporting the Algerian government. Proper timing can also heighten the shock value of an event such as when the Provisional Irish Republican Army consciously chose to bomb Harrods Department Store in London during the 1983 Christmas season. The news value of an event often hinges on its timing. A group, for example, may decide to draw more attention to its cause by staging an operation to coincide with a major international political event such as a United Nations debate on their region. In a similar fashion, the Italian Red Brigades usually released their communiqués on Wednesdays and Saturdays because the Italian newspapers on the following days were always thicker. Sometimes, an incident will be timed to commemorate an important anniversary in the group's own history. A member of Aum Shinrikyo, for example, threatened to conduct nerve gas attacks in the Moscow subway on the third anniversary of his group's 1995 attack on the Tokyo subway system.

Success in urban operations depends upon having reliable information and hence intelligence collection is a primary objective of urban guerrilla and terrorist organizations. Reliable information about targets to be attacked and about the movements of people to be killed or kidnapped is crucial to the success of such

operations. Indeed, intelligence collection is given such a high priority that some groups have dedicated cells devoted to nothing else. As a rule, such information is usually collected by human sources such as repair workers, postmen, waiters, cleaning people, or airline employees who can loiter around a potential target without arousing suspicion. At other times, groups rely on sympathizers or paid informants within the police or government to provide essential information. These sources are sometimes supplemented (as discussed earlier) by electronic eavesdropping techniques like the ones used by the Provisional Irish Republican Army against the British and narcoterrorists against the Colombian security forces.

Secular paramilitary groups usually see gaining popular support from a targeted domestic audience as very important objective. They seek to do this by distributing scare goods and providing basic public services as various right and left wing groups did in the squatter communities of major Turkish cities in the 1970s. The narcoterrorists of Latin America recognized this need and so distributed food to the poor and provided generous financial support to schools and the churches. Indeed, one of the most notorious drug lords in Colombia (Pablo Escobar) became known as "the Robin Hood of Medellin" through such self-serving charity. Escobar also sought to hijack the government's political and moral agenda in an effort to convince average Colombians that he was "a warm-hearted godfather seeking peace for his people." At other times in Latin America, groups have intervened in labor disputes on the side of the striking workers.

One analyst indicates that mobilizing popular support is another necessary, but not sufficient, condition for determining the outcome of an urban conflict. According to him, groups that find such support have a chance of succeeding while those that do not usually fail. He goes on to note that urban paramilitary groups usually fail in their attempt to galvanize widespread public support for their cause.

The desire to elicit popular political support seriously restricts a secular group's options. Indeed, it may be the fear of alienating the general populous that keeps urban paramilitary groups from attacking "soft" targets like power plants and water supplies which would most inconvenience and disrupt urban life. Indeed, destroying essential services upon which their followers depend may be the quickest route to rejection and denunciation. The same concern usually prevents secular groups from seeking to inflict massive casualties. In some instances, groups will even warn authorities ahead of time via newspaper contacts that a bomb has been planted. In this way the group gets the best of both worlds. Its ability to act gets publicized and it does not alienate popular support by killing people. Secular groups must walk a very fine line with their targeting strategy. Whatever they do must appear targeted at the government or "ruling class" and not against the general populous or against the city itself. Thus, the strategy of secular urban guerrillas and terrorists must be selective if it is to have a chance to succeed.

Groups motivated by religion or apocalyptic zeal are usually not interested in mobilizing popular support for their cause. They are looking for God's approval, not man's. Also they usually consider the bulk of the population "infidels" or "apostates". Members of religious or cult groups consider such people contemptible and so do not want their

support. Consequently, religious or cult groups have far more strategic latitude than their secular counterparts both in selecting targets to attack and for inflicting massive casualties.

TACTICS

The discussion now moves on to examining the tactics used by urban paramilitary groups to reach their goals. It appears that such groups generally prefer the assurance of modest success that comes from utilizing less complex tactics to the higher risks (and potentially higher rewards) associated with complex operations. Manpower limitations may also explain this general preference for the simple over the complex since complex operations generally require large numbers of people to set up and execute. The emphasis on simplicity may also reflect limitations in the weapons inventories of many groups, especially in their early years.

Riots

The exploitation of riots is an especially important tactic for urban paramilitary organizations, especially in their early days. The second revolution in Algeria, for example, began in October 1988 with large demonstrations instigated by Islamic groups inspired by the Palestinian *intifada* uprising against the Israelis. Large-scale rioting can quickly exhaust police resources thereby enhancing urban guerrillas' freedom of action. Urban guerrillas can also encourage demonstrators to commit acts of violence and sometimes direct those acts against specific targets. Urban guerrillas and terrorists may also take advantage of riots as cover for their own activities. Sometimes spontaneous demonstrations can even spawn paramilitary groups. Hamas, for example, grew directly out of the *intifadah* and was only able to make itself a political force in the beginning because of it. Finally, riots offer an excuse to erect barricades and to create defacto "no go" areas where government authority is suspended if only temporarily.

Carlos Marighella's classic manual on urban guerrilla warfare offers the following advice on effective "street tactics" during demonstrations and riots. According to him, Brazilian students in 1968 used "excellent street tactics" by marching down streets against the traffic and employing slings and marbles against the police. He also encourages would-be urban guerrillas to construct barricades and to pull up paving stones for throwing at the police during demonstrations. He goes on to advise tossing bottles, bricks, paperweights, and other projectiles from the tops of office and apartment buildings. Finally, Marighella notes that building construction sites provide rioters with good places for flight, hiding, and surprise attacks against pursuing police.

The psychology of large groups and the "mob mentality" makes it easy for guerrilla and terrorist agitators to manipulate demonstrations and strike to their own advantage. In such circumstances, people generally defer decision-making to others, especially if the situation is stressful and hectic. At the same time, individuals in the crowd feel the anonymous and so are able to release suppressed desires by doing things that they have always wanted, but previously did not dare do alone. An initial act of violence by the

crowd often releases pent-up tensions and encourages the crowd to engage in more ferocious acts of violence subsequently. Thus, all guerrilla and terrorists organizers must do is get the mob started and pointed towards the right general targets. Afterwards the dynamics of the situation and "mob mentality" will do the rest.

Labor Strikes

Urban guerrillas try to foment general strikes and labor disputes as well. Again according to Marighella, even brief strikes cause severe damage to the enemy's cause. Urban groups strive for daily disruptions breaking out within the same general part of the city, but from different points within that area. Marighella also notes that strikes offer excellent opportunities for ambushes and traps aimed at the "physical liquidations of the cruel, bloody police."

Murder and Assassination

Commission of sectarian murders is one of the favorite tactics of urban paramilitary organizations. The pattern of Loyalist violence in Northern Ireland in 1991 illustrates the potential targets for such attacks. Some murders were retaliatory killings against victims who were selected at random because of their ethnic background and the ease of killing them. In the second case, murders clearly paralleled a specific Republican incident. Lastly, Loyalists sometimes murdered individuals known to be actively working for the Republican's cause.

Groups also like to kill tourists as a way of embarrassing the government, internationalizing the conflict, and reeking economic havoc. The Islamic Group in Egypt, for example, has aggressively targeted foreign visitors on tour buses and Nile cruise ships as well as at historical sites, restaurants, and hotels. Between 1992 and 1993, these attacks cost Egypt half of its earnings from tourism. Islamic groups in Algeria have also targeted foreigners, killing 100 between 1993 and 1995. The Basque Fatherland and Liberty has done much the same.

Such groups also employ assassination as a selective tool for getting rid of either a highly visible individual like a major political figure, member of the government, well-known business executive, or members of the security forces. The aims of doing so are to show that no one is safe from the group, get coverage from the news media, and intimidate a target group. The EOKA in Cyprus, for example, assassinated a Special Branch Officer in the presence of hundreds of onlookers in the middle of Nicosia. This produced a large number of resignations from the police force. On another occasion, the EOKA threw a grenade at the British governor's chair at a ball held on the same day that the state of emergency was declared. In a similar fashion, Colombian narcoterrorists in 1996 placed a 173 kg car bomb outside a Cali business owned by a senator who advocated reinstating extradition of Colombians to the United States. In another case, the head of the Russian Government's privatization office in St. Petersburg was shot while traveling to work in his car last year.

Typically, assassination are meticulously planned and carefully choreographed. The victim is carefully watched for some period to determine his habits, schedule, as well as the extent of his personal security arrangements. Often the assassination takes place in a public place. This both maximizes the shock value of the attack as well as offers the perpetrator a chance to slip away unnoticed into the rapidly dispersing and panic-stricken crowd. Sometimes, the assassin will receive this gun only moments before the attack and then pass it along to someone else like a youth or women immediately afterwards.

In addition to murder and assassination, urban paramilitary groups often carryout large numbers of beatings, knee cappings, shaving of heads as well as tarring and feathering people as a way of maintaining order and disciple, both within the organization and their constituent community. Such activities are seen as a way of "policing" transgressors who had infringed abstract "laws" on sex, burglary, drunkenness, and even (on occasion) laziness. These punishment attacks are often designed to warn off potential informers as well as to intimidate "neutrals" into cooperating. According to the British Secretary for Northern Ireland, Loyalist groups administered 327 punishment beatings between 1991 and 1996. During that same time, Republican groups carried out 415 beatings.

Sniping

Sniping is another popular technique both for demoralizing security forces and fostering a sense of insecurity among the general populous. This tactic is also a low cost way of demonstrating the impotence of the authorities in maintaining order and protecting its citizens. Snipers were widely employed in Bosnia and Northern Ireland. In the latter case, there was nearly continuous sniper fire from Catholic sections of Belfast into Protestant ones and vice versus in 1970 and 1971.   During that time, police recorded 213 shooting incidents in 1970 and 1,756 for the following year.

Bombing

As already discussed earlier in this paper, bombing is the favorite tactic of urban paramilitary groups. This is because bombs are easy and cheap to produce, have variable uses, and can be remotely detonated so that the perpetrators to be safely away from the scene at the time of the blast. Historically, bombing has accounted for 40 to 50% of all incidents.

Attacks against installations have accounted for 22% of all incidents since 1968. Suitable targets include: banks, industrial facilities, military installations, police stations, government buildings, airports, foreign holdings of multi-national corporations, and headquarters of the news media. Such attacks are carried out with a wide range of devices, including mortars, hand grenades, RPGs, automatic weapons, firebombs, and assorted other explosive devices. Perhaps the most dramatic examples of attacks against installations were the Provisional IRA's bombing of the Brighton hotel being used by the British Prime Minister and her Cabinet for a Conservative Party conference in 1984 and their mortar attack on the Prime Minister's official residence 10 Downing Street in 1991.

Arson

Arson is another widely employed tactic. It is used in the service of many purposes. Sometimes, as in the case of major department store fire set by the Red Army Faction in Frankfurt am Main in 1968, the purpose is to announce the group's presence and to make a political statement. When the flames of this blaze first appeared, one of the leaders of the Red Army Faction was on the telephone screaming at the German Press Agency that "This is a political act of revenge!" At other times, arson is merely a tactical diversion as when Japanese threw firebombs in one part of town to divert the attention of the police from another part of the city where a major demonstration was planned. Arson is also an effective means for attacking the commercial interests of third party states and/or to cause general economic dislocation by closing businesses or discouraging foreign investment.

Hijacking

Urban paramilitary groups often hijack vehicles for widely varying reasons. Sometimes, they hijack trucks simply for the cargoes that they either sell to make money and/or distribute among their constituency as a way of mobilizing popular support. Later they can use the vehicle as a platform for delivering a vehicle bomb. Sometimes, the vehicle's cargo itself becomes the bomb; e.g., groups can steal a gasoline tank truck and rig it to explode. Such vehicles can also provide disposable platforms for mounting fire-and-forget mortars. Hijacked military or police vehicles are also useful as a means of getting members of the group into restricted areas without arousing suspicion.

Safe Heavens

If possible, urban paramilitary groups like to use neighboring countries as safe-heavens for storing materiel, banking strategic cash reserves, and operational training. The PIRA, for example, maintains the bulk of its small arms stocks in carefully concealed arms dumps in the Irish Republic, only maintaining small amounts of weapons for immediate use in the North. The PIRA has apparently chosen this approach because the Irish Republic is three times larger than Northern Ireland and because of there are fewer security forces in the south.

Sometimes, groups maintain bases much farther afield. The PIRA's smaller and more radical cousin the Irish National Liberation Army, for example, maintains a base in Paris to serve as a "bolt hole" for members on the run or when pressure from the British security forces became to great in Northern Ireland or from the Gardai in the South. The INLA's Paris facilities also provide a venue for contacting other revolutionary groups and for raising money. For similar reasons, the Japanese Red Army operated out of Lebanon where it could establish contacts with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Far away foreign bases also allow smaller groups to train at the facilities of larger more established ones. Lebanon's Bekka Valley, for instance, housed many Palestinian operated training camps that assisted other ex-patriot revolutionaries.

Kidnapping

Not all kidnappings are financially motivated. Many are done for political gain instead. Terrorists staged 781 abductions over one 12-year period running from January 1, 1970 through March 31 1982. Of these abductions, 48% were targeted at wealthy businessmen while the remaining 52% were (in descending order of importance) government officials, politicians, diplomats, media figures, and members of the security forces. The latter 52% of the victims were primarily taken to force the government into: (1) modifying a social, economic, or political policy, (2) releasing imprisoned comrades, and/or (3) publicizing the group's political agenda. A secondary objective was to demoralize and/or intimidate the government and the security forces.

Italy offers several classic examples of such politically motivated kidnapping. First there was the case of Aldo Moro who was a former Premier of Italy and then the incumbent President of the Christian Democratic Party. Moro was kidnapped by the Italian Red Brigades in March of 1978 and held for 54 days. During that time, the Red Brigades put him "on trial" and issued nine political communiqués to the news media. At the same time, the Red Brigades demanded that the Italian Government release 13 fellow brigadists then awaiting trial. After the Government failed to negotiate, Moro was "executed". On another occasion, the Red Brigades abducted Genoa's Assistant Attorney General Mario Sossi who had just successfully prosecuted another terrorist group in 1974. The Armed Islamic Group (GIA) in Algeria has used kidnapping for political purposes. Since August of 1993, GIA has kidnapped numerous foreigners, including diplomatic officials as a way of internationalizing its struggled and as a means of persuading France to withdraw its support from the Algerian government. On one occasion, a kidnapped French consular official was returned with a note stating: "Foreigners leave the country. We give you one month."

The study of the 781 abductions mentioned earlier developed a profile of the "standard" kidnapping operation from 1970-1982. In the beginning, the team consisted of an average of 4.1 people, but this later grew to 5.8 kidnappers per abduction by 1982. Initially, women participated in only 6% of the abductions, but jumped to 18% by 1978 and then to almost 25% by 1982. Coupled with the growth in team size and the inclusion of more women was the expanded the use of automatic weapons from 15% of the cases in the beginning to 30% of the attempts by the end of the period. The upgrading of weaponry and increased size of the raiding party seems correlated with increased security protection of the targets over time. Heightened female participation also seems security related; i.e., most security personnel continued to view women as minimal risks. This same study found that almost 95% of the victims were abducted either while at home, at work, or on the way between the two places.

Kidnappers and hostage-takers often employ ruses to gain access to their victims. The Colombian group M-19, for example, once dressed as a group of priests and nun in order to kidnap the Nicaraguan ambassador from his office. A second Colombian group (FARC) frequently dons Colombian Army uniforms to gain access to homes or to get victims to pull over to the side of the road. Still another Colombian group dresses as

policemen and claims to be either investigating a crime or serving a warrant as a means of entering a home. The Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement was able to pass a squad of 14 armed guerrillas through 300 police officers and bodyguards surrounding the Japanese Embassy in Lima, Peru by putting them inside an ambulance.

Hostages

Urban guerrillas and terrorists also like to capture large numbers of hostages at once as when the seize an embassy, hijack an airplane, or take possession of a public building like a school, hospital, or maternity home. Such "spectaculars" usually generates considerable publicity, provides a forum for making the group's demands widely known, offers a chance to free jailed fellow travelers, and may leverage important concessions from the government. Seizure of the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) in December of 1996 exemplifies such behavior. The group initially captured 500 people during a party at the ambassador's residence, including eight U.S. officials, numerous foreign ambassadors, six Peruvian supreme court judges, two government ministers, several high-ranking members of the Peruvian police and military, as well as important members of the Peruvian and international business communities. Such hostage taking is risky since the group's demands are seldom met. Often the hostage-takers come away with little but their skin, and sometimes not even that as the MTRA found out.

Ambushes

One of the most popular methods for accomplishing many of the activities just described is the ambush because well-planned ones seldom fail. Ambushes usually include early warning teams, planned diversions, and easy access to escape routes. Sometimes, groups even rehearse the event several times in advance. Ambushes are usually effective because the perpetrators can spend weeks or months preparing for the event and wait for an opportunity when all elements of the situation favor them, especially time and place. They are usually aided in this by the victim who maintains a predictable pattern of behavior, which the ambushers can easily uncover.

CONCLUSION AND LESSONS

In this final section, the paper draws out some broad "lessons learned" about the nature of the people who participate in urban paramilitary groups and the ways they go about trying to achieve their objectives.

Lesson 1: The size, demographics, and organizational structure of urban paramilitary groups has remained generally the same over the past 50 years, regardless of type of group or country of origin.

Lesson 2: Urban guerrillas and terrorists behave in a rational and purposive manner to achieve their objectives. Behavior is often shaped more by deep-seated psychological

needs than by stated political objectives. Therefore, their behavior may seem "irrational" to outside observers.

Lesson 3: Members of urban paramilitary groups are usually absolutists and true believers who reject the idea of compromise and lean toward maximalist positions. Thus, they reject the idea of meaningful negotiations as dishonorable at best and treasonous at worst.

Lesson 4: The powerful psychological need to belong causes some groups to lose their focus and the struggle itself eventually becomes more important than attaining stated objectives. The struggle must never end lest the group disband. Thus, such groups often reject an apparent victory and continue to fight long after the war is won in the eyes of outsiders.

Lesson 5: Violence is more than a tactic, it is a satisfying psychological release mechanism for many individuals who are deeply angry about the inadequacy and meaninglessness of their lives.

Lesson 6: Groups fired by religious fervor or apocalyptic zeal are much less discriminating and intentionally more deadly than their secular counterparts. Such groups strive to kill all of their enemies because god has sanctioned it and because they see their enemies as non-people.

Lesson 7: Urban revolutionaries are quick to mimic the successes of others and to learn from their own experience (especially past mistakes).

Lesson 8: Members of secular groups are very pragmatic in assessing personal risk versus cost tradeoffs whereas individuals motivated by religion or cult philosophies are far more willing to throw their lives away during an incident.

Lesson 9: Urban paramilitary groups are lightly armed by professional military standards, generally sticking to small arms, automatic weapons, explosives, rocket-propelled grenades, and home-made mortars.. This is appears to be as much a matter of choice and necessity. Of these tools, bombs are the overwhelming weapon of choice.

Lesson 10: Some more technologically adventuresome groups have recently begun breaking away from this historical norm and started using chemical, biological, and nuclear devices.

Lesson 11: Adequate financing (often running into millions of dollars) is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for urban paramilitaries to succeed. This need for large amounts of money often causes urban guerrillas and terrorists to turn to crime.   Indeed, it is often difficult to distinguish "criminal" from "military" activities.

Lesson 12: The primary objective of urban paramilitary groups is a political rather than military victory. Therefore the backbone of their strategy is persuading rather than

compelling people to do as they wish. This is essentially a strategy of weakness whose success depends mainly upon the actions of others.

Lesson 13: Breaking down of social structures and the fostering of a general feeling of insecurity and disorientation among the general populous is a major strategic objective.

Lesson 14: Urban guerrillas and terrorists also hope that demoralizing the security forces and paralyzing the judicial system may push the government to adopt repressive, extra-legal methods which will further estrange the government from the its citizens.

Lesson 15: Urban paramilitary groups want to "internationalize" the conflict in hopes that other countries or international bodies will pressure local authorities into making concessions.

Lesson 16: Conversely, such groups want to "localize" the situation if international assistance is flowing to the side of the local government.

Lesson 17: Publicity is central to the success and continued existence of urban revolutionaries. Indeed, urban paramilitary groups and the news media are locked together into an inexorable symbiotic partnership of mutual need and benefit because violence is news. There is always pressure on these groups to undertake more audacious, more provocative, and more violent acts to ensure remaining on the front page.

Lesson 18: Urban paramilitary groups turn to out-of-theater operations to gain publicity as well as to escape increasingly effective in-country security forces.

Lesson 19: Groups must mobilize at least some popular support to have any chance of succeeding. This desire to elicit popular political support, in turn, seriously restricts a group's tactical options. That is, they may not kill large numbers of people nor seriously inconvenience or disrupt urban life.