EXCERPTS FROM THE MINIMANUAL OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA (BY CARLOS MARIGHELLA)

"THE MINIMANUAL OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA" WAS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN AS A MANUAL FOR GUERRILLA ACTION BY BRAZILIAN LEFTISTS. BUT THE TACTICS AND DIRECTIVES IT GIVES FOR GUERRILLA ACTION IN BRAZIL, APPLY, WITH VERY LITTLE MODIFICATION, TO OTHER COUNTRIES. THE TRICONTINENTAL ORGANIZATION HAS TRANSLATED THE MANUAL INTO SPANISH AND ENGLISH, AND IT HAS BEEN WIDELY DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT LATIN AMERICA AND IN THIS COUNTRY.

THE ACCUSATION OF ASSAULT OR TERRORISM NO LONGER HAS THE PEJORATIVE MEANING IT USED TO HAVE. IT HAS ACQUIRED NEW CLOTHING, A NEW COLORATION. IT DOES NOT FACTIONALIZE, IT DOES NOT DISCREDIT; ON THE CONTRARY IT REPRESENT A FOCAL POINT OF ATTRACTION.

TODAY TO BE AN ASSAILANT OR A TERRORIST IS A QUALITY THAT ENNOBLES ANY HONORABLE MAN BECAUSE IT IS AN ACT WORTHLY OF A REVOLUTIONARY ENGAGED IN ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SHAMEFUL MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AND ITS MONSTROSITIES.

THE URBAN GUERRILLA IS AN IMPLACABLE ENEMY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND SYSTEMATICALLY INFLICTS DAMAGE ON THE AUTHORITIES AND ON THE MEN WHO DOMINATE THE COUNTRY AND EXERCISE POWER. THE PRINCIPAL TASK OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA IS TO DISTRACT, TO WEAR OUT, TO DEMORALIZE THE MILITARISTS, THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AND ITS REPRESSIVE FORCES, AND ALSO TO ATTACK AND DESTROY THE WEALTH AND PROPERTY OF THE NORTH AMERICANS THE FOREIGN MANAGERS, AND THE BRAZILIAN UPPER CLASS.

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THUS, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, AS IT
INEVITABLY AND NECESSARILY SHARPENS, THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE URBAN
GUERRILLA POINTS TOWARD TWO ESSENTIAL OBJECTIVES;

- (A) THE PHYSICAL LIQUIDATION OF THE CHIEFS AND ASSISTANTS OF THE ARMED FORCES AND OF THE POLICE:
- (B) THE EXPROPRIATION OF GOVERNMENT RESOURCES AND THOSE BELONGING TO THE BIG CAPITLISTS, LATIFUNDISTS, AND IMPERIALISTS, WITH SMALL EXPROPRIATIONS USED FOR THE MAINTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL URBAN GUERRILLAS AND LARGE ONES FOR THE SUSTEMANCE OF THE REVOLUTION ITSELF.

ASSAULTS

THE MOST VULNERABLE TARGETS FOR ASSAULT ARE THE FOLLOWING;

(A) CREDIT ESTABLISHMENT;

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- (B) COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES, INCLUDING THE PRODUCTION OF ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES;
 - (C) MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS;
 - (D) COMMISSARIES AND POLICE STATIONS;
 - (E) JAILS;
 - (F) GOVERNMENT PROPERTY;
 - (G) MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA;
 - (H) NORTH AMERICAN FIRMS AND PROPERTIES;
- (J) GOVERNMENT VEHICLES, INCLUDING MILITARY AND POLICE
 VEHICLES, TRUCKS, ARMORED VEHICLES, MONEY CARRIERS, TRAINS, SHIP,
 AND PLANES. THE ASSAULTS ON ESTABLISHMENTS ARE OF THE SAME NATURE
 BECAUSE IN EVERY CASE THE PROPERTY AND BUILDINGS REPRESENT A FIXED
 TARGET.

THE BANK ASSAULT AS POPULAR MODEL

THE MOST POPULAR ASSAULT MODEL IS THE BANK ASSAULT. IN BRAZIL,
THE URBAN GUERRILLA HAS BEGUN A TYPE OF ORGANIZED ASSAULT ON THE BANKS AS A
GUERRILLA OPERATION. TODAY THIS TYPE OF ASSAULT IS WIDELY USED AND HAS
SERVED AS A SORT OF PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION FOR THE URBAN GUERRILLA IN HIS
APPRENTICESHIP FOR THE TECHNIQUES OF REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE.

EXECUTION

EXECUTION IS THE KILLING OF A NORTH AMERICAN SPY, OF AN AGENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP, OF A POLICE TORTURER, OF A FASCIST PERSONALITY IN THE GOVERNMENT INVOVED IN CRIMES AND PERSECUTIONS AGAINST PATRIOTS, OF A STOOL PIGEON, INFORMER, POLICE AGENT, OR POLICE PROVOCATEUR.

EXECUTION IS A SECRET ACTION WHICH THE LEAST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF URBAN GUERRILLAS ARE INVOLVED. IN MANY CASES, THE EXECUTION CAN BE CARRIED OUT BY ONE SNIPER, PATIENTLY, ALONE AND UNKNOWN, AND OPERATING IN ABSOLUTE SECRECY AND IN COLD BLOOD.

KIDNAPPING

KIDNAPPING IS CAPTURING AND HOLDING IN A SECRET SPOT A POLICE AGENT, A NORTH AMERICAN SPY, A POLITICAL PERSONALITY, OR A NOTORIOUS AND DANGEROUS ENEMY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

KIDNAPPING IS USED TO EXCHANGE OR LIBERATE IMPRISONED REVOLUTIONARY COMPADES, OR TO FORCE SUSPENSION OF TORTURE IN THE JAIL CELLS OF THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP.

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THE KIDNAPPING OF NORTH AMERICAN RESIDENTS OR VISITORS IN BRAZIL CONSTITUTES A FORM OF PROTEST AGAINST THE PENETRATION AND DOMINATION OF UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY.

TERRORISM

TERRORISM IS AN ACTION, USUALLY INVOLVING THE PLACEMENT OF A BOMB OR FIRE EXPLOSION OF GREAT DESTRUCTIVE POWER, WHICH IS CAPABLE OF EFFECTING IRREPARABLE LOSS AGAINST THE ENEMY.

TERRORISM REQUIRES THAT THE URBAN GUERRILLS SHOULD HAVE AN ADEQUATE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE OF HOW TO MAKE EXPLOSIVES.

THE TERRORISTIC ACT, APART FROM THE APPARENT FACILITY WITH WHICH IT CAN BE CARRIED OUT, IS NO DIFFERENT FROM OTHER URBAN GUERRILLA ACTS AND ACTIONS WHOSE SUCCESS DEPENDS ON THE PLANNING AND DETERMINATIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION. IT IS AN ACTION THE URBAN GUERRILLA MUST EXECUTE WITH THE GREATEST COLD BLOODNESS, CALMNESS, AND DECISION.

THE MEN WHO ARE BEST TRAINED, MOST EXPERIENCED, AND DEDICATED TO URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE AND AT THE SAME TIME TO RURAL GUERRILLA WARFARE, CONSTITUTE THE BACKBONE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND, THEREFORE, OF THE BAZILILIAN REVOLUTIONAL FROM THIS BACKBONE WILL COME THE MARROW OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION, RISING OUT OF GUERRILLA WARFARE.

THIS IS THE NUCLEUS INDOCTRINATED AND DISCIPLINED WITH A LONG-RANGE STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL VISION CONSISTENT WITH THE APPLICATION OF MARXIST THEORY, OF LENUNISM AND OF CASTRO-GUEVARA DEVELOPMENTS, APPLIED TO THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS OF THE BRAZILIAN SITUATION. THIS IS THE NUCLENE THAT WILL LEAD THE REBELLION THROUGH ITS GUERRILLA PHASE.