

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	1
Publisher's Introduction	5
PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS IN GUERILLA WARFARE	9
PREFACE	10
I. INTRODUCTION	11
1. General Background	11
2. Propagandist Combatant Guerrillas	11
3. Armed Propaganda	12
4. Armed Propaganda Teams	13
5. Development and Control of "Front" Organizations	13
6. Control of Meetings and Mass Assemblies	14
7. Support From Contacts Who Are Rooted in Reality	14
II. PROPAGANDIST-COMBATANT GUERRILLA	16
1. General Background	16
2. Political Awareness	16
3. Group Dynamics	17
4. Camp Procedures	20
5. Interaction With the People	21
6. Conclusions	22
III. ARMED PROPAGANDA	24
1. General Background	24
2. Close Identification With the People	24
3. Implicit and Explicit Terror	25
4. Guerrilla Arms Are the Strength of the People Against an Illegal Government	28
5. Selective Use of Violence for Propaganda Effects	30

6. Conclusions	31
IV. ARMED PROPAGANDA TEAMS	32
1. General	32
2. Combination: Political Awareness and Armed Propaganda	32
2-5. Techniques of Persuasion in Chats or Speeches	35
3. "Eyes and Ears" Within the Population	36
4. Psychological Tactics, Maximum Flexibility	37
5. A Tight-Knit (Compresivo) Program of Teams: Mobile Infrastructure	42
6. Conclusions	43
V. DEVELOPMENT AND CONTROL OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS	44
1. Generalities	44
2. Initial Recruitment	44
3. Established Citizens, Subjective Control	46
4. Organization of Cells for Security	47
5. Incorporation Into a "Front" Organization	48
6. Conclusions	49
VI. CONTROL OF MEETINGS AND MASS CONCENTRATIONS	50
1. Generalities	50
2. Infiltration of Guerrilla Cadres	50
3. Selection of Appropriate Slogans	51
4. Creation of Nuclei	52
5. Way of carrying out an Uprising in Mass Meetings	54
6. Conclusions	56
VII. MASSIVE GRASS-ROOTS SUPPORT THROUGH PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS	57
1. General Information	57
2. Motivation as a Propagandist-Combatant	57
3. Armed Propaganda	57
4. Armed Propaganda Teams	57
5. "Cover" Organizations	58
6. Control of Mass Demonstrations	58
7. Conclusion	58
APPENDIX: ORATORICAL TECHNIQUES	59
1. General Information	59
2. The Audience	59
3. Political Oratory	60
4. Positive Aspects of a Speech	60
5. Parts of a Speech	61
6. Some Literary Resources	62
Additional Material	67

Additional Material A: 2017 Release Pro/Con Index	68
Additional Material B: Cell Organization Diagram	69
Additional Material C: DCI Investigation Order	70
Additional Material D: Response to Investigation Order	71
Additional Material E: US Army Special Warfare School Lesson Plan	76
Additional Material F: 2010 Release 1984 Routing and Record Sheet	78
Index	79

PUBLISHER'S INTRODUCTION

The publication history of this manual is somewhat convoluted. It originated in early-1980s Central America, where U.S.-backed rebel guerrilla groups were engaged in armed resistance against the socialist Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

The original manual was written in English by a CIA employee operating under the alias John Kirkpatrick. "Kirkpatrick" was an Army counterinsurgency specialist with experience in Vietnam as part of the Phoenix Program,¹ which had sought to undermine and destroy the Viet Cong's political infrastructure with the end goal of using popular support to recapture large swathes of countryside without direct US military involvement.²

Kirkpatrick toured Nicaraguan Contra guerrilla camps in Honduras in September of 1983. The material was to be life as a course, taught to the Contras by Kirkpatrick and, later, Nicaraguan instructors. Kirkpatrick returned to CIA headquarters to work on the curriculum under the oversight of veteran Agency officer Duane Ramsdell "Dewey" Clarridge.

Clarridge later wrote in his memoirs³ that his initial intention was to enable the Contras to "seize the ethical high ground in the conflict with the Sandinistas" by clearly delineating the rules of engagement and educating them in methods of

1. According to *Washington's War on Nicaragua* by Holly Sklar.

2. See *A Retrospective on Counterinsurgency Operations: The Tay Ninh Provincial Reconnaissance Unit and Its Role in the Phoenix Program, 1969-70* by Col. Andrew R. Finlayson, USMC (Ret.)

3. *A Spy For All Seasons: My Life in the CIA*, by Duane R. Clarridge.