

The Guerrilla Generation



Uruguay



1968 – 1972



Designed by Stephen Rangazas

RULES OF PLAY

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1.0 Introduction

The Guerrilla Generation: Uruguay is a game in *The Guerrilla Generation* COIN multipack. Alongside its accompanying games *Peru*, *El Salvador*, and *Nicaragua*, this historical simulation strives to depict insurgencies in Central and South America during the Cold War era.

The Guerrilla Generation: Uruguay focuses on the conflict in Uruguay between the National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros) insurgency and the Uruguayan Government with its police and potentially military forces. It covers the period from the declaration of a state of emergency in 1968 to the military intervention that led to the crushing of the insurgency in 1972. Although not nearly as costly in lives as the other conflicts in *The Guerrilla Generation*, the conflict in Uruguay still resulted in significant repression and torture. Although police committed abuses and Tupamaros victimized civilians through kidnappings, more severe human rights abuses only began with the intervention of the military at the end of the conflict. After crushing the Tupamaros insurgency, the military led the 1973 coup that ended democracy in Uruguay until 1985. *The Guerrilla Generation: Uruguay* attempts to model these dynamics with care and depict the conflict with a high degree of fidelity, even if the simulation is at times more unpleasant than fun.

The historical simulations that comprise *The Guerrilla Generation* multipack are designed to cover a wide range of different types of insurgent organizations that operate during civil wars. They include examples ranging from popular, restrained groups to ideologically rigid, highly violent groups. Learning to identify the differences between how insurgents operate is important for understanding variations in insurgent tactics, violence against civilians, governance, and vulnerabilities to different counterinsurgent strategies. This multipack is intended to help synthesize and present academic scholarship on insurgencies in Latin America and the broader political science literature on how armed groups operate. Many of the strategies used by the Government and Insurgent factions to advance their political goals are highly unethical and violate international laws on protecting civilians during conflict. The purpose of this pack is to approach these dynamics honestly, improve players' understanding of insurgencies through thoughtful play, and encourage them to seek out the discussion of sources and historical background material in the Event notes and Scenario booklet.

1.1 General Course of Play

In *The Guerrilla Generation: Uruguay*, one Event card at a time is revealed from the shared draw deck, and both players will have an opportunity to either execute that Event or perform an Operation from a unique menu, possibly adding a Special Activity. Propaganda cards mixed in with the Event cards provide periodic interruptions where the general board state is assessed and Government Political Will is adjusted, possibly triggering an instant victory for the Tupamaros, after which both players receive an opportunity to collect additional assets and redeploy their forces.

1.2 Components

The following components from the multipack are required to play *The Guerrilla Generation: Uruguay*:

- A 17"x22" mounted *Uruguay* game board (1.3).
- A blue Government (Uruguay) and a red Tupamaros mat, used to hold Available Forces (1.4.1).
- A deck of 39 Uruguay cards (5.0).
- 20 light blue cubes ('Police'), 10 dark blue cubes ('Troops'), 18 red octagonal cylinders ('Cells'), 4 flat red disks ('Safe Houses'), 1 flat red embossed disc ('People's Prison'), 2 embossed cylinders (one blue and one red) —note that this is fewer than the total number of wooden pieces included in *The Guerrilla Generation* multipack, any excess should be set aside while playing *Uruguay*.
- Six black and six white pawns (3.1.1).
- Specific markers from the countersheet: 1x blue Political Will (Uruguay flag), 1x Public Sympathy, 1x Coup Threat, 9x Supply (with different backs), 6x Intel (with different backs), 1x News Blocked, 12x red Unrest, 22x Sabotage, 8x Capability—all other markers should be set aside while playing *Uruguay*.
- Two player aid sheets.
- One Propaganda Round aid sheet.
- Two six-sided dice.
- This rules booklet.

Cover Image: Protestors carrying a banner featuring Raúl Sendic, a rural farmworkers organizer and one of the founders of the Tupamaros



1.3 The Map

The map shows the capital city of Uruguay, Montevideo, divided into several areas, with three additional spaces abstractly representing the rural areas of Uruguay.

DESIGN NOTE: Unlike in other COIN games, the Tupamaros insurgency was largely confined to one major city, the capital Montevideo. Rural spaces are included to represent the Tupamaros' attempts to organize rural bases in the countryside.



1.3.1 Map Spaces. Map spaces include Urban spaces, Rural spaces, and Strategic Centers. All map spaces can hold forces (1.4).

1.3.2 Urban Spaces. The nine large grey irregular spaces are Urban spaces. Each Urban space is marked with a numerical Economic Value (either '1' or '2') that affects Political Will (1.9) via placement of Unrest (1.6) during the Propaganda Round (6.2).

1.3.3 Rural spaces. The three large green irregular spaces are Rural spaces. Like Urban spaces, Rural spaces are marked with an Economic Value ('1') and may hold an Unrest marker (1.6). Political Will is increased if there are no Tupamaros Safe Houses (1.4) in Rural spaces during the Propaganda Round (6.2).

1.3.4 Strategic Centers. The five circular spaces are Strategic Centers. When each Strategic Center is targeted by the Tupamaros Sabotage Operation (3.3.3), it triggers a unique effect listed here:

- **Armory:** Tupamaros gain 1 Arms Supply chit.
- **Casino:** Tupamaros gain 1 Supply chit.
- **Government:** Reduce Political Will by 1.
- **Prison:** Return up to two Cells from the Prison box (1.3.6) to Available.
- **University:** Shift Public Sympathy (6.6) one step toward Support.

Sabotage markers (1.7) in Strategic Centers also affect Political Will during the Propaganda Round (6.2). Strategic Centers may never hold Safe Houses (1.4) or Unrest markers (1.6).

1.3.5 Adjacency. Adjacency affects the movement of some forces and the implementation of certain Events (5.0). Any two spaces that border one another are adjacent.

1.3.6 Prison Box. The Prison box is where Tupamaros Cells are placed when removed through Arrest (3.2.4) and some Events (5.0). Half the Cells in Prison, rounded down, are returned to Available during the Reset Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.5)

DESIGN NOTE: Fittingly, given the Tupamaros were known as the "Robin Hood Guerrillas", the Prison box mechanics are inspired by Fred Serval's brilliant game, A Gest of Robin Hood.

1.4 Forces

The wooden pieces represent the two Factions' various forces: Government Troops (dark blue cubes) and Police (light blue cubes), Tupamaros Cells (red octagonal cylinders) and Safe Houses (red disks). The Tupamaros also possess one Safe House disk embossed with a yellow star, representing the People's Prison (1.4.4).

DESIGN NOTE: The Tupamaros insurgent pieces are called Cells rather than Guerrillas because they operated primarily in urban areas in a decentralized cell structure. Cells were often further grouped into columns, but their individual operational groups were far smaller than the usual armed groups depicted by Guerrilla pieces in other COIN series games (including Peru and El Salvador). Likewise, their Bases are called Safe Houses to reflect their small size and use for allowing Cells to go "underground".

Government Cubes:



Troops



Police

Cells:

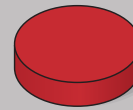


Underground

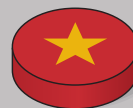


Active

Safe House:



People's Prison:





Important! The Government in *Uruguay* uses all 20 light blue cubes, but only 10 dark blue cubes, while the Tupamaros use only 18 red octagonal cylinders. Set aside the other 10 dark blue cubes and 2 red octagonal cylinders, all the blue disks, all the blue octagonal cylinders, and all the red and pink cubes; these are not used in *Uruguay*.

1.4.1 Availability and Removal. Each Faction has a separate mat showing an inventory of forces. The numbers indicated here limit the number of pieces that a Faction may have in play. Keep a Faction's forces not on the map on its mat, within easy view of both players—such forces are said to be Available.

- Unless otherwise instructed (by Event, 5.1.1), forces may only be placed from or replaced with those in the Available boxes. A piece to be replaced by a piece that is unavailable is simply removed.
- Each Faction's Available Forces display also contains a box, Military Intervention for Government (2.3.4) and Expansion for Tupamaros (6.4.3), that holds additional forces not Available at start. Those forces may become Available later in the game.

Important! Factions, while executing an Operation, Special Activity, or Event to place their own forces, may *not* take them from elsewhere on the map if the desired force type is not Available.

DESIGN NOTE: Unlike other games in the COIN series (including *El Salvador* and *Peru*), pieces that are not Available (on a Faction's mat) may not be taken from those on the map to place elsewhere.

1.4.2 Stacking. No more than two Safe Houses (1.4) may occupy an Urban or Rural space, and Safe Houses may never be placed in a Strategic Center (1.3.4).

- Safe Houses placed (such as via the Recruit Operation [3.3.1] or Event [5.0]) may never violate stacking.
- More than one Sabotage may be placed in a space whether by Sabotage (3.3.3) or Events (5.0).

1.4.3 Underground/Active. Cells are either Underground—symbol end down—or Active—symbol end up. Actions and Events flip them from one state to the other. Safe Houses, Troops, and Police are always Active. Always set up and place new Cells Underground (including if replacing a piece).

NOTE: Unless instructions specify “Underground” Cell, it is sufficient to “Activate” already Active Cells (they stay Active). Also, “moving” or “relocating” Cells does not affect Underground status unless specified. The People's Prison is flipped down to hide its embossed side but is not Underground. It is treated as a normal Active Safe House and its other side is only revealed when removed or sometimes by Event (5.0).

1.4.4 People's Prison. The embossed red People's Prison is a secretly placed Safe House that allows the Tupamaros to add Hostage markers (1.8.1) to the Supply chit pool, that when drawn reduce Political Will (7.2). The Tupamaros player must

secretly swap the People's Prison, embossed side down, with any of their starting Safe Houses (2.1) during setup and again during each Redeploy Phase (6.4.2). If the People's Prison is removed by Arrest (3.2.4) or Raid (4.2.2), remove all Hostage markers from the Supply chit pool (in addition to the normal effects of removing a Safe House).

The Tupamaros may only have a maximum of three Safe Houses in play when their Organizational Structure is Control, and four at Expansion (6.4.3). When the People's Prison is on the map, place one of the other Safe Houses in the People's Prison box on the Tupamaros' mat as a reminder that they may not place an additional Safe House. When the People's Prison is taken off the map place it in the People's Prison box to illustrate that it may not be placed normally with Recruit (3.3.1) or by Events (5.0).

DESIGN NOTE: The People's Prison was the Tupamaros' infamous secret prison for holding political hostages during the insurgency. The Tupamaros kidnapped many prominent targets, including foreign officials such as US advisor Dan Mitrione and British diplomat Geoffrey Jackson.

1.4.5 Overflow Counters. Three pairs of circular and rectangular overflow counters marked ‘A’, ‘B’, and ‘C’ are provided in case any map spaces become too crowded during play. Simply place one counter in the crowded space, then move all the forces there to the side of the map with the matching counter placed near them to indicate where they are currently located. Overflow counters otherwise have no game effect, and their use is not compulsory.

1.5 Players & Factions

The game requires two players, each playing as one Faction: the Government (blue), and the Tupamaros (red).

1.6 Unrest



Unrest markers are placed during the Unrest Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.1) in spaces where Cells (1.4) plus Sabotage markers (1.7) outnumber Government pieces. They are removed during the Reset Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.5). Unrest markers reduce Political Will by the Economic Value of each space during the Political Will Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.2).

DESIGN NOTE: Unrest represents a decline in economic activity and increase in instability due to Tupamaros sabotage operations and presence in areas beyond the ability of Government forces to restore order. Unlike in Nicaragua, the Unrest markers used in Uruguay do not possess a “+1” side further lowering Political Will. This is due to the differences in the amount of economic damage inflicted by the insurgents and the time scale modeled across the two games. Safe Houses do not contribute to placing Unrest as they are intended to be used as refuges rather than active operational centers.



1.7 Sabotage



Sabotage markers are placed by the Tupamaros Sabotage Operation (3.3.3) and by some Events (5.0). Sabotage markers contribute to the placement of Unrest (1.6) and, if placed in Strategic Centers, affect Political Will during the Political Will Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.2). Sabotage markers are not intended to be component limited, and any number may be placed during play.

NOTE: The Terror side of Sabotage markers is not used in Uruguay.

1.8 Supply and Intel Chits

Neither Faction uses Resources as in most other COIN volumes. Instead, each Faction collects and spends a special form of resource: Supply chits for Tupamaros and Intel chits for the Government.



1.8.1 Supply Chits. There are three regular Supply chits types: Arms, Escape, and Orders. Two copies of each of these should be placed in an opaque draw bag or container, which is known as the Supply chit pool. Tupamaros gain Supply chits through passing (2.3.3), the Rob Operation (3.3.4), the Kidnap Special Activity (4.3.1), the Public Sympathy Track during the Propaganda Round (6.6), and from some Events (5.0). While the Tupamaros' Organizational Structure is Control (6.4.3), they may select the type of chit gained from the pool whenever they are instructed to draw one, but when their Organizational Structure is Expansion they must instead draw Supply chits at random from the pool. Whenever an effect mentions a specific type of Supply chit, the Tupamaros select that type regardless of their Organizational Structure if available, otherwise they do not draw a chit.

Drawn chits should be kept on or near the Tupamaros' mat (the type of each held Supply Chit is public). Supply chits held by the Tupamaros (on or near their mat) may be *played* as desired, with the following effects:

-  **Arms:** May add an additional Sabotage marker (1.7) to spaces selected for Sabotage (3.3.3).
-  **Escape:** May flip Cells Underground after Traveling (3.3.2) even if there is no Safe House in the destination space.
-  **Orders:** May add an additional space to a Tupamaros Operation (2.3.9, even if Limited). A maximum of one Orders chit may be played per Event card.

The Tupamaros may also be forced to *discard* Supply chits without triggering the effect by the Government removing Safe Houses (3.2.4, 4.2.2), Events (5.0), or during the Resources Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.3). Arms, Escape, and Orders chits are returned to the pool when played or discarded.



A fourth type of Supply chit, Hostages, may be added to the pool by Kidnap (4.3.1) and some Events (5.0), and may then be drawn from the pool as normal. Hostage chits represent political figures kidnapped by the Tupamaros, and may only be placed into the Supply pool if the People's Prison (1.4.4) is on the map. When a Hostage chit is drawn from the Supply pool Political Will is immediately reduced by 1, and then the chit is set aside instead of being returned to the pool. If the People's Prison is removed from the map, all Hostage markers in the Supply chit pool are immediately removed and set aside. Set aside Hostage markers may be added to the pool again in future turns.

Important! Supply chit effects only trigger when played by the Tupamaros player, not when discarded by Government actions, Events, or Resources Phase. Hostage markers have an immediate effect when drawn, then are set aside (not returned to the pool).

DESIGN NOTE: The drawing of Supply chits represents the collection of resources by the insurgency. Under Control, the central leadership precisely chooses how to prioritize resources. Under Expansion, subordinate column leaders in the field decide, often against the priorities of the central leadership. Arms chits represent resources being devoted to augmenting violent acts. Escape chits represent resources devoted to protecting the organization (disguises, vehicles, temporary safe houses). Orders chits represent using resources to increase the coordination of the organization. The selection of Hostage markers represents the opportunity cost of handling and negotiating a hostage release, pivoting organizational activity away from gaining other types of Supply chits.



1.8.2 Intel Chits. There are six Intel chits: four Info, one Info + Draw, and one False Info. All six chits should be placed in an opaque draw bag or container known as the Intel chit pool. The Government gains Intel Chits through passing (2.3.3), the Interrogate Special Activity (4.2.3), the Public Sympathy Track during the Propaganda Round (6.6), and from some Events (5.0). Intel chits are always drawn randomly from the pool and should be revealed and placed near the Government's mat (the type of any held Intel chit is public). The effect of each type is listed below:

-  **Info:** Hold until played or discarded.
-  **Info + Draw:** Hold this chit as above and immediately draw another Intel chit.
-  **False Info:** Immediately discard this chit back to the pool without drawing a replacement.

The Government may *play* any held Intel chits to improve their Search Operation (3.2.3), remove Safe Houses with the Raid Special Activity (4.2.2), or to add an additional space to Patrol,



Search, or Arrest Operations (2.3.9, even if Limited). Intel chits may be *discarded* without effect by the Tupamaros Intimidate Special Activity (4.3.3), Events (5.0), or during the Resources Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.3). Intel chits are always returned to the pool when played or discarded.

NOTE: Intel chits should always be drawn one at a time, with the False Info chit immediately returned to the bag before drawing any further chits, so it may be drawn multiple times during one action.

1.9 Government Political Will



Government Political Will is tracked with a marker on the edge track. The position of this counter will determine Victory (7.0) for either side. The marker is moved during the Campaign and during the Political Will Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.2). It may never be lower than 0 or greater than 20.

1.10 Public Sympathy Marker



The current Uruguayan attitude toward the Tupamaros is tracked with a marker on the Public Sympathy Track (6.6), affecting Political Will and Faction Resources during the Propaganda Round (6.2, 6.3).

1.11 Coup Threat Marker



Coup Threat is also tracked with a marker on the edge track. The position of this marker relative to Political Will (1.9) will determine victory for either side at Final Victory (7.0) if Military Intervention is in effect. Coup Threat is only increased through Events (5.0) and Military Intervention (2.3.4). The Coup Threat marker should be placed blue side up at the start of the game, then flipped red side up after Military Intervention to indicate that the Government is now threatened by the risk of a coup if Political Will is lower than Coup Threat at the end of the game (7.0).

2.0 Sequence of Play

2.1 Setup

Follow the instructions on the second to last page of this booklet to prepare the draw deck and set up markers and forces. A full setup diagram can be found on the back page of this booklet.

2.2 Start

Begin play by revealing the top card of the Event draw deck and placing it onto a played cards pile. All played cards and the number of cards in the draw deck are open to inspection.

NOTE: Unlike in most previous COIN series volumes, only one Event card is revealed at a time.

RECORD STEPS: As the steps of each Event card play are completed, place the Eligibility cylinder of the acting Faction's color (1.5) into the Initiative Track's appropriate box.

2.3 Initiative Track

One player takes the Government Faction and the blue Eligibility cylinder, the other the Tupamaros Faction and the red Eligibility cylinder.

When playing an Event card, the Government or Tupamaros player will execute Operations or the Event described on the card. At all times one player will be First Eligible, and the other will be Second Eligible. In each Event card round, the First Eligible player is first to choose what they will do, followed by the Second Eligible—whose choices are limited by what the First Eligible player did.



2.3.1 Eligibility. Each player puts one cylinder (blue and red respectively) on the First or Second Eligible spaces of the Initiative Track.

NOTE: The Tupamaros always start the game in the 1st Eligible box and return there during the Reset Phase (6.5) each Propaganda Round.

2.3.2 Options for Eligible Factions.

First Eligible: The First Eligible player may perform a Limited Operation (2.3.5), execute the Event (5.0), perform an Operation (3.0) with Special Activity (4.0), or Pass (2.3.3).

The player selects their desired box and places their Eligibility cylinder in the appropriate box on the Initiative Track, then immediately executes the chosen action (Limited Operation, Event, or Operation with Special Activity) or Passes.

Second Eligible: The Second Eligible player may then choose one of the boxes not containing the First Eligible player's cylinder and conduct the action in the box selected (or Pass).

2.3.3 Passing. After selecting a box, players may forgo the action in the box to Pass. If Government pass, they draw an Intel chit (1.8.2), and if Tupamaros pass, they draw a Supply chit (1.8.1). Both players may pass and the order of cylinders in the Initiative Track will still decide eligibility (2.3.7).



2.3.4 Military Intervention Pass. If Political Will (1.9) is less than 12, the Government may once per game choose to trigger Military Intervention instead of their normal pass option. When the Government triggers Military Intervention, increase Coup Threat by 6, place 10 Troops in any Urban spaces on the map, and the Censor Special Activity (4.2.1) now allows two rolls rather than one against the Public Sympathy Track (6.6). The effects of Military Intervention are immediate and may not be reversed.

DESIGN NOTE: *Once the Tupamaros create enough instability in Montevideo, the Government may choose to allow the military to enter the fight against the insurgency. As occurred historically, the introduction of the military will often make it difficult for the Tupamaros to survive but comes with the added risk of dramatically increasing Coup Threat. If the civilian government is too politically weakened, the entrance of the military will lead to a coup after they defeat the Tupamaros.*

2.3.5 Limited Operation. A Limited Operation is an Operation in just one space, with no Special Activity. If the Limited Operation is a Patrol (3.2.2) or Search (3.2.3) it can involve pieces from multiple spaces but only one destination space. A Limited Travel (3.3.2) Operation may move Cells from one selected origin space to multiple destination spaces.

2.3.6 Breaking News. After both players have acted, resolve the Breaking News effect (5.4) at the bottom of the current card, unless it has been blocked by the Censor (4.2.1) or Propagandize (4.3.2) Special Activities.

Important! Breaking News is an additional effect on every Event card that happens after both players have acted (unless it has been blocked). Do not forget about it!

2.3.7 Adjust Eligibility. After both players have selected and executed their actions and Breaking News has been resolved, replace the Eligibility cylinders on the Initiative Track with the cylinder in the furthest left box becoming First Eligible, and the other cylinder becoming Second Eligible.

DESIGN NOTE: *Selecting the Limited Operation box guarantees the player first eligibility on the next card. Likewise, selecting the Operation & Special Activity box guarantees second eligibility on the next card. Eligibility after selecting the Event space will depend on what the other player has chosen. The only way to block Events in The Guerrilla Generation is to select the Event box and then either play the Event or Pass.*

2.3.8 Next Card. After eligibility has been reset, reveal the draw deck's next card and continue play.

2.3.9 Intelligence Leads and Orders Supply Chits. Both players may play one of their special resources, Intel chits or Orders Supply chits (1.8.1) respectively, when conducting an Operation or Limited Operation to select an additional space. The Government may spend any Intel chit to add one additional space to Patrol (3.2.2), Search (3.2.3), or Arrest (3.2.4). Tupamaros may play an Orders Supply chit to add one additional space to any Operation (3.3). An additional space may be added in this way even if the Operation is Limited (2.3.5).

2.4 Propaganda Card

When a Propaganda card is revealed, conduct a Propaganda Round (6.0).

NOTE: Each series of Event cards leading up to a Propaganda Round is called a "Campaign".

3.0 Operations

3.1 Operations in General

A Faction executing an Operation (Op) chooses one of the four Operations listed on its Faction sheet and selects the map spaces (typically several) to be involved. Select a given space only once for a given Operation.

Operations are generally allowed in up to three spaces unless the Operation is Limited (2.3.5), in which case they are allowed in only one space. **EXCEPTION:** *Each side may add an additional space to some Operations by spending an Intel chit (Intelligence Lead) or an Orders Supply chit (2.3.9).*

The executing Faction chooses the order of the spaces in which the Operation is resolved, the enemy pieces to be affected (targeted), and the friendly pieces to be placed, replaced, or moved. Once targeted, a Faction's pieces are affected to the maximum extent possible. Actions affecting another Faction's pieces do not require that Faction's permission.

3.1.1 Pawns. If desired, mark spaces selected for Operations (3.0), Special Activities (4.0), or other actions with white and black pawns. The pawns are for convenience, not a limit on play.

3.2 Government Operations

The Government chooses from Deploy, Patrol, Search, or Arrest Operations.

3.2.1 Deploy. Deploy places Police and repositions Troops. Select up to three Urban and/or Rural spaces.

PROCEDURE: Place one Police in each selected space or, if more cubes than Cells, instead place up to two Police. Then, if Military Intervention has been triggered (2.3.4), Government may move any Troops to any one space, even if the Operation is Limited.

3.2.2 Patrol. Patrol moves Police and removes Tupamaros. Select up to three destination spaces with Cells or Strategic Centers.

PROCEDURE: As desired, move Police from anywhere on the map to any selected destination spaces. Then, in one destination space, Government may Arrest (3.2.4) with Police (only, not Troops).

NOTE: Patrol may only select spaces with Cells, so could not be used to remove a Safe House without Cells, but could be used to remove one from a space with Active Cells. A 'quiet' Safe House does not attract enough attention to make it vulnerable to Patrol.



3.2.3 Search. Search moves cubes and activates Cells. Select up to three destination spaces.

PROCEDURE: First, simultaneously move any adjacent cubes desired into selected destination spaces. Then, in each space selected, Activate (1.4.3) one Cell for every three cubes there. In Rural spaces, instead Activate one Cell per cube. Government may spend an Intel chit (1.8.2) in any Urban or Strategic Center spaces to Activate one Cell for every cube there.

NOTE: Unlike Sweep in other COIN games, in *Uruguay* the Government may move Police with the Search Operation, reflecting the smaller geographic area and the less militarized nature of the conflict. Each Intel chit spent to enhance Search affects only one selected space, but multiple chits may be spent.

3.2.4 Arrest. Arrest removes Tupamaros pieces. Select up to three spaces with cubes and Active Tupamaros pieces.

PROCEDURE: In each selected Rural or Strategic Center space, remove one Active Tupamaros piece for every cube. In Urban spaces, instead remove one Active Tupamaros piece for every two Troops or three Police. First remove Active Cells, then remove Safe Houses only once no Cells remain (even Underground). Removed Cells are placed in the Prison box (1.3.6) and removed Safe Houses are returned to Tupamaros Available (1.4.1). If a Safe House is removed, increase Political Will by 1 and discard a random held Supply chit (1.8.1). If the People's Prison (1.4.4) is removed, also remove all Hostages from the Supply chit pool.

NOTE: Underground Cells in a space prevent removal of Safe Houses from Arrest until all Cells are Activated and removed.

3.3 Tupamaros Operations

Tupamaros choose from Recruit, Travel, Sabotage, or Rob Operations.

3.3.1 Recruit. Recruit adds Tupamaros forces. Select up to three Urban and/or Rural spaces.

PROCEDURE: In each selected Urban space, place one Cell, and in each selected space with a Safe House instead place up to two Cells. Then, in one selected space with a Cell, Tupamaros may also place a Safe House.

NOTE: Recruit in Rural spaces requires a Safe House to already be present to place any Cells, and Recruit can only place new Safe Houses in spaces with Cells (which could have just been placed).

3.3.2 Travel. Travel moves Cells and may flip them Underground. Select up to three origin spaces with Cells. A Limited (2.3.5) Travel Operation may select only a single origin space, but may move Cells to multiple destination spaces.

PROCEDURE: As desired, move any Cells in each selected origin space to any spaces on the map, including their original

space. Set Cells moving from one origin space to one destination space Active (1.4.3) if:

- The destination is a Strategic Center *and*
- The number of moving Cells plus the number of cubes in that destination exceeds three.

If the destination space has a Safe House or Tupamaros play an Escape Supply chit (1.8.1), flip the moving Cells Underground. An Escape Supply Chit may even be used to flip Underground when moving into a Strategic Center would otherwise cause the Cells to flip Active. All other moving Cells retain their current orientation (Active or Underground).

NOTE: Cells moving into a space with a Safe House may be moved again if that space was also selected as an origin, allowing them to move in, flip Underground, then move on to a new destination. Each Escape chit spent to flip Cells Underground affects only one group moving to a single destination, but multiple chits may be spent.

3.3.3 Sabotage. Sabotage places Sabotage markers. Select up to three spaces with Underground Cells.

PROCEDURE: In each selected space, Activate an Underground Cell to place a Sabotage marker. If the selected space is a Strategic Center, also resolve the specific Strategic Center's effect (1.3.4). Tupamaros may spend an Arms Supply chit (1.8.1) to add an additional Sabotage marker in any selected space.

NOTE: Each Arms chit spent adds an additional Sabotage marker to only one selected space, but multiple chits may be spent.

3.3.4 Rob. Rob gains the Tupamaros Supply chits (1.8.1). Rob may select up to three Urban spaces with Underground Cells.

PROCEDURE: In each selected space, Activate an Underground Cell and gain Supply Chits (1.8.1) equal to the Economic Value of the space (1.3.2).



Funeral march for student activist Liber Arce, murdered by the police in 1968 (Partido por la Victoria del Pueblo, CC BY-SA 4.0)



4.0 Special Activities

4.1 Special Activities in General

When a Faction per the Initiative Track (2.3) executes an Operation (3.0), it may also execute one Special Activity (*EXCEPTION: Limited Operations*, 2.3.5). As with Operations, the executing Faction selects spaces and pieces affected, and the order of actions. Select a given space only once as a location for a given Special Activity. Events may grant free Special Activities (not further affecting Eligibility, 2.3.1).

Important! A Faction may execute its Special Activity at any one time immediately before, during, or after its Operation.

EXAMPLE: Government may Arrest in one space to remove a Cell, then pause to Interrogate to gain Intel Chits before continuing to Arrest in other spaces.

4.1.1 Accompanying Operations. Some Special Activities specify that they may only accompany certain types of Operations (3.0). If not otherwise specified, Special Activities may accompany any Operations and take place in any otherwise valid spaces.

4.2 Government Special Activities

The Government chooses from Censor, Raid, or Interrogate Special Activities.

4.2.1 Censor. Censor attempts to shift Public Sympathy (6.6) toward Disgust and may block the Breaking News effect (5.4). It may only accompany Deploy (3.2.1) or Patrol (3.2.2).

PROCEDURE: Roll one die—if the roll result is greater than the current Public Sympathy Track value, shift Public Sympathy one step toward Disgust. If Military Intervention has been triggered, a second roll may be made. If already at Disgust, instead of rolling Government may Activate any one Cell (or any two Cells if Military Intervention). Then, Government may mark the Breaking News (5.4) as blocked if desired.

4.2.2 Raid. Raid spends Intel chits (1.8.2) to remove Safe Houses (1.4). Raid may select one space with a Safe House and more cubes than Cells. It may only accompany Patrol (3.2.2), Search (3.2.3), or Arrest (3.2.4).

PROCEDURE: Spend two Intel chits to remove a Safe House from the selected space. If a Safe House is removed, increase Political Will by 1 and discard a random held Supply chit (1.8.1). If the People's Prison (1.4.4) is removed, also remove all Hostages from the Supply chit pool.

NOTE: Underground Cells do not protect Safe Houses from the Raid Special Activity.

4.2.3 Interrogate. Interrogate gains Intel Chits from Cells in Prison (1.3.6). It may only accompany Patrol (3.2.2), Search (3.2.3), or Arrest (3.2.4).

PROCEDURE: Draw one Intel chit for every two Cells in the Prison box (round down).

DESIGN NOTE: The police used torture as part of their interrogation tactics, with specific tactics allegedly taught by US personnel from the Office of Public Safety. When the military entered the conflict, torture became systematic as the Tupamaros were steadily overwhelmed and increasing numbers of their members were captured.

4.3 Tupamaros Special Activities

Tupamaros choose from Kidnap, Propagandize, or Intimidate Special Activities.

4.3.1 Kidnap. Kidnap gains the Tupamaros Supply chits (1.8.1) and adds Hostage markers (1.8.1) to the Supply chit pool. Kidnap may select one Urban or Strategic Center space with more Underground Cells than Police. Kidnap may accompany Recruit (3.3.1), Travel (3.3.2), or Sabotage (3.3.3).

PROCEDURE: Activate one Cell and gain half a die roll of Supply Chits from the Supply chit pool (round up). Then, if the People's Prison (1.4.4) is on the map, Tupamaros may add an available Hostage marker to the Supply chit pool.

NOTE: Kidnap may draw a Hostage marker from the Supply pool and then immediately add the same marker back to the pool.

4.3.2 Propagandize. Propagandize attempts to shift Public Sympathy (6.6) toward Support and may block the Breaking News effect (5.4). It may only accompany Recruit (3.3.1), Sabotage (3.3.3), or Rob (3.3.4).

PROCEDURE: Roll one die—if the roll result is greater than the current Public Sympathy Track value, shift Public Sympathy one step toward Support. If Organizational Structure is Control, a second roll may be made. If already at Support, instead of rolling Tupamaros may place or move a Safe House into any Urban or Rural space with a Cell (may place or move two Safe Houses if Control). Then, Tupamaros may mark the Breaking News (5.4) as blocked if desired.

4.3.3 Intimidate. Intimidate allows the Tupamaros to remove Police and discard Intel chits (1.8.2). Intimidate may select one space with Underground Cells and Police, or two such spaces if at Expansion Organizational Structure (6.4.3). Intimidate may only accompany Travel (3.3.2), Sabotage (3.3.3), or Rob (3.3.4).

PROCEDURE: Remove one Police from each selected space. Then, for each Police removed Tupamaros may discard an Intel chit.



5.0 Events



Each Event bears a title headline, capitalized flavor text, Event text, and an additional Breaking News effect at the bottom. Flavor text provides historical interest and has no effect on play.

DESIGN NOTE: There are very few available photographs depicting the Tupamaros insurgency, let alone of high enough quality to use on the Event cards. This is partly due to a lack of international journalistic interest in the conflict, especially compared to the highly reported conflicts in El Salvador and Nicaragua in the 1980s, but another contributing factor is the Tupamaros systematically destroying all photographs of themselves before going underground. In any case, we decided to lean into this by using the space that would normally be taken up with an image for the new Breaking News mechanic instead.

5.1 Executing Events

When a Faction executes an Event, it carries out the Event text literally and in order (sometimes involving actions or decisions by the other Faction). Unless otherwise specified, the executing Faction makes all selections involved in implementing the text, such as which pieces are affected. If another Faction is specified or selected to take an action, that Faction decides the details of the action. Some Events with lasting effects have markers as aids to play.

5.1.1 Where Event text contradicts rules, the Event takes precedence. However:

- Events may not violate stacking (and so may never place more than two Safe Houses in one space).
- Events place only Available pieces (1.4.1); they remove rather than replace if the replacement is not Available or if stacking (1.4.2) would be violated.
- Events may not raise Political Will beyond 20 or reduce it below 0 (1.9).

5.1.2 If two Events contradict, the currently played Event takes precedence.

5.1.3 An executed Event's text that can be implemented must be. If not all of its text can be carried out, implement that which can.

5.2 Dual Use

Many Events have both top and bottom Event text (in addition to the Breaking News effect at the very bottom of the card). The executing Faction may select either the top or bottom text to carry out (not both). While the top text often favors the Government, a player may select either text option regardless of Faction.

DESIGN NOTE: Dual-use events represent opposed effects of the same cause, forks in the historical road, or instances subject to alternative historical interpretation.

5.3 Capabilities

Events labeled “Government Capability” or “Tupamaros Capability” have lasting effects mainly relating to that Faction, either positive or negative. The label is for flavor only, and both Factions may play Capability Events with either label. The Events' effects last for the rest of the game for Government Capabilities. For Tupamaros Capabilities, the Event lasts for the rest of the game, but the effect switches between its top and bottom effect depending on the Tupamaros' current Organizational Structure (6.4.3).

NOTE: Set out executed Capabilities Event cards near the board as added reminders, using a Capability marker to indicate which option was selected. Tupamaros Capabilities strengthen the group when at Control Organizational Structure and hinders them at Expansion—use a Capability marker to indicate which effect is currently active.

5.4 Breaking News

At the bottom of each Event card is a Breaking News effect. Breaking News effects occur once both Factions have performed an action, prior to drawing the next card (2.3.6). Breaking News effects should be executed like Events (5.1). Some Breaking News effects favor one of the two Factions while others have no effect.



Breaking News may be blocked by the Government Censor Special Activity (4.2.1) or Tupamaros Propagandize Special Activity (4.3.2). Place the “News Blocked” counter on the card as a reminder if the effect is blocked (the counter has alternate blue and red sides for flavor only, to indicate which Faction has blocked the Breaking News).

DESIGN NOTE: Breaking News effects reflect the chaotic events happening in Montevideo during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Riots, strikes, protests, and other random events helped create a climate of instability that could be leveraged primarily by the Tupamaros, but at times the government, to further their goals. The use of Censor and Propagandize to block the headline events shouldn't imply the events didn't happen, but instead that either Faction has successfully managed to draw attention away from them or mitigate their political effects.



6.0 Propaganda Round

Conduct a Propaganda Round in the sequence of phases below when each Propaganda card is revealed. The Propaganda Round aid sheet also lists this sequence.

6.1 Unrest Phase

The Unrest Phase involves adding Unrest markers (1.6) to the map.

6.1.1 Add Unrest. Add an Unrest marker to each Urban or Rural space with more Cells plus Sabotage markers than cubes.

NOTE: Unrest markers are never placed in Strategic Centers (1.3.4).

6.2 Political Will Phase

Calculate the *net* effect to Political Will of the following adjustments before shifting the marker:

6.2.1 Unrest. Reduce Political Will by the Economic Value of each space with an Unrest marker (1.6).

6.2.2 Daring Actions. Reduce Political Will by 1 for each Strategic Center (1.3.4) with at least one Sabotage marker.

6.2.3 Public Sympathy. Reduce Political Will by the current value of the Public Sympathy Track (6.6).

6.2.4 Urban Calm. Increase Political Will by 1 for every two Urban spaces without an Unrest marker (1.6).

6.2.5 Rural Expansion Contained. Increase Political Will by 2 if there are no Safe Houses in any Rural spaces (1.3.3).

6.2.6 Organization Decimated. Increase Political Will by 1 for every six Cells in the Prison box.

NOTE: It's important to calculate the net shift in Political Will during these steps before moving the marker and checking victory, rather than adjusting the marker one step at a time.

6.2.7 Victory? If Government Political Will is now at 0, the game immediately ends with a Tupamaros victory.

6.2.8 Game End? If this is the final Propaganda card, and Tupamaros have not won, determine final Victory (7.0) by comparing Coup Threat and Political Will.

6.3 Resources Phase

Follow the steps below to adjust the Supply and Intel chits (1.8) available to each side.

6.3.1 Wasted Supplies. The Tupamaros must discard any Supply Chits over the number of Safe Houses (1.4) on the map.

6.3.2 Outdated Intel. The Government must discard half (round down) of their Intel Chits.

6.3.3 Public Sympathy. Government gains Intel chits or Tupamaros gain Supply chits, as stated under the current Public Sympathy Track position (6.6).

6.4 Redeploy Phase

6.4.1 Government. Government may move any Police on the map to any Strategic Center spaces (1.3.4), as desired.

6.4.2 Tupamaros. Tupamaros may move Safe Houses to any Urban or Rural spaces with more Cells than cubes. Then, Tupamaros must move Cells from Strategic Centers to any spaces with Safe Houses, or if no Safe Houses on map to any Urban spaces. If not on the map, Tupamaros must secretly swap the People's Prison (1.4.4) with an on map Safe House, if possible.

6.4.3 Organizational Structure. Tupamaros may choose to switch between Control and Expansion by flipping the marker on their mat. If switching to Expansion, move the additional six Cells and one Safe House to Available. If switching to Control, remove the required number of pieces (six Cells and one Safe House) from Available, then map, then Prison box to the Expansion box on the Tupamaros mat. Switching between Control and Expansion also affects Tupamaros Capability Events (5.3), the Propagandize and Intimidate Special Activities (4.3.2, 4.3.3), and draws from the Supply chit pool (1.8.1).

NOTE: Besides during the Redeploy Phase (6.4), two Events grant players the ability to switch the Organizational Structure of the Tupamaros Faction.

DESIGN NOTE: The Tupamaros' Organizational Structure mechanic reflects the tradeoff many clandestine organizations face between a small tightly controlled organization or a decentralized expanding one where the leadership struggles to control subordinates. At Control, the Tupamaros have greater control over their Supply chit draws, benefit from Capabilities, and can more effectively communicate their political message through Propagandize. However, this all comes at the tradeoff of a more limited manpower pool. As the organization accumulates attrition through Cells removed to Prison, Tupamaros players will be tempted to expand their ranks. At Expansion, the Tupamaros have more Cells and a greater ability to use violence through Intimidate, but face negative effects from Capabilities, Propagandize less effectively, and must randomly select Supply chits due to lacking full control of their subordinates.

6.5 Reset Phase

Carry out the following steps to prepare for the next Campaign.

6.5.1 Public Fatigue. Shift the Public Sympathy Track (6.6) one step toward Disgust.

6.5.2 New Recruits. Return half (round down) of Cells in Prison box (1.3.6) to Available.

Then prepare for the next card as follows:

- Remove all Sabotage and Unrest markers from the map.
- Flip all Cells Underground (1.4.3).
- Set Tupamaros to 1st Eligible and Government to 2nd Eligible.
- Reveal the next card from the draw deck and continue play (2.3.2).



6.6 Public Sympathy Track

The Public Sympathy Track depicts the level of public sympathy in Uruguay for the Tupamaros insurgency. Given the Tupamaros' inability to control territory and ensure civilian collaboration, public sympathy is modeled as the general attitudes of the city rather than tied to specific spaces on the map. Public sympathy affected whether people were more likely to aid the Police or Tupamaros Cells. Both sides devoted considerable resources and energy to shaping the public's view of the insurgency. In the context of a democracy, significant public support for the issues highlighted by the Tupamaros could impact electoral outcomes. However, the Tupamaros also faced the issue of public fatigue. Without daring actions or identifiable progress, the public grew tired of the disruptions, and particularly violence, committed by the group. The Public Sympathy Track is designed to cover these dynamics.

6.6.1 Moving the Track. The Public Sympathy Track is moved by the Tupamaros Propagandize Special Activity (4.3.2), Government Censor Special Activity (4.2.1), the Tupamaros conducting Sabotage (3.3.3) in the University Strategic Center (1.3.4), and by some Events (5.0). In addition, the Public Sympathy Track shifts toward Disgust during every Reset Phase (6.5.1).

6.6.2 Effect on Political Will. The current value of the Public Sympathy Track is subtracted from Political Will during the Propaganda Round (6.2.3).

6.6.3 Effect on Resources Phase. The current position of the Public Sympathy Track grants the Government additional Intel chits (1.8.2) in the two leftmost spaces and Tupamaros additional Supply chits (1.8.1) in the two rightmost spaces during the Resources Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.3).

6.6.4 Track Edge Effects. If the Public Sympathy Track would ever move toward Disgust while already at Disgust, the Government may immediately flip any one Cell Active. If Public Sympathy would ever move toward Support while already at Support, the Tupamaros may immediately move or place a Safe House into any space with a Cell. The immediate effects are triggered when a player would make a roll to move the Track marker or move it from an Event (5.0) when it is already at the edge of the track. Moving additional spaces doesn't grant additional immediate effects.

NOTE: If an Event moved the Public Sympathy Track two spaces when already at Support, that would only trigger the Track Edge effect once. In contrast, if the Tupamaros Propagandize with two potential rolls at Support, each will trigger the Track Edge effect instead of rolling.



Married ex-Tupamaros José Mujica and Lucía Topolansky in 2023. Mujica spent 14 years in prison before becoming president of Uruguay in 2010, while Topolansky was vice president from 2017 to 2020. (Casa Rosada, Argentina Presidency of the Nation)



7.0 Victory

Victory is determined by the level of Government Political Will (1.9). Government Political Will is measured on the edge track and can range from 0-20.

7.0.1 Early Victory. At the victory check during the Political Will Phase of a Propaganda round, the Tupamaros win if Political Will is at 0.

7.0.2 Democracy Dies? If Tupamaros have not won at the end of the Political Will Phase of the final Propaganda Round, and Military Intervention (2.3.4) is in effect, compare Coup Threat (1.11) and Political Will. If Political Will is less than Coup Threat, then the Government loses and the Tupamaros win a moral victory. Any other outcome results in a Government victory.

NOTE: As with many urban guerrillas, the Tupamaros never came close to toppling the Uruguayan state. However, a Tupamaros victory reflects pressuring the Government to implement reforms sufficient to end the instability, whether by Tupamaros or the mass protests and strikes also occurring at the time. Government victory is dependent on the level of military intervention in the conflict. If the Government can avoid a Tupamaros victory while keeping the military out of the conflict, then there is a strong chance civilian rule continues. Alternatively, the Government can also win by utilizing military intervention to defeat the Tupamaros with enough stability to avoid a coup. However, the historical outcome was a Tupamaros moral victory, caused by the Government crushing the organization with the military but also triggering a coup that ended the democracy. After the restoration of democracy in 1985, a former Tupamaro, José Mujica, went on to become President of Uruguay in 2010.

7.1 Raising Political Will

Government Political Will is raised in the following ways:

- Removing Safe House by Arrest, Raid, or Event (+1 PW)
- Events (+1 to +2 PW)
- At Propaganda Round, Urban spaces without Unrest (+1 PW per two Urban spaces without Unrest)
- At Propaganda Round, no Safe House in Rural spaces (+2 PW)
- At Propaganda Round, Cells in Prison box (+1 PW per six Cells in Prison box)

7.2 Lowering Political Will

Government Political Will is lowered in the following ways:

- Sabotage at Government Strategic Center (−1 PW)
- Gaining a Hostage marker (−1 PW)
- Events (−1 to −2 PW)
- At Propaganda Round, Economic Value of each Unrest space (−1 to −2 PW per space)
- At Propaganda Round, each Sabotaged Strategic Center (−1 PW per space)
- At Propaganda Round, current value of Public Sympathy Track (0 to −4 PW)

8.0 Example of Play

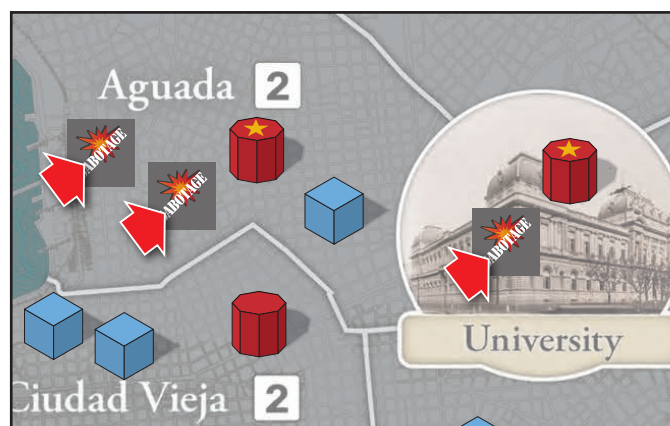
Set up the game as indicated in section 2.1 (consult the setup diagram on the back of this booklet), but construct only the first part of the deck with these cards in the following order, facedown from top to bottom: CITYWIDE SEARCH BY POLICE ACHIEVES LITTLE (U5), “ROBIN HOOD GUERRILLAS” OR CRIMINALS? (U1), CARLOS MARIGHELLA’S WRITINGS GUIDE TUPAMAROS (U23), ALICIA REY CAPTURED (U4), RATONERAS TERRORIZE NEIGHBORHOODS (U3), TUPAMAROS CONSIDER COMPARTMENTALIZATION (U6) and PROPAGANDA (U39). Before play begins, the Tupamaros also have to secretly replace one of their three Safe Houses on the board with their special People’s Prison Safe House (marked with a gold star). They choose to place this in Villa del Cerro, facedown so the Government player doesn’t know where it is, then place the original Base back in the ‘People’s Prison’ spot on their player mat to indicate that it is not currently Available. We are now ready to begin.

Reveal the first card, CITYWIDE SEARCH BY POLICE ACHIEVES LITTLE, from the top of the deck. Tupamaros are 1st Eligible and decide to perform a **Sabotage** Operation with the **Kidnap** Special Activity. We place their red Eligibility cylinder into the ‘Op & Special Activity’ box on the Initiative Track to indicate what they are doing. They will Kidnap first, which can target one Urban or Strategic Center space with more Underground Cells than Police. They select Prado, Activating an Underground Cell to gain half a die roll of Supply chits, rounded up. They roll a ‘5’, which halved and rounded up equals three, so they will gain three Supply chits. The Tupamaros start the game with their Organizational Structure as ‘Control’, which means they are allowed to select which Supply chits to take when they gain any (if they switch to ‘Expansion’ they will need to draw Supply chits at random instead). They choose to take one of each chit type in the pool: Orders, Arms, and Escape. Finally, because the People’s Prison is on the map, they also add a Hostage chit to the Supply pool, which they will then be able to gain on a future turn.



Tupamaros Kidnap in Prado

Next the Tupamaros will Sabotage, which they can perform in up to three spaces, with the option to spend an Orders Supply chit to select one additional space (this is true of all Tupamaros Operations). Sabotage can select any space with an Underground Cell, and they choose Villa del Cerro, Aguada, and the University Strategic Center (electing not to use their Orders chit at this time). In Villa del Cerro they Activate one Underground Cell and place a Sabotage marker. In Aguada they do the same, but then spend their Arms Supply chit to place a second Sabotage marker. In Strategic Centers, like the University, Sabotage has an additional unique effect—they Activate their Underground Cell to place a Sabotage marker, but then also shift the Public Sympathy Track one step toward Support. The Tupamaros turn is now complete.



Tupamaros Sabotage in Aguada and the University

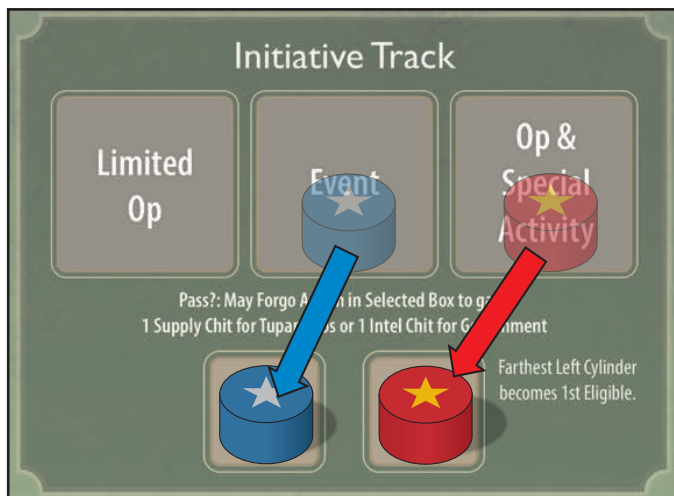


This leaves Government to choose from the other two boxes on the Initiative Track, Limited Operation or Event. They decide to perform the top **Event** effect, which allows them to increase Coup Threat by 1 (to 1) to Search in up to three spaces. Search moves in cubes from adjacent spaces and usually only Activates one Cell per three cubes in non-Rural spaces, but the Event also allows them to Activate one Cell per cube in all three

Search spaces. They Search in the following three spaces:

- **Prado:** Move in one Police (light blue cube) from Sayago, one from Ituzaingo, and one from the Government Strategic Center, Activating the Underground Cell.
- **Ciudad Vieja:** Move in one Police from the Armory, Activating the Underground Cell.
- **Malvin:** Move in two Police from Punta Carretas and one from Carrasco, Activating both Underground Cells.

The Government turn is now complete, but before continuing we need to resolve the Breaking News effect at the bottom of the Event card. In this case it allows the Tupamaros to place a Safe House, but they do not have any Available Safe Houses (they cannot yet use the Safe House in the 'Expansion' box), so it does not have any effect. Then we reset Eligibility, with the Faction whose cylinder is furthest to the left, in this case Government, becoming 1st Eligible, and the other Faction becoming 2nd Eligible.

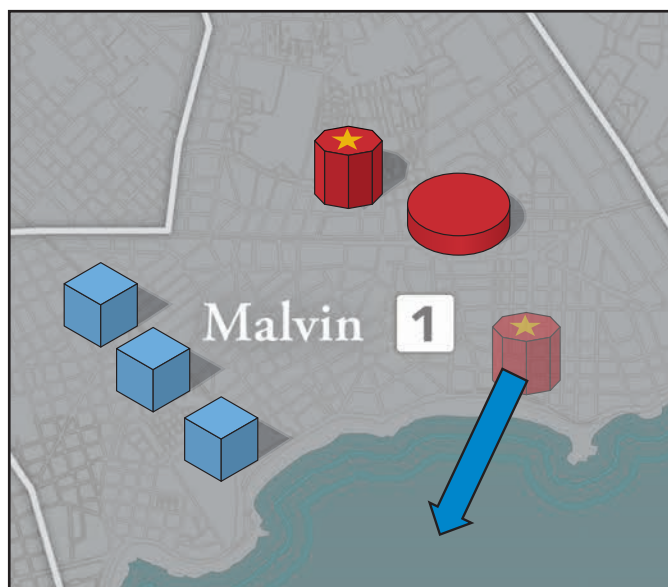


Eligibility is reset at the end of each round



Reveal the next card: "ROBIN HOOD GUERRILLAS" OR CRIMINALS? Government is 1st Eligible and decides to perform an **Arrest** Operation with the **Interrogate** Special Activity. They will Arrest first, which can select up to three spaces with cubes and Active Tupamaros pieces (all Government Operations usually select up to three spaces unless Limited). However, in Urban spaces Arrest may only remove one Tupamaros piece

per three Police, and Safe Houses can only be removed after all Cells. They select Prado, Ciudad Vieja, and Malvin, removing one Active Cell from each space to the Prison box (where they will be unavailable to the Tupamaros until released).

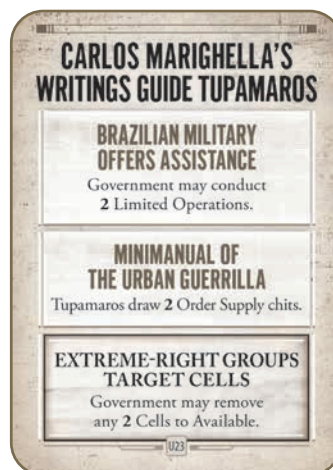


Government Arrests one Cell in Malvin

Next the Government will Interrogate, which allows them to gain one Intel chit for every two Cells in Prison, in this case just one chit. The Government always draws Intel chits at random, and they get lucky and draw the 'Info + Draw' chit, which allows them to draw a second chit. However the second chit they draw is 'False Info', which is immediately returned to the pool. They keep the 'Info + Draw' chit and their turn is complete.

The Tupamaros decide to perform a Limited **Travel** Operation, which allows them to select a single origin space and move Cells to any destinations from there. However, they also decide to spend their Orders Supply chit, returning it to the pool to select an additional origin space. They move one Cell from Aguada to Malvin, where it flips Underground because it is arriving at a Safe House. They also move one Cell from the University to Northern Uruguay, spending their Escape chit to flip it Underground.

The Tupamaros turn is complete, so we resolve the Breaking News effect, which this time allows the Tupamaros to place a Sabotage marker in one Urban space, and they choose Ituzaingo. We then reset Tupamaros to 1st Eligible and Government to 2nd Eligible.



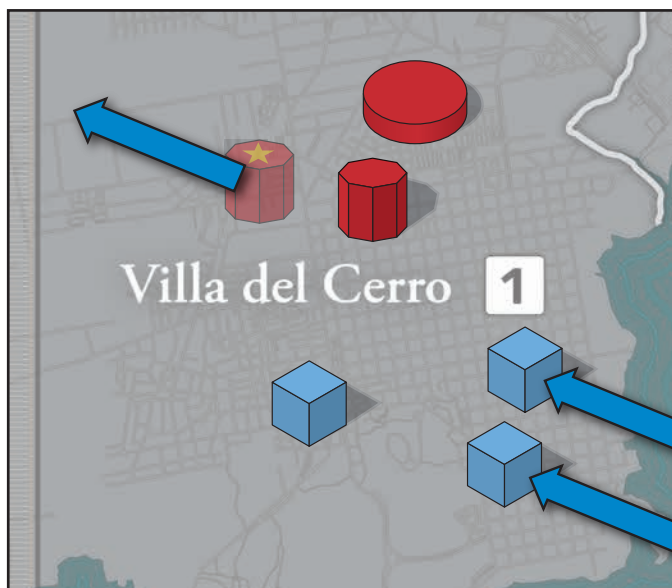
Reveal the next card, CARLOS MARIGHELLA'S WRITINGS GUIDE TUPAMAROS. Tupamaros are 1st Eligible and decides to perform the **Recruit** Operation with the **Propagandize** Special Activity. Recruit allows them to place one Cell in each selected Urban space, or up to two Cells in any selected space that already has a Safe House, then optionally place a Safe House in one selected space with a



Cell. They only have three Cells available to place, so they choose to place one Cell in Prado, one Cell in Punta Carretas, and one Cell in Carrasco. They'd have liked to place a Safe House in Northern Uruguay, but as they don't have any available they aren't able to do this yet.

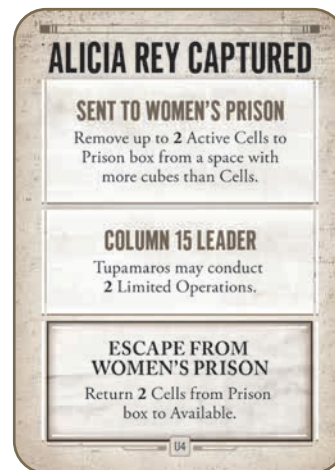
Next, they Propagandize, which at Control allows them to roll twice to try and shift the Public Sympathy Track, needing to roll over the current value to shift it. Their first roll is a '5', shifting it to the rightmost space, 'Support'. The track cannot shift any further, so instead of making a second roll they are allowed to place or move a Safe House to a space with a Cell, and decide to move their Safe House in Prado to Northern Uruguay. Finally, they are also allowed to block the current Breaking News effect from resolving, which they choose to do as it would allow the Government to remove two Cells. We place the 'News Blocked' marker at the bottom of the current Event card to remind us not to resolve it at the end of the round. The Tupamaros turn is now complete.

The Government decides to execute the top effect of the **Event**, which allows them to perform two Limited Operations. They Limited Patrol first, allowing them to move Police from any spaces into one space with a Cell (or a Strategic Center without one), then Arrest there if possible. They move one Police from the Prison Strategic Center and one from the Casino, both into Villa del Cerro, then Arrest there to send the Active Cell to Prison. For their second Limited Operation they Patrol again, this time moving one Police each from the Armory, Prison, and Casino to Northern Uruguay, but they are not able to Arrest there as the Cell is not Active, and the Safe House cannot be removed until the Cell is gone. Note that a full Patrol Operation would be able to move Police to three spaces, but would still only be able to Arrest in one of the three spaces—as this was two Limited Patrols it could potentially have arrested in both spaces.



Police Patrol and Arrest in Villa del Cerro

The Government turn is complete and the Breaking News has been blocked, so we reset Government to 1st Eligible and Tupamaros to 2nd Eligible.



block the Breaking News, placing the marker at the bottom of the Event card to indicate this.

Next they Deploy, which allows them to place Police in up to three Urban or Rural spaces: two Police if cubes there outnumber Cells, otherwise just one. They place two Police in Aguada and two in Northern Uruguay, then they are out of Available Police so they stop. Deploy also allows them to move Troops to any one space, but there are not any Troops in play yet so they cannot do this. The Government turn is complete.

Tupamaros will execute the bottom effect of the **Event**, which this time allows them to perform two Limited Operations. They decide to perform two Limited Rob Operations, each of which allows them to Activate a Cell in an Urban space to gain Supply chits equal to the value of the space. They select Punta Carretas and Carrasco, Activating both Cells in those spaces to gain four Supply chits, choosing one each of Orders, Arms, Escape, and Hostage. Instead of keeping the Hostage chit, when gained it instead immediately reduces Political Will by 1 (down to 17), then is set aside—this indicates the resolution of a successful ransom negotiation. The Tupamaros turn is now complete and the Breaking News has been blocked, so we reset Tupamaros to 1st Eligible and Government to 2nd Eligible.



Reveal the next card: RATONERAS TERRORIZE NEIGHBORHOODS. Tupamaros are 1st Eligible and decide to perform a **Travel** Operation with the **Intimidate** Special Activity. They Intimidate first, which allows them to remove one Police from a space with Underground Cells and Police, and they remove one from Malvin. Intimidate allows them to discard one Intel chit as well, so they return the 'Info + Draw' chit to the pool.

At Expansion they would also be able to Intimidate in a second space, also discarding a second Intel chit.



Next they Travel, selecting Prado as their first origin and moving the Underground Cell to the Government Strategic Center, then using their Escape chit to move the Active Cell to the Prison Strategic Center and flip it Underground there. They also move the Active Cell from Punta Carretas to Malvin, where it flips Underground due to the Safe House there.

Then they select Malvin as an origin to move one Underground Cell back to Punta Carretas (note that this could theoretically have been the same Cell that just moved out of Punta Carretas to Malvin), and the one Active Cell to Sayago. The Tupamaros turn is now complete.

Government will perform a Limited **Search** Operation, moving two cubes from Prado and one from Aguada into the Government Strategic Center to Activate the Cell there. We then resolve the Breaking News effect, which allows them to Interrogate, this time drawing two Intel chits, as there are four Cells in Prison. The first chit is 'False Info', which is immediately returned to the pool with no effect, then the second one is 'Info + Draw', which allows them to draw again, and this time they draw a regular 'Info'. They keep both of these Intel chits, then we reset Government to 1st Eligible and Tupamaros to 2nd Eligible.



Reveal the next card: TUPAMAROS CONSIDER COMPARTMENTALIZATION. Government is 1st Eligible and decides to perform the **Patrol** Operation with the **Raid** Special Activity. They Raid first, which allows them to spend two Intel chits to remove a Safe House in one space with more cubes than Cells. They choose Northern Uruguay, discard both their Intel chits, and remove the Safe House there. This also increases Political

Will by 1 (to 18) and allows them to discard a random Supply chit, in this case Orders.



Police Raid in Northern Uruguay

Next they Patrol, moving three Police from Northern Uruguay to Carrasco to Arrest the Active Cell there (sending it to Prison), one Police from Ciudad Vieja to Sayago, and two Police from the Government Strategic Center to Punta Carretas. The Government turn is now complete.

The Tupamaros decide to execute the Event, which is a special Tupamaros Capability that will have a permanent effect. This effect is initially positive, making it harder for the Government to gain Intel, but will become negative if the Tupamaros switch to Expansion later on. We take the Event card and place it near the Tupamaros play area as a reminder that it is now in effect. The Breaking News effect on this card has no effect, so we just reset Tupamaros to 1st Eligible and Government to 2nd Eligible.



The next card revealed is the PROPAGANDA card, triggering a Propaganda Round. We will work through each phase in turn, starting with the Unrest phase:

- **Unrest:** Tupamaros place one Unrest marker in Ituzaingo, which has more Cells plus Sabotage than cubes. This is not true in any other spaces so no more Unrest is placed.
- **Political Will:** Political Will is increased by a net total of +1 (–1 because there is 1 Population worth of spaces with Unrest markers, –1 because one Strategic Center has a Sabotage marker, –3 because of the Public Sympathy Track value, +4 because there are 8 Urban spaces without Unrest, and +2 because there are no Safe Houses in Rural Spaces), up to 19. If Political Will was now 0 then the Tupamaros would immediately win the game.
- **Resources:** Tupamaros gain 1 Supply chit due to the position of the Public Sympathy Track, and decide to take an Orders chit.



- **Redeploy:**
 - o Government could choose to move any Police to Strategic Centers, but decides not to move any.
 - o Tupamaros can move Safe Houses to any Urban or Rural spaces with more Cells than cubes, but there are not any spaces where this is true so they cannot move any Safe Houses. Then they must move their Cells in Strategic Centers back to Safe Houses, so they move one each to Villa del Cerro and Malvin. The People's Prison is already on the map, so they do not move it.
 - o Finally, Tupamaros can choose to change their Organizational Structure. Switching to Expansion would get them access to six more Cells and one more Safe House and enhance Intimidate, but it would also weaken Propagandize, force them to draw Supply chits at random, and give them the negative Capability effect on card U6, so they decide not to.
- **Reset:** Shift Public Sympathy one step toward Disgust (to '2'). Return half (rounded down) Cells from Prison to Available (in this case two). Remove all Sabotage and Unrest markers from the map. Flip all Cells Underground. Set Tupamaros 1st Eligible and Government 2nd Eligible. Then reveal the next card and continue play.

This example of play is now complete. You can continue the current game by constructing the rest of the deck (two stacks of eight random Event cards, each with a Propaganda card shuffled in with the bottom two Event cards) and revealing the next Event card. The Tupamaros have got off to a pretty poor start, failing to make any impact on Political Will, but they do now have some Supply chits and a positive Capability effect, so maybe they will be able to do better under your command!



9.0 Event Tips and Background

The card backgrounds below provide brief summaries of the historical events and the rationale behind the effects on the cards. The backgrounds generally do not cover the Breaking News Events when they are fairly self-explanatory (e.g. “New Strikes Announced”). For those looking to read more on the Tupamaros insurgency (1968-1972), I’d recommend Pablo Brum’s *The Robin Hood Guerrillas: The Epic Journey of Uruguay’s Tupamaros* as a good starting point.

U1. “Robin Hood Guerrillas” or Criminals?

Turn toward violence: Government may remove 1 Sabotage marker to shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Disgust.

Distribute food: Tupamaros may discard up to 2 Supply chits to shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Support per chit discarded.

New Strikes Announced: Tupamaros may place a Sabotage marker in any Urban space.

Tips: The top effect would only shift Public Sympathy if a Sabotage marker is removed.



Background: During the early years of the insurgency, the Tupamaros gained a “Robin Hood” reputation as guerrillas who stole from the rich to help the poor. The insurgency conducted many Robin Hood-style acts, such as after robbing a casino they would return a portion of the money to help pay the casino workers’ wages. During one raid, the Tupamaros stole records proving wrongdoing by a

major financial firm and released the information to the press (U36). Finally, the Tupamaros often stole food to give to the poor. These acts are reflected in the bottom effect that allows the Tupamaros player to exchange Supply chits for Public Sympathy among the residents of Montevideo.

As time went on, the Tupamaros engaged in more violent acts that alienated the population (U16) and destroyed much of their earlier image as a vanguard for the disadvantaged. An internal Tupamaros review in 1969 argued that to regain its Robin Hood image the group needed to follow the slogan “More Monty, less Pando” (see U36 and U14).

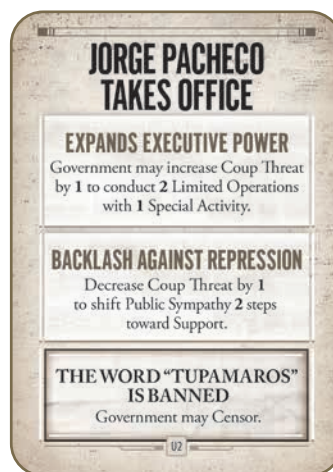
U2. Jorge Pacheco Takes Office

Expands executive power: Government may increase Coup Threat by 1 to conduct 2 Limited Operations with 1 Special Activity.

Backlash against repression: Decrease Coup Threat by 1 to shift Public Sympathy 2 steps toward Support.

The Word “Tupamaros” is Banned: Government may Censor.

Tips: The bottom effect must be able to decrease Coup Threat in order to shift Public Sympathy, so it would have no effect if Coup Threat was 0.



Background: A little known figure before taking office, Vice President Jorge Pacheco ascended to the presidency when President Óscar Gestido died while in office. He served as president of Uruguay from 1967 to 1972, and made it his mission to combat the increasing unrest and lawlessness in Uruguay. As a functioning democracy, the military was barred from being used for combating domestic matters, leaving Pacheco with recourse

only to the police forces under control of the Ministry of the Interior. However, the police’s elite Metropolitan Guard became an image of Pacheco’s repression (U7), and he expanded executive power by repeatedly declaring a state of emergency to assist with crackdowns on protests and Tupamaros insurgent activities.

Pacheco’s measures led to a public backlash by those who saw his consolidation of power as a threat to Uruguay’s democracy. Indicative of the trend toward democratic backsliding, Pacheco attempted to change the constitution in 1971 to allow himself to be re-elected for a second term; however, the measure was defeated. Juan María Bordaberry replaced Pacheco as president in 1972 (U22).

U3. Ratoneras Terrorize Neighborhoods

GOVERNMENT CAPABILITY

Mousetrap technique: After Raid removes a Safe House, Government may also Arrest in the same space.

Indiscriminate raids: Roll a die for each Raid—if the result is less than Public Sympathy, reduce Political Will by 1.

Police Study Roger Trinquier: Government may Interrogate.

Tips: None.

Background: To capture the elusive urban guerrillas, the police developed the tactic of ratoneras (mousetraps) that involved locating a Tupamaros safehouse and then waiting until guerril-



las returned to arrest them (top effect). However, indiscriminate raids throughout neighborhoods could lower civilian support for the government, particularly during periods of high sympathy for the Tupamaros (bottom effect). The Breaking News effect refers to the Uruguayan police's study of the French counterinsurgent expert Roger Trinquier and his controversial book *Modern Warfare*, which advocated harsh tactics against insurgents.

U4. Alicia Rey Captured

Sent to women's prison: Remove up to 2 Active Cells to Prison box from a space with more cubes than Cells.

Column 15 leader: Tupamaros may conduct 2 Limited Operations.

Escape from Women's Prison: Return 2 Cells from Prison box to Available.

Tips: The two Limited Operations granted by the bottom effect may be of different types, are carried out one after the other, and may potentially use the same pieces twice.

Background: Alicia Rey reached a higher position in the Tupamaro hierarchy than any other woman, eventually becoming commander of Column 15. She was also the girlfriend of the daring commander Héctor Amodio Pérez (U18). Rey had far better aim than most Tupamaros and served as marksmanship instructor for the fledgling insurgency in its early years.

In 1970, the police captured Alicia Rey alongside many of the other senior Tupamaros leaders, including Raúl Sendic (U21), at a compromised safehouse (U3). She escaped from the women's prison but was captured again in 1972 while delaying the police to allow other Tupamaros to escape. Héctor Amodio Pérez's defection allowed Rey to leave the country before the military coup in 1973.

U5. Citywide Search by Police Achieves Little

Military assist police: Government may increase Coup Threat by 1 to Search in up to 3 spaces, Activating 1 Cell per cube in each.

People's Prison moved: Tupamaros may move up to 2 Safe Houses to any Urban spaces with more Cells than cubes.

"Mekong Delta" of Montevideo: Tupamaros may place a Safe House in a Value 1 Urban space.

Tips: The bottom effect can only move Safe Houses that are already on the map.

Background: At several points in the conflict, the police launched citywide searches, particularly when foreigners were kidnapped by the Tupamaros, such as Geoffrey Jackson (U25) or Dan Mitrione (U11). One of these searches reached the enormous figure of 20,000 security force personnel combing through the city. Even prior to the military's formal intervention into the conflict, troops were sometimes used to meet the massive manpower needed for the large searches.

The top effect models the military's assistance to police searches. Such acts undermined Uruguay's democratic restrictions on

involving the military in domestic conflicts. The bottom event represents how the insurgency would relocate the People's Prison, where political hostages were held, to avoid the police.

U6. Tupamaros Consider Compartmentalization

TUPAMAROS CAPABILITY

Coordination problems: Expansion: Tupamaros may only select up to 2 spaces for Operations.

Column structure: Control: Government treats Info+Draw chit as False Info.

Communist Club Destroyed: No effect.

Tips: Once in play, this Capability effect will change depending on the Tupamaros' current Organizational Structure. At Expansion the Tupamaros would still be able to use an Orders chit to select a third space for an Operation.

Background: Compartmentalization is an organizational practice used by many urban insurgent and terrorist groups. Compartmentalization splits an organization into a hierarchy of isolated units, or cells in this context, that only have immediate information on their unit rather than the entire organization. The Tupamaros relied on both horizontal and vertical compartmentalization, meaning that columns did not possess information on other columns nor did commanders possess information on anyone except their immediate subordinates.

Organizational compartmentalization prevents state security forces from "rolling up" an insurgency once it's convinced a few cells to talk (bottom effect). However, as political scientist Jacob Shapiro argued in his book *The Terrorist Dilemma*, insurgent efforts to protect an organization through compartmentalization can also cause commanders to lose coordination over their subordinates' activities. Such problems become particularly pronounced as an organization expands (top effect).

U7. Metropolitan Guard Patrols Intensify

GOVERNMENT CAPABILITY

Elite police unit: Arrest may remove 1 Active piece per 2 Police in 1 selected Urban space.

Heavy-handed searches: Place a Sabotage marker in each Search space where 2 or more Cells are Activated without using Intel.

High Approval Ratings for Military: Increase Coup Threat by 1.

Tips: None.

Background: The Metropolitan Guard was the elite police strike force in Montevideo. The Guard had greater equipment and training than normal police, providing the government with a potent force for combating the Tupamaros (top effect). However, the Metropolitan Guard also quickly gained a reputation for engaging in heavy-handed searches and the use of torture during interrogations (U12). Such tactics could end up serving the Tupamaros' goal of disrupting ordinary life in the city (bottom effect).



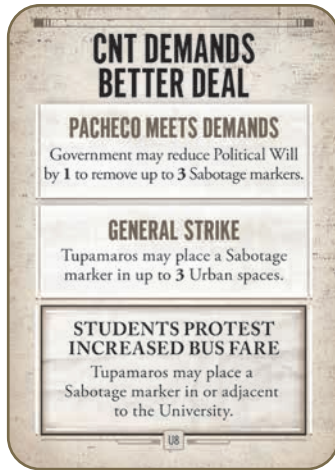
U8. CNT Demands Better Deal

Pacheco meets demands: Government may reduce Political Will by 1 to remove up to 3 Sabotage markers.

General strike: Tupamaros may place a Sabotage marker in up to 3 Urban spaces.

Students Protest Increased Bus Fare: Tupamaros may place a Sabotage marker in or adjacent to the University.

Tips: A Sabotage marker placed in the University by the Breaking News effect would not trigger the Strategic Center effect.



Background: The Convención Nacional del Trabajadores (CNT) organized all the unions in Uruguay into a single confederacy. The CNT possessed hundreds of thousands of affiliates, including employees of the state, making it a powerful political actor. The CNT possessed the capacity to launch devastating general strikes capable of paralyzing business sectors or even the government itself (bottom effect). The top effect

reflects the government making concessions (reducing Political Will) to end CNT-implemented economic instability (remove Sabotage markers), which can often be a net gain in Political Will for them at the Propaganda Round. The Breaking News effect references one of the major grievances fueling protests in 1960s Montevideo, increased bus fares.

U9. Tupamaras Keep Movement Going

Denied leadership roles: Remove half the Cells in one space to Available (round down).

Equal with a .45 in their hands: Place 1 Cell in every Urban space with a Safe House.

People's Court Executes Hostage: Remove 1 Hostage from the Supply chit pool to shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Disgust.

Tips: The Breaking News effect only shifts Public Sympathy if there is a Hostage in the pool that it can remove.

Background: As with other Latin American insurgencies, female Tupamaras served in support, combat, and leadership positions. In 1969, 39% of the Tupamaros were women. Many insurgencies relegate women to support networks (U19), leaving leadership and combat exclusively for men. However, the Tupamaros gave women more equality than found in broader Uruguayan society, suggesting that armed opposition offered a route to gender equality, with women becoming "equal with a .45 in their hand". The bottom effect reflects the larger pool of potential guerrillas to be accessed by expanding recruitment to women.

However, even among the Tupamaros, gender discrimination continued, with a disproportionate number of leadership roles going to men. For instance, Alicia Rey (U4), one of the few women to become a column leader, was passed over multiple times for command by less accomplished men. Her romantic connection to Héctor Amodio Pérez (U18) likely proved critical for her finally landing a well-earned command position. The top effect models how continued gender discrimination within the Tupamaros could deny the insurgency valuable talent.

U10. Major Raid on Navy Base

Cells caught: Activate all Cells in or adjacent to the Armory, then Government may Arrest in 1 space in or adjacent to the Armory.

Embarrassing defeat: Place a Sabotage marker in the Armory and Tupamaros draw 1 Arms Supply chit.

General Liber Seregni Resigns: No effect.

Tips: The bottom effect does not also trigger the Strategic Center effect, although an Arms Supply chit is drawn anyway.

Background: In May 1970, twenty-two Tupamaros raided the national naval academy located near Montevideo's port. After subduing the guards and cadets, the Tupamaros seized every piece of weaponry and equipment stored at the academy, loaded it onto trucks, and sped away. The haul included hundreds of modern military rifles that quickly improved the Tupamaros arsenal over the random assortment of outdated weapons the group had previously assembled. The raid greatly embarrassed the government and navy morale fell due to the successful raid.

U11. Dan Mitrione Location Still Unknown

Execution disgusts public: Shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Disgust for each Hostage in the Supply pool.

US official kidnapped: If People's Prison on map, add a Hostage to the Supply pool and reduce Political Will by 1.

Pereira Reverbel Kidnapped Again: If People's Prison on map, add a Hostage to the Supply pool.

Tips: None.

Background: Dan Mitrione worked for the USAID Office of Public Safety program, which aimed to bolster Uruguay's police force (U12). The Tupamaros kidnapped Mitrione as part of Plan Satán (U33), which targeted high profile foreigners. The insurgency accused Mitrione of training the police in torture tactics, but the best available evidence suggests he at worst witnessed torture being used.

The People's Court convicted Mitrione and executed him, leading to massive public backlash to the killing. Gallup public opinion polling found that 69% of Uruguayans were against the murder, 10% giving no opinion, and only 18% saying it was not a crime and the insurgency should continue. The French movie, *État de siège*, is inspired by the kidnapping and killing of Mitrione.



The top effect reflects the political fallout from executing Mitriane, with a potentially massive shift in Public Sympathy away from supporting the Tupamaros. The bottom illustrates the major importance of Mitriane as an American hostage (reduced Political Will). The Breaking News effect refers to the repeated Tupamaros kidnappings of Pereira Reverbel, a supporter of Jorge Pacheco (U2).

U12. USAID Funds Office of Public Safety

GOVERNMENT CAPABILITY

Improved interrogation: Government treats False Info chit as Info.

Controversial techniques: Roll a die for each Interrogate—if the result is less than Public Sympathy, reduce Political Will by 1.

Senate Commission Denounces Torture: No effect.

Tips: None.



Background: The Office of Public Safety (OPS), a significant USAID program in the 1960s, aimed at bolstering police in developing countries to snub out fledgling leftist insurgencies. In Uruguay, the OPS program expanded the police and their interrogation procedures, raising accusations of OPS personnel teaching torture techniques to the police (U11). The Breaking News effect represents condemnations of torture, though

ineffectual, in Uruguay's senate. After becoming controversial over its bolstering of state repression across the world, US Congress ended the program in 1974.

U13. General Motors Complex Destroyed

Many jobs lost: Shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Disgust if any space has more than 1 Sabotage marker.

Enormous damage: Tupamaros may Sabotage in 1 Urban space, placing 3 Sabotage markers rather than 1.

Nelson Rockefeller Visit Protested: Tupamaros may Propagandize.

Tips: The bottom effect still requires an Underground Cell to be Activated in the selected space.

Background: To protest a visit by Nelson Rockefeller in 1969, then serving as special envoy from the United States, the Tupamaros destroyed the massive General Motors Complex. Insurgents, disguised as Air Force officers (U28), infiltrated the complex, covered it in fuel, and then set it ablaze. The destruction became greater than the Tupamaros intended, leading to the greatest loss in Uruguayan industrial history, nearly \$9,000,000 in damages (bottom effect). The top effect reflects how violent

sabotage of economic targets could lower the public's opinion of the insurgency (top effect).

U14. Tupamaros Strike Rural Town

Violence horrifies public: If any Rural space has a Sabotage marker, shift Public Sympathy 2 steps toward Disgust.

Operation Pando: Tupamaros may shift to Expansion, then may Recruit in up to 3 spaces.

Police Raid University for Arms: Government may Raid 1 space adjacent to the University without spending any Intel.

Tips: None.

Background: In October 1969, Pando, a key town thirty-two kilometers northeast of Montevideo, became the target of the largest Tupamaros operation of the conflict. The insurgency hoped to seize control of the town for a short period to demonstrate their growing military potential. Led by Héctor Amodio Pérez (U18), the operation lasted less than thirty minutes and captured several key locations in the town. The police in Pando regrouped and counterattacked to contest the guerrillas' retreat. Chaos ensued, with a firefight in the streets of Pando and frustrated civilians lobbying the insurgents to leave and restore calm to the town. The Tupamaros retreated in a slow-moving column of vehicles while the national police raced to the scene.

While the Metropolitan Guard (U7) blocked the retreat of the Tupamaros, sixteen guerrillas were captured and three killed. The others managed to slip through the government's net. Pando produced mixed effects for the insurgency. The daring attack inspired many to join the insurgency and initially raised the morale of those in Punta Carretas prison (bottom effect). In contrast, the massive shootout in the streets of Pando, which left one civilian and one policeman dead, horrified most of the public (top effect). After Pando, a poll found 48% of Uruguayans found the Tupamaros to be "highly dangerous".

U15. "Prompt Security Measures" Aim to Overwhelm Guerrillas

GOVERNMENT CAPABILITY

New executive powers: Subtract 1 from all Propagandize rolls.

Censorship evaded: Censor may either block Breaking News or roll to reduce Public Sympathy, not both.

General Assembly Condemns Expansion of Executive Power: No effect.

Tips: None.

Background: Implemented in 1968 by President Pacheco (U2), the Prompt Security Measures expanded executive power and allowed the government to suspend freedoms of strike, assembly, and speech (top effect). Pacheco argued the measures were essential to respond to the "profound disruption of the social peace and public order" posed by labor strikes and Tupamaros activities. Several ministers and the National Assembly opposed the measures as threatening core democratic freedoms



but failed to stop their implementation (Breaking News effect). Unlike previous measures, these remained in place throughout the conflict with only brief interruptions. Despite the crackdown, opposition in the form of strikes, media, and guerrilla activity continued (bottom effect).

U16. Tupamaros Debate Plan Cacao

TUPAMAROS CAPABILITY

Unrestrained violence: Expansion: Roll a die for each Intimidate—if the result is less than Public Sympathy, shift 1 step toward Disgust.

Targeted violence: Control: Intimidate may select 2 spaces.

Chief of Civil Defense Assassinated: Tupamaros may Intimidate.

Tips: Once in play, this Capability effect will change depending on the Tupamaros' current Organizational Structure.

Background: Plan Cacao marked a shift in the insurgency away from armed propaganda and towards terroristic bombings alongside other more violent acts. With many of its original members captured, the insurgency sought to escalate its violence to expedite government concessions. A strategy of escalating violence could lead to unrestrained and unsanctioned acts for an expanding organization with less control over its subordinates. Such acts could undermine public sympathy for the insurgency (top effect). In contrast, for a tightly controlled organization, carefully targeted violence could improve the insurgency's capacity to intimidate the police from effectively conducting their duties.

U17. Massive Prison Break Embarrasses Police

Rescuers caught: Activate all Cells in or adjacent to the Prison, then Government may Arrest in the Prison.

Leadership escapes: Return half (round down) Cells in Prison box to Available, then Tupamaros may shift to Control.

Map of Sewer Network Discovered: Government may Activate all Cells in 1 Urban space.

Tips: None.

Background: With most of the Tupamaros leadership in the Punta Carretas prison and the Pacheco government refusing to agree to a prisoner deal (U33), a prison break offered the only means of freeing the captured members. Using a clever plan of coordinating internal and external escape efforts, over 100 Tupamaros in Punta Carretas, including its leader Raúl Sendic, managed to escape.

The bottom effect models the historical prison break, releasing many of the Cells in Prison and shifting the insurgency to Control to reflect the return of the original leadership. In contrast, the top effect represents a counter-factual botched escape attempt that leads to the rescuers also being caught.

U18. Héctor Amodio Pérez's Actions Stun City

Cooperates with police: Government draws Intel chits equal to the number of Cells in the Prison box.

Daring column leader: Tupamaros may conduct any 2 Special Activities.

Stolen Workers' Wages Returned: Tupamaros may discard 1 Supply chit to shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Support.

Tips: The two Special Activities granted by the bottom effect may be of the same type or different types, are carried out one after the other, and may potentially use the same pieces twice.

Background: Héctor Amodio Pérez was arguably the Tupamaros' most skillful urban guerrilla (bottom effect). Along with his partner Alicia Rey (U4), the couple were the backbone of the Tupamaros' daring raids in its early years. Beginning as a column leader, Pérez achieved the rare position of Inter-Column Coordinator, giving him a view of all Tupamaros operations and the movement's broader strategy.

In 1970 the police captured Pérez, but he played a key role in organizing the mass escape from the Punta Carretas prison (U17). However, when the police captured Alicia Rey in 1972 and then located Pérez, he agreed to defect and cooperate with them to save Rey, having also become frustrated by a string of poor strategic choices by the insurgency (top effect).

U19. CATs Help Guerrillas Evade Police

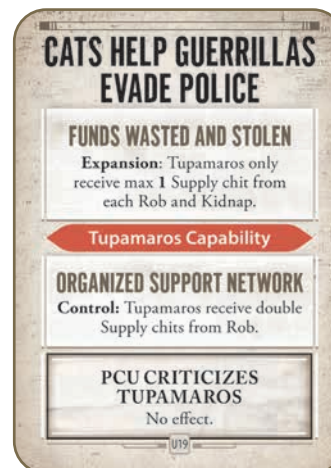
TUPAMAROS CAPABILITY

Funds wasted and stolen: Expansion: Tupamaros only receive max 1 Supply chit from each Rob and Kidnap.

Organized support network: Control: Tupamaros receive double Supply chits from Rob.

PCU Criticizes Tupamaros: No effect.

Tips: Once in play, this Capability effect will change depending on the Tupamaros' current Organizational Structure.



Background: The Tupamaros' support network, Comités de Apoyo a los Tupamaros (CATs), provided the logistical support for the movement. Filled with those not willing or able to become full time members, CATs sheltered cells, hid their equipment, and conducted innumerable small tasks to keep the insurgency going. The top effect represents how, under a rapidly expanding decentralized organization, commanders can

struggle to prevent waste and use resources effectively. In contrast, the bottom effect illustrates how a centralized insurgency with control over its subordinates can greatly benefit from resource gathering by its support network.



U20. Radio Sarandí Seized, Propaganda Broadcast

Broadcast shut off: Shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Disgust.

Message spread across city: Tupamaros may Propagandize twice.

Spring-Box Devices Launch Propaganda: Tupamaros may place 1 Sabotage marker adjacent to a Cell.

Tips: None.

Background: In an act of armed propaganda, the Tupamaros seized the popular Sarandí radio station and played a prerecorded insurgent announcement on loop to all those tuning into the radio. Given the seizure occurred during the Copa Libertadores football tournament, a massive number of people were listening. The message condemned the Pacheco government (U2), the United States, and the IMF. The announcement concluded with a message to the people of Uruguay: “Uruguayans, those of you who suffer from penury and hardship because of a bad government should not lose hope”.

The broadcast ran for forty minutes before the police stormed the station. The top effect reflects the public’s frustration over disruption to the football broadcast, while the bottom effect models the enormous audience reached through seizing the radio station.

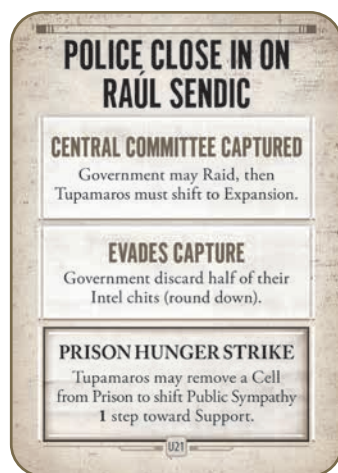
U21. Police Close In On Raúl Sendic

Central committee captured: Government may Raid, then Tupamaros must shift to Expansion.

Evades capture: Government discard half of their Intel chits (round down).

Prison Hunger Strike: Tupamaros may remove a Cell from Prison to shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Support.

Tips: The Breaking News effect can only shift Public Sympathy if there are any Cells in Prison to be removed.



him until the end of military rule in 1984. The top effect reflects how the capture of Sendic and other Tupamaros leaders (Raid Special Activity) could force the insurgency to expand its orga-

Background: Initially a labor leader, in the mid-1960s Raúl Sendic shifted to armed opposition against the state and founded the Tupamaros. Sendic led the insurgency until the police captured him in 1970 using the ratoneras tactic (U3). The captured Sendic found himself in Punta Carretas prison but managed to quickly escape with over 100 other Tupamaros (U17). In 1972, the police again captured Sendic and imprisoned

nization to replace its losses. The bottom effect models efforts by Sendic to evade the police, making outdated government intelligence no longer useful.

U22. Election Results Declared

Bordaberry triumphs: Government may shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Support to conduct any 2 Special Activities.

Strong showing for Broad Front: Shift Public Sympathy 2 steps toward Support.

Leftist Parties Banned: Increase Political Will by 2 and Coup Threat by 1.

Tips: The two Special Activities granted by the top effect may be of the same type or different types, are carried out one after the other, and may potentially use the same pieces twice.

Background: The highly contested 1971 election proved critical for the trajectory of Uruguay’s democracy. President Pacheco (U2) hoped to change the constitution to allow him to run again. In case his efforts failed, Pacheco put up Juan María Bordaberry as his favored candidate. The main opposition candidate, Wilson Ferreira (U31), was an outspoken critic of Pacheco’s consolidation of executive power. The third major candidate was ex-general Liber Seregni (U10), who led a coalition of Marxist, Socialist, and Communist parties known as Frente Amplio (Broad Front).

With Pacheco’s efforts for an additional term blocked, Juan María Bordaberry managed to achieve a narrow victory, but the Broad Front received a substantial proportion of the vote. Bordaberry permitted further democratic backsliding, ultimately leading to the 1973 military coup.

U23. Carlos Marighella’s Writings Guide Tupamaros

Brazilian military offers assistance: Government may conduct 2 Limited Operations.

Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla: Tupamaros draw 2 Order Supply chits.

Extreme-Right Groups Target Cells: Government may remove any 2 Cells to Available.

Tips: The two Limited Operations granted by the top effect may be of different types, are carried out one after the other, and may potentially use the same pieces twice.

Background: Carlos Marighella, a Brazilian urban guerrilla leader, famously wrote the *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* in 1969 shortly before being killed by police. Marighella’s book had an enormous influence on urban guerrillas, including those in Uruguay. The bottom effect reflects the recommendations in the manual improving the Tupamaros’ ability to operate. The top effect illustrates the Brazilian autocratic regime’s offers to help the Uruguayan government fight the insurgency as part of a broader regional effort. The Breaking News effect models the rise of right-wing paramilitary groups to combat the Tupamaros. Such groups fortunately never reached the scale found in other conflicts, such as the Salvadoran Civil War (1979-1992).

**U24. Plan Tatú Uncovered**

Killing at Spartacus ranch: Government may Search then Raid in 1 Rural space, increasing Political Will by an additional 1 if a Safe House is removed.

Rural bases established: Tupamaros may move a Safe House and up to 2 Underground Cells from any Urban spaces to 1 Rural space.

Vietnam War Peace Talks Begin: No effect.

Tips: None.



Background: Plan Tatú revived the Tupamaros' goal of establishing a rural front. "Tatú" is the Uruguayan name (adopted from the Brazilian) for a species of armadillo that is especially good at burrowing to escape predators, which was used by the insurgents as the nickname for its construction of rural hideouts. Given Uruguay lacked mountains or other difficult terrain, establishing a rural front was difficult without constructing

prepared hideouts where insurgents could flee after a successful operation (bottom effect). As part of the rural front, the Tupamaros killed a civilian at Spartacus ranch who observed the insurgency building a hideout. The police later discovered the body and arrested nine Tupamaros hiding there (top effect).

U25. Geoffrey Jackson's Disappearance Investigated

People's Prison located: Tupamaros must reveal the location of the People's Prison, then Government may conduct a Limited Search.

Ambassador kidnapped: If People's Prison on map, add 2 Hostages to the Supply pool.

Director Visits to Research "State of Siege": No effect.

Tips: None.

Background: In January 1971, one of the Tupamaros' most famous hostages, Geoffrey Jackson, was seized. Jackson served as the United Kingdom ambassador to Uruguay, making him the most senior hostage taken. Eventually freed later in 1971, Jackson chronicled the harsh conditions of captivity in his 1973 book, *People's Prison*.

The top effect represents an intelligence breakthrough allowing the police to locate the People's Prison. The bottom effect grants 2 Hostage markers to reflect Jackson's high-ranking position. The Breaking News effect references the director of *État de siège* (1972) researching the movie in Uruguay as the kidnappings occurred, including the kidnapping of Dan Mitrione (U11) that inspired the film's plot.

U26. "Four Soldiers" Incident Infuriates Army

Military strikes back: If Military Intervention, Government conduct 4 Limited Operations and 1 Special Activity.

Military demands intervention: If no Military Intervention, reduce Political Will by 2.

Student Shot By Police: Tupamaros may place up to 2 Cells in the University.

Tips: The four Limited Operations granted by the top effect may be of different types, are carried out one after the other, and may potentially use the same pieces twice. The Special Activity may be paired with any of the Limited Operations.

Background: In May 1972 the Tupamaros killed four soldiers standing guard outside the home of the Uruguayan army's commander-in-chief. Angered by the killings, the military demanded it be allowed to intervene in the conflict (bottom effect). The top effect reflects the military's intensive operations against the Tupamaros after joining the conflict. The Breaking News event refers to the controversial 1968 killing of a student protester, Líber Arce, by the police.

U27. "Paysandú Proclamation" Suggests Escalating Violence

Rural bases destroyed: Government may Search then Arrest in 2 Rural spaces.

Declaration of war: Tupamaros may conduct 3 Limited Operations in Rural spaces.

Strike Ends: Government may remove up to 2 Sabotage markers from any Urban spaces.

Tips: The three Limited Operations granted by the bottom effect may be of different types, are carried out one after the other, and may potentially use the same pieces twice.



Background: In 1971, the Tupamaros issued their Paysandú Proclamation, an announcement of greater violence against the Uruguayan government following the election of Juan María Bordaberry (U22), particularly in rural areas where the movement strove to establish a second front (U24). The bottom effect allows the Tupamaros to rapidly expand their presence in rural spaces. However, the Tupamaros'

rural bases were quickly destroyed once the military joined the conflict (top effect).



U28. Skillful Disguises Baffle Police

TUPAMAROS CAPABILITY

Criminals imitate cells: Expansion: Roll a die for each Kidnap—if the result is less than Public Sympathy, shift 1 step toward Disgust.

Police uniforms: Control: Sabotage in Urban spaces with 1 Police adds an additional Sabotage marker.

Beauty Parlor Robbed of 210 Wigs: Tupamaros draw 1 Escape Supply chit.

Tips: Once in play, this Capability effect will change depending on the Tupamaros' current Organizational Structure.

Background: The Tupamaros often used disguises to carry out their daring acts of “armed propaganda”. One of the most effective disguises for the Tupamaros was to pose as police officers (bottom effect), a common sight in a city plagued by insurgent activity! Such a disguise also explained why the Tupamaros would be carrying weapons into targets such as banks or casinos. A more unique form of disguise is illustrated by the Breaking News effect, which covers the insurgency's seizure of over 200 wigs for disguises.

The top effect models the common phenomenon of criminals disguising themselves as “guerrillas” to provide a political cover for illicit activities. As my own academic research has shown, early on in an insurgency rebels are often better off posing as criminals to trick the state about the future threat they pose. However, once rebel activity becomes commonplace, criminals can exploit the insurgency's name to cover their own acts of violence and make demands of civilians. Such activity can harm an insurgency's reputation if allowed to continue unchecked.

U29. Analysis of Guillén's Writings

Lack of coherent ideology: Tupamaros must discard half of their Supply chits (round down).

Revolutionary thinker: Tupamaros may conduct Limited Operations up to the number of Safe Houses on the map.

University Students Join Protest: Tupamaros may place a Sabotage marker in a space that already has one.

Tips: The Limited Operations granted by the bottom effect may be of different types, are carried out one after the other, and may potentially use the same pieces twice.

Background: Abraham Guillén, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War and an anarchist living in exile in Uruguay, wrote extensively on the issue of urban guerrilla warfare. Publishing the *Strategy of the Urban Guerrilla* in 1966, Guillén's writings guided the Tupamaros guerrillas (bottom effect). The police in Uruguay repeatedly arrested Guillén under suspicion of involvement in the insurgency but had to release him for a lack of evidence. Guillén eventually returned to Spain after it transitioned to democracy. A critique of the Tupamaros insurgency is that they lacked a clear ideology and Guillén's writings did

not offer much guidance. Such incoherence could undermine the direction of the insurgency's operations (top effect).

U30. Tupamaros Establish Ties with Other Guerrillas

Distracted from Montevideo: Tupamaros must discard 2 Supply chits.

Alliance with Argentine guerrillas: Tupamaros may draw up to 3 Supply chits.

Ban on the Word “Tupamaros” Ends: No effect.

Tips: Supply chits gained by the bottom effect may be chosen if at Control, but must be drawn randomly at Expansion.



Background: The Tupamaros made connections with other urban insurgencies in the region. For instance, Uruguayan guerrillas had significant connections with those in Argentina and the top effect reflects material exchange between the two movements. However, the focus on connecting with other insurgencies could also distract from the main front in Montevideo (bottom effect). The Breaking News effect on U2 and this card represent

how the government banned the word “Tupamaros” as part of its censorship efforts but later reversed this ban.

U31. Wilson Ferreira Delivers Speech on Police Methods

Arrested by military: If Military Intervention, increase Political Will by 1.

Condemns repression: Reduce Coup Threat by 1 to shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Support.

Spiraling Inflation: Tupamaros may place a Sabotage marker in an Urban space without one.

Tips: The bottom effect must be able to decrease Coup Threat in order to shift Public Sympathy, so it would have no effect if Coup Threat was 0.

Background: As Uruguay's democracy crumbled in the face of pressure from both the executive (U2) and military (U26), Senator Wilson Ferreira became the main voice of the opposition. Ferreira was known for his tough hearings of government ministers and made speeches condemning the harsh measures (U12) used by police against the Tupamaros. Ferreira hoped to be elected president in the 1971 election (U22) but lost to Juan María Bordaberry. After the 1973 military coup, Ferreira fled the country and became an exile that continued to criticize military rule from abroad.

**U32. Sewer Network Exploited by Guerrillas**

Searched by police: Government may Search in 3 Urban spaces without moving any cubes.

Conceals movement: Tupamaros may flip all Cells Underground in 2 Urban spaces.

Golf Course Torched: Tupamaros may place a Sabotage marker in a Value 2 Urban space without one.

Tips: The top effect only allows Government to Search with cubes that are already in the selected spaces, without moving in any additional cubes.

Background: The Tupamaros extensively explored the sewer networks underneath Montevideo for years to aid their escape after carrying out daring acts. The bottom effect allows the Tupamaros to conceal themselves among the sewer tunnels (flip all Cells Underground). Eventually, the police caught on to the Tupamaros' use of the tunnels and began searching them to root out the guerrillas (top effect).

U33. Prisoner Exchange Offered

Government considers deal: If People's Prison is on the map, Government must either shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Support, or release all Cells in the Prison box to Available and remove all Hostages from the Supply pool.

Plan Satán: Tupamaros may Kidnap.

Tips: Government may choose to "release" Cells even if there are none in the Prison box, in which case all Hostages would still be removed from the Supply pool.

Background: By 1970, the police had captured nearly all the original leadership of the Tupamaros, with most being held at Punta Carretas prison. Before launching their daring prison break (U17), the Tupamaros initially sought to free their comrades by capturing high profile foreigners and then offering to free the foreign captives in exchange for all the imprisoned Tupamaros. Code named Plan Satán, the insurgents seized a Brazilian diplomat (U35), British ambassador Geoffrey Jackson (U25), and US Office of Public Safety worker Dan Mitrione (U11, U12).

However, two factors made any potential prisoner exchange moot. First, President Jorge Pacheco (U2) had no intention of agreeing to the Tupamaros offer. He instead fell back on using massive citywide searches to find the hostages (U5). Second, the Tupamaros managed to break most of their imprisoned members out of Punta Carretas (U17). The card effect reflects the possibility of a prisoner deal. Most Government players will likely follow Pacheco and suffer the hit to Public Sympathy by denying any deal, yet it may be in the Government's interest to release a small number of cells for a large number of hostages.

P34. Héctor Morán Charquero Assassinated

Chief torturer: Government may Interrogate and then conduct 1 Limited Operation.

Tupamaros claim responsibility: Tupamaros may Intimidate in 1 space, discarding an additional Intel chit.

People's Prison Rumors: Government may flip 1 Safe House.

Tips: The top effect allows Government to perform any Limited Operation, even of a type that cannot normally be combined with Interrogate.

Background: In their early years, the Tupamaros carefully weighed assassinations with a policy of only conducting such an operation "after a conscientious, exhaustive, and detailed analysis. They will only be justified in defending very important components of the revolution." As the Tupamaros shifted away from armed propaganda to more violent methods in 1970, the assassination of Héctor Morán Charquero marked the first in a wave of assassinations. Morán served as a high-ranking police officer and one of the "most effective police agents against terrorist MLN-Tupamaros". The Tupamaros accused Morán of torturing captured guerrillas (top effect). The killing of Morán sent a message to the government about the consequences of using torture and intimidated the police to stop abusing prisoners (bottom effect).

U35. Autocratic Neighbors Wary of Escalating Unrest

Regimes coordinate efforts: Government may increase Coup Threat by 1 to draw 4 Intel chits.

Brazil threatens intervention: Shift Public Sympathy 1 step toward Support, or if already at Support instead reduce Political Will by 1.

Argentina Applauds Hardline Approach: No effect.

Tips: None.



Background: Democratic Uruguay was surrounded by a neighborhood of autocratic states during the Cold War, particularly the military dictatorships in Argentina and Brazil. Both states faced their own urban guerrillas and were concerned over the Tupamaros' success. These dictatorships thought that Uruguay's ineffective approach, restrained by its democratic regime, could cause spillover effects by encouraging the

revival of insurgent movements in their own countries. The issue gained particular salience when the Tupamaros kidnapped a Brazilian diplomat, leading to threats of intervention if Uruguay did not take every step to ensure his rescue. Brazil's pres-



sure contributed to the massive citywide searches to find the People's Prison (U5). In February 1971, the Brazilian consul was freed for a ransom of a quarter of a million dollars.

The top effect reflects material, training, and intelligence cooperation between Uruguay and the autocratic states in the region, gaining intel on the Tupamaros at the risk of shifting further toward autocracy (increased Coup Threat). The bottom effect models the political fallout from Brazil's threat of intervention, driving the public toward increased sympathy with the Tupamaros for standing up to autocracy in the region.

U36. Exposé on Financiera Monty

Elite financial institution: Increase Political Will by 1 for every two Value 2 Urban spaces without Sabotage markers.

Illegal transactions revealed: Tupamaros may Rob in a Value 2 Urban space, then may discard a Supply chit to shift Public Sympathy 2 steps toward Support.

Military Investigates Corruption: Increase Coup Threat by 1 for every 3 Cells in Prison box.

Tips: None.



Background: Lucía Topolansky was as a Tupamara (U9) whose inside intelligence on the financial dealings of the Monty Bank proved critical for one of the insurgency's most daring acts. In 1969, Lucía was still working at the bank and became aware of its secret accounting system, which hid illegal dealings for some of the bank's largest VIPs. The Tupamaros launched a raid on the bank that appeared to be a standard

robbery, but the insurgents instead sought to capture its financial records. After escaping, the Tupamaros notified the police of who robbed the bank, called the press to inform them of the bank's wrongdoing, and delivered the financial records to a prominent state prosecutor who focused on financial crimes. The operation became one of the group's most famous acts of "armed propaganda" and helped them develop their reputation as "Robin Hood" guerrillas (U1).

The bottom effect models the Tupamaros' daring act of propaganda, while the top effect reflects how elite institutions could help bolster the government as thanks for protecting them from Tupamaros' activities. The Breaking News effect incorporates the bizarre alliance in the early 1970s between the military and captured Tupamaros to root out corrupt officials as the country fell into military rule.

U37, U38, U39. Propaganda



Background: In 1972, with the Tupamaros already experiencing declining popular support, the military's intervention into the conflict rapidly crushed the insurgency. The military then overthrew Uruguay's democracy the following year, despite the insurgency no longer posing a threat. Military rule in Uruguay lasted until 1984, when major strikes pressured the military into restoring democracy. Imprisoned members of

the insurgency were released from prison upon Uruguay's return to democracy. Former members of the Tupamaros entered conventional politics, with one, José Mujica, eventually becoming president in 2010.



Key Terms Index

Accompanying: Operation required for a Special Activity. (4.1.1)

Activate: Flip Cells Active. (1.4.3)

Active Pieces: Troops, Police, Active Cells (symbol end up), and Safe Houses. (1.4.3)

Adjacent: Spaces next to each other for actions or Events. (1.3.5)

Arrest: Government Operation to remove Active Tupamaros pieces, sending Cells to Prison. (3.2.4)

Available: Pieces on Faction mats, waiting to be placed. (1.4.1)

Bottom: 2nd choice of Dual-Use Event, typically favors Tupamaros. (5.2)

Breaking News: Effect at the bottom of each Event that triggers at the end of each round unless blocked by Censor or Propagandize Special Activities. (2.3.6, 5.4)

Campaign: Event card series leading up to a Propaganda Round. (2.4)

Capability Events: Events with a lasting effect on the game. (5.3)

Cell: Mobile Tupamaros forces that are required for several Operations and Special Activities, and may be Underground or Active. (1.4)

Censor: Government Special Activity to shift the Public Symathy Track and block Breaking News. (4.2.1)

Coup Threat marker: Marker increased by Military Intervention and some Events. Compared with Political Will at end of game to determine if Government loses under Military Intervention. (1.11)

Cube: Government Troops or Police piece. (1.4)

Cylinder: Token to mark a Faction's Eligibility on the Initiative Track. (2.3)

Deploy: Government Operation to place Police and reposition Troops. (3.2.1)

Dual Use: Event with two alternative effects. (5.2)

Economic Value: Number marked on Urban and Rural spaces that affects Political Will if Unrest present at Propaganda Round. (1.3.2, 1.3.3)

Event: Card with text a Faction may execute. (5.0)

Execute: Implement Event or conduct Operation or Special Activity. (2.3)

Faction: Player role: Government or Tupamaros. (1.5)

Flip: Switch Cells between Underground and Active. (1.4.3)

Forces: Troops, Police, Cells, and Safe Houses. (1.4)

Friendly: Forces belonging to the executing Faction. (1.4)

Government: A Faction committed to defeating the Tupamaros insurgency. (1.5)

Government Political Will: Marker on edge track indicating Government stability and willingness to make concessions, position determines victory. (1.9, 7.0)

Hostage marker: Markers added to the Supply pool by the Kidnap Special Activity and some Events if People's Prison on the map. Has an immediate effect when gained instead of being held. (1.8.1)

Initiative Track: Track indicating which Faction is 1st and 2nd Eligible, and to mark actions performed on an Event card. (2.3)

Intel: Markers gained by the Government that allow them to improve Search, use the Raid Special Activity, and select additional spaces for some Operations. (1.8.2)

Interrogate: Government Special Activity to gain Intel chits from Cells in Prison. (4.2.3)

Intimidate: Tupamaros Special Activity to remove Police and discard Intel chits. (4.3.3)

Kidnap: Tupamaros Special Activity to gain Supply chits and add Hostage markers to the Supply pool. (4.3.1)

Limited Operation: Operation in one space with no Special Activity. (2.3.5)

Military Intervention: Special one-time Government pass option to place Troops, improve Censor Special Activity, and increase Coup Threat. (2.3.4)

Operation (Op): Core action a Faction takes with its pieces. (3.0)

Organizational Structure: Status of Tupamaros, either Control or Expansion, affecting Tupamaros Capabilities, Supply chit draws, Available forces, and some Special Activities. (6.4.3)

Pass: Forgo the action in the selected Initiative Track box to either gain an Intel chit as Government or a Supply chit as Tupamaros. (2.3.3)

Patrol: Government Operation to move Police and Arrest in one space. (3.2.2)

Pawn: A token to designate spaces selected for Operation or Special Activity. (3.1.1)

People's Prison: Special embossed Safe House secretly swapped for another Safe House at setup and during each Re-deploy Phase; allows the Tupamaros to add Hostage markers to the Supply pool. (1.4.4)

Phase: Part of a Propaganda Round. (6.0)

Place: Move a piece from Available to the map. (1.4.1)

Police: Government forces that may be moved with Patrol and Search. (1.4)



Political Will Phase: Propaganda Round phase in which Political Will is adjusted and victory is checked. (6.2)

Prison: Box where Cells are placed and kept unavailable until Reset. (1.3.6)

Propaganda Round: Interruption to usual play, during which Political Will is adjusted, victory is checked, and other status phases are carried out. (6.0)

Propagandize: Tupamaros Special Activity to shift the Public Sympathy Track and block Breaking News. (4.3.2)

Public Sympathy Track: Track that affects Political Will and Faction Resources at the Propaganda Round. (6.6)

Raid: Government Special Activity to remove Safe Houses by spending Intel chits. (4.2.2)

Recruit: Tupamaros Operation to place new Cells and Safe Houses. (3.3.1)

Redeploy Phase: Propaganda Round phase in which Government and Tupamaros move pieces, and Tupamaros may also change their Organizational Structure. (6.4)

Remove: Take from the map and return to Available. (1.4.1)

Replace: Remove pieces to place others in their stead. (1.4.1)

Reset Phase: Propaganda Round phase to ready for the next card. (6.5)

Resources Phase: Propaganda Round phase in which both Factions may gain or discard Intel chits and Supply chits. (6.3)

Rob: Tupamaros Operation to gain Supply chits. (3.3.4)

Rural space: Spaces outside of Montevideo. (1.3.3)

Sabotage: Tupamaros Operation to place Sabotage markers and trigger Strategic Center effects. (3.3.3)

Sabotage marker: Marker placed by Tupamaros Operations and Events. (1.7)

Safe House: Static Tupamaros forces that improve Recruit and whose presence or absence in Rural spaces affects Political Will during the Propaganda Round. (1.4, 3.3.1, 6.2.5)

Search: Government Operation to move cubes to adjacent spaces and Activate Cells. (3.2.3)

Space: A map area holding pieces in play: Urban spaces, Rural spaces, and Strategic Centers. (1.3.1)

Special Activities: Actions accompanying Operations; unique to each Faction. (4.0)

Stacking: A limit of two total Safe Houses that can occupy a space. Safe Houses may never occupy a Strategic Center. (1.4.2)

Strategic Center: Circular spaces that trigger unique effects when Sabotaged by the Tupamaros. Sabotage markers in Strategic Centers affect Political Will at the Propaganda Round. (1.3.4)

Supply chits: Markers gained by the Tupamaros that come in four types: Arms, Escape, Orders, and Hostages. Each type possesses a unique effect when played or gained. (1.8.1)

Target: Faction or piece that is the object of an action. (3.1, 4.1)

Top: 1st choice of Dual-Use Event, typically favors Government. (5.2)

Travel: Tupamaros Operation to move Cells to any spaces. (3.3.2)

Troops: Government forces that may Search and Arrest. (1.4)

Tupamaros: A Faction committed to defeating the Government of Uruguay. (1.5)

Underground: Cells, symbol end down: not usually subject to removal from Arrest and makes Cells capable of Sabotage, Rob, Kidnap, and Intimidate. (1.4.3)

Unrest marker: Markers placed during the Propaganda Round in Urban and Rural spaces where more Cells plus Sabotage markers than Government pieces. (1.6)

Unrest Phase: Propaganda Phase where Unrest markers are placed. (6.1)

Urban space: Grey space inside the capital Montevideo. (1.3.2)



Setup Instructions (2.1)

Tupamaros Insurgency: 1968-1972

Deck Preparation. Gather the Uruguay Event cards, remove the three Propaganda cards (U37-U39), and shuffle the remaining cards. Form three piles of 8 regular Event cards and set aside the remaining 12 regular Event cards (they will not be used). In each pile, shuffle a Propaganda card with 2 of the Event cards and place these 3 cards under the remaining 6 Event cards. Stack the resulting three 9 card piles to form the complete Event Deck of 27 cards. Place the 6 Supply Chits and 6 Intel Chits into two separate cups or containers for random drawing.

Before drawing the first Event from the Event Deck, the Tupamaros player must secretly swap any of the Safe Houses on map at setup with the People's Prison (1.4.4), keeping it facedown so the Government player does not know where it is.

NOTE: The Government uses only 10 dark blue cubes and 14 light blue cubes, while the Tupamaros use only 18 red octagonal cylinders and all five red disks (including one marked with a star). Set aside all red and pink cubes, blue octagonal cylinders, and blue disks.

Set up the map as follows (see back page of this booklet for a full setup diagram):

- **Public Sympathy Track:** 2
- **Government Political Will:** 18
- **Coup Threat:** 0 (blue side up)
- **Tupamaros Organizational Structure:** Control
- **Initiative:** Tupamaros 1st Eligible, Government 2nd Eligible



The cover of a NACLA translation of a comic written by the Mexican cartoonist Rius about the Tupamaros National Liberation Movement (NACLA archives)

Available:

Tupamaros—3 Cells

Government—4 Police

Prison Box:

Empty

Expansion (Tupamaros Available display):

Tupamaros—1 Safe House, 6 Cells

Military Intervention (Government Available display):

Government—10 Troops

Government (Strategic Center):

Government—1 Police

Armory, Prison, Casino:

Government—2 Police

University:

Tupamaros—1 Cell

Villa del Cerro:

Tupamaros—1 Safe House, 2 Cells

Government—1 Police

Sayago, Ituzaingó, Carrasco:

Government—1 Police

Prado, Malvín:

Tupamaros—1 Safe House, 2 Cells

Aguada:

Tupamaros—1 Cell

Government—1 Police

Ciudad Vieja:

Tupamaros—1 Cell

Government—2 Police

Punta Carretas:

Government—2 Police

Northern Uruguay, Southwest Uruguay, Southeast Uruguay:

Empty

NOTE: When playing multi-hand solo, we recommend shuffling the People's Prison as one of the three Safe Houses placed at setup and then placing them facedown without knowing the location of the People's Prison. Repeat this procedure during each Redeploy Phase (6.4) if the People's Prison would be secretly placed. Although this variant allows less strategic planning than in a 2-player opposed game, it still captures the spirit of the rule and arguably better models the command-and-control issues of decentralized clandestine movements.



Setup Diagram