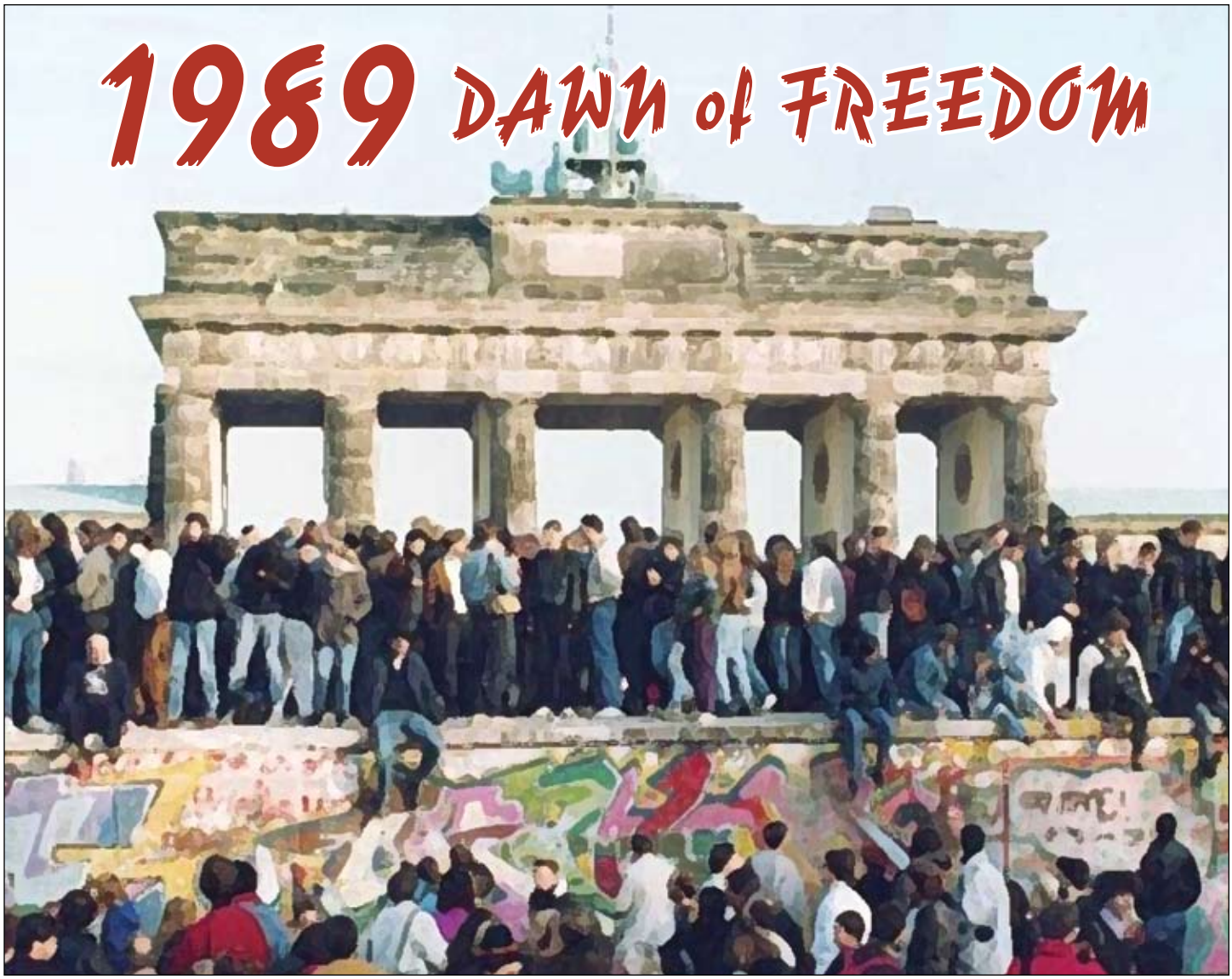


# RULE BOOK

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# 1.0 INTRODUCTION

As the year 1989 begins, the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union is drawing to a close. For forty years the continent of Europe has been divided by an iron curtain separating East and West. Now the new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has launched a program of reforms - glasnost ("openness") and perestroika ("restructuring") - in an attempt to revitalize socialism. He has also announced unilateral arms reductions that are wildly popular in the West. The long twilight struggle between the two superpowers is finally coming to an end.

These changes are not popular with everyone, however. For the Communists of Eastern Europe, the force of Soviet arms has always protected them from the rebellions of their own people. Now the Eastern European Communists are on their own.

At the start of 1989, the political situation in Eastern Europe appears normal. As they have for decades, a small power elite (acting through a massive bureaucracy) retains unquestioned power in each country. However, beneath the surface, there are signs of decay. The inefficiencies of the command economy, the end of Soviet subsidies, and the debt accrued through heavy borrowing from Western banks have brought the economies of Eastern Europe to various stages of crisis. In a classic pre-revolutionary situation, the Communists have begun to doubt their own legitimacy to rule.

In *1989: Dawn of Freedom,* the players will recreate the momentous revolutions of 1989. One player is the Communist. He will need to use a wise combination of crackdowns, concessions and reforms to try to hold on to power. The other player is the Democrat. He will try to use the leadership of the intellectuals and the street protests of the students to generate a critical mass of opposition to the regimes in order to launch a revolution. Both players will try to swing the workers to their side. At the start of the game, the Communist holds power in each country. The Democrat will attempt to topple the Communist from power through resolution of scoring cards. The longer the Communist retains power in a country, the more points he scores. The player most successful in advancing his cause wins the game.

# 2.0 COMPONENTS

*1989* contains the following:

- One countersheet
- This rules booklet
- 22" x 34" map
- 2 player aid cards
- 110 strategy cards
- 52 Power Struggle cards
- 2 six-sided dice

## 2.1 THE GAME MAP

**2.1.1** The map is divided into six countries that are in play: East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. Bordering countries such as Yugoslavia are shown but are not in play. The spaces that belong to a country share the same background color.

**2.1.2 Eastern Europe and the Balkans:** East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary are considered to be in Eastern Europe. Romania and Bulgaria are considered to be in the Balkans. Certain Event cards affect one region or the other.

**2.1.3 Socio-Economic Icons:** Spaces in a country represent geographic locations, but they also abstractly represent various socio-economic segments of society. The icon in the upper right corner of each space lets players know what type of space it is:

- Elite space (limousine) - At the top of Communist society are a power elite. These are Central Committee party members, ministers in the government and regional party bosses. These individuals enjoy special privileges under communism.
- Bureaucrat space (star) - Beneath the power elite are large numbers of bureaucrats who are in charge of the day-to-day operations of the socialist state. The elites rely on the bureaucrats to maintain control over the country.
- Farmer space (sickle) - These spaces represent rural areas.
- Worker space (hammer) - These spaces represent the largest portion of the population. They are most of the Battleground spaces. Across the region the Workers are inclined toward socialism in principle. Still, they are fed up with the failures of the Communist parties. Beneath the surface there are signs that the social contract between the workers and the Party is weakening.
- Intellectual space (typewriter) - These represent dissidents who are attempting to create a civil society outside the reach of the Communist system. They can provide leadership and a voice to the democratic movements.

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- Student space (Victory sign) - The students are the vanguard of protest against the regimes. They are easy to activate by the Democrat, but they face harsh suppression by the Communist.



- Church space (church) - These spaces represent religious institutions. The Catholic Church in Poland and Evangelical Lutheran Church in East Germany are the most important institutions in their countries outside the control of the Communist Party. In contrast, the Orthodox Churches have made accommodations with the regimes.



- Minority space (Muslim Crescent and the Székely Sun and Moon) - These spaces represent important minority groups, such as Turks in Bulgaria and Hungarians in Romania. In Eastern Europe, and especially in the Soviet Union, the Communists face a "nationalities problem" of peoples aspiring to autonomy or even independence.



**2.1.4 Stability number:** Each space has a Stability Number in its upper right hand corner. This number determines how much Support is necessary to control the space, and also represents the space's resistance to Support Checks.

**2.1.5 Battleground Spaces:** Battleground spaces have a multi-colored background. All other spaces are normal spaces. Battleground spaces are the same as normal spaces, but they have special rules for country Scoring (see 9.0).



**2.1.6 Lines:** Spaces are connected to one another via lines on the map. A space is considered adjacent to all other spaces to which it is connected.

**2.1.7 Controlling Spaces:** Each space on the map is either considered to be controlled by one of the players, or it is uncontrolled. A space is considered controlled by a player if the player's Support Points in the space exceeds his opponent's Support Points in that space by at least the space's Stability Number.

*EXAMPLE: Dresden has a Stability Number of 4. If the Democrat doesn't have any SPs in Dresden, the Communist needs at least 4 SPs there to control the space. If the Communist has 2 SPs there, the Democrat needs at least 6 SPs there to have control.*

**2.1.8** Some spaces contain small numbers with blue or red backgrounds in the lower left or lower-right portions of the space. These numbers indicate SPs placed in that space at set up.

**2.1.9 Scoring Boxes:** Each country has a Scoring Box on the map. The Scoring Box shows the VPs players score for Presence, Domination, and Control during scoring. It also shows who has Power in the country and how many times the Communist has scored for Power so far in the game (see 8.4.4 – 8.4.6).

**2.1.10 Victory Point Track:** The Victory Point Track shows a range of scoring possibilities from Communist –20 (Communist automatic victory) to Democrat +20 (Democrat automatic victory). At the start of the game, place the VP in the center of the chart, in the box marked "0." Whenever a player gains or loses victory points, the VP marker is moved to track these changes.

*EXAMPLE: The VP marker is on the +10 space (Democrat winning) and the Communist gains 2 VP. The VP marker is moved 2 boxes in favor of the Communist to the +8 space on the VP track.*




Placement Box for marker
Country Name
Country Scoring Values
Space
The two open spots in each space are for placing Support Point markers
Connecting Line
Stability Number
Socio-Economic Icon
At Start Setup Information

**Support Point Markers**

Communist

Front



Back



Democrat

Front



Back



*The Front or darker side is used if the player controls the space (2.1.4).*

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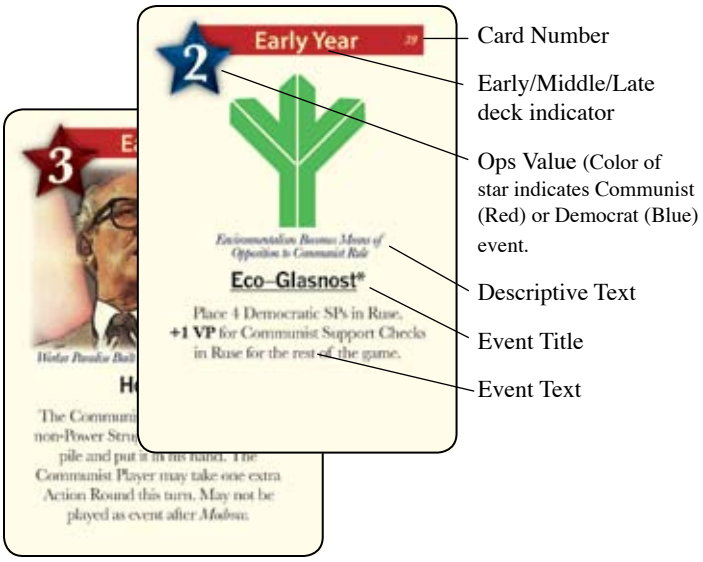



## 2.2 THE STRATEGY DECK

**2.2.1** There are 110 Strategy cards used in the game. Except for Scoring cards, all strategy cards contain an Operations Point ("Ops") value, an Event title and an Event description. Scoring cards are labeled "COUNTRY NAME—Scoring" and must be played sometime during the turn they are drawn.

**2.2.2** Each non-Scoring card has a symbol to indicate which side is associated with its Event, as follows:

- Cards with a Red star are associated with the Communist.
- Cards with a Blue star are associated with the Democrat.
- Cards with a Silver star are associated with both sides.

**2.2.3** Non-Scoring Cards may be played in one of two ways, as Events or for Operations. Scoring cards are always played as Events.

**2.2.4** Cards with an asterisk in the Event title that are played for the Event are removed from the game. Cards that are not permanently removed from the game are placed in a face up pile adjacent to the draw deck. This is called the discard pile. The players may examine the discard pile.

**2.2.5** Cards with the Event title underlined are Lasting Events that have persistent effects when they are played as Events (see 7.2).

**2.2.6** Cards with the Event title in red indicate a card that is a prerequisite for another event. Exception: *Helsinki Final Act* is red, but not a prerequisite for another Event (see 11.3).

## 2.2 THE POWER STRUGGLE DECK

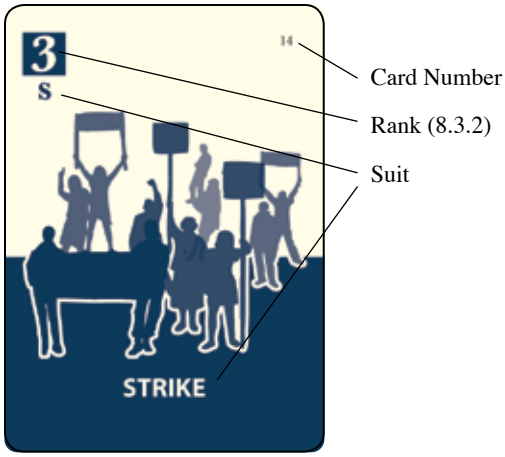
**2.2.1** There are 52 Power Struggle cards used in the game. They are used when a Power Struggle (8.0) is triggered by the playing of a Scoring card.

**2.2.2** There are three types of Power Struggle cards:

- **Suited:** The main cards used in the Power Struggle. They are grouped into the following suits: Rally in the Square, Strike, March, and Petition.
- **Leaders:** All leaders correspond to certain type of space (e.g. Elite, Worker, or Student). Leaders can be used as a suited card in any suit the player wishes, but only if the player controls a space of the corresponding type in the country where the Power Struggle is taking place. If the player does not control such a space, the card is worthless and can only be discarded.

  *EXAMPLE: The Communist controls Bydgoszcz (Polish Elite space) and Lodz (one of many Polish worker spaces). He can use an Elite Leader card or a Worker Leader card. He cannot use a Church Leader card because he does not control the Polish Church space.*
- **Wild Cards:** Special cards that have specific game effects described on them.

**2.2.3** Suited and Leader cards have a rank printed on them. This value affects the determination of initiative in the Power Struggles.




## 2.3 MARKERS

**2.3.1 Support Markers:** The struggle for power across the board is tracked by Support markers. The number on a Support marker denotes the number of Support Points (SPs) it represents.

- Support markers are treated like cash, in the sense that players may 'break' a large denomination into smaller denominations at any time. Additionally, the number of Support markers in the game is not an absolute limit. Small poker chips, coins, or wooden blocks can be utilized to substitute in the event of a marker shortage.
- If a player controls a space, his Support Markers should be placed darker side face up to denote this. If not, place the lighter side face up.
- If a player has two or more markers in a space, place the larger denomination on top. Influence markers are open to inspection at all times.

**2.3.2** The game includes various other markers to assist play:

- The Action Round Marker is used to track how many actions each player has taken in the current turn.
- The Turn Marker is used to track the current turn.

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- The VP Marker is used to track the current VP total.
- The Tiananmen Square Markers are used to track each player's progress on the Tiananmen Square Track.
- The Wall Marker is placed near Berlin as a reminder while the Wall Event is in effect.
- The Solidarnosc Marker is placed near Gdansk as a reminder that the Solidarity Legalized Event is in effect.
- The Systematization Marker (Bulldozer) is placed in a space in Romania to remind the players that the space has been destroyed by the Communist.
- The USSR Stability Marker (torn CCCP Flag) is placed on the USSR Stability Track to keep track of the progress of Baltic Independence movements.
- The Tyrant is Gone Marker (helicopter) is placed on the space chosen by the Democrat where the Ceausescus flee during the Romanian Revolution.







**2.3.3 Optional Reminder Markers:** Also included are 14 other reminder markers—players may use these at their option

# 3.0 GAME SET UP

**3.1** Shuffle the Early Year cards and deal each player 8 cards. The players are allowed to examine their cards prior to deploying their initial Support Points.

**3.2** The Communist places Support Points in the following locations: 1 in Bydgoszcz, 1 in Warszawa, 1 in Lublin, 2 in Dresden, 2 in Berlin, 2 in Plzen, 2 in Praha, 1 in Brno, 1 in Szombathely, 2 in Cluj-Napoca, 2 in Bucuresti, 2 in Sofia and 1 in Stara Zagora.

**3.3** The Democrat places Support Points in the following locations: 5 in Polish Catholic Church, 1 in Gdansk, 1 in Krakow, 1 in East German Lutheran Church, 2 in Czech Writers, 1 in Czech Catholic Church, 1 in Budapest, 1 in Szeged, 1 in Hungarian Catholic Church and 1 in Szekesfehervar.

**3.4** Then each player places an additional 7 Support Points in the following order:

1. Communist places 2
2. Democrat places 3
3. Communist places 3
4. Democrat places 4
5. Communist places 2

NOTE: These Support Points may be placed in any space or spaces that do not have opponent's SPs at the time of placement.

**3.5** Place the Democrat and Communist Tiananmen Square markers to the left of the Tiananmen Square track. Place the Turn Marker on the first space of the Turn Record Track. Place the Action Round marker on the first space of the Action Round track, Communist side face up. Finally, place the VP marker on the Victory Points Track on the zero space.

# 4.0 GAME SEQUENCE

## 4.1 General Rule

*1989* has ten turns. Each turn represents an indeterminate length of time, from two months in the Early Year to 2-3 weeks in the Late Year. Each player takes seven Action Rounds per turn, except the Communist may take eight Action Rounds when the Honecker Event is in effect. At the start of each Turn, the players are dealt sufficient cards from the draw deck to increase their hand size to eight cards. At the beginning of turn 4, the Middle Year deck is shuffled into the draw deck. At the beginning of turn 8, the Late Year deck is shuffled into the draw deck.

## 4.2 The Phasing Player

The Phasing Player is the player whose Action Round is currently being played.

## 4.3 Reshuffle

When there are no cards remaining in the Strategy deck's draw deck, reshuffle all discards to form a new draw deck. Note that cards played as Events with an asterisk (*) are removed from the game when they are played as an Event, and they are not shuffled into the new draw deck.

## 4.4 Adding Middle and Late Year Cards

When moving from the Early Year deck to the Middle Year, or from Middle Year to Late Year, do not add in the discards to the deck—instead add the Middle Year or Late Year cards (as appropriate) to the existing deck and reshuffle. The ignored discards remain in the discard pile for now, but they will be reshuffled into the deck when the draw deck becomes empty.

## 4.5 The Turn Sequence

A turn in 1989 has the following sequence:

1. Deal Strategy Cards
2. Play Action Rounds
3. Make Extra Support Check (if applicable)
4. Verify Held Cards
5. Celebrate New Year's Eve Party (if applicable)
6. Advance Turn Marker
7. Calculate Final Scoring (after turn 10)

**4.5.1 Deal Strategy Cards:** The players receive enough Strategy cards to bring their total hand size to eight. The first card is dealt to the Communist, and then the deal should alternate back and forth between the players until they have received their full hand size.

If, due to progress on the Tiananmen Square track, one of the players is entitled to discard and draw one card (6.3.5), he may do so after all cards are dealt.

**4.5.2 Action Rounds:** This is the main phase of the turn. Each player receives seven Action Rounds. Players alternate Action Rounds, playing one Strategy card per Round. The Communist always takes his Action Round first, followed by the Democrat.

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All actions required by each card must be resolved before the next player starts his Action Round by playing a card. The player taking his Action Round is called the "Phasing Player."

- Ordinarily a player will have a card left over after the completion of all Action Rounds. This card is considered "held," and may be played in subsequent rounds. Scoring cards may never be held.
- If for any reason a player has no cards in his hand to play at the start of an Action Round, he must forfeit that Action Round and take no action.

**4.5.3 Extra Support Check:** If, due to progress on the Tiananmen Square track, one of the players is entitled to take a free Support Check at the end of a turn (6.3.5), the player may do so at this time. Note: Events in effect for that Turn (*Sinatra Doctrine, FRG Embassies, Perestroika,* etc.) remain in effect for purposes of the Tiananmen Square free support check.

**4.5.4 Verify Held Cards:** Scoring cards may never be held from one turn to the next. If a player is holding a scoring card at this stage in the turn, that player loses the game. Scoring cards are marked on the lower left with a red box so that they can be identified by only revealing the card's lower left edge.

**4.5.5 New Year's Eve Party:** If the New Year's Eve Party Event is in effect, the game is over and a winner is determined. See 10.3.

**4.5.6 Advance Turn Marker:** Move the Turn Marker to the next turn. If it is the end of turn 3, shuffle the Middle Year cards into the draw deck. If it is the end of Turn 7, shuffle the Late Year cards into the draw deck.

**4.5.7 Final Scoring:** If it is the end of Turn 10, and the game's winner has not yet been determined, perform Final Scoring as described in the Scoring rules (10.4).

# 5.0 CARD PLAY

*Note: This section covers the play of non-Scoring cards. The play of Scoring cards is covered in Section 8.0*

## 5.1 Events or Operations

Cards may be played in one of two ways: as Events or for Operations points ("Ops"). Ordinarily, players will hold one card in their hand at the end of the turn. All other cards will be used for Events or Operations. Players may not forgo their turn by declining to play a card or by discarding a card from their hand.

## 5.2 Events Associated With Your Opponent

If a player plays a card for Operations, and the card's Event is associated only with his opponent, the Event still occurs (and the card, if it has an asterisk after the Event title, is removed).

Note: When playing a card for Operations that triggers an opponent's Event, the opponent implements the Event text as if he had played the card himself.

- The phasing player always decides whether the Event is to take place before or after the Operations are conducted.
- If a card play triggers an opponent's Event, but that Event cannot occur because a prerequisite card has not been played or a condition in the Event has not been met, the Event does not occur. In this instance, cards with an asterisk (Event marked *) are returned to the discard pile, not removed from the game.
- If a card play triggers an opponent's Event, but the Event results in no effect, the Event is still considered played, and is still be removed if it has an asterisk.

*EXAMPLE 1: (Normal event) The Communist plays 'Jan Palach Week' for one Operations. He decides to let the Democrat use the Event first. The Democrat places 6 SPs in the Charles University space, and then the Communist conducts his Operations using the Ops value of the card.*

*EXAMPLE 2: (Prerequisite event not in effect) The Communist plays the 'Walesa' card before the 'Solidarity Legalized' Event has taken place. The Communist would get the benefit of the 3 Operations points, but the Democrat would not get to use the 'Walesa' Event. However, despite having an asterisk, the 'Walesa' card would not be removed from play. It would be placed in the discard pile to be reshuffled and possibly played later.*

*EXAMPLE 3: (Card no longer playable for the event) The Democrat plays 'Honecker' for 3 Operations. However during a previous Action Round the Communist played 'Modrow,' which prohibits play of 'Honecker' as an Event. The Democrat still conducts 3 Operations, but the Communist would not get the benefit of the Event, and the card would be placed in the discard pile.*

*EXAMPLE 4: (Event has no benefit) The Democrat plays 'Normalization;' however, the Democrat does not have any influence in either of the spaces affected. Nevertheless, the Event is considered played, and the card would be removed from the game after the Democrat's Action Round.*

*EXAMPLE 5: (Event has no effect) The Democrat plays 'Elena' for 1 Operations; however, during a previous Action Round the 'The Tyrant is Gone' Event took effect which makes the Elena event have no effect. Still the event is considered played, and the card would be removed from the game after the Democrat's Action Round. (See 7.6 for further explanation of 'The Tyrant is Gone' event)*

## 5.3 Discarded Cards

When an Event forces a player to discard a card, the Event on the discarded card is not implemented, unless the Event specifically states otherwise. This rule also applies to Scoring cards.

*EXAMPLE 1: The Democrat holds 'Brought in for Questioning' and the 'Poland Scoring' card. The Democrat plays 'Brought in for Questioning' for 3 Ops, then allows the Communist Event to take place. The Scoring card is discarded, and because it is not a Communist Event, per the terms of the 'Brought in for Questioning' Event card, the Power Struggle does not take place.*

*EXAMPLE 2: The Communist holds 'Kiss of Death' and the 'Poland Scoring' card. The Communist plays 'Kiss of Death' for 3 Ops, then allows the Democrat Event to take place. The Scoring card is discarded and because the Scoring card is a neutral Event (silver starred Event), per the terms of the 'Kiss of Death' Event card, the Power Struggle does take place.*

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### 5.4 Contradictions

Card text that contradicts the written rules supersedes the written rules.

# 6.0 OPERATIONS

When a non-Scoring card is played as an Operations card, the player must choose to use all of the Operations points on one of the following Options: Support Point Placement, Support Checks, or a Tiananmen Square Attempt.

## 6.1 SUPPORT POINT PLACEMENT

**6.1.1** The rules in this section only apply to Support Points (SPs) that are placed with Operations points.

**6.1.2** SPs are placed one at a time. However, all SP markers must be placed with, or adjacent to, friendly SP markers that were in place before the first SP was placed.

**6.1.3** It costs one Operations point to place an SP in a space that is friendly-controlled or uncontrolled. It costs two Operations points to place an SP in an opponent-controlled space. If a space's control status changes while placing SPs, additional points placed during that Action Round are placed at the lower cost.

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat has 3 SPs in Budapest, and the Communist has none. Therefore, the Democrat controls Budapest. The Communist uses a 4 Ops card to place Support Points. When placing markers in Budapest, the first marker costs 2 Ops. However, after placement of the first Communist Support marker, the Democrat no longer exceeds Communist influence in Budapest by the Stability number of 3; thus, a second or third Communist SP would only cost 1 Ops point per SP.*




*EXAMPLE: The Democrat controls Budapest and Eotvos Lorand U. The Communist controls Miskolc. Neither player controls Tatabanya or Szeged.*

**6.1.4** SPs may be placed in multiple countries and multiple spaces up to the number of Operations Points on the card played.




*EXAMPLE: The Democrat has existing markers in the Czech Catholic Church space and in Gdansk. The Democrat uses a 4 Ops card to place more Support. The Democrat may place SPs in any or all of Bratislava, Ostrava, and Presov. However, he cannot place SPs in Kosice after placing in Presov, because there were no Democratic SPs in Presov when he began placing influence. Because Gdansk already had SPs present, the Democrat could use any remaining Operation points to strengthen Gdansk or its adjacent spaces.*

## 6.2 SUPPORT CHECKS

**6.2.1** Support Checks are used to reduce opponent Support in a country, and possibly to add friendly support if the Support Check is successful enough.

**6.2.2** Each Strategy Card played for Support Checks gives two Support Checks to the Phasing Player, regardless of the card's Operations value.

**6.2.3** To attempt a Support Check in a space, the space must have opponent SPs. The player must resolve the first Support Check before declaring the next target. Spaces may be targeted for Support Checks more than once per Action Round, but they must have opponent SPs in them at the start of each attempt.

**6.2.4** To resolve a Support Check, multiply the Stability Number of the target space by two (x2). Then roll a die, and add the Ops value of the card played to the die roll. Further modify the die roll:

- +1 for each adjacent friendly controlled space
- –1 for each adjacent opponent controlled space
- SPs in the target space itself do not modify the die roll in any way.

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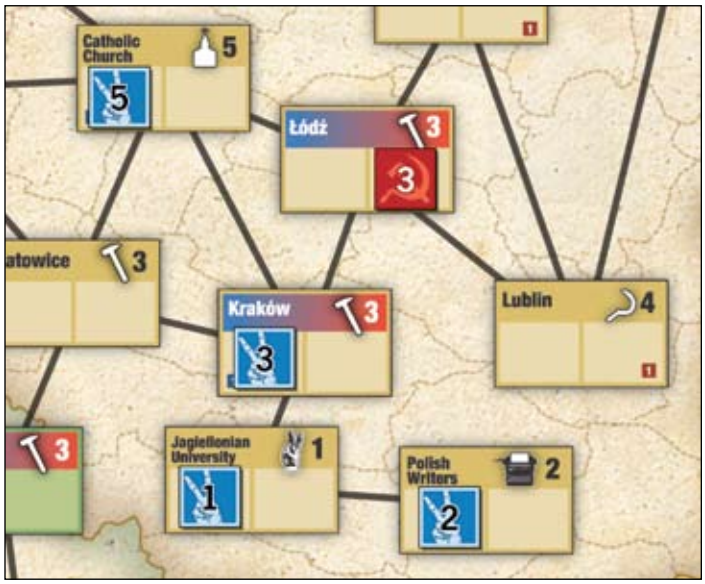
**6.2.5** If the modified die roll is greater than the doubled Stability Number, the Support Check succeeds, and the phasing player removes opposing SPs equal to the difference from the target space. If there are insufficient opposing SPs to remove, he adds friendly SPs to make up the difference.




*EXAMPLE: The Communist plays a 3 Ops card for Support Checks. In southern Poland, the Polish Catholic Church (5 SPs), Krakow (3 SPs), Jagiellonian University (1 SP), and Polish Writers (2 SPs) are all controlled by the Democrat. Lodz (3 SPs) is controlled by the Communist. The Communists get two Support Checks:*

*1. The Communist chooses Jagiellonian University as the target of its first support check. The space's low Stability Number makes it an inviting target, despite the surrounding Democratic spaces. The Communist rolls a 5, and adds the Operations value of 3 (totaling 8). He then subtracts two (–2) from this total, due to the two adjacent Democrat-Controlled spaces (Krakow and Polish Writers), giving a final modified die roll of 6. This result is greater than Jagiellonian University's doubled Stability Number (1x2 = 2) by a total of 4. This is the number of SPs that will be removed from/added to Jagiellonian University. First, the Communist removes the Democrat SP, then he places 3 Communist SPs.*

*2. With Jagiellonian University under Communist control, the Communist now targets Krakow. Krakow has a higher Stability Number, but the Communist hopes that the adjacent modifiers provided by Lodz and the newly captured Student space will be enough to make a dent. Against this, the Polish Catholic Church still provides support to Krakow. Unfortunately for the Communist, he rolls a 1. Once again he adds the Operations value of 3, and this time the result is 4. He then adds 2 (Lodz, Jagiellonian University) and subtracts 1 (Polish Catholic Church), for adjacency modifiers, giving a final modified die roll of 5. This result is less than the doubled stability of Krakow (3x2 = 6), so there is no effect.*

## 6.3 Tiananmen Square Attempt







**6.3.1** The Tiananmen Square track contains a marker for each player. Operations points may be spent to attempt to advance a player's marker to the next box on the track. To do so, roll a die and add the Operations value of the card to the total. Modify this total:

- +1 if the card played is the player's own Event.
- +1 if this is the second or subsequent attempt to advance to the box.
- +1 if the '*Li Peng*' Event is in play and the attempting player is the Communist.

**6.3.2** If the total matches or exceeds the number required to advance to next box (printed in the box in the color of the appropriate player), the player moves his marker forward to the new box.

*DESIGN NOTE: The required total is different for each side. It is easier for the Democrat to advance at the beginning of the track and easier for the Communist later on the track.*

**6.3.3** A player may only make one Tiananmen Square Attempt per turn.

**6.3.4** One Event (*'Tank Column/Tank Man*'*) allows a player to advance his marker forward on the Tiananmen Square track. This card may be played for the Event in addition to any Tiananmen Square Attempt on a given turn.

**6.3.5** Advancing along the Tiananmen Square Track and reaching a box before the opposing player results in either an immediate award or a lasting award. Lasting awards are in effect until the opposing player reaches the box, at which point they no longer apply. The boxes and their effects follow:

- **Reformer Memorialized/Reformer Discredited:** the first player to reach this box gets a +1 to his Tiananmen Square track rolls until the opponent reaches this box.
- **Students Rally/Students Dispersed:** the first player to reach this box gets to play 1-Ops cards as if they were 2-Ops cards until his opponent reaches this box. This bonus applies only to cards with an actual printed Operations value of 1.
- **Foreign News/People's Daily:** the first player to reach this box immediately draws 3 cards. He places 1 of them in his hand and places the other 2 in the discard pile. He may place Scoring cards in the discard pile.
- **Hunger Strike/Students Arrested:** the first player to reach this box immediately removes 2 opponent SPs from anywhere on the map.
- **Goddess of Democracy/Structure Removed:** the first player to reach this box can discard a non-Scoring card and draw a replacement at the start of every turn until his opponent reaches this box.
- **Local PLA support/Rural Divisions Summoned:** the first player to reach this box gets a free 2-Ops Support Check at the end of the turn until his opponent reaches this box.
- **Square Barricaded/Protestors Massacred:** the first player to reach this box can play a card for Operations without triggering

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the opponent's Event once per turn. This is in addition to any Tiananmen Square track attempt or use of the *'Common European Home'* Event. This ability can be used once per turn until the player's opponent reaches this box.

- **Political Pluralism/Most Favored Nation trade status awarded:** the first player to reach this box can play a card for both its Operations value and Event once per turn until the opponent reaches this box. The player can choose the order in which to use the card, Operations first or Event first.

**6.3.6** Regardless of the text on the card, the Event of a card played as a Tiananmen Square Attempt is not implemented. The card is placed in the discard pile.

*DESIGN NOTE: The Tiananmen Square track is a player's 'safety valve.' If a player holds a card whose Event is a good one for his opponent, and he doesn't want the Event to occur, he can use it for a Tiananmen Square Attempt.*

**6.3.7** If a player reaches the final box of the Tiananmen Square Track, he may no longer make Tiananmen Square Attempts.

*"The Wall will be standing in 50 and even in 100 years, if the reasons for it are not removed." —East German leader Erich Honecker January 19, 1989*

# 7.0 EVENTS

## 7.1 General Rule

If a card has a playable Event associated with either the Phasing Player or both players, it may be played as an Event instead of Operations. If so, the card's Event takes effect as directed by the card's text.

## 7.2 Lasting Events

Some Event cards remain in effect until canceled by a later Event. Some Events last for the duration of the game. When such cards are played as Events, place them to the side of the map, or place their markers on the Map, as a reminder of their ongoing effects. Lasting events have their Event title underlined.

## 7.3 Events that Modify OPs Values

**7.3.1** Some Event cards modify the Operations value of cards that follow. These modifiers should be applied in aggregate.

*EXAMPLE: The Communist player begins a turn by playing 'Prudence' as an Event. Ordinarily, all Democrat cards would subtract one from their Operations value, to a minimum of one. However, the Democrat follows by playing 'Austria-Hungary Border Re-opened,' which gives the Democrat a bonus of one if all Operations points are spent in East Germany in a given Action Round. In addition, the Democrat has reached the second space of the Tiananmen Square track. This enables him to play 1-Ops cards as if they were 2-Ops cards (6.3.5):*

*1. On his next Action Round, the Democrat plays 'Michnik' (Operations value 1) for Operations to place Support Markers. If the Democrat only places Support in Germany, the adjusted Operations value of the card is 1 (card's printed value) +1 (Tiananmen Square) +1 (AH Border Re-opened) –1 (Prudence) = 2 Operations points. The Democrat places 2 SPs in Leipzig and his turn ends.*

*2. On a later turn that Action Round, the Democrat plays 'Roundtable Talks' (3 Ops) for Operations to make Support Checks outside of Germany. In this case, the only modifier in effect is Prudence, which subtracts 1 from the card's Operations value to give a final total of 2. The Democrat makes two Support Checks, each with a modifier from the Operations value of the 'Roundtable Talks' card of just +2.*

**7.3.2** Regardless of modifiers, a non-Scoring card always has a minimum Operations Value of 1.

**7.3.3** Events modifying the Operations value of a card only apply to one player, and do so for all purposes.

*EXAMPLE: The Communist player has played 'Perestroika' as an Event, and therefore receives a +1 Operations value modifier for all his cards. The Communist has also played 'Prudence,' so the Democrat has a –1 modifier for his cards. The Communist plays the Democrat Event 'Consumerism' (3 Ops) and elects to take his turn before the Democrat Event triggers. With the Perestroika bonus, the Communist is able to place four Operations Points worth of SPs. Now the 'Consumerism' Event takes place. The Democrat gets to remove a Communist SP and then take a Support Check using the Ops value of the Consumerism card. Because of the Prudence Event, 1 is subtracted from the card's printed Ops value and the Support Check only gets a bonus of 2 from the Consumerism card.*

## 7.4 Events That Play Like OPs Cards

If an Event specifies that a player may conduct Operations, place Support, or make Support Checks as if he played a card of a certain operations value, those additional Operations are treated as if a card had been played for its Operations Point Value. Therefore, those Operations are subject to all of the restrictions of Rule 6.1 and other Events limiting their value or use.

## 7.5 Unplayable Events

If an Event becomes unplayable due to its cancellation or restriction by another Event card, the unplayable Event card may still be used for its Operations value.

## 7.6 Special Rules Regarding Romanian Events

**7.6.1** The Democrat has two Events in Romania that require special explanation: *'The Crowd Turns Against Ceausescu'* and *'The Tyrant is Gone'*. These Events represent the start of the Romanian Revolution and the attempt of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu to flee from the roof of the Central Committee building by helicopter.

**7.6.2** When *'The Crowd Turns Against Ceausescu'* is played as an Event, it will sit in front of the Democrat until the Romania Scoring card is played. It will take effect after the Power Struggle cards are dealt but before the Power Struggle is resolved.

**7.6.3** If *'The Tyrant is Gone'* is played as an Event before *'The Crowd Turns Against Ceausescu'* has taken effect, it also sits in

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front of the Democrat until the Romania Scoring card is played. After the power struggle is resolved, *'The Tyrant is Gone'* takes place immediately, before the next Action Round. If *'The Tyrant is Gone'* is played for the Event after *'The Crowd Turns Against Ceausescu'* has already occurred, i.e. the Romania Scoring card has been played and *'The Crowd Turns Against Ceausescu'* card's effects applied, then *'The Tyrant is Gone'* takes effect immediately, like any other Event.

**7.6.4** While *'The Tyrant is Gone'* is sitting in front of the Democrat, the five Events associated with the Ceausescus (*'Cult of Personality,' 'Systematization,' 'Ceausescu,' 'Elena'* and *'Massacre in Timisoara'*) may still take place.

*EXAMPLE: 'The Crowd Turns Against Ceausescu' and 'The Tyrant is Gone' are in front of the Democrat. The Romania Scoring card has not been played. The Communist plays 'Systematization' for the Event and eliminates the Romanian Writers space from the map.*

**7.6.5** When *The Tyrant is Gone* is resolved, the Democrat chooses a space in Romania without Democratic SPs to which the Ceausescus flee. Place the Tyrant is Gone Marker on the space the Democrat chooses. If the Democrat subsequently takes control of the space, the Ceausescus have been captured, and the Democrat removes the marker and scores an immediate +2 VPs. If the game goes to Final Scoring and the Ceausescus have not been captured, the Communist gets a bonus of –2 VP. If there are no spaces to which the Ceausescus may flee, the Democrat scores +2 VPs immediately.

*"History punishes those who come too late." —Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Erich Honecker, Berlin October 7, 1989*

# 8.0 POWER STRUGGLES

Whenever a country's Scoring card is played, a Power Struggle in that country is immediately conducted.

***Important:*** Scoring cards must be played on the turn in which they are dealt. If a player is left with a Scoring card in his hand at the end of the final Action Round of a turn, he loses the game.

A Power Struggle is resolved by following this sequence:

1. **Deal Cards:** The players are dealt cards from the Power Struggle deck based upon the number of spaces they control in the country.
2. **Raise the Stakes:** Players may choose to increase the rewards and penalties of the Power Struggle by discarding 3 of their Power Struggle cards.
3. **Play Cards:** Players play Power Struggle cards one at a time, until the winner of the Power Struggle is determined.
4. **Aftermath:** Penalties and rewards based on the result of the Power Struggle are resolved.
5. **Scoring:** Finally, the country is scored according to the rules in section 9.1, with the VP marker moving accordingly.

Note: all steps of a Power Struggle must be completed before checking the VP marker for auto-victory.

## 8.1 DEAL CARDS

**8.1.1** Shuffle all of the cards the Power Struggle deck. Players draw cards from the Power Struggle Deck based on how many spaces they control in the country, as follows:

- 6 cards for the first space they control.
- 2 cards for each additional space they control.
- If a player does not control any spaces in the country, he does not receive any cards in this step.

**8.1.2** Various Events (e.g. *'Roundtable Talks,' 'Peasant Parties Revolt'* and *'National Salvation Front'*) affect the number of cards a player receives in a Power Struggle. If any of them apply, adjust the cards held by each player accordingly at this time, before the players have examined their cards.

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat has played the Poland Scoring card. The Democrat controls the Catholic Church, Polish Writers, Wroclaw and Krakow spaces. The Communist controls Bydgoszcz and Warzsawa. 'Roundtable Talks' Event is in front of the Democrat. The Democrat is dealt 12 cards, and the Communist is dealt 8. Then the Democrat takes 2 cards from the Communist before the players see their hands.*

**8.1.3** There are three types of cards in the Power Struggle deck: suited cards, leader cards and wild cards. There are four suits in the deck: Petition, March, Strike and Rally in the Square. There are leader cards that correspond to the various types of spaces on the map (elites, intellectuals, workers, etc.). There are also wild cards allowing a player to draw additional cards, force the opponent to discard cards, block a suit from being played or remove an opponent SP from the map.

## 8.2 RAISE THE STAKES

**8.2.1** Each player, beginning with the player who played the Scoring card, decides whether he would like to Raise the Stakes in the Power Struggle.

**8.2.2** In order to Raise the Stakes, a player must discard 3 Power Struggle cards from his hand. If he does so, there is a +1 modifier to the Victory Point and Support Loss die rolls for the winner of the Power Struggle, no matter who wins. This modifier is cumulative; if both players Raise the Stakes, the die rolls receive a +2 modifier.

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat has 14 cards in his hand, and the Communist has only 6. The Democrat decides to raise the Stakes and discards 3 Power Struggle cards. The Communist does not raise the stakes.*

## 8.3 PLAY CARDS

**8.3.1** The player who played the Scoring card begins the Power Struggle with the initiative. Initiative may change back and forth several times before the Power Struggle is resolved. The player who currently has the initiative is considered the attacker and his opponent is considered the defender.

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat has played the Poland Scoring card so the Democrat begins the Power Struggle with the initiative and will choose the first card to play.*

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*NOTE: If the attacker received no cards because he did not control any spaces, the defender immediately wins the Power Struggle. Proceed to Aftermath of the battle (8.4).*

**8.3.2 Battle Rounds:** The card play phase of a Power Struggle is divided into Power Struggle Rounds. Players conduct Power Struggle Rounds one at a time until the winner of the Power Struggle is determined. In each Round, follow the following procedure:

**STEP 1.** The attacker plays a Power Struggle card:

- Any suited card (Rally in the Square, Strike, March, or Petition) may be played.
- A leader card may be played, but only if the attacker controls a space of the leader's type in the country. If a leader card is played, the attacker must select a suit. Proceed as if a suited card were played in that selected suit.
- Any wild card can be played (EXCEPTION: Tactic Fails). If a wild card is played, follow its instructions, skip Steps 2 and 3 and begin a new battle round with the defender as the new attacker. No response card from the defender is necessary.

NOTE: If the attacker has no playable cards, the Power Struggle is over, and the defender is the winner. Proceed immediately to the Aftermath of the battle (8.4).

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat doesn't have any Wild Cards. His longest suit is March where he has four cards, so he decides to lead a March. He chooses his strongest March card, which is a March-6 .*

**STEP 2.** The defender can match the attacker's card:

- Any card of the same suit as the one played may be used.
- A leader card may be used to match, but only if the defender controls a space of the leader's type in the country.
- *Tactic Fails* can be played at this time. If so, neither player may play a card in that suit (or designate that suit as the suit played when using a leader card) for the rest of the Power Struggle. The defender may not counterattack in the round in which he plays this card: skip Step 3 and begin a new Power Struggle Round with the attacker maintaining the initiative.

NOTE: If the defender cannot or chooses not to match the attacker's card, the Power Struggle is over and the attacker is the winner. The attacker is considered to have won the Power Struggle using the suit that he used to attack in Step 1. Proceed immediately to the Aftermath of the Power Struggle. (8.4)

*EXAMPLE: The Communist has a March card and an Elite Leader card that he could play. He could not play his Intellectual Leader card because he does not control the Polish Writers space. He chooses to save the Elite Leader and plays his March card to match the Democrat's card.*

**STEP 3.** The defender rolls a die to gain initiative:

- To gain the initiative, the defender must roll equal to or higher than the rank of the Power Struggle card that the attacker used to attack.
- Rally in the Square cards all have a rank of 1. If a card with this value is used to attack, the counterattack is automatic: no roll is needed.
- If the defender gains the initiative, he takes the role of the attacker in the next Power Struggle Round. If not, the attacker maintains initiative and is once again the attacker.

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat led with a March 6, so the Communist must roll a 6 to seize the initiative. He rolls a 2 and so the Democrat retains initiative and can lead another card.*

**8.3.3** A player cannot concede a Power Struggle if he has the initiative. If he has a playable card, he must play that card.

**8.3.4** A player must roll to counterattack if he is permitted to do so.

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat has retained the initiative. He plays another March. As the attacker, he must play a card because he has a playable card in his hand. The Communist elects to concede the Power Struggle. Because he does not have initiative, he is not required to play his Elite Leader card, even though he could play the card to match the Democrat's March. The Communist has seen the writing on the wall and would rather lose to a March than play his only Leader card and then be vulnerable to a Rally in the Square. The Democrat wins the Power Struggle in Poland!*

## 8.4 AFTERMATH

**8.4.1** After the winner of the Power Struggle is decided, there are two die rolls. The first determines how much Support the loser must remove from the country, and the second determines how many Victory Points the winner receives (and, if the winner is the Democrat, whether or not the Communist is toppled from power).

- There is a –2 modifier to both rolls if a Petition was used to win the Power Struggle.
- There is a +2 modifier to both rolls if a Rally in the Square was used to win the Power Struggle.
- If either player Raised the Stakes in the Power Struggle, add a +1 modifier to both rolls for each player who did so. Even if the player who Raised the Stakes loses, the +1 modifier still applies.
- If the *'Yakovlev Counsels Gorbachev'* Event is in effect and the Democrat won the Power Struggle, he receives an additional +1 modifier to both rolls.

**8.4.2 Support Loss Die Roll:** The loser rolls a die, modifies it using the modifiers described above, and checks the Support Loss column on the Power Struggle Results Table on the map to determine how many SPs he must remove from the country as a result of losing the Power Struggle. The loser chooses which SPs to remove. If the loser is required to lose more SPs than he has in the country, the surplus is ignored.

*EXAMPLE: The Communist has lost the Power Struggle. He rolls a die for Support Loss, and the result is 1. Because the Democrat Raised the Stakes, there is a +1 modifier so the modified result is 2. Checking the Power Struggle Results Table, the Communist must remove 1 Support. Because Warszawa is a Battleground space, he removes 1 SP from Bydgoszcz.*

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**8.4.3 Victory Point Die Roll:** The winner rolls a die, modifies it using the modifiers described above, and checks the Victory Points column on the Power Struggle Results Table on the map to determine how many VPs he receives as an award.

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat has won the Power Struggle. He rolls a die for Victory Points, and the result is 3. Because he Raised the Stakes, there is a +1 modifier so the modified result is 4. Checking the Power Struggle Results Table, the Democrat earns 2 VPs.*

**8.4.4 The Democrat takes Power:** If the Democrat is the winner of the Power Struggle and his modified Victory Points Die Roll was 4 or more, the Communist loses Power in the country. Place a Democrat SP Marker next to the Scoring Box in the country and remove the Power Struggle card permanently from the Strategy deck. If the Communist wins the Power Struggle, or if the Democrat wins the Power Struggle but rolls a 3 or less after all modifiers, then the Communist retains Power.

*EXAMPLE: The Democrat's modified result of 4 means the Communist is toppled from Power. Poland has become a democracy! The Democrat raises his glass and says, "Sto Lat!" and "Na zdrowie!"*

**8.4.5 Communist voluntarily surrenders Power:** If the Communist is not removed from Power, he may give up Power voluntarily at this time. He does not score for Power. Place a Democratic SP Marker next to the Scoring Box in the country and remove the Power Struggle card permanently from the Strategy deck.

*"People, your government has returned to you!" —Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, January 1, 1990.*

**8.4.6 Scoring for Power:** If the Communist retains Power, the Power Struggle card remains in the game and is placed in the discard pile. The Communist scores a number of Victory Points equal to the country's Power Value multiplied by the number of times the Power Struggle card has been played.

- A country's Power Value can be found on its scoring box on the map.
- The first time the Communist scores for Power in a country, place a Communist 1 value SP Marker next to the country's scoring box. The next time the Scoring Card is played, if the Communist retains Power again, replace the 1 Communist SP with a 2 value Communist SP, and so on until the Democrat gains Power. This is a reminder for how many bonus VPs the Communist will earn for retaining Power in the next Power Struggle.

*EXAMPLE: Poland's Power Value is 3. The first time the Communist scores for Power in Poland he earns –3 VPs, the second time he would earn –6 VPs, and a third time would be worth –9 VPs.*

**8.4.6 Democrat in Power:** The Democrat never scores for Power. If the Democrat takes Power, the Scoring card is removed from the game.

## 8.5 Scoring

The final action of each Power Struggle is to score VPs based on how much support each player has in the country after the Power Struggle. See 9.0 for details on how to do this.

# 9.0 COUNTRY SCORING

## 9.1 General Rule

Country Scoring is the process of measuring how well a player is doing in a country and awarding victory points accordingly. Country Scoring takes place in a country at the following times:

1. During the last step of a Power Struggle in a country
2. During Final Scoring (10.4)

## 9.2 Country Scoring Terms

The following terms are used during country Scoring:

**Presence:** A player has Presence in a country if he controls at least one space in that country.

**Domination:** A player achieves Domination of a country if he controls more spaces in that country than his opponent and he controls more Battleground spaces in that country than his opponent. A player must control at least one non-Battleground and one Battleground space in a country in order to achieve Domination of that country.

**Control:** A player has Control of a country if he controls more spaces in that country than his opponent and he controls all of the Battleground spaces in that country.

## 9.3 Country Scoring Procedure

**9.3.1** If a player has achieved Presence, Domination, or Control, he scores VPs equal to the number shown in the country's Scoring Box for the highest of the three levels he has achieved.

*EXAMPLE: The Communist has Domination in Romania. He receives 4 VPs for Domination. He does not receive an additional 2 VPs for Presence even though he technically has Presence in the country.*

**9.3.2** Each player scores 1 additional VP for each Battleground space that he controls in the country.

**9.3.3** Each player totals up his VPs, and the net difference between the two scores is marked on the Victory Point Track.

*EXAMPLE: The Communist plays the Poland Scoring Card. When it is time to score Poland at the end of the Power Struggle, the Communist controls Warszawa. The Democrat controls the Polish Catholic Church, Polish Writers, Wroclaw and Krakow spaces. Of these spaces, only Warzawa, Wroclaw and Krakow are Battleground spaces. Therefore, the Democratic player would get points for Dominating Poland (6 VPs) + 2 VPs for control of two Battleground spaces (Wroclaw and Krakow). Because the Democrat only has 1 SP in Gdansk, he does not control it. The Communist would receive 3 VPs for Presence in Poland +1 VP for control of a Battleground space (Warszawa). Because the Democrat controls more Battleground spaces, more spaces overall, and controls at least one non-Battleground space, he scores for Domination. Having calculated relative Victory Points (8 VPs for the Democrat, 4 VPs for the Communist), the difference between the two totals is 4. The VP marker is moved four spaces on the VP point track toward Democratic victory.*

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# 10.0 VICTORY CONDITIONS

There are four ways a player can win at 1989:

## 10.1 Automatic Victory:

The instant one player reaches a score of 20 VP, the game is over and that player is the winner.

- Do not check for automatic victory in a Power Struggle until the entire process is complete and all VP adjustments have been made (including country Scoring).
- Automatic Victory does not apply in Final Scoring.

## 10.2 Illegal Held Card

If a player has a Scoring card in his hand in the Verify Held Card step of a Turn (4.5.4), that player loses and his opponent is declared the winner. If both players hold Scoring Cards, the game is considered a draw.

*"I've been looking for freedom." —David Hasselhoff, Berlin, December 31, 1989*

## 10.3 New Year's Eve Party

If the New Year's Eve Party Event was played during a turn and the Communist chose to activate the Event, the game ends at the end of that turn without going to Final Scoring.

- Before the game ends, the Democrat has the option to conduct a Power Struggle in any one country where the Communist still holds Power. If he does so, a Power Struggle is resolved just as if the country's scoring card had been played, including country Scoring.
- The Democrat begins the Power Struggle with the initiative.
- Note: If the Democrat chooses Romania for the final Power Struggle, The Crowd Turns Against Ceausescu does take place if the card has been played for the Event but the effect has not yet taken place. The Tyrant is Gone cannot take place because the game ends immediately after the Power Struggle is resolved.
- After the final Power Struggle (if any), the player in the lead is declared the winner, as if at the end of Final Scoring (10.4.3).

## 10.4 Final Scoring

**10.4.1** If neither side has achieved victory of any kind by the end of turn 10, then every country is scored according to the rules for country Scoring (9.0). No Power Struggles are conducted, and the Communist does not score for Power. However, the Communist does get a Final Scoring bonus for the number of countries where he retains Power:

| *Countries* | *VP Bonus* |
|---|---|
| 1 | –4 |
| 2 | –8 |
| 3 | –12 |
| 4 | –16 |
| 5 | –20 |
| 6 | –24 |

**10.4.2** Reaching 20 VPs or –20 VPs does not result in Automatic Victory during Final Scoring.

**10.4.3** Once all countries have been scored and the Communist has been given his bonus points, victory goes to the player who as accrued the most VPs. If the VP marker is on a positive number, the Democrat wins; if the VP marker is on a negative number, the Communist wins. If the VP marker is on zero, the game ends in a draw.

# 11.0 CARD CLARIFICATIONS

**11.1 Austria-Hungary Border Reopened:** If the Democrat is performing Support Checks in East Germany while this card is in effect, the Operations value bonus can only be used if both support checks take place in East Germany. If the first support check is being made in East Germany, the Democrat must state whether he intends to use the bonus (thereby committing to the second Support Check in East Germany) or not. If the Democrat does not explicitly state he is using the bonus before rolling the die, he may not use it.

**11.2 General Strike:** The Communist player begins discarding a card and rolling during the Action Round following the event taking place. He discards only 1 card per Action Round. This event may stay in effect for more than 1 turn.

**11.3 Helsinki Final Act:** This card has an Event title in red although it is not a pre-requisite for another Democratic Event. The red title allows the Democrat to take the card from the Communist and play it for the Event using the Goodbye Lenin! Event.

# 12.0 U.S.S.R. STABILITY TRACK.

*"Should Gorbachev be toppled, then our larger vision of democracy in Eastern Europe shall vanish."—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to American President George Bush, November 18, 1989.*

**12.1** The U.S.S.R. is stable at the start of the game, but through the play of Events the peoples of the Baltic Republics (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) will begin the process of declaring their independence from the U.S.S.R.

**12.2** When the *Sajudis* Event takes place, move the USSR stability marker to that space.

**12.3** When *The Baltic Way* Event takes place, advance the USSR stability marker to that space.

**12.4** When the *Breakaway Baltic Republics* Event takes place, advance the USSR stability marker to that space. Note: once Breakaway Baltic Republics has taken place, Gorbachev Charms the West can no longer be played as an Event.

**12.5** When *Kremlin Coup!* takes place, advance the USSR stability marker to that space.

**12.6** The VPs associated with these Events are stated beside the space on the Track and on the cards.

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# CARD NOTES

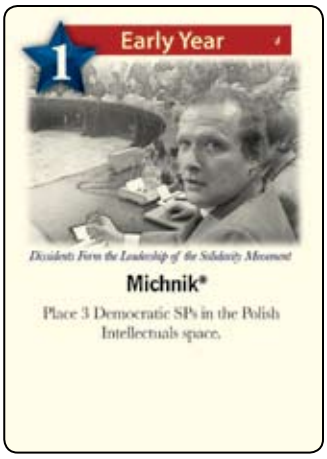
**1. LEGACY OF MARTIAL LAW:** For the Communists the imposition of martial law in Poland in December, 1981 was a great success. The raids that rounded up the leadership of Solidarity were meticulously planned and flawlessly executed. Solidarity was totally unprepared for the mass arrests, and lost almost all of its money and its printing and broadcast equipment. Nonetheless, martial law represented an unprecedented humiliation for the Communists. Never before had the civilian party become so weak it had to surrender power to the army.

**2. SOLIDARITY LEGALIZED:** Polish General Wojciech Jaruzelski was the strongest of the Communist leaders in Eastern Europe in 1989. He was the only leader who had the confidence of Mikhail Gorbachev, and it was this personal relationship with Gorbachev that permitted Jaruzelski to proceed with his experiment to legalize the Solidarity trade union, which had been suppressed under martial law. In January 1989, Jaruzelski proposed that the government enter talks with Solidarity to set conditions under which the martial-law-era ban could be lifted. The majority of Central Committee delegates were opposed, but Jaruzelski stood before the meeting and presented an ultimatum: either Solidarity would be recognized or he would resign. Faced with losing the core of its leadership, the hard-line Central Committee members backed down. A few days later Solidarity agreed to enter negotiations with the regime, calling the invitation a "basic step toward social dialogue." Solidarity's leadership had little choice. Solidarity needed the talks to sustain the perception that it was the principal opposition to the regime, particularly after the strikes of April and August 1988, which were driven by younger workers who did not owe their allegiance to the old heroes of the 1980-81 movement. The talks ultimately resulted in Solidarity again being recognized as an independent trade union, and elections that would sweep Solidarity into power. For Jaruzelski, his dream of becoming the Polish Gorbachev was shattered. His willingness to risk his position to bring the party to the negotiating table with Solidarity would be quickly forgotten. In the minds of the Polish people he would forever remain the face of martial law.




**3. WALESA:** Lech Walesa was the most important opposition leader of 1989. An electrician by trade, he led the 1980 strikes at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk that began the Solidarity movement. Walesa had an unabashed personality, and that complete lack of self-consciousness gave him the ability to connect to the crowds. Though meagerly educated, he was an excellent debater. As a working man Walesa had contempt for the intellectual class, but he did work with them, and the partnership he was able to forge between the intellectuals and the workers was critical to ending communism in Poland. After 1989 Walesa became one of the loudest voices in favor of tough lustration laws and prosecutions of former Communists for crimes committed during the martial law period. This put Walesa in direct opposition to his friend and choice for prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who wanted "a thick line" between the democratic and Communist eras. Walesa defeated Mazowiecki in the Polish presidential election of 1990. Since that time Walesa's reputation has suffered, but he remains one of the great figures of the second half of 20th century.

**4. MICHNIK:** The democrats in Poland had a perfect recipe for a social revolution: broad support among the working class and strong intellectual leaders, among them Jacek Kuron, Bronislaw Geremek, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Adam Michnik. Michnik was part of the Worker's Defense Committee founded after the Helsinki Accords to defend workers arrested during the 1976 strikes. As a Solidarity adviser, he was arrested in the first sweep during martial law and spent the early 1980s in jail. As a result of the roundtable agreement, Michnik was able to publish an election newspaper ("Gazeta Wyborcza") which remains Poland's second largest circulation newspaper. Michnik's essay "Your President, Our Prime Minister" is widely credited for establishing the structure for a compromise that allowed Solidarity to form Poland's first non-Communist government in August 1989.




**5. GENERAL STRIKE:** Of all the methods of protest chosen by the revolutionaries of 1989, the general strike was considered the riskiest, both to the regimes and to the movements themselves. A strike was a test, a gauge of worker support for the aims of the democratic revolution. Often the opposition leadership was leery to call them. A poor showing of participation risked revealing that the revolution was limited to the intelligentsia and the students - that the workers still supported the regime. For the Communists, already facing economies in crisis, a strike broadly supported for an extended period was an existential threat and belied their claim to be the vanguard of the working class.

**6. BROUGHT IN FOR QUESTIONING:** All the countries of the Warsaw Pact had security services and all conducted surveillance on their own people. Two, the Stasi of East Germany and the Securitate of Romania, were particularly central to the events of 1989 and have their own event cards. This event represents the general harassment that dissidents faced on a daily basis.

**7. STATE RUN MEDIA:** Control of the media was critical to maintaining support for the regimes. The level of propaganda varied widely within the region, with the Polish press generally speaking the most free and the Romanian being nothing more than a propaganda machine. State control of the press was so strict in Romania that every typewriter in the country had to be registered and a sample of the typeface submitted to the state, so that it could be compared to any petition or samizdat critical of the regime.

**8. PRUDENCE:** George Bush was famously prudent, and his caution served him well in 1989. Bush cultivated personal relationships with foreign leaders, jotting personal notes and making calls. He worked closely with Helmut Kohl, especially during the 2-plus-4 talks over German reunification. Baker and Shevardnadze also forged a personal bond that helped end the Cold War. Most of all, Bush allowed events to unfold without undue celebration. He used restraint to try to protect Gorbachev from attack by Kremlin hardliners. The effects of this event represent either side being too cautious.

**9. THE WALL:** From the foundation of the G.D.R. in 1949 through construction of the Wall in 1961 about 20% of the East German popu-

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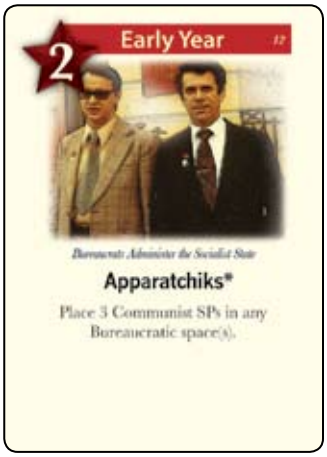
lation left the country, most of them through West Berlin. Worse yet, most of the escapees were students, intellectuals and young workers, leaving behind an aging population. Almost immediately, people attempted to escape - by running, climbing, digging tunnels, and even by homemade air balloon. The border guards, or Green Troops, had "shoot-to-kill" orders, and an estimated 200 people were killed trying to cross to the West.

**10. CULT OF PERSONALITY:** The Ceausescu personality cult was carefully managed. Bus loads of people would be taken to the airport to greet the Ceausescus when they would return from foreign trips. In any newspaper article that quoted the Ceausescus, other people could not be named. They insisted their photos be printed with red background to remind the people they were leaders of the Romanian revolution. When the great Conducator would give a speech, the crowd's cheering would be amplified by speakers. The crowd would perform chants of praise such as "Ceausescu and the people!" while holding their banners aloft, all orchestrated and monitored by the Securitate.

**11. DISSIDENT ARRESTED:** Truncheons pounding on the door was a familiar sound for the dissidents of Eastern Europe under communism. Many dissidents spent years in prison. In February 1989, Czech playwright Vaclav Havel was arrested on charges of hooliganism for his part in the Jan Palach Week demonstrations and spent a month in jail. His final arrest was on October 27, 1989.

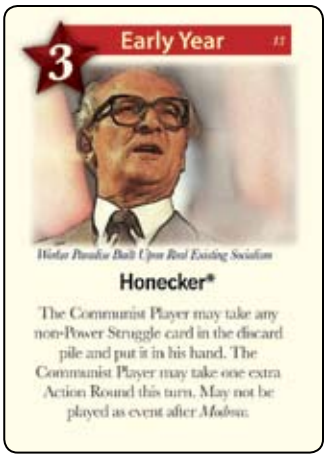
**12. APPARATCHIKS:** The game 1989 divides the Communist establishment into two broad groups: the elites who are at the top of the power structure and enjoy all the corresponding privileges of power, and the lower tier of party members who are in charge of the day-to-day operations of the state. These lower level bureaucrats are, for the most part, Communists in name only. For them the party is a means of career advancement. By and large the bureaucrats will survive the lustration process and hold important positions in post-Communist governments.




**13. STASI:** The Ministry of State Security was a vast network of thousands of spies and hundreds of thousands of informants. It was, most of all, the outward manifestation of the East German Communists' obsessive need for control. The other East European security forces were mostly instruments of physical suppression. Their tools were the truncheon, the water cannon, and in the case of the Securitate, the bullet. The Stasi was mostly an instrument of oppression of the mind, and its tool was information. Millions of people had dossiers in the Stasi headquarters. Even children were watched. A remark critical of the regime could follow an individual around for the rest of his life, denying him a job or the opportunity to travel.

**14. GORBACHEV CHARMS THE WEST:** This card represents Gorbachev leveraging his foreign policy successes into greater authority at home, which he used to demote hardliners and elevate supporters of his agenda. By ending the Cold War, Gorbachev hoped to ease problems in his own economy and buy time to revitalize socialism. This card is also a reference to 'Hannibal Charms Italy', a strategy card from the game *"Hannibal: Rome versus Carthage"* on which the 1989 Power Struggle deck is based.

**15. HONECKER:** Honecker was the principal architect of the Berlin Wall, built while he was a protégé of Walter Ulbricht. Honecker rose under Ulbricht's tutelage until 1971, when Honecker turned on Ulbricht and pushed him aside to seize power. Outwardly an ascetic, behind the walls of his compound he led a debauched lifestyle, feasting while normal East Germans worked long hours for little pay. This facade was reflected in East Germany itself. Projecting an image of success rivaling the West, the G.D.R. was in fact an economic basket case, relying on ever-increasing loans from Western banks to stay afloat.




**16. NOMENKLATURA:** Despite the rhetoric of abolishing class divisions, the Communists had their own upper class. Members of the nomenklatura went to the elite party schools, had drivers for their Volvo limousines and shopped at their own stores that were well stocked with fresh fruits and imported wines. The life of privilege was in stark contrast to the deprivations of everyday life for the rest of the population.

**17. ROUNDTABLE TALKS:** Even the shape of the famous round table was a subject of negotiations between Solidarity and the regime. In typical Polish fashion one negotiator determined the record distance for human expectoration was 8 meters so all agreed the table must be at minimum 9 meters in diameter. Humor and a common pride of Polishness under-girded the negotiations. Overshadowing everything was the possibility of Soviet intervention. When one Solidarity representative privately asked General Jaruzelski how far the Soviets would permit democratic reforms to proceed in Poland, Jaruzelski circumspectly replied, "I don't know. Let us find out together." The negotiations lasted from February to April 1989. Solidarity was led in the negotiations by Walesa and Michnik as well as intellectuals such as Bronislaw Geremek and (future Prime Minister) Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The government was led by the much hated Czeslaw Kiszczak, Minister of Internal Affairs during the 1981 imposition of martial law, but who was crucial to the ultimate success of the roundtable. The final results were free elections to a new body called the Senate, and permission that Solidarity could contest 35% of the seats in the Sejm. The president would be selected by the Sejm so all expected this to guarantee that Communists would retain the presidency and control of foreign and defense ministries. In game terms this event was drawn and played several times in 1989. The Polish round table process as well as the outcome would serve as a model for other east bloc states. Each would hold its own round table sessions, though without the strength of leadership of Solidarity.

**18. POSZGAY DEFENDS THE REVOLUTION:** In 1988 the Hungarians established a commission to review the events of the 1956 revolution. The Soviets and Hungary's long time ruler Janos Kadar had always termed the events of 1956 a "counter-revolution." One of the members of this truth commission was Imre Pozsgay. The historical committee's report was completed on January 27, 1989. Pozsgay, seeing an opportunity for himself, went on the radio the next morning to announce the committee's findings: that the '56 revolution was a people's uprising, not a counter-revolution, and that the participants were justified. This news created a sensation throughout Hungary. Finally, the leaders and participants in the revolution would

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be rehabilitated. There was only one problem: the report had not yet been approved for release by the government, and the party leadership remained deeply divided over the events of 1956. Many of them were Kadar loyalists, Grosz included. The Russians had not been consulted either, and they had always taken a much harder line against the Hungarian revolution than the Prague Spring. Pozsgay and the other reformers waited nervously for Soviet response. After several days a Soviet representative informed them that there would be no Soviet response. For the first of many times in 1989, Leonid Brezhnev was rolling over is his grave.

**19. PAPAL VISIT:** A visit from John Paul II usually included an open-air Mass, which could draw hundreds of thousands. Many, less devout, would attend as a silent protest against the Communists.

**20. DEUSTCHE MARKS:** The Ost Mark was a non-convertible currency, and the East Germans needed D- Marks to pay interest on their hard currency debts. One way they earned hard currency was a "catch and release" program, in which dissidents would be arrested and then ransomed for money to West Germany.

**21. COMMON EUROPEAN HOME:** This was the catch phrase of Gorbachev's policy towards Western Europe. It was part of his overall peace offensive and meant that the Europeans should de-emphasize the role of NATO and the Warsaw Pact as rival alliances. It was not intended to marginalize the Americans so much as to suggest rival economic systems could exist side by side without threat of military confrontation. The phrase was in contrast to the Bush Administration's policy of "a Europe whole and free."

**22. Scoring card—POLAND**

**23. Scoring card—HUNGARY**

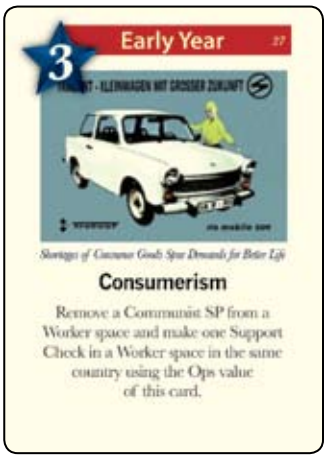



**24. ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH:** The German revolution was largely a leaderless revolution. The focal point was instead a place of worship, St. Nicholas Church in Leipzig. The Lutheran church was the only East German institution that had some independence from the state. In the early 1980s the Church's political focus was the nuclear disarmament movement. In September, 1982, the pastor of St. Nicholas Church, Christian Fuhrer, began leading services on Monday evenings called Peace Prayers. These Peace Prayers were small gatherings of the faithful praying for a peaceful end to the Cold War. They would continue weekly for the following 7 years. Then in the fall of 1989, quite suddenly, the Peace Prayers would erupt into the Monday Demonstrations.

**25. PERESTROIKA:** Perestroika was the name for Gorbachev's domestic reform policies. The goal was to make socialism more efficient, though the nature of those policies changed over time. Its central components were decentralization, replacement of corrupt bureaucrats and plant managers, and implementation of very limited market reforms grafted onto the socialist system. Some of the Eastern European Communists gave lip service to perestroika. Ceausescu and Honecker were openly hostile to it. None made meaningful reforms.

**26. HELSINKI FINAL ACT:** The adoption of the Helsinki Accords was one of the biggest achievements of detente. Brezhnev viewed the agreements as a victory because it recognized current borders and effectively put a stamp of approval on Soviet seizure of the Baltics. He didn't take seriously the human rights declarations, but the Helsinki Final Act became a tool for dissidents across Eastern Europe. In Poland the intellectuals created the K.O.R., the Workers' Defense Committee. In Czechoslovakia Charter 77 was formed, originally to protest the banning of the rock group Plastic People of the Universe. Outside the K.O.R. these were small groups offering token opposition, but they established the framework within which the 1989 revolutionaries would operate. Except for Romania, the Communists were concerned about their international reputation, and the VP penalty for support checks in student and intellectual spaces represents the loss of international prestige suffered when violating basic norms of human rights.

**27. CONSUMERISM:** In the 1970s the Communists sought to gain legitimacy by improving living standards, which had fallen noticeably behind the West. Emphasis was placed on production of consumer goods like refrigerators and washing machines. This binge was financed by heavy borrowing from the West, which set the stage for the debt crises of the 1980s. The policy of consumerism did give Eastern Europeans a taste for a better standard of living, and the bare store shelves of 1989 created discontent that turned many against the Communists.




**28. FACTORY PARTY CELLS:** The Eastern European economies were built upon heavy industry. Some facilities employed up to 25,000 people. In every factory was the party cell, a legacy of the early days of the Russian Revolution. In 1989, party representatives were responsible for keeping up morale, organizing voluntary work days or official holiday observances, and monitoring worker loyalties. The party cells also could report under-performing managers or stolen materials to central planners. Most of all, the party cell was a reminder to workers that the party was a part of every aspect of daily life.

**29. JAN PALACH WEEK:** Jan Palach was a student who committed suicide by self-immolation in Wenceslas Square in January, 1969. He was not protesting the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia so much as the acquiescence of the Czechoslovak people to the process of normalization. The Czechs retained the reputation of being the least rebellious people of the northern tier of Communist states, a reputation that would change in 1989. On the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's death, the human rights group Charter 77 and students in Prague organized marches that were violently suppressed. Jan Palach Week would be a preview of the Velvet Revolution.

**30. TEAR GAS:** Crowds larger than a few dozen usually were dealt with by specially trained security forces. In addition to shields and night sticks, these units had specially equipped vehicles with tear gas and water cannon to disperse crowds.

**31. INTELLIGENTSIA:** Most of the intellectual leaders of the 1989 revolutions were themselves former Marxists. The most important exception was Havel, who was the grandson of a wealthy Czech industrialist. The intellectuals became disillusioned with Marxism after the invasion of Czechoslovakia to crush the Prague Spring reform movement. The invasion was the turning point for communism in Eastern Europe. It showed that the Communists would not permit an

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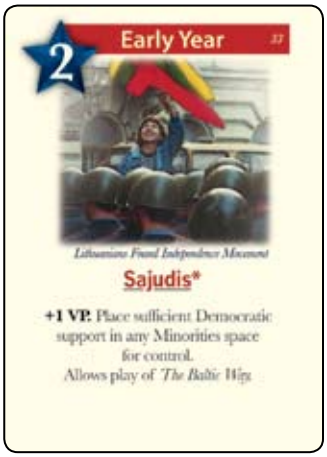
alternative model of socialism with rights of dissent. For most of the '70s and '80s the intellectuals did not call for open defiance of the regimes. Instead they called for creation of a civil society apart from the totalitarian system - a social space where individuals could interact outside party control. Kuron talked about "anti-politics." Havel talked about "living in truth." The idea was the regimes were too powerful to confront directly, but if people could construct an alternative social space, and act as if the state did not control their private lives, then the totalitarian foundation of communism would crack and the edifice would eventually be toppled.

**32. PEASANT PARTIES:** The "people's democracies" were supposed to be societies where the workers and peasants were at the top of the social ladder, as opposed to the "bourgeois democracies" where the capitalists were on top. The Communists abolished opposition parties but kept the peasant parties, ostensibly to represent the peasants while the Communists represented the workers. In reality, legislatures were little more than window dressing; all decisions were made by the party Central Committee, or, more often, a small cadre including the Communist Party General Secretary and his closest advisers.




**33. SAJUDIS:** This card represents the start of the Singing Revolution, the independence movements in the Baltic republics of the USSR. These cards have a dual purpose in the game as they also represent ethnic minorities in Romania and Bulgaria. Nationalism has always been a potent force in Eastern Europe, and the Communists were never so popular as when they invoked nationalism against Communists from other states. In 1989 tensions rose so high between Hungary and Romania over Ceausescu's treatment of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Transylvania that the Hungarians redeployed some of their armed forces from the western border to the Romanian border, and Ceausescu made threats of nuclear attack.

**34. FIDESZ:** FIDESZ (The Alliance of Young Democrats) was a political party of radical students based in Budapest. Members had to be under 30 years old. One of its leaders was Viktor Orban, a law student at Eotvos Lorand University. Orban's speech at the reburial of Imre Nagy criticizing the regime for hypocrisy and calling for Soviet troops to withdraw from Hungary made him a national figure. Today FIDESZ is the most powerful political party in Hungary, sweeping the 2010 parliamentary elections and making Orban Prime Minister of Hungary.

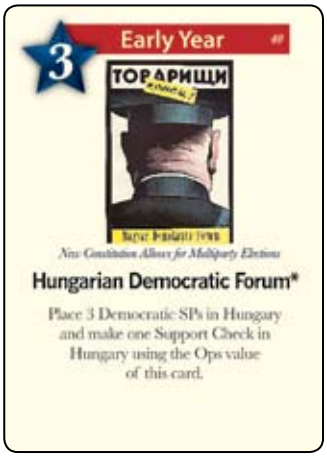
**35. HEAL OUR BLEEDING WOUND:** This card represents the final withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan on February 15, 1989. Gorbachev had called Afghan War the Soviets' "bleeding wound." Surprisingly, the Communist government in Afghanistan held on, defeating the mujahedin in a series of engagements in the spring of 1989. This strengthened Gorbachev's hand when he refused to intervene to support the Communists in Eastern Europe.

**36. DASH FOR THE WEST:** The last victim shot while trying to cross through the Berlin Wall was Chris Gueffroy on February 6, 1989. He was 21 years old. His friend Christian Gaudian was also shot but survived. He was captured and sentenced to 3 years for first- degree illegal border crossing.

**37. NAGY REBURIED:** Imre Nagy was the leader of Hungary during the 1956 revolution. He was a committed Communist, but he was repulsed by the excesses of the Stalin era. After the Soviet invasion of Hungary he was executed on orders of Krushchev and replaced by Janos Kadar, who remained in power for 30 years. Over the years, the lies from the regime about the revolution and circumstances surrounding Nagy's death had alienated the people from the party. The reform Communists wanted to reconcile the party to the people by admitting the lies of the past. One step was to rebury Nagy with state honors. Kadar's successor Karoly Grosz opposed Nagy's rehabilitation, and the re-interment ceremony represented a victory for the reform wing of the party. Removing the Communist SPs in the elite space represents Grosz and the rest of the old guard of the Kadar regime being pushed aside.

**38. THE JULY CONCEPT:** This was Todor Zhivkov's high sounding name for a program of reforms to the Bulgarian economy. On paper it went farther than perestroika in terms of allowing privatization of smaller firms and public-private partnerships. The July Concept has the distinction of being the only reform proposal in Eastern Europe that was criticized in the official Soviet press for going too far, too fast. In reality it never went anywhere, but it was a good example of Zhivkov trying to be whatever he thought would curry favor with Moscow at the time. Shameless sycophancy was how he had been able to survive as ruler of Bulgaria for more than 30 years.

**39. ECO-GLASNOST:** Single issue environmental groups played an important role in the 1989 revolutions. Eco-Glasnost was initially a movement based in Ruse, Bulgaria, to protest air pollution from a Romanian chemical plant across the Danube River. Eco-Glasnost later became a vehicle for broader anti-Communist protests, and was one of the founding groups of the Union of Democratic Forces.




**40. HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM:** Most of the opposition movements in 1989 tried to incorporate some reference to unity or dialogue in their name: This Forum, That Forum, Union of these or those, Alliance of such and such. One reason was that in societies where dissent was systematically suppressed, merely the idea of dialogue with the regime was radical. The second reason was many of these umbrella groups contained elements that were adverse to one another, and united only in their opposition to the Communists. The M.D.F. was the main opposition party in Hungary, and it was more nationalistic than most of the other prominent Eastern European opposition groups. It was especially concerned with treatment of Hungarians in Romania and removal of Soviet forces from Hungarian soil. This event also represents the Communists abandoning the Leninist principle, enshrined in each country's constitution, that the Party must retain a "leading role" in society.

**41. CEAUSESCU:** Despite rather stiff competition, Nicolae Ceausescu may be judged the worst of the Communist leaders in 1989. His early defiance of the Soviets (he opposed the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia) made him popular with Western governments, but by 1989 his Stalinist brutality had made him an international pariah. There was virtually no open opposition to the Ceausescu regime inside Romania

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until December 1989. The presence of any criticism was attributed to a conspiracy against him, usually imagined to have originated in Budapest, Washington, or even Moscow. Romanians whose loyalty was doubted would be denounced in the party newspaper, or placed under house arrest. Sometimes they would simply disappear.

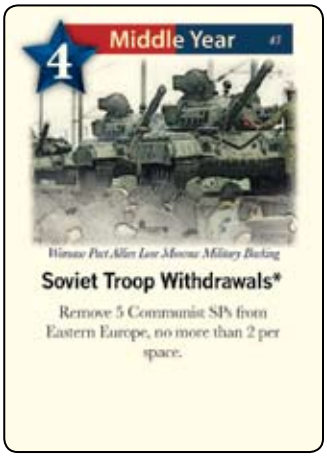
**42. Scoring Card—East Germany**

**43. Scoring Card—Bulgaria**

**44. INFLATIONARY CURRENCY:** The Eastern European economies suffered a problem of monetary overhang. Goods were priced according to political considerations rather than supply and demand, with prices almost always set below the market clearing price. This created chronic shortages of most necessities, while consumers had cash they could not spend. Attempts to rationalize the system usually included partial freeing of prices, which typically resulted in strikes and unrest. Poland had the most severe inflation problems in 1989, where Consumer Price Inflation for the year reached over 600%.



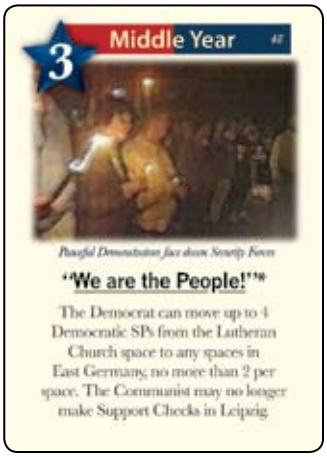

**45. SOVIET TROOP WITHDRAWALS:** The presence of Soviet troops was always a thorn in the side of the Eastern Europeans, who viewed them as an occupying force. As part of Gorbachev's New Thinking in foreign relations he proposed sweeping reductions in Soviet conventional arms in Europe. These proposals were announced at Gorbachev's UN speech in December 1988. Initially skeptical of Russian intentions, American President George Bush found himself playing catch up in the court of public opinion, as the two sides entered a bidding war of who would disarm faster. The result was the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, negotiated throughout 1989 and signed in 1990.




**46. GOODBYE LENIN!:** This is a reference to the popular Ostalgie film about an East German Communist woman who falls into a coma before the opening of the Berlin Wall. When she recovers the doctors tell her son that he must prevent her from discovering the G.D.R. no longer exists or the shock might kill her. So her son goes about recreating life in East Germany in their apartment, including shopping for her favorite Spreewald pickles. It's also a reference to the role of pop culture in the revolutions of 1989 and the role of Cold War films (Dr. Strangelove and War Games) in the game Twilight Struggle, on which 1989 is based.

**47. BULGARIAN TURKS EXPELLED:** Zhivkov started a Bulgarization campaign against the Turks in the early 80s, requiring ethnic Turks to adopt Bulgarian sounding names and defacing gravestones with Turkish names. Looking for a scapegoat for Bulgaria's economic problems, the Communists ordered the Turks to leave Bulgaria. During the summer of 1989, hundreds of thousands of ethnic Turks were driven from Bulgaria. The move was widely condemned in the international community as a human rights abuse. Ironically, the expulsion of the Turks made Bulgaria's economic crisis even worse, as city residents were forced to go into the fields to harvest crops.

**48. "WE ARE THE PEOPLE!":** This was the most famous chant of the marchers in the Monday Demonstrations. They were telling the "people's democracies" that the people were against them. In the game 1989 it also represents the crowds growing so large, and the regime growing so weak, that the security forces could not to use violence to stop the demonstrations.




**49. FOREIGN CURRENCY DEBT BURDEN:** All the East Bloc countries except Romania owed large sums to western governments and banks. These loans were in hard currency so they had to be repaid using income generated from exports. The debts grew so large that they could only be serviced by borrowing ever greater sums, creating a debt spiral.

**50. THE SINATRA DOCTRINE:** This phrase was coined by Soviet press spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov to describe the new Soviet policy toward Eastern Europe that replaced the Brezhnev Doctrine. Each socialist state would be permitted to pursue its own path, as in the Frank Sinatra song "I Did It My Way."

**51. 40th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION:** On October 7 the East Germans threw a party for the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the G.D.R. It was a surreal event with Honecker toasting to the achievements of real, existing socialism while attendees could hear the crowds shouting and demonstrating in the streets outside. During the parade, before the reviewing stand of Communist dignitaries, the representatives of the Free German Youth started chanting "Gorby help us!" "Gorby help us!" Honecker pretended not to hear them. Polish General Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski asked Gorbachev if he understood the chant. Gorbachev said yes. Rakowski replied, "It's over." Honecker was ousted 11 days later.

**52. NORMALIZATION:** This was the process of removing tens of thousands of Prague Spring supporters from the government and the Czechoslovak Communist party. It was implemented by Milos Jakes, who later rose to replace Gustav Husak as leader of Czechoslovakia. In his rise to power Jakes spoke the words of a reformer, praising perestroika, but in reality acted as a hardliner. He refused to rehabilitate Dubcek or the other leaders of the Prague Spring. Jakes was widely mocked by the Czech people as a colorless incompetent.

**53. LI PENG:** Li was the leader of the hardliners that wanted a violent crackdown on the students in Tiananmen Square. Opposing him was Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, a liberal who had been instrumental in China's move toward an export-based market system. Zhao was also a close friend of Hu Yaobang, whose death had originally prompted the protests (the Reformer Memorialized/Reformer Discredited space on the Tiananmen Square track). In the middle was Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping. Deng sided with Li, and martial law was declared. Zhao was removed as CCP General Secretary shortly

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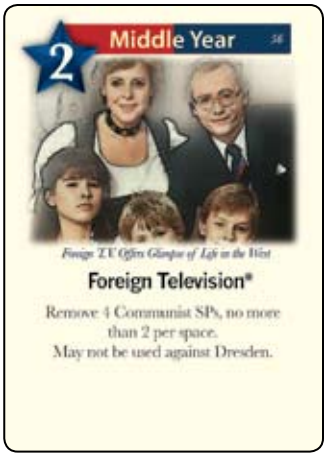
after the Tiananmen Square massacre and spent the remaining 15 years of his life under house arrest.

**54. THE CROWD TURNS AGAINST CEAUSESCU:** Inexplicably, after the uprising in Timisoara started, Ceausescu went to Tehran to negotiate an arms deal with the Iranians. He returned on the 21st and gave a lengthy harangue to the party Congress, then went out on the balcony of the Central Committee building to address the crowd. This speech was broadcast on live television. After a few moments, a murmur went through the crowd. Then the scripted chants stopped, and people began to scream, boo and hiss. Others started chanting "Timisoara! Timisoara!" and "Death to the Dictator!" Elena shouted, "Offer them something." but Nicolae was too stunned to say anything except "Hello! Hello!" Bodyguards rushed him from the balcony, and the broadcast feed was cut off. But it was too late for the Ceausescus - all Romania had seen the start of the revolution.

**55. Scoring Card—Czechoslovakia**

**56. FOREIGN TELEVISION:** Though travel was restricted across the Eastern Bloc, the people could emigrate every night by watching T.V. The most popular adult education course in Romania was the Russian language, so the Romanians could understand Russian T.V. shows. Bulgarians watched Yugoslavian T.V. East Germans kept up with the world through West German news and programs like "Lindenstrasse", except for the area around Dresden (dubbed "The Valley of the Clueless") where geography blocked the signal.




**57. CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESHUFFLE:** This card represents the common practice of shoving aside an aging leader to give the party a fresh face without changing any policy (Grosz replacing Kadar, Jakes replacing Husak, and Egon Krenz replacing Erich Honecker). This was usually the equivalent of the organ grinder being replaced with the monkey.

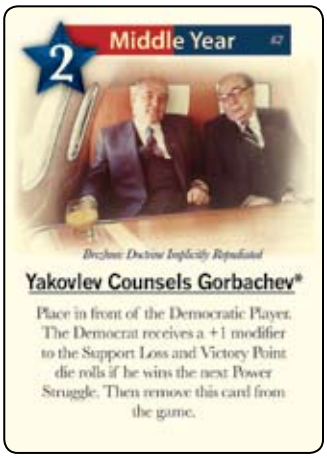
**58. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY BORDER RE-OPENED:** As part of their reform agenda the Hungarian Communists took down the barbed wire fence that separated Hungary from Austria. The East Germans, who frequently took summer holidays in Hungary, started crossing the open border and emigrating through Austria to West Germany, where they were granted immediate citizenship. The East German leadership was outraged that the Hungarians were violating a treaty by allowing G.D.R. citizens to emigrate. The trickle became a flood before the G.D.R. began refusing permission to travel to Hungary.

**59. GRENZTRUPPEN:** "Green Troops" was the nickname for border guards that patrolled the border with West Germany and the Wall.

**60. TOXIC WASTE:** Communism was an environmental catastrophe for Eastern Europe. Mining, heavy manufacturing and chemical plants were the basis of the economy. There was little environmental regulation, and what regulations there were often were ignored. People in affected areas suffered greater risk of respiratory and other health problems including birth defects, as well as shortened life expectancy.

**61. THE MONDAY DEMONSTRATIONS:** After a summer break the Peace Prayers resumed at St. Nicholas. In September the crowds grew from a few hundred to several thousand. The confrontation with the regime finally reached a climax on October 9th. The local Stasi chief made ominous warnings about issuing double allotments of ammunition and body bags to "defend the achievements of socialism." A group of civic leaders, including conductor Kurt Mazur, broadcast a petition across the city calling for non-violence on all sides. At 6 p.m. there were 70,000 Leipzigers marching around the Ringstrasse. The crowds overwhelmed the Stasi, and without clear orders from Berlin the local officials backed down. From that point, the regime lost its nerve and rapidly collapsed. The demonstrations spread first to Dresden, then to Berlin, where on November 4th 500,000 rallied against the S.E.D. The Wall was opened 5 days later.

**62. YAKOVLEV COUNSELS GORBACHEV:** Alexander Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze were the most important advisers to Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989. In 1983, while Gorbachev was Minister of Agriculture, Yakovlev and Gorbachev had a chance meeting in Canada that would change the course of the Cold War. The two did not know each other well, so they began speaking as if on sort of a reform Communist blind date. Each knew that a single heretical statement could be discovered by the KGB and used by political enemies to remove them from their positions in the elite of the party. Then Yakovlev, perhaps sensing Gorbachev's willingness to broach the subject, began to bare his feelings. He later remembered the conversation, "both of us suddenly were just kind of flooded and let go. I somehow, for some reason, threw caution to the wind and started telling him about what I considered to be utter stupidities in the area of foreign affairs, especially about those SS-20 missiles that were being stationed in Europe and a lot of other things. And he did the same thing. We were completely frank. He frankly talked about the problems in the internal situation in Russia. He was saying that under these conditions, the conditions of dictatorship and absence of freedom, the country would simply perish. So it was at that time, during our three-hour conversation, almost as if our heads were knocked together, that we poured it all out and during that three-hour conversation we actually came to agreement on all our main points." And so it was that the policies of the Gorbachev era and the end of the Cold War were hatched during an agricultural fact finding visit to Canada. Yakovlev's policy would later be termed "initiativism" . The theory was that the Soviet system was doomed, but if the party reformed quickly enough then the people would accept the reformed party and allow it to remain in power by democratic means.




**63. GENSCHER:** Hans-Dietrich Genscher was Foreign Minister of West Germany from 1974 to 1992. In September 1989 Genscher brokered a deal with Honecker to allow safe passage for East German refugees who had spent weeks camped out in the West German embassy in Prague. He played a critical role in relations between East and West Germany, as well as the development of the European Union and the unification of Germany.

**64. LEGACY OF 1968:** The era of reform communism (roughly 1964 to 1968) reached its peak with the Prague Spring, an experiment of "socialism with a human face." It was led by Slovak Alexander Dubcek. In August 1968 Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev launched an invasion

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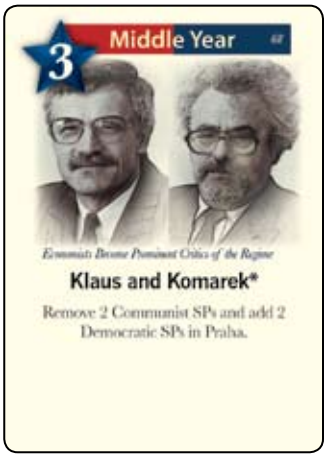
of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact (except Romania) to overthrow Dubcek and the reform Communists. Brezhnev was convinced a rival model of communism was a threat to communism everywhere. The legacy of 1968 was a recognition among intellectuals and Communist sympathizers in the West that the system was morally bankrupt. After the horrors of the imposition of communism across the region in the late 1940s and early 1950s, many were willing to give communism a second chance. They thought only a monster like Stalin, not the system itself, could be responsible for such arbitrary brutality. However, the Brezhnev doctrine stripped away any remaining claim to legitimacy the system had.

**65. PRESIDENTIAL VISIT:** Bush traveled to Warsaw and Budapest in July 1989. He met privately with Walesa and the Hungarian opposition leadership. Walesa had hoped for an Eastern European Marshall Plan. He would be disappointed. Bush's message to the Hungarian dissidents was to be prudent, slow down and not to rock the boat. He didn't feel they were ready to take power. The visit amounted to a photo opportunity for Bush and little more.

**66. NEW FORUM:** New Forum was one of many such organizations established in 1989 whose main goal was simply opening a dialogue with the regime. It was the first in East Germany. New Forum was important in moving the protest movement outside the sanctuary of the Lutheran churches, but was eventually superseded by events.

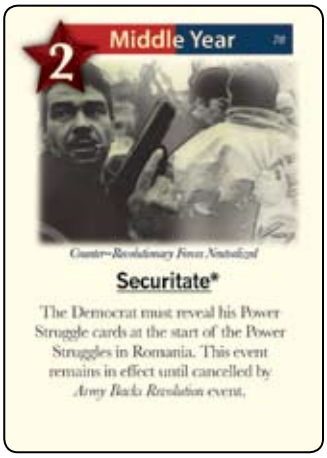
**67. REFORMER REHABILITATED:** In the midst of the Velvet Revolution, Havel called for Alexander Dubcek, the leader of the Prague Spring, to visit the capital. When Dubcek spoke to the crowd in Wenceslas Square they cheered him with the phrase "Dubcek to the castle!" meaning that he should be reinstalled as ruler of Czechoslovakia. Dubcek stayed in Prague during the revolution and was on stage at a press conference with the Civic Forum when it was announced that the Communist government had resigned. The bittersweet reaction on Dubcek's face was in stark contrast to the jubilation in the rest of the room. Dubcek was a humanist, but he remained a loyal Communist too, one who could have led a reform movement inside the CCP if the hardliners had agreed to rehabilitate him.

**68. KLAUS AND KOMAREK:** Vaclav Klaus and Valtr Komarek were Czech economists that became outspoken critics of the regime. They are representative of many technocrats that worked inside the Communist system but successfully transitioned to take important positions in post-Communist governments. Klaus became Finance Minister in December 1989, and later became Prime Minister during the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. He is currently president of the Czech Republic. They also represent the wide range of ideologies inside the Civic Forum. Klaus is a Thatcherite. Komarek remains one of the leading voices for social democratic values in the Czech Republic.




**69. SYSTEMATIZATION:** One of the crazier ideas sprung from Nicolae Ceausescu's head was to "systematize" Romania by destroying small villages and transplanting the villagers to cities. This was part of his plan to create a "multilateral developed socialist society." Systematization was implemented only on a limited scale, particularly around the suburbs of Bucharest. Ceausescu also bulldozed vast swaths of downtown Bucharest to create his People's Palace. Instead of bulldozing, rural villages might be targeted with cutting off electricity, heating fuel or even supplies of food.

**70. SECURITATE:** The Romanian secret police were the most violent in Eastern Europe, responsible for the arrest and deaths of thousands of people. The Securitate used surveillance techniques similar to the East German Stasi, from wire tapping telephones to pregnancy testing (as a part of Ceausescu's forced population growth policies). The Securitate was also Ceausescu's personal military force. They were fiercely loyal to him and were better equipped (including armored personnel carriers) and better compensated than the rest of the Romanian armed forces.




**71. KISS OF DEATH:** This is a picture taken at the 40th anniversary celebration of the G.D.R.. While in East Germany Gorbachev made a few complimentary remarks about the S.E.D., but nothing at all in support of Honecker. It was obvious that Gorbachev thought it was time for Honecker to go.

**72. PEASANT PARTIES REVOLT:** In July, the situation in Poland had reached an impasse. After Solidarity's stunning victory in the June elections, Jaruzelski nominated Kiszczak to form a Communist-led government. However, all knew the government would have no legitimacy without Solidarity agreeing to participate, and Solidarity refused. Instead Walesa approached the Communists' traditional peasant party allies in the United People's Party, which had won some seats in the Sejm, and they agreed to enter a coalition with Solidarity. It was enough for Solidarity to form a government.

**73. LASZLO TOKES:** Tokes was an ethnic Hungarian minister of the Reformed Church and one of the few people inside Romania brave enough to criticize the Ceausescu regime. The decision to evict him from his home on December 16th led to the Timisoara protests and massacre.

**74. FRG EMBASSIES:** After the opening of the Austro-Hungarian border, East Germans started fleeing to West Germany through Austria. The S.E.D.'s response was to close off travel to Hungary, which left thousands of East Germans stranded in West German embassies in Prague and Budapest. The embassies served as a safe haven until a resolution could be negotiated. Ultimately Honecker allowed the refugees to leave, but only if they traveled through East Germany first so he could claim they had been expelled.




**75. EXIT VISAS:** Travel was tightly restricted across the Eastern Bloc; a visa permitting travel to the West was a coveted prize.

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**76. WARSAW PACT SUMMIT:** The Bucharest Summit was the first meeting of leaders since the Polish elections. In a complete reversal of 1968, Ceausescu called for armed intervention in Poland and Hungary to stop the slide away from socialism. Hungarian Prime Minister Nemeth glanced across the table to the Soviet delegation, where the Soviet representative just rolled his eyes and shook his head "no." There would be no repeat of the '56 invasion.




**77. SAMIZDAT:** Without a free press, dissidents relied on secret publication to spread their message. Often these were produced by hand or typewriter and laboriously recopied. One of the most famous Samizdat was Havel's essay "The Power of the Powerless."

**78. WORKERS REVOLT:** Austerity programs were never popular with the workers, whether imposed by Communist or post-Communist governments. Usually these involved freeing prices and imposing wage controls, along with shuttering money-losing factories. Appeasing workers through wage concessions had to be balanced against maintaining the credibility of fiscal reforms for Western lenders.

**79. THE THIRD WAY:** The game 1989 is a binary system, but most of the advocacy groups, and even the Communists themselves, were not so easy to classify. For instance the founders of the opposition group New Forum did not want to do away with socialism or East Germany itself. They opposed the materialism of the West German "elbow society." The intellectuals of the G.D.R. such as Christa Wolf sought a third way between communism and capitalism, but their ideals were swept away in the tide. As the people learned of the wealth of the Federal Republic and the rampant corruption of the S.E.D. leadership, opinion turned decisively in favor of unification with West Germany.

**80. NEPOTISM:** The old joke in Romania was the Ceausescus were building "socialism in one family." Family connections accounted for much of the opportunity for advancement in the Balkans under communism. Sometimes this would work out well. Lyudmila Zhivkova (pictured on the card) was a member of the politburo and acted as a cultural minister under her father Todor Zhivkov, promoting the arts. Her brother Vladimir Zhivkov was a disaster, and his promotion was one of the factors that turned the rest of the Bulgarian leadership against "Uncle Tosho." The Ceausescus' son Nicu Ceausescu (also pictured) was a playboy who lost a fortune of the Romanian treasury gambling in casinos and entertaining women. He drank himself to death and died of cirrhosis of the liver in 1996.

**81. THE BALTIC WAY:** This was a 350 mile chain of people holding hands across Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on August 23, 1989. They were commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Molotov - Ribbentrop non-aggression pact, which had secret codicils that divided Poland close to the pre-Napoleonic imperial border and ceded the Baltic States to Stalin.




**82. SPITZEL:** On January 15, 1990 a mob ransacked the Stasi headquarters in Berlin. The Stasi files revealed that many prominent East Germans had been informants. One of the most important spitzel was the leader of the CDU in East Germany, Lothar de Maziere, who had to resign his position in the Kohl government. The Stasi headquarters is now a museum.

**83. MODROW:** Hans Modrow was the Dresden party chief of the S.E.D. After Honecker's replacement, Egon Krenz, was ousted on December 7, Modrow became the de facto leader of East Germany. Modrow was known as a reformer, but his accession was too late to save the party or even the state. His role was principally as a caretaker while elections were organized to create a government that would negotiate East Germany's demise.

**84. BREAKAWAY BALTIC REPUBLICS:** This event represents the Baltic States declaring their independence from the USSR. It prevents 'Gorbachev Charms the West' as an event because Gorbachev could no longer translate foreign policy victories into power domestically as the USSR broke apart. Lithuania declared independence in March 1990 and Latvia in May 1990. Estonia's path to independence was more gradual, first adopting a sovereignty declaration in November 1988 and finally holding a referendum on independence which passed easily in January 1991.

**85. TANK COLUMN/TANK MAN:** The identity and the fate of the Tank Man remain a mystery. The men who escorted him off the street may have been just bystanders, or they may have been plain clothes police. The image of a solitary figure stopping a column of tanks is one of the iconic images of 1989.

**86. "THE WALL MUST GO!":** On November 9th at the end of a long press conference G.D.R. spokesman Gunter Schabowski made a comment that travel restrictions from East Germany were to be lifted. He was asked when would this policy take effect, and after fumbling through his notes he said (mistakenly), "You should have this information...err.... The policy takes effect immediately." The stunned western reporters ran to their telephones to call in the news. The news was broadcast by West German television back into East Germany, and people started gathering at the checkpoints to enter West Berlin. The border guards did not know what to do and could not get any direction. The crowds began chanting, "We will be right back!" and "The wall must go!" Finally the border guards lifted the gates, and the people walked into West Berlin.




**87. KOHL PROPOSES REUNIFICATION:** On November 21st an envoy from Gorbachev presented Kohl's adviser Horst Teltschik a hastily written note stating that the Soviets were prepared to consider all options for the future, "even the unthinkable", including a united Germany without nuclear weapons and outside the NATO alliance. The Germans were shocked to read this offer, and Kohl decided he should take the initiative and propose a plan for reunification. Kohl presented a ten point plan on November 28th in a speech before the Bundestag. The British, the French and the Soviets were not consulted. The Americans, the fourth of the Allied powers, were sent a copy of the text but not in time for it to be read prior to Kohl delivering the

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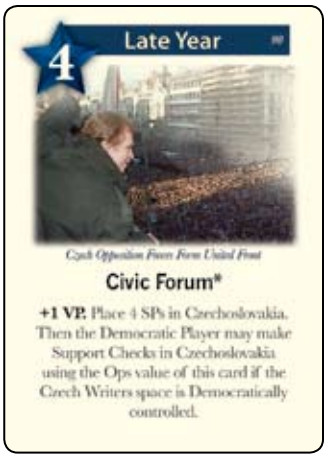
speech. Needless to say the speech generated quite a reaction. Gorbachev was infuriated. In a meeting with Genscher the following week Shevardnadze compared Kohl to Hitler. In the end Kohl got what he wanted, a united Germany in NATO.

**88. ADAMEC:** In late November, after the resignation of CCP General Secretary Milos Jakes, Ladislav Adamec became the de facto leader of the Czechsolvak Communists. Adamec tried to assemble a coalition government, appointing various Civic Forum figures as minority partners in a Communist-dominated government. The people rejected this arrangement, leading to the fall of the Adamek government on December 10.

**89. DOMINO THEORY:** The Domino Theory was a justification for American military intervention in Southeast Asia. It held that if one country went Communist other countries in the region would follow. 1989 saw the Domino Theory working in reverse. Once Poland and Hungary made democratic reforms, and it became clear there would be no Soviet intervention, the dissidents in the other countries became emboldened.

**90. CIVIC FORUM:** The Velvet Revolution began November 17th as a march to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the murder of Jan Opletal who had been killed by the Nazis in November 1939. The regime cracked down harshly, and there were false rumors that a student had been killed. The students called for a strike, which was supported by the actors. Even ninety year old Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek joined in supporting the students. On November 19th Civic Forum was created as the umbrella opposition group in the Czech lands. Its leadership was an eclectic mix of economists, actors, former Prague Spring Communists, students, workers and intellectuals who assembled nightly in the basement of The Magic Lantern Theater in Prague. Starting on November 20th, Civic Forum held enormous daily rallies in Wenceslas Square that ultimately toppled the regime.




**91. MY FIRST BANANA:** There was an approximately 3 week period after the opening of the wall on November 9th in which the future of the G.D.R. was unclear. After the East Germans had a chance to travel to the West (with a 100 DM welcoming present from the West German government) and see the abundance in the grocery stores and other shops, support for a reformed socialism in East Germany started to collapse.

**92. BETRAYAL:** The record of cooperation between the Bulgarian and Romanian Orthodox churches and the Communist parties made the Orthodox churches unlikely sources for democratic protest. After the massacre in Timisoara, Romanian Patriarch Teoctist sent a telegram to Ceausescu praising his "brilliant activity" and "daring thinking."

**93. SHOCK THERAPY:** Harvard professor Jeffrey Sachs, then just 34 years old, served as consultant to Polish Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz in drawing a radical economic plan to transform Poland from a command to a free market economy. The plan was dubbed Shock Therapy because it was designed to give a jolt to the heart instead of using piecemeal reforms. Because Poland was facing hyper-inflation, interest rates were raised to over 100% and the zloty was pegged to the dollar. Prices were freed on virtually everything. Money losing firms were shuttered, creating massive unemployment in a society where unemployment had been virtually non-existent. Surviving state owned firms were gradually privatized. As a result of Shock Therapy Poland suffered a severe recession in 1990-1991, but recovered faster than other states that took a less aggressive approach. In a remarkable success story, since 1991 Poland has enjoyed 20 consecutive years of economic growth and was the only EU member state to avoid recession during the financial crisis of 2008-2009.

**94. UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES:** The UDF was a collection of opposition groups in Bulgaria founded December 7, 1989. Its leader was philosophy professor Zhelyu Zhelev, who would be elected president of Bulgaria in August 1990.

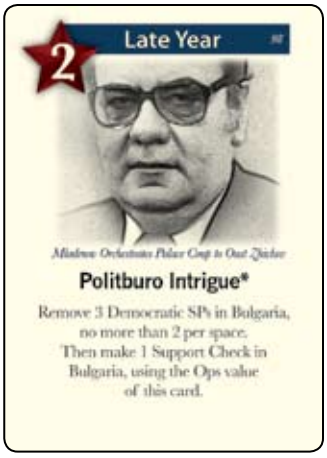
**95. Scoring Card—Romania**

**96. THE CHINESE SOLUTION:** The possibility of security forces using live ammunition against the crowds loomed over the events of 1989. In Timisoara, protests prompted by the eviction of Father Tokes resulted in dozens of people being killed by army and Securitate agents, and in Bucharest another 1,000 died between December 21 and December 25, though most of the victims were killed after the Ceausescus had been captured. The +3 VP penalty represents international condemnation of the use of force against the demonstrators.

**97. THE TYRANT IS GONE:** It's remarkable that a man as paranoid as Nicolae Ceausescu had no escape plan in the event of an uprising or coup. After the crowd turned against him, Ceausescu and his wife Elena spent the night of the 21st in the Central Committee building, then attempted to escape the following day by helicopter. By radio the pilot was given instructions to land, and put the helicopter down only 40 miles from Bucharest, telling the Ceausescus that he had to land because they were going to be fired upon. The Ceausescus then stole a car but were quickly captured and transported to a nearby army base. On Christmas Day there was a farcical trial, and they were put against the wall and shot.




**98. POLITBURO INTRIGUE:** In early November, Zhivkov created another international embarrassment when he ordered a crackdown against Eco-Glasnost in front of a group of Western delegates to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting in Sofia. The CSCE (now the OSCE) is the Helsinki working group, and to have public beatings while hosting a human rights conference did not help Bulgaria's reputation. A long planned palace coup against Zhivkov was launched on November 10th, and he was replaced by the coup's instigator Petr Mladenov. Mladenov himself was forced to resign in July 1990 when tapes surfaced of him calling for violent

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suppression of a UDF rally in December 1989, saying "The tanks had better come."

**99. LIGACHEV:** Yegor Ligachev was the leading voice of the hard-liners inside the Kremlin in 1989. Ligachev challenged Gorbachev's hands off policy toward Eastern Europe, arguing instead for "the class nature" of Soviet foreign policy.

**100. STAND FAST:** This card represents supporters of either side resisting the crowd mentality that swayed so many in 1989. Polls showed majorities of Eastern Europeans supported the egalitarian goals of socialism, while rejecting the corrupt and failed Communist parties. For most people the 1989 revolutions were not ideological; they rejected utopian visions for the future. They just wanted to live normal lives. Certainly the workers who revolted did not want to replace communism with a system that would immediately close their money-losing factory. Still, people could get caught up in the moment as part of the crowd. Voices of moderation were drowned out by proverbial calls of "Off with their heads!"




**101. ELENA:** The personality cult around Elena Ceausescu rivaled that of her husband. She was poorly educated, but in Romanian propaganda she became a brilliant chemist, taking credit for research conducted by real scientists.

**102. NATIONAL SALVATION FRONT:** In Romania, the revolution began before an opposition movement had even emerged, and there simply were no dissidents to form an opposition leadership. Instead the second tier of the Communist party assumed the mantle of the opposition. At first they promised free elections and democratic reforms, but soon reneged on those promises.

**103. GOVERNMENT RESIGNS:** The final capitulation of the regimes might take the form of a resignation en masse by the government. This happened in December in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

**104. NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY:** The historic year 1989 ended with a party at the Brandenburg Gate on New Year's Eve. The party has become an annual tradition in Berlin, with more than a million people celebrating on New Year's Eve each year. This card is a Communist event because it represents time running out on the Democratic player.

**105. PUBLIC AGAINST VIOLENCE:** Historically support for communism was weaker in Slovakia than in Bohemia and Moravia. Public Against Violence was the Slovak counterpart of Civic Forum, and like Civic Forum it broke apart quickly after the Velvet Revolution. Most of the leadership of Public Against Violence would go on to lead the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, which advocated for Slovak independence, resulting in the Velvet Divorce and the dissolution of Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1993.

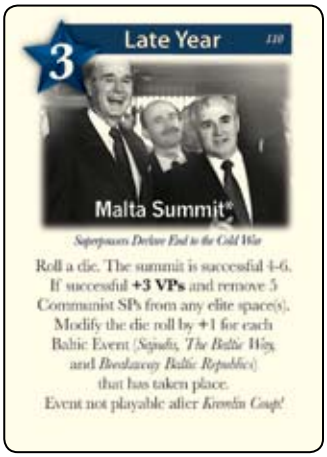
**106. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM ADOPTED:** After the 1989 Revolutions, the Communist parties renamed themselves and splintered into factions. The reformed Communists adopted a left wing agenda that respected the new institutions of democracy. The Bulgarian Communists, renamed the Bulgarian Socialist Party, would retain power in free elections in March 1990. The Romanian Communists also remained in power through less honest means. The other Communists would return to power as social democrats across the region in the mid to late 1990s.

**107. MASSACRE IN TIMISOARA:** On December 16th a small group of parishioners of Timisoara's Hungarian Reformed church started protesting outside the church over the eviction of their pastor Father Tokes. The church was near a train stop, and Romanian workers on the way to their factories saw the protest and started joining in. The crowd quickly grew and turned into an anti-Ceausescu demonstration. The demonstration turned to a riot as the crowd moved to ransack the party headquarters. The following day Securitate and army elements fired on the crowds, killing more than 80 people. News of the massacre spread to Bucharest, and outrage at the events helped foment the revolution beginning on December 21st.

**108. ARMY BACKS REVOLUTION:** The night of the 21st the Ceausescus were holed up inside the Central Committee building. The following morning it was reported that the Defense Minister Vasile Milea had shot himself after being discovered as a traitor. This was the turning point for the army. Assuming Milea had been murdered for refusing orders to fire on the crowds, the army decisively turned against the Ceausescus. The ensuing three days saw bloody street fights between the army and elements of the Securitate still loyal to the regime; however, it was often unclear who was shooting at whom. Many of the Securitate wore plainclothes and simply slipped away, while many ordinary Romanians were caught in the crossfire.

**109. KREMLIN COUP!:** This card represents the overthrow of Gorbachev by conservatives in the party. The abortive coup against Gorbachev was launched in August 1991 and accelerated the dissolution of the USSR.

**110. MALTA SUMMIT:** In December, 1989 Bush and Gorbachev held a summit on the island of Malta to discuss the rapidly changing situation in Eastern Europe. The meetings had been scheduled to take place aboard Soviet and American destroyers on the Mediterranean Sea. Unfortunately there was terrible weather in Malta, and a number of the scheduled meetings were cancelled because of sea sickness. This summit can be considered the end of the Cold War. In its place there was to be a "New World Order." The new world order was supposed to begin with co-operation between the super powers to combat arms trafficking and terrorism, and gradual inclusion of the Soviet Union in international organizations such as the G-7. It also entailed future debt relief to Eastern Europe through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. This grandiose talk sounded somewhat out of character for the prudent Mr. Bush, and he was criticized by some for not being more ambitious in support of Gorbachev. This New World Order would be brief, as the United States would find itself at war in the Gulf in 1990, and the Soviet Union itself would collapse and cease to exist in 1991.

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# SAMPLE TURN

## Draw cards Phase:

### Communist Strategy Hand

#1 Ops 2: Legacy of Martial Law* *(Communist)*
#14 Ops 4: Gorbachev Charms the West
#15 Ops 3: Honecker* *(Communist)*
#19 Ops 2: Papal Visit* *(Democrat)*
#22 Poland Scoring
#27 Ops 3: Consumerism *(Democrat)*
#34 Ops 2: Fidesz* *(Democrat)*
#36 Ops 3: Dash for the West* *(Democrat)*

**Comment:** The Communist draws a strong hand.




### Democrat Strategy Hand

#9 Ops 1: The Wall* *(Communist)*
#10 Ops 3: Cult of Personality* *(Communist)*
#12 Ops 2: Apparatchiks* *(Communist)*
#26 Ops 1: Helsinki Final Act* *(Democrat) (red)*
#33 Ops 2: Sajudis* *(Democrat) (red)*
#35 Ops 3: Heal Our Bleeding Wound* *(Communist)*
#39 Ops 2: Eco-Glasnost* *(Democrat)*
#40 Ops 3: Hungarian Democratic Forum* *(Democrat)*




**Comment:** The Democrat's hand is a little low on Operations Points, but he has two red titled events (Helsinki and Sajudis) that will set him up well for later in the game.

**Additional Set up placement phase:**

1 Communist support added to Miskolc, now at 1
1 Communist support added to Debrecen, now at 1
1 Democrat support added to Poznan, now at 1
1 Democrat support added to Wroclaw, now at 1
1 Democrat support added to Szeged, now at 2
2 Communist support added to Debrecen, now at 3
1 Communist support added to Bydgoszcz, now at 2
2 Democrat support added to Poznan, now at 3
2 Democrat support added to Szeged, now at 4
2 Communist support added to Miskolc, now at 3

**Comment:** the Democrat adds SPs to control Posnan, which supports Gdansk and gives him Domination in Poland. He also takes Szeged which supports Budapest and gives him Presence in Hungary. The Communist has decided to place enough SPs in Hungary to control Debrecen and Miskolc. They support each other. He adds 1 SP to Bydgoszcz, but does not have Presence in Poland. He is comfortable with this because he holds the Poland Scoring Card.

## Turn 1 Action Phase

### Turn 1, Communist action round 1

The Communist plays the following card to place support:

**Ops 3: Dash for the West * (Democrat)**

- 2 Communist support added to Bydgoszcz, now at 4
- 1 Communist support added to Warszawa, now at 2

The Democrat uses the *Dash for the West* event played by the Communist.

Roll a die. If the die roll exceeds the number of Communist controlled spaces in East Germany, +1 VP and select any Blue Event with asterisk (*) from the discard pile. The event occurs immediately.

- *The *Dash for the West* card is permanently removed.
- Communist controlled spaces in East Germany = 0. *Dash for the West* die roll = 2. Success! VPs up 1, now at 1. There are no playable Democratic* events in the discard pile.

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*Illustration shows the positon of Support Points after setup. Support Points highlighted in yellow indicate spaces that received one or more discretionary Support Points.*

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**Comment:** The Communist decides to give the Democrat a free VP to get *Dash for the West* out of the deck. There is little downside because there are no Democratic* events in the discard pile. The Support Points placed gives him control of Bydgoszcz (an elite space) and adds another Support Point to Warszawa.

## Turn 1, Democrat action round 1

The Democrat plays the following card as an Event:

**Ops 1: Helsinki Final Act * (Democrat) (red)**
*+1 VP for every Support Check by the Communist Player in Student or Intellectual spaces the rest of the game.*

The *Helsinki Final Act* card is a red event, an asterisk event and an underlined event which means the following:

- It permanently removed from the deck (*).
- It is kept to the side of the map as reminder of the VPs that can be gained by the Democrat player (the underline).
- Playtesting showed this event is really important so we made it red. That way the democrat can steal it with the *Goodbye Lenin!* event. All the other reds are pre-requisites.

**Comment:** the Democrat still has Domination of Poland so it is good time to play *Helsinki* for the event.

## Turn 1, Communist action round 2

The Communist plays the following card to place support:

**Ops 3: Honecker * (Communist)**

- 1 Communist support added to Warszawa, now at 3
- 2 Communist support added to Gdansk, now at 2




**Comment:** *Honecker* would not be a very useful event at this point because there is no card in the discard pile to pick up. It is better to use the 3 Ops. Because the *Honecker* card is used for Ops it is placed in the discard pile. With control of Warszawa the Communist player now has a +1 modifier to Support Checks against Gdansk and has reduced the Democrat's position from Domination to Presence.

## Turn 1, Democrat action round 2

The Democrat plays the following card to place support:

**Ops 3: Hungarian Democratic Forum* (Democrat)**

- 2 Democrat support added to Krakow, now at 3
- 1 Democrat support added to Lodz, now at 1




**Comment:** This is a powerful event, but the Democrat decides he needs the Ops in Poland to regain Domination. He has placed SPs in the south, attempting to make a triangle of controlled spaces with the Church, Lodz and Krakow. He could have supported Gdansk by taking Szczecin instead.

## Turn 1, Communist action round 3

The Communist plays the following card as an Event:

**#1 Ops 2: Legacy of Martial Law * (Communist)**
*Replace 1 Democratic SP in Poland with a Communist SP and make a Support Check in Poland using the Ops value of this card.*

- *The *Legacy of Martial Law* card is permanently removed.
- Democratic support in Poznan reduced by 1, now at 2
- Communist support in Poznan increased by 1, now at 1
- Support Check attempt in Gdansk (stability 3):
  Gdansk die roll = 3 (+2 ops, +2 mod) = 7. The modified roll exceeds the doubled stability by 1. Democratic support in Gdansk reduced by 1, now at 0.

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**Comment:** This event is weak, but it works in this situation. By flipping an SP in Posnan, the Communist breaks the Democrat's control of that space, giving him a +2 modifier for a Support Check against Gdansk. The modifier is enough to make the Support Check successful. The Communist removes 1 Democratic SP from Gdansk, and the space remains uncontrolled.

## Turn 1, Democrat action round 3

The Democrat plays the following card for Ops:

**Ops 3: Cult of Personality * (Communist)**
*Place 4 Communist SPs in Worker or Farmer spaces in Romania, no more than 2 per space. Has no effect after "The Tyrant is Gone."*

- They elect to have the Communist event occur first.
- **The Cult of Personality* card is permanently removed.
- 2 Communist support added to Brasov, now at 2
- 2 Communist support added to Ploesti, now at 2

The Democrats use the *Cult of Personality* card to place:

- 2 Democrat support added to Poznan, now at 4
- 1 Democrat support added to Lodz, now at 2




**Comment:** Romania is a Late Year Scoring Card, so the Democrat decides to take the pain and allow the Communist event to take place. The Democrat chooses to allow the Communist to use the event before the Democrat takes his action, but the order is not too important in this case because the Democrat is not focused on Romania yet. The Democrat retakes Posnan and adds another SP to Lodz. The Democrat still has Domination in Poland: 3 spaces and 2 battlegrounds versus 2 spaces and 1 battleground for the Communist.

## Turn 1, Communist action round 4

The Communist plays the following card for Ops:

**Card: #63 Ops 2: Papal Visit * (Democrat)**
*Place 3 SPs in any Catholic Church space.*

- They elect to have the Democratic event occur first.
- *The *Papal Visit* card is permanently removed.
- Democratic support in Czech Catholic Church increased by 3, now at 4

The Communists uses the *Papal Visit* card to place support:

- 1 Communist support added to Gdansk, now at 3
- 1 Communist support added to Debrecen, now at 4




**Comment:** The Communist plays the Democratic event for Ops, and lets the Democrat use the event first. The Democrat decides to use *Papal Visit* in Czechoslovakia instead of Hungary or Poland. The Communist takes control of Gdansk. He also places an SP in Debrecen to go to control + 1, anticipating to play *Consumerism* later in the Turn.

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## Turn 1, Democrat action round 4

The Democrat plays the following card for Ops:

**Ops 2: Apparatchiks * (Communist)**
*Place 3 Communist SPs in any Bureaucratic space(s).*

- They elect to have the Communist event occur first.
- *The *Apparatchiks* card is permanently removed.
- 3 Communist support added to Budapest, now at 3

The Democrats use the *Apparatchiks* card to place support:

- 1 Democrat support added to Lodz, now at 3
- 1 Democrat support added to Wroclaw, now at 2



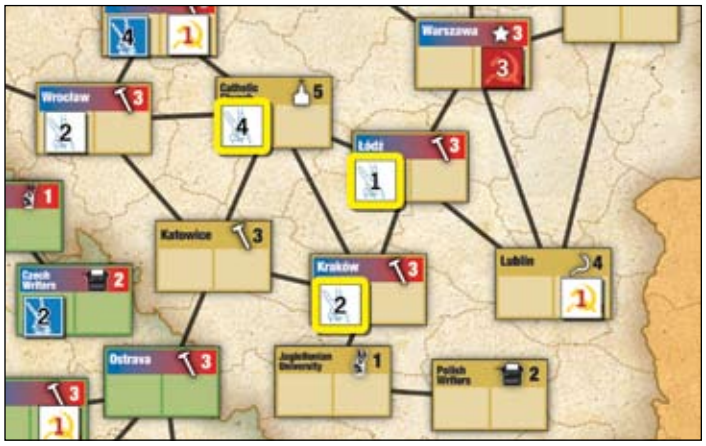

**Comment:** The Democrat makes his own triangle in the South of Poland with Krakow, Lodz and the Church space. He also places in Wroclaw which will support Posnan when he gains control. The Communist decides to be aggressive and uses the event to place 3 SPs in Budapest.

## Turn 1, Communist action round 5

The Communist plays the following card as an Event:

**Ops 4: Gorbachev Charms the West**
Remove 2 opponent SPs and make a support check using the Ops value of this card. May not be played as an Event after *Breakaway Baltic Republics*.

- Democratic support in Polish Catholic Church reduced by 1, now at 4
- Democratic support in Krakow reduced by 1, now at 2
- Support Check attempt in Lodz (stability 3):
  Lodz die roll = 3 (+4 ops, +1 mod) = 8. The modified roll exceeds the doubled stability by 2. Democratic support in Lodz reduced by 2, now at 1



**Comment:** The Communist uses *Gorbachev* to remove a Democratic SP from the Polish Church and from Krakow. That breaks the Democrat's control of these two spaces. The Communist then targets Lodz for a Support Check and receives a +1 modifier for adjacency from Warszawa. Note that removing the SPs from the Church and Krakow changes the adjacency modifier from –1 to +1. This is enough to make the Support Check successful.

## Turn 1, Democrat action round 5

The Democrat plays the following card for Ops:

**Ops 3: Heal Our Bleeding Wound* (Communist)**
*If played in Early Year, –3 VPs. If played in Middle Year, –1 VP. If played in Late Year, +3 VPs*

- They elect to have the Communist event occur first.
- *The *Heal Our Bleeding Wound* card is permanently removed.
- VPs down 3, now at –2.

The Democrats use the *Heal Our Bleeding Wound* card to place support:

- 1 Democrat support added to Polish Catholic Church, now at 5
- 1 Democrat support added to Krakow, now at 3
- 1 Democrat support added to Wroclaw, now at 3

**Comment:** the situation in Poland requires the Democrat to use this Communist event for Ops. Because this event weakens in the

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Middle Year and actually helps the Democrat in the Late Year, the Democrat would prefer to play it to the Tiananmen Square Track, but the Democrat needs 3 Ops to get back 3 Spaces in Poland. He has to give the Communist the –3 VPs.

## Turn 1, Communist action round 6

The Communist plays the following card for Ops:

**Ops 3: Consumerism (Democrat)**
*Remove a Communist SP from a Worker space and make one Support Check in a Worker space in the same country using the Ops value of this card.*

- They elect to have the Democratic event occur first.
- Communist support in Miskolc reduced by 1, now at 2
- Support Check attempt in Debrecen (stability 3):
  Debrecen die roll = 6 (+3 ops) = 9. The modified roll exceeds the doubled stability by 3. Communist support in Debrecen reduced by 3, now at 1

The Communists use the Consumerism card to place support:

- 1 Communist support added to Budapest, now at 4
- 1 Communist support added to Miskolc, now at 3
- 1 Communist support added to Tatabayna, now at 1




**Comment:** The Democrat rolls a 6, and Consumerism has a big effect. Instead of replacing the SPs lost in Debrecen, the Communist builds in Budapesst and Miskolc, which support each other, and begins building in Tatabanya.

## Turn 1, Democrat action round 6

The Democrat plays the following card as an Event:

**Ops 2: Sajudis * (Democrat) (red)**
*+1 VP. Place sufficient Democratic support in any Minorities space for control. Allows play of "The Baltic Way."*

- *The *Sajudis* card is permanently removed.
- VPs up one, now at –1
- Democratic support in Razgrad increased by 4, now at 4

**Comment:** playing *Sajudis* for the event earns a VP and puts T*he Baltic Way* in play for the Middle Year. The Democrat chooses Razgrad instead of Harghita/Covasna because Bulgaria will score sooner than Romania.

## Turn 1, Communist action round 7

The Communist plays the following card as an Event:

**#21: Poland Scoring**

**Comment:** the Communist must play the Poland Scoring card—scoring cards cannot be held. Each player is dealt the following Power Struggle cards:

- Communist: 6 (1st city) +4 (2 each additional city) = 10 cards
- Democrat: 6 (1st city) +6 (2 each additional city) = 12 cards

**Comment:** The Communist controls 3 spaces (Bydgoszcz, Warszawa and Gdansk, so he draws 10 cards. He has 6 potential leader cards because he controls a worker space and the elite space. The Democrat controls 4 spaces (Wroclaw, Catholic Church, Krakow and Posnan) so he draws 12 cards, but he has only 3 potential leader cards, one for the church and 2 for the worker spaces.

**Democrat Battle Hand**

x2 Rally in the Square - auto CA

x3 March (3, 4, 5)

x1 Strike 4

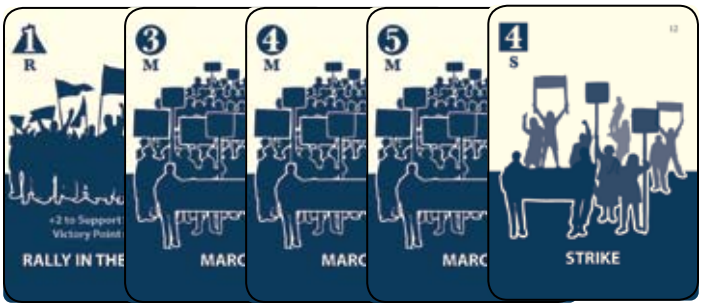
x1 Petition 6

x2 Intellectual leader 3

x1 Elite leader 3

x1 Church leader 3

x1 Wild Card: Match any attack: suit may not be played again this Struggle




x2 x1 x1 x1 x1




x1 x2 x1 x1 x1

**Comment:** Three unusable leader cards, but the Tactic Fails wild card will help. He could Raise the Stakes by discarding three cards. He would choose the three unusable leaders. It would be a risky move considering the Communist would then have more Power Struggle cards and higher number of potential leaders.

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**Communist Battle Hand**

x1 Rally in the Square - auto CA

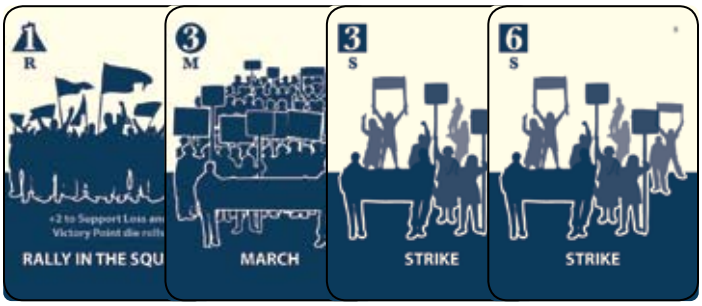
x3 March 3

x3 Strike (3, 3, 6)

x1 Petition 6

x1 Intellectual leader 3

x1 Worker leader 3




x1 x3 x2 x1




x1 x1 x1

**Comment:** Very weak initiative ranks and one unusable leader. A bit unlucky in drawing no elite leader cards.

**The Democrat discards 3 Battle Cards to Raise the Stakes**

- Card discarded: Intellectual leader 3
- Card discarded: Intellectual leader 3
- Card discarded: Elite leader 3

The winner of the Power Struggle will receive a +1 modifier to his VP and Support Removal die rolls

**Comment:** "Fortune favors the bold." The Democrat raises the stakes!!

- The Communist attacks with a Petition 6
- The Democrat matches with a Petition 6

**Comment:** with only 1 Petition this was probably not going to do much, but it was a 6 and his hand is pretty weak for initiative values.

- Democrat counterattack die roll = 5 (needs a 6): counterattack fails.

**Comment:** The Democrat must roll equal to or higher than the rank of the card the Communist led to gain initiative.

- The Communist attacks with a Strike 6
- The Democrat matches with a Strike 4

**Comment:** The Communist chooses to attack with his Strike suit over his March suit. He has 3 of each, but he has a Strike 6 to start with.

- Democrat counterattack die roll = 1 (needs a 6): counterattack fails.
- The Communist attacks with a Strike 3.
- The Democrat matches with a Church leader 3.

**Comment:** The Communist is happy to see the Democrat is already out of strikes. He just needs to keep initiative and play another Strike.

- Democrat counterattack die roll = 2 (needs a 3): counterattack fails.
- The Communist attacks with a Strike 3.
- The Democrat matches with a Wild Card: Tactic Fails (Match any attack, suit may not be played again this Struggle). Strike cards may no longer be played this Power Struggle.
- No counterattack.

**Comment:** blocked! Well now the Communist has to go to a weak suit of Marches or his Rally. He chooses the Rally knowing that the Democrat is getting low on cards. Also the Democrat has already used a church leader card, and the Communist holds 1 of the 2 worker leader cards in the deck.

- The Communist attacks with a Rally in the Square - auto CA
- The Democrat matches with a Rally in the Square - auto CA.

**Comment:** the Rally fails. Rally cards all have a rank of 1, so the Democrat finally has initiative.

- Counterattack is automatically successful
- The Democrat attacks with a March 5
- The Communist matches with a March 3
- Communist counterattack die roll = 1 (needs a 5): counterattack fails.
- The Democrat attacks with a March 4
- The Communist matches with a March 3
- Communist counterattack die roll = 4 (needs a 4): counterattack is successful!
- The Communist attacks with a March 3
- The Democrat matches with a March 3
- Democrat counterattack die roll = 3 (needs a 3): counterattack is successful!

**Comment:** both players held 3 Marches. They were weaker cards, and they trade initiative. With his March suit exhausted, the Democrat plays his final card, a Rally. The Communist gets a sinking feeling. If he doesn't match the Rally the Democrat wins and would receive a +2 modifier for the Support Loss and Victory Point die rolls. Luckily, the Communist has the worker leader that he can use to match any suit. But there is a problem. If he does match he *must* roll for initiative, and against a Rally the initiative roll will automatically succeed. His last card is an Intellectual Leader, which he cannot play because he does not control the intellectuals space.

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- The Democrat attacks with a Rally in the Square — auto CA
- The Communist matches with a Worker leader 3
- Counterattack is automatically successful!
- No playable cards in the Communist hand, so...
- The Democrat wins the Power Struggle in Poland!!!

**Comment:** so close. But the Democrat wins.

- Power Struggle Support Loss die roll = 2 + 1 (raised stakes) = 3. One support to be removed. Communist support in Poznan reduced by 1, now at 0.

**Comment:** the Communist rolls a 2 for Support Loss, modified to 3 by Raise the Stakes. The result on the Power Struggle Results Table is 1. The Communist elects to remove the SP in Posnan. He could have removed an SP from any space.

- Power Struggle VP die roll = 4 + 1 (raised stakes) = 5. +2 VPs, plus Power VPs up 2, now at 1.

**Comment:** For Victory Points the Democrat rolls a 4, modified to 5 for Raised Stakes. The result on the Power Struggle Results Table is 2/P, so the VP marker is moved two spaces toward Democratic victory. More importantly, the P result means the Communist is toppled from Power, and the Scoring Card is removed from the game. "*Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła!*"

## Scoring in Poland

- Communist: 3 (presence) +2 (battlegrounds) = 5
- Democrat: 6 (domination) +3 (battlegrounds) = 9
- VPs up 4, now at 5
- The *Poland Scoring* card is permanently removed.

**Comment:** the Democrat gets 4 VPs from scoring the Country Domination +3 Battlegrounds spaces versus Presence +2 Battleground. This is a pretty good start because the Communist invested a fair amount into Poland.

## Turn 1, Democrat action round 7

The Democrat plays the following card as an Event:

**Ops 2: Eco-Glasnost* (Democrat)**
*Place 4 Democratic SPs in Ruse. +1 VPs for Communist Support Checks in Ruse for the rest of the game.*

- The *Eco-Glasnost* card is permanently removed.
- Democratic support in Ruse increased by 4, now at 4

**Comment:** The Democrat sets himself up well in Bulgaria. He has a strong start with two spaces that support each other; however he is falling behind in Hungary.

**Comment Overall:** the Communist has fought hard in both Early Year countries. He should be able to secure a strong position in Hungary, but he will have to shift his focus to the Middle Year countries soon. The Democrat was happy to win Poland after the Communist had made a strong push there. Neither player made a Tiananmen Square attempt.




*Illustration shows the positions on the map after Turn 1.*

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## Turn Sequence

1. Deal Strategy Cards
2. Play Action Rounds
3. Make Extra Support Check (if applicable)
4. Verify Held Cards
5. Celebrate New Year's Eve Party (if applicable)
6. Advance Turn Marker
7. Calculate Final Scoring (after turn 10)

## 9.2 Country Scoring Terms

**Presence:** A player has Presence in a country if it controls at least one space in that country.

**Domination:** A player achieves Domination of a country if he controls more spaces in that country than his opponent and he controls more Battleground spaces in that country than his opponent. A player must control at least one non-Battleground and one Battleground space in a country in order to achieve Domination of that country.

**Control:** A player has Control of a country if he controls more spaces in that country than his opponent and he controls all of the Battleground spaces in that country.

## 6.2 SUPPORT CHECKS

**PURPOSE:** To reduce opponent Support in a country, and possibly to add friendly support if the Support check is successful enough.

**PROCEDURE:** Each Strategy Card played for Support Checks gives two Support Checks to the Phasing Player, regardless of the card's Operations value. The player must resolve the first Support Check before declaring the next target.

**REQUIREMENT:** To attempt a Support Check in a space, the space must have opponent SPs.

**RESOLUTION:** Multiply the Stability Number of the target space by two (x2). Then roll a die, and add the Ops value of the card played to the die roll plus any DRMs as listed below. If the modified die roll is greater than the doubled Stability Number, the Support Check succeeds, and the phasing player removes opposing SPs equal to the difference from the target space. If there are insufficient opposing SPs to remove, add friendly SPs to make up the difference.

**DIE ROLL MODIFIERS:**

- +1 for each adjacent friendly controlled space
- –1 for each adjacent opponent controlled space

## Appendix A: Distribution of Power Struggle Deck

6 Rally in the Squares (all initiative value 1)

12 Marches (2 with initiative value 6, 2 with 5, 4 with 4, and 4 with 3)

12 Strikes (2 with initiative value 6, 2 with 5, 4 with 4, and 4 with 3)

6 Petitions (3 with initiative value 6, and 3 with 5)

12 Leaders (4 Intellectual, 4 Elite, 2 Worker, 1 Church, and 1 Student, all initiative value 3)

4 Wild Cards (all surrender initiative)

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