Twilight Struggle



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RULE BOOK

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1.0 INTRODUCTION



"Now the trumpet summons us again — not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need, not as a call to battle, though embattled we are — but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle..." —John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Speech, January 1961

In 1945, unlikely allies slew the Nazi beast, while humanity's most devastating weapons forced the proud Japanese Empire to its knees in a storm of fire. Where once there stood many great powers, now stood only two. The world had scant time to sigh relief before a new conflict threatened. Unlike the titanic conflicts of the preceding decades, this conflict would be waged primarily not by soldiers and tanks, but by spies and politicians, scientists and intellectuals, artists and traitors.

Twilight Struggle is a two-player game simulating the forty-five-year dance of intrigue, prestige, and occasional flares of warfare between the Soviet Union and the United States. The entire world is the stage on which these two titans fight to make the world safe for their own ideologies and ways of life. The game begins amidst the ruins of Europe as the two new 'superpowers' struggle over the wreckage of the Second World War, and ends in 1989, when only the United States remained standing.

Twilight Struggle inherits its fundamental systems from the card-driven classics *We the People* and *Hannibal: Rome vs. Carthage.* It is a quick-playing, low-complexity game in that tradition. Event cards cover a vast array of historical happenings, from the Arab-Israeli conflicts of 1948 and 1967, to Vietnam and the U.S. peace movement, to the Cuban Missile Crisis and other such incidents that brought the world to the brink of nuclear annihilation. Subsystems capture the prestige-laden Space Race as well as nuclear tensions, with the possibility of nuclear war ending the game.

These rules are organized into numbered sections, with some sections further subdivided into subsections (for example, 2.1 and 2.2). In a number of places in the rules, you will see references made to rules sections and subsections that are related to the one you are reading.



Additionally, terms that have specialized meaning within these rules, such as 'Influence' or 'Battleground', are consistently capitalized to allude to their specialized context within the rules.

2.0 COMPONENTS

A complete game of *Twilight Struggle* includes the following:

- One 22" by 34" Map
- One sheet of markers
- One Rules Booklet
- One Player Aid Card
- 104 Cards
- Two 6 sided dice

2.1 THE GAME MAP

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." —Winston Churchill

2.1.1 The map is divided into six Regions: Europe, Asia, Central America, South America, Africa, and the Middle East. A region is a group of geopolitically connected nations, normally in close geographic proximity. Europe is divided into two sub-regions, Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Two historically neutral countries (Austria and Finland) are categorized as being in both Eastern and Western Europe. Asia also contains a sub-region, Southeast Asia. The country spaces that comprise a region share a map color. Sub-regions have shades of the same color.

DESIGN NOTE: Although not exactly geographically correct, the Middle East includes Libya and Egypt for political purposes, while Canada and Turkey are included in the Europe Region.

2.1.2 Any event, rule, action, or card that refers to 'Europe' or 'Asia' includes the associated sub-regions.

2.1.3 Each space on the map represents a country or bloc of countries (hereafter simply called a country). Each country has a Stability Number representing the country's overall stability, independence and power.

2.1.4 Battleground States. While most states have their names on white, Battleground countries operate the same way as normal spaces but have special rules for scoring (see 10.1) and coup attempts (6.3). Their country name is highlighted in purple for easy recognition.

2.1.5 There are two spaces on the map representing the geographic locations of the United States and the Soviet Union. They are out of play for Influence Markers, but do have an impact on certain actions in the game.

2.1.6 Countries are connected to one another via the black, red and brown lines on the map. Brown lines represent connections within a region. Red dashed lines represent connections between countries in different regions. The black lines indicate connections between countries and superpowers. A country is considered adjacent to all other countries to which it is connected.

DESIGN NOTE: Being adjacent is not entirely a reflection of geography. Several countries that share physical boundaries do not have connections in the game. This is not a map error but is part of the mechanics of the game and the political situation of the times.

2.1.7 Controlling Countries: Each country on the map is considered Controlled by one of the players, or it is uncontrolled. A country is considered Controlled by a player if:

- The player has Influence points in the country greater than or equal to the country's Stability Number, and

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- The player's Influence in the country exceeds his/her opponent's Influence in that country by at least the country's Stability Number.

EXAMPLE: To Control Israel (Stability Number 4), a player must have at least 4 Influence points in Israel, and must have at least 4 more Influence points in Israel than his/her opponent has.

2.2 CARDS

2.2.1 There are 103 cards used in the game (card #104 is a player aid card). Each card contains an Operations Point value, an Event Title and an Event Description. Some cards are labeled SCORING, which must be played sometime during the turn they are drawn.

2.2.2 Each card has a symbol to indicate which superpower is associated with its Event, as follows:

- Cards with a Red star only are associated with the USSR
- Cards with a White star only are associated with the US
- Cards with a split Red/White star are not associated with either side.

(See 5.2 for the effect of playing cards whose Events are associated with your opponent's superpower.)

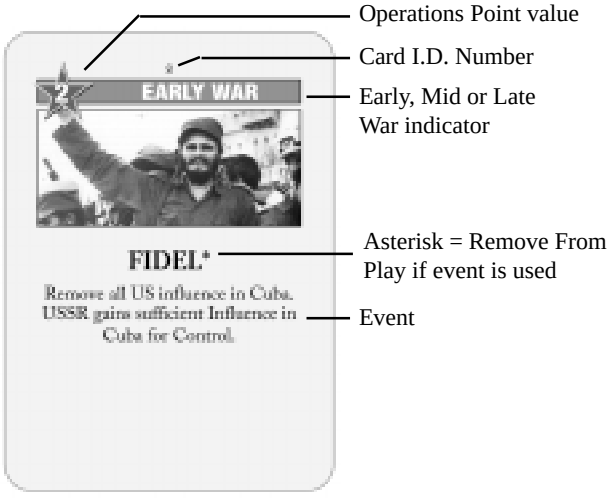
2.2.3 Cards may be played in one of two ways, as Events or Operations.

2.2.4 Many cards have an asterisk following their Event title. When these cards are played as Events, they are removed permanently from the game.

2.2.5 Cards that have their Event title underlined are displayed face-up on the side of the game board until they are cancelled (or the game ends).

PLAY NOTE: Player's may also indicate the play of underlined events with the numbered card reminder markers. They may be placed on the current space of the Turn Record Track for easy reference.

2.2.6 Cards that are discarded (not permanently removed from the game) are placed in a face up pile adjacent to the draw pile.



2.3 MARKERS

The game includes various markers to assist play:



US Influence | USSR Influence | Space Race | Defcon Status | Card Reminder

US Military OP marker | USSR Military OP marker | DEFCON Restrictions Reminder | Action Round Track | VP Track

3.0 GAME SETUP

3.1 Shuffle the Early War cards and deal each player **8 cards.** In addition, place 'The China Card' face up in front of the USSR player. The players are allowed to examine their cards prior to deploying their initial Influence markers.

3.2 The USSR player sets up first. The USSR places a total of 15 Influence markers in the following locations: 1 in Syria, 1 in Iraq, 3 in North Korea, 3 in East Germany, 1 in Finland, and 6 anywhere in Eastern Europe.

3.3 The US player sets up second, placing a total of 20 Influence markers in the following locations: 1 in Iran, 1 in Israel, 1 in Japan, 1 in Australia, 1 in the Philippines, 1 in South Korea, 1 in Panama, 1 in South Africa, 5 in the United Kingdom, and 7 anywhere in Western Europe.

3.4 Place the US and USSR Space Race markers to the left of the Space Race track. Each player places his Military OP marker on the zero space of their respective Military Operations Track. Place the Turn marker on the first space of the Turn Record Track. Place the Defcon marker on the 5 space of the DEFCON Track. Finally, place the VP marker on the Victory Points Track on the zero space.

4.0 GAME SEQUENCE

4.1 *Twilight Struggle* has ten turns. Each turn represents between three and five years, and will involve six or seven normal card plays by each player. At the beginning of the game, each player receives eight cards from the Early War deck. At the beginning of turn 4, the Mid War deck is shuffled into the draw pile and the players' hand size increases to nine. At the beginning of turn 8, the Late War deck is shuffled into the draw pile.

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

4.3 When there are no cards remaining in the 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, and are not shuffled into the new draw deck.

4.3.1 Deal all cards remaining in the draw deck before reshuffling, except in turns 4 and 8 (see 4.4.).

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4.4 When moving from the Early War deck to Mid War, or from Mid War to Late War, do not add in the discards to the deck—instead add the Mid War or Late War cards (as appropriate) to the existing deck and reshuffle. The ignored discards remain in the discard pile for now, but will be reshuffled into the deck in the next reshuffle.

4.5 A turn in *Twilight Struggle* has the following structure:

A. Improve DEFCON Status
B. Deal Cards
C. Headline Phase
D. Action Rounds
E. Check Military Operations Status
F. Reveal Held Card (Tournament only)
G. Flip 'The China Card'
H. Advance Turn Marker
I. Final Scoring (after Turn 10 only)

A. Improve DEFCON Status: If the DEFCON status is lower than 5, add one to the DEFCON status (towards Peace).

B. Deal Cards: Each player receives enough cards to bring their total hand size to **8** on turns 1-3. On turns 4-10, players should receive enough cards to bring their total hand size to **9.** 'The China Card' is never included in this total.

C. Headline Phase: Each player secretly selects a card from their hand. Once both players have made their choice, they reveal their cards to each other simultaneously. These cards are called 'Headline cards' and their Events take place in this phase (and if the event title has an asterisk, are removed from the game normally). To determine which Event takes place first, look at the Operations value on each card; that is its Headline Value. The card with the higher Headline Value takes effect first. In the event of a tie, the Headline Event played by the US player goes into effect first.

- Scoring cards may be played during the Headline Phase. However, they are considered to have a Headline Value of zero (0) and always take effect second. If both players select a scoring card as their Headline Cards, the US player's scoring card takes effect first.
- Players must create a Headline event, regardless of whether the event helps them or their opponent.

NOTE: If playing an opponent's event during the Headline phase, your opponent implements the event text (and becomes the 'phasing player' while he implements the event) as if they had played the card themselves.

- 'The China Card' may not be played during the Headline Phase.
- Unless the headline event specifically refers to availbility of operations points, neither player recieves operations points from cards played during the headline phase.

D. Action Rounds: There are six Action Rounds in turns 1 to 3 and seven action rounds turns 4 to 10. Players alternate playing cards, one per Action Round, for a total of six cards during turns 1 to 3, and seven cards during turns 4 to 10. The USSR player always takes his or her Action Round first, followed by the US player. All actions required by each card must be resolved before the next player starts his or her Action Round by playing a card. The player taking his or her 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 a player has insufficient cards to take the requisite number of actions for the turn, that player must sit out of the remaining Action Rounds while the opposing player completes the turn.

E. Check Military Operations Phase: Each player determines if they are penalized Victory Points for failing to perform enough Military Operations during the turn (see 8.2). Each player then resets his Military Operations markers back to zero.

F. Reveal Held Card: During Tournament or competitive play, both players should reveal any held cards to their opponents to ensure that all required scoring cards are played during the round. Since this detracts from some elements of secrecy in the game, it is not necessary to use this rule in a non-competitive environment.

G. Flip China Card: If 'The China Card' was passed face-down during the turn, flip it face-up now.

H. Advance Turn Marker: Move the Turn Marker to the next turn. If it is the end of turn 3, shuffle the Mid War cards into the draw deck. If it is the end of turn 7, shuffle the Late war cards into the draw deck.

I. Final Scoring: At the end of turn 10, perform Final Scoring as described in the Scoring rules.

5.0 CARD PLAY

5.1 Cards may be played in one of two ways: as Events or Operations. 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 as an Operation, 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 and it triggers your opponent's event, your opponent implements the event text as if they had played the card themselves.

- 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, 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 play of that event has been prohibited by a superseding Event card, then the Event does not occur, and the card remains in play for Operations points only.
- If a card play triggers an opponent's Event, but the event results in no effect, the Event is still considered played, and would still be removed if it has an asterisk.

EXAMPLE 1: The USSR player plays the 'NATO' card before the

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'Marshall Plan' or 'Warsaw Pact' cards have been played. The USSR player would get the benefit of the 4 Operations points, but the US would not get the 'NATO' event. However, despite being asterisked, the 'NATO' card would not be removed from play. It would be placed in the discard pile to be reshuffled and possibly played later.

EXAMPLE 2: The US player plays 'Arab-Israeli War' for 2 Operations. However, during his previous Action Round he played 'Camp David Accords' which prohibits play of 'Arab-Israeli War' as an Event. The US player would still conduct 2 Operations, but the USSR player would not get the benefit of the Event, and the card would not be eliminated from the game.

EXAMPLE 3: The USSR Player plays 'Alliance for Progress;' however, the US Player does not control a Battleground country in either South or Central America. Nevertheless, the Event is considered played, and the card would be removed from the game after the USSR player's round.

5.3 When a card played as an Event requires the play or discard of another card of a specific value, a higher valued card will always satisfy the requirement.

EXAMPLE: The 'Quagmire' card requires the US player to discard a 2 Operations card. If the US plays a 3 Operations card, the requirement is still met.

5.4 When an event forces a player to discard a card, the Event on the discarded card is not implemented. This rule also applies to Scoring cards.

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

6.0 OPERATIONS

Operations can be used in the following ways: to place Influence markers, to make Realignment rolls, to attempt Coups, or to attempt advancement in the Space Race. When a card is played as an Operations card, the player must **choose to use all of the Operations points on *one* of the following options: Marker Placement, Realignment rolls, Coup Attempts or a Space Race attempt.**

6.1 PLACING INFLUENCE MARKERS

"Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army can reach."
—Joseph Stalin



6.1.1 Influence markers are placed one at a time. However, all markers must be placed with, or adjacent to, friendly markers that were in place at the start of the phasing player's Action Round. *Exception: markers placed when required by an Event are not subject to this restriction, unless specifically stated otherwise on the card.*

6.1.2 It costs one (1) Operations point to place an Influence marker in a country that is friendly-Controlled or uncontrolled. It costs two (2) Operations points to place an Influence marker in an enemy-Controlled country. If a country's Control status changes while placing Influence markers, additional markers placed during that Action Round are placed at the lower cost.

EXAMPLE: The US player has 2 Influence markers in Turkey and the USSR player has none. Therefore, the US controls Turkey. The USSR player uses a 4 Operations point card to place Influence markers. When placing markers in Turkey, the first marker costs 2 Operations points. However, after placement of the first USSR influence marker, the US no longer exceeds USSR influence in Turkey by the Stability Number of 2, thus, a second or third Soviet influence marker would only cost 1 operation point per marker. If the US player started with only 1 influence marker in Turkey, the US player would not control Turkey. Therefore, any Soviet influence placement would only cost 1 operations point per marker.

6.1.3 Influence markers may be placed in multiple regions and multiple countries up to the number of Operations Points on the card played.

EXAMPLE: The US player has existing markers in Panama and South Korea. The US player uses a 3 Operations Point card to place more influence. The US player may place Influence markers in both Costa Rica and Colombia. However, he cannot place Influence markers in Costa Rica and then Nicaragua. On the other hand, since Influence markers are already present, he could use any remaining operation points to strengthen South Korea or its neighboring countries.

6.1.4 Influence markers may always be placed in any country that is adjacent (connected) to the phasing player's superpower space.

6.1.5 Influence markers are treated like cash. Players may 'break' a large denomination into smaller denominations at any time. Additionally, the number of Influence markers included 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.

6.1.6 If a player has two or more markers in a country, place the larger denomination on top. Influence markers are open to inspection at all times.

6.2 REALIGNMENT ROLLS

6.2.1 Realignment rolls are used to reduce enemy Influence in a country. To attempt a Realignment roll, the acting player need not have any Influence in the target country or in any adjacent country—although this improves the chance of success greatly. When using a card for Realignment rolls, the player may resolve each roll before declaring the next target. Countries may be targeted for Realignment more than once per Action Round.



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6.2.2 It costs one Operations point to make a Realignment roll. Each player rolls a die and the high roller may remove the difference between the rolls from their opponent's Influence in the target country. Ties are considered a draw, and no markers are removed. Each player modifies his die roll:

- +1 for each adjacent controlled country,
- +1 if they have more Influence in the target country than their opponent,
- +1 if your Superpower is adjacent to the target country.

EXAMPLE: The US player targets North Korea for Realignment. There are 3 USSR Influence points in North Korea, while the US player has none. The US player has no modifiers—he does not control any adjacent countries and has less Influence in North Korea then the Soviets. The USSR player has +1 because North Korea is adjacent to the USSR and +1 for having more Influence in North Korea then the US. The US player gets lucky and rolls a 5 while the USSR player rolls a 2 which is modified to 4. The result is the USSR player must remove one Influence point from North Korea.

6.2.3 No Influence is ever added to a country as a result of a Realignment roll.

6.3 COUP ATTEMPTS

6.3.1 A Coup represents operations short of full-scale war to change the composition of a target country's government. A player attempting a Coup need not have any Influence in the target country or in an adjacent country to attempt the Coup. However, your opponent must have Influence markers in the target country for a Coup to be attempted.

6.3.2 To resolve a Coup attempt, multiply the Stability Number of the target country by two (x2). Then roll a die and add the Operations points on the card to it. If this modified die roll is greater than the doubled stability number, the coup is successful, otherwise it fails. If the coup is successful remove opposing Influence markers equal to the difference from the target country. If there are insufficient opposing Influence markers to remove, add friendly Influence markers to make up the difference.

6.3.3 Move the marker on the Military Operations track up the number of spaces equal to the Operations value of the card played.

EXAMPLE: The US player plays a 3 Operations card to conduct a coup attempt in Mexico. The US player has no Influence in Mexico; the USSR player has 2 Influence points. First the US player adjusts his marker on the Military Operations Track to show that he has spent three points on Military Operations this turn (see 8.2). Then he rolls the die for a 4 and adds his Operations Number (3) to get a 7. He now subtracts twice the value of Mexico's Stability Number (2x2=4) from this result to get a final total of 3. This is the number of Influence markers he may remove from/add to Mexico. First, the US would remove the 2 Soviet Influence markers, then place 1 US Influence marker.

6.3.4 Any Coup attempt in a Battleground country degrades the DEFCON status one level (towards Nuclear War).

6.4 THE SPACE RACE

"We go into space because whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share . . . I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before the decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the earth." —John F. Kennedy

6.4.1 The Space Race track contains a marker for each superpower. Operations points may be spent by a superpower to attempt to move its marker to the next box on the track. To do so, play a card with an Operations point value equal to or greater than the number shown on the track into which you are attempting to advance. Roll the die: if the number falls within the range listed in the target box on the Space Race track, move your marker to the new box.

6.4.2 A player may only play 1 card per turn in an attempt to advance in the Space Race. *Exception: Space Race Track Special Abilities and certain Events may alter this one-card limitation, or advance the superpower's marker on the Space Race track.*

6.4.3 Advancing along the Space Race track results in an award of Victory Points, a special ability, or both. Five boxes on the Space Race track are marked with two numbers divided by a slash, e.g. Lunar Orbit has the numbers 4/2. The left-hand number is the number of Victory Points awarded to the first player to reach that box; the right-hand number is the number of Victory Points awarded to the second player to reach that box. Victory Points granted take effect immediately. All Space Race Victory Points are cumulative.

6.4.4 Special abilities are granted only to the first player to reach the space. The special effect is immediately cancelled when the second player reaches that box.

- Upon reaching space 2 (Animal in Space), the player is allowed to play two Space Race cards per turn (instead of the usual one).
- Upon reaching space 4 (Man in Space), the opposing player must select and reveal his or her Headline Event before the player with a 'Man in Space' makes his/her Headline Event selection.
- Upon reaching space 6 (Space Walk), the player may discard their Held Card at the end of the turn
- Upon reaching space 8 (Eagle/Bear has Landed), the player may play eight (8) Action Rounds per turn.

The effects of these special abilities are immediate and cumulative.

EXAMPLE: The USSR player successfully reaches space 2. He may play a second Space Race Card during his next Action Round. If the USSR player reached space 4 before the US player had reached space 2, the USSR player could play two Space Race cards per turn, and require the US Player to show his Headline Phase event before selecting his own.

6.4.5 Events on cards that are used to invest in the Space Race do not take place, regardless of their association.

DESIGN NOTE: The Space Race is your 'safety valve.' If you hold a card whose Event is a good one for your opponent, and you don't want the Event to occur, you can dump it on the Space Race (provided it has enough Operations points to qualify for an attempt to move forward).

6.4.6 If a player reaches the final box in the Space Race, no more cards may be expended in the Space Race by that player for the remainder of the game.

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7.0 EVENTS

"Do you, Ambassador Zorin, deny that the USSR has placed and is placing medium – and intermediate – range missiles and sites in Cuba? Yes or no? Don't wait for the translation! Yes or no?" — Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

7.1 A player may play a card as an Event instead of Operations. If the Event is associated with his or her own superpower, or is associated with both superpowers, it takes effect as directed by the card's text.

7.2 The Southeast Asia Scoring card has an asterisk following the Event title, and is the only scoring card removed after play.

7.3 Permanent Events: Some Event cards have an underlined title, e.g. Flower Power. This indicates that the effects of these Events last for the duration of the game. When such cards are played as Events, place them to the side of the map, in clear view of both players, as a reminder of their ongoing effect.

7.4 Some event cards modify the Operations value of cards that follow. These modifiers should be applied in aggregate, and can modify 'The China Card'.

EXAMPLE: The US player plays the Red Scare/Purge event during the Headline Phase. Ordinarily, all USSR cards would subtract one from their Operations value. However, for his Headline card, the USSR played Vietnam Revolts. This event gives the Soviet player +1 to all operations played in SE Asia. For his first play, the USSR chooses 'The China Card'. He plays all points in Asia for 5 operations points. This is modified by the Vietnam Revolts card, giving the USSR player 6 operation points. However, the US Red Scare/Purge card brings the total down to 5 operations points.

7.4.1 Events modifying the Operations value of a card only apply to one player. The modifier is not transferable to their opponent by virtue of a card taken from their opponent's hand.

EXAMPLE: The USSR player has played 'Brezhnev Doctrine' as an Event, and therefore receives a +1 Operations value modifier for all of his cards. If the US player steals one of his cards, for example by playing 'Grain Sales to the Soviets', the US player does not benefit from a +1 Operations value modifier on that card.

7.5 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.

8.0 DEFCON STATUS AND MILITARY OPERATIONS

"Strange game. The only winning move is not to play." —"Joshua" the N.O.R.A.D computer from Wargames.

8.1 The DEFCON Track

8.1.1 DEFCON status measures nuclear tension in the game. The DEFCON level begins the game at its maximum 'peace' level of 5. It can go down and back up due to events and actions by the players, but if, at any point, it decreases to 1, the game ends immediately.

8.1.2 The DEFCON status may never Improve above 5. Any event that would Improve the DEFCON status above 5 has no DEFCON effect.

8.1.3 If DEFCON 1 status is reached, nuclear war breaks out and the game ends immediately. The phasing player is responsible for the status marker moving to DEFCON 1, and loses the game.

EXAMPLE: The US player plays Olympic Games, and the DEFCON status is at 2. The USSR player boycotts the game. The DEFCON status is degraded to level 1, and nuclear war is triggered. The US player, as the phasing player, has lost.

8.1.4 Any Coup attempt in a Battleground country degrades the DEFCON status one level.

8.1.5 The consequences of the DEFCON status levels are on the DEFCON Track, and are reproduced here:

- **DEFCON 5:** No effect
- **DEFCON 4:** No Realignment or Coup rolls are permitted in Europe.
- **DEFCON 3:** No Realignment or Coup rolls are permitted in Europe or Asia.
- **DEFCON 2:** No Realignment or Coup rolls are permitted in Europe, Asia, or the Middle East.
- **DEFCON 1:** Game over. The player responsible for the status going to 1 (the Phasing Player) loses the game.



PLAY NOTE: Players may place a DEFCON Restriction marker in the region to serve as a reminder that no Realignment or Coups are permitted.

8.1.6 Improve DEFCON Status Phase. At the beginning of any turn in which the DEFCON status is lower than 5, Improve the DEFCON status by 1.

8.1.7 Improve & Degrade. In all cases, when the rules or cards indicate to 'improve' the DEFCON status, this means to move the DEFCON marker to a higher DEFCON number, while 'degrade' means to move the DEFCON marker to a lower DEFCON number.

8.2 Required Military Operations

"Restraint? Why are you so concerned with saving their lives? The whole idea is to kill the bastards. At the end of the war, if there are two Americans and one Russian left alive, we win."

—Gen. Thomas Power, U.S. Strategic Air Command

8.2.1 By the end of each turn, each player must have played a certain number of Military Operations. Failure to do so gives Victory Points to your opponent. The number of Military Operations required each turn is equal to the *current* DEFCON status number. If fewer Military Operations are carried out, the opponent gains 1 VP per unplayed Military Operations point.

EXAMPLE: At the end of the turn the US player has spent two points in Military Operations. If the DEFCON level is currently at 4 the USSR player would gain 2 Victory Points.

8.2.2 Coup attempts and war events are Military Operations. Realignment Rolls are not considered Military Operations.



8.2.3 When Operations points are played in a Coup attempt, or when a War Event card is played (e.g., *Arab-Israeli War, Ko-*

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rean War, etc.), the phasing player moves his marker on the Military Operations track a number of spaces equal to the Operations value of the card.

8.2.4 If a player uses a card for Operations points, and thereby triggers a War Event associated with his opponent, his opponent's Military marker is moved on the Military Operations track a number of spaces equal to the Operations value of the card.

EXAMPLE: The US player uses the 'Arab-Israeli War' card for Operations points, thereby also triggering the War Event (as it is associated with the Soviet Union player). In addition to the Event taking place as directed on the card, the USSR player moves his Military Operations marker two spaces on the Military Operations track.

8.2.5 Events that allow a free Coup roll do not count towards required Military Operations.

9.0 CHINA



9.1 China's role in the Cold War is abstracted through 'The China Card'. Either player may play 'The China Card' as if it were part of his regular hand. 'The China Card' does not count towards the hand limit.

9.2 Every play of 'The China Card' counts as one of the Actions (6 or 7) that a player is permitted during a turn. As a result, players may have more cards left in their hand than usual, if 'The China Card' is played.

9.3 When 'The China Card' is played, it is immediately handed to your opponent face down. It may not be played again by your opponent this turn. At the end of the turn, it is flipped face up, ready for your opponent to play.

9.4 If 'The China Card' is passed as a result of an Event, the card is passed face up and may be played by the new owning player during the same turn.

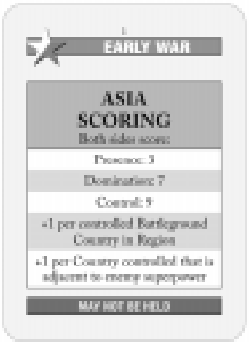
9.5 'The China Card' may not be played:
- during the Headline Phase,
- if it prevents the play of a Scoring card, or
- as a discard required by an Event.

9.6 To receive the bonus +1 Operations point indicated on 'The China Card', all of the Operations Points on the card must be spent in Asia (including Southeast Asia).

9.7 The Operations Point value of 'The China Card' may be modified by other Event Cards.

9.8 Play of 'The China Card' can never be compelled by events or a shortage of cards during the action rounds.

10.0 SCORING AND VICTORY



The object of the game is to score Victory Points (VPs). Regional Victory Points are scored through geographic Influence over the six Regions. VPs can also be received through the play of certain Events. Each region has its own 'scoring card'. Playing a scoring card causes Victory Points to be scored, based on how much influence each superpower has in that region at the time the card is played. *Play note: Trying to play scoring cards to coincide with your superpower's peak influence in a region is often a crucial factor in winning the game.*

10.1 SCORING

10.1.1 The following terms are used during Regional Scoring:

Presence: A superpower has Presence in a Region if it Controls at least one country in that Region.

Domination: A superpower achieves Domination of a Region if it Controls more countries in that Region than its opponent, and it Controls more Battleground countries in that Region than its opponent. A superpower must Control at least one non-Battleground and one Battleground country in a Region in order to achieve Domination of that Region.

Control: A superpower has Control of a Region if it Controls more countries in that Region than its opponent, and Controls all of the Battleground countries in that Region.

10.1.2 Players score additional points during Regional Scoring, as follows:

- +1 VP per country they Control in the scoring region that is adjacent to the enemy superpower
- +1 VP per Battleground country that they Control in the scoring region.
- Victory points are then cumulated for both players, and the net difference between the two scores is marked on the Victory Point Track.

EXAMPLE: The USSR plays the Central American Scoring card. The USSR controls Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. The United States controls Guatemala, and has 1 point of influence in Panama. The USSR player would therefore get points for Dominating Central America (3 VPs) + 1 VP for control of a battleground country (Cuba). +1 VP for Cuba's being adjacent to your opponent's home nation for a total of 5 VPs. The United States would receive 1 VP for presence in Central America since he controls Guatemala. Since the United States only has 1 Influence point in Panama, he does not control it, and therefore controls no battleground countries. That is why the USSR player scores Dominance points. He controls more battleground countries (Cuba) and more countries overall. He also meets the "at least one non-battleground country" test through control of either Haiti or the Dominican Republic. Having calculated relative victory points, 5 VPs for the USSR, and 1 VP for the US, you subtract the US VPs from the Soviets, and move the VP point track a net 4 spaces toward Soviet victory.

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10.1.3 Playing certain card Events may result in Victory Points being scored.

10.1.4 Victory Points may be scored due to your opponent's failure to perform the number of required military operations during the turn (8.2).

10.2 The Victory Point Track

10.2.1 The Victory Point Track shows a range of scoring possibilities from +20 (US automatic victory) to –20 (USSR automatic victory). At the start of the game, place the VP marker in the center of the chart, on the box marked At Start. This box represents zero points, or total equilibrium of the two sides. This box should be counted as a space when players' scores are adjusted.

EXAMPLE: If the scoring marker is on the –1 box, and the US player scores 2 VPs, the marker should move 2 spaces to the +1 box, not the +2 box.

10.2.2 Wherever a card states that the player 'gains' a Victory Point, this means that the VP marker is moved that many spaces in that player's favor, i.e., if the VP marker is on the 10 space (US winning) and the USSR player gains 2 VP, the marker is moved to the 8 space on the VP track.

10.2.3 If both players earn Victory Points from the same card or Event play, apply only the difference in Victory Points awarded.

10.3 VICTORY

10.3.1 Automatic Victory. There are several ways to achieve an automatic victory in *Twilight Struggle:*

- The instant one player reaches a score of 20 VP, the game is over and that player is the winner. *NOTE: All VP awards (for both players) that are scored during an event or scoring card must be applied prior to determining automatic victory.*
- If either side Controls Europe, that side wins when the Europe Scoring card is played.
- **Nuclear War:** A player may also win the instant his opponent causes the DEFCON level to reach 1.

10.3.2 End Game Victory. If neither side has achieved victory of any kind by the end of turn 10, every Region is scored as if its regional scoring card had just been played. Southeast Asia is not scored separately: it is included in the Asia scoring calculations. Every Region's score must be calculated before final victory is determined. Reaching +/- 20 VPs does not result in Automatic Victory during scoring at the end of turn 10; however, Control of Europe does grant automatic victory to the controlling player, regardless of scoring elsewhere.

Once all regions have been scored, victory goes to the player who has accrued most VPs. If the VP marker is on a positive number, the US wins; if the VP marker is on a negative number, the USSR wins. If the VP marker is on zero, the game ends in a draw.

11.0 TOURNAMENT PLAY

These rules are optional, and are not required for 'friendly' play. They are simply offered as guidelines on conducting Twilight Struggle as a competitive tournament game.

11.1.1 During tournament play, all cards held at the end of the round should be revealed to your opponent. This prevents accidental or deliberate holding of scoring cards.

11.1.2 Any player found holding a scoring card during the Reveal Held Card phase is said to have started an accidental nuclear war, and loses immediately.

11.1.3 To ensure play balance during tournament play, randomly choose a starting player. That player will bid victory points to play the superpower of his choice. His opponent may then counter offer with a higher bid of victory points. Once both players pass on further bidding, immediately adjust the victory point track to reflect the winning bid. Only the winning bid is deducted from victory points, no earlier bid is counted.



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Extended Example of Play

Opening Deal:

USSR (8 cards): De-Stalinization, Decolonization, De Gaulle Leads France, Captured Nazi Scientist, Socialist Governments, UN Intervention, Truman Doctrine, Red Scare/Purge. USSR also starts with The China Card.

US (8 cards): Nuclear Test Ban, Indo-Pakistani War, 5 Year Plan, US-Japan Pact, Olympics, NATO, Blockade, East European Unrest.

Commentary on hands: Fairly balanced. Lots of "de" cards for the Soviets! Both sides have drawn some good events for themselves as well as for the opponent. The US player is sorry to see NATO come out before Marshall Plan.

Opening Setup

USSR places his discretionary influence in Poland (3), East Germany (1), Hungary (1), and Finland (1). Note that the USSR starts with 3 influence in East Germany. US places his in Italy (2), West Germany (2), Benelux (1), and France (2).



Commentary: The US opts to take control of Italy from the get-go at the expense of West Germany, perhaps a risky move. The Benelux marker lets him ensure the opportunity to replace influence in West Germany if some disaster led to the 2 markers there being wiped out. The USSR seizes Poland, a very important battleground country, and scatters the others throughout Eastern Europe, maximizing his reach at the expense of his grasp. No markers in Czechoslovakia is curious given that country's central position, but the US opting not to control West Germany right off the bat implies that there will be time to shore up that position.

Turn 1

Headline Phase

US: U.S.-Japan Pact
USSR: Red Scare/Purge

COMMENTARY: The US opts to lock down Japan from the get-go, ensuring no USSR efforts therein. The USSR hamstrings US activities for the whole turn with Red Scare, which reduces all Ops values on US cards this turn by one.



USSR Opening Hand



US Opening Hand

Action Rounds

USSR 1: De-Stalinization for 3 Ops. Places 2 Influence in Iraq, for Control, and 1 in Lebanon.

US 1: Nuclear Test Ban for 3 Ops (4 – 1 for Red Scare). Who needs those treaties anyway? Places 1 Influence in Iran, and two in Egypt.

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—The US player takes a risk here, since the Nasser event may undo his efforts in Egypt. The Soviet opening suggests that he holds the Mid-East Scoring card, but he could just be strengthening his position, or feinting.

USSR 2: Decolonization as event. Places Influence in Laos (for control), Vietnam (for control), Malaysia, and Thailand.

US 2: Indo-Pakistani War as event. The minimum roll for success is 4, which is what the US player rolls. He scores 2 VP for first blood, and gets 2 Military Ops against this turn's requirement (which is still 5, since DEFCON has not changed).

—Such an early play of Decolonization, one of the Soviet player's most powerful events drawn this early, is a disaster for the US (whose counterpart card, Colonial Rearguards, does not appear until Mid War). The VPs are nice, but the play is perhaps a little short-sighted.

USSR 3: De Gaulle Leads France as 3 Ops, used for a coup in Italy. Any die roll ≥ 2 will work (Italy has Stability 2), but rolls a 1 for no effect (1 + 3 = 4). DEFCON goes to 4 (reduced due to coup attempt against a battleground country). Credit for 3 Military Ops. No further coup attempts may be made in Europe.

US 3: 5 Year Plan as event. Draws one card from Soviet hand, turns out to be Truman Doctrine. Plays that as event, eliminating the Soviet influence in Finland.

—The Italy coup was bad for the Soviets, but the event was a bit of a long shot too.

USSR 4: Captured Nazi Scientist as event. Sputnik launches (+1 box on Space Race track). USSR gets 2 VP (balance is now back to zero).

US 4: Olympics as event. US rolls a 6 +2 for hosting = 8, which cannot be beaten. It's the Miracle on Ice! US scores 2 VP (balance is 2 US).

USSR 5: Socialist Governments as event. Removes 1 US Influence in West Germany, 2 from Italy.

US 5: NATO as 3 Ops (ugh). 2 Influence in West Germany, 1 in Italy.

—Bad to have to play NATO as operations, but it was important for the US player to improve his position in Europe.

USSR 6: UN Intervention as 1 Op. Adds 1 Influence in Thailand.

US 6: Blockade as 1 Op. US player opts to use the operation before the event. Places 1 Influence in Italy and discards East European Unrest to satisfy the Blockade requirement that he discard a card of at least 3 Ops value or lose all influence in West Germany.

—Having to use Eastern European Unrest to fund the Blockade event is painful. It is always better to drop a Soviet event on that one!

Held Cards: Neither player retains any cards; USSR lost his Truman Doctrine card to the 5 Year Plan event, while the US spent his extra card on the Blockade.

Check Military Operations Status
Current DEFCON = 4. USSR Military Ops = 3, so USSR loses 1 VP, but US Military Ops = 2, so US loses 2 VP. Balance goes to 1 USSR VP total.

Turn 2

Improve DEFCON Status

DEFCON goes up one level, to 5.

Deal Cards

US: Marshall Plan, Containment, CIA Created, Vietnam Revolts, Formosan Resolution, Romanian Abdication, Asia Scoring, Nasser.

USSR: COMECON, Duck and Cover, Independent Reds, Suez Crisis, Mideast Scoring, Europe Scoring, Warsaw Pact, Defectors.

Commentary on the hands: Lots of scoring cards! Both sides' positions in Turn 1 will make a huge difference. The Soviet player seemed to be preparing for Asia Scoring, and ultimately the one time South East Asia scoring card. However, he doesn't like the large number of US events in his hand now. The US player likes his hand a lot; the problem is what to play first! He is also glad to see Nasser in his own hand rather than in the Soviet one, but Nasser is tricky because its 1 Ops value makes it impossible to throw away on the space race. Still, at least it can now be guaranteed that Nasser won't be played until after Mid-East Scoring.





Headline Phase

US: Marshall Plan. Adds 1 Influence in France (for control), Spain, Italy, West Germany, Benelux, Denmark, and Turkey.

USSR: Warsaw Pact. Adds 2 Influence in Czechoslovakia, 2 in Bulgaria, and 1 in Austria.

—The Marshall Plan opening is solid, and indeed the Soviet player grits his teeth, as he holds Europe Scoring and knows it will pay off at least a little bit for the Americans. Obviously, both players are looking to shore up their European positions, and mutual suspicion seems to be playing its historical role here.

Action Rounds

USSR 1: COMECON. Damage control time for the inevitable Europe Scoring play! Adds 1 influence in Czechoslovakia (for control), Bulgaria (for control), Austria, and Finland.

US 1: Containment as event. All US cards this turn are +1 Ops value.

USSR 2: Duck and Cover for Space Race. DR 2 = success (needed 1-3). USSR may now play 2 Space Race cards per turn.

US 2: CIA Created as event. 2 Influence in Libya. *The game is up — the presence of Europe and Mideast Scoring in the Soviet hand is revealed. This is very useful knowledge!*

USSR 3: Independent Reds as Space Race. DR = 1 (success, needed 1-3). 2 USSR VP. (balance to 3 USSR).

US 3: Vietnam Revolts on the Space Race. 1 VP to US; balance is now 2 USSR.

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USSR 4: Suez Crisis as Coup vs. Libya. DR = 5 + 3 (card value) = 8 vs. 2 * (Libya's Stability of 2) = 4. USSR wins by 4. Removes 2 US Influence, places 2 USSR for control. Perfect result for the Soviets. DEFCON goes to 4.

US 4: Formosan Resolution for 3 Ops. Adds 3 Influence in Israel, for control.

USSR 5: Mid-East Scoring. Both sides have Presence, but neither has Domination, so those VPs are a wash. The US controls 1 more battleground country (Israel, Iran, Egypt) than the USSR does (Libya, Iraq), so the net effect is 1 US VP, balance is now 1 USSR.

US 5: Romanian Abdication as 2 Ops. Places 2 Influence in South Korea (for control). Since this is a USSR event played by the US for ops, the event occurs. USSR receives 3 Influence in Romania (controls).

USSR 6: Europe Scoring. Again, both sides have Presence, but neither has Domination (since they control equal numbers of countries). The US again controls 1 more battleground country than the USSR does, so the balance is now zero again.

US 6: Asia Scoring. Here it is even more equal: both sides have Presence and the same number of battleground countries. There is no score change.

Held cards: US holds Nasser. USSR holds Defectors.

Check Military Operations Status

Current DEFCON level is 4. US spent no Military Ops this turn, which means 4 USSR VP (ouch!). USSR spent 3 Military Ops (Suez Crisis coup), meaning 1 US VP. Net: 3 USSR VP, balance is 3 USSR.

Turn 3

Improve DEFCON Status

DEFCON returns to 5.

Deal Cards

NOTE: There are only 5 cards remaining in the draw deck. These 5 cards are dealt out and then the discard pile is shuffled and dealt.

US: Europe Scoring, Eastern European Unrest, Socialist Governments, Formosan Resolution, De-Stalinization, Arab-Israeli War, Nasser (from previous turn)

USSR: Korean War, NATO, Olympics, Vietnam Revolts, Indo-Pakistani War, Mid-East Scoring, Fidel, Defectors (from previous turn).

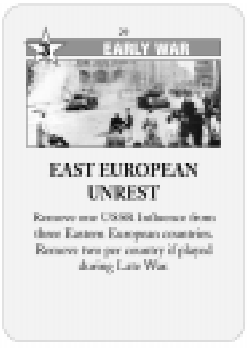
Commentary on the hands: Good opportunity for both sides to cash in. The US hand is a little heavy on Soviet events, so he'll have to be careful not to fall too far behind on the board while jettisoning those cards on the space race.

Headline Phase

US: East European Unrest. USSR loses 1 Influence in East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

USSR: Korean War. DR 6 = victory! Korea is reunified. USSR scores 2 VP (balance 5 USSR).

(Editor's Note: The players forgot to increase the DEFCON level for the war.)



Action Rounds

USSR 1: NATO — On the space race. DR 2 = success. Gagarin in orbit! US falling back dangerously in the space race.

US 1: Europe Scoring. The Eastern European Unrest play meant the USSR controls just 1 country (Romania) in Europe, so the US Dominates Europe for 7 VP and also scores 3 more for battleground countries. The USSR still manages Presence, so the US net swing is 7 VP, bringing the balance to US 2. A huge turn in the Americans' favor.

USSR 2: Olympics. USSR DR = 4 + 2 = 6. US DR = 3. USSR wins and scores 2 VP (balance zero).

US 2: Socialist Governments on the Space Race. DR = 6, fails. This is a setback, but at least a powerful Soviet event has been harmlessly disposed of.

USSR 3: Vietnam Revolts as Coup against Iran. DR = 4 + 2 (card value) = 6. Iran Stability = 2, doubled to 4. USSR wins by 2, removes 2 US Influence. Iran no longer controlled. DEFCON to 4. The USSR Mil Ops moves to 2.

US 3: Formosan Resolution as coup vs Libya. DR = 2 + 2 (card value) = 4. Libya Stabilty = 2, doubled to 4. Net is zero, no effect. DEFCON to 3. US Mil Ops moves to 2.

USSR 4: Indo-Pakistani War as coup against Egypt. DEFCON to 2. DR 6 + 2 (card value) = 8, vs. Egypt Stability = 2, doubled to 4. 2 US Influence removed, 2 USSR added. USSR Mil Ops moves to 4.

US 4: De-Stalinization as 3 Ops. Adds 3 Influence in Taiwan, for Control. USSR uses the event, which permits him to move Influence from already-controlled countries to uncontrolled ones, adds 2 Influence to Iran (for control) and Pakistan (also for control).

USSR 5: Mid-East Scoring. The US player bangs his head on the table. USSR scores 5 VP (Domination and 4 battleground countries — Egypt, Libya, Iran, Iraq — to the U.S. Presence and 1 battleground country — Israel). Balance is now USSR 5.

US 5: US plays Arab-Israeli War for Ops, choosing to take the Ops first and then have the (Soviet) event occur. Places 2 Influence in Jordan. The war die roll is a 4, modified to a 3 (1 adjacent controlled country), which results in no victory for the Arabs (no effect, which is good for the US!).

USSR 6: Fidel as event. Adds 3 USSR Influence in Cuba, for control.

US 6: Nasser as 1 Ops (might as well, now that Egypt is already firmly pro-Soviet!). Adds 1 Influence in Turkey, for control. USSR receives 2 Influence in Egypt for the event.



Check Military Operations Status

Current DEFCON is 2. Both sides met their Military Operations requirements easily.

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Turn 4

Improve DEFCON Status

DEFCON improves one level, to 3 (still no Coups allowed in Europe or Asia).

BEGINNING OF MID WAR DECK

The remaining cards from the Early War Deck (not the discards—they will not be shuffled back into the deck until the Mid War Deck runs out) are now shuffled in with the Mid War Deck. Players receive enough cards to bring their hand size to 9. Both players now enjoy 7 action rounds.

Deal Cards

US: One Small Step, Red Scare/Purge, SALT Negotiations, Muslim Revolution, Brezhnev Doctrine, Shuttle Diplomacy, Latin American Death Squads, Asia Scoring, and Liberation Theology

USSR: Lone Gunman, Southeast Asia Scoring, Central America Scoring, Defectors (from previous turn), Voice of America, Arms Race, Willy Brandt, UN Intervention, and Duck and Cover

Commentary on hands: This is a very dangerous turn for the US player. He has a poor position in the Middle East, which he must spend resources fixing, but the USSR is poised to take the offensive in new regions which will also demand resources. He also made little progress in the space race last turn.





Headline Phase

US: One Small Step. Advance 2 boxes (to Lunar Probe). No VP.

USSR: Southeast Asia Scoring. USSR racks up another 5 VP for Domination and battleground countries (Thailand). US gets nothing (not even Presence). Balance goes to USSR 10.

Action Rounds

USSR 1: Lone Gunman as event. A nation mourns. US reveals entire hand, a complete disaster for the US, since now the Soviets know he holds Asia Scoring. The Soviets may now pick their arena and the US will be forced to react.

US 1: Red Scare/Purge as event. This will help a little. All Soviet cards are –1 Op.

USSR 2: Defectors as 1 Op. Places 1 Influence in Malaysia. US scores 1 VP for the event (balance = USSR 9).

US 2: SALT Negotiations as event. DEFCON improves to 5 (two boxes). US player may recover a played card from the discard pile. He chooses One Small Step.

USSR 3: Voice of America. USSR player then lays down UN Intervention which allows him to cancel any event, including one he played. (He still gets the Op though, which he uses to place 1 Influence in Nicaragua for control.)

US 3: One Small Step as event. The space race double dip! Two more boxes and the US is now ahead in the space race, a massive turnaround. Scores 3 VP. Balance = USSR 6.

USSR 4: Central America Scoring. USSR scores 4 VP (Domination 3, +1 for Cuba which is a battleground, +1 because Cuba is adjacent to the United States, against the U.S. Presence which negates 1 of those VP). Balance = USSR 10.

US 4: Muslim Revolution for 4 Ops as Coup vs. India. DR 2 + 4 (card value) = 6, vs. India's Stability 3, doubled to 6. No effect. The event is associated with the USSR so it must take effect. USSR removes all US Influence in Jordan (they would normally get to do so in another Arab country as well but the US position in the Mideast is so wretched that all they had to take was in Jordan). DEFCON = 4.

USSR 5: Arms Race as 3 Ops. Coup vs. Panama. DEFCON = 3. DR = 5 + 3 (card value) = 8, vs. Panama's Stability of 2, doubled to 4. USSR wins by 4. Removes 1 US Influence, adds 3 Soviet, for control.

US 5: Brezhnev Doctrine on the Space Race. DR 4 = success. 1 US VP (balance = USSR 10).

USSR 6: Willy Brandt scores 1 USSR VP. Balance = USSR 11.

US 6: Shuttle Diplomacy as event. This will help mitigate the oncoming debacle in Asia.

USSR 7: The China Card as 5 Ops (increased value due to all being placed in Asia). 2 Influence in India and Burma, 1 in Indonesia, all are controlled.

US 7: Asia Scoring. The USSR scores 7 points from this play — Domination of Asia plus control of Thailand, India, North Korea, and South Korea, against the U.S.'s Presence and control of just 1 battleground country (Japan), making the balance USSR 18, which is on the brink of a Soviet automatic victory. Disaster has been averted, but can the U.S. crack the Soviet strangleholds on the Middle East and Asia in the coming turns? If not, a Soviet victory seems inevitable.

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Card Histories

ASIA SCORING — While Europe may have been the object of the Cold War, Asia was the battleground. From the Chinese Civil War, to the Korean War to Vietnam and Afghanistan, Asia was the place where the Cold War came closest to growing hot. For this reason, Asia is the second most significant region for scoring.

EUROPE SCORING — Some Cold War historians view the entire struggle, costing millions of lives, untold trillions of dollars, and conflict around the globe, as a struggle for the future of Germany. While that view may be too myopic, it is clear that Europe always remained in the forefront of strategy and emphasis. Defeat in Europe ultimately meant defeat in the Cold War.

MIDEAST SCORING — In 1946, Truman had to threaten to send warships to the Mediterranean to compel the Soviets to remove troops from Iran. Thus began the Cold War struggle in the Middle East. Since this region provided Western economies with their lifeblood—oil, it also provided the USSR with an irresistible opportunity to meddle. US support for Israel gave the Soviets an opening to the Arab world that they would repeatedly exploit.

DUCK AND COVER — (1950) The US Congress passed into law the Federal Civil Defense Act, in reaction to the first Soviet tests of nuclear weapons in 1949. Duck and Cover is perhaps the most memorable of a variety of civil defense efforts to raise awareness of nuclear attack. Ironically, such films may have assisted in increasing the possibility of nuclear war by making the possibility of such a conflict "thinkable" by the general public.

FIVE YEAR PLAN — (1946-1950) Beginning in the 1920s, the Soviet Union became obsessed with centralized planning of its economy and industrial development. Twelve such plans were adopted by the USSR during its history. While economists differ, it is largely agreed that these plans caused more dislocation within the Soviet economy than they resolved.

THE CHINA CARD — The People's Republic of China played a pivotal role during the Cold War. While the PRC's influence was largely limited to satellites in Asia, the country was important to the uneasy balance of power that ultimately descended upon the post-WWII world. While beginning as an ally of the USSR, China became a counter-balance to Soviet influence in Asia during the later stages of the Cold War.

SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS — (1947) Beginning with the end of the Second World War, the US was challenged by democratic leftist movements within its sphere. Italy, under de Gasperi, was particularly contentious with communists and socialists participating in government. The CIA funded an extensive propaganda program against these movements. Socialist governments would be the topic of concern again during the 1960s in France, and with left-wing labor party in the UK.

FIDEL — (1959) Coming to power after deposing the corrupt Batista, Castro disenchanted the US after it became clear he was leading a Marxist revolution. The US tried various schemes to depose or assassinate Castro, culminating in the disastrous "Bay of Pigs" invasion. Ultimately, communist Cuba would lend support to Marxist governments in Angola and Ethiopia.

VIETNAM REVOLTS — (1946) Ho Chi Minh tried repeatedly to enlist the aid of the Truman Administration for independence. His letters never received a response. The French government, with support from the US and Britain, attempted to reestablish its colony in Indochina. The attempted was doomed and would lead to disaster at Dien Bien Phu.

BLOCKADE — (1948-49) The Soviets attempted to increase pressure on the Western allies to dissuade them from creating an independent "West" German government in their zones. The primary pressure point was a blockade of West Berlin. In response, the UK and US launched the Berlin Airlift, which at its peak during the "Easter Parade," had a cargo plane landing in Berlin every minute.

KOREAN WAR — (1950-53) Sparked by a North Korean invasion across the 38th parallel, the Korean War would be the first war sanctioned by the United Nations. There were 15 nations beyond the US and South Korea with combat forces attempting to defend South Korean independence. MacArthur's campaign to the Yalu River provoked a Chinese response that reset the war to its starting positions on the 38th parallel.

ROMANIAN ABDICATION — (1947) King Michael I, a westernized monarch, was forced to abdicate his throne at gunpoint. Romania was thereafter declared a democratic socialist republic. After the death of its first communist leader, Gheorghiu-Dej, Romania was ruled by Nicolae Ceausescu, second only to Stalin in cruelty to his own people.

ARAB-ISRAELI WAR — (1948-49, 1956, 1967, 1968-1970, 1973, 1982) The State of Israel was virtually born of war. After the end of the British mandate, Israel was thrust into conflict with its Arab neighbors. Israel prevailed in all such wars, excepting its invasion of Lebanon in 1982, from which it ultimately had to withdraw. Arab success was nearly achieved during the surprise attacks of the Yom Kippur War, however these too ultimately failed. While superpower intervention was frequently threatened on both sides, ultimately success or failure in the conflicts rode upon the relative capabilities of Arab and Israeli militaries.

COMECON — (1949-1991) The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) was founded in reaction to the allure of the Marshall Plan to the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe. While very loosely organized and dominated by the Soviets in its early years, COMECON would ultimately fulfill the role of trade liberalization and industrial rationalization for Eastern Europe.

NASSER — (1954-1970) One of the giants in the Pan-Arab movement, Gamal Abdel Nasser rose to power through military coup. Attempting to steer an independent course during the Cold War, he provoked western governments by accepting Soviet aid, and nationalizing commercial property—the Suez Canal being the most prominent example. Egypt, under his leadership, was viewed as a Soviet client, and would serve as a Russian proxy during repeated wars with Israel. He died in office after 18 years of service, having frustrated the attempts of a variety of domestic and international enemies.

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WARSAW PACT FORMED — (1955) A reaction to perceived Western aggression by the creation of NATO, the Warsaw Pact was a Russian-dominated military alliance that included all of the states of Eastern Europe except Yugoslavia. It integrated both tactics and equipment throughout the alliance along Soviet models. Albania withdrew from the Pact in 1968.

DE GAULLE LEADS FRANCE — (1958 – 1969) Founder of France's Fifth Republic, De Gaulle's role during the Cold War is generally viewed through the lens of his second presidency. While still a western ally, De Gaulle attempted to establish France as an independent voice within the confines of the western camp. He developed an independent nuclear deterrent, withdrew from NATO's unified command structure, and criticized US policy in Vietnam. He also pursued increased trade and cultural relations with the Soviet Bloc. He sought in all things to restore France to her former place of greatness in world affairs.

CAPTURED NAZI SCIENTISTS — (1945-1973) Code named "Project Paperclip" in the United States, the victors of World War II scrambled to "recruit" former Nazi scientists into their own research establishments. In the West, such efforts involved shielding scientists from war crime investigations. Perhaps the most famous case is Wernher von Braun who is thought of as the father of America's rocketry program. Stalin was reportedly confounded by Soviet failure to grab this knowledge base first.

TRUMAN DOCTRINE — (1947) Before a joint session of Congress, the President announced the new Truman Doctrine, ushering in an era of intense intervention on behalf of states with liberal economic and political institutions. Truman stated "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." The Truman Doctrine was prompted by the United Kingdom's withdrawal from its traditional great power role in the Near East. The immediate effect of the doctrine was a massive influx of military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey.

OLYMPIC GAMES — (1948, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984, 1988) Sport often served as an outlet for the intense competition between the Superpowers, and that competition was never so intense as at the Olympics. The Olympics served as a test bed to see which society could make the greatest strides in human physical achievement. It fit neatly into Communist ideology of "the New Man." The games frequently reflected the global political situation, as with the terrorist attacks in Munich, and became overt political tools with the US boycott of the Moscow games in 1980, and the Soviet boycott of the LA games in 1984.

NATO — (1949) The second part of the US strategy to rebuild Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) became synonymous with the West's opposition to the Soviet Union. An oft repeated maxim for NATO's purpose captures it nicely: "NATO was created to keep the Soviets out, the Americans in, and the Germans down."

INDEPENDENT REDS — (1948) The Communist Information Bureau, COMINFORM, expelled Yugoslavia for Marshall Tito's refusal to conform to Moscow's wishes. Albania would ultimately follow a similar tack, breaking with Yugoslavia, then Khrushchev's USSR. While remaining within the Soviet structure, Ceausescu's Romania would also test the limits of Moscow's patience with occasional flares of independence and nationalism.

MARSHALL PLAN — (1947) On June 5, Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced to the world the US plan to reconstruct all of Europe. Due to Soviet pressure, Eastern European states did not participate. However, for the 16 nations of Western Europe that did, the Marshall Plan marked the first step on the road to recovery and ultimate victory in the Cold War.

INDO-PAKISTANI WAR — (1947-48, 1965, 1971) From the time of India's independence from Britain, the Muslim and Hindu elements of this former colony have been in conflict. Pakistan has traditionally been on the losing end of these conflicts, but has relied on US and PRC support to maintain military credibility against a more robust Indian defense capability.

CONTAINMENT — (1947) A term coined by diplomat and Sovietologist, George Kennan, it came to form the cornerstone of US policy toward the Soviet Union during the early Cold War. It found early application in the Truman Doctrine and sought to "contain" Communism to those areas where it already existed.

CIA CREATED — (1947) In an effort to bring to a close the interservice bickering that marred U.S. intelligence during WWII, President Truman created the United States' first independent agency capable both of intelligence analysis and covert operations. Its 40 year cat-and-mouse game with its Soviet counterpart, the KGB, would be the stuff of legend, and one of the hallmarks of the Cold War.

US/JAPAN MUTUAL DEFENSE PACT — (1951) On September 8th the United States quietly extended its nuclear umbrella to its former Pacific rival. In doing so, it also soothed the nerves of Japan's neighbors about a remilitarized Japan appearing on the world scene. In exchange, Japan played host to America's forward presence in Asia. Japan effectively became an unsinkable aircraft carrier for both the Vietnam and Korean wars. Obviously, US reliance on Japanese products during the ensuing conflicts greatly aided Japan's economic recovery and eventual economic might.

SUEZ CRISIS — (1956) An embarrassment among allies, the Suez Crisis ended any remaining doubt that the old system of Great Power imperialism was dead. Threatened by Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal, Israel, France and the United Kingdom conspired to alter Egyptian policy at bayonet point. They failed to appreciate Eisenhower's aggravation at their unannounced initiative. Though initially militarily successful, the three powers were compelled to withdraw under American pressure.

EAST EUROPEAN UNREST — (1956 – 1989) Captured most visibly by Nagy's attempt to withdraw Hungary from the Warsaw Pact and Czechoslovakia's Prague Spring of 1968, members of the Warsaw Pact frequently sought to loosen the reins of Moscow. When taken too far, from the Soviet perspective, the effects could be devastating. Soviet tanks became a universal symbol of Soviet determination to hold on to Eastern Europe, through undisguised oppression if necessary.

DECOLONIZATION — (1947 – 1979) While it is hard to put precise dates on the decolonization process, those dates chosen represent two of the most significant decolonization successes. Sparking the retreat from empire was Britain's fulfilled promise of independence for India in 1947. At the other extreme, Rhodesia's first majority elections spelled doom for the apartheid system.

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RED SCARE/PURGE — (1945 – 1989) Sparked by fears that the "enemy is among us," the "red scare" hit its apex with Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the hearings on "Un-American activities" in the House of Representatives during the 1950s. Soviet purges were a notorious aspect of power transition within the Kremlin. However, Stalin was the true master; 12 million people were imprisoned in his camps at the time of his death in 1953.

UN INTERVENTION — (1947 – ?) The United Nations remained generally unable to influence the struggle between the superpowers due to Security Council veto power throughout the Cold War. However, it occasionally stood as a gauge for world opinion, and could mediate in stalled conflicts throughout the Third World. It was also the backdrop for a number of quintessential moments of the conflict, including the Soviet Korean War walkout, the "We Will Bury You" speech, and of course, the Cuban Missile Crisis—don't wait for the translation Mr. Zorin!

DE-STALINIZATION — (1956) During the 20th Party Congress, Nikita Khrushchev openly attacked Stalin's leadership of the Soviet Union. It was seen both inside and outside the Soviet Union as the beginning of a new era. This proved to be a particularly bloody assumption for Nagy's Hungary. Khrushchev had no intention of "liberalizing" Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, even if he was trying to bring an end to the cult of personality that had characterized internal Soviet government.

NUCLEAR TEST BAN — (1963 – ?) The first Nuclear Test Ban treaty owes its origins to the de-escalation process that followed the Cuban Missile Crisis. It prohibited further nuclear tests in the air, underwater or in space. International pressure for such a ban mounted in the 1950s as scientific evidence began to document severe environmental damage caused by earlier atmospheric testing by the nuclear powers. Underground testing remained an allowable methodology, but all forms of "peaceful nuclear explosions" were also banned, tightening the non-proliferation regime.

SOUTH AMERICAN SCORING — The regional penchant to turn to strong men or military juntas to resolve questions of instability made South America ripe for leftist reaction throughout the Cold War. Rising nationalism and the world-wide wave of anti-imperialist sentiment also characterized the relationship with the United States and the nations of South America. The Soviets sought to exploit any openings offered, and established close relations with nations like Argentina. The greatest potential realignment in the region was squashed by an allegedly CIA-instigated coup of Chile's Salvador Allende.

BRUSH WAR — (1947 – ?) Also characterized as low intensity conflicts, brush wars tended to begin in reaction to local conditions either within a state or between states. However, due to duration, or superpower intervention, an essentially local dispute could be elevated to superpower conflict. Examples include the civil war in Mozambique and the war between Ethiopia and Somalia.

CENTRAL AMERICAN SCORING — Central America and the Caribbean were frequently termed America's "backyard" and "lake." With the advent of Fidel Castro in the 1959, Americans could no longer take the region for granted. The US reaction to communist influence in the area provoked direct US military intervention in the Dominican Republic (1965) and Grenada (1983). In the closing years of the Cold War, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras, became frontline states in the struggle between the superpowers.

SOUTHEAST ASIA SCORING — In Southeast Asia the process of decolonization intertwined with superpower rivalry in particularly deadly ways. Beginning with the British counter-insurgency in Malaya, to the US wars in Vietnam and Cambodia, and ending in 1979 with the Sino-Vietnamese war, Southeast Asia would command American attention like no other region. However, after America's humiliating withdrawal from the region, it would cease to play a central role in Cold War politics.

ARMS RACE — (1947 –1989) The arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States was at play throughout the Cold War, and many attribute the Soviet Union's collapse to an inability to sustain the final arms race instigated by Ronald Reagan. This element of competition between the nations involved both nuclear and conventional weapons. Frequently, there was an interplay between the two kinds of forces. During the early Cold War, the United States (having rapidly demobilized after World War II) had to rely on its nuclear weapons in a doctrine of "massive retaliation" to counter Soviet preponderance in conventional weapons. After the Soviets developed nuclear weapons of their own, both powers reverted to a system of flexible response. Underlying nuclear strategy throughout this later era was the concept of mutually assured destruction. This reality made the likelihood of direct superpower conventional warfare unlikely. However, the dynamic of conventional weapons competition had its own paradigm. There, the West relied on superior technology to design higher performing weapons to compete against the massive numbers that could be generated by the Soviets' command economy.

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS — (1962) The mere mention of this event elicits fears of the nuclear holocaust that almost was. For 14 days in October 1962, the two superpowers seemed destined to clash directly about the Soviet emplacement of Medium Range Ballistic Missiles (MRBMs) and Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs) in Cuba. To prevent the installation of additional offensive weapons in Cuba, John F. Kennedy declared a naval quarantine around Cuba. Tensions reached a near breaking point when a U-2 flight was shot down over Cuba, and Khruschev demanded US missiles be removed from Turkey in exchange for Soviet missiles being removal from Cuba. Ultimately, Khrushchev was compelled to settle for a US pledge not to invade Cuba, and a private agreement to resolve NATO's missile bases in Turkey.

NUCLEAR SUBS — (1955) The United States launched the first nuclear powered submarine. It instantly antiquated decades of anti-submarine warfare that had developed during the Second World War. Admiral Hyman Rickover was to oversee the development of a new nuclear navy, and create a third, and seemingly invulnerable arm, in the American nuclear triad. Ultimately, the Soviets would follow suit.

QUAGMIRE — (1964 – 1975) It is hard to put a precise date on when US involvement in Vietnam ceased to be support for an anti-communist counter-insurgency and became instead an inextricable quagmire. However, Congressional passage of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution seems like as good a point as any. With hindsight, it is clear that the United States confused the very nature of the conflict that they were fighting. Vietnam was fundamentally a war of national liberation—a struggle that had begun centuries before against Chinese dominance, then French, then Japanese and finally the United States. While the American government may have never realized that they had fallen into the role of "foreign oppressor," that fact did not diminish Vietnamese resistance. Like most colo-

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nial wars, it came down to a calculus of cost. US interests were simply not worth the costs in national morale, military manpower and economic resources that Vietnam was consuming. But humbling a superpower is a long process, and so it was in Vietnam.

SALT NEGOTIATIONS — (1969, 1972) Initiated during the Johnson Administration, and completed by President Nixon and Secretary Brezhnev, the first Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) treaty essentially sought to limit the number of nuclear platforms, and restrict defensive systems that threatened the system of mutual deterrence. The success of this treaty led to the initiation of a second round of negotiations or SALT II. The diplomatic wrangling over this treaty began under President Nixon, and was completed in 1979 by President Carter and Secretary Brezhnev. SALT II provided broad limits on new strategic weapons platforms and banned mobile ICBMs. Owing to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the treaty was never ratified. President Reagan asserted that the Soviets were not complying with the terms of SALT II in 1986 and withdrew from the treaty.

BEAR TRAP — (1979 – 1992) In an era of seemingly increasing Soviet hubris, the USSR reverted to old patterns of power politics by meddling in the affairs of Afghanistan—the battleground country in the "Great Game" rivalry between imperialist Russia and Victorian Britain. The Soviets considered Afghanistan part of their natural sphere of influence. However, when Soviet troops directly intervened in an Afghan power struggle and deposed the existing president, they greatly miscalculated the reaction of world opinion. Smarting from defeat in Vietnam by seemingly inferior forces, the Reagan Administration sought to make Afghanistan into an equal nightmare. Over a ten year period, the United States provided over $2 billion in assistance to the Islamic resistance or mujahideen in Afghanistan.

SUMMIT — (1959, 1961, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1979, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989) Summits between the leadership of the superpowers became major implements of public diplomacy from the mid to late Cold War. Success was measured in terms of agenda items secured, treaties signed, and who was tougher on whom. As in an international boxing match, non-aligned countries watched from the sidelines trying to discern which power was in the ascendant. Virtually all major arms control agreements were either initiated or concluded at a summit. In that sense, they were an important tool for sizing up relative intentions, and ensuring the Cold War did not become hot.

HOW I LEARNED TO STOP WORRYING — (1964) As the reality of nuclear holocaust became accepted by the public, fatalism about its inevitability also took hold. The landmark black comedy, Dr. Strangelove, captured this new mood. However, such attitudes are hardly unique. Similar fatalism about mankind's ultimate destiny can be found throughout literature of the time and sparked a whole sub-genre of science fiction, the post-nuclear-holocaust dime novel filled with atomic mutants and vague remnants of contemporary civilization. Ironically, the pessimism that is reflected in these works may have aided the possibility of nuclear war by making such an act "thinkable."

JUNTA — (1945 – ?) In Spanish, the term Junta means "coming together." In a Cold War context, it normally refers to the coming together of right wing military cliques to oust an existing government and replace it with a military dictatorship. Juntas were so common in Latin America throughout the period that they became a nearly ritualized affair. More frequently than not, military juntas enjoyed the tacit blessing of the U.S. government as they looked to check leftist elements in Central and South America. Notable juntas include the military dictatorships that ruled Argentina from 1976 to 1983 and Guatemala from 1954 to 1984.

KITCHEN DEBATES — (1959) During a time of increased tensions following the successful launch of Sputnik, then Vice President Richard Nixon took a good-will trip to Russia. What followed was a sometimes playful, sometimes pointed public exchange between Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev throughout his stay in Moscow. The exchange is known as the Kitchen Debate, for a particularly sharp exchange in front of a US model home's display of a GE electric kitchen. Nixon furthered his domestic political ambitions with a seeming jab at Khrushchev's chest, reaffirming his anti-communist credentials at home.

MISSILE ENVY — (1984) A term coined by Dr. Helen Caldicott, it reflects the general feminist critique that the Cold War was driven by male ego with very Freudian undercurrents. When one examines the terminology of "deep penetration" and "multiple reentry" one wonders if she had a point. Caldicott went on to found Physicians for Social Responsibility, and her book became a rallying point within the anti-nuclear movement.

"WE WILL BURY YOU" — (1956) Perhaps the most famous quote of the entire Cold War, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev uttered this immortal line while addressing Western ambassadors at a reception in Moscow. With these words Khrushchev announced a period during which he would probe the West for weakness and opportunity. The Berlin Crisis exemplified this expansionist policy.

BREZHNEV DOCTRINE — (1968) Announced to a crowd of Polish workers by Brezhnev himself, the Brezhnev Doctrine clarified the de facto policy of the Soviet Union, the Prague Spring. Namely, current socialist countries would not be allowed to abandon socialism or adopt a position of neutrality. The doctrine contributed to the Soviets' miscalculation of world reaction to their invasion of Afghanistan. They looked upon the invasion as the mere application of this well-understood doctrine.

PORTUGUESE EMPIRE CRUMBLES — (1974) Portugal was the last European power to abandon her major colonial possessions in Africa. While admitted to NATO, Portugal was ruled by dictatorship under Antonio Salazar, who felt that colonial possessions would preserve Portugal's place in the community of nations. Nevertheless, the repression of nationalist insurgencies brought criticism both from newly independent nations, as well as Portugal's NATO allies. Finally, with a democratic government in place, Portugal renounced its claims. Shortly thereafter, Portugal's former colonies of Angola and Mozambique descended into civil war and became major flash points for East and West on the continent of Africa.

SOUTH AFRICAN UNREST — (1964 – 1994) The racist, minority government of South Africa began to be challenged by the African National Congress with Soviet and Cuban assistance from bases in Tanzania and Zambia and other "front-line" states. The era of peaceful resistance formally ended with the massacres in Sharpeville and Langa. For its part, South Africa sought to destabilize its neighbors, and undertook an invasion of Namibia, while also supporting UNITA in Angola and FRELIMO in Mozambique. However, increasing black population, more powerful black trade unions, and hostility from other western nations eventually placed South Africa on the defensive. While the Reagan Administration

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pursued a policy of "constructive engagement" with the Apartheid government, it remained a controversial proposition. Ultimately, the collapse of the eastern bloc made P.W. Botha's release of Nelson Mandela inevitable.

ALLENDE — (1970 – 1973) A physician, Salvador Allende was popularly elected in Chile to lead that nation's first socialist government. Allende moved quickly to socialize copper production—Chile's largest export commodity. The mines were largely held by two US companies, Kennecott and Anaconda. Relations with the US soon turned frosty, and the CIA supported an attempted coup in 1970. It failed. However, as the West applied harsh economic sanctions, the Allende regime floundered in its second and third years. In 1973, the military, lead by Augusto Pinochet, deposed Allende with a bloody assault on the presidential palace. Allende took his own life.

WILLY BRANDT — (1969) An ardent socialist and opponent of the Nazi party during his youth, Willy Brandt led the West German Socialist Democratic party to the Chancellorship in 1969. There he implemented the same pragmatic approach to east-west linkages that had characterized his mayorship of West Berlin. Termed Ostpolitik, under Brandt, West Germany normalized relations with the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia. While not abandoning the notion of German reunification, he acknowledged the inviolability of existing borders and went on to normalize relations with East Germany. Ultimately, his government was brought down by an internal spy scandal.

MUSLIM REVOLUTION — (1979) As secular Arab and Muslim states throughout the Middle East displayed corruption, repression and incompetence, more radical forms of Islam began to come to the fore. The Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt, sought to topple the secular regime there and in Syria. This led to further cycles of repression and authoritarian rule within these countries. A similar cycle took place in Iran under Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. A long standing regional ally of the United States, and the West generally, the Shah was deposed by a popular revolution led by the anti-western Ayatollah Khomeini. This ushered in the world's first contemporary theocracy. Iran's Mullahs would spend the rest of the 20th Century in efforts to export their revolution to other Shia Muslim communities.

ABM TREATY — (1972) The Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty sought to cement the system of mutually assured destruction as the lynchpin of strategic balance. The ABM treaty restricted the ability of the two superpowers to defend themselves from nuclear strike. In theory, this made a first strike to prevent the introduction of destabilizing defensive systems unnecessary. Both nations were allowed to defend either their capital or one field of ICBMs with a missile defense system. The Soviets deployed such a system around Moscow. Ultimately, the US abandoned its system deployed in Grand Forks, North Dakota.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION — (1966 – 1977) While primarily representative of an internal power struggle within the People's Republic of China, the Cultural Revolution had profound international implications. As Mao Zedong felt increasingly marginalized by moderates within the Chinese Communist party, he lashed out to restore ideological purity and train the next generation of revolutionaries. The resulting turmoil of purges, denunciations, and creation of the Red Guard brought China to the brink of civil war. It also made more pronounced, the rupture between China and the Soviet Union. However, the anarchy and isolationism that reigned made rapprochement between the United States and the PRC impossible. As the Nixon administration took office, the gulf between the two nations appeared wider than ever.

FLOWER POWER — (1965 – 1970) A term reportedly coined by the poet Allen Ginsberg, "flower power" came to represent the nonviolence and peace movements of the 1960s. The classical context for the phrase was the placement of daisies into rifle muzzles, and the anti-war slogan "make love, not war." Flower power is also representative of the general ambivalence to the use of military force that resulted from the American experience in Vietnam.

U-2 INCIDENT — (1960) Starting in 1955, the United States began running surveillance flights over the Soviet Union at altitudes beyond Soviet anti-aircraft ranges. However, in May of 1960, a Soviet Sam II missile struck Francis Gary Powers' aircraft in Soviet airspace. Plane, pilot and gear were captured by the USSR. The incident proved a major embarrassment to the Eisenhower administration, as they initially denied that the US was running such missions. The successful downing of the U-2 caused a major chill in superpower relations and was a propaganda coup for the Soviet Union.

OPEC — (1960) Founded to allow oil producing countries to have more control over the price of oil, and thereby state revenues, OPEC has grown into an institution that controls two-thirds of the world's oil reserves and generates roughly half of the world's oil exports. The creation of OPEC was a major blow to the control of the global oil market by the Western giants like Exxon and British Petroleum. While OPEC does include non-Middle Eastern countries such as Venezuela, Indonesia and Nigeria, it is heavily dominated by countries from that region. As a result, OPEC has intervened in the political crises there. Most famously, OPEC refused oil exports to Western countries supporting Israel in the Yom Kippur (or October) War. This resulted in a 400% increase in oil prices and required rationing in the West.

"LONE GUNMAN" — (1963) While campaigning in Dallas, Texas, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald. Two commissions, the Warren Commission, and the House Select Committee on Assassinations, differed over whether or not Oswald acted alone. In any case, the circumstances of the President's death threw the country into a panic and created ample opportunity for conspiracy theories ranging from the Mafia, the Cuban government, the KGB and America's own CIA. It also marked the beginning of a string of high profile political assassinations in the United States that would include Dr. Martin Luther King and John Kennedy's brother (and Democratic Presidential candidate) Robert Kennedy. These untimely deaths shook American confidence and added to the malaise of the Vietnam era.

COLONIAL REARGUARDS — (1946 – 1988) The Cold War was instigated in the context of an evolving international system. As the world relinquished a multi-polar system comprised of polyglot empires, it replaced it with a bi-polar system dominated by continental nation states. Anti-colonial movements tended to have strong anti-western sentiments, as the foremost colonial powers were now in the western camp. However, the drive to independence was not uniform, nor uniformly successful. Several long rear-guard actions were fought by the colonial powers that either lengthened their stay or maintained a quasi-colonial relationship with the newly independent country. British intervention in Malaya (1948), the French

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resistance to Algerian independence (1954) and South African intransigence in Namibia (1966) all serve as examples of this aspect of the post colonial experience.

PANAMA CANAL RETURNED — (1970) Though widely criticized by the right domestically, the Carter administration's decision to turn over the Panama Canal to Panama proved immensely popular with Latin America. The Canal was a vital strategic link for the United States navy both during the First and Second World Wars. However, by the time of the Korean War, the canal was no longer large enough to accommodate contemporary warships. With its utility to the U.S. military greatly diminished, while its propaganda value as a relic of American imperialism still on the rise, Carter realized that gradual hand-over of the canal was the best policy alternative.

CAMP DAVID ACCORDS — (1978) Following a lull in the Middle East peace process caused by the 1976 presidential elections, President Carter entered office with a burst of new energy on the subject. Through direct personal appeal, Carter was able to bring ultimate resolution to the Yom Kippur War and completely change the dynamic of the Middle Eastern question. Israel and Egypt normalized relations and a framework for Middle East peace was agreed to. Years later, this would allow for the Oslo accord, and the Jordanian–Israeli Peace Agreement. Additionally, Carter also secured the complete realignment of Egypt. Once a Nasser led hotbed of anti-Western feeling, Egypt was to become one of America's foremost allies in the region. Sadat would pay dearly for the leadership he showed during the talks. He was assassinated by Islamic radicals in 1981.

PUPPET GOVERNMENTS — (1949 – ?) Not a concept unique to the Cold War, the term "puppet governments" refers to a regime that holds power due to, and with the support of, either the Soviet Union or the United States. A derisive term, it is almost always used by the opponents of a state to undermine the government's legitimacy. Both the Soviets and the Americans would apply the term to any closely allied state, but it might be better understood in the context of the Diem government in South Vietnam or Mariam government of Ethiopia.

GRAIN SALES TO SOVIETS — (1973 –1980, 1981 – ?) In 1973, difficult climatic circumstances and dramatic crop failures prompted President Nixon to allow for massive grain sales to the Soviet Union. While a blow to Russian pride, the program was nevertheless a step towards normalized relations between the superpowers. Additionally, it provided an enduring domestic lobby to pressure for continued thawing in economic relations between the two countries. In 1980, President Carter suspended the program in retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Shipments were resumed a year later under President Reagan. This culminated in a treaty with the Soviets, with the Soviets promising to buy 9 million tons of US grains per year.

JOHN PAUL II ELECTED POPE — (1978) The first non-Italian to be elected Pope since the 16th Century, Pope John Paul II represented a rejuvenation of Catholic influence upon the world stage. The United States gave formal diplomatic recognition to the Papacy for the first time in its history. As a Pope elected from communist Poland, John Paul II presented an enormous challenge for Poland's leadership. To criticize the new papacy would only alienate the public, to embrace it would be antithetical to communist doctrine. Furthermore, John Paul II was known to be an ardent critic of communism. John Paul's election marked a turning point in internal Polish political dynamics that would culminate in the Solidarity movement. Mikhail Gorbachev remarked that the fall of the iron curtain would have been impossible without John Paul II.

LATIN AMERICAN DEATH SQUADS — (1960 – 1989) Throughout the Cold War, both left and rightwing governments supported reactionary regimes that resorted to disproportionate force when reacting to threats to that government. While this was a particular penchant of rightwing governments in Latin America, leftist governments also proved their deft use of brutality. El Salvador, Guatemala, and Columbia remain the most harrowing examples of the practice of government sponsored murder. President Osorio of Guatemala once infamously remarked "If it is necessary to turn the country into a graveyard in order to pacify it, I will not hesitate to do so."

OAS FOUNDED — (1948, 1967) Founded with the specific aim of promoting democracy in the western hemisphere, the OAS has been an occasionally useful body for the promotion of US interests within the hemisphere. It provided international legitimacy for US actions during both the Cuban Missile Crisis and the US invasion of Grenada. Trade promotion and economic development were added to the OAS charter in Buenos Aires in 1967. The revision of the charter also established the existence of permanent OAS diplomatic venues with the creation of a General Assembly in Washington, DC.

NIXON PLAYS THE CHINA CARD — (1972) Realizing that normalization of relations with China was key for US withdrawal from South Vietnam, Nixon sought a summit between himself and Mao. Nixon dispatched Henry Kissinger to secret talks with the PRC's foreign minister Chou En-lai to lay the groundwork for the visit. Capitalizing on deteriorating Sino-Soviet relations, Nixon scored perhaps the greatest diplomatic coup of the Cold War. The Shanghai Communique that followed the summit danced around several fundamental disagreements between the two countries, including Taiwan and Vietnam. However, it was clear that the Soviet Union could no longer depend upon Chinese support in regional conflicts. While Nixon expressed his desire to fully normalize relations between the two countries quickly, Watergate interrupted these plans. It would fall to Jimmy Carter to restore full diplomatic relations between the two countries.

SADAT EXPELS SOVIETS — (1972) Anwar Sadat was an early participant in anti-colonial activities against the British-sponsored Egyptian monarchy. He became vice president under Nasser, and inherited a deteriorating relationship with the USSR when he transitioned into the presidency. The Soviets refused Egyptian demands for increased economic and military aid, and the Egyptians were trying hard to keep a foot in both camps. In reaction, Sadat expelled the 5,000 Soviet military advisors and 15,000 air force personnel in Egypt. After the brokered Mideast peace following 1973 war, Sadat became convinced of the need for closer relations with Washington.

SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY — (1973) Personalized diplomacy that uses advances in transportation and communications, Shuttle Diplomacy was a hallmark of Henry Kissinger's term as Secretary of State. Most famously, it was utilized to broker a cease-fire between Israel and Egypt after the Yom Kippur War. By acting as personal go-between for the Egyptians and Israelis, Kissinger maintained the pivotal role in discussions and minimized Soviet influence over the negotiation process. Kissinger utilized a similar style when dealing with the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

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THE VOICE OF AMERICA — (1947) Formed in 1942 under the War Information Office, the VOA initially broadcast war news into Nazi occupied Europe. In 1947, it altered its mission to begin broadcasting into the Soviet Union. Voice of America has become one of the best known international broadcast efforts in the world. It provided a powerful outside link to the state-controlled media systems of the Eastern Bloc. Together with Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia, Voice of America became a hallmark of US public diplomacy efforts during the Cold War.

LIBERATION THEOLOGY — (1969 – ?) An outgrowth of the Second Vatican Council, liberation theology stresses Jesus Christ as liberator. The theological strain that sustained this outlook originated in Latin America and flourished there, particularly with the Jesuit order. While never embraced by Pope John Paul II due to its Marxist undercurrents, liberation theology remains very popular with individual priests and the laity in the third world. Its emphasis on social justice and its critique of capitalist excess has, however, been incorporated into broader Church doctrine.

USSURI RIVER SKIRMISH — (1969) After years of deteriorating relations and China's first nuclear test, forces of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union clashed along their long and porous border. The Ussuri and Amur Rivers' possession remained uncertain between the two nations and were a source of friction. Following a military buildup on both sides of the border, tensions spilled over into a several sharp skirmishes. While full-blown war was avoided, the fighting led directly to the People's Republic of China's interest in rapidly normalizing relations with the United States.

"ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY CAN DO FOR YOU . . ." — (1961) The seminal line of perhaps the most powerful inaugural address ever given by a US president, President Kennedy ushered in an era of American confidence and resolve during the Cold War. Popular with American youth, Kennedy inspired a renewed dedication for public service both with ambitious goals for government sponsored science and youth oriented public service like the Peace Corps. His call for selfless dedication to the needs of the nation reflected the passion of a restless generation of young Americans eager to make their mark upon the world.

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS — (1961 – 1973) Initiated by President Kennedy as a counter for growing Cuban influence in Central and South America, the Alliance for Progress was to help integrate the economies of North and Latin America. Emphases for the program included land reform, democratic reform and tax reform. By the late 60's the United States had become fully embroiled in Vietnam and South Asia, thus aid for Latin America waned. Furthermore, few Latin American countries proved willing to undertake the required reforms. As a result, the Organization of American States disbanded its "permanent" Alliance for Progress Committee in 1973.

AFRICA SCORING — African history throughout the Cold War reflects the promise and tragedy that go hand in hand with that continent's experience. At first buoyed by the political success of rapid decolonization, the jubilation would devolve into cynicism. One after another, newly independent governments would give way to "presidents for life," political corruption, economic chaos and ethnic violence. Lacking resources, African governments quickly took advantage of the superpower rivalry to maximize economic and military support for their regimes. In the post-colonial era, a variety of proxy civil wars were fought on the continent. Angola, Mozambique, Chad and Ethiopia were but a few of the nations that experienced violence theoretically in the name of the global struggle between communism and capitalism.

"ONE SMALL STEP . . ." — (1961 – 1969) After years of lagging behind Soviet space exploits, the United States put its full intellectual and economic weight behind the "race to the moon". President Kennedy initiated Project Mercury. Ultimately, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration would overcome enormous technological hurdles to place a man on the moon. As Neil Armstrong, the first human to set foot upon the moon's surface, descended from the space craft, he uttered the immortal line "one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." In so doing, he confirmed an American come-back victory in the space race between the superpowers.

SOLIDARITY — (1980 – ?) A trade union movement originating in the Polish shipyards of Gdansk, Solidarity became the focal point for anti-communist resistance within the Eastern bloc. Solidarity quickly moved beyond a simple worker's movement and rallied pro-Catholic, intellectuals and other social dissidents to its banner. Its toleration within a Warsaw Pact nation was unprecedented, and involved a cat and mouse game heavily reliant on public scrutiny of Soviet intentions, the prestige of the Polish Pope, John Paul II, and the political courage of its leader Lech Walesa. While Poland's communist led government under Wojciech Jaruzelski did crack down on Solidarity and imprison much of its leadership, the organization went underground and began to regrow. By 1988, Solidarity led strikes had forced the Polish Communists into open negotiations.

IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS — (1979 – 1981) A violent reaction to traditional US support for the repressive regime of the Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, 65 Americans were held for 444 days after Islamic revolutionaries stormed the US embassy. The newly installed leader of the Iran's theocracy, Ayatollah Khomeini, was rabidly anti-American and had urged his followers to take action against Western influences. President Carter undertook two scrubbed rescue missions, one of which resulted in a humiliating accident for the US military and for the Carter Administration. Carter's failure to secure the release of the hostages prior to the end of the 1980 campaign season is often credited with his sizable electoral defeat. Ultimately, Iraq's invasion of Iran in 1980 made Iran more amenable to ending the crisis. Through the use of Algerian intermediaries, negotiations were finally successful. In a final slap to Carter, the hostages were formally relinquished to US custody on January 21, 1981, minutes after Reagan's inauguration.

THE IRON LADY — (1979 – 1990) In many ways presaging the "Reagan revolution" in the United States, Margaret Thatcher led a rejuvenation of the conservative movement in the United Kingdom. An ardent anti-communist, Thatcher received the moniker "Iron Lady" from the Soviet newspaper, "The Red Star." Thatcher provided the perfect partner for Ronald Reagan, and together, they renewed the "special relationship" that formed the lynchpin of the post-war Atlantic Alliance. Thatcher's finest moment may have been her vigorous defense of Britain's colonial outpost in the Falkland Islands. The military junta ruling Argentina launched an invasion of what they referred to as the Malvinas Islands. In a sharp, short military action, the UK expelled the Argentinian forces, and restored some small luster to Britain's former imperial pretensions. Thatcher reigned through the close of the Cold War, and is Britain's longest serving prime minister.

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REAGAN BOMBS LIBYA — (1986) After the fall of Nasser, a petro-dollar empowered strongman, Muamar Qaddafi, sought Libya's day in the sun as leader of the Arab world. To prove his bona-fides Qaddafi became the leading source for state supported terrorism against the west. As Iran provided a new model for anti-western resistance, Qaddafi took on an increasingly religious piety in his defamations of the West. Following earlier show-downs involving the Gulf of Sidra, the United States took swift retribution for Libya's apparent involvement in a West German discotheque bombing that killed an American serviceman. Targeting was heavily focused on killing Qadaffi, and his personal residences were targeted. While he escaped death, Qadaffi's international prestige was much tarnished.

STAR WARS — (1983 – ?) More properly known as the Strategic Defense Initiative, President Reagan announced this radical departure from the Cold War doctrine of "mutually assured destruction" in a live television speech to the American public. The initial concept for the "space shield" was developed at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory by Dr. Peter Hagelstein. Notionally, it would create a series of space based satellites powered by nuclear reactors that would create an impenetrable field to block Soviet ICBM's. While scientifically sound on paper, the concept was never successfully engineered. Later iterations involved "smart pebbles" and missile based interceptors. SDI is frequently credited as one of the factors that convinced Gorbachev that the Soviet Union could not keep up the Cold War.

NORTH SEA OIL — (1980) While the first oil discoveries in the North Sea occurred in the 1960's, it would take the Iranian oil crisis to make the exploitation of North Sea oil economically viable. The North Sea contains the majority of Europe's oil reserves and has become one of the leading non-OPEC producing regions in the world. Shared between the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Norway, the North Sea fields provided a welcome release from the death grip in which OPEC had hitherto held Western Europe.

THE REFORMER — (1985 — 1991) Successor to the short-lived premiership of Konstantin Chernenko, Mikhail Gorbachev was the only Soviet leader to be born after the Russian Revolution of 1917. His experience within the Politburo gave him broad exposure to the West which profoundly affected his thinking about the USSR's future. "Gorby," as he would be known in the West, inspired a sort of fan following. Margaret Thatcher famously remarked on his coming to power "I like Mr. Gorbachev—we can do business together." Ultimately, Gorbachev would oversee the dismantling of the Soviet bloc. While his reformist agenda, including Perestroika (economic reform) and Glasnost (political freedom) made him extremely popular in the West, it made him less so in the Soviet Union. Ultimately, Gorbachev would be removed from office as the result of a reactionary military coup in 1991. In the wake of its failure, the Russian Federation would turn to a newly minted hero, Boris Yeltsin.

MARINE BARRACKS BOMBING — (1983) After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the United States and France dispatched troops to form a peace keeping force between the opposing sides. Terrorist attacks on the troop barracks of both nations resulted in terrible losses. 241 US servicemen and 58 French paratroopers were killed in the attacks. It was the worst single day of casualties suffered by the US Marine Corps since Iwo Jima. While US suspicions have focused on Iranian sponsored Hezbollah terrorists, precise responsibility remains unknown.

SOVIETS SHOOT DOWN KAL-007 — (1983) Flying from New York City, to Seoul, South Korea, the doomed Korean Airlines Flight 007 strayed into Soviet Airspace due to a navigational error involving the plane's autopilot system. While the Soviets contemporaneously claimed that they did not know that plane was civilian, tape releases after the Cold War indicate that little if any warning was given to the airliner. The Reagan administration rallied global reaction against the Soviets—even playing decoded messages before the UN Security Council. 269 passengers and crew were killed during the attack, including one member of Congress.

GLASNOST — (1985 – 1989) The Russian word for openness, Glasnost was introduced as a public policy by Mikhail Gorbachev. While his long term aim may have been to improve the freedoms of the Russian people, his more immediate goal was to increase pressure on conservative apparatchiks to accept his "perestroika" economic reforms. While the US typically equated Glasnost with freedom of speech, in fact it was an attempt to bring transparency to the workings of the Politburo.

ORTEGA ELECTED IN NICARAGUA — (1985 – 1990) A political dissident since age 16, Daniel Ortega Saavedra spent time in a Managua prison. Upon his release, he fled to Cuba and established relationships which would be vital for the Sandinista movement. When the Sandinistas ousted the Somoza regime, Ortega maneuvered himself into the de facto presidency. Ortega's close ties to the Castro regime in turn prompted US support for the Contra rebels. Operating out of Northern Nicaragua and drawing support from agricultural interests that had been collectivized, the Contras were to prove a major hurdle to the success of Sandinista governance. Ultimately, economic stagnation would prove the undoing of Ortega's government.

TERRORISM — (1949 – ?) While a threat as old as human civilization, the use of terrorism as an instrument to change international policy ebbed and flowed throughout the Cold War. The Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies were known to train terrorist organizations within their borders, including radical elements of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). In many ways, the PLO provided the archetype for a terrorist organization throughout the Cold War. With its anti-Western, anti-Israel ideology, it became a cause celebre for those asserting that the West was on a neo-imperialist crusade in the third world. Palestinian terrorists hijacked planes, attacked the Achille Lauro, and perhaps most infamously murdered 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972. There were also western based, communist affiliated terrorists such as the Red Brigades in Italy, and the Red Army in Japan. As the Cold War came to a close, and the Soviet Union faced increasing difficulty with Muslim fundamentalism, its support for terrorism waned.

IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL — (1985) In an effort to secure the release of US hostages in Lebanon, the Reagan undertook secret negotiations with Iran involving "arms for hostages." This was in violation of the stated US policy of never negotiating with terrorists. Compounding this difficulty was the fact that the proceeds from weapons sales to Iran were used to covertly fund the Contra guerillas in Nicaragua. This was in contravention of stated Administration policy, as well as laws adopted by the Democrat-controlled Congress. Colonel Oliver North and Admiral John Poindexter both were criminally indicted for the scandal, though the Congressional report concluded that President Reagan bore ultimate responsibility for the scandal.

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CHERNOBYL — (1986) The Chernobyl accident was the worst disaster in the history of nuclear power. Radioactive debris spread in a massive cloud that stretched throughout Western Europe, and ultimately reached the eastern seaboard of the United States. 200,000 had to be relocated from badly contaminated regions of Soviet controlled Ukraine and Belarus. It is estimated that as many as 4,000 people may die from the deadly exposure they received that day. Chernobyl displayed the kind of staggering incompetence that came to reflect Soviet bureaucratic decision-making towards the close of the Cold War.

LATIN AMERICAN DEBT CRISIS — (1982 – 1989) A ripple effect from the rise of Middle Eastern oil, Latin American governments experienced phenomenal growth from the 1950's into the 1970's. However, this came to an abrupt halt. Unfortunately, even with impressive economic growth, Latin American countries like Brazil and Ecuador continued to rack up external debt. Given the new found global capital from petrodollars, Latin American governments found willing lenders. External debt in Latin America rose 1,000% from 1970 to 1980. When a global recession sparked by the Iranian oil crisis buffeted world economies, most Latin American governments simply could not keep up. Eventually, these governments would have to commit to significant restructuring of their economies to reduce their debt.

"TEAR DOWN THIS WALL" — (1987) In a speech that hearkened back to Kennedy's address in front of the Berlin wall, Ronald Reagan challenged newly installed Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Reagan, with the Brandenburg gate in the background, declared: "General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!" While provocative, the speech leveled a difficult criticism at the Soviet Union. Successful countries do not have to wall their citizens in. Two short years later, the Berlin Wall would come down.

"AN EVIL EMPIRE" — (1983) First used by President Ronald Reagan before the National Association of Evangelicals, conservatives applied the term "evil empire" to the Soviet Union. This change in terminology encapsulated the conservative movement's rejection of Nixon's morally ambiguous policy of detente. The speech sparked controversy within the NATO alliance, as many European leaders found the speech unnecessarily provocative. Domestically, the left argued that the United States had no room to criticize Soviet actions during the Cold War, and pointed to CIA involvement in places like Chile. The speech gave further indication that the last phase of the Cold War would be a confrontational one.

ALDRICH AMES — (1985 – 1994) The first known successful penetration of the CIA by the KGB, Aldrich Ames compromised hundreds of CIA operations and provided information that resulted in the execution of 10 US sources. The CIA spent years looking for another explanation for the leaks—in particular the possibility that the KGB had bugged CIA headquarters. Ames' motivation was not ideological, and he and his wife enjoyed the extravagance that his $2.5 million in bribes provided. Ames first walked into the Soviet embassy in 1995. At that time, he oversaw the analysis of Soviet intelligence operations in Europe.

PERSHING II DEPLOYED — (1984 – 1985) The Pershing II missile was designed as a direct counter to the Soviet Intermediate Range Missile, the SS-20. The deployment of 108 of these missiles in West Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom proved a major test for NATO's resolve. Public protests against the deployments were massive. However, despite the strains, the weapons were deployed, providing NATO with a bargaining chip in the proposed Intermediate range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty discussions. These negotiations had been suspended in 1983, and the successful deployment of the Pershing II's provided impetus for restarting the talks in 1985. Ultimately, the talks would succeed at the Reykjavik summit in Iceland in 1986.

WARGAMES — (1956 – 1995) Brinksmanship was a term coined by John Foster Dulles to describe a policy of coming close to war, without falling into the abyss. At different times, during different crises, this policy was pursued by both superpowers. However, there was always the danger that brinksmanship could turn the "cold" war, hot. Additionally, brinksmanship encouraged a nuclear posture of "launch on warning." Game theory demanded that if your opponent were launching a massive nuclear strike, you would have to launch your own weapons before they could be destroyed in their silos. These doctrines shortened reaction times of world leaders from hours to minutes. On November 9th, 1979, the United States made preparations for a retaliatory nuclear strike when a NORAD computer glitch indicated an all-out Soviet strike had been launched. As recently as 1995, Russia mistook a Norwegian scientific missile launch for an attack, and Boris Yeltsin was asked to decide whether or not to counterattack.

FORMOSAN RESOLUTION — (1955) Reacting to the "loss of China" the United States Congress extended to President Eisenhower open ended authority to defend Taiwan—technically known as the Republic of China on Taiwan—with military force. The resolution came at a time when the United States faced challenges from the People's Republic in Indochina as well as the Korean peninsula. Effectively, Taiwan sat under the US nuclear umbrella, and the balance of power within the Taiwan Straits would now remain a question of strategic importance to the United States.

IRAN-IRAQ WAR — (1980 – 1988) Commenting on the war, Henry Kissinger famously remarked, "Too bad they can't both lose." Sparked by simmering land disputes over the Shatt al-Arab, Saddam Hussein sought to establish Iraq as a true regional power, and also check the export of Shia fundamentalism from Iran. Initially, Iraq scored limited gains, but Iranian forces rallied and began a counter offensive into Iraq. Without set allies in the conflict, the United States played a cynical game of attempting to keep both sides sufficiently supplied for the war to continue. Ultimately, the US began to tilt to Iraq as an Iranian victory in the war would have been an unacceptable outcome. Iran also utilized oil as a weapon necessitating the US flagging of Kuwaiti tankers to ensure oil supplies. After 8 years of war, the border returned to its ante bellum status. However, both nations had been severely weakened by the conflict.

DEFECTORS — (1945 – 1989) Preceeding the start of the Cold War, citizens of the Eastern bloc, fled or defected to the West. Defectors came in two primary archetypes. Spies and Double agents who had been discovered or needed to "come in from the cold" would frequently flee to their masters and allude capture. Examples of this type of defector include KGB Deputy Chief Yuri Nosenko and KGB London Bureau Chief Oleg Gordievsky. Perhaps more embarassingly, and certainly more publicly, many talentend Soviet artists defected while on tour in the United States or Europe. While the West also suffered occasional defections, particularly from westerners involved in espionage, it never reached the same proportion or the same level of public spectacle.

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Designer's Notes

The Long Twilight Struggle

Like most freshman game designers, we spent many years putting this game together. *Twilight Struggle,* more than anything else, is a game designed to meet our needs. We are both huge fans of the card driven wargame, and how it has breathed new life into wargaming in general. Like a modern day Lazarus, card driven wargames have brought our hobby back from the grave. Yet even five years ago, when Ananda and I first decided we wanted to try our hand at design, the writing was on the wall. Card driven games were going to become less and less like *We The People,* and *Hannibal,* and more and more like *Paths of Glory* and *Barbarossa to Berlin.* That is not a critique of Mr. Raicer's work. In fact, we think that it took *Paths of Glory* to demonstrate just how rich a card driven game might be. But it conflicted with another reality. We were getting older. Our lives were less like the gaming rich days of college, and more like the work-a-day world of the "nuclear" family. Eight hours for a single game was becoming less and less likely. So selfishly, we designed a game to fit our schedules. You can play *Twilight Struggle* from beginning to end in the same time it takes to play the "short" scenario of many other games. Heck, you can switch sides and play the Cold War from both angles if you are really ambitious. That is a long way of saying the number one constraint on the design was time.

The second question that we had to answer was the subject area. I believe that civil wars are the perfect subject for the influence system. So initially, I convinced Ananda to try a Spanish Civil War design. A couple of books on the subject quickly convinced us that it would takes years to master the politics of that war, and frankly, we weren't going to wait years to start. So Ananda, in a stroke of genius, suggested the Cold War as a replacement. It was a great topic. There are very few games that deal with the political aspects of the Cold War in a serious way—there were not that many of them even when we were fighting the Cold War. The basic influence system translated well. The history was a non issue, for as an International Relations major in the 1980's, I basically spent four years studying the Cold War. Finally, one of the best gaming experiences that I ever had was Chris Crawford's *Balance of Power.* It was a game about Cold War politics, and even more so, about the brinksmanship of a crisis between the superpowers. To this day, computer gamers look back on its innovation. I'll never forget the game's immortal line when you brought the world to nuclear destruction over something ridiculous like funding guerillas in Kenya.

> You have ignited a nuclear war. And no, there is no animated display or a mushroom cloud with parts of bodies flying through the air. We do not reward failure.

Had I failed my senior year of high school, it really would have been Chris Crawford's fault. So, Ananda's golden idea provided us the chance to try and recreate some of the magic of that game.

We use the term "game" advisedly. *Twilight Struggle* does not reach beyond its means. Wherever there were compromises to make between realism and playability, we sided with playability. We want to evoke the feel of the Cold War, we hope people get a few insights they didn't possess, but we have no pretensions that a game of this scope or length could pretend to be a simulation.

Also important for players to understand is that the game has a very definite point of view. *Twilight Struggle* basically accepts all of the internal logic of the Cold War as true—even those parts of it that are demonstrably false. Therefore, the only relationships that matter in this game are those between a nation and the superpowers. The world provides a convenient chess board for US and Soviet ambitions, but all other nations are mere pawns (with perhaps the occasional bishop) in that game. Even China is abstracted down to a card that is passed between the two countries. Furthermore, not only does the domino theory work, it is a prerequisite for extending influence into a region. Historians would rightly dispute all of these assumptions, but in keeping with the design philosophy, we think they make a better game.

One very notable difference between *Twilight Struggle* and other Cold War games is that we assume nuclear war would be a bad thing. Many other designs make the whole idea of letting the nuclear genie out the bottle irresistible. From our vantage point of hindsight, nuclear war was unthinkable, and that is why it did not happen. Yes, we came close, but we believe that rational actors would veer away from the button. Once the button was pushed, nuclear war would have taken on a grim logic of its own, and human extinction might have been the result.

There were many decisions made for playability, but we will touch upon two. First, not all countries that are geographically adjacent are connected to one another. There are three reasons for this. For instance, many countries are amalgamations, so that messes with geography from the get go. Secondly, and most importantly, we wanted there to be a real impact to the domino theory, with players spreading their influence slowly across the map. Think of the old documentaries with red animated arrows streaming from the Soviet Union in all directions. Finally, and most rarely, the lack of a connection between countries reflects the local antagonisms between two presumed allies.

The second decision that warrants a bit more elaboration is what nations were labeled "battleground state." Basically, there were three ways to attain this status. First, recognized regional powers got it. The South American battlegrounds reflect this well. Secondly, if a nation possessed important strategic resources, that also meant battleground status. Obviously, most battlegrounds in the Middle East, as well as Angola and Venezuela, would qualify here. Finally, if a nation was an actual battleground between the superpowers, like South Korea, it received battleground status. So, for our English and Australian cousins, please know that we are not ranking you behind our French allies. Instead, you are anchors of US influence in Europe and Asia at the start of the game.

There are many aspects of the game about which we are proud, but the most amusing is how the game can capture the psychology of the Cold War. Areas become important just because your opponent thinks they are important—he must be going there for some reason! Also, we are proud of the interaction of the DEFCON chart with military operations. It really compels each turn to have a diversity of actions that makes for a more tense and exciting game.

At the end of the day, *Twilight Struggle* represents a bit of Cold War nostalgia. In a world of stateless enemies, for whom our destruction is an end in itself, the Cold War seems a quaint disagreement about economics. As religious chauvinism shoves aside ideology, we yearn for a simpler time absent of invisible menaces, fighting for cherished principle against an enemy that we understood. So let us once more pound our shoes, grab the hotline, and stand watch in Berlin. The Cold War is over, but the game has just begun.

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REALIGNMENT ROLLS

PURPOSE: Reduce enemy Influence in a country.

CONDITIONS: Opponent must have Influence markers in the target country.

COST: 1 Operation Point

PROCEDURE: Each player rolls a die and each player adds the modifiers below to his own die roll. The high roller may remove the difference between the rolls from the opponent's Influence in the target country. Ties are considered a draw, and no markers are removed.

MODIFIERS:
+1 for each controlled adjacent country
+1 if adjacent to rolling player's superpower
+1 if rolling player has more influence in target country than opponent

NOTE: if any Ops points are spent for Realignment, all ops points from that card must be spent on Realignment rolls

PLACING INFLUENCE MARKERS

PURPOSE: To increase Influence in a country.

RESTRICTIONS: All markers must be placed adjacent to, or in the same space with friendly Influence markers that were on the map when the Operations card was played.

COST: 1 Operation Point to place an Influence marker in a country that is friendly-Controlled or Uncontrolled. It costs two (2) Operations Points to place an Influence marker in an enemy-Controlled country. If a country's Control status changes while placing Influence markers, additional markers placed during that Action are placed at the lower cost.

NOTE: if any Ops points are spent for placing Influence, all ops points from that card must be spent on placing Influence markers.

SETUP

- 8 Early War cards to each player.
- 'The China Card' to the USSR player.
- 15 USSR Influence markers: 1 in Syria, 1 in Iraq, 3 in North Korea, 3 in East Germany, 1 in Finland, and 6 anywhere in Eastern Europe.
- 20 US Influence markers: 1 in Iran, 1 in Israel, 1 in Japan, 1 in Australia, 1 in the Philippines, 1 in South Korea, 1 in Panama, 1 in South Africa, 5 in the United Kingdom, and 7 anywhere in Western Europe.

COUPS

PURPOSE: Reduce enemy Influence in a country and possibly add Influence for your own superpower.

CONDITIONS: Opponent must have Influence markers in the target country.

COST: 1 card

PROCEDURE: multiply the Stability Number of the target country by two (x2). Then roll a die and add the Operations points on the card to it. If this modified die roll is greater than the doubled stability number, the coup is successful, otherwise it fails.

MODIFIERS: None

EFFECTS:

INFLUENCE MARKERS:

- SUCCESSFUL COUP: Remove a number of your opponent's Influence markers from the target country: the number removed is equal to the number produced by the Coup resolution. If there are insufficient opposing Influence markers to remove, add friendly Influence markers to make up the difference.
- UNSUCCESSFUL COUP: No Influence markers are removed.

MILITARY OPERATIONS: Move the marker on the Required Military Operations track a number of spaces equal to the Operations value of the card.

DEFCON TRACK: Any Coup attempt in a Battleground country degrades the DEFCON status one level towards DEFCON 1 (nuclear war).

CONTROLLING COUNTRIES

A country is considered Controlled by a player if:

- The player has Influence points in the country greater than or equal to the country's Stability Number, and
- The player's Influence in the country exceed his/her opponent's Influence in that country by at least the country's Stability Number.

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