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COCON-COUNTERCONSPIRACY  
(POLITICA)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SIMULATION OF  
INTERNAL NATIONAL CONFLICT  
UNDER REVOLUTIONARY CONFLICT CONDITIONS

VOLUME I

Prepared by

ABT ASSOCIATES INC.  
14 Concord Lane  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Martin Gordon  
Daniel Grady  
Janet Moore

John Blaxall  
David Merrill  
Daniel Del Solar

A Study For

THE ADVANCED RESEARCH PROJECTS AGENCY  
The Pentagon  
Washington, D. C.

Contract Number DA-49-083 OSA-3062

Project AGILE

ARPA Order Number 681

October, 1966

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## ABSTRACT

This report presents the substantive contents and test results of the game of POLITICA, a human player simulation of the role of the military and other factions in socio-political conflict in a primarily pre-violent, incipient insurgency situation in an idealized Latin American setting.

The game was designed and test played by Abt Associates Inc. staff members during the last three months of 1965 and early 1966.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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**COCON-COUNTERCONSPIRACY  
(POLITICA)**

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DEVELOPMENT OF A SIMULATION OF INTERNAL NATIONAL  
CONFLICT UNDER REVOLUTIONARY CONFLICT CONDITIONS

(POLITICA)

1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

1.1 Objectives

POLITICA is a game which simulates the process of internal national conflict leading to democratic change, revolutionary change, or reaction. It has been designed to reproduce the role of the military and other factions in the politics and economic dynamics of a nation by structuring the roles of major national actors and groups, placing them in conflict or cooperation in a game environment and identifying from the resulting interaction the societal and human variables relevant to a study of incipient insurgency.

By sequential search of various patterns of variables under various initial conditions, the game is designed to highlight those variables decisive for the description, indication, prediction, and control of internal revolutionary conflict.

1.2 Methodology

After the formulation of a generalized game framework (2.2), into which specific scenarios, depending upon the interests of the investigators, could be introduced, such a scenario (2.3) was designed and tested in three experimental plays of the game (3). The objective was to test the game structure as well as to study the political system outlined in the scenario. Operational variables (2.4) and social variables (2.5) being gamed were refined after each test so that the three plays represented an ascending degree of validity. Keeping the scenario constant throughout the first series minimized the distortions, caused by varying personalities and differing degrees of prior knowledge of the society being gamed, which the human players brought with them.

To insure against the possibility that the results of the first scenario were due to the dynamics of that country alone, (as well as to test additional variables) two additional scenarios were designed and gamed. Taken together these three scenario types (Patria, Grenadilla, Inertia) are regarded as being capable of operationally testing any variables which may be of interest. A country-specific scenario (3.6) was then designed and successfully tested.

### 1.3 Results

POLITICA emerged from the first experimental plays as a powerful tool for modelling internal socio-political conflicts and observing their resolutions (4.2). The game is playable. It can exercise a wide range of political crises. It is capable of operationally expressing the present list of social variables or others which may be of interest. The role of the military in both peaceful deterrent, non-violent show of force, and battle conditions is a major factor in the game. It is generally balanced, so that even small changes at the outset (as in POLITICA III) result in different political outcomes. It can easily be made area-specific. Most significantly, it is possible to draw conclusions from the game play that were not obvious from the scenario alone. The game may offer the possibility of forecasting the responses of specific actors and groups faced with a situation which can be modelled in the laboratory. Finally, the numerical expression of many of the game's variables suggests the feasibility of man-machine simulation with computers augmenting human players.

## 2. SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT OF THE GAME DESIGN

### 2.1 Geopolitical Focus

#### Area

POLITICA in its present form has a Latin American orientation while refraining from simulating any real country, although this could easily be accomplished within the present game framework. However, "Patria", the hypothetical country used in the first three plays of POLITICA, "Grenadilla", the hypothetical country used in the fourth and fifth plays of POLITICA, and "Inertia", used in the sixth play of POLITICA, are composed of functional elements which can be found scattered throughout certain real Latin American nations. In essence, these three "countries" represent a single "typical" Latin country in three different phases of political development, where names have been changed to minimize confusion.

#### Issues

The substantive focus of POLITICA is political conflict of a type that may precede, accompany or follow insurgency or revolution. The pre-violent, incipient insurgency and revolutionary conspiracy phase was of primary interest, particularly where the role of the military is significant.

Some of the most salient issues of a potentially revolutionary political situation are the grievances of particular interest groups, the appeals of politicians to various publics, the institutional and traditional constraints on both incumbent and opposition parties, the growth of subversive organizations, and various open challenges to authority (including terrorism), and the part played by military leaders and forces in fomenting or suppressing insurgency. These issues are all designed to be exercised in POLITICA.

### 2.2 Game Framework

#### Regions

The country is divided into four distinct regions: (1) the capital city, (2) the provincial city, (3) the industrial sector, and (4) the agricultural sector. In simulating specific countries, regions may be added, deleted, or expanded to suit local conditions. In Inertia for example the provincial city and the industrial sector were combined.

### Actors

Major actors in the game have been distributed among the four regions as shown in Table 1. All of these groups interact with one another, but the basic play of the game is a struggle for power among four groups-- the military, the civil government together with a government party, and two out parties. Additional groups, which are defined primarily in social and economic terms (rather than political) interact on one another as well as on the four main groups. There are three simulated political parties, each typical of major Latin American political factions. These are "CD" representing the conservative party; "APRA", representing the moderate liberal reform party, and "FLN", representing the extreme leftist, radical, and/or communist party. Any of these parties may be regulated in strength by the scenario, and may have as many wings or as much support among the varied interest groups as desired.

Only CD or APRA may be the government. It then initially controls at least one government representative in each of the four provinces. In each of the regions the military and each of the three political parties should have at least one representative unless changed by the requirements of a specific scenario. In Inertia a military dictatorship is postulated, but the scenario otherwise follows these rules.

### Physical Requirements

Each province requires a separate room of office size or larger. In each there should be a telephone capable of communicating with each of the other rooms. In addition it is desirable to have a public address system to simulate national radio broadcasts. If this is not available, inexpensive walkie-talkies have been used effectively. A fifth space is used as a conference room for private transactions, and a sixth room may be required as a jail. Approximately 40 players and 7 or 8 umpires are usually required for an effective game. Additional players may be added to represent sub-structure within the various organizational groups and to replicate the major population groups.

Portfolio

Each player's portfolio contains:

- (1) List of players
- (2) Rule sheet
- (3) Scenario
- (4) Individualized personality profile
- (5) Move record sheet
- (6) Economic transaction sheet
- (7) Currency
- (8) Name tag
- (9) Questionnaire

(For samples, see Appendices)

TABLE 1

I. Capital City

- A. Government
- B. Military
- C. Political Party, APRA\*
- D. Political Party, CD\*
- E. Political Party; FLN
- F. Urban Money: Oligarchy
- G. Middle Class
- H. Proletariat
- I. Landowners
- J. Foreign Capitalists
- K. Students
- L. Embassy (of the Foreign Capitalists) (Additional Embassies may be included to show effect of other foreign powers)

II. Provincial City

- A. Government
- B. Military
- C. APRA
- D. CD
- E. FLN
- F. Urban Money: Oligarchy
- G. Middle Class
- H. Proletariat
- I. Students

III. Agricultural Region

- A. Government
- B. Military
- C. APRA
- D. CD
- E. FLN
- F. Rural Proletariat
- G. Landowners

FLN = Fuerzas de Liberacion Nacional

CD = Conservative Democrats

APRA = Alianza Popular Revolucionaria  
Americana

IV. Industrial Region

- A. Government
- B. Military
- C. APRA
- D. CD
- E. FLN
- F. Industrial Proletariat
- G. Foreign Managers

Any of the above 35 categories may be duplicated, expanded or eliminated to suit the aim of any particular simulation.

\* Either APRA, CD or a military regime may be the government party at the beginning of the game. As the government, they control the government personnel.

### 2.3 Operational Variables and Game Rules

The game is scored by awarding points (and penalties) to the actors for performing actions which further (or hinder) their overall strategic objectives. At the same time these actions may result in negative reactions by other players and so negate the apparent strategic advantages. Points can be scaled differentially to reflect the varying degree of interest by various actors in the specific actions. The winning player is then the one with the most points over some quota. This scoring scheme is an alternative one to calling for specific win situations. To the extent that POLITICA simulates a real-world situation, explicit winning criteria are harder to define, and a point-scoring approach should tend to enforce playing the situation rather than simply playing the rules. In general points are awarded for attempting actions in line with overall objectives, when the attempt itself represents a commitment to an institution. If the action is successful, further bonus points are awarded, above and beyond the economic or political benefits or losses that might result from the reactions of other players. By the same token, if the action is unsuccessful, a penalty is assessed which results in a net loss. For example, if a political coalition is formed (two or more players agree to vote the same way in a future election), points are awarded to the members. If, at some later time, the coalition does in fact vote as agreed upon, bonus points are awarded; if, when called upon to act, the coalition breaks down, a penalty is assessed. Now the responses of other players to the forming of the coalition and to the way in which it votes may also result in actions that will produce further gains or losses to the members.

Three of the actor groups also receive some credit for the actions of other players, even though they may not be directly involved in these actions. The basic objective of the FLN party is to take power through the disruption of the existing order. The FLN therefore receives a bonus whenever any player commits a disruptive act. The bonus is, of course, higher when the act is committed under FLN direction. In addition, certain of the objectives of the Students and of the Embassy lie in furthering the objectives of certain other groups, such as proletariat, foreign capital, etc. Thus these players gain points, in general, whenever these other groups do, unless their actions are directly opposed.



The game is not designed to cover out-and-out military action. The game therefore is brought to an end if a situation arises when there is a full armed insurgency in the field, actively opposed by the Army. Otherwise, the game is played to a time limit. The winning player is the one with the highest point total over some quota, which will differ from player to player to allow for differential opportunities to accumulate points. For actual example of scoring, see Section 4 (Analysis).

A set of game rules, as presented to the players, is given below.

## POLITICA VII

### RULES

#### ALL PLAYERS MAY:

- Vote for any person
- Vote (in coalitions) for any political party
- Enter into coalitions with any other groups
- Attempt to communicate with other players in their region or in any other region for the purpose of forming a coalition or for any other reason
- Engage in business transactions, if they are in a position to engage in business
- Attempt to revolt (in coalitions)
- Go on strike
- Engage in terrorism
- Lie
- Bribe
- Deceive

#### THE GOVERNMENT MAY: (in addition)

- Tax
- Open or close the university
- Order the military into action
- "Govern", i. e., force other players to act or to refrain from acting in a particular manner
- Negotiate with any other player

#### THE MILITARY MAY: ( in addition)

- Revolt against the government on its own initiative
- Enter into coalitions with other groups to pressure the government
- Refuse to obey the government's orders
- Act on its own initiative to suppress strikes or terrorist activity

## ON THE USE OF POWER RATINGS

Every player in the game has been assigned a power rating. These ratings range from 10 to 150. Your power rating represents your ability to get your way in a conflict situation (short of large-scale violence), when you no longer wish to try persuasion.

Such situations may include personal conflicts, such as getting money from a reluctant debtor or ordering a subordinate to take some action. They may also include group conflicts, such as strikes and political coups. In any conflict, the party with the highest power rating will win. The power rating of a coalition is the total of the ratings of its members.

If a situation develops in which you wish to invoke your power rating, inform an umpire. He will tally your rating together with those of all coalition members who wish to support your power play against those of your opponent and his supporters, if any, and determine the winner. A power play is the Moment of Truth for any coalition. Coalition members do not have to support a power play unless they wish to do so at the time it is made. On the other hand, a coalition may not wish to reveal its full power in a minor play.

Remember that your opponent will probably react negatively to you later on, whether you win or lose. If you do lose you may wish to escalate to violence (see below). Also remember, you are free to vote in an election any way you wish, regardless of power ratings. Note that all mobile players on the losing side of a power play have the option of leaving the province UNLESS the issue of the power play was the arrest of that player.

## REDUCTION OF POWER POINTS

The leader of the winning side in any power play will have his personal power points increased by the umpire by 10%. The leader of the losing side in a power play will have his personal power points reduced by 20%. None of the supporters on either side will have their power points increased or reduced. You should consider the rule before entering either side of a power play.

## VIOLENCE

If your power play fails, or for other purposes, you may wish to resort to violence. Violence however is only available to groups. No individuals may engage in violence. (There are exceptions to this rule: small

groups like landowners and certain overseers groups have no potential for violence, and the University students, although a group, have no potential for violence outside their home province.) Violence situations may include military action terrorism, abduction, popular uprising, etc. If you decide for violence, the determining factor is your population. Inform an umpire of your desire to commit violence, and tell him how much of your population you are committing. He will establish the strength of your opposition and determine the outcome. Coalition strength may be combined as in power plays. Remember that the army forces and the FLN guerrillas have more strength per capita than do civilians. While there are rules for determining who wins in violent confrontations, the outcome of most violence is styled to be inconclusive. Note that a military commander, army or guerrilla, who loses a violence play must leave the province and go to another province with his troops. It will therefore, in accordance with the MOBILITY rules, take a defeated military unit at least ten minutes to return to a province in which they were defeated.

#### UMPIRE RULES (SUPPLEMENTAL TO PLAYER RULES)

##### Power Plays and Violence

In the case of a power play, SEAL THE PROVINCE. No move or talking is then allowed.

Ascertain:

- 1) What is the object of the play
- 2) Who are the participants? Separate into two groups and anyone who is not playing sits down

Count points, announce result. Offer losing side the option of violence, but make it clear that only players representing groups may engage in violence. Offer losing individuals the option of leaving the province.

In the event of anyone opting for violence the following rules apply:

Each substantial population group, and all military and guerrilla units have been allotted points. In order to prevail in a violent conflict, one side must have a two-point advantage over the other.

Note that if there is popular support on one side and no popular support on the other, the side with popular support gets a bonus of one point per population group committed. Should there be popular support on both sides, no bonuses are awarded to either side.

Note also that the student groups have no potential for violence outside the capital.

#### Sealing of Provinces

The umpires may at any time choose to seal off a province by closing the door to the room. Once a province is sealed, no one may enter, leave, or communicate with the outside.

Provinces will be sealed automatically during any power play and unsealed when the play is over.

#### Jail

There is a jail in each province. Players representing groups may not in any event be jailed.

Players representing an individual may be jailed if the power ratings of the players seeking to jail him exceed his own. Once a player has been jailed, he must sit in the jail in each province and must be guarded by one or more players whose power rating exceeds his. The guard or guards must sit beside the prison.

A prisoner may escape if:

- (1) Left unguarded, or only guarded by a player with a lower power rating.
- (2) Rescued by a person or group with a larger power rating than the guards.

Once a player has been released, he has automatic safe conduct out of the province.

#### Economics

All players have a transaction sheet giving the source of one year's income and the calls on that income. Any players, whose sheets show payments from, and/or amounts due to, Control, will collect from or pay to a Control player designated as PAYMASTER. The Paymaster will make the rounds approximately every 25 minutes and distribute or collect 25% of the annual amount due from or to Control. Every 25 minute period therefore represents about three months in real time, and the passing of each interval will be clearly announced to give all players some indication of how much of their annual income they should have collected and how much of their expenses they may be called upon to pay.

All transactions will be carried on by means of a note made on both parties' transaction sheets. Control payments will not be made however to any entitled player, should that player's conduct during the preceding interval have been such that he could not have been earning his normal income. For example, should the local umpire inform the Paymaster that the industrial proletariat had been on strike during the last period, the Paymaster would not give them the full 25% of their annual income although their liability to make payments to Control would be unaffected.

Mobility

The general rule for mobility is that players styled as groups may not move but players styled as individuals may move from province to province. The student groups however may move, as may army or guerrilla troops, but military groups are subject to special rules (see below under "Troop Movements").

There must moreover be either a government official or a military official in the capital at all times. If both leave, anarchy automatically ensues and both the government and the military (if applicable) are heavily fined. A table is included below.

The following table shows who may move between contiguous provinces and with how much delay.

Player	When Railroad Running	When Railroad Not Running
Army Units	5 minutes	10 minutes
Guerrilla Units	5 minutes	5 minutes
Named Individuals, the Landowners, the Students and the Businessmen	0 minutes	5 minutes
All other players may not move at all outside their provinces.		

Troop Movement \*

--Applies only to military groups.

A guerrilla troop or an army unit takes five minutes in real time to go from province to province. The leader of a guerrilla troop or the Commander

\* This section should be read in conjunction with the following section headed "Communications".

of a unit may go straight to any province, but on arrival he must hand his "troop tag"—the card simulating his men—to the umpire, which will be held by the umpire for five minutes. When a military leader is not wearing his troop tag, his power rating is halved, and since he is not simulating a group, is unable to engage in violence (see VIOLENCE rules). He is also, as an individual, subject to arrest.

A commander who does not wish to enter the province without his troops may hand his tag to the umpire and wait for the required five minutes, while he is immune from attack but not allowed to speak to any other player or be contracted by any other player.

Commanders may, by mutual agreement, take charge of each other's troops, but both Commanders, the original one and the one to whom the troops are to be handed, must appear together to collect the troops from an umpire if an umpire has the troops in question at the time.

## COMMUNICATIONS

### Railroad

A single railroad line connects the four Provinces in sequence. All traffic from province to province must follow this route. As long as the railroad is open between two provinces, travel is without delay for all mobile players. The usual five-minute delay holds for military units, so that, for example, it would take fifteen minutes to move an army unit from one end of the country to the other. If the railroad is broken, there is a five-minute delay for mobile players and for guerrilla troops, but a ten-minute delay for government troops. The various Provincial Umpires will be informed by the Chief Umpire of the status of the rail service. All players moving between provinces will check with their Provincial Umpire before leaving.

The railroad is normally under control of the Railroad Company and is operated by the railroad workers. The railroad is normally open to all traffic. (Profits are paid to the Company by the Paymaster, and there is no effective change to passengers.) Rail service may be interrupted in any of the following ways:

- 1) The railroad workers may strike. This will stop all rail service throughout the system.

2) The army may take over the railroad. (This may require a power play against the Company) The army may then close the entire system to all civilian traffic. This may not be done piecemeal, allowing some civilians to travel but not others. Civilians may, however, ride the railroad under military escort, but subject to military delays.

3) The guerrillas may cut the railroad by sabotage. This may one be done "between" provinces, so that three simultaneous acts of sabotage would be required to stop the entire rail system. The following procedure is used:

A guerrilla unit leader informs the Umpire of either of the two provinces involved that he wishes to cut the line between his province and one of the adjacent ones. The guerrilla leader surrenders his troop card(s) to the Umpire. The leader and his troops are then incapacitated from further action and must stay in the province for five minutes. At the end of this period, the troops are returned to the leader and the rail service is interrupted for a period equal to five minutes for each guerrilla unit involved. If the army engages the guerrillas during the initial five-minute period, the sabotage effort fails (unless the army is defeated), but may be restarted at any time later.

Any passengers in transit at the time sabotage becomes effective (i. e., who have not entered the province by the time the Umpire announces the sabotage), must accept the non-rail travel delay, starting from the point of interruption of service. The army may not guard the rail line against potential sabotage, but must rather catch the guerrillas in the act in order to prevent it.

#### Telecommunications System

The telecommunications system will be under the control of the government who may or may not allow players to use it.



### Sanctuary--Applies to GUERRILLA GROUPS Only

The guerrillas have a separate room as a safe haven from government action. The sanctuary is construed as located within a designated province. That is, all movement in and out of sanctuary must pass through that Province. Guerrilla players are safe from capture while in sanctuary, although there may take place power plays internal to the guerrilla movement. Army units may, however, lay siege to the sanctuary (by registering their troops with the Province Umpire) with the following effect:

- 1) Troops and troop commanders may not engage in any other activities involving power plays or violence while the siege is in progress.
- 2) Troops are incapacitated (they will be held by the Umpire) for five minutes after their commander announces to the Umpire that he is breaking off the siege. Commanders may engage in power plays during this period.
- 3) Individual insurgent unit leaders may leave the sanctuary under siege. Once out, they are subject to normal arrest rules, but not by the forces involved in the siege. They must pass through the designated Province.
- 4) If the attacking army forces outnumber the besieged guerrillas by at least two military units to one, then the guerrilla troops may not leave the sanctuary until the siege is lifted. (This gives any guerrilla troops an effective 5-minute head start on the army following a siege.) If the attacking force has less than a two-to-one superiority, guerrilla troops may leave at any time.
- 5) Once a siege has begun, individual guerrilla leaders may enter the sanctuary. Guerrilla troops may not enter the sanctuary once a siege has started. They may, however, enter the designated Province from the outside and attack the besieging troops in under conventional violence rules. If the attack is successful, the siege is lifted and trapped guerrilla troops may leave the sanctuary.
- 6) The Province Umpire will inform the inhabitants of the sanctuary when a siege begins and of any changes in its status.

### Government Palace

A separate room construed to be part of the Capital Province is set aside for the private use of the Government team. All traffic in or out of the Palace must pass through the Capital Province. Army troops are counted at double strength if they are in the Palace defending it against attack from the outside.

### Exile

Three separate rooms are reserved as places of exile. They are designated as Washington, Mexico City, and Havana. Any mobile player may visit or be sent to Mexico City. Some players (as indicated in their Profiles) may be restricted from visiting either Washington or Havana. Except for these restrictions there is free travel allowed among the three exile cities. Exiles will be informed by the Press Umpire of all major developments in the country (with some possible time delay). They may also send and receive written messages to and from players in the country. Exiles may return to the country with a time delay counted after they inform the Chief Umpire of their desire to do so. There is a five-minute delay for return to the Capital Province; a ten-minute delay for any other province.

### Washington

One player, located in the Washington Room, represents the United States Government. He may not leave the room, but may send and receive written messages to and from the Country. He will also be informed by the Press Umpire of major developments in the Country. With the express approval of the Chief Umpire, Washington may send additional resources (money or U. S. troops) into the country to be placed under control of any designated member of the U. S. Country team. There will be a ten-minute delay on the movement of U. S. troops to the country after Washington secures the approval of the Chief Umpire.

### ASSASSINATION

Individually named players, but not, of course, players representing groups, may be assassinated. Any player contemplating assassination must state his intentions to the Chief Umpire whose decision as to whether or not the assassination is successful is final.

A player considering assassination should give consideration to the rule stated under the heading "Critique". This rule puts all assassinated players on the jury that evaluate the exercise and the success or failure of individual players.

## CRITIQUE

Those participants playing roles styled as population groups (the "immobile" players) will serve as a critical panel to evaluate the play of the exercise.\* To this end, they should observe and record as fully as possible all events taking place within their respective provinces and evaluate these events together with information reaching them from other provinces in terms of the overall significance to the exercise and of the effect on the country. The jury panel will, in effect, determine the winner of the game, based on the general criterion of the extent to which each player achieves his objectives consistent with realistic play under character constraints.

At the end of the exercise, each member of the panel will be called upon to give a brief critique of the actions of the other players. From these critiques, Control will formulate a consensus position. The other players will then be given the opportunity to answer the various criticisms of the jury. The jury panel will then have the opportunity to reconsider their findings and a final consensus will be arrived at.

It should be emphasized that the jury members are also free participants in the exercise, subject only to the constraints of the general rules and of their particular character profiles. They are thus in a position both to influence the game outcome through permissible actions within the exercise and also to provide the basis for post-exercise evaluation. Because of this dual role, and because of limitations of movement, it can be expected that the perceptions of the jury members of the game events. In this regard, the jury decision will tend to simulate a popular consensus typical of the country rather than an abstract "verdict of history". It is anticipated, however, that the combined experience of the jury will tend to balance off most biases built into the exercise. While the actions of the jury members within the game will be carried out "in character", for purposes of post-game analysis the jury is asked to step out of character to make an objective critique based, however, only on that information which they may have acquired during the actual play.

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\* Any mobile players who are "assassinated" during the play of the exercise will remain in their provinces to observe, and will serve on the jury at the end of the game. (Players contemplating assassination should take note of this and proceed with caution!)

## 2.4 Social Variables and Personality Profiles

### Social Variables for POLITICA

The profiles of the players were constructed by the developers in terms of the following social variables, as applicable.

1. Social distance and mobility in group hierarchy, intra-group social class status (inferior, equal, superior).
2. Social cohesion of group (how much under what pressures).
3. Nature of binding force of a group; personalism (allegiance to a particular man), and/or ideological force.
4. Social control; nature of controlling force (through social hierarchy, or control of the "name" of actions).
5. Social self-awareness as a definite group (group identity).  
Closed membership vs permeability or non-exclusiveness.
6. Social Organization; as measured by intra-group communication, role differentiation, division of labor, specialization.
7. Homogeneity/heterogeneity in terms of:
  - (a) Ideology
  - (b) Expectation from association
  - (c) Means of expression
8. Cohesiveness; tendency to remain in association.
9. Interest in Stability; degree of perceived "disruption" necessary to motivate individuals and groups into action.  
Trade-off between desires and aspirations and actual structurally limited capabilities.
10. Principal social strengths (resources); importance to economic or political functioning.
11. Concept of self-worth (aspiration-setting influenced).
12. Group economic patterns of interests.
13. Political-Economic goals; constrained by other values such as nationalism.

14. Particularistic (degree of isolation of) political/economic position and goals (determines the degree of inter/intra group competition and dependency).
15. Nationalism; primacy of national interests and needs, as perceived by the group; predisposition to react in specific ways to specific ideological and instrumental situations involving national interest or need.
16. Principal social weakness (inadequacies in the intra- and inter-group situation).
17. Group attitude toward change (self-actualization needs, aspiration level); mobility, expectation.
18. Group attitude toward equality; self-esteem needs of subjective equality and individual, non-group identity.
19. Perception of need for standing alone or in coalition.
20. Affiliation:
  - a. Primary (most frequently consulted) formal (stated, traditional) or informal interest partners.
  - b. Secondary formal and informal interest partners.
21. Isolation: related to perception, communication, and particularistic political/economic position and goals: determines sensitivity to conflict-issues.
22. Ability and tendency to interact in political process.
23. Communication:
  - a. Principal sources of formal information
  - b. Principal sources of intelligence (informal or illegal)
  - c. Degree of integration in national communications net
  - d. Distortion in communications
  - e. Value ascribed to communications; low or high
  - f. Principal other group targets for expression of satisfaction-dissatisfaction
24. Group "style" ways of doing things in terms of:
  - a. Violence/persuasion
  - b. Honor/opportunism
  - c. Unity/individualism
  - d. Caution/daring
  - e. Reliability/unreliability
  - f. Active/passive

25. Attitudes toward authority:
  - a. Tendency to act in authoritarian (unilateral, arbitrary, forceful) manner.
  - b. Tendency to react against authoritarian tactics
  - c. Tendency to react favorably to authoritarian tactics
  - d. Belief in utility of violence
  - e. Belief in utility of persuasion
26. Cultural values; only insofar as they are related to political process:
  - a. Tendency to and attitude toward betrayal of commitment or confidence
  - b. Trust in a particular institution such as the church or a particular political party
  - c. Propensity to define outsiders as hostile
  - d. Propensity to define outsiders as potentially cooperative
  - e. Propensity to consider human relations as exploitative, or mutually beneficial
  - f. Desire for dominance or expectation of subordination
  - g. Immediate gains essential or patience for the future
27. Language and dialects; may differ for some groups within a society
28. Religion and sects; political preferences and taboos
29. Concept of justice; related to style and values
30. No consensus on rules or conflict only within rules; (anti-systemic or system loyal).
31. Standard of living: Average, range, and trends of the group.
32. Trend of ratio of real family income average to subsistence level expenditures.
33. Average family size and solidarity.
34. Literacy.
35. Average highest education level.
36. Crime rate and three most common types of crime.

37. Degree of acknowledgment of obligation to take an active role in the political system (low, medium, high).
38. Tendency to regard government and politics as unpredictable and threatening forces (degree of political alienation).
39. Degree of voluntary association membership (helps determine sensitivity and degree of involvement in the political system).
40. Oriented more as passive subjects (expecting a governmental output) or as participant citizens (making their own political output). Is political system viewed as exploitative or representative?

#### Personality Profiles

After the first play, these variables were schematized on a matrix reflecting values for each of the variables and for every player in the game. Then the variables, essentially an output of the play of the first game, were translated into specific, jargon-free guidelines for action which could be used as inputs in the second game. Each player in the second game was then presented with an individualized personality profile which, in plain language, structured his role in accordance with the list of social variables. The players of the second game were thus constrained, through the medium of these profiles, to adopt the personalities and attitudes displayed by the players of the first game. A repeatable set of characters was thus created.

The personality profile also afforded the developers the opportunity to include additional input variables defining the initial state and possible dynamics of change--for example, sociological groupings, group cohesion, traditional attitudes, vocational patterns, dominant group attitudes, need affiliation, and social mobility. The profiles also included the player's voting and population strength; his initial loyalty; his objectives; his power units; and any additional information not presented in the scenario which could enrich his role. The profiles in effect constituted microscenarios. Three group profiles and three individual profiles are included below. Complete sets are given in Appendices I, II and III.

Separate economic transaction sheets were used to emphasize for the player his economic patterns of interest. These sheets indicated the source and amount of the player's previous year's income, and left a space for him to mark down his formal and informal economic transactions during the game. A complete set of economic transaction sheets for each scenario are given in Appendices I, II and III.

## Sample Group Profiles

### MIDDLE CLASS-----VELASQUEZ CITY

Study the scenario.

Objective: to keep earning a living  
to oppose the election of any government which would increase taxes  
to keep the shops open

Points are won when there is stability in Patria. Points are taken away when there is disruption.

Attitudes: You oppose improvement of the lot of the peasants or of the slum dwellers because they are then a threat to your social position. One of them might marry your daughter! You are not sure what your response would be should you be faced with a choice between Lopez, on the one hand, and Rodriguez, on the other. You disapprove of Lopez on grounds of his objectionable personality but he would not be a threat to your basic and important material interests; Rodriguez personally isn't such a bad fellow but his social program tends to disturb you as you fear it may give inordinate influence to the lower classes. You believe in the government and in the established order. You are responsive to all appeals which promise you economic and material benefit and will be scored for responding or failing to respond accordingly. You are more interested in a man's political party than his ideology or his personality, and have tended to vote CD out of habit. In the 1961 elections, in fact, you voted heavily CD, but APRA strength has been mounting since that time. You strongly disapprove of nationalization of industry and strongly approve of the sanctity of private property. By a coincidence of interests, you have tended in the past to support many of the same things supported by the landowners and capitalists. You shudder at the word "communism".

Likely actions: You are most likely to engage in verbal persuasion or verbal expression of support or non-support according to your attitudes; next most likely to join other groups. In drastic cases you may refuse to pay taxes but are not at all likely to strike or riot, as you deplore violence. You may phone the middle classes in other cities but may not travel.

Population: 170,000

Votes: 75,000

Your voters are:

highly cohesive under all pressures (may not split votes)  
bound through common economic circumstances in a common outlook  
not very highly self-aware as a group  
highly interested in the stability of Patrian politics  
highly interested in bettering your material advantages  
moderately nationalistic  
predominantly shopkeepers and wage earners  
frequent listeners to the national radio and tv network  
of moderate income bracket  
of high school education  
trusting in the CD party



VELASQUEZ-----NORTH END SLUM

Votes: 60,000

Population: 120,000

Initial loyalty: APRA

Objectives: Elect a candidate who can assure you betterment of living conditions and who can implement social reform

The North End Slum has:

- a low interest in stability
- a low conception of self-worth
- little social organization
- a low degree of acknowledgment to take an active role in the political system
- a tendency to regard all government and politics as somewhat unpredictable and threatening forces
- a low degree of membership in voluntary associations such as trade unions
- a tendency to regard itself as a passive subject in the political process rather than participant citizens
- an average family size of seven, with the father often not in evidence
- a low rate of literacy
- a high rate of crime
- little interest in nationalism and appeals based on it
- a high interest in economic appeals

Attitudes: Your initial loyalty to APRA does not mean that you cannot be persuaded to change your loyalty to some other party if it can satisfy your interests better. If Rodriguez gains power, however, you are likely to support him. If Valdez should gain power, you would probably support him but tend to prefer Rodriguez to Valdez. However, you would prefer Valdez to Obregon, should he become a candidate, because you have difficulty responding to Obregon's urbane and sophisticated appeals. You are unlikely to entertain proposals from the CD unless there is something in them for you. Should Lopez gain power you would be very angry and there is no telling what you might do.

You are uprooted, transients, and often exploited. You would like to have someone you could blame for your plight. In your voting you are likely to be swayed more by charismatic and personalistic appeals rather than by ideology. If you all went on strike, it would have a major dislocating effect on the economy but you have difficulty getting organized.

You may not travel and may not use the phones to communicate with other cities but, like everyone else, you may listen to national radio appeals and be influenced by them according to your interests and attitudes. Then you may cast your votes as a bloc in the national elections. Points are given for your responding to appeals according to your attitudes. For your economic resources, see the attached transaction sheet.

VELASQUEZ-----SOUTH END SLUM

Initial loyalty: FLN

Population: 10,000

Votes: 4,000

Attitudes: Your grievances and burdens have been great. Your people have been exploited and there is much unemployment. You therefore support anything which promises the quickest change in the status quo, including violence and terror. You are prone to pre-election violence and post-election riots and demonstrations. Human relations are in your opinion exploitative, not mutually beneficial. You sense a low degree of obligation to work through the existing political system, and tend to regard the present government as incomprehensible to you. You have a low degree of participation in such voluntary associations as trade unions, and are oriented towards the present government more as passive objects than as participant citizens.

You favor Ibarbouru and his band very much, largely on grounds of his personality rather than his ideology, although what he shouts seems to make sense. If it were impossible to support Ibarbouru, you might consider supporting Rodriguez if he granted you specific concessions, but would not support Valdez because he rarely makes it to town. If Sebastiano were re-elected you would be very disturbed and might consider taking action. If Lopez somehow got in, you would be extremely angry and there is no telling what you might do, although there is talk that there would be violent activity. Obregon to you is just as bad as the CD, if not worse, because he pretends to be supporting your interests while actually implementing the policies of the conservatives. You oppose O'Brien and the military establishment for its anti-FLN activities. You can be bought but are likely to doublecross the buyer. You can, in addition to the list of possible actions on the instruction sheet, refuse to pay rent to the slumlords or refuse to pay taxes. You may not travel outside of Velasquez but if Ibarbouru visits you he can carry messages for you. You tend toward opportunism, but not at the cost of diluting your militancy. You are highly unstable and unreliable. A day spent in violence is nothing lost, since most of you are out of work anyway. You may try to persuade the other slums in town and anyone else you meet that it is foolish to wait for the reforms promised by APRA.

Objective: maximum disruption; you gain points the more society breaks down. You receive points for successfully avoiding the rules imposed by the government. The South End Slum also has:

- a low conception of self-worth
- little social organization
- a high rate of crime
- little interest in nationalism and appeals based on it

Sample Individual Profiles

VALDEZ-----peasant leader-----Fertilidad

You are the rural fanatic peasant leader described in the scenario. You are highly unpredictable and ready to use violence if necessary, but there is no telling what form this may take. You are the leader of the APRA party in Fertilidad and share in APRA's general successes or failures unless you have specifically been read out of the party.

Your relations with Rodriguez, the national leader of the APRA party, have never been good and may be deteriorating. Rodriguez views your wild-eyed fanaticism as keeping many good solid Patrians from joining APRA for fear that you may have influence in the party. Nevertheless, Rodriguez tolerates you, mainly because you have the ability to deliver the votes of practically all the Fertilidad peasants into the APRA column.

Your hold over Rodriguez can be tightened by your threatening to defect to the FLN, with which you flirt from time to time. However, "you are not now and have never been" a member of the FLN. You are willing to use the FLN if APRA for some reason fails to give you satisfaction, but you realize that the FLN would at the same time be trying to use you.

Your peasants are almost religiously loyal to you and view you as a kind of savior. Their faith is based on your charismatic appeal.

You oppose the landowners and their agents and insist that a condition for giving APRA your support must be that APRA promises to implement a sweeping program of land reform immediately upon gaining power. The hold of the landowners must be broken. If APRA doesn't grant this, there is always the danger that you will throw in with the FLN.

You tend toward violence, not persuasion; towards honor, not opportunism; toward daring, not caution. You sometimes tend to act in an authoritarian manner over the peasants because you can afford to, and you also feel that you know better than they do what is good for them.

If it seems as if Rodriguez will gain power, you will try for a post---perhaps minister of agriculture ----in his government. If the CD stays in power, you will be angry and may lead peasant revolts. If Lopez gets in power, there is the danger that he will throw you in jail, as he believes you are a communist.

The military in Fertilidad is keeping an intelligence eye on your activities and your relations with them are poor.

Since you are aware of the corruption of the government representative in Fertilidad and are threatening to expose him, your relations with him are poor as well.

IBARBOURU-----FLN LEADER

1,000 men in your band

no votes

You are the leader of the FLN (national liberation forces) of Patria. Schooled and reared in the filthiest slums of Velasquez, you left the university before you could be thrown out and traveled abroad, where your Marxist-Leninist ideas seemed to be upheld by the conditions you saw. You then returned to your native Patria determined to liberate it from the imperialist yoke and from the stranglehold imposed upon it by the economic cartels of the colossus of the North. In this noble goal you found support both home and abroad.

At present your main areas of support, aside from your own fervently loyal band in the mountains, are 1) the law students at Velasquez University; 2) the South End Slum in Velasquez; and 3) the miners of the lower pit. However, you seek to gain support by feeding on unrest and grievances wherever you can find them. Your primary means of eliciting support is the promise of immediate ownership of the means of production by the people working them----land to the peasants, the factories to the workers, the mines to the miners. Many people decline to support you because they are afraid of your violence, but at this point you feel that violence is objectively progressive because it demonstrates to all the militancy and muscularity of your movement (often far out of proportion to your actual strength) and gains maximum publicity without yet involving severe reprisals against you. (You are sought, and there is a reward for your head, but as yet the army is not out in force looking for you and you are in no armed or guerilla combat with the armed forces).

You are clever and unpredictable. You gain points whenever there is disruption in Patria, and gain additional points when cause the disruption yourself. If you manage to cause the disruption yourself and yet succeed in having Patria believe that someone else did it, you gain still more points. However, this works both ways: someone else might engage in violence and succeed in having it blamed on you---for which you lose points.

You may engage in terrorism (abductions, night rides, thievery, gunfire, etc.) and sabotage (bridge explosions, burnings, etc.) but may not kill anyone (as this would remove them from action). You may and are encouraged to propogandize, distribute literature, make speeches, and generally agitate. You may travel anywhere in the country (at your own risk).

You actually would not welcome an APRA takeover because the present system gives credence to your charges of exploitation while a government that gave the illusion of granting reforms in favor of the people would undercut the need for your group in the eyes of many. However, you would support Valdez if only to use him by infiltrating his movement to gain power and then destroying him. You also seek to woo other APRA-ites away from their go slow attitude to your militant movement. If there should ever be a bandwagon movement for APRA, you are not sure whether you would climb on it, to infiltrate it later; or whether you would treat it with disdain and have nothing to do with it because it would dilute your impact.

MR. ARTHUR HAMILTON----CUPRIA MANAGER OF PATRIA MINERALES  
S. A. (mines)

**OBJECTIVE:** Keep the mines open, keep the money coming in, keep anyone who might nationalize the mines from gaining power.

Your personal income depends on the mines staying open and producing for Anaconda. You take orders from Alexander Jackson, who is Anaconda's man in Velesquez City. You may also have some contact with Eduardo Del Solar, who has a minority interest in the mining company, but you tend not to pay too much attention to him.

When the mines are open, you are paid (by the umpire) an amount equal to the value of the copper produced. After paying off the miners and keeping out your own salary (it may seem large, but it represents a rather large establishment), you send the rest to Jackson. You may not raise wages without Jackson's permission, but you may lower them at your own discretion, unless given express orders to the contrary by Jackson.

Your principal problem is political agitation among the miners, both for APRA and for the FLN. This agitation against the Company may lead to strikes and/or sabotage which will, of course, cut into production. A worse threat, but a longer range one, is that of nationalization of the mines if APRA takes power. You are not above politicking among the miners for CD, and you might well favor Lopez if the mines get too disorderly. The FLN terrorists are also active in the area. You tend to be dissatisfied with the army garrison's reluctance to pursue the FLN with vigor, and you resent the government's failure to reinforce the garrison.

As a foreigner, you do not, of course, have a vote in the election. At the same time, however, you do not have to pay any income tax, since taxation without representation is tyranny.

When the mines are not working effectively, due to a strike or for some other reasons, the company does not earn any money, and unless you correct the problem speedily, neither will you.

Power Rating: 20

## 2.5 Specific Scenarios: Patria, Grenadilla, Inertia

The following three scenarios--Patria, Grenadilla, and Inertia highlight three distinct aspects of Political evolution.

Inertia is in an early stage of political development. As a military dictatorship, it tolerates no opposition. The problem for the country is the overthrow of the dictatorship and the emergence of democratic government.

Patria highlights the response of an incumbent ("CD") government to an electoral threat from the moderate left ("APRA"). When an opposition party wins an election and legally takes power without violence, that country has "won" the Patria game by virtue of orderly democratic change and moves closer to "Grenadilla".

Grenadilla tests the response of a moderate left ("APRA") government to a substantial threat from the far left ("FLN"). The problem for the government in Grenadilla is the implementation of the promised social reforms in the face of an insurgent threat.

Thus, in a sense, these are not three different countries, but a single country in three different stages of political evolution. Taken together, they can serve as a structure for modelling any area-specific situation of interest.

A table of the correspondences among the characters of each of the three scenarios is given below.

INERTIA	PATRIA	GRENADILLA
Santa Filomena	Velasquez	Fandango City
Suballa	O'Brien	de Freitas
Moreno	Lopez	Bruno
Navarro	Postmaster General	_____
Medina	Sebastiano	Hernandez
Giannelli	Rodriguez	Guedalla
Saladio (Armendariz)	Ibarbouru	Bunuel
Garcia	_____	_____
Lefevre	_____	de Zulueta
de Prano	Garrison Commander	Garrison Commander
Torremolinos	Minister of Justice	Minister of the Interior
Eliot Greenough	_____	Winthrop Leverett Towers III
Harvey Richardson	_____	John B. Goode
Y. F. Bill	_____	_____
Alexander J. Pippin	Jackson	{ Macleod Tex Reagan
H. John Lauterpacht } Mme. Cervantes }	{ Arvakian } { Del Solar }	{ Von Pontz Collidar
Credenza	Landowners	Gonzalez
Middle Class	Middle Class	Middle Class
Industrial Workers	Industrial Workers	Industrial Workers
Slums	{ North End Slum } { South End Slum }	Slums
Students	{ Law Students } { Social Science Students }	{ Law Students } { Social Science Students }
Lucretia	Fertilidad	Verdia
Morgan and troops	{ 42nd Armored } { 73rd Infantry } { 102nd Regiment }	42nd Armored 73rd Infantry 102nd Regiment
Sanza	Governor	Governor
Guzman } Pascual }	Overseers	Diaz

Lucretia	Fertilidad	Verdia
Inertian Peasants } Sarakanese } Workers }	Peasants	Peasants
Wang ba Dan } Choi Oi Sao }	Valdez	Carreras
Truong Van Dong	_____	Infidel
Marinara	Cupria	Marque
Lt. Col. Albeniz	Governor	Governor
Col. Madeira	Garrison Commander	Garrison Commander
Jimenez	_____	Castango
Caulfield	Hamilton	Clark
Fishermen	Miners, North Shaft	Petrolia Workers
(Cannery Workers)	{ Miners, Middle Shaft }	Grese Workers
Pancho Vargas	{ Miners, Lower Pit }	Jello Workers
	_____	_____
	San Cristobal	Santa Maria
Martinez	Arana	Salivar
Marico	Obregon	_____
Middle Class	Middle Class	Middle Class
Cannery Workers	Urban Workers	Urban Workers
Slums	Slums	Slums
(Albeniz)	Governor	Governor
(Madeira)	Garrison	Garrison
(Jimenez)	_____	Enerves

NOTE: In Inertia, Marinara province is a combination of the industrial province and the provincial city.



2.5.1 SPECIFIC SCENARIOS: "INERTIA"  
(See Appendix I for Individual Player Materials)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Legend has it that several voyagers from Europe and Asia stopped briefly on the steaming coast of what is now the Benevolent Republic of Inertia well before the nation's "official" discovery in 1509 by Socrates de Naronha, a Portuguese adventurer sailing under the colors of Skanderbeg II, King-Emperor of Albania. St. Brendan the Navigator is said to have sighted the Inertian coast after a voyage of 127 days, but to have continued sailing south toward a more hospitable landfall. Luysantserengiin Bymbodorge, a wandering 13th century Mongolian monk whose travels have recently been publicized by the Chinese Communists,<sup>1</sup> left an account of "a vile and foul-smelling land" which is almost certainly Inertia, and Teams of Norwegian specialists who have been studying the bones of the Viking navigator Hjalmar the Harlequin, have definitely concluded that the unfortunate Norseman died of the Inertian "black rot", a loathesome disease peculiar to the country.<sup>2</sup>

Needless to say, Albanian hegemony did not last very long in this part of the New World. Most of the few dozen settlers de Noronha left behind quickly succumbed to the dreaded black rot and the rest were exterminated by hostile Indians. Two years later, Dominico Barberini, a Sicilian adventurer in Spanish hire, claimed the plague-ridden coast for His Most Catholic Majesty. A fort was erected on the heights commanding Santa Filomena harbor, later to be destroyed and its garrison massacred by Morgan's pirates.

<sup>1</sup> Bymbodorge, Luysantserengiin, The Urgiad, Peking (Guozi Shudian). 1964.

<sup>2</sup> See Archibald Hilary "Fungus Impossibilis; Investigating the Inertian Black Rot" Journal of Psychoceramics, XXI, August, 1965. Page 17. Black rot appears in two forms--the external, wherein the victim frays away at the extremities; and the internal, in which the fraying is not obvious and death strikes suddenly.

After Morgan's seizure of the harbor, Santa Filomena became a haven for all manner of privateers, buccaneers and assorted riff-raff and remained so through much of the 17th century. Indeed, the infamous pirate Black Bart met his end there in 1609, again from that Inertian curse, the black rot. A contemporary account describes Bart as having frayed at the extremities until he was the merest remnant of his former self.

In 1654, a British squadron under Admiral Sir Peter F. Ruebster-Queeg put an end to piratical activities originating at Santa Filomena. Nonetheless, descendants of the pirates and the wives they took among the local Indian women continue, even today, to play a prominent role in Inertian society.<sup>3</sup>

With the demise of the piracy industry, Inertia sank back into its traditional lethargy. Save for sporadic and occasionally exuberant peasant rebellions, very little happened until 1824, when the nation won its independence more or less by default. The small Spanish garrison which had long been accustomed to Inertia's particularly noxious clime was withdrawn to reinforce units fighting Bolivar further south, whereupon a group of plotters led by Flash Hampden, mustachiod descendant of Black Bart, seized power. Troops newly arrived from Spain rushed to put down the Inertian rebellion and quickly succeeded in routing Hampden's rag-tag Liberation Army. The black rot, however, came to Hampden's aid and the Spaniards were soon fraying away miserably. Hampden entered Santa Filomena in triumph.

The new nation was recognized by the U.S. in 1825 and by Britain the following year. Hampden installed himself as "Maximum Redeemer" for life, ruling with a combination of terror and beneficence that seems to have become traditional for Inertian leaders.

The somnolent Inertian national character was a major factor in a decision taken by two European entrepreneurs, Nottebohm and Boffolo, to import foreign workers to man the sugar plantations which Don Luis Credenza, grandfather of the present great landowner, established in Lucretia province in the 1870's. Nottebohm sent an envoy to the King of Sarakhan and soon, several thousand immigrants from that diminutive Asian country arrived in Inertia.

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<sup>3</sup> Madame Dulcinea Cervantes, nee Grunion, wife of the Inertian ambassador to the United States, is said to be a descendant of Edmondo Grunion, a rather prolific pirate who infested the area in 1648 or thereabouts. Madame Cervantes who has remained in Inertia to look after her husband's family estates there, is a leading authority on pirate lore.

The Sarakhanese, as is their wont, considered themselves culturally superior to the native Inertians, while the Inertians saw the Sarakhanese as unwanted foreigners bent on undermining their already-desperate economic position. The antagonisms thus created led to the first stirrings of political consciousness among the masses and to persecution of the Asian interlopers. Today, Sarakhanese continue to work in the sugar industry, though their position is greatly inferior even to that of the impoverished native workers. They have no political rights, no representation in the government and until recently, even their citizenship was in doubt.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, many native Inertians found employment in the fishing industry, which came to be dominated in the 20th century by a great North American monopoly, United Fish of Boston. United Fish maintains a large cannery in San Tomas. This sustains the San Tomas economy, employing most of the industrial workers.

20th century Inertian political history has alternated between near-anarchy, as in such troubled times as those which followed the death of Field Marshal President Allegro in 1911, and periods of near-monarchy, as that which began in 1916 after Gerard de Flores, "El Conquistador", managed to put down the near-warlords who had sprung up in various parts of the country after Allegro's demise. De Flores' despotic rule lasted until he was assassinated on March 2, 1934, whereupon a bloody power struggle between various military factions devastated the country for four years. It was only the threat of American intervention that forced a compromise, through which a seemingly innocuous colonel named Ernesto Suballa emerged as interim president in December, 1938.

Suballa, however, had no intention of playing a passive role. With the assistance of several young military officers, he moved against the generals who had given him the shadow of power. All the generals were killed in their beds early in the morning of January 19, 1939, by members of a conspiratorial organization called the Falange Activista Nacional del Gobierno (F.A.N.G.), which grew into the current secret police agency of the same name. Bartolomeo Navarro was the original organizer of F.A.N.G. and still remains as secret

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<sup>4</sup> President Suballa published a decree affirming that all persons born in Inertia were Inertian citizens on August 9, 1964. In practice, however, Sarakhanese are required to pay heavy taxes but are not eligible for government positions or military service.

police chief with the rank of brigadier general. Colonel Porfirio Moreno, the officer who prevented the Santa Filomena garrison from intervening against Suballa's coup, is presently a major general in command of the Inertian army, while Major Manuel Medina, whose influence with other junior officers in the provinces enabled Suballa to consolidate power quickly, is now a brigadier general in charge of civil administration (Civil government in Inertia is carried out by military officers). Except for Field Marshal President Suballa - the undisputed master of Inertia - these three men are the most powerful in the country. All opposition to the Suballa regime remains illegal and the government apparatus seems to have been successful in suppressing what little has arisen.

Nonetheless, friends of democracy saw what they had hoped for between 1947 and 1949, when Antonio Gianelli, professor of economics at the University of Santa Filomena, attempted to transform the RDP (which Suballa had set up as a showcase party under Pedro Veronica, a faithful crony) into a legitimate democratic opposition. Gianelli appears to have had only limited success in attracting a popular base, but Suballa, loathe to admit any opposition to his personal rule, forced Gianelli into exile and outlawed the RDP in December, 1949. Gianelli was permitted to return to Inertia after the Kennedy election in 1960 in order to placate American opinion and to make Inertia eligible for Alianza funds. Gianelli is nonetheless kept under surveillance and is not allowed to engage in political activity, though a clandestine RDP organization doubtless exists.

Another party, the Communist-led FLN, has also appeared in the past few years. Very little is known about this group or about its alleged leader, Carlos Saladio, an ex-student of Gianelli's who followed the professor into exile but later came under Communist influence in Mexico from whence he was sent to the Soviet Union for training. Saladio's whereabouts are unknown, though high-level Inertian officials report that he has re-entered the country and is preparing to launch guerrilla operations. Field Marshal Suballa is said to have requested substantial U.S. military aid to prepare for impending insurrection during his recent meeting with President Johnson. It does not appear likely that Suballa's request will be granted, however, in that the American country team in Inertia - Ambassador Eliot Greenough and his Military Attache, Col. Y. F. Bill in particular - are reported to be profoundly skeptical about the alleged presence of Saladio. As one veteran diplomat put it "Were Saladio really in the country,

F. A. N. G. would certainly have sent him off to organize the vampire bats by now. "

In any case--Saladio notwithstanding--almost all observers agree that the Suballa regime is so firmly entrenched in power that substantial change is highly unlikely in the foreseeable future.

## GEOGRAPHY

Located at the Northeast coast of the South American continent, Inertia is memorable to visitors mainly for its hot and humid climate. Nonetheless, anthropologists, political scientists and medical researchers have shown considerable interest in studying such unusual features of Inertian life as the back country Indians, the Sarakhanese minority and the dreaded black rot.

The nation is divided into three provinces and one special administrative zone for the capital city and its environs. Arkia, the province in the northwest, however, consists entirely of the Great Scruffia, an all-but-impenetrable region of rain forest, wet spongy ground, and mangrove. The only inhabitants are scattered Indian tribes who have fiercely resisted incursions from the outside world.<sup>4</sup>

The Murcidago or "Bat" Mountains on the northern border are also sparsely settled, despite the fact that valuable mineral and guano deposits are thought to exist in the many caves that honeycomb the region. As various prospectors have discovered, however, the caves are inhabited by a particularly voracious species of vampire bat, the continued presence of which tends to render the region unpromising for economic development.

Marinara Province, located to the east of the Great Scruffia and including the Murcielago Mountains, extends south to the Rio de Hampden. Most of Marianara's population lives in the fishing villages along the coast and in the prosperous, conservative port city of San Tomas.<sup>5</sup> The scion of the old aristocratic families in San Tomas is one Getulio de Bruegel Martinez, possibly one

<sup>4</sup> Seventy-three clergymen of various denominations are known to have been eaten by the tribesmen since 1947, when the Inertian government began to keep records. Of these 48 were Roman Catholic, 13 Methodist, 9 Seventh Day Adventist, 2 Lutheran and 1 Jewish. (Inertian Yearbook, 1964, p. 17.)

<sup>5</sup> The backlands of Marianara Province are not suitable for human habitation. Not only does the land have extraordinarily high salinity--which make agricultural development difficult--but this region is also the breeding ground for the spores which are thought to cause the black rot. (See Hilary, op. cit. pp. 23 - 5).

of the richest men in Inertia. San Tomas is the site of the United Fish Cannery. Its plant manager, Arthur Caulfield, foresees considerable expansion for the industry in the near future since the demand for the uribu fish, found in large schools off the Inertian coast, and known for its salty taste and pungent odor, has grown very substantially in the United States and Western Europe in the past few years. The uribu supports the economy of San Tomas as many San Tomas men fish for it while their wives work in the canneries. Paranthetically, San Tomas has another product which is in great demand in Europe and North America--the paintings of Pancho Vargas, the world-famous Inertian artist, who has chosen to live and paint among the simple fishermen and cannery workers of Marinara.

Across the Rio de Hampden to the south lies Lueretia Province, a backward region where sugar cultivation is practiced. Absentee landlordism is rife--one Alfredo Libertino Credenza owns most of the land in Lucretia--and the general condition of the peasantry is considered scandalous even by Latin American standards.

The peasants, however, are internally divided between the native Inertian majority and the descendants of sugar workers imported from the Asian kingdom of Sarakhan in the 19th Century. The natives dislike the Sarakhanese intensely and very little assimilation has taken place despite the efforts of Wang Ba-dan, the respected Sarakhanese elder. The Suballa regime has consistently opposed any form of integration, however, and some observers detect the beginnings of Sarakhanese extremism in the substantial following which the neo-Mithraic religious group led by a mysterious bonze named Choi Oi Sao seems to have attracted. On the other hand, minimal American aid has begun to reach the Sarakhanese through the efforts of Harvey Richardson, a dedicated AID official. Truong Van Dong, a Sarakhanese teacher, has also begun a potentially fruitful literary program among his oppressed community. Dong has received no encouragement from the Government.

Santa Filomena remains a rather provincial city with little save its lively night life to commend it to the traveller. Nonetheless, the Government has made a vigorous effort to increase tourism of late and Pedro Lefevre, head of the Inertian Tourist Board, reports an impressive rise in the number of visitors in the past six months. In fact, H. Jon Lauterpacht, the widely-respected Inertian entrepreneur, has seen enough future in the tourist trade to

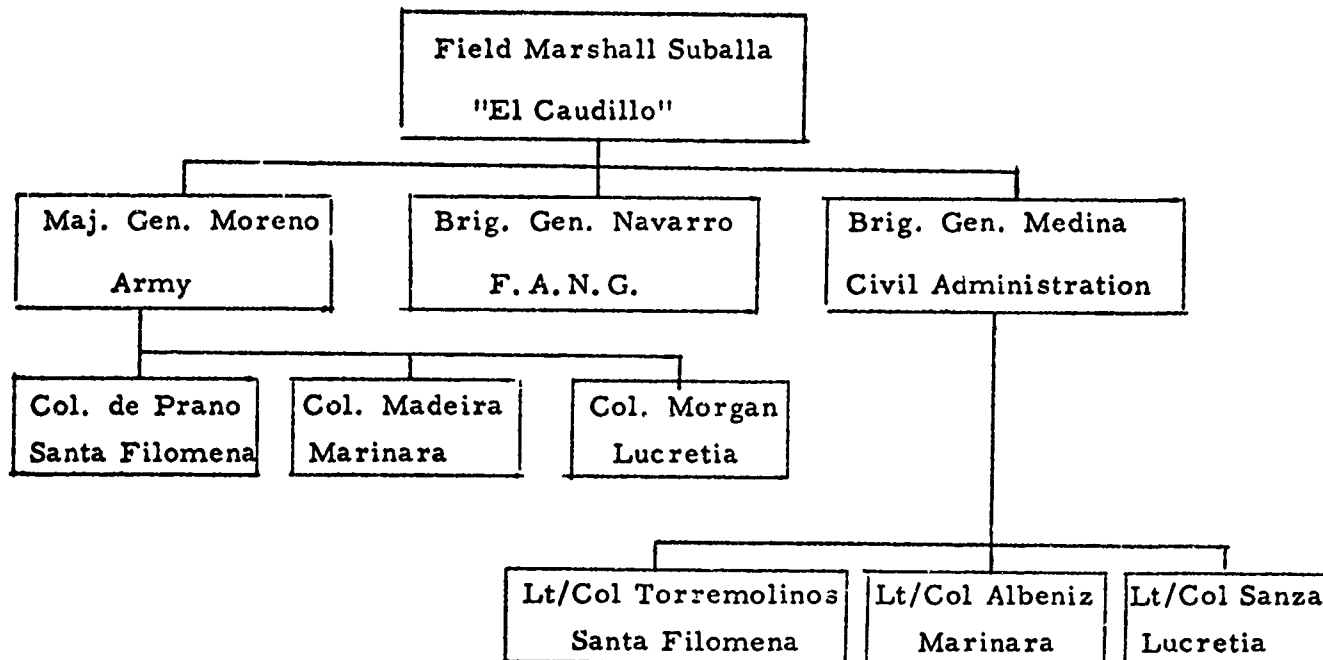
finance a lavish new hotel in Santa Filomena. Lauterpacht is also reputedly planning to build tourist facilities in San Tomas, where the only accommodations at present are two seedy hotels owned by a local businessman named Fernando Marico.

The growth of tourism would be a great boon to Santa Filomena. Very little manufacturing exists in the capital--most workers are in services and light industry. There is a small but growing slum problem, what with peasants moving into the capital from Lucretia, and a new source of employment will be necessary. Professor Jaime Garcia at the University of Santa Filomena has been working on a study of the slum problem but his results have not as yet been publishable.



## ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Inertian administration proceeds along simple and straightforward military lines which following chart should serve to illustrate.



The major economic power in the country is United Fish, whose representative in Santa Filemeno, one Alexander Pippin, enjoys the confidence of "El Caudillo". Other major economic powers in the country include H. Jon Lauterpacht, leading entrepreneur in Santa Filomena; Ambassador Cervantes, whose wealth is for the most part inherited, and the landowner Credenza, who exports raw sugar cane from his holdings in Lucretia. Of these three, only Lauterpacht is an active businessman; Cervantes is on diplomatic assignment and Credenza relies on his notoriously cruel land agent, Guillermo "El Tigre" Guzman to manage his affairs on the sugar plantations.

Aside from Lauterpacht's attempts to built the tourist industry, there are other development plans afoot in Inertia. Modest American aid has come into the country through the Alianza and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America has sent an expert, Dr. Carlos Armendariz, to report on

long-range development possibilities. As mentioned above, Professor Jaime Garcia at the University of Santa Filomena has been engaged in a study of the urban center's problems and in Marinara Province, Fulgencio Jimenez, a Paris-educated Inertian sociologist, has been inquiring into the prospects for diversifying the fish-based economy.

Despite these signs of change, Inertia's economic development remains almost entirely in the planning stage. Rapid economic development does not appear likely in the reasonably near future if only because of the general backwardness of the country and the conservatism of the Suballa regime.

INERTIA STATISTICS

Population-2,500,000  
Working Age Population -1,250,000  
Birth Rate-45 per 1000  
Death Rate-15 per 1000  
Natural Increase -30 per 1000  
Urban Population-500,000  
Government Expenditure-\$200,000,000  
Government Revenue-\$200,000,000  
Military Personnel-32,000  
Military Expenditure-\$43,000,000  
Newspaper Circulation -175,000  
Radios -150,000  
Television sets-None  
Spanish speakers-2,490,000  
G. N. P.- \$900,000,000  
G. N. P. Growth Rate-1.2%  
Foreign trade (exports and imports)-\$600,000,000

2.5.2 SPECIFIC SCENARIOS: "PATRIA"  
(See Appendix II for Individual Player Materials)

GENERAL

The country of Patria was discovered in 1566 by a Spanish expedition under Hernando Velasquez y Goya. It was governed under colonial rule until 1815, when it was liberated by Jorge Bolivar, little known younger brother of Simon. Up to 1946 the political history of the country has been marked by long periods of military dictatorship interspersed with relatively brief attempts at democratic government.

In 1946, the ruling military junta was overthrown by a group of young pro-democratic officers under the leadership of Major Alberto Garcia-O'Brien. This group quickly promulgated a new Constitution which is still in effect. The 1946 Constitution calls for elections every 5 years. The CD party has been in power since 1946 except for brief periods in 1954 and in 1961 when the army temporarily assumed power to prevent the CD government from implementing policies which the army considered to be anti-democratic. In 1954, the government, during unrest stemming from the post-Korean recession, attempted to establish a secret police organization under the Minister of the Interior, Julio Lopez. The army intervened to prevent the establishment of a possible rival military body, seized power but relinquished it after one month following the resignation of Lopez. This incident had little effect on the 1956 election in which CD defeated APRA by a small but decisive margin. In 1961, however, the election was very close with APRA claiming victory. With the election returns in dispute, Lopez, who re-entered the government in 1958, set aside the election. The army again took power and after six months, during which charges of electoral irregularities by both sides were investigated, CD was declared the winner and re-installed in office. Lopez, however, was not given a position in the new cabinet. There was speculation that Lopez's retirement was imposed by the army as a condition for maintenance of power by the CD. Since this incident relations between the army commander, Field Marshal Garcia-O'Brien, and President Juan Manuel Sebastiano y Vargas, who has been leader of CD since 1942, have been civil, but not too cordial.

The country is divided into four administrative districts, corresponding to the main geographical areas. The District of Velasquez includes the capital city of the same name and lies inland about half-way between the sea coast and the mountains. The District of Litoral comprises the seacoast and includes

the port city of San Cristobal. A railway and a good road, built with U. S. Aid funds, connect San Cristobal with Velasquez. The District of Fertilidad, lying north of the capital, is the chief agricultural area of the country. It is characterized by large haciendas and an absence of large towns. Transportation to the capital is marginal. The District of Cupria, which includes the mountains, is sparsely inhabited by a few Indians. Cupria is, however, the site of extensive copper deposits, the mining of which is the principal industry of the country. A rail line connects this area with the capital.

### ECONOMICS

The principal industry is copper mining in the District of Cupria. Mines are owned by Patria Minerales S. A. a 90% owned subsidiary of Anaconda Copper. The mines are managed by Arthur Hamilton who reports to Anaconda's representative in the capital, Mr. Alexander Jackson. The 10% local interest is owned by Sr. Eduardo del Solar who resides in the capital and devotes most of his time to other interests. Patria Minerales holds a 99-year lease on the copper concession which expires in 1985. Copper production represents 75% of Patria's exports and 20% of the measurable GNP. This amounts to \$400 million dollars annually. Of this, 20% or \$80 million, is profit, which is split with the government on a 50-50 basis, the Company getting \$40 million annually and the government \$40 million.

No other industry approaches the importance of mining, but in recent years, a number of light industrial plants have been established in the capital region to produce textiles, plastic goods, construction materials and a number of luxury articles. Two of the soft-drink bottling plants, an automobile assembly plant, and the country's television station are owned by Sr. Getulio Arvakian, son of an immigrant from Lebanon and probably the richest man in Patria. Sr. Arvakian spends most of his time in the capital, and though conspicuous in his consumption habits devotes considerable efforts to managing his enterprises.

The other industrialists are in general less rich, but no less conspicuous in their style of living. Since the imposition of heavy taxes on imported luxury goods and consumer items in response to a World Bank Mission's recommendation in 1959, these local industrialists have prospered; they tend to support right-wing policies and are fearful of APRA coming to power. Sr. Arvakian himself is less conservative in outlook, and is known to be friendly with Rodriguez, leader of the APRA party.

Apart from copper, other exports are bananas, sardines, small quantities of semi-precious stones, handicrafts and the like. None of these products is notably more significant than the others in the country's foreign trade.

The agricultural sector consists basically of the haciendas in the Fertilidad region, and a small number of banana plantations near the city of San Cristobal. There are also a small number of subsistence farmers scattered throughout the country, and the Indian population in the mountains of Cupria is almost universally found on unproductive old haciendas--they have very little contact with the rest of the country. Virtually all the haciendas are owned by absentee landowners who are politically conservative and reside mainly in Velasquez, leaving the management to local agents. Some few of the haciendas in Fertilidad province are progressively managed, but there have been no moves in the direction of land reform. There has in recent years been agitation for land reform, led by the local APRA organizer Valdez, who is regarded with almost mystical reverence by the colonos, but the movement has so far attracted no sympathy by political groups outside the region, except for the students at Velasquez University.

Patria was at one time a net exporter of agricultural produce, but in the last two or three years, the rapid population increase has outstripped the only gradually rising agricultural output, and staple foods have had to be imported.

All the country's foreign trade is conducted through the major port city of San Cristobal, which despite its location, is far less cosmopolitan than Velasquez, and is dominated by a few wealthy and conservative merchant families. There is extremely little local industry, with the exception of some small factories producing glopa, a local delicacy prepared from banana skins. A number of foreign investors have placed their plants in Velasquez in preference to San Cristobal, despite the latter's superior location, because of opposition from the powerful merchant families.

The most important of these is headed by the patriarchal don Silvio Arana-Maquillaje, a staunch supporter of Julio Lopez, and a long-time crusader against communists and left-wing Apristas. The other major figures in the city are only slightly less conservative in outlook.

The APRA party has nevertheless grown in strength, partly owing to the influence of a small group of young professional men most of whom were educated in Europe or the United States, and who are anxious to hasten changes in the Patrian way of life - though only by democratic means. This group, nick-

named BARES (Banda para Reformas Sociales), is headed by Guillen Fanartu Obregon, the able elder son (disinherited) of one of the important merchants.

The University of San Cristobal is a private religious foundation with a good academic reputation and a strong tradition of non-involvement in politics. There is very little student activism; an attempt to hold a demonstration during the 1961 election resulted in several students' expulsion.

While most foreign investors and trading companies maintain agents in the port of San Cristobal, their headquarters are almost invariably in Velasquez where they have closer access to government officials and the more sympathetic local industrialists and traders. Patria Minerales has its main offices in the capital as noted above; the next most important foreign interests is United Fruit, the only major company with headquarters in San Cristobal, where it is represented by Mr. Tex Reagan. Mr. Reagan, unlike most foreigners, enjoys the confidence of the influential local figures. The other principle representative of private foreign interests is Mr. Albert Smith, manager of the Patrian branch of Universal Exports, Inc.

## MILITARY

The Patrian army has exercised a key, if often veiled, role in its country's politics ever since the war. Under the twenty-year leadership of now-field marshal Alberto Garcia-O'Brien, it has come to command an annual budget of \$60,000,000 and is currently 50,000 strong.

The operations center of senior Patrian officers is located in the strategic fortress of Aranjuez on the outskirts of the capital city of Velasquez and contains a 5,000 man battalion. The main military training center and camp, with three regiments, the 73rd and 102nd infantry and the 42nd armored regiment, (33,000 men) is operated in Fertilidad province. There is an historic but little-used installation in the port city of Cristobal, and an 11,000 man battalion in the south of Littoral province. Since Cupria is considered to be well defended by geography, it has only a small military outpost, the closest source of troops being the main center at Fertilidad, one day's journey away.

Over his twenty year control of the army, O'Brien has managed to preserve the strong commitment to democracy he had as a youth. He is now even more intensely nationalistic and regards himself as the trustee of the country's political future. Yet he realizes the necessity of a non-military government for the long-term development of Patria, and has assumed power only when he felt that anti-democratic forces were in the ascendancy: 1) when as a young officer in 1946, he led the overthrow of the ruling military junta, relinquishing control after the new constitution had been promulgated and elections held: 2) and 3) in 1954 and 1961, when he assumed power to block impending restrictions on freedom which he felt Lopez forces were about to institute. However, Garcia-O'Brien is opposed not only to Lopez but to all forces which he regards as anti-democratic, whether of the right or the left. Lopez and the FLN are equally despicable to him, and he will deny them both real power at any cost.

Garcia-O'Brien tolerates the moderate but increasingly unstable government of Sebastiano, and prefers it to any other. He would, if necessary, be willing to permit an APRA government, provided that it is under the control of the moderate Rodriguez and that the APRA rural fanatic, Valdez, is restrained. It is not clear what course O'Brien would take should he be presented with an APRA government under Rodriguez which allowed considerable autonomy to Valdez to conduct his charismatic campaign in Fertilidad province; neither is it clear what he would do should he be faced with a CD government which allowed some influence to Lopez.



In recent years, several senior officers at the Fertilidad camp have become increasingly disturbed about the growing strength of Valdez's APRA, and are now becoming sympathetic to Lopez, whom they feel, rightly or wrongly, is the only man who can save Patria from eventual communism. However, most other senior officers, particularly those left from O'Brien's 1946 band, continue to support him. In addition, O'Brien's benevolent and permissive attitude has continued to win him considerable popularity, especially among the younger officers.

During the last few years, FLN terrorist activities, reportedly supported and armed from elsewhere in the hemisphere, have been mounting. After futile appeals to Sebastiano to maintain law and order, Garcia-O'Brien has twice been forced to apprehend the terrorist suspects himself and subject them to trial by a military tribunal. On each occasion the FLN has been able to gain political capital by stressing the danger of creeping militarism and by pointing out the government's inability to maintain law and order, although this gain has in part been compensated for by the terrorism's alienating of moderate popular support.

In 1961, O'Brien took power for six months in the aftermath of a closely contested election. Through this period of military rule, there were riots in favor of APRA and FLN; and these riots had to be suppressed by O'Brien's troops. This, coupled with O'Brien's award of the election victory to Sebastiano, has left many Apristas somewhat disenchanted with O'Brien's brand of liberalism.

## PATRIA POLITICS

### General

There are two major legal parties in Patria: 1) CD, which has been in power continuously since the 1946 coup, except for two periods of army intervention (1954 and 1961) totaling seven months; and 2) APRA, a left-wing social and agrarian reform party which, while never holding power, has gained electoral strength consistently, especially since 1956. APRA may, in fact, have polled a majority in the disputed election of 1961, and has a good chance of winning the next election in 1966.

In addition to the two legal parties, there exists a far-left radical group called FLN, estimates of whose polling strength varies considerably.

Current political activity is focused toward the forthcoming general elections. In order to understand the current situation, it is necessary to examine the ill-fated 1961 election and its aftermath. It is impossible to give exact voting figures, since many of the individual returns are disputed. Nevertheless, detailed analysis has resulted in the table given below, which are probably accurate to  $\pm 10\%$ . The FLN was not in fact on the ballot. It did, however, mount a campaign to induce voters to spoil their ballots. The returns listed for FLN are an estimate of the number of spoiled ballots.

PATRIA ELECTIONS: 1961  
(figures in 1,000's)

District	Velasquez	Litoral	Fertilidad	Cupria	Total
Population	900	325	3,000	500*	5,000
Voting age population	450	150	1,500	250	2,500
Total votes cast	400	100	375	250	1,125
Votes for CD	335	80	20	115	550
Votes for APRA	60	20	355	115	550
(est. votes for FLN)	5	--	--	20	25

\*Does not include 250,000 Indians who did not participate in the voting

It is clear from these results that the major CD strength is in the cities, while the principal APRA support comes from Valdez's peasants in Fertilidad. The Cuprian miners, however, hold the balance of power. For APRA, this means that

Rodriguez must rely on Valdez in Fertilidad without thereby alienating the more moderate liberal elements in the country. At the same time, if Valdez is not placated, there is danger that he may throw in with the FLN. The FLN has, in fact, attempted to infiltrate APRA in the past, and was temporarily successful in 1958 in taking over the Cuprian branch of the party, which was, in turn, purged by Rodriguez in 1959. Further complicating Rodriguez's dilemma is the fact that O'Brien would probably not allow him to take power, even if elected, if it meant granting significant concessions to Valdez.

The CD party also has internal problems. Lopez, who is chafing in retirement, is expected to make a major effort to get back into the CD government. The CD party apparatus is basically loyal to Sebastiano, except for a faction in Velasquez. Lopez also has some support in the Fertilidad garrison, and among the upper class (see Arana, supra). The Lopecinta movement poses three problems to Sebastiano. First, he may need its support to defeat APRA in the election. The acceptance of such support may, however, alienate the more liberal elements of the electorate and drive them into supporting APRA. (Sebastiano is known to have been very impressed by the results of the United States 1964 election). Finally, it is not known whether or not O'Brien will allow a CD government which includes Lopez to take power. A fourth possibility, though a remote one, is that Lopez may successfully attempt to oust Sebastiano from the party leadership.

FLN activities have alternated between terrorist activities designed to draw attention to their existence and periods of calm politicization among the industrial (particularly mining) and agricultural workers. Their propaganda emphasizes that land must go to the tiller and factories to the worker, immediately---that APRA's program is too slow and the only way to success is through force. Since APRA's gaining power would undercut the FLN's reasons for existence, by fulfilling the needs of the people, FLN considers APRA takeover a greater threat than the present arrangement which gives validity to its propaganda charges. Yet, as mentioned above, FLN is simultaneously trying to infiltrate APRA through wooing Valdez, but doesn't want to support APRA unless Valdez is in a dominant position (after which FLN would destroy Valdez).

## PATRIA STATISTICS

Population - 5,000,000

Working Age Population - 2,500,000

Wage Earners - 1,000,000

Female - 300,000

Male - 700,000

Birth Rate - 45 per 1000

Death Rate - 15 per 1000

Natural increase - 30 per 1000

Urban Population - 1,225,000

Government Expenditure - \$400,000,000

Government Revenue - \$400,000,000

General Government

Government Employment - 75,000

Military Personnel - 50,000

Military Expenditure - \$60,000,000

Votes - 1,250,000

Communist - 25,000

Church - 37,500

Socialist - 25,000

Secular - 1,162,500

Deaths by Group Violence - 250

Newspaper Circulation - 500,000

Radios - 500,000

Television Sets - 50,000

Spanish Speakers - 4,750,000

GNP - \$2,000,000,000.

GNP growth rate - 1.5%

Foreign Trade - \$1,000,000,000 (Imports & Exports)

Private Consumption - \$1,500,000,000

Agricultural Products - \$500,000,000

Agricultural Labor Force - 1,500,000

Non-Agricultural Labor Force - 1,000,000

Infant Mortality - 75 per 1,000 births

Physicians - 2,000

Hospital Beds - 10,000

University Students - 10,000

Literacy - 50%

2.5.3 SPECIFIC SCENARIOS: "GRENADILLA"  
(See Appendix III for Individual Player Materials)

GEOGRAPHY

Grenadilla lies in the sub-tropical underbelly of the Latin American continent, bounded to the North by the Ochos mountain and to the South by the Mobil Desert. The country is divided into four administrative areas, corresponding roughly to the geographical areas. The capital city Fandango, lies in the province of the same name and is the most highly populated area in the country. Fandango was the old port, but the harbor has slowly silted up, and since the early part of the century Santa Maria has been the country's main port. Most of the industrialists and the richest landowners live in Fandango, where recently several light industrial plants have been set up by foreign investors. Fandango is also the seat of the government. North of Fandango lies the quiet rural district of Petrifidad. Agriculture is not important in this province, as the soil of the foothills of the Ochos is poor, and most of the activity centers round the port of Santa Maria. There is a good road and a railway, built with United States aid, linking Santa Maria and Fandango.

Verdia is the agricultural province, characterized by large haciendas and absence of large towns. It is the main source of the country's food supply. Marque has the smallest population of the four; the climate is extreme, and the land poor, and in the southernmost part desert. Marque is the site of extremely rich oil fields which were first discovered in 1922 although not extensively worked until 1946. The oil workers live in three small groups around the town of Petrolia, which is linked by an indifferent road, and an excellent railway to the capital. There is also an air strip at Petrolia.

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The principal industry of the country is the oil drilling in the District of Marque. The mines are owned by Grenadilla Minerales S. A. a 90% owned subsidiary of Python Oil of New Jersey. The mines are managed by Gordon Clark who reports to Python's representative in the capital, Mr. Alexander Macleod. The 10% local interest is owned by Sr. Eduardo Colli-dar who resides in the capital and devotes most of his time to other interests. Grenadilla Minerales hold a 99 year lease on the oil concession which expires in 1985. Oil production represents 75% of Grenadilla's exports and 20% of the measurable G. N. P. This amounts to \$400 million dollars annually; of this 20%, or \$80 million, is profit which is split with the government on a 50-50 basis, the Company getting \$40 million dollars a year and the government the same.

The oil workers are physically located in three different places. The Petrolia section is based in the town of that name and the Grese section some twenty miles further north. The smaller Jello section lies to the South of Petrolia. The workers' living conditions are poor, shack towns with inadequate sanitation, and the hours of work are long. The pay is also low, but since it is skilled work, the workers' jobs are secure in a country that has a 60% unemployment rate. Both the Petrolia and the Grese sections have some union activity. The two unions differ slightly in methods, but their aims are to improve conditions of work for their members.

No other industry approaches the importance of the oil industry but in recent years a number of light industrial plants have been established in the region of the capital city to produce textiles, plastic goods, construction materials and a number of luxury articles. The most important industrial plant is the Gummicola factory, where Gummicola Inc. of North Carolina make and bottle the famous sweet, raspberry flavored, viscous purple soft drink. The local manager is Mr. Tex Reagan, who, unlike many of the foreigners, enjoys the confidence of the influential local figures. The automobile assembly plant, the country's television station, two of the hotels and all the nightclubs in Fandango are owned by Sr. Diego Von Pontz, son of a pre-war German immigrant who is probably the country's richest citizen. Sr. Von Pontz also owns a part share in the APRA sponsored newspaper "El Panico".

He spends most of his time in the capital, and although conspicuous in his consumption habits devotes considerable efforts to managing his enterprises. The other industrialists although less wealthy spend the same kind of money. None of the industrialists are particularly affected by Grenadilla's 25% per annum rate of inflation, as they have the means to hedge against it by holding foreign stocks, buying land, or keeping money in Swiss bank accounts.

At the other end of the spectrum are the inhabitants of Fandango's North and South End slums, who live in crushing poverty. The hills surrounding Fandango are disfigured by miles of ramshackle huts, clinging to the steep hillside. These huts are hardly weatherproof, and have neither heat, light, water nor sanitation. All water has to be brought from tanks hundreds of feet below on the hill by hand. Disease is rampant. Few of the slum dwellers have any visible means of subsistence, and unemployment in the slums runs effectively at 100%. Many of the slum dwellers have the ill characteristic of malnutrition. Some of the wives of the richer citizens run a program to teach suitable slum women needlework and other domestic arts, and the government, with the aid of the American Red Cross, run a clinic in each section of the slum which is well attended. American A. I. D. has recently started elementary education programs for the slum children and some slum adults, as the illiteracy rate is about 60%. Inflation affects the slums to no great extent, as they are largely outside the money economy except for the rents paid to the landlords of their miserable shacks. The city of Santa Maria has a similar slum, but rather smaller, and some of the students at the University of Santa Maria have been working as volunteers in the education programs there.

The large group of factory workers, domestics, garage attendants, hotel porters who make up the urban proletariat lives in conditions not very much better than the slum dwellers. They do usually have water and sanitation in their small houses, but hot water is unusual, and electricity very much the exception. Wages are now beginning to fall behind the rate of inflation, and the workers are finding it increasingly difficult to make the week's pay cover rent and food. Many of them belong to labor unions, but Grenadilla's 60% overall rate of unemployment makes industrial bargaining extremely difficult.

The middle classes in both the cities appear to live in reasonable comfort - two and three servants are not unusual, but as they are salaried workers

inflation is cutting into their standard of living, since salary rises have not kept pace.

The University of Fandango is located in the center of the city. Its two schools, the School of Law and the School of Social Science, are both highly political and the University has twice been closed in the last two years because of student agitation.

The agricultural section consists largely of the haciendas in the Verdia section, and a small number of banana plantations in the province of Petrofidad. There are also a small number of subsistence farmers scattered throughout the country and the Indian population in the mountains of northern Verdia is almost universally found on unproductive old haciendas. Except at times when their harvest totally fails they have very little contact with the rest of the country, and are not a political force. Virtually all the haciendas are owned by absentee landlords, who live richly in Fandango on the proceeds, leaving the management of the farms to local agents. A handful of the haciendas are progressively managed, but most of the peasants are virtually slaves. Their wages range from very little to nothing. They are usually not allowed to plant any crops for themselves on any of the landlord's ground. They may or may not receive free food and housing, or it may be deducted from their wages. The government, which promised land reform in the 1963 election platform have been able to make little headway, as the government budget does not permit adequate compensation for the landowners, and the landowners stoutly resist any idea that the peasants should be given even the smallest strip of land for their own crops on the grounds that it would make them less prepared to work for their landlords. The peasants live almost entirely outside the money economy. 70% of them can neither write nor read, and many are crippled by disease, as the only medical facilities in Verdia are two clinics run by the American Red Cross, in conjunction with the army.

Grenadilla was, five years ago, a net exporter of agricultural produce, but since then the population increase (about 3.5% annually) has outstripped the slowly rising agricultural output, and staple foods have had to be imported, particularly after the disastrous 1964 harvest.

Grenadilla also exports bananas, small quantities of precious stones, sardines, handicrafts and the like, none of which are of substantially more importance than each other in the country's economy. All the country's



foreign trade is conducted through the major port city of Santa Maria, which despite its location, is far less cosmopolitan than Fandango, and is dominated by a few wealthy and highly conversative merchant families. There is very little local industry, with the exception of some small factories p\_roducing glopa, a local delicacy made from banana skins. A number of foreign investors have placed their plants in Fandango in preference to Santa Maria, despite the latter's superior location because of opposition from the powerful local merchants. The University of Santa Maria is located just outside the town and is conservative in its orientation.

## HISTORY

Grenadilla was discovered, inadvertently, in 1487 by a spice merchant Jose de Turmeric, blown off his course for the West Indies. De Turmeric, then and thereafter, dismissed his fleeting vision of Grenadilla's frowning cliffs as a by-product of alcoholic indulgence, but the doctor in Trinidad to whom he rushed with his story, repeated it to the great merchant adventurer, Carlos de Bourbon-Parma Moore. Moore was sufficiently curious to investigate, and was able in 1489 to claim Grenadilla in the name of Spain, the country of his current affiliation. King Ferdinand over Queen Isabella's protests made Moore the first governor of this seemingly unpromising land. Moore however settled happily in Grenadilla, ruling as a benevolent tyrant until his death in 1525. Hailed as the "Father of Grenadilla" his untimely death was universally mourned, and is commemorated to this day in Grenadilla in the names of many of Grenadilla's citizens.

After Moore's death the country was governed under a colonial government until 1832. Grenadilla, with no precious stones or metals, and the main agricultural district far from the coast suffered very little from outside interference, except for a few slave ships, and similarly, was one of the last Latin American countries to fight for its liberty. The tragic Miguel Bolero, stricken down by jaundice in the very hour of victory, was their leader in the fight, but after this brief skirmish Grenadilla settled into a pattern of long periods of military dictatorship, interspersed with brief attempts at democratic government.

In April 1945 Grenadilla entered the war on the side of the Allies, thereby inspiring the flood of American investment in the country that followed the resulting peace. In 1946 the CD party took office, with the encouragement of the army, under the leadership of Antonio Ruy Hernandez, then forty years old. Politically quite inexperienced the government struggled unsuccessfully with the new problem of inflation, caused largely by the impact of heavy foreign investment in a completely undeveloped country, and the monumental task of modernizing agricultural methods. An appalling harvest in 1948 and an outbreak of smallpox in the capital city forced the government to turn to the army for help, and the army proved to be the only organization in the country capable of restoring and keeping order. Under the army leader General Ruy

Simon Menez a state of emergency was declared and the new constitution, which laid down the principle of elections every five years was suspended, and the army, by general agreement, took over the task of government. In the years between 1949 and 1956 the army worked with foreign investors to build the country's roads and railways, and to develop the oil fields. With the help of the American Red Cross and the World Health Organization they started an ambitious country-wide system of medical centers, and started also on a program of elementary education among the hitherto completely illiterate peasants of Verdia. In many American circles it was felt that Grenadilla, governed by a military dictatorship, was possibly one of the few Latin American countries that was safe for democracy. General Menez was twice decorated by the American government, and Vice President Nixon received by cheering crowds on his flying visit to Fandango, after his disastrous reception in other parts of the continent.

In 1956 however it became clear that General Menez was becoming increasing autocratic, and even less able to brook opposition to any of his schemes. He responded to criticism of his slum clearance scheme ("burn them all") from a junior officer, by summarily executing the man. He ordered, and saw carried out, the execution of a group of subversives in the oil fields who were forming a union to agitate for higher pay and better working conditions. His personal life was becoming increasingly the subject of scandalous speculation, and even the warm demonstration of friendship made by President Eisenhower at the Pan American conference failed to avert the gathering storm. It was at this time that the APRA party, formed from the ranks of the younger army officers, and liberals of every political shade emerged as a formal group under the leadership of Rodrigo Guedalla, Lt. Col. Miguel de Freitas, Pedro Carreras and Luil Buruel. In November 1958, while riots and looting were rife in the capital city, General Menez was trapped in his house by the leaders of the revolt, demanding that he cede the Presidency and leave the country. With a cry of "Jamás" (Never) the General tore open his shirt exposing his chest to a tarantula produced from a matchbox, and died a few minutes later. His last words are said to have been "Et tu, de Freitas?" After due deliberation General Menez and the tarantula were buried with full military honors, and the funeral oration, dwelling entirely on the General's achievements prior to 1956 was spoken by the newly promoted Brigadier-General Miguel de Freitas.

APRA was confirmed in power by a popular mandate, supervised by the army. Guedalla became Grenadilla's president, and Carreras the minister of Agriculture because of his influence with the colonos. Miguel de Freitas preferred to continue his army career to accepting political office, and Luis Bunuel was excluded from the government despite his contribution to the revolution. Miguel de Freitas, and many of the army officers had been horrified by the brutality of Bunuel's methods, and he was totally unacceptable to the upper and middle classes for his avowed policies of national ownership of all industry and all land. Bunuel, after a furious scene with Guedalla, went back to his native Verdia and started the F. L. N. party (discussed hereafter). APRA's first term of government was reasonably successful, although the rate of inflation slowed the rate of social reforms. The party was returned, with a reasonable majority in 1963.

## THE POLITICAL PARTIES

There are two legal political parties in Grenadilla, the CD led by ex-President Hernandez, and the APRA, now in power, led by Philip Guedalla. The illegal FLN party has considerable strength in some areas, but it is impossible to estimate numerically.

### APRA

The APRA has been bedevilled by the problem of inflation, which they have not been able to control to more than a certain extent. They came to power on the strength of promised social reforms, very few of which they have been able to carry out from shortage of money. The promised land reform which would give the peasants an opportunity to buy their own land as soon as they were able, at prices fixed by the government, failed utterly as the peasants live largely outside a money economy, and have no way of saving up the necessary money. Legislation is at the moment before the Grenadillan Congress to force all landlords to give the peasants a quarter acre per family of land to farm for their own benefit, but even if this law is passed the landowners have instructed their agents that anyone who attempts to enforce it is to be thrown off the hacienda to starve. Some medical centers have been set up, with U.S. help and a new hospital built, but Grenadilla suffers from a severe shortage of doctors and nurses. A shortage of teachers has forced the abandonment of the ambitious primary education scheme, although two schools have been set up in the Fandango slums and one in the Santa Maria slums. There are also two schools in Verdía, but these are poorly attended as the children have to come up to 50 miles to reach them. Even these moderate reforms have roused furious opposition among the industrialists and the landowners, with the exception of Von Pontz who is a personal friend of Guedalla's and very much more liberal. The middle class are being alienated by the apparent inability of the government to control inflation, and the peasants and slum dwellers have reaped none of the benefits they expected from an APRA government. The government's relations with the army are also strained: despite three pay rises within the last two years, the army feels that its pay has not kept pace with inflation, and are deeply concerned with the effect of inflation on old soldiers dependent on their pensions. It has also been rumored that the government is considering cutting the army budget in order to have more money for social reforms. The government is also being harassed by the depredations of the F. L. N. (discussed later).

## CD

The natural political enemy of the APRA, the CD is still led by Hernandez, President during the 1946-48 government. Hernandez, on the basis of his political experience could probably have been President of a coalition government after the 1958 coup had he seen fit to join with Guedalla, Carreras, de Freitas and Bunuel, but his personal dislike of Carreras and Bunuel blinded him to the group's effectiveness, and in 1957 when secretly approached, he refused to join them preferring to seek his support in more respectable quarters. The strength and the momentum of the APRA and army coup took him completely by surprise, and in 1958 he found himself politically isolated and not invited to join the new government. He was, and is, supported by the landowners and industrialists, as, although he favors moderate reformist policies, he has made it clear that no compulsory purchase of land or nationalization of industry is involved in these policies. Hernandez is now 60, while Guedalla is only 45, and many factions in the country are beginning to feel that his age and political experience might make for a more effective government, and that he might be able to set the economy on a better basis. An effective politician, if lacking in charisma, he has made considerable inroads on APRA support among the middle class, the urban proletariat and the Petrolia miners.

## The F. L. N.

The F. L. N. emerged as a threat some time in 1959, after Bunuel's withdrawal to Verdia. Luis Bunuel, now 40, an able gifted radical, was one of the architects of the 1958 revolution, yet, as we have seen, was excluded from government at the insistence of the army, landowners and industrialists upon whose goodwill the APRA party was dependent for survival. Bunuel took back to Verdia with him his two chief lieutenants Castango and Caballo to form the nucleus of the FLN party. Bunuel is a born leader, good friend and a dangerous enemy. Although the charges of brutality levelled against him are substantially true, he is a man of considerable charm, and has succeeded in winning the allegiance, or at any rate, the compliance of about half the Verdia peasants, a considerable achievement as he was competing with Carreras hitherto the favorite son of the colonos.

After a short period in Verdia, Pedro Castango moved to Marque and started operations there. Castango is of the urban middle class originally,

and completed his education with a year in America in 1956. He has made considerable headway with the small Jello group of oil workers which probably consist entirely of FLN sympathizers, and the wildcat strikes and acts of sabotage that have bedevilled operations in the fields, and threaten drastically to lower productivity this year are all attributable to the FLN. Castango has had little success with the unions in the Petrolia and Grese sections, but the manager has reason to fear that he may be trying to infiltrate those unions.

Cabailo, in Fandango was killed in street fighting two years ago by the Fandango police, but his place in Fandango has been taken by the most interesting member of the FLN, Rodrigo de Zulueta. Also of middle class background, de Zulueta attended the School of Social Science, and completed his education at the University of Havana, returning in 1962. It is thought that De Zulueta is the contact through whom the FLN are receiving money and arms via Cuba, although not necessarily from the Cuban government. He has had great success in the slums of the city, though thus far little success with the urban proletariat who have after all their jobs to lose. He also had strong contacts with the University of Fandango.

The FLN in Petrifidad is represented by Luis de Enerves, a graduate of the University of Santa Maria, who taught there until the Faculty, at the urging of the powerful citizens of Santa Maria, dismissed him. His contacts with both schools are close, and he has been responsible for organizing hitherto undirected student activism.

The FLN are a close knit group. It has become clear in the last two years that they are in receipt of financial help from outside the country, probably via de Zulueta in Fandango, although it is not clear whether this also involves outside control. The party's aims do not seem to be constructive as they work primarily by disrupting the economy in every way possible. Agricultural production, oil output and, to some extent, factory production in Fandango are all lower this year as a result of their activity. They work by terrorism where they cannot reach agreement and are extremely difficult to catch, as no one would dare betray them for fear of reprisals. They are armed, with weapons ranging from Bren guns to Russian revolvers to home made weapons like the notorious "Yanqui cocktail" so called because its raw materials are supplied entirely by the A. I. D. program. Dried milk tins are stuffed with crumpled cans or nails, then powered by a distillation of chemical fertilizer. The C. I. A. has also produced a drawing of a crude trench mortar which A. I. D. has reluctantly confirmed indeed to be constructed from part of the drainage system of the model village of San Pedro. ( . )

## THE ARMY

The Grenadillan army is led by General de Freitas. The General has twice refused political office, once in 1958 and once in 1963. The army is his life, and he is an excellent, very popular officer and a man of considerable culture. He was the personal assistant to the late General Menez, and a great admirer of his methods. He was deeply upset when the General killed himself, and insisted, in the teeth of popular opinion, that the General should have a military funeral, and that he should speak the oration. He is wont to explain General Menez's later irregularities as being brought on by illness. De Freitas is, however, firm in his intention to give the democratic experiment a chance, but would be likely to revise this opinion if either his beloved army or his beloved country seemed threatened. He is deeply concerned about the effects of inflation on his soldiers, hates the FLN, and chafes under the imposed inactivity of the army in this threat, as Guedalla is reluctant to use the army against civilians of the country. The army strength consists of six battalions, three quartered in Verdica and one in each of the remaining provinces.

The army is, as a whole, loyal to de Freitas but there is known to be a hard core of older, slightly discontented officers, who feel that de Freitas is not taking a sufficiently hard line with the FLN problem, and that the country is going rapidly to the dogs. They find sympathy for their views with Porfirio Bruno, de Freitas' Chief of Staff, but Bruno has hitherto refused to listen to any specific criticism of de Freitas.



## THE U. S. A.

Grenadilla since the war has been a focus of U. S. interest and economic aid. The U. S. is at the present time represented in Grenadilla by the Ambassador, Winthrop Leverett Towers III, the A. I. D. representative John B. Goode and the American Red Cross administrator Michael Broderick. The Ambassador is deeply concerned by the growing anti-American feeling stirred up in the country by the FLN, and was horrified to be hissed at the School of Social Science where he went to speak earlier in the year. He is convinced that the FLN are Communist inspired, and controlled, and is unable to understand why Guedalla does not suppress the movement. He is not on particularly easy terms with Guedalla, and usually makes contact with him through their mutual friend Von Pontz. John B. Goode is in a particularly difficult position. Many of the Verdian peasants would not have survived last winter without A. I. D. help, and some of the agricultural schemes are working well. It is becoming quite clear however that much of the A. I. D. supplies are falling into FLN hands, and the story of the Yanqui cocktail is being told with considerable pleasure at parties at the British embassy. Yet if A. I. D. help is cut off, aside from the humanitarian implications, the FLN could well make political capital among the increasingly desperate poor.

## GRENADILLA STATISTICS

Population - 5,000,000

Working Age Population - 2,500,000

Wage Earners - 1,000,000

Female - 300,000

Male - 700,000

Birth Rate - 45 per 1000

Death Rate - 15 per 1000

Natural Increase - 30 per 1000

Urban Population - 1,225,000

Government Expenditure - \$400,000,000

**General Government**

Government Revenue - \$400,000,000

Government Employment - 75,000

Military Personnel - 50,000

Military Expenditure - \$60,000,000

Votes - 1,250,000

Communist - 25,000

Church - 37,500

Socialist - 25,000

Secular - 1,162,500

Deaths by Group Violence - 250

Newspaper Circulation - 500,000

Radios - 500,000

Television Sets - 50,000

Spanish Speakers - 4,750,000

GNP - \$2,000,000,000

GNP Growth Rate - 1.5%

Foreign Trade - \$1,000,000,000 (Imports and Exports)

Private Consumption - \$1,500,000,000

Agricultural Products - \$500,000,000

Agricultural Labor Force - 1,500,000

Non-Agricultural Labor Force - 1,000,000

Infant Mortality - 10%

Physicians - 2,000

Hospital Beds - 10,000

University Students - 10,000

Literacy - 40%

### 3. HISTORY OF GAME TESTS

#### Game Development

Game One was played at the offices of Abt Associates Inc. on September 24. Paid graduate student participants were presented with the Patria scenario and a set of game rules thirty minutes prior to game time. The game action is given in the following article.

#### 3.1 POLITICA I: "Patria Chooses a President, Maybe" \*

It is a truism among we old Latin hands that even when both the forms and substance of democratic processes are followed, it is not at all clear that the result is anything like the political process in the United States. This axiom was demonstrated once again by last week's presidential election in this confused country. It is possible that a true peaceful revolution has occurred in that Francisco Rodriguez, the leader of the left-of-center APRA party, has, after twenty years of trying, assumed power as the apparently freely elected president of this troubled republic. While it was in fact necessary for the army to intervene in defense of the Rodriguez victory, this was at least a minor action compared to the 1961 electoral fiasco. At the same time, moreover, the episode resulted in APRA's moving well toward the right as demonstrated by Rodriguez reading out of the party the radical agrarian reformer Valdez. In addition, a new centrist political figure has emerged in the person of Guillen Obregon, the leader of the hitherto insignificant BARES faction. Finally, the future of the CD party is now in doubt, since its leader, former president Sebastiano, was roundly defeated at the polls, while Julio Lopez, the right wing leader, appears to be thoroughly disgraced. Field Marshal Garcia-O'Brien remains as commander-in-chief of the army, and seems destined to continue his Hamlet-like role in the politics of this disturbed land.

The election campaign began with each of the major party leaders attempting to win over the more moderate supporters of the other. Sebastiano focused much of his efforts in Fertilidad province, attempting to induce Valdez to break with Rodriguez in return for limited economic support for Valdez's program. By the time Rodriguez managed to approach Valdez, there was little in the way of moderate reform which had not already been promised by Sebastiano. Rodriguez, unwilling to risk the support of the moderates by acceding to more radical reforms, took the dangerous alternative of purging

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\*The description of the play of POLITICA I is written in a fictitious journalistic style to illustrate how the actual play of the game can be re-incorporated into scenario form. In this way, specific situations which might arise during game

Valdez from APRA to dramatize his own moderate stand.

Rodriguez's daring gamble paid off in gaining him the support of Alexander Jackson, the American industrialist who is the power behind Patria's copper-mining interests. Jackson, single-mindedly concerned with preventing a miner's strike which would close down the mines, joined with Rodriguez on the advice of Getulio Arvakian Rodriguez's sole patron among the Patrian ruling class. Fearful lest a Sebastiano victory might provoke Aprista miners to strike and concerned about the growing influence of the illegal FLN, Jackson agreed to increase the miner's wages in return for a no-nationalization pledge from Rodriguez.

Meanwhile, back in the capital city of Velasquez, President Sebastiano was unwittingly getting into trouble. The government-controlled radio, on orders of the crypto-Lopecista Postmaster-General, spread reports of Sebastiano's poor health. Sebastiano, upon hearing of this while campaigning in the city of San Cristobal, returned quietly to the capital to allay the rumor, but took no action against the Postmaster-General. Shortly thereafter, the Minister of Justice, suborned by Lopez, issued an order for the arrest of Garcia-O'Brien. Again, Sebastiano returned to the capital, ordered O'Brien's release, and fired the Justice Minister, without taking action against Lopez, and left the city.

As a result of all this, the Velasquez population received the impression that Lopez had taken over the government in all but name. As one Velasquez cab driver told me, "Everybody but Sebastiano knows that Lopez has taken over". The Velasquecistas, who had previously been favorably disposed to Sebastiano and CD, largely through the efforts of the local upper class, who together with the local army garrison had been dispensing public works improvements to the slum dwellers in Sebastiano's name, now began to edge towards Rodriguez. A quick trip to the capital by Valdez, who was clearly out of his element in the sophisticated city, had little effect on anything.

Valdez was apparently seeking a reconciliation with Rodriguez, but the APRA leader was in the mountains wooing the miners. Returning to Fertilidad, Valdez now had to decide what to do with the peasant votes he controlled. His earlier coalition with Sebastiano was apparently aborted due to the reactionary moves of the Fertilidad landowners, who had, in fact, leagued themselves with Lopecista officers to perpetrate a pro-Lopez coup following the election.

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\* (cont.) play can themselves create scenarios to be gamed in the future with one game session continuing, with different personnel, where the previous one ended.

Finally, the name of Obregon was suggested as a compromise candidate by students from National University who were in the province on a voter registration drive among the peasants. Valdez accepted the compromise, and in the election the Fertilidad peasants went overwhelmingly for Obregon, while the gentry backed Lopez to a man.

The news of Obregon's candidacy came as a complete surprise to Obregon, who was loyally occupied with politicking on Rodriguez's behalf in San Cristobal. Obregon, while disavowing his own candidacy, managed to bring San Cristobal firmly into the Rodriguez column, thus reversing the 1961 trend.

Meanwhile the Rodriguez campaign was having little effect among the CD miners. Under Jackson's influence, however, the FLN miners were induced to back APRA, giving Rodriguez a small majority in Cupria Province,

Sebastiano finally returned to Velasquez, only to discover a Rodriguez landslide in the capital. As the vote was tallied from the outlying provinces, it became apparent that Rodriguez had gained a small but decisive majority of the vote and an overwhelming plurality over Sebastiano. Sebastiano countered by withholding announcement of the vote while seeking support from the army. Garcia-O'Brien, however, declined to support Sebastiano against the popular decision, especially since Rodriguez was now acceptable to him, Valdez having been purged.

Sebastiano and Rodriguez now met secretly, and Rodriguez offered Sebastiano a cabinet post in his government in exchange for publication of the election results. Sebastiano accepted and Rodriguez was acclaimed in the capital as President. While Rodriguez was making a radio broadcast to the nation, Sebastiano secretly left Velasquez in an attempt to reach Obregon in San Cristobal for a possible coalition against Rodriguez. Rodriguez, accompanied by O'Brien, left in pursuit to arrest Sebastiano. In the ensuing confusion, a Lopezista regiment moved into Velasquez and claimed power in Lopez's name. The city garrison, which could have prevented the coup, remained neutral awaiting instructions from Garcia-O'Brien.

The Lopez coup was short-lived. In San Cristobal, Sebastiano had been taken into custody. At O'Brien's urging, Rodriguez, who wished to exile Sebastiano, relented enough to allow Sebastiano to remain in the country, but, of course, out of the government. Then, receiving word of Lopez's coup in

Velasquez, O'Brien, at the head of troops from the San Cristobal garrison, entered the capital with Rodriguez, and, joined by the Velasquez garrison, confronted the Lopez troops, who were disarmed. Lopez and two of his key lieutenants were arrested at the Velasquez airport as they were trying to leave the country.

This, then, is the situation in Patria. Rodriguez seems to be in control with his opposition on the right completely demolished. The army is back in its barracks and Velasquez, at least, is quiet. What the future holds, however, largely depends on the actions of Obregon, Valdez, and Ibarbouru, the mysterious leader of the FLN. This remains to be seen.

### 3.2 POLITICA II: Patria

Since some observers felt that Game I's results were more attributable to the personalities of the participants than to the scenario itself, the developers decided to play Game Two with the same scenario as Game One, adding the more highly structured roles afforded by the translation of the list of social variables into personality profiles, in order to test the role of personality. If even more tightly structured guidelines yielded a political outcome that were substantially different in the two games, then one might safely attribute a large role to individual personality; if, on the other hand, the results were functionally identical with different players, then it would be more probable that the game outcome could be attributed to the political and social constellation of forces as outlined in the scenario.

POLITICA II was played by graduate students on October 7. It did, in fact, have a nominally different outcome from POLITICA I, with Sebastiano, not Rodriguez, winning the scheduled election, but in both cases the winner of the election had been running on essentially the same political platform. Sebastiano was re-elected as the CD president in Game Two by effectively becoming APRA--that is, by moving leftward in his political program to preempt and espouse all the issues of APRA, he was able to co-opt the leaders of APRA into his own government, thus nullifying all opposition except the extreme right, which was in jail following an unsuccessful coup attempt, and the extreme left, which was powerless.\*

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\*The downgrading of the FLN role implicit in the scenario, was introduced for the sake of simplicity and ease of control of the pilot play. Later scenarios assign a more resourceful role to the FLN faction.

The structure of forces in both games yielded a right wing coup attempt, in both cases unsuccessful; although in Game I the coup came after, and in Game II before, the scheduled elections.

### 3.3. POLITICA III: Patria

POLITICA III, the last in the series using the Patria scenario, was played by university undergraduates on November 5. The objective of POLITICA III was to test the structure of the game by using, in addition to roles which were not specifically cast, players of whom we could assume no previous intimate acquaintance with Latin American politics which they might bring to the game. If the same structural variables yielded the same functional outcome, as in previous games, then we might begin to feel that the roles had been sufficiently structured to contain in themselves most of the variables necessary to produce a given response. This would pave the way for a computer model of the social variables, and would also begin to enable us to predict the responses of specific actors and groups given a specific constellation of political and social forces. POLITICA III had added the refinements of move sheets and paymaster (see Appendix IV). Players had one week, as opposed to 1/2 hour and several hours in POLITICA I and II, to prepare strategies.

#### Action of POLITICA III

POLITICA III opened with a barracks revolt by the army units in Fertilidad in open defiance of Field Marshal O'Brien, and declared in favor of the right-wing Lopez. O'Brien, struck suddenly by this action, was incapable of taking effective measures to suppress it. The now-independent Fertilidad military, which had long been concerned about the seemingly pro-Communist agitation of Valdez, was then free to undertake action against that peasant leader. Upon the military's attempt to arrest Valdez, the peasants of Fertilidad rose as a mass in his defense. Disorder in Fertilidad continued throughout the election, with each side accusing the other of attempting to upset the status quo, and neither clearly victorious. This prevented the peasants and landowners agents from voting.

After the election of the moderate left liberal Rodriguez by an overwhelming majority of 600,000 to 30,000, the military withdrew from Fertilidad to

combine with the rest of the Patrian army for a post-election march on Velasquez City (see below).

Leaping at the opportunity afforded them by the resulting power vacuum, the peasants proceeded to throw out the landowners' agents, arrest the Fertilian governor, and proclaim Valdez as their eternal leader.

Meanwhile, the leftist forces of Valdez and the FLN acting in conspiracy had organized a master plan to stage a pro-Valdez, anti-Rodriguez coup, backed by the FLN, in Fertilidad, San Cristobal, and Cupria. However, the army's premature withdrawal from Fertilidad caused Valdez to succeed there well before the coordinated efforts in the other two provinces could occur. Without the simultaneous actions of Valdez and Ibarbouru (FLN leader) in the other provinces, the attempted coups in San Cristobal and Cupria lost momentum and failed.

The army's ill-fated withdrawal from Fertilidad had been designed so that the military, without O'Brien, could stage its own anti-Rodriguez coup, this time from the right, in Velasquez. In other words, both the political far left and the right, foreseeing an impending (progressive) Rodriguez victory, had independently planned anti-Rodriguez coups for after the election. Just as the attempted pro-Valdez coup, if successful, would have been followed by a continued movement to the left, with the FLN, in turn, attempting to seize power from Valdez; so the army's coup was followed by a continuation of the revolution to the right.

The army's coup was nominally on behalf of Sebastiano. The CD president, backed by all of the right-wing forces except O'Brien (who, following his profile, was staunchly loyal to Rodriguez as the democratically elected victor) was then in a position to refuse to surrender the machinery of government to the popularly elected President.

The army's right-wing pro-Sebastiano coup in the capital city was successful on power points alone. However, no sooner had Sebastiano reasserted power than the army concluded that there had been too many coups, whereupon it continued the revolution rightward by throwing out Sebastiano, in turn, and taking over Velasquez City for the declared purpose of "preserving order for the nation's economic development".



The game ended with Fertilidad under control of Valdez; Velasquez under the control of the army; and Rodriguez touring the provinces attempting to persuade the people to form a popular loyalist government in his behalf. Patria was approaching a full scale cleavage, bordering on civil war, with the people on one side and the right wing forces on the other.

### 3.4 POLITICA IV and V: Grenadilla Series

The second (Grenadilla) scenario postulates a country under a well-established left wing (but not radical) government. The government, and the country's president, came to power through an army-sponsored coup in 1958 and was confirmed in power by the elections of 1963. At the time the simulation begins, the Communist (FLN) party has been growing stronger, becoming an increasing threat to the government. The government also has to contend with inflation, as well as military and popular anxiety about FLN terrorism. The problem for the government is to survive, and to stay in power without being taken over by the Right or the far Left. The player representing President Guedalla was warned in his profile that it would be impossible for him to do nothing in this situation if he wished to survive; that he would have to take decisive action.

For the Grenadilla series, additional characters were added to the simulation. The FLN party, instead of being represented by only one player as in Patria, was represented by five players: one leader, Bunuel, and a representative in each province. This was felt to be realistic for the developed organization postulated in the scenario. The U.S. was represented for the first time by the Ambassador, Winthrop Leverett Towers III, and the USAID representative, John B. Goode. The resources of the U.S. and the FLN were arbitrarily limited. Neither was allowed to bring in additional resources from outside Grenadilla during the course of the simulation, but both started the game with an amount that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. respectively might reasonably have been expected to allot annually to a Latin American country the size of Grenadilla.

For the Grenadilla series rules for the resolution of violent conflicts were generated. Only groups were allowed to engage in violence, and civilian population was at a great disadvantage against a military unit. FLN and army units fought on equal terms, but in military engagements a two unit superiority was required to win. Most violent engagements were styled to be inconclusive to discourage players from indiscriminate escalation to civil war. On the basis

of experience in Grenadilla #1 the rule was introduced that all individuals on the losing side of a power play had safe conduct out of the province. Umpires were also briefed always to offer the option of violence to any group on the losing side of a power play. Ultimately, for Politica VII, violence points, on the same principle as power points, were given to all sizeable groups and the rule established that a two point superiority was required to win an engagement.

It was also found that in Grenadilla #1 the army and FLN units had a quite unrealistic freedom of movement as there was no time lag in travelling from one province to the next. This had not been a problem in Patria, where little terrorism existed, and the army was mainly important as a political not a military, force. However, in Grenadilla #1 it became obvious that the simulation was not realistic in that whole battalions could arrive instantly as they were required, or an army commander could walk into the next province with all his troops and interrupt events there. A time lag for the passage of troops from one province to the next was therefore introduced. Commanders were allowed to move freely, but their troops took five minutes to get from province to province. Without their troops, Commanders could be arrested. The same rules applied to FLN commanders and their units, and we found in Grenadilla #2 that these rules added greatly to realism.

Two games were played using the Grenadilla scenario. The first was played at Tufts University with a senior political science class on November 23, 1965; the second at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy with Professor Humphrey's second year economics class, some of Professor Barnes' Political Science class, visitors from other research agencies and representatives from ARPA.

The events of both games are described in detail in Section 4 of this report. A brief summary of both games is included here.

## GRENADILLA #1

Very early in the game de Freitas and Bruno turned against Guedalla and began negotiations with ex-President Hernandez to return him to power. While they were gathering support for their move, the APRA government was trying to pacify the peasants with promises of land reform. They succeeded in putting down an FLN inspired revolt among the slum sections of Fandango city, but could not prevent the destruction of the Gummicola factory, which rendered many of the urban workers jobless and caused great anxiety to all the industrialists.

While President Guedalla was occupied with reassuring the industrialists and the U.S. country team, and promising reparation for the damage to the factory, de Freitas and Bruno, with the aid of the Governor, the local garrison, the merchants and the middle classes took over Santa Maria in the name of Hernandez. This news had hardly been announced when the FLN group sponsored an uprising in Marque, in order to nationalize the oil industry. The revolt was successful, and the FLN took complete control of Marque, deposing the Governor and replacing him with a law student. The representatives of Python Oil, bowing to the inevitable, agreed to help the FLN with the transfer of the administration of the oil fields to the Grenadillan workers.

News of this coup came as the final blow to Guedalla's tottering regime. Ex-president Hernandez, opposed only by the slum dwellers, was installed by the army in the seat of government in Fandango. Guedalla, graceful in defeat, offered his support to the new regime, and in a broadcast speech called on everyone in the country to support Hernandez, then left the province for Marque. Once there, he offered his support to the FLN group under Bunuel who welcomed it. He then broadcast again calling for support for the APRA/FLN front. Support was quickly forthcoming from Verdia where the ex-Minister of the Interior had succeeded in keeping the peasants loyal to APRA and Guedalla despite the defection of their hero Carreras to the CD party. The Minister of the Interior, fearing the takeover of APRA by the FLN was at pains throughout to limit his support to the APRA government.

Meanwhile the army was gathered in Fandango. Verdia and Marque provinces were sealed by the Chief Umpire and Santa Maria, as a CD stronghold, was also sealed. The essentially cardboard nature of the Hernandez government was revealed, as the army, under de Freitas, deposed Hernandez and proclaimed martial law. De Freitas had hardly finished his speech when a military uprising against him deposed him in favor of the commander of the 102nd.

The game then ended with Fandango and Santa Maria in the hands of a military government. Verdia was in a state of civil war, with the peasants under the leadership of the ex-Minister of the Interior in the APRA government in revolt against the local garrison. Marque was in the hands of the APRA/FLN front. Bruno, on behalf of the army government, had attempted to negotiate with Guedalla and Bunuel, offering recognition of the FLN as a legal party and elections under United Nations supervision. Guedalla and Bunuel were, however, too suspicious of the military government to accept.

#### GREPADILLA #2

Shortly after this game began a split developed in the army. General de Freitas, interpreting as disloyalty Brigadier Bruno's disagreement with the lenient policy of the government towards FLN depredations, urged President Guedalla to send Bruno overseas. Guedalla agreed, and it was announced that Brigadier Bruno would be going as a special envoy to Vietnam. Brigadier Bruno, wounded by this misinterpretation of his intentions, therefore opened negotiations with ex-President Hernandez.

President Guedalla meanwhile had announced land reforms, and sent his Minister of Agriculture, Carreras, to explain these to the peasants and discourage them from listening to FLN promises. This tactic was successful and the FLN representative, perceiving that the government was preempting the FLN position with the peasants, left. Although the FLN later held the province for part of the game during which Infidel was governor, Carreras was able to persuade the peasants to support APRA, retake the province, and keep the peasants loyal to APRA until the end of the game.

The pro-Hernandez group was meanwhile gathering strength. The landowners made overtures to de Freitas to join, but he wanted a guarantee that the army would be paid. The landowners were not prepared to give this, and de Freitas as a result supported the APRA government against Hernandez and Bruno when they took over Fandango City. De Freitas and Guedalla had no troops with them at the time of the Bruno/Hernandez bid for power and had to flee from Fandango leaving the city in the hands of Hernandez. The regime was short-lived however, as Guedalla and de Freitas returned with enough troops to restore Guedalla to power in the capital very shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile Enerves was infiltrating Santa Maria for the FLN. He worked carefully to promote a "workers revolution" refusing to do anything against the will of the people. He allowed himself to be jailed, refusing to use his power points as the people were not with him. His patience was rewarded as he was ultimately able to persuade the workers and the slums to revolt, and take over the province. One of the industrial workers was made Governor and the "workers government" endured until the end of the game.

The FLN were also successful in getting the workers help to overthrow the government in Marque, and, even more important, managed to trap de Freitas and three troop commanders without their troops. All four were jailed, and their troops immobilized, enabling the FLN to move freely round the country.

Meanwhile, in the city, Bruno had briefly taken over in the name of Hernandez but was soon deposed by Guedalla. APRA then held Fandango until almost the entire FLN force arrived from Marque. After two attempts the FLN succeeded in taking over the city with the aid of the 42nd who defected to the FLN and Guedalla fled to Marque to find de Freitas and the rest of the troops. He succeeded in releasing de Freitas and the other Commanders who collected their troops and rushed to Fandango. The game ended at this point, with a pitched battle between the FLN and the army imminent in Fandango, Santa Maria, in FLN hands, Marque in turmoil and Verdia in APRA hands.

### 3.5 POLITICA VI: Inertia

As long as Field Marshal Suballa remained alive, Inertian politics consisted largely of semi-clandestine plots and counterplots hatched by various elements in the population and factions in the military government against one another. This infighting was limited, both in scope and in open ferocity, by Suballa's power, prestige and ultimate control of decision-making. Of all the plotters and counterplotters with which the country was populated, only one--the Secret police chief Navarro--harbored schemes against Suballa himself.

In large measure, Suballa's hold on power was due to his successful strategy of encouraging rivalries between factions in the military, each of which became dependent on his patronage. Very early in the game, Suballa told each general privately that he had been singled out as the Caudillo's chosen successor. This action naturally served simultaneously to increase rivalries between the generals and to bind each individual more firmly to Suballa; each individual except Navarro, that is, who had plans to speed up the succession.

A second aspect to Suballa's strategy for retaining power was his implacable opposition to political activity on the part of the outlawed parties. Naturally, he was concerned with finding and rooting out Saladio and the communists, but he was equally, if not more, vehement in his desire to destroy Gianelli and the democratic RDP.

Gianelli enjoyed a vague kind of American protection in that he had been allowed to return from exile in order to demonstrate democratic progress in Inertia for the purpose of securing Alianza funds. Because of this, Suballa could not take direct action against Gianelli without reasons which would satisfy the U.S. embassy. He therefore ordered the generals, Navarro in particular, to uncover Gianelli's clandestine organization and to do everything possible to convince the Americans that Gianelli was in league with the FLN. Navarro, meanwhile, played his own version of Suballa's divide and rule game by informing the Caudillo that he had reason to believe that the Army was harboring Saladio.

Schemes were also afoot in the provinces. In Lucretia, Choi Oi Sao, Sarakhanese religious leader and clandestine F. A. N. G. agent, made a secret anti-Communist alliance with the local Army commander, Col. Morgan. The two also agreed implicitly to cooperate in discrediting their rivals, Wang Ba-dan

and Lt. Col. Sanza, Sarakhanese elder and Lucretia administrative chief respectively. At the same time, Truong Van Dong, secretly FLN, aroused suspicion on the part of the U. S. A. I. D. man, Harvey Richardson, by agitating among the Sarakhanese peasantry in an attempt to stir up demands for political representation, a concept which had very little meaning to the peasants. Their immediate interest was rent payments, which they were reluctant to make.

In Marinara, Fulgencio Jimenez, as FLN agitator, aroused suspicion on the part of Caulfield, United Fish plant manager in San Tomas, and resentment among the slum dwellers who considered him "a sneaky guy." Gianelli was also able to spot Jimenez as an FLN man. The slums reacted more favorably to Garcia, secretly an RDP member, because they thought Garcia might help them in procuring "more booze."

Plots and counterplots now developed in profusion. Senora Cervantes, a F. A. N. G. agent, set out to discover which faction the Americans would support with the intention of using the information for her own purposes rather than informing Navarro. Navarro was busy with his plot to overthrow Suballa and discreetly and unsuccessfully sounded out Wang Ba-dan about supporting a possible power move. Choi Oi Sao was prepared to cooperate with the Communist Truong Van Dong in order to eliminate Wang Ba-dan's influence, while Col. Morgan devised a plot to jail Lt. Col. Sanza as a Communist and to assume both military and political control in Lucretia. At this time, the Sarakhanese peasantry considered turning to the FLN if their rents were raised, while Pancho Vargas of F. A. N. G. managed to infiltrate the FLN through personal contacts with Truong Van Dong.

The first scheme to bear fruit was Morgan's plot against the relatively liberal Sanza. Striking in the absence of Wang Ba-dan and Truong Van Dong, who might have marshalled Sarakhanese backing for Sanza, Morgan managed to gain support from the Inertian peasantry who viewed Sanza as pro-Sarakhanese and to rally the landlord's agents to his side as well. Sanza was jailed on trumped-up charges of cooperation with the FLN and Morgan took over administrative as well as military authority in the province, presenting Suballa with a fait accompli. Suballa, with no first hand knowledge of Sanza's guilt or



innocence and without a trusted replacement for Morgan, had little choice in the matter and approved Morgan's actions. When questioned later by the American Embassy about Morgan, Suballa even claimed that Morgan had acted under Suballa's orders, attempting to confirm the presence of a Communist threat. General Medina, to his subsequent benefit, advised General Moreno to discourage Morgan's move.

Field Marshal Suballa had not been lax in his own plotting during this period of maneuver. To entice the RDP into the open, he asked a suspected agent to draft a "reform constitution" for Inertia. In collusion with Navarro, he planned a grand tour of the country in order to announce the economic and social reforms which he had "decided" to institute and at the same time, to stage anti-American demonstrations, supposedly instigated by an RDP-FLN United Front, in order to persuade the Americans that Gianelli was in fact conspiring with Saladio. Navarro recruited Inertian peasants to stage the demonstration, but also took the opportunity to convince the peasants that he, Navarro, was their true benefactor in the government and therefore deserved their support, even against Suballa. To reinforce this impression, he ordered the Sarakhanese peasants to refrain from participating in the demonstration for their own good.

For the most part, Suballa's tour was triumphal and popular acclaim led him to promise reforms which he may not have originally had in mind. To Wang Ba-dan, for example, he promised first class citizenship for the Sarakhanese and he also saw fit to decree an across-the-board tax cut for the power classes. He promised public works and education to boot, though within the framework of his own now-benevolent dictatorship. (Suballa, in fact, intended to implement more of these measures.) The "Yankee go home" demonstration came off as scheduled in Lucretia, though Y. F. Bill, the U. S. military attache who witnessed it, remained unconvinced about Gianelli's complicity. Quite rightly, he suspected that such a demonstration could only take place with government approval in Inertia.

Upon returning to Santa Filomena, Suballa held a diplomatic reception for all the foreign representatives in the country to convey the false impression that the Inertian authorities had the Communist FLN under close surveillance and that his police were about to seize Saladio. Ironically enough, Saladio, operating in the guise of Carlos Armendariz of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America was himself present at the reception.

Plotting continued. Navarro and Moreno had been strengthened relative to Medina when Sanza was ousted in Lucretia, but as Navarro grew stronger by courting political support from the peasants, collecting money for protection from the RDP and from wealthier members of the community, Moreno and Medina began to move closer together.

It was at this point, with Navarro having already built an independent power base and with Moreno and Medina moving together, that Suballa succumbed to the dreaded black rot. A wild scramble for power followed amid widespread disbelief that Suballa was really dead of natural causes. Most people thought rather that he had been assassinated by one or more of the generals, while others speculated that he might not be dead at all, but rather in hiding to lure his enemies into the open.

Moreno moved first, proclaiming himself successor to Suballa in Santa Filomena. Navarro, however, had hurried to Lucretia where he rallied the support he had so assiduously cultivated among both Sarakhanese and Inertian peasants to overthrow Morgan. Medina was also seized in this action and both he and Morgan were expelled from the province and went to Marianara. Navarro declared himself "El Presidente", promised sweeping reforms and prepared to march on Santa Filomena.

Meanwhile, Gianelli finally saw fit to disclose Saladio's true identity to the authorities in Marinara. After some hesitation, Saladio was jailed. In Lucretia, the Sarakhanese peasants finally settled on Choi Oi Sao as their leader, Truong Van Dong having been isolated and Wang Ba-dan discredited through a slander campaign mounted by Choi.

Moreno meanwhile threw in with Medina and a massive power play now developed in Lucretia between pro-Navarro and pro-Medina forces. With the peasantry in violent rebellion behind him, Navarro prevailed. Nonetheless, the army was on the way and would have turned the struggle in favor of the Moreno-Medina faction had time not been called at this point. Civil war was definitely in the offing with Navarro, surprisingly enough, claiming substantial popular, but no military, support. Navarro benefitted from prior planning which the other contenders did not, but on the other hand, had created sufficient mistrust among various elements to insure his own probably long-run defeat. Medina and Moreno appeared to be willing to grant limited political freedom to Gianelli and the RDP "under army supervision."

### 3.6 POLITICA VII and VIII: Area-Specific

For POLITICA VII and VIII an area-specific scenario was developed simulating a current situation in a country of interest within the basic POLITICA framework. These games were played by Defense and State Department personnel in Washington. The details of scenario development and game play are published in a separate report to Project AGILE.

#### 4. ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE ANALYSIS

This section illustrates the type of analysis that can be derived from Politica play with a detailed comparative analysis of Politica IV and V (the "Grenadilla" series).

As a basis for any analysis, it was necessary to have as full an account as possible of the events of each simulation. All players in the Grenadilla series were therefore asked to fill out "Move Sheets" (see specimen in Appendix IV). These sheets contain spaces for the name of the player contacted, the real time of the move or the conversation, and the gist of the move or conversation. For example:

Move No.	Player Contacted	Time	Move
1	de Freitas	2:40	Gave me President's order. I tried to convince him to attack FLN immediately. Was not successful.

Player's Name  
BRUNO

Typically, the highly active players like de Freitas or Guedalla did not have time to record all their moves and turned in scanty sheets. The less active players, the immobile classes, for example, did record more. In Grenadilla #2 an extra umpire was added to each province whose duty was primarily to record events in that province. Hopefully, at least all the most important events and conversations were recorded on one sheet or another. The use of mechanical means of recording the game such as tape recorders was also considered, but the difficulties were considerable. The simulation takes place in four large rooms with high ambient noise level, and many conversations would probably take place outside the range of the recorder.

The problem was to order chronologically and integrate all the reported information. An attempt at using the time recorded by the players as a complete basis was abandoned as it was found that, despite watches being synchronized, the same event was recorded with up to ten minute variance by different players. One player's sheet (or one umpire's in the case of Grenadilla #2) was used as a

basis, and sequential numbers were assigned to each move recorded by the player or the umpire. Each move was then checked to see if the player contacted (or the subjects of the umpire's report) had also recorded that move. If they had, the same serial number was allotted to that move on their sheets.

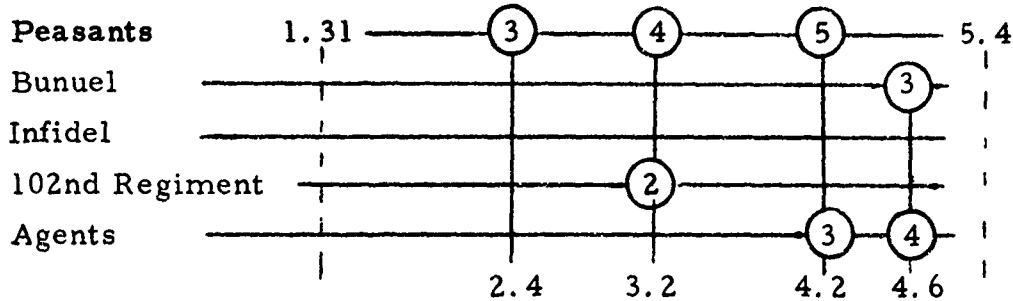
When the possibilities of one move sheet had been exhausted, the other sheets were then checked to find those in which gaps appeared, for example, where moves number 1, 2 and 6 had serial numbers assigned to them but 3, 4 and 5 had not. The moves with no serial number assigned to them were then matched with other player's sheets where possible noting on both sheets the move number of the other sheet. For example, if we discovered that the peasants contact with the land agents at their move number 5 to which we had not yet assigned an overall serial number, was also reported by the land agents at their move number 3, we wrote "Land Agents Number 3" on the Peasant's sheet at their move number 5 on their sheet.

At this stage the Peasant's sheet would look like this:

			PEASANTS
Move No.	Player	Time	Move
1 (1.66)	Agents	2:42	They demanded rent
2 (1.31)	Guedalla	2:44	Told us of land reform plans
3	Gunuel Infidel	2:47	Tried to persuade us to revolt
4	102nd Regiment (2)	2:53	Asked us if we had seen FLN. We said no.
5	Agents (3)	2:57	Demanded rent again
6 (5.4)	Landowners	3:05	Threatened reprisals if rent not paid

Moves 1, 2 and 6 have previously been assigned serial numbers 0.66, 1.31 and 5.4 by virtue of correlations noted with the sheets of the Agents, Guedalla, and the Landowners. The contact was not reported by either Bunuel or Infidel. Move 4 was reported as Move 2 on the 102nd's sheet, and Move 5 as Move 3 on the Agent's sheet.

A chart was then drawn up correlating all moves established to have occurred between serials 1.31 and 5.4 and involving all persons in contact with the peasants during this time, all persons in contact in turn with them, and so forth, thus showing an entire constellation of connected contacts. In our example the table would then look like this:



Notice that this constellation includes a contact between Bunuel and the Agents, which did not involve the Peasants, but which must have occurred after Peasants' move 5, and therefore after Bunuel's Peasant contacts reported by the Peasants alone as move 3. Once the constellation chart is complete arbitrary serial numbers in sequence are assigned to the unnumbered events. A "Dewey Decimal" numbering system was adopted so that additional events (from other constellations) could be inserted into the existing sequence as necessary. This process was repeated until serial numbers had been assigned to every reported move on all sheets.

The information on the move sheets was then transferred onto 3 x 5 file cards. The overall move serial number appears in the top left corner. Immediately underneath the number appears the name of the player reporting the contact. The name of the contact appears next, and the exact text of the reporting player's remarks appears on the right hand side of the card. If the contact were reported by both parties, both reports would appear on the same card. Following the example of the Peasant's move sheet already given the file card for move 3.2 would, therefore, look like this:

<u>3.2</u>		
Peasants	102nd	Asked us if we had seen FLN. We said no.
102nd	Peasants	They said had not seen any FLN.

Quite frequently, these multiple report cards reveal different responses by players to the same contact, and different perceptions of the other player's response. These procedures generated a sequential data base from which complete versions, in clear language, of the events of both games were produced. These appear below in full.

CRENADILLA #1

Agents were ordered by the landlords to raise rents 50% but to promise to lower them 50% if the peasants inform on the FLN (Verdia).

Agents proceeded to raise the rents 50% but to promise the peasants a 50% reduction if they inform on the FLN man and he is apprehended.

Carreras, Minister of Agriculture, announced to the peasants that land reform measures had been approved.

The governor of Verdia held an orientation session with the 42nd Armored.

The 42nd conferred with the landlords, who spoke of their desire for a fertilizer factory.

Verdia governor then conferred with the military and the landowners' agents.

Meeting of military commanders to discuss feelings about the government, to decide who properly gives orders.

Landowners' agents in Verdia told the 73rd Infantry of their desire for a fertilizer plant. The 73rd thought them very conservative.

Carreras persuaded the governor of Verdia to try to convince the landowners of the need for reform.

The landowners, meanwhile, sounded out the military commander in Fandango, whom they found to be loyal to de Freitas.

The governor of Verdia told the landowners that although he had given 1/4 acre of land to each peasant, he would support General Bruno.

Carreras was informed by the Verdia governor that the landowners agreed to land reform. There was conflict between the peasants and the landowners over who was to buy the produce of the land.

Carreras and the governor also discussed plans to abolish the FLN.

Absentee landowners received and collected rents from the agents.

A general conference took place in Jello, and at the same time, President Guedalla, Carreras and the Minister of the Interior met to discuss strategy-- land reform, land tax in Verdia, import and exchange controls, protectionism and a progressive tax structure. Carreras reported on the status of land reform in Verdia and on programs for social reform and to the slums.

The governor of Verdia told Guedalla of his "total support" for land reform.



De Freitas found the slums "indifferent".

Bunuel of the FLN tried to win over the Social Science students for the FLN.

The Law School proposed to the School of Social Science that they get together and buy the loyalty of the peasants for \$500,000. The two hoped to gain control of Verdia.

Infidel, FLN, then approached the Law School who told him of their strength, and asked about strength of the FLN. School of Social Science informed Infidel that everyone was seeking their support.

Infidel unsuccessfully sought support from the Verdia peasants, whereupon The 42nd Armored, 73rd Infantry, landowners and the governor joined in a power play against Infidel, who was jailed.

The peasants proceeded to tell the landowners that Infidel was caught because they informed.

Bruno talked with the commander of the 102nd Regiment and agreed to sound out de Freitas on the land reforms.

The Fandango Garrison Commander questioned the loyalty of the 73rd Infantry. The 73rd apparently succeeded in convincing the Fandango Commander that the rumors of disloyalty were false.

De Freitas was meanwhile informed through one of the Verdia commanders of a plot against him.

Infidel negotiated with both the 42nd Armored and the 73rd Infantry about accepting a bribe to turn in Bunuel. The 42nd offered \$100,000.

The 73rd Infantry was informed of the impending land reform under which the Verdia peasants were to get 1/4 acre each by Carreras and the landowners. The landowners did not really favor this policy, but acquiesced.

Bruno discussed with the 73rd means of getting Infidel out of the country.

Infidel was offered post of ambassador to Switzerland by Bruno.

Guedalla confirmed land reforms in conversation with the 73rd.

Infidel escaped from jail to the displeasure of the 73rd.

The Fandango Commander discussed land reform with the governor of Verdia and registered his opposition to it.

The Law School students were trying to stir the peasants of Verdia to revolution.

The absentee landowners contacted the Fandango Commander, who seemed to hedge about his loyalty to the government. The landlords took a very strong position against the FLN and urged the Fandango Commander to go after the Communists even without support from above.

1 ) The peasants conferred with the landowners and their agents.

Bunuel instructed Infidel to return to Verdia after a meeting in Fandango.

Carreras informed 102nd of land reform movement.

Bunuel and the Law School students made contact with the Verdia peasants.

102nd tentatively agreed to back a new government under Hernandez.

Landowners' agents agreed to go along with Hernandez government after contact with 102nd. Landowners agreed also.

Guedalla talked to the Verdia peasants.

Conference between Infidel and Enerves. Infidel asked for help, made FLN plans.

Absentee landowners told the governor of Verdia that they support the overthrow of de Freitas. The governor, however, counselled a postponement as de Freitas was beginning to clamp down.

Agents, governor and landowners then decided to stay with de Freitas.

102nd meanwhile worked on organizing Hernandez coup. Colonos indicated that they were not in favor of Hernandez but would go along if he paid cash on the line.

102nd also contacted the peasants about the proposed coup.

Infidel and the Law Students offered \$300,000 to the peasants for their support. The peasants however decided to stay neutral.

Peasants complained to the governor that the landowners were forcing them to sell their produce at an unfair price.

The absentee landowners contacted the middle class. Received support for a power play against the FLN.

Absentee landowners then urged Hernandez to speak to Bruno about the above.

Absentee landowners then promised jobs in Verdia to the slum inhabitants should the Verdia peasants revolt. The slum dwellers, in return for their support, would get the peasants' jobs.

De Zulueta also visited the slums, criticized the government, asked support to overthrow it.

De Freitas and Bruno visited the slums. Promised that reforms were coming, urged slums not to listen to the FLN because the latter have no power.

( )

The FLN had money, however. \$500,000 of it incited a riot in the slums.

The absentee landowners supported the army's power play against the slums.

Absentee landowners ran a power play in Verdica to arrest Bunuel of the FLN.

Carreras listened to complaints from both peasants and landlords about who is to get the agricultural produce.

Carreras talked to the 42nd about land reform and also to the absentee landlords, who claimed to want moderation. Said the peasants were against government policy.

Carreras, the landowners' agents and the Verdica governor met to discuss the landowners' reform policy under which the landowners were to purchase peasant produce from the private plots to be distributed by land reform.

Guedalla and the military discussed disorder in the country. Also, de Freitas brought up the reforms which Guedalla supported.

Von Pontz visited Guedalla to talk about reform and taxation.

A Santa Maria troop commander solicited support for a pro-Hernandez coup from the governor of Marque but was refused.

The Marque governor then went to Fandango to discuss social discontent in that province with Macleod and Clark. Clark gave Macleod money for social reform; the two also discussed plans to thwart the FLN.

The Marque governor collected taxes, but the Jello workers refused to pay.

The Governor of Marque conferred with Guedalla, who visited the province. The governor was displeased because Guedalla collected taxes but refused help on civil disorder.

Bruno alerted the 42nd Armored and the 73rd Infantry.

De Freitas countermanded Bruno's orders. The 42nd was unhappy at not being allowed to fight Infidel and the FLN, as was the 73rd.

The commander of the 102nd informed the 73rd that he had met with the peasants. The latter were not too satisfied with land reform, but were probably loyal.

De Freitas held a status of forces conference with the 42nd.

The 73rd observed that de Freitas and the army seemed strategically confused.

The 42nd Armored got into a fire fight with Bunuel and his FLN band.

Widespread violence. The 102nd Regiment lost a power play in Verdía while the 73rd Infantry went to Marque to quell disturbances. Martial law was declared in Marque and an inconclusive fight broke out.

Bruno called the 42nd and 73rd to Fandango to put down FLN-backed riots in the slums with the aid of the middle class and the absentee landlords.

With troops out of the province, the governor of Verdía was deposed by Infidel and the School of Law. The peasants were apathetic. Apparently, the law students gave \$300,000 to the peasants for their neutrality.

Guedalla dispatched the Fandango Garrison to Verdía.

Infidel informed Bunuel of the FLN takeover in Verdía.

Infidel, Bunuel and the Law School offered 5 acres to the peasants.

Guedalla met with Carreras and discussed Verdía.

Von Pontz had a meeting with Hernandez.

Goode and Towers met and discussed an increase in U.S. aid, and methods to ensure the protection of A.I.D. projects.

Reagan, Macleod, Collidar, Towers and Goode met and discussed the situation, agreeing that reform short of revolution was required. They agreed on an anti-FLN policy. Reagan reported that the Minister of the Interior planned to raise taxes to oppose the FLN.

Towers and Goode told Von Pontz that if the \$8.5 million given to the government annually for distribution was not exactly accounted for, action would be taken. They asked that this message be relayed to Guedalla.

Goode also requested that Von Pontz use his influence with the government and people to counteract the FLN influence.

The Minister of the Interior and the President met with Goode and Towers and requested that American aid be increased to \$13 million to be given in goods, not money. They guaranteed that the distribution of these goods would in future be carefully supervised, in response to Towers' comments.

Towers and Goode discussed this request.

Meanwhile the Fandango middle classes and Brigadier Bruno exchanged views.

Guedalla then came to talk to the Fandango middle class and tried to convince them that his economic policy would be effective.

Guedalla then ordered the military garrison to quell the slum riots in Fandango.

The garrison went out against the slum rioters.

The middle classes supported the garrison in their endeavors to stop the riots.

Guedalla offered the slums \$17 million for reform this year, \$2 million of which would be payable immediately. The slums agreed to stop rioting.

Meanwhile in Marque, Bruno ordered the Marque garrison to move troops into the Jello section of the oil fields.

The garrison commander informed the Jello workers that troops were stationed in their section.

Meanwhile in Santa Maria the middle classes were in conclave with the governor and told him that, in the event of a CD coup, they would give the CD government their support against the FLN. The first quarter's taxes were pledged to the governor as support.

Hernandez then received a pledge of support from the Santa Maria garrison.

Hernandez told the governor that the army would support his bid for power.

The governor then spoke to the commander and found that this was so.

The governor also spoke to de Freitas but found him in favor of the present regime.

The governor then collected \$50,000 tax from the merchants.

Meanwhile the Santa Maria workers were having a discussion with the Law School. The question of future U.S. aid was discussed as well as FLN policies. The workers expressed their fear and lack of trust in any policy that would disrupt the economy.

The industrial workers then had a meeting with the merchants and the governor and asked them for reform, saying that they were being forced into the arms of the FLN. The merchants and the governor counter-proposed that the workers should join with them in support of a CD coup. The governor pointed out that the CD would have military support, would make reforms and subsidize the workers when they came to power. The workers felt their best course was to join the coup and pledged their support for it.

Guedalla collected \$3 million for the first quarter from the governor of Santa Maria, and promised his support so long as the government was stable.

The Minister of the Interior collected \$2.5 million in taxes from Von Pontz.

The Minister of the Interior then collected \$250,000 in taxes from Collidar and threatened to raise taxes again. He had to threaten Collidar with jail to get the taxes collected.

Salivar meanwhile was talking to Hernandez who promised lower taxes and reform if he were back in government.

Macleod and Collidar also had a discussion about the government.

Meanwhile in Marque the oil workers and Castango were holding discussions. The Grese oil workers agreed to support the FLN if they would nationalize the oil industry.

Meanwhile in Santa Maria Enerves was jailed and the industrial workers assigned to guard him.

Enerves later escaped.

Meanwhile in Marque, Castango and the Army Commander had a conference.

Clark held a conference with the oil workers, paid them their first quarter's wages and discussed paying for social reform.

Castango meanwhile was holding a conference with Bunuel.

Castango then talked to Enerves.

The Jello workers then talked to Bunuel and Castango.

Hernandez meanwhile tried to gain the support of the Grese workers but they refused.

The Garrison in Marque approached the Petrolia workers who refused to support the CD party.

All the oil workers and Castango then joined in a power play against the garrison. The play ended in a stalemate.

Castango then tried to persuade the Petrolia workers to join him in a sabotage attempt. They refused.

A power play was then held in Marque in which Castango was jailed by the governor and the Fandango garrison with the support of the Petrolia workers.

The Commander and the governor of Marque agreed to defect to the CD.

The Governor of Marque asked the Fandango Commander to send troops to Marque to avert a possible revolution.

Hernandez and the garrison commander in Marque then had a discussion in which it was agreed that the commander would support Hernandez. The commander also told Hernandez about the troubles with the FLN in the oil fields.

Hernandez then talked to Bruno and was apparently assured of his support.

Hernandez then had a discussion with Goode and Towers. He told the American team of his plans to overthrow the government and talked about his economic policy. He discussed the idea of ceasing U. S. aid as a method of curbing inflation without milking industry.

Meanwhile Clark and Macleod were exchanging views about the troubles in Fandango and Marque.

Macleod and Reagan then discussed the government's problems.

Von Pontz and Guedalla had a talk about the taxes on industry.

Von Pontz then talked to the (Fandango?) military garrison about protecting industrial complexes.

He then went on to discuss inflation and foreign aid with Guedalla.

Clark then approached the U. S. team and asked for aid to help American industry in the country. He pointed out that the power of U. S. foreign aid was increasing.

Von Pontz and Reagan agreed that both American and internal industry (as represented by Von Pontz) were similarly affected by the country's problems.

Reagan, Collidar and Macleod then met and agreed that the leftist tendencies of the present government were dangerous.

Von Pontz met with Reagan and Towers who stated that they were worried about American industry. Towers asked Von Pontz to lay it on the line to Guedalla that U. S. aid might be cut off.

Meanwhile de Zulueta was in Fandango talking to the workers. He was persuading them to unify with FLN funds. They felt that they needed to unify but were suspicious of the FLN's violent tactics.

The Fandango workers then got together with the slums and discussed their common grievances and possible unification. The Fandango workers, however, feared that the slums might get their jobs.

The Law Students, commissioned by the FLN, bought the slums for \$100,000.

The Fandango workers then talked to President Guedalla and asked what he could do for them. They were not convinced by his plans for reform. He told them to talk to Von Pontz but they felt this would do little good as he was an industrialist.

POWER PLAY in Fandango.

Guedalla	}	Workers
Goode		
Fandango Military	} vs.	Slums
Commander		
Towers	}	de Zulueta
School of		
Social Science		
Hernandez		

The government side won and de Zulueta, in a fit of pique, burned down the Gummicola factory and left the province.

Collidar, Macleod, Towers and Reagan then conferred about the rioters and the burnt-out Gummicola factory.

Meanwhile in Santa Maria, the slums had pledged their support to Enerves.

The governor of Santa Maria interviewed the workers and decreased their taxes to \$2400. They paid the first quarter's taxes of \$800.

Salivar meanwhile was canvassing the middle class of Santa Maria for support for a CD government.

Hernandez then met with the industrial workers and tried to incite them to overthrow APRA.

The governor of Santa Maria talked with the School of Social Science who were not decided to support the CD.

Towers talked to de Freitas and found that he was unaware of the attempted CD coup.

Meanwhile in Santa Maria Salivar arrested Enerves for subversion.

In Verdia a power play took place

102nd	}	vs.	Bunuel
42nd			
73rd	}		
de Freitas			
Landowners			
Landowners' agents			

The result of the power play was that Bunuel was jailed, and the 73rd, 42nd, landowners and landowners' agents were left to guard him.

Meanwhile in Fandango, Guedalla was assuring Towers and the industrialists that reparations would be made for the loss of the Gummicola factory. Reagan said he would rebuild the factory if he could be assured of stability.



In Santa Maria, however, the governor was discussing the overthrow of the APRA government with Hernandez.

Meanwhile in Marque, Clark was telling the governor that there was trouble over wages.

Macleod and Towers discussed the government.

Clark then talked to President Guedalla about social welfare.

The governor of Marque then asked Clark for his help in a power play against the FLN.

Clark then talked to the Grese workers who report that they were unable to convince him of anything.

Clark next met with Macleod.

The Grese workers talked to the garrison in Marque who managed to convince them of the Communist influence in the FLN.

Castango meanwhile was proposing sabotage to the Jello workers.

The governor of Marque in the meantime was meeting with Hernandez and trying to extract a bribe.

Macleod then offered the oil workers a 10% raise, in exchange for their loyal support, which was accepted.

While this was going on, the Marque garrison commander was visited by the governor of Santa Maria who said that if the governor of Marque would join with the CD, a position with the new government would be forthcoming.

The commander in Marque relayed this information to the governor and reported that the governor supported the CD party.

The Grese oil workers reported that Clark paid them.

The governor of Marque and Clark then discussed arrangements to bring in more money for the workers from the company and the U.S. government.

Clark meanwhile was talking to the Petrolia workers about the possibility of seeking social reform and more representation in the government in conjunction with the other oil workers.

Castango then talked to the Petrolia workers, but they refused to join in a strike because their wages had been raised.

Meanwhile in Verdia the 73rd tried to bribe Bunuel to change his loyalties. Bunuel refused the bribe.

The governor in Verdia announced his decision to raise the peasants' taxes.

The 102nd talked to Bruno.

The governor of Verdia ordered the 73rd to Fandango.

The 73rd met the Santa Maria garrison commander who tried to persuade him to support a CD government because the existing government seemed unable to control riots, etc. The 73rd then thought about it.

Meanwhile a power play took place in Verdia and Bunuel escaped.

The commander of Marque, fearing the worst, asked the 102nd, the 73rd and the Fandango commander for their support to prevent an FLN takeover in Marque.

The 102nd and the 73rd met and the 73rd agreed to support Hernandez.

Guedalla ordered the troops to Marque.

Meanwhile the School of Social Science was meeting with the governor of Santa Maria and reported that a coup was planned with army support.

Clark, meanwhile in Marque, had an inconclusive conversation with Castango.

He also talked to the governor.

Reagan and the Minister of the Interior discussed a tax increase.

Salivar and Guedalla had a talk in which Guedalla assured them of the stability of his government and told them they need not worry about attacks if they behaved themselves.

The middle classes in Santa Maria meanwhile suggested to the governor that he use slum workers to repair the railroad (cut by the FLN).

The Law School tried to bribe the industrial workers in Santa Maria with \$300,000 but were thrown out of the province during the transaction.

Meanwhile in Fandango the government was consolidating its position. The Minister of the Interior gave the urban workers permission to unionize; promised no military intervention and a six month moratorium on tax collection. In return the workers agreed to a wage freeze for six months and that they would not support the FLN.

The Minister of the Interior then promised the slums that their taxes would be cut from \$2.6 million to \$2 million. He collected the first quarter's taxes (\$500,000) but gave the slums \$1 million in aid.

The Minister of the Interior then reported this move to the President.

The Governor of Santa Maria and the Fandango garrison commander met. The governor told the commander that support in Fandango meant support for the CD.

Meanwhile the middle class in Santa Maria suggested to the garrison commander an APRA/CD coalition to eradicate the FLN.

The Santa Maria governor paid the slum workers for their work on the railroad.

A power play then took place and the CD party, led by de Freitas, took over the province.

The Santa Maria slums got a message out to Enerves giving him all the information about the CD government.

The FLN reappeared in Santa Maria and asked the governor for protection money for the stoppage of subversive activities. The governor refused and allocated 25,000 troops to guard the seaport.

The School of Law gave the Santa Maria slums \$1,000 for their pledged support.

The governor then threw the Law School out of the province.

The governor offered the industrial workers \$50,000 to fix the roads with some of the unemployed.

The industrial workers, Enerves, the governor and the slums then had a discussion.

Meanwhile in Verdia the colonos were refusing to cooperate with the 102nd.

The 73rd persuaded the landowners to support the CD.

POWER PLAY in Marque to nationalize the oil industry.

Bunuel	}	vs.	{	
Castango				
Enerves				Macleod
de Zulueta				
Grese				
Jello				Clark
Law School				

The FLN side won and appointed the Law School as governor of Marque. They nationalized all the oil wells.

Macleod discussed the Grenadillization of industry with Bunuel.

Macleod then discussed with de Zulueta the process of nationalization but de Zulueta appeared reluctant to keep the industry.

Bunuel exiled the governor of Marque.

Macleod then had another discussion with de Zulueta.

Macleod reported that he and Clark had tentatively sided with the FLN and were awaiting the outcome although they were without communication.

Meanwhile, in Fandango, Goode gave Guedalla \$8 1/2 million in U. S. aid.

Collidar talked to de Freitas who was trying to get support for the CD party. He promised that the FLN menace would be dealt with.

Collidar then approached Von Pontz to join the CD.

Reagan and Von Pontz then met and agreed to support Hernandez.

Towers then gave the industrial workers in Fandango \$2.5 million.

Meanwhile the School of Social Science met with Infidel who told them that he was supporting the government as he had been bribed.

The School of Social Science then met the Fandango commander and gave him \$100,000 for support against the FLN.

Meanwhile in Verdia the landowners and the peasants had reached agreement. The peasants were to receive 1/4 acre and keep the produce and the rent would not be raised if they supported the landowners and opposed the FLN.

Von Pontz, meanwhile, had met with Hernandez and agreed to support him because of Guedalla's unstable tactics.

Von Pontz then went and saw the Americans who swung their support for Hernandez.

The governor of Verdia increased the taxes because the peasants didn't support him in the earlier coup. (The peasants note this as a tax rebate and agreed to support the governor.)

The governor went to Guedalla to get permission for the tax increase.

The governor was then approached by Hernandez who asked for support and promised a cabinet post. The governor put him off.

The governor was then approached by the absentee landlords and accepted a bribe of \$50 million to support Hernandez.

The Minister of the Interior collected the year's taxes from the landowners.

The agents then succeeded in getting a bribe of \$10 million from the Law School whom they perceived as the FLN agents in Verdia.

Meanwhile in Fandango a power play was taking place. Hernandez wanted to take over the capital city and the government.

Hernandez	}	vs.	}	
de Freitas				Guedalla
Bruno				
102nd				
42nd				Workers
73rd				
Absentee land-owners				
Middle classes	Slums			

Reagan tried to persuade Von Pontz not to support Hernandez openly in case Guedalla should get back and the image of U.S. industry be damaged.

President Guedalla threw in his hand and offered his support for the new government.

Guedalla then left and went to Marque.

His offer to join up with the FLN was accepted by Bunuel, and Guedalla comments that this is a continuation of the 1957 revolution. De Zulueta also accepted.

Guedalla then made an announcement of the United APRA/FLN front and called on the country to support the government.

Meanwhile in Verdia, Carreras was assuring the army and the governor that control was maintained.

Announcement of FLN/APRA heard in Verdia.

Carreras was also approached by Enerves to join the FLN.

Carreras then talked to the governor and decided to go with the CD and to renounce Guedalla and the FLN. He promised his support for Hernandez.

He then met Hernandez who promised him \$150,000 and the job of Minister of the Interior for his support.

Carreras talked next to Towers and was assured of the backing of industry.

Guedalla then sent Infidel off to Santa Maria.

The Fandango workers asked the Minister of the Interior if he would contact the oil workers in Marque and see if they would unionize and join with Fandango. (They reported that they did not send a note as the oil fields had been nationalized.)

Towers gave Hernandez \$6 million in support of his regime.

The absentee landowners offered Hernandez their full support to deal with the FLN in Marque.

The Law Students got \$7 million from Bunuel.

The Fandango workers asked the American country team for help and \$2 1/2 million for food was promised.

De Freitas and the army then took over the government in Fandango deposing Hernandez. There immediately followed a POWER PLAY.

42nd  
102nd  
73rd  
Absentee land-  
lords

} vs. de Freitas

De Freitas was deposed as head of the army and the commander of the 102nd was made head in his place. The 42nd notes at this point that the FLN held Verdia and Marque and the CD held Fandango. Negotiations were taking place with the FLN in Marque. De Freitas promised to support the new leader.

Meanwhile in Verdia the governor had succeeded in gaining peasant support.

The governor of Verdia then told the Minister of the Interior that he was switched back to APRA to gain peasant support to overthrow the FLN.

As a result, the FLN-controlled government of Verdia was overthrown by APRA forces under the Minister of the Interior. Power line up:

Min. of the  
Interior  
Governor  
Peasants

} vs. { Law School Agents

The governor comments that the takeover was made in ignorance of the Guedalla coalition. The peasants comment that their government is loyal to President Guedalla.

The Minister of the Interior expelled the agents.

The Minister of the Interior also sent the governor to talk to Guedalla.

The governor arrived in Marque to tell them of the APRA takeover. Many protestations of goodwill took place and Marque announced their support for the APRA government. The governor notes that he agreed to the APRA/FLN front although in reality he would prefer the CD in power to the FLN.

Meanwhile in Fandango, Hernandez was promising the governor of Marque a position if he would denationalize the oil industry.

Reagan agreed to rebuild the Gummicola factory and hired the Fandango proletariat to rebuild it. This was on condition that they would work to get in a stable government. The workers note that he did not specify which government.

In Santa Maria Enerves gave the School of Social Science \$300,000 for their support against the CD government.

The School of Law gave the Fandango slums \$1 million for an attempt to take over the country.

Also in Fandango the agents were reporting to the landowners that APRA were in control of Verdia and that they needed to get back in there.

Back in Marque Macleod was trying to send Clark out to the U. S. Ambassador.

Macleod was then forcibly expelled from Marque by the FLN.

Meanwhile in Fandango the slums were asking the American team for medical aid and employment, and threatening to riot if neither were forthcoming. They did not get either.

Goode and Towers then discussed a program of aid to the slums by providing jobs and rebuilding the Gummicola factory.

Goode asked Reagan if he would use slum workers to rebuild the factory but he refused on the grounds that he already had his own construction workers (American).

Goode and Towers then talked to Macleod and asked if he could give jobs to the slum workers and thereby support the Hernandez regime. He refused and said that he and the oil company were backing Guedalla.

Towers commented that it was impossible to get in touch with Guedalla and that the only thing the U. S. knew about his position was that he was pro-FLN.

Clark then informed Towers that American industrialists were being held captive.

Macleod, much dejected, told Towers that the oil industry had been nationalized, and he had agreed as the only alternative was U. S. military intervention or cutting foreign aid entirely.

The Fandango commander told the Santa Maria commander that he was now prepared to support Hernandez.

Von Pontz met with Collidar and asked him for a subscription to the CD funds. Collidar hedged.

Von Pontz and Collidar arranged 20,000 jobs for the Fandango slums in return for CD support.

NOTE: At this stage of the game, Santa Maria (in CD hands), Marque (FLN and Guedalla), and Verdia (APRA) were all sealed.

The landowners sent a note into the peasants to tell them to give up, and all would be forgiven. If they continued there would be drastic raises.

Hernandez talked to the governor of Santa Maria who said he could bring all the Marque support to Hernandez if he were promised the governorship.

The slums and the industrial workers in Santa Maria met and the slums asked the workers to support the FLN. (This was refused.)

Von Pontz was promised the Ministry of the Interior.

Von Pontz then checked with the Santa Maria garrison as to the military protection of industry.

Hernandez then repaid Von Pontz \$1 million he had lent to the government.

The army was waiting to get into Marque province when it should be unsealed.

The 102nd commander and Von Pontz jointly got money to pay the army from the landowners.

Guedalla talked to the Minister of the Interior on the radio and insisted that he was loyal to the APRA party.

Guedalla (by radio) called for support from the slums and the peasants.

Meanwhile in Fandango, Goode finally gave the industrial workers \$2 1/2 million for their support.

Goode and Towers agreed that their support must go to a political force.

Meanwhile in Verdia, fighting had broken out. Carreras had changed sides to the CD and the situation was deadlocked. The peasants were in revolt against one army garrison (probably the 42nd), landowners, land agents and students. The Minister of the Interior left the province to talk to Carreras but was in Verdia at the end of the game.

NOTE: The Law Students state in their end-of-game note that they were \$15 million in debt but still held Verdia for the benefit of the FLN. The Fandango commander who was apparently in Verdia tried to swing the government to Hernandez. He states that the game ended in stalemate. He was apparently talking to the Minister of the Interior.

In Marque the beleaguered FLN/APRA coalition came to an agreement with Bruno who offered to recognize the FLN and arrange a coalition government.

Guedalla asked to speak to Hernandez who repeated these offers. The question of elections supervised by the UN was being discussed when the game ended.



## GREPADILLA #2

Diaz, the landowners' agent, asked the peasants to pay their rent.

Meanwhile in Santa Maria the industrial workers were in conversation with the governor. The workers grumbled about the lack of reforms hitherto carried out and the ever-increasing rate of inflation.

The governor in his reply hedged, promising nothing and blaming the FLN for the country's ills.

The middle class in Santa Maria also complained to the governor about increasing inflation.

The port slums of Santa Maria also had a conversation with the governor in which they complained that they had received no help from the government. The governor assured them that any promises made by the FLN were totally insubstantial.

The port slums then held discussions with the middle class in Santa Maria wherein they aired their grievances. The slums felt at the end of these discussions that the middle classes were happy with the status quo.

Political activity was in full swing in Fandango City as well. Sr. Collidar and ex-President Hernandez met and agreed that the time had come for a change of government.

The School of Law and the School of Social Science were also able to agree that none of the existing political parties, APRA, CD, or the FLN, met their ideological needs. They wanted a party more simpatico than APRA and less radical than the FLN. They agreed to see if an appropriate leader could be found.

In another part of the city, the President and the Army commander-in-chief were meeting with the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of the Interior. The President gave each of his cabinet an outline of their strategy. Von Pontz was also present at the President's invitation.

The President issued the following written instructions.

### To the Minister of the Interior:

1. Attend cabinet meetings in Fandango City or wherever called on the following schedule:

- a. Opening of game (Fandango City)
- b. Near close of each quarter (approximately 5 minutes before)
- c. If emergency session is called by radio or other means

### 2. Tax Collection

- a. Your first priority: the absentee landlords (largest tax paying group). If possible collect whole year's taxes as soon as possible as we wish to build up our financial base as quickly as we can. Don't let them get out of Fandango without paying something. If possible collect 10% more from them as social security for peasants (health and education).

b. We must keep Fandango City slums loyal. Go to slums, inform them of tax cut for lower income group (them). Cut as you see fit - 10 to 25%. They don't contribute much anyhow.

i. Inform slums government will reinvest their taxes and will match dollar for dollar to build schools, water supply, clinics - whatever they need. These projects will create jobs for them.

ii. Also inform them private enterprise will build factories in Fandango City to make shoes, clothes, bicycles, medicines, Will create many jobs.

iii. Also inform them of public works.

- a. Improvement of Fandango harbor
- b. Improvement of road to Petrolia
- c. Build airport in Fandango City

(N. B. a road and railroad will also be built to Verdia but most of these jobs will be for underemployed peasants.)

c. Increase taxes to curb inflation.

i. Middle class	10%	} suggested rates of increase
ii. Industrialists	20%	
iii. Merchants etc.	10%	

d. As counterweights to tax increase point out:

i. Increase in army budget for protection

ii. To Fandango middle class and industrialists

a. Public works in Fandango harbor, roads and rail will create business opportunities

b. Government will back new factory investment (tax concession - allow 100% write off in first year)

### 3. Internal Security

a. Concentrate on Petrifidad and Marque provinces. Keep out of Verdia except for tax collection. (The Minister of Agriculture will keep Verdia quiet.) Arrest any FLN individual who creates actual violence. Bring him to Fandango for jail

b. Use tax relief on lower classes to ease tension if you find it necessary

c. Encourage trade unions in Marque and Petrifidad. Bribe leaders if necessary for loyalty.

4. Keep these instructions to turn into Control at end of game.

To the Minister of Agriculture:

1. Attend cabinet meetings in Fandango City or wherever called on the following schedule:

- a. Opening of game (Fandango City)
- b. Near close of each quarter (approximately 5 minutes before)
- c. If emergency session is called by radio or other means.

2. Land Reform Program

a. This is to be your major preoccupation and you should therefore spend as much time as necessary with Verdia governor and/or a military commander and jail the trouble maker. Report such action to me as soon as possible. At all times keep troops off the peasants.

b. It will be announced on Radio Grenadilla by me that the "quarter acre of land bill" has passed the legislature and is effective immediately. You will inform the peasants of this and immediately warn the landlords' agents not to interfere. Use the army in union with the peasants preferably if necessary to back this up. If a showdown occurs, expel the agents from the province (send them to Petrifidad if you can).

c. Inform the peasants, at your discretion, of the following government plans.

i. We plan to build a road and railroad from the capital of the province to Fandango City and roads from the capital of the province to Santa Maria and Petrolia (will create jobs for 1/3 of them if they wish to leave the land).

ii. Food canning and packing plants to be built to process agricultural products for export and for feeding cities will be built in Verdia (will create large numbers of jobs).

iii. Government hopes to buy up large pieces of land from landlords (will pay for this with 25-year government bonds). Will rent land to (about 1/3) of the peasants at low rents.

iv. Encourage formation of peasants' union and cooperative when (and if) (iii) is accomplished. Coops will get cheap fertilizer tools etc. from your department.

(CLASSIFIED)

d. Do not repeat promises to confiscate and nationalize land. At this stage we can't do it so boldly. Explain to peasant that (iii) above is best we can do, otherwise we might cripple production.

e. For your information only. IN EXTREMIS, to keep loyalty of peasants I am willing to nationalize but this is risky. Army opposition could topple the government. Do not nationalize or exceed your instructions.

f. Consult with the Minister of the Interior and General de Freitas. Tell Minister all your instructions herein. Do not tell de Freitas d and e (classified items).

g. Keep these instructions to turn into control at the end of the game.

To Von Pontz:

1. To curb inflation we are forced to increase your taxes. (This tax increase will affect all middle and upper classes.) See Minister of Interior repayment.
2. To cut food prices in city we want private enterprise to go to Verdia, build food canneries, packing plants - government will give financial help (see Minister of Agriculture Carreras for more details.)
3. We will also assist in increasing industrialization in Fandango to employ people from slums. We need several kinds (see Minister of Interior for details).
4. Please consult with me regarding increase in A.I. D. program which I want you to negotiate.
5. Keep these instructions to turn in to Control at the end of the game.

There followed a meeting of the Army command. The President's plans for land reform were announced, and commanders were urged to establish control of communications.

Meanwhile, Sr. Collidar found an ally in Sr. Gonzalez who was opposed to the land reform programs and agreed with Sr. Collidar that the time had come for a change of government.

Meanwhile in Verdia, the land reform program was being announced, and the 102nd Regiment, the governor, the Minister of Agriculture, the peasants and Diaz were engaged in discussions.

In their hideout the FLN were in conference. Country-wide strategy was discussed and money and arms distributed. Infidel was given two specific objectives in Verdia; first to persuade the peasants not to pay their rent to the landlords' agents; and second to attempt to persuade the army garrisons not to make any active attempt to suppress FLN activity. Bunuel and Enerves agreed that Santa Maria was not an important area for the FLN. Enerves was therefore to make contact with FLN supporters, try to increase their number, and otherwise to wait and see where he was most needed to help other FLN members elsewhere in the country.

In Verdia, the governor demanded that the peasants pay their taxes in priority to paying their rent.

In Verdia, Diaz re-emphasized that the peasants must pay their rent.

The Python Oil representative, Macleod, meanwhile visited the American Ambassador, Towers, to ask him for his permission to make contact with the Minister of the Interior on the question of FLN activity in the oil fields. Towers gave his permission.

Macleod then discussed the oil industry with Sr. Von Pontz whom he asked to get the government to put pressure on agitators in the oil fields. Von Pontz also agreed to contact the government for discussions on inflation.

Meanwhile in the American Embassy, the Ambassador and John B. Goode were discussing the A.I.D. program. They decided that they should be wary of the present government and insist on specifying where the \$17 million of aid should go as a condition of the deal.

John B. Goode and Sr. Von Pontz meanwhile discussed dollar expenditure in Fandango City.

Macleod was also in Fandango City having talks with the middle classes. They discovered common areas of interest in checking the rising rate of inflation and in maintaining Grenadilla's internal stability. The middle classes told Macleod that they would support a CD government.

General de Fretias meanwhile was holding a meeting with his Chief of Staff, Brigadier Bruno, and relayed to him the President's orders. Brigadier Bruno urged the General to attack and destroy the FLN, but the General would not be persuaded.

Enerves arrived in Santa Maria, and went straight to confer with the slums. The slums asked for large contributions from the FLN and the provision of food. Enerves explained that the FLN, like the slum dwellers, were poor men. The slum dwellers refused to take any action unless they were promised tangible benefits.

Meanwhile in Verdia the Minister of Agriculture, Carreras, was propounding his new scheme whereby land left unused would be taxed to provide the revenue to finance wider land reforms. The peasants immediately voiced their support for this proposal.

Carreras then informed the governor of the tax and land reform plan.

Diaz naturally reacted unfavorably to the proposed tax plan but was warned by the governor that no interference with the plan would be tolerated. Diaz then left for the capital city to get instructions from his employers.

At this juncture General de Freitas arrived and paid the troops of the three regiments. He also instructed all the commanders to arrest de Zulueta on sight.

Carreras was then faced with the landowners who wanted to be reassured that compensation would be a part of any land reform. He managed not to commit himself on this issue.

The governor of Verdia in the meantime collected one quarter's taxes from the peasants.

He was then asked by Carreras whether the troops could be used to drive out FLN agents should this become necessary.

The governor then asked the 102nd to keep a special watch for Infidel.

The governor was then approached by Diaz who wanted his help in collecting the rent.

Meanwhile in Marque the governor and the garrison commander were discussing the FLN situation. The governor briefed the commander to control FLN activity and report any signs of life.

Macleod telephoned to Python's man on the spot, Clark. Clark suggested that a wage increase totalling \$6 million be given to the oil field workers.

Meanwhile in Santa Maria a meeting of the slums, the workers, and the middle classes was in progress. A popular coalition was proposed to put pressure on the government to correct inflation, raise minimum wage levels, and check corruption in the army.

The Fandango slums sent a note to the slum dwellers of Santa Maria.

The Fandango slum dwellers sent a note to the oil workers in Marque.

In the meantime a delegation from the Fandango middle class went to General de Freitas to demand that decisive action be taken against the FLN. The General referred the delegation to Brigadier Bruno.

Meanwhile Goode was in conference with Guedalla on A.I.D. funds. The President wanted more than the \$8.5 million that Goode offered.

In Santa Maria at this time the governor, the garrison commander and Sr. Salivar met and decided that the status quo must be preserved, and that the FLN, who were not apparently active in Santa Maria, must be refused access to any communications.

Back in Fandango the urban working class wrote a note to the Santa Maria working class.

Following his meeting with the governor and the garrison commander, Sr. Salivar met with the middle class of Santa Maria and they agreed that, in view of their complementary interests, they should consult together to reach a method of ensuring stability in Santa Maria.

General de Freitas then arrived in the city and paid the garrison troops.

General de Freitas then ordered the garrison commander to institute a search for de Zulueta and arrest him on sight.

The governor, in the meantime, was explaining government policy to the Petrolia oil workers. He pointed out the administration's need for tax revenue and assigned tax quotas for the quarter.

Infidel meanwhile visited Verdia to see the peasants but they were not available.

Meanwhile in Fandango City, the Law School and the American Ambassador were talking together. The Law School asked that aid be given directly to the school without going through government hands. They threatened anti-American demonstrations if their demands were not met. The American Ambassador said he would have discussions and see them again later.

Towers then conferred with Goode who suggested that some aid should be given to the Law School to gain their support for the present government.

In another part of the city, Brigadier Bruno and the middle classes were meeting. The middle classes urged Bruno to move at once against the FLN, arrest their leaders and declare martial law. Bruno said that he would talk to the President as General de Freitas was not present. The middle class interpreted this as a promise of strong action against the FLN.

Collidar in the meantime was suggesting to Macleod that it would be a good idea to raise the oil workers' wages. Macleod was unconvinced as he felt that inflation, not the level of wages, was the problem. Land reform was also discussed and Tex Reagan joined the conversation with various rumors.

Brigadier Bruno passed General de Freitas' instructions to the Fandango garrison commander, expressing the while his desire to deal with the FLN at once. The garrison commander agreed with this view. Bruno also expressed sentiments of loyalty to General de Freitas.

The Fandango garrison commander meanwhile was threatening Gonzalez with confiscation of his assets unless he paid his taxes.

Tex Reagan also met with the Law Students who asked for financial help and expressed their general discontent.

Ambassador Towers meanwhile was telling Von Pontz about his earlier conversation with the Law School wherein the students asked for direct U.S. aid. He stressed to Von Pontz the importance of having a real "meeting of minds" with the students.

Towers then met with Clark and Goode, and they discussed measures to ensure stability in the oil fields.

Collidar held some conversation with someone about Gummicola.

There was an incomplete radio message from the President. The President went to the phone but returned immediately.

The President, broadcasting from Fandango City, announced that legislation would be promulgated to give each peasant family 1/4 acre of land. The city slums greeted the announcement with booing and heckling. The middle classes and Tex Reagan expressed to each other their shock at the President's leftist tendencies.

The President was again called to the phone.

In Marque meanwhile, the Petrolia workers were complaining to Ambassador Towers about their working conditions. They asked the U.S. to put pressure on the government to improve their working conditions and threatened that they might otherwise throw in their lot with the FLN.

President Guedalla took a tough line with Gonzalez telling him that further land reform was ahead.

Hernandez, in reaction to the President's land reform announcement, was meanwhile telling Macleod that he wanted to return to the government because of the threat of land nationalization. He told Macleod that the landowners were discontented. He told Macleod that he would use troops if necessary to ensure stability in the oil fields.

The President then met with the Schools of Law and Social Science and gave them each the first quarter's expenses. The schools promised to support the President's plan if they played a key role in administering it and if it started quickly.

The Law School then went on and talked to the slums who were apparently discontented. The slums did not perceive the Law School as having much to say.

Macleod meanwhile was talking to the Minister of the Interior who seemed suspicious and wanted a larger share of the oil company profits. He refused to give a full guarantee of stability in Marque. Brigadier Bruno joined the conversation and talked vaguely of "definite orders".

Meanwhile in Santa Maria, Goode was asking the workers about their feelings for the government and how U. S. aid might affect those feelings. The workers replied that they wanted some A. I. D. funds, were not FLN supporters, nor particularly in favor of the present government but A. I. D. funds might persuade them to support the government.

The Law School meanwhile approached the Fandango City workers to activate them, but they were unimpressed and suspicious.

The Santa Maria workers received a message from the Fandango workers asking what was going on and expressing their solidarity.

The Santa Maria workers wrote back to the Fandango workers saying nothing particular was happening, but discontent was growing, and a plan was out to put pressure on the governor to make an (unidentified) coalition. The Fandango slums received a note from the Santa Maria slums.

Bunuel and de Zulueta arrived in Fandango City.

De Zulueta and the School of Law went into conference.

Collidar arrived in Marque to seek information on the unrest in the oil fields.

De Freitas arrived and instructed the Marque garrison to get de Zulueta.

Clark left the province.

Salivar and the Santa Maria middle class decided to contact Hernandez to see what he would do.

Salivar met with Hernandez who agreed to come to Santa Maria.

Meanwhile the Fandango slums sent a letter of complaint to the President and were frustrated to get no reply.



Back in Santa Maria the garrison commander and the industrial workers discussed inflation, the FLN and the deplorable slum workers.

The middle classes talked to the governor who asked them for their support and promised to cut back inflation.

The governor, then in conversation with the garrison commander, hinted at the possibility of a more conservative government.

The middle classes had further conversations with the governor and the military who wanted a peaceful province and feared the subversive elements.

Salivar then told the middle class about Hernandez's visit.

Salivar then reminded the slums of the help given to them by the wives of the richer citizens and tried to persuade them of the disadvantages of FLN violence.

Meanwhile in Verdía, the peasants again refused to pay any rent to Diaz.

Infidel at this point arrived in Verdía, to be met by the commanders of the 102nd, 73rd and 42nd. A general discussion ensued, but the army said that the new land reforms must be given a chance to take effect.

The peasants and the governor had some discussion about rent.

The governor then told Ambassador Towers that the landowners could not collect rent and that Infidel and the FLN were urging violence. Towers passed the information to the government and Tex Reagan.

The 102nd Regiment sat in while Diaz asked their help to force the payment of rent by the peasants. Diaz also asked the Minister of Agriculture Carreras to confer with the governor on this question.

The governor in Verdía asked the 73rd to keep an eye on Infidel.

The 73rd, 102nd and 42nd overheard Infidel's conversation with the peasants, wherein he advocated violent action and promised that the FLN would give the peasants financial support. It was finally agreed that the land reform plans should be given a chance, but Infidel tried to persuade the peasants to impose a time limit within which these reforms should be passed. (The Umpire reported apparent agreements formed between the FLN and the military, the peasants and the governor, the agents and Carreras and the FLN and the peasants.)

Diaz appealed to Guedalla for help in collecting the rent. Guedalla referred him to the governor.

De Freitas instructed the three Verdía regiments to make a minor show of force should there be any trouble.

Meanwhile in Marque, the garrison commander asked the governor if he could identify Zulueta. The governor replied that he could not.

The oil workers held a meeting in which the possibility of group action was discussed. The Jello workers saw the discussions as being inconsequential, but the Petrolia workers reported that they decided to strike because the FLN had offered four months' wage indemnity. (The umpire reports that the FLN and the oil workers met and considered a strike and seizure of the wells.) Bunuel reported that he set up a strike with Jello workers.

Goode then met with the oil workers, but apparently made them no concrete offers. The workers told him that they intended putting pressure on the regional government to get their wage rate raised, and that they might join the FLN if no help was forthcoming from the government.

The governor of Verdia meanwhile ordered the 73rd to help collect the rent from the peasants.

Diaz and Gonzalez conferred on the proposed land reform, and Gonzalez told Diaz that he was getting together with the middle classes in opposition to the bill.

Back in Marque, Castango left the province, leaving his troops with the umpire.

The Fandango slums sent a note to the Santa Maria slums.

General de Freitas meanwhile sent for Brigadier Bruno and told him that he was being sent to Viet Nam as an observer for six months. Guedalla was present at this interview. The President announced on the radio that Bruno was leaving for Viet Nam. The President also announced that "subversives" were collecting the taxes in Verdia.

A conference then took place between Towers, Goode, and Von Pontz. Von Pontz stated that the President would like to know the plans for aid and that both the oil industry and the schools wanted aid. Von Pontz said that he wanted to establish a scholarship for the workers and needed \$500,000 for permanent scholarships. He suggested that \$750,000 would provide one scholarship for each school, and that the schools in exchange would promise only to work through democratic means. The U. S. team agreed to provide \$750,000 for the industrial workers.

Von Pontz then went to the School of Social Science and offered them money if they would support the President's reform plans, and help to sell them to the peasants and slums. The school reported that they did not have the money.

Meanwhile Macleod met with Clark who asked him for money.

In Fandango City, Gonzalez told de Freitas that he would support ex-President Hernandez in any coup to take over the government. General de Freitas indicated his willingness to go along with this if Gonzalez would pay the army.

The Fandango slums and the army garrison meanwhile were having a discussion.

The School of Social Science told the Law School about the President's public works program. The Law School were not impressed as they felt themselves above the level of manual work.

Meanwhile in Marque, Collidar had persuaded the local garrison that, despite their loyalty to the existing government, something must be done about the FLN infiltrators in the oil fields.

The garrison commander then telephoned to Bruno.

Clark returned to the province.

Meanwhile in Fandango, de Zulueta's group bombed the American Embassy and the news was announced straight away by the umpire. Broadcast heard in Marque.

Meanwhile in Santa Maria, the governor was discussing with Reagan the possibility of new industry in Santa Maria. He also discussed with the slums the possibility of a Gummicola plant in Santa Maria.

The Santa Maria slums were then approached by Enerves who wanted them to join the FLN on a march.

The governor of Santa Maria talked to Guedalla on the phone, and the President assured him the government had a plan to help the workers.

De Freitas meanwhile promised the garrison of Santa Maria that an airstrip would be built near the city.

Clark then met with the governor of Santa Maria and asked him to consider Hernandez as President. The governor refused to consider the idea until a definite plan was shown him.

Tex Reagan also arrived and asked the workers whether they would like a branch of Gummicola in the city and they said they would.

The Santa Maria garrison then announced to the slums and the industrial workers that an airstrip would be built and a branch of Gummicola set up.

The military garrison then pointed out to the industrial workers that they had goals in common - checking inflation, for example, and development.

Enerves then held a meeting with the slums, the army garrison, and the workers in which he said it was true that the oppressed workers asserted themselves. He urged the threat of revolt, and collective solidarity.

Salivar meanwhile, in secret conclave with Bruno, pledged his support for the CD in general and for Bruno in particular.

Salivar then saw Hernandez who outlined his plans to help the industrial workers and the middle classes.

The governor of Santa Maria was in discussion with the garrison commander, and Salivar decided to jail Enerves.

Salivar then persuaded the middle class of Santa Maria to pledge their support for Bruno.

The governor of Santa Maria then lined up the middle class to support the jailing of Enerves.

The governor then talked to Salivar to get his support. He guaranteed Guedalla's ability to govern.

A power play took place in Santa Maria wherein Enerves was jailed. The governor, the garrison commander, the middle classes and Salivar voted to jail Enerves. Enerves claimed no power points on the grounds that he would not oppose the will of the people. The workers and the slums therefore remained neutral, and Enerves went to jail. Enerves did not claim his troops which could have prevented his going to jail. A rescue bid by the slums failed.

Rumors of a coup in Santa Maria reached Fandango.

Meanwhile in Marque, the governor instituted a successful power play against the Petrolia oil workers to make them pay their taxes. The Petrolia workers were supported by the Jello and Grese workers in their refusal. (The Marque umpire announced the power play and its outcome. The umpire in Fandango relayed the announcement in the city.)

Meanwhile in Verdía, the 73rd and 102nd confronted Castango and an unidentified FLN man.

Macleod was then informed by Clark on the phone that a power play had been averted in Marque and that more troops were needed. The Minister of the Interior arrived in Marque. Castango returned but did not immediately reclaim his troops.

Castango then met with the oil workers and persuaded them to go on strike, including the Petrolia workers who were reluctant. He gave the Grese workers \$46,500 to be shared out as strike pay.

The governor asked again that the Jello workers pay their taxes, but they stalled.

Meanwhile in Fandango, the middle classes and Gonzalez had agreed that, in the event of an election, the middle classes would vote CD. Gonzalez expressed his outrage at the government's attempted land reform.

Back in Verdía, the 102nd, the governor and the peasants were discussing the problem of paying taxes.

In another part of the province, the 73rd was listening to Infidel's explanation of the problems of Verdía.

Meanwhile in Fandango, Bunuel and de Zulueta met with the Law School and, with the aid of a \$50,000 payment, persuaded the Law School to demonstrate for "land for the landless", and to involve the other students and the slum dwellers. They were also to arrange for sympathy strikes in Santa Maria.

The Law School then went to Verdía to ask Infidel to come and help. Infidel replied that he could not leave without Bunuel's permission, but they parted on good terms.

The governor of Verdia meanwhile appealed to Carreras for his support in collecting the landlord's tax in part.

The regiments in Verdia conferred.

The 42nd then left his troops with the 73rd so he could go and talk to the General.

Bunuel, however, arrived, and Infidel told him what was going on. Bunuel then conferred with the 42nd and Infidel.

Bunuel and Infidel had another conference.

The governor, Diaz, and the peasants all met. The governor advised the peasants to pay their rent but was informed that the Minister had advised withholding the rents to bring pressure on the landlords. It was proposed that the peasants pay only enough to pay Diaz's taxes.

The governor met with Carreras and persuaded him to consent and to advise the peasants to pay a token rent which would be taken as taxes.

The peasants and Carreras then met and discussed the prospects for land reform.

Bunuel, Infidel, and the Law Students held a meeting with the 102nd listening in.

The governor of Verdia meanwhile told the peasants that Carreras agreed they should pay a token rent in discharge of the taxes owed by the landowners, as long as no payment was made to the landlords.

Diaz and the governor agreed that the peasants should pay \$30,000 per quarter: \$18,000 for Diaz's expenses; \$9,000 for landlords' taxes; and \$3,000 for Diaz.

The peasants, supervised by the governor, gave Diaz \$60,000 for two quarters' rent.

Meanwhile in the American Embassy (which had moved to the conference room), Reagan, Towers, and Goode were discussing industrial expansion in Santa Maria. Reagan asked for a loan to set up a Gummicola factory in Santa Maria. Goode said he would talk to the President about a World Bank loan.

Goode received information identifying Infidel as a member of the FLN and dangerous.

Reagan then suggested a factory in Santa Maria to Guedalla. He suggested not soft drinks, but other light industry. Guedalla promised protection while this was in-building and free entry of capital goods. A conversation with Von Pontz was envisaged. The President promised Towers, who was listening in to this conversation, that the embassy would be rebuilt.

Macleod and the Fandango middle class meanwhile were discussing ways and means of bringing the ex-President into office.

The Fandango slums had a conversation with the FLN.

Macleod was then told by Guedalla and Ambassador Towers that the bombing of the Embassy was not serious.

The Fandango workers talked to Goode who wanted to persuade them to resist the FLN. He offered money but the workers were dubious and suspicious. They had not even seen the FLN at this stage.

Ambassador Towers was informed that Von Pontz and Reagan planned a \$6 million bicycle factory and other light industry in Santa Maria.

Meanwhile in Marque, Clark was telling Collidar that he favored a change of government. The Law School looked in and went away again.

Meanwhile in Verdia, the 73rd managed to convince Infidel that they would support a "just uprising" by the peasants if land reform were not forthcoming, although these were not their true feelings.

Infidel then talked to the peasants and found they had been promised their land within a very short time.

He then suggested that they should seize the land if it was not forthcoming and tried to persuade them to act at once rather than wait.

Infidel was then ordered by Bunuel to Marque with his troops. Infidel arrived in Marque leaving his troops with the Umpire.

The 102nd, 73rd and 42nd consulted.

42nd left troops with the 73rd

Meanwhile in the capital, Gonzalez and the garrison agreed to organize a coup against the government.

The FLN meanwhile agreed with the School of Social Science that any involvement in Viet Nam was a bad thing.

The Fandango slum workers marched on the presidential palace to protest involvement in Viet Nam. (The march was announced by the Fandango umpire)

The middle classes in Santa Maria meanwhile told Salivar they would support Hernandez.

The Fandango middle classes assured Brigadier Bruno of their support for any efforts to restore law and order.

The Santa Maria slums meanwhile tried to persuade the Santa Maria workers to cooperate with the FLN, but the workers were reluctant to commit themselves.

The Santa Maria garrison and the 42nd meanwhile discussed whether or not to back Bruno.

The governor of Santa Maria had a conversation with the middle classes to ensure their support.

The Fandango workers told Goode that they were getting no aid from the government and that they wanted higher wages, job security, and better working conditions.

Collidar had discussions with the Petrolia and Grese workers who told him they would be quite prepared for a change in the government.

Gonzalez, in Fandango, advised Bruno that the moment had come for a coup.

#### POWER PLAY in Fandango City

Guedalla	}	vs.	}	Hernandez
de Freitas				Bruno
Carreras				Gonzalez
Goode				Collidar
Towers				42nd
Reagan				Slums
Macleod				Middle Classes
School of				Clark
Soc. Sci.				Garrison

#### Neutral

##### Urban proletariat

On power points, the government won. The Hernandez coalition resorted to violence and since the government had no popular support, President Guedalla was deposed and Hernandez installed as the new president.

The Minister of the Interior fled.

The School of Social Science made a last minute bid to prevent the slums from going with Hernandez. The slums had been promised jobs, but the school said these would not be forthcoming.

Macleod changed sides to support Bruno.

The 102nd attempted to contact de Freitas but found Fandango City sealed off.

The 73rd accepted the 102nd troops so that the 102nd commander could go and see De Freitas about pay.

The 102nd went up to Fandango, found it still sealed and returned.

Carreras arrived in Verdia and held discussions with the peasants.

Meanwhile in Marque, Clark received a call from Macleod. Clark told Macleod the Minister of the Interior was in Marque.

The Minister of the Interior was talking to the governor who was expressing his concern over FLN activities and asking for additional power to be made available in Marque.

Macleod told Bruno the Minister of the Interior was in Marque, and Bruno ordered his arrest. The Minister of the Interior left.

Macleod was then contacted to give more support, but would not commit himself.

Towers and Goode agreed that all aid should be stopped.

Meanwhile in Marque, Castango, Bunuel and the Jello workers were organizing a strike. Castango reclaimed his troops. Infidel claimed his troops.

In Verdía, Diaz asked the peasants to pay the balance of their rent. They decided to await the new government's decision.

In Santa Maria, Bunuel held a power play to free Enerves from jail. The power play was unsuccessful and Bunuel left.

Enerves' jailers seemed to doubt that Brigadier Bruno really had taken over the government, but a radio announcement convinced them this was true.

The governor then told everyone it was not true; that the president was still in control over the military. The slums suspected this to be a fabrication on the part of the governor.

The Fandango slums got a note from the port slums.

The Law School, on de Zulueta's urging, agreed to demonstrate.

Salivar and the Santa Maria middle classes agreed that they should contact the urban proletariat.

The governor in Marque initiated a power play to collect an addition \$20 million taxes from the Grese workers.

Governor vs. { Grese  
Jello  
Infidel  
Castango

The governor lost the power play.

In Fandango the message came through that the governor had won.

In Fandango Bruno pulled a power play to arrest the Minister of the Interior.

Minister of the Interior vs. { Bruno  
Middle Classes

Bruno won, and the Minister of the Interior was jailed.

In Marque the oil workers initiated a power to get double wages for the next quarter, payable immediately.

Grese }  
Petrolia } vs. Clark  
Jello }  
Infidel }



The workers won and double wages were paid.

In Fandango, de Freitas made an urgent plea to the slums for their support for the Guedalla government. The slums did not respond, preferring a wait-and-see policy.

Bruno telephoned to the Verdia garrison who reported trouble with the FLN. He instructed them to arrest all FLN found.

Bruno also talked to the Marque garrison.

John B. Goode arrived in Marque.

De Freitas paid a flying visit to Marque.

Salivar held discussions with Hernandez on future action in Santa Maria.

Diaz, meanwhile in Verdia, asked the peasants for the rest of the rent.

The Fandango umpire re-announced the coup on the radio.

The governor of Santa Maria told Salivar that he would support the CD now that Hernandez had taken office.

Hernandez met with Carreras, but failed to impress Carreras with his views on what should happen to the peasants.

Carreras suggested to the peasants that they should suspend further payments of rent.

Gonzalez agreed that Diaz should take positive measures against the peasants.

The 42nd returned, reported that the government had been deposed, and departed again to find out what was happening with the other garrisons.

The 102nd had a conversation with Infidel.

The 73rd and the 42nd got together and decided to support liberal reform.

Bunuel arrived, and Infidel brought him up to date on the situation and told him the army was anti-FLN. Bunuel said he could fix that and left again.

Diaz informed the peasants he would have to have their decision very shortly.

Diaz asked Gonzalez to have the Minister of Agriculture arrested.

Macleod went to Marque to avoid a takeover. He asked the governor to support the government as there was great unrest in the province and the oil company was suffering.

Bruno arrived and attempted to arrange that Carreras would join the government. He pledged his support of the land reform already enacted.

Towers informed Hernandez that aid would cease.

Towers pointed out Bunuel to Goode (incorrectly) as the outside dollar source for the FLN. Confusion was made with de Zulueta.

De Zulueta called off the Law Students in Fandango.

Bunuel met with Macleod and Clark and told them either they cooperated with the FLN or their revenue from the oil company would drastically shrink.

Bunuel tried to convince the 102nd not to interfere with the FLN plans and to stay in camp.

The Fandango middle classes got a letter from the Santa Maria middle class asking them to support the new Hernandez government.

Bunuel pointed out to Infidel that the government had usurped the FLN with their reform program. He recommended starting the peasants on seizing their promised land.

Collidar urged the Fandango middle class to give the new Hernandez government a chance, and they agreed.

Bunuel instructed the law students to stir up trouble with the workers and slums in Fandango.

The law students invited the workers to join them in a demonstration.

Bunuel discussed troops and land takeover with Infidel.

Reagan had a meeting with the Fandango workers. He made general offers of wage increases and expansion of job possibilities. He would not commit himself to Guedalla, but stated that he was in favor of a stable government.

Guedalla then met with the workers, explained various ideas for reforms and urged the workers to stand by him.

The Fandango workers then contacted Hernandez and asked him if he would promise increased wages and more employment. Hernandez spoke vaguely and in elevated terms, making no specific promises. He made references to foreign investments and the World Bank which the workers received with suspicion.

The Santa Maria slums commented on the rightist trend in the government.

De Freitas arrived in Santa Maria to urge the re-establishment of President Guedalla.

Santa Maria garrison left with troops for the capital to restore Guedalla.

Bunuel agreed to help de Freitas restore Guedalla to power.

De Freitas talked the army garrison into releasing Enerves.

Bunuel and Enerves conferred.

Enerves left the province.

Meanwhile in Marque, the oil workers went on strike.

Hernandez arrived in Marque.

Three FLN left.

The Marque commander gave his troops to Bruno and left.

Diaz conferred with the governor of Verdia to consolidate the position.

Bunuel ordered Infidel to Verdia, then called him back to Marque. (Infidel therefore lost his troops for the statutory five minutes.)

Infidel received a fake note from Bunuel in Verdia: "Please return to Verdia". Bunuel ordered him to stay in Marque.

Towers met with the governor of Verdia in the embassy, and they discussed recent happenings and the U.S. position. The governor asked for aid in Verdia.

Infidel was ordered to Verdia and waited with the umpire until his troops were available.

Carreras arrived in Verdia and had a conversation with Diaz in which he would apparently say nothing.

Diaz left.

Carreras met with the peasants.

The Grese and Petrolia workers met with Goode who made them an offer of \$2 million for their support. They said they were under offer from the FLN, but would consider Goode's offer.

The governor told the garrison commander that control of Marque was very difficult because of shortage of forces. He feared a worker's revolt but that the FLN was absent for the time being.

Three units of the FLN arrived in Verdia (Castango, Bunuel, Infidel).

Bunuel and de Zulueta spoke on the phone, and Bunuel told de Zulueta that the FLN were taking over Verdia.

Meanwhile the 73rd was in conversation with Bunuel, Enerves, and the students; and agreed to support a counter-coup.

The 102nd had a conversation with de Freitas.

All forces left Verdia with de Freitas.

The 42nd arrived in Fandango and left his troops with the umpire.

The School of Social Science met with de Freitas and Guedalla and agreed to help them get back in power.

The Law School got their second and third quarter's money from Guedalla.

The Law School and the School of Social Science then demonstrated against Hernandez's "puppet government".

In Santa Maria meanwhile, Enerves pulled a power play to jail the governor who was supported by Salivar and the middle class. Enerves claimed no power points as some of the population were in opposition to him. The governor was therefore not jailed.

Enerves then talked to the industrial workers, who told him that Hernandez had power and money and that the governor had promised them help.

De Freitas told Diaz that he planned to overthrow the Bruno government.

Diaz relayed this information to Gonzalez.

De Zulueta tried to arrange an alliance with Guedalla, but was interrupted by a coup and had to leave.

POWER PLAY was called in Fandango to reinstate Guedalla.

Guedalla	} vs. {	Bruno
De Freitas		Hernandez
42nd		Middle Class
Law School		
Slums		
School of		
Soc. Sci.		
102nd		
Santa Maria		
garrison		

(Also present: Bunuel, Salivar)

Bruno fled to Marque.

The 42nd remained in Fandango City.

Radio announcement from capital that Guedalla is in command again.

Announcement heard in Santa Maria where Enerves appealed to the industrial workers and the middle classes.

Announcement also heard in Verdia.

De Freitas arrived in Verdia with some of the army.

The FLN then called a power play in Verdia to take over province and make Infidel governor.

Governor	}	vs.	{	Castango
Fandango				Infidel
Cmdr.				Bunuel
Carreras				de Zulueta
73rd				Peasants
42nd				

The FLN won on power points.

The government side resorted to violence but lost (troops had not arrived).

The Fandango commander was arrested.

Infidel announced on the radio that he had taken over Verdia and was now the government. He called for revolt by the oppressed everywhere.

The announcement of the coup was heard in Fandango.

In Santa Maria, Enerves urged the slums to help him seize the arsenal.

He also asked the workers to support him, but they remained uncommitted. (The Umpire notes that Enerves was constantly trying to organize the workers who were very conservative. In the characteristically apathetic manner of large groups, they refused to make any move because they feared army revenge later. Enerves wished to move only with support of workers.)

The governor of Santa Maria appealed to the workers for support, but they remained uncommitted.

Enerves urged the middle class at least to remain neutral, but they were reluctant to agree.

Meanwhile in Fandango the President called two power plays:

a. One to make Gonzalez pay his taxes

President	}	vs.	{	Middle Class
Law				Gonzalez
Gonzalez lost and had to pay.				

b. Against the middle class for their taxes.

The middle class also lost, although the Law School remained neutral, and had to pay.

Diaz then arrived in Marque.

In Santa Maria meanwhile, the middle classes were trying to set up a coalition with the workers. A bribe was suggested.

Back in Marque, the oil workers were holding a conference.

Macleod and Clark instituted a power play in Marque to get back the double wages that had been paid. Wages repaid.

Macleod	}	vs.	{	Petrolia
Clark				Jello
Governor				Grese

The governor then talked to Bruno. The governor was not clear who was in control, but expressed his willingness to support law and order and asked for forces to maintain the peace against the FLN irrespective of other political developments.

The governor then discussed the situation in Fandango with Clark.

De Freitas then arrived, and Bruno promptly tried but failed to arrest him.

Bruno  
Garrison } vs. { De Freitas  
          }       { Macleod  
          }       { Jello

It is not known whether the governor was neutral or with de Freitas, but he opposed the arrest telling Bruno he wanted stability and was opposed only to the FLN.

Meanwhile Gonzalez asked Guedalla to arrest the Minister of Agriculture.

Meanwhile Von Pontz was promising scholarships to the Law School.

Salivar had a conversation with the governor of Santa Maria who said he wanted stability.

De Freitas had a meeting with Bruno and Clark and reported that he got rid of Bruno.

Collidar and Salivar arrived in Marque.

Salivar and Bruno spoke briefly.

De Freitas and Bruno left.

Meanwhile in the American Embassy, Goode and Towers were reviewing the status of the nation; Guedalla was back in power; Verdia had asked for aid, but it was not clear whether they should get it. The agriculture teams still needed help, and it was resolved that Goode should talk to the Minister of Agriculture.

Meanwhile, all the government had left Fandango City, and Bruno was able to take over again.

In Santa Maria Enerves initiated a power play to jail the governor and take over the garrison. Enerves won. Governor was jailed.

Enerves )  
Slums    )  
Workers } vs. { Governor  
Students }     { Salivar  
(Law)    }     { Middle Classes  
FLN (Bunuel)

(The slums commented that the show of power on the left finally convinced the industrial workers. The umpire commented that the pressure on the industrial workers became too much for them to resist joining Enerves.)

The industrial workers were appointed governor.

The president of the industrial workers announced on the radio that he was the new governor of Santa Maria and that the people's government had taken over.

The message was received in Marque and Fandango.

The middle class and the governor shared their fears that Enerves would nationalize.

Salivar had a conference with the army.

Macleod returned to the capital city and successfully resisted a government bid to nationalize the oil industry.

Meanwhile in Marque, the oil workers ended their strike.

Towers told Goode that the oil workers were under control and that he would go and get the president.

Towers, Guedalla, Goode, Von Pontz and Reagan met and discussed the industrial future of Grenadilla. Towers announced that he had secured a bank loan for \$10 million with which it was planned to build a factory and a plastics factory in Santa Maria. The president also wanted \$5 million for roads and \$3.5 million for slum clearance and purification of the water supply. It was also suggested that a split of 70%/30% in the government's favor would be a more appropriate method of dividing up the oil revenues.

Tex Reagan after this meeting went to see the workers in Fandango City and told them about the new industrial expansion program which they greeted with approval.

(Through all remaining coups, Tex Reagan supported Guedalla against the FLN.)

Bruno's takeover announced on the radio from Fandango City.

Meanwhile in Santa Maria, Enerves distributed money to the slums. (\$5,000)

Bruno appeared on radio making appeal for support. Heard in Santa Maria.

The workers' president in Santa Maria announced that wages will be doubled.

Guedalla arrived back in Fandango and deposed Bruno.

An Umpire informed Goode that Guedalla was back in power.

The 73rd decided to join with the FLN and to go to Fandango.

De Zulueta was jailed in Fandango by Guedalla.

The jailing of de Zulueta was announced by the umpire.

President Guedalla took the radio to announce that de Zulueta had been jailed and that he had secured a World Bank loan of \$10 million.

Macleod, meanwhile, went to Marque to get the FLN out of the province.

Towers, Goode, and Carreras met. Carreras asked for \$8 million for canneries and roads in Verdía. The American team provided \$6 million with a promise of more later when the effect was known.

Towers then talked to Von Pontz who suggested that part of the scholarship fund be used for slum schools.

Diaz, meanwhile, was pretending to be the governor of Verdía and trying to find out what was going on from the governor of Marque.

De Freitas meanwhile persuaded the Petrolia workers to side with him against the FLN.

The governor of Marque then met with the Marque garrison, Hernandez, and Bruno. They learned that Verdía and Santa Maria had fallen and decided that peace was necessary.

The governor of Marque then sent the garrison to Fandango to bolster the troops there. He was aware that the FLN were heading his way but were powerless.

The governor again met with Hernandez, and they again agreed on the need for order.

De Freitas meanwhile was initiating a power play in Verdía to retake the province. De Freitas lost.

De Freitas }  
 + assorted } vs. { Bunuel  
 garrisons } { Infidel  
 Peasants } { Castango

De Freitas then resorted to violence, and the outcome was inconclusive (four FLN troops versus three army and the peasants).

The army then left, and the FLN were left in control of the situation.

Meanwhile in Fandango, Von Pontz gave the schools \$50,000 each for field scholarships for research and teaching among the lower classes.

Von Pontz then went on to the workers and assured them of government interest in their welfare. He promised that inflation would be checked and more jobs created. He told them that the \$100,000 Von Pontz scholarships had been set up and that wages would be raised.

The Minister of the Interior gave the Fandango slums \$1000.



The Santa Maria slums reported that the industrial workers' president had been persuaded to seek out A. I. D. support.

The Santa Maria garrison turned up to ask one of the Verdía garrisons for help in retaking Santa Maria.

Bunuel sent Infidel from Verdía to Marque with instructions to take over the government.

Bunuel, Castango, and Infidel arrived in Marque. Castango and Infidel left their troops with the umpire.

The Marque garrison left Marque.

The Marque garrison and the governor of Verdía arrived in Verdía.

Goode appeared fleetingly in Marque.

In Santa Maria, the garrison returned and instigated a power play against Enerves and the people's government to release the governor from jail. Garrison won play. Governor released.

Garrison	} vs. {	Slums
Salivar		Industrial Workers
Middle Class		Enerves

The slums and Enerves then called for violence. The result of this was inconclusive as popular and military groups were involved on both sides. The slums made the observation that the industrial workers would only support the left when they were sure they had sufficient power.

Salivar was unable to get any answer from the CD, Bruno, or the military in response to his offers of support.

Meanwhile in Verdía, Carreras organized a power play against the FLN to depose Infidel and take over the governorship himself.

Carreras	} vs. {	Infidel
102nd		
Peasants		
+ 1 army		

The power play succeeded, and the Carreras party also defeated the FLN in the violence play.

The Marque umpire heard the Carreras takeover announced by the Verdía umpire. Announcement also heard in Fandango.

De Freitas was told by the Santa Maria garrison that Enerves had been released from jail.

A power play was arranged by the FLN in Marque by Bunuel to take over Marque and the oil company.

Bunuel	}	{	73rd Com.	Gov. Verdia
Infidel			Diaz	Gov. Marque
Castango			Macleod	Petrolia
Jello			Gonzalez	
			De Freitas	

The FLN lost the power play.

They escalated to violence and won, as the army troops had not yet arrived. Three FLN plus Jello against government and population.

Meanwhile in Verdia, the Fandango commander and Carreras arrived.

The governor of Marque, who had fled to Fandango, reported to Guedalla that Marque had been taken.

The 102nd rushed to Marque to recover the province.

Bruno was still at large in Marque, as the FLN had failed to arrest him for resisting their takeover.

De Freitas was in Marque collecting troops to suppress the FLN.

Meanwhile, de Zulueta failed in his attempt to bribe the 42nd in Fandango. He also failed to ensure their neutrality.

Guedalla and Von Pontz, meanwhile, told the slum dwellers that more jobs would be created for them and more schools built.

Meanwhile in Marque, the FLN contingent succeeded in jailing de Freitas, Bruno, the 102nd commander, and the 73rd commander. The 102nd and 73rd troops were with the Umpire, and their commanders unprotected.

De Freitas gave \$120,000 as a bribe to the Grese oil workers.

The Grese oil workers nevertheless elected to keep de Freitas in jail, acting as co-guards with Castango.

The 42nd let de Zulueta out of jail in Fandango and agreed to support the FLN.

Enerves and Bunuel held a conference in Marque, and Bunuel ordered Enerves' troops to Fandango.

Bunuel, perceiving that the government was short of troops after the Marque power play, decided to set out for Fandango. He also sent Infidel to Fandango.

Meanwhile in Fandango, de Zulueta was promising aid to the Law School.

Guedalla meanwhile had contacted the urban workers and was asking them to support him against the FLN in the oncoming power play.

Power play, instigated by the FLN, against the government.

Infidel  
de Zulueta } vs. { Guedalla  
42nd } { School of Social Science  
 } { Slums  
 } { Diaz  
 } { Goode

(Law School neutral)

The power play failed.

The FLN then escalated to violence which was inconclusive.

Von Pontz then gave the Fandango slums \$150,000 for scholarships, teacher's salaries and new schools. He mentioned government efforts in their behalf and received assurances that they would at least remain neutral, if not support the government outright, in order to give it a chance.

De Zulueta then met with the two schools and gave them money.

Meanwhile in Verdia, the ex-governor returned, a broken man; paid a brief visit, and left again.

Meanwhile in Fandango City, de Zulueta and Infidel were meeting with Ambassador Towers. The FLN asked that A.I.D. be increased, but the Ambassador flatly refused. The FLN thereupon announced their intention of abrogating all military treaties and refused to guarantee the Ambassador's safety.

Meanwhile in Verdia, Carreras resigned as governor and the governor of Verdia was replaced by Guedalla who had arrived for that purpose.

Guedalla and Carreras left together to take another province.

Meanwhile in Marque, the Petrolia workers were discussing A.I.D. with Goode, and indicating that they would like to receive A.I.D. help as the other workers were already getting \$75 million.

Towers then saw Macleod and told him he needed money to support the Guedalla government.

In Santa Maria, meanwhile, President Guedalla pulled a power play to end the worker's strike and to collect the taxes. The government won.

Guedalla } vs. { Industrial Workers  
Middle Class }  
Garrison }  
Government }

The garrison then offered to bribe the industrial workers to the tune of \$625,000.

The governor agreed to cut the middle classes' taxes if they supported action against the industrial workers.

Meanwhile in Fandango, seeing that a power play was about to be called, the Law School fled to avoid being involved.

POWER PLAY in Fandango initiated by FLN to take over the government.

De Zulueta	} vs. {	Von Pontz
Infidel		Slums
42nd		Workers
		Gonzalez
		Macleod

The FLN won the power play.

The government escalated to violence, but the workers refused to engage in violence. The three military groups overwhelmed the slums, and the FLN took over.

Macleod fled.

Gonzalez fled to Verdia.

The governor of Marque came and persuaded Guedalla (in Santa Maria) to come to Marque with troops to release the prisoners.

Enerves reported to Fandango and checked his troops with the umpire.

Enerves linked with de Zulueta in Fandango.

De Zulueta had a conference with the U. S. ambassador.

Enerves gave the slum workers \$15,000.

Bunuel arrived.

Meanwhile, in Marque, the President arrived with help and freed the prisoners from jail.

President	} vs. {	Castango
Marque		Petrolia
garrison		
Government		
Carreras		
School of Social Science		

De Freitas, Bruno, the 102nd and the 73rd were released. Government was restored, and the FLN left.

Guedalla heard the FLN had taken Fandango.

Guedalla then collected de Freitas to come and help hold off the FLN in Fandango. He reinstated Bruno provisionally.

Meanwhile in Verdia:

- a. The American Ambassador paid a visit.
- b. Guedalla passed through.

Back in Fandango City, Bunuel suggested to Infidel that the time had come to purge de Zulueta.

In Marque, Grese and Jello were splitting up the money received from the FLN after the expropriation. Grese got \$30,000.

Macleod went to Marque where Clark reported a \$100 million loss. Macleod then tried to bribe the governor but had only a small degree of success.

Meanwhile in Fandango, Guedalla had returned and pulled a power play to restore his fortunes.

Guedalla	}	vs.	}	Bunuel
De Freitas				Enerves
Middle Class				De Zulueta
School of Soc-				
ial Science				Infidel
Von Pontz				42nd
Fandango				
workers				

The FLN party lost on power points but escalated to violence at which point their massive military force prevailed.

(The workers commented that they went to violence in support of the government because of government programs in their interest.)

#### END OF GAME STATUS

##### MARQUE

- The oil workers had a conference in which the Petrolia workers report that Grese and Jello were thinking of forsaking the FLN and joining the government.
- The governor of Marque, Macleod, and the oil workers had a discussion on the workers' welfare.
- Macleod and the governor were trying to recoup the funds expropriated by the FLN from the oil company when the game ended.

##### VERDIA

Diaz had all the money he had received except for that which he had to pay as taxes. He had not given any of it to Gonzalez.

##### FANDANGO

- Bruno, the 73rd, and the 102nd were battering at the gates of Fandango where all the FLN except Castango were awaiting them.
- The 42nd was planning to switch sides and support the constitutional government.
- Bunuel was planning to purge de Zulueta.

Quantitative Analysis

For about one-third of Grenadilla #2, an attempt was made to make a close numerical analysis, which is set out in detail below. In each "box" composed of a player's name and the move, the number in the top left hand corner denotes the effect of the move on the player, and the number in the top right hand corner how closely he was involved with it.

Both these numbers run on a scale from -3 to +3. The "effect" numbers are allotted on the basis of how many people are affected by the move and to what levels. If therefore, in any given action, it is possible to discern three different levels of effect, positive or negative, then the players who are the objects of the move get a +3 or -3 (depending on whether they are affected positively or negatively). Similarly the players actively supporting them in the move get a +2 or -2, and players only inferentially affected a +1 or -1. For example, if Hernandez were to win a power play and depose Guedalla, Hernandez would get a +3, the people voting with him in the power play a +2, and any avowed CD supporters not present a +1. Guedalla, conversely, would get a -3, his immediate supporters a -2, and other supporters a -1. If no inferential affectees exist, then the range is reduced to  $\pm 2$ , and if there are no active supporters as well to  $\pm 1$ .

As regards the numbers denoting "involvement" (if it is clear which player was the actor and which acted upon) the actor is denoted by a +3, and the passive player by a -3. Players present and supporting the major participants receive a +2 or -2 as the case may be. Players involved only for informational purposes receive +1 or -1. If it is not clear who approached whom, both parties get a +1. In the case of a radio broadcast, for example, the maker of the broadcast would get a +3 and everyone who heard it a -1.

If the player reported the move, an "x" appears in the bottom right hand corner of the box. An initial letter F for Fandango, SM for Santa Maria, V for Verdia and M for Marque appears in the bottom left hand corner indicating the physical location of the move or conversation. If the player was not himself in the same province as the move or conversation a "prime" is put beside the location code. Thus F' means the event or conversation took place in Fandango but the particular player was not in fact in Fandango:

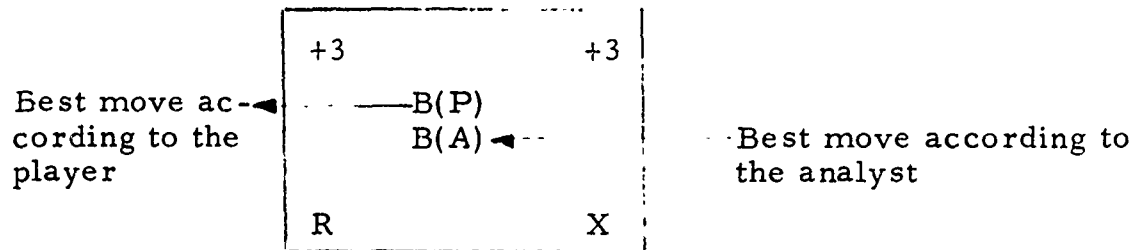
For example:

"effect" number	+3	+1	"involvement" numbers
province in which move took place	SM	x	whether or not player reported move or not

The effect points, positive and negative, are then totalled for each player, and a handicap awarded to some players to compensate for the handicap imposed on them by the scenario. The players with the highest total effect points would be taken to have won, even if their position at the end of the game were poor; although as their position worsens they would be assessed negative points, so that this outcome is unlikely.

The player's own estimates of his best and worst move (garnered from the critiques) is entered in the middle of the appropriate box. The game analyst's estimate is also entered in the middle of the box just below the player's.

For example,



Similar entries would be made for a player's worst move, substituting 'W' for 'B' in the boxes.

A quantitative method of determining which a player's best and worst moves were has been generated. When effect numbers are allotted to all the moves in the game, each player is considered in turn and indicates which of his moves were linked to each other in a cause-effect chain. The total points (positive and negative) for each chain and sub-chain are then assigned as the net worth to the player of the leading move in each chain and sub-chain.

For example,

Move Number	Effect Number	Net Worth
1 )	+2 )	+3 B(A)
2 )	+2 )	+2
3 )	-1 )	+1
4 )	+1 )	+2
5 )	-1 )	-1 W(A)
6 )	+1 )	+1

The arrows indicate that move numbers 1, 3, 4, and 6 are all linked, i. e., are all effectively part of the same action. The effect numbers are therefore totalled to achieve a worth of +3 for move number 1. Move number 2, which is a single action in itself, gets a +2 for worth and move number 5, also a single action, gets -1. The sub-chain 3, 4, 6 totals +1, which is assigned to move 3. The sub-chain 4, 6 results in +2 for move 4. Moves 1 and 5 are thus identified as best and worst respectively. In addition, the remaining moves can be ranked in between.

Similar manipulations can be performed using the involvement ratings in the upper right corner of each box to determine the activity or passivity of a player. Additional statistical measures of behavior can be obtained from the chart for each player individually and from correlations among players.

As an example of the scoring technique, the opening moves of GRENA-DILLA II were scored and are presented below in chart form.

( 1 )



Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	de Freitas	Bruno	Pontz
0.02	Diaz, the landowners' agent asked the peasants to pay their rent.							
0.07	Meanwhile in Santa Maria the industrial workers were in conversation with the Governor.	-1 0	-1 0	-1 0				
a)	The workers grumbled about the lack of reforms hitherto carried out and the ever-increasing rate of inflation.	SM'	SM'	SM'				
b)	The Governor in his reply hedged, promising nothing and blaming the FLN for the country's ills.	-1 0	-1 0	-1 0				
		SM'	SM'	SM'				
0.08	The Middle Class in Santa Maria also complained to the Governor about increasing inflation.	-1 0	-1 0	-1 0				
		SM'	SM'	SM'				
0.1 a)	The Port Slums of Santa Maria also had a conversation with the Governor in which they complained that they had received no help from the government.	-1 0	-1 0	-1 0				
b)	The Governor assured them that any promises made by the FLN were totally insubstantial.	+1 0	+1 0	+1 0				
		SM'	SM'	SM'				
0.2	The Port Slums then held discussions with the Middle Class in Santa Maria wherein they aired their grievances. The slums felt at the end of these discussions that the Middle Classes were happy with the status quo.							
0.5	In the meantime a meeting of the Army command was in session. The President's plans for land reform were announced, and commanders were urged to establish control of communications.	+1 -2		+2 -2		+3 +3		
		L'		L'		L		
0.93	Political activity was in full swing in Fandango City as well. Sr Collidar and ex-President Hernandez met and agreed that the time had come for a change of government.	-2 -2	-1 -2	-1 -2	+2 +1			
		F'	F'	F'	F			
0.94	The School of Law and the School of Social Science were also able to agree that none of the existing political parties--APRA, CD or the FLN met their ideological needs. They wanted a party more simpatico than APRA and less radical than the FLN. They agree to see if an appropriate leader could be found	-1 -2	-1 -2	-1 -2	-1 -2			
		F'	F'	F'	F			

A

	Pontz	de Freitas	Bruno	Pontz	Collidar	Macleod	Reagan	de Zulueta	Towerso	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	
													+1 V'							
															+1 0				-2 -3	
															SM'				SM	
								-1 0											-2 +3	
								SM'											SM	
														+1 0					-2 -3	
														SM'					SM	
																			+1 0 -2 -3	
																			SM' SMX	
								-2 0											+2 +3	
								SM'											SMX	
																			+1 +3 -1	
																			SM' X SM'	
		+3 +3																	+2 -3	+2 -3
		L															L			L
	+1				+2 +1															-1 -2
					F X															F'
	1 -2							-1 -2			+1 +1	+1 +1								-1 -2
								F'			F X	F X								F'

B

Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd		
			+1 V'																
					+1 0			-2 -3				+2 +3							-1
					SM'			SM				SM X							SM
								-2 +3				-1 -3		-1 0					-1
								SM				SM X		SM'					SM
				+1 0				-2 -3			+2 +3								-1
				SM'				SM			SM X								SM
							+1 0	-2 -3					+2 +3						-1
								SM' SMX					SM X						SM
								+2 +3					0 -3	-2 0					+1
								SMX					SM X	SM'					SM
							+1 +1	0 -1			+1 +1		+1 +1						+1
								SM' X SM'			SM X		SM X						SM
-3							+2 -3		+2 -3						+2 -3	+2 -3	+2 -3		
						L			L						L X	L X	L		
								-1 -2											-1
								F'											F
	+1 +1	+1 +1						-1 -2						-1 -2					-1
	F X	F X						F'						F'					F

C

102nd	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
							+2 +3	-2 -3									
							V	X V X									
-1						-1 0						-1 0					
SM						SM'						SM'					
-1		-1 0				-1 0			-1 0	-1 0		-1 0					-1 0
SM		SM'				SM'			SM'	SM'		SM'					SM'
-1						-1 0						-1 0					
SM						SM'						SM'					
-1	+2 +3					-1 0						-1 0					
SM	SM X					SM'						SM'					
+1	0 -3	-2 0				+1 0			-2 0	-1 0		+1 0					-1 0
SM	SM X	SM'				SM'			SM'	SM'		SM'					SM'
	+1 +1																
	SM X																
-3			+2 -3	+2 -3	+2 -3							+2 -3					
			L X	L X	L												
						-1 -2						-1 -2					
F'						F'						F'					
-1		-1 -2				-1 -2			-1 -2	-1 -2		-1 -2					-1 -2
F'		F'				F'			F'	F'		F'					F'

D

Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno
0.95	In another part of the city the President and the Army Commander-in-Chief were meeting with the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of the Interior. The President gave each of his cabinet an outline of their strategy.	+2 +3 L' X	+2 -3 L'	+2 -3 L'		+2 -3 L' X	-1 -3 L'
0.96	Sr. Collidar found an ally in Sr. Gonzalez who was opposed to the land reform program and agreed with Sr. Collidar that the time had come for a change of government.	-1 F'	-1 F'	-1 F'	+1 F'	-1 F'	
0.10	Meanwhile in Verdia the land reform program was being announced and the 102nd Regiment, the Governor, the Minister of Agriculture, the Peasants and Diaz were engaged in discussions.	+1 V'	+1 V'	+2 +3 V			
0.10.5 a	In their hideout the FLN were in conference. Country-wide strategy was discussed and money and arms distributed. Infidel was given two specific objectives in Verdia, first, to persuade the peasants not to pay their rent to the landlords agents, and second, to attempt to persuade the army garrisons not to make any active attempt to suppress FLN activity.	-2 L'	-2 L'	-2 L'			
b	Bunuel and Enervas agreed that Santa Maria was not an important area for the FLN. Enervas was therefore to make contact with FLN supporters and try and increase their number and otherwise to wait and see where he was more needed to help other FLN members elsewhere in the country.	-2 L'	-2 L'	-2 L'			
0.11	In Verdia the Governor demanded that the peasants pay their taxes in priority to paying their rent.	+1 V'	+1 V'	+1 V'			
0.31	The Python Oil representative, Macleod, meanwhile visited the American Ambassador, Towers, to ask him for his permission to make contact with the Minister of the Interior on the question of FLN activity in the oil fields. Towers gave his permission.	+1 F'	+1 F'	+1 F'			
0.32	Macleod then discussed the oil industry with Sr. VonPontz whom he asked to get the government to put pressure on agitators in the oil fields. VonPontz and he also agreed to contact the government for discussions on inflation.	+1 F'	+1 F'	+1 F			

A

Bruno	Hernandez	deFreitan	Bruno	Pontz	Collidar	Macleod	Reagan	deZulueta	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor
-1 -3		+2 -3	-1 -3		-1								-2	-1			+1	+1
L'		L' X	L'		L'								L'				L'	L'
	+1	-1			+2 -3								+2 +3					-1
	F'	F'			F X								F					F'
								-1					-2					+1
								V'					V'					V'
								+2 -3					-2			-1		-2
								L X					L'			L'		L'
								+2 -3								-1		-2
								L X								L'		L'
													-1					+1
													V'					V'
						+2 +3		-1	+1 -3									+1
						F X		F'	F X									F'
				+2 +1		+2 +1			-1									+1
				F X		F X			F'									F'

B

Governor

Group	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Slums
			-2	-1			+1	+1		-1	-1		+1	-1				+1
			L'				L'	L'		L'	L'		L'	L'				L'
			+2 +3					-1										-1
			F					F'										F'
			-2					+1						-1			0 -3	+1
			V'					V'						V'			V X	V
-2			-2			-1		-2	-2					+2 -3	-2	-2	-2	-2
L'			L'			L'		L'	L'					L X	L'	L'	L'	L
-2						-1		-2	-2					+3 -3	-2	-2	-2	
L'						L'		L'	L'					L X	L'	L'	L'	
			-1					+1										+
			V'					V'										V
								+1						-1				+
								F'						F'				F
								+1										

C

102nd	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
+1	-1				+1		+2	-1	-1		+1						-1
L'	L'				L'		L'	L'	L'		L'						L'
-1					-1						-1						
F'					F'						F'						
-3	+1	-1			0 -3	+1 -3	-2 -3	+2 -3	-1	-1		+1					-1
X	V	V'			V X	V	V	V	V'	V'		V'					V'
-2	+2 -3	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-2		+2 +3	+2 -3	-1	-2					+2 -2
L'	L X	L'	L'	L'	L'	L'	L'		L X	L X	L'	L'					L X
	+3 -3	-2	-2	-2	-2				+3 +3	+2 -3							+2 -2
	L X	L'	L'	L'	L'				L X	L X							L X
+						+2 +3	-1	-2 -3				+1					
V					V X	V	V	V X				V'					
+	-1				+1				-1	-1		+2	+1				-2
F'	F'				F'				F'	F'		F'	F'				F'
					-1							-1					
					F'							F'					

D



Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno
0.33	Meanwhile in the American Embassy the Ambassador and John B. Goode were discussing the A. I. D. program. They decided that they should be wary of the present government and insist on specifying where the 17K of aid should go as a condition of the deal.	-1 F'	-1 F'	-1 F'			
0.355	In Verdia Diaz re-emphasized that the peasants must pay their rent,						
0.36	John B. Goode and Sr. VonPontz meanwhile discussed dollar expenditure in Fandango City.	+1 F'	+1 F'	+1 F'			
0.37	Macleod was also in Fandango City having talks with the Middle Classes. They discovered common areas of interest in checking the rising rate of inflation and in maintaining Grenadilla's internal stability. The Middle Classes told Macleod that they would support a CD government.	-2 F'	-2 F'	-2 F'			
0.38	General deFreitas meanwhile was holding a meeting with his Chief of Staff, Brigadier Bruno, and relayed to him the President's orders. Brigadier Bruno urged the General to attack and destroy the FLN at that time but the General would not be persuaded.	-3 F'	-2 F'	-2 F'	+3 F'	-3 -3 F X	-3 +3 F X
0.39	Macleod telephoned to Python's man on the spot, Clark. Clark suggested that a wage increase totalling \$6M be given to the oil field workers.						
0.40	Meanwhile in Santa Maria a meeting of the Slums, the Workers, and the Middle Classes was in progress. A popular coalition was proposed to put pressure on the government to correct inflation, raise minimum wage levels and check corruption in the army.	-2 SM'	-2 SM'	-2 SM'			
0.40.1	The Fandango Slums sent a note to the slum dwellers of Santa Maria.						
0.40.2	The Fandango Slum dwellers sent a note to the oil workers in Marque.						
0.41	In the meantime a delegation from the Fandango Middle Class went to General deFreitas to demand that decisive action be taken against the FLN. The General referred the delegation to Brigadier Bruno.	-2 F'	-2 F'	-2 F'	+1 F'	-2 -3 F	+2 F'

A

Bruno	def reitas	Bruno	Pontz	Collidar	Macleod	Reagan	deZulueta	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison
								+2 +1 F X	.2 +1 F X								-1 F'	
			+1 +1 F						+1 +1 F X			+2 V'						
					+2 +1 F X								+2 +1 F X				-1 F'	
+3	-3 -3	-3 +3	-2	+2			+2								-1		-2	-1
X	F X	F X	F'	F'			F'								F'		F'	F'
					+1 +3 F X													
																	-2	
																		SM
																	+1 +3 F X +1 +3 F X	
	-2 -3	+2	-1										+2 +3 F X				-1	
F		F'	F'														F'	

Reagan	deZulueta	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas
		+2 +1 F X	+2 +1 F X								-1 F'						
						+2 V'											
		+1 +1 F X															
							+2 +1 F X				-1 F'						
+2 F'									-1 F'		-2 F'	-1 F'	+2 F'				+2 F'
											-2 SM			+2 +1 SMX	+2 +1 SMX	+2 +1 SMX	
										+1 +3 F X							0 +3 F' SM
										+1 +3 F X							
							+2 +3 F X				-1 F'			+1 F'			

C

	Enervas	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
						-1						-1					
						F'						F'					
							+2 +3 V X	-2 -3 V									
						-1						-1					
						F'						F'					
-2	-	+2	-1	-1	-1	-2			+3	+2	-1	-2					+2
	F'	F'	F'	F'	F'	F'			F'	F'	F'	F'					F'
													+2 -3	+1	+1	+1	
													F'M	F'M	F'M	F'M	
						-1						-1					
						SM'						SM'					
														0 -3	0 -3	0 -3	
														F'M	F'M	F'M	
						-1						-1					
						F'						F'					

D

Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno	Posta
0.42	Meanwhile Goode was in conference with GueGalla on AID funds. The President wanted more than the \$8, 500M that Goode offered.	+2 F	+2 F'	+2 F'				
1.0	In Santa Maria at this time the Governor, the garrison commander, and Sr. Salivar met and decided that the status quo must be preserved, and that the FLN, who were not apparently active in Santa Maria, must be refused access to any communications.	+1 SM'	+1 SM'	+1 SM'				
1.01	Back in Fandango the urban working class wrote a note to the Santa Maria working class.							
1.5	Following his meeting with the Governor and the garrison commander, Sr. Salivar met with the middle class of Santa Maria and they agreed that, in view of their complementary interests, they should consult together to reach a method of ensuring stability in Santa Maria.							
1.7	General deFreitas then arrived in the city and paid the garrison troops.					+2+3 SM		
1.8	Enervas then arrived and went straight to confer with the slums. The slums asked for large contributions from the FLN and the provision of food. Enervas explained that the FLN, like the slum dwellers, were poor men. The slum dwellers refused to take any action unless they were promised tangible benefits.	+1 SM'	+1 SM'	+1 SM'				
1.13	Meanwhile in Verdia the Minister of Agriculture, Carreras, was propounding his new scheme whereby land left unused would be taxed to provide the revenue to finance wider land reforms. The peasants immediately voted their support for this proposal.	+1 V'	+1 V'	+3+3 V X				
1.14	Carreras then informed the Governor of the tax and land reform plan.	+1 V'	+1 V'	+2+3 V				
1.15	Diaz naturally reacted unfavorably to the proposed tax plan but was warned by the Governor that no interference with the plan would be tolerated. Diaz then left for the capital city to get instructions from his employers.	+1 V'	+1 V'	+1 V				
1.16	At this juncture General deFreitas arrived and paid the troops of the three regiments. He also instructed all the commanders to arrest deZulueta on sight.					+2+3 V X		

A

BRUNO

Pontz

Hernandez

deFreitas

Bruno

Pontz

Collidar

Macleod

Reagan

deZulueta

Towers

Goode

School of Law

School of Soc. Sci.

Gonzales

Middle Class

Industrial Workers

Garrison

Slums

Governor

Garrison

-1  
F X

-1

SM'

+1+2  
F X

+2+3  
SM

+1  
SM'

-1

+1

M'

SM'

SM'

+3

-1

-3

+1

X

V'

V'

V'

+3

-1

-2

+1

V'

V'

V'

+1

V'

+2+3

-2

V X

V'

B

Garrison		Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm	Armored	73rd Infantry
			-1 F X								+1 F'									
H	+2										+2 +1	+2 +1	+2 +1					-2		
X	S'	SM'						+1+2 F X			SMX	SMX	SMX		0 - 3 F'SM		SM'			
													+1+1	+1+1			-1			
													SMX	SMX			SM'			
								+1 SM'			+2 - 3 SMX							+1 SM'	+1 SM'	
										+1						+2 - 3	-2 + 3			
										SM'						SMX	SMX			
						-3				+1							-1			
						V'				V'							V'			
						-2 V'				+1 V'							-1 V'			
										+1										
										V'										
																		-1	+2 - 3	+2 - 3
																	V'	V X	V X	

C

73rd Infantry	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
					+1						+1					
	-2				+1			-1	-1		+1					-1
	SM'				SM'			SM'	SM'		SM'					SM'
	-1															
	SM'															
-1 SM'		+1 SM'	+1 SM'	+1 SM'						+1 SM'						
	-2+3				+1			-1	-1		+1					-1
	SMX				SM'			SM'	SM'		SM'					SM'
	-1				+1	-3	+2 -3	-2	-2		+1					-1
	V'				V	V	V X	V'	V'		V'					V'
	-1 V'				+1 -3 V X	-1 V'		-2 V'	-2 V'		+1 V'					-1 V'
					+2 +1	-2 +1					+1					
					V X	V					V'					
-2 -3 X	-1	+2 -3	+2 -3	+2 -3				-1	-1							-1
	V'	V X	V X	V X				V'	V'							V'



Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno		
1.17	Carreras was then faced with the landowners who wanted to be reassured that compensation would be a part of any land reform. He managed not to commit himself on this issue.	+1 V'	+1 V'	+2 +1 V X					+2
1.18	The Governor of Verdia in the meantime collected 1/4's taxes from the peasants.	+1 V'	+1 V'	+1 V'					V +1
1.20	He was then asked by Carreras whether the troops could be used to drive out FLN agents should this become necessary.			+1 +3 V X					V +1
1.21.5	The Governor then asked the 102nd to keep a special watch for Infidel.								V
1.22	The Governor was then approached by Diaz who wanted his help in collecting the rent.								
1.22.4	Meanwhile in Marque the Governor and the garrison commander were discussing the FLN situation. The Governor briefed the commander to control FLN activity and report any signs of life.	+1 M'	+1 M'	+1 M'					+1 M
1.22.5	General deFreitas then arrived and ordered the garrison commander to institute a search for deZulueta and arrest him on sight.	+1 M'	+1 M'	+1 M'		+2 +3 M			+1 M'
1.23	The Governor in the meantime was explaining government policy to the Petrolia oil workers. He pointed out the administration's need for tax revenue and assigned tax quotas for the quarter.								
1.23.4	Infidel meanwhile visited Verdia to see the peasants but they were not available.								
1.23.5 a)	Meanwhile in Fandango City the Law School and the American Ambassador were talking together. The Law School asked that aid be given directly to the school without going through government hands. They threatened anti-American demonstrations if their demands were not met. The American Ambassador said he would have discussions and see them again later.								
b)	Towers then conferred with Goode who suggested that some aid should be given to the Law School to gain their support for the present government.	+1 F'	+1 F'	+1 F'					+1 I

#

	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno	Pontz	Collicar	M	F	deZ	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor
	+2 +1													-2 +1					+1
	V X													V					V'
	+1																		+1
	V'																		V'
	+1 +3																		
	V X																		
	+1																		
	M'																		
	+1		+2 +3																
	M'		M																
	+1																		+1
	F'																		F

B

	Governor	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm	Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	D	
+1			-2 +1						+1												+1	-1
V'			V						V'												V	V'
+1									+1												+2 +1	
V'									V'												V X	
																					0 -3	
																					V	
															-1						-1 -3	+2 +3
															V'						V X	V
			+1																		0 -3	+2
			V'																		V X	V
															-1							
															M'							
		+3																				
		X																				
+1									+1												+1	
F'									F'												F'	

	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
						+1	-1	+1				+1					
V'						V	V'	V				V'					
						+2+1		-2+1				+1					
						V X		V				V'					
						0 -3											
						V											
	-1				-1 -3	+2+3			-1	-2							-1
	V'				V X	V			V'	V'							V'
+2						0 -3	+2+3										
V						V X	V X										
									-1	-1	+2 +1	+2 +1					-2
									M'	M'	M X	M X					M'
	-1								-1	-1	+2 -3						-1
	M'								M'	M'	M						M'
												+1 +3		-1 -3			
												M X		M			
								0 -1		0 -1							
								V		V							
						+1						+1					
						F'						F'					

D

Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno	Pontz
1. 31	In another part of the city Brigadier Bruno and the middle classes were meeting. The middle classes urged Bruno to move at once against the FLN, arrest their leaders, and declare martial law. Bruno said that he would talk to the President as General deFreitas was not present. The middle class interpreted this as a promise of strong action against the FLN.	-1 F'	-1 F'	-1 F'		-1 F'	-2 -3 F X	
1. 33	Collidar in the meantime was suggesting to Macleod that it would be a good idea to raise the oil workers' wages. Macleod was unconvinced as he felt that inflation, not the level of wages, was the problem. Land reform was also discussed and Tex Reagan joined the conversation with various rumours.							
1. 34	Brigadier Bruno passed General deFreitas' instructions to the Fandango garrison commander, expressing the while his desire to deal with the FLN at once. The garrison commander agreed with this view. Bruno also expressed sentiments of loyalty to General deFreitas.						-1 +3 F X	
1. 35	The Fandango garrison commander meanwhile was threatening Gonzalez with confiscation of his assets unless he paid his taxes.	+1 F'	+1 F'	+1 F'				
1. 36	Tex Reagan also met with the law students who asked for financial help and expressed their general discontent.	-1 F'	-1 F'	-1 F'				
1. 37	Ambassador Towers, meanwhile, was telling VonPontz about his earlier conversation with the Law School wherein the students asked for direct U.S. aid. He stressed to VonPontz the importance of having a real "meeting of minds" with the students.							+2 F
1. 39	Towers then met with Clark and Goode and they discussed measures to ensure stability in the oil fields.							
1. 40	Collidar held some conversation with someone about Gummicola.							
1. 40. 05	There was an incomplete radio message from the President.							
1. 40. 06	The President went to the phone but returned immediately.							

A

Pontz	Pontz	Collidar	Macleod	Reagan	deZulueta	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class
											+1+3							
		+1 +1	-1 +1	+1 +1							F X							
		F X	F X	F														
													+1 -3					
													F X					
									-2 -3				+2 +3		+1			
									F				F X		F'			
			0 +1				+2 +1								-1			
			F X				F								F'			
+2 +	+2 +1					+2 +1 +1	+2											
F	F X					F X F												
						+1 +1 +1 +1												
						F X F												
		X																

B

Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Enervas	42nd arm	Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Workers	
	+1 -3																				
	F X																				
	+2 +3		+1										+1								+1
	F X		F'										F'								F'
			-1										-1								-1
			F'										F'								F'

2

	Governor	Workers	Enervas	42nd arm.	Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
+1								+1						+1					
F'								F'						F'					
-1								-1						-1					
F'								F'						F'					
															+1 +1				
														F					

12



Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno	Pontz
140.1	a) The President, broadcasting from Fandango City, announced that legislation would be promulgated to give each peasant family 1/4 acre of land.	+3 +3 F X	+1 F'	+2 F'	-2 F'			
	b) The city slums greeted the announcement with booing and heckling.	-2 F	-2 F'	-2 F'				
	c) The middle classes and Tex Reagan expressed to each other their shock at the President's Leftist tendencies.	-2 F	-2 F'	-2 F'				
1.40.2	The President was again called to the phone.							
1.41	In Marque meanwhile the Petrolia workers were complaining to Ambassador Towers about their working conditions. They asked the U.S. to put pressure on the government to improve their working conditions and threatened that they might otherwise throw in their lot with the FLN.	-2 M'	-2 M'	-2 M'				
1.42	President Guedalla took a tough line with Gonzalez, telling him that further land reform was ahead.	+2+1 F X	+1 F'	+1 F'				
1.43	a) Hernandez, in reaction to the President's land reform announcement, was meanwhile telling Macleod that he wanted to return to the government because of the threat of land nationalization. He told Macleod that the landowners were discontented.	-2 F'	-1 F'	-1 F'	+2 +3 F			+1 F
	b) He told Macleod that he would use troops if necessary to ensure stability in the oil fields.				+2 +3 F			
1.45	a) The President then met with the Schools of Law and Social Science and gave them each the first quarter's expenses.	+1 +1 F X						
	b) The President promised the schools that he would start a public works program.	+1 +1 F X						
	c) The schools promised to support the President's plan if they played a key role in administering it and if it started quickly.	+1 +1 F X						
1.46	The Law School then went on and talked to the slums who were apparently discontented. The slums did not perceive the Law School as having much to say.							

A

Pontz	Pontz	Collidar	Macleod	Reagan	deZulueta	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial
		-1 F' X			-1 F'					-3 F'					+1 F'		-1 F'		
				+2+1 F							+2+1 F X			+2+3 F X					
			-3 M'	-1 M'	+1 M'	-2 M' X	-2 M'								-1 M'				
										-2+1 F									
F1	+1	+1-3								+1				-1			+1		
F	F	F X								F'				F'			F'		
		+2-3 F																	
								+1+1 F X	+1+1 F X										
								0+1 F X	0+1 F X					+1 F					
								+1+1 F X	+1+1 F X										
								-1+3						+1-3					
								F X						F X					

Industrial	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese
	-1				-1				+1	-2	+1	-2	-1		+1			
	F'				F'				F'	F'	F'	F'	F'		F'			
					+1				-1			+2	+1		-2	-2	+3+3	+2
					M'				M'			M'	M'		M	M	M	M
	+1								-1	+1					-1			
	F'								F'	F'					F'			
					+1													
					F'													

P

Grese	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
	+1 F'	-2 F'	+1 F'	-2 F'	-1 F'		+1 F'					-1 F'
2	-1			+2	+1		-2	-2	+3+3	+2	+2	+2
M	M'			M'	M''		M	M	M	M	M	M
	-1 F'	+1 F'					-1 F'					

D

Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno	Collidar	Bruno
1.47	a) Macleod, meanwhile, was talking to the Minister of the Interior who seemed suspicious and wanted a larger share of the oil company profits. He refused to give a full guarantee of stability in Marque.		+1 -3 F						
	b) Brigadier Bruno joined the conversation and talked vaguely of "definite orders."		0 +1 F				+1 +1 F		1 +
1.48	Meanwhile in Santa Maria Goode was asking the workers about their feelings for the government and how U.S. aid might affect those feelings. The workers replied that they wanted some A. I. D.; were not FLN supporters; nor particularly in favor of the present government, but A. I. D. funds might persuade them to support the government.	-1 SM'	-1 SM'	-1 SM'					
1.48.5	The Law School meanwhile approached the Fandango City workers to activate them but they were unimpressed and suspicious.								
1.49	The Santa Maria workers received a message from the Fandango workers asking what was going on and expressing their solidarity.								
1.51	a) The Santa Maria workers wrote back to the Fandango workers saying nothing particular was happening but discontent was growing and a plan was out to put pressure on the Governor to make an (unidentified) coalition.								
	b) The Fandango slums received a note from the Santa Maria slums.								
1.55	a) Bunuel and deZulueta arrived in Fandango City.								
	b) deZulueta and the School of Law went into conference.								
2.0	a) Collidar arrived in Marque to seek information on the unrest in the oil fields.								+1 M
	b) deFreitas arrived and instructed the Marque garrison to get deZulueta.					+1 +3 M			
	c) Clark left the province.								
2.D.1	Salivar and the Santa Maria middle class decided to contact Hernandez to see what he would do.	-2 SM'	-1 SM'	-1 SM'	+1 SM'				
2.4	Salivar met with Hernandez who agreed to come to Santa Maria.	-3 F*	-2 F'	-2 F	+3 -3 F'				

Collidar	Bruno	Collidar	Macleod	Reagan	deZulueta	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial
			-2 +3																
			F X																
	+1		0 +1																
			F X																
						+1	+2 +3								-1				+2
						SM'	SMX								SM				SM
								-2 +3				0 -3							
								F X				F X							
												+1 +3							+1
												F							F'
												+1 -3							+1
												SM' X							SM
														+1 -3					
														SM'					
					+1 +1			+1 +1											
				F				F											
+1		+1 +3																	
M		M																	
															-1				+2 +1 +1 +1
															SM				SM X SM X
		+1									+1			-1					+2 +3 +2
		F'									F'			F'					F' F'

Industrial

Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia
																-1	
			+2 -3						-1						-1	F'	
			SM X						SM						SM		
			+1 +3														
			F' X														
			+1 +3														
			SM X														
				+1 +3													
				F								F					
															+1 -3		
															M X		
														-1 -3			
														M			
1	+2 +1	+1 +1							-1						-1		
	SM X	SM X							SM'						SM'		
	+2 +3	+2							-1						-1		
	F'	F'							F'						F'		

Infantry

9

Petrolia	Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
										-1				
										F'				
			-1						-1					
			SM						SM					
						F								
									+1 -3					
									M X					
								-1 -3						
								M						
			-1						-1					
			SM'						SM'					
			-1						-1					
			F'						F'					



Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Bruno	Pontz	Salazar	
2.4.5	Meanwhile the Fandango slums sent a letter of complaint to the President and were frustrated to get no reply.	-2 -3 F'	-1 F'	-1 F'						
2.5	Back in Santa Maria the garrison commander and the industrial workers discussed inflation, the FLN, and the deplorable slum workers.									
2.6	The middle classes talked to the Governor who asked them for their support and promised to cut back inflation.	-1 SM'	-1 SM'	-1 SM'						
2.7	The Governor then, in conversation with the garrison commander, hinted at the possibility of a more conservative government.	-1 SM'	-1 SM'	-1 SM'	+2 SM'					SM
2.8	The middle classes had further conversations with the Governors and the military who wanted a peaceful province and feared the subversive elements.									
2.9	Salivar then told the middle class about Hernandez' visit.									
2.9.6	Salivar then reminded the slums of the help given to them by the wives of the richer citizens and tried to persuade them of the disadvantages of FLN violence.									-1 SM
2.10	Meanwhile in Verdia the peasants again refused to pay any rent to Diaz.									
2.10.1	Infidel at this point arrived in Verdia, to be met by the commanders of the 102nd, 73rd, and 42nd. A general discussion ensued but the army said that the new land reforms must be given a chance to take effect.									-1 V'
2.12	The peasants and the Governor had some discussion about rent.									
2.13 a)	The Governor then told Ambassador Towers that the landowners could not collect rent and that Infidel and the FLN were urging violence.									-1 V'
2.13 b)	Towers passed the information on to the government and Tex Reagan.	-2 -2 F'	-2 -2 F'	-2 -2 F'						3 -1 F'
2.14 a)	The 102nd Regiment sat in while Diaz asked their help to force the payment of rent by the peasants.									
2.14 b)	Diaz also asked the Minister of Agriculture Carreras to confer with the Governor on this.	-1 V'	-1 V'	-2 -3 V'						

	deZuheta	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Sitons	Enervas	42nd arm	Armored
										+2+3 F X F'	-1								
											-1+1				+1 +1				
											SM X				SM X				
							+1				-2+1			+2 +1					
							SM'				SM			SM X					
						+1					+1 +3	+1 -3 +1							
SM						SM'					SM	SM X	SM'						
											+1+1	+1+1	+1	+1 +1					
											SM	SM	SM	SM X					
													+1+3	+1 -3					
	-1												SM X	SM					
	SM'												+2+3			0 -3	-2		
													SM X			SM	SM		
						-1													
						V'													
	-1																	-1	+2 +1
	V'																		
	-1	-2	-1																
	V'	V	V																
3	-1	+2+3									-1								
	F' X										F'								
						+1													
						V'													
											-1								
											V'								

B

1

Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Governor
+2+3	-1										-1						-1	
F X F'											F'						F'	
	-1+1				+1 +1													
	SM X				SM X													
	-2+1			+2 +1							-1						-1	
	SM			SM X							SM'						SM'	
	+1 +3	+1 -3	+1								-1						-1	
	SM	SM X	SM'								SM'						SM'	
	+1+1	+1+1	+1	+1 +1														
	SM	SM	SM	SM X														
			+1+3	+1-3														
			SM X	SM														
			+2+3			0 -3	-2							-1	-1			
			SM X			SM	SM							SM'	SM'			
													+2 -3	+1	+1			
													V	V'	V			
								-1	+2 +1	+2 +1	+2 +1				-1	-2+1		
								V'	V X	V X	V X				V'	V		+1
											+1 +1		+1 +1					+3
											V		V X					X
								-1			+1 +3				-1			
								V'			V X				V			
	-1							-1			-2			-1	-2		-1	
	F'							F'			F'			F'	F'		F'	
										+1 -3		+2 +3	-2					
										V X		V	V					
	-1										-1	+2 +3	-2				-1	
	V'										V	V X	V				V'	

101

Governor	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jello	Castango
							-1					
							F'					
							-1					
	M'						SM'					
							-1					
	M'						SM'					
				-1	-1							-1
				SM'	SM'							SM'
		+2 -3	+1	+1								+1
		V	V'	V								V'
			-1	-2+1								-1
			V'	V								V'
	+1	+1 +1										
		V X										
	+3				-1							-1
	X				V							V'
	2			-1	-2		-1					-1
				F'	F'		F'					F'
		+2 +3	-2									
		V V										
		+2 +3	-2				-1					
		V X V					V'					

D

Move Number	Narrative	Guedalla	Minister of Interior	Carreras	Hernandez	deFreitas	Pontz
2.14.5	The Governor in Verdia asked the 73rd to keep an eye on Infidel						
2.15.4	a) The 73rd, 102nd, and 42nd oversaw Infidel's conversation with the peasants wherein he advocated violent action and promised that the FLN would give the peasants financial support.	-2 V'	-1 V'	-2 V'			
	b) It was finally agreed that the land reform plans should be given a chance, but Infidel tried to persuade the peasants to impose a time limit within which these reforms should be passed.	+3 V'	+2 V'	+3 V'			
	c) The umpire reported apparent agreements formed between the FLN and the military, the peasants and the Governor, the agents and Carreras, and the FLN and the peasants.						
2.15.5	Diaz appealed to Guedalla for help in collecting the rent. Guedalla referred him to the Governor.	+1-3 V					
2.15.6	deFreitas instructed the three Verdia Regiments to make a minor show of force should there be any trouble.					+1+3 V	
2.15.7	Meanwhile in Marque the garrison commander asked the Governor if he knew who deZulueta was. The Governor replied that he did not.						
2.16	The oil workers held a meeting in which the possibility of group action was discussed. The Jello workers saw the discussions as being inconsequential.	-1 M'	-1 M'	-1 M'			
	The Petrolia workers reported that they decided to strike because the FLN had offered four months wage indemnity. The umpire reports that the FLN and the oil workers met and considered a strike and seizure of the wells. Bunuel reported that he set up a strike with Jello workers.						
2.16.1	Goode then met with the oil workers but apparently made them no concrete offers. The workers told him that they intended to put pressure on the regional government to get their wage-rate raised, and that they might join the FLN if no help was forthcoming from the government.	-1 M'	-1 M'	-1 M'			

A

Pontz	Collidar	Macleod	Reagan	deZulueta	Towers	Goode	School of Law	School of Soc. Sci.	Gonzales	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Garrison	Slurns	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class
				-1 V'													
				+1					-2					-1			
				V' -1	+1	+1			V' +3				+1	V'			
				V'	V'	V'			V'				V'				
				-1 M'													
				+1										-1			
	-2																
	M'		M'											M'			
	-2																
									-1 +3								
	M'																M

B

	Garrison	Slums	Governor	Garrison	Salivar	Middle Class	Industrial Workers	Slums	Enervas	42nd arm	Armored	73rd Infantry	102nd	Governor	Diaz	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel		
												-1 -3 V X		+1+3 V					-1 V'	
			-1							0 +1	0 +1	0 +1	-1	-2	+1 -3			+1 +3		
		+1	V'							V X	V X	V X	V'	V'	V'			V		
		V'						-1					+2	+2	+3+1	-2		-3		
								V'					V	V	V	V'		V		
														0 -2	-1+3					
														V	V					
										-1 -3	-1 -3	-1 -3								
										V	V X	V X								
																			0	
																			M	
			-1					+1						-1			+2	+1		
			M'					M'						M'			M	M'		
								+1									+2	+1		
								M'									M	M'		

	Peasants	Bunuel	Infidel	Garrison	Governor	Clark	Petrolia	Grese	Jeilo	Castango
			-1 V'							-1 V'
	+1 -3 V'		+1 +3 V							
	+3+1 V	-2 V'	-3 V		+1 V'					-1 V'
1+3										
				0 +3 M X	0 +3 M X					
M		+2 M	+1 M'		-2 M	-2 M	+2+1 M X	+2+1 M X	+2+1 M X	+2+1 M
		+2 M	+1 M'				+2 -2 M	+2 -2 M	+2 -2 M	+2 M

7)



## 5. FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 Patria as a Type

After three tests of the POLITICA game with the Patria scenario, what conclusions can be drawn about the nature of the Patrian political system? Clearly, the first play of the game showed the balance of power to be held by O'Brien. O'Brien exercises this pivotal role subject to the cross-pressures on him of (1) his moral imperative in favor of the democratic process; (2) his antipathy toward Lopez on the right and Valdez on the left; (3) the fact that the two people he can support, Rodriguez and Sebastiano, each need the help of the unacceptable Valdez and Lopez, respectively (although Rodriguez is initially more dependent on Valdez than Sebastiano is on Lopez).

After POLITICA II, it became apparent that, while the players perceived game play to center about the election campaign, winning the election does not assure political office unless the army is on the side of the winner.

Also, in POLITICA II, Sebastiano brought both Rodriguez and Valdez into the government. The army commanders, who were styled by their personality profiles to have a lower threshold to motivate them to act against Valdez than O'Brien himself, did in fact stand up to O'Brien by making their continued support of him conditional on his removing Valdez from the Sebastiano government. O'Brien managed to persuade the military against taking direct action against him, however.

POLITICA III demonstrated that the crucial nature of O'Brien's role stems not from his own power but from the tacit acknowledgment of his leadership by the military commanders. In POLITICA III, unlike POLITICA I and II, O'Brien was incapable of eliminating the Lopecista threat to his own command within the military. As a result, the army, not having the pro-democratic constraints of O'Brien himself, evolved during the game into a military dictatorship. O'Brien's support of Rodriguez was ineffectual in maintaining Rodriguez in power. In the absence of a strong threat to the existence of the army, the support of the army becomes the crucial factor for success in Patrian politics. If O'Brien retains the support of the army, all that is necessary is the support of O'Brien. If he loses this support, then it is the favor of the army itself that becomes the crucial factor.

The real threat to O'Brien comes from the Lopez faction within the military. Why was O'Brien able to withstand the Lopecista threat in games I and II, but not in game III?

Lopez starts out with the potential financial support of Arana and the landowners; the potential control of communications, as represented by the Postmaster-General; and the potential for subversion within the military through the efforts of the Lopecista 102nd regiment in Fertilidad. In POLITICA I, O'Brien was able to arrest the Postmaster-General at the appropriate time, and the 102nd regiment was not effective in persuading the other two Fertilidad divisions to support Lopez, so that the Lopecista threat to O'Brien never materialized.

In POLITICA II, O'Brien managed to remove from effective command the commander of the 102nd, which eliminated the military resources of the Lopez faction. Then the entire remainder of the Lopez faction conveniently combined itself to attempt a pre-election coup in Velasquez City. O'Brien was able to suppress this coup with military support, arrest all of the key Lopecistas, and consign them to jail, where they ceased to be an immediate threat. However, the threat that the military commanders imposed on O'Brien, in order to induce him to take action against Valdez, was that they would release the Lopecistas from jail and allow them to operate against O'Brien.

In POLITICA III, by contrast, two of the three Fertilidad commanders were pro-Lopez at the outset of the game. These two persuaded the third to join them, making it relatively easy for the now-united Fertilidad command to persuade the three remaining provincial commanders to join with them in support of Lopez. Throughout this, Lopez himself never posed a threat to the army establishment, although he remained a threat to O'Brien personally. To the extent that the army perceived a threat to itself, that threat was Valdez, and the reality of Valdez's power was relatively less than the Lopez threat to O'Brien. By the time that Valdez took power in Fertilidad, the army was less concerned with the welfare of the landowners than with the establishment of its own rule.

We conclude from this that in a situation in which there is no major threat to the military establishment (as distinct from a possible threat to the leader of the military), the military establishment is free to refrain from or to play politics as it desires and thereby becomes the pivotal factor in national politics. Thus the goal of legitimate politicians must be to gain the support (or at least the neutrality) of the military establishment. If, as in POLITICA I and II, the military establishment is firmly in control of its leadership, then the objective for the politician is to gain the support or at least the neutrality of that leadership.

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## 5.2 Grenadilla as a Type

Interesting correspondences appear from a comparison of the two games. Both games ended with imminent civil war. In Grenadilla #1 a military government controlling Santa Maria and Fandango was poised to attack the FLN rebel government in Marque. In #2 the APRA government which, with the help of the army, controlled Marque and Verdia was on its way to dislodge the FLN from their commanding positions in Fandango and Santa Maria.

In both games the role of the army was crucial. At about the same point in time in each game a thinly disguised military coup took place, ostensibly in behalf of Hernandez and the CD government. In Grenadilla #1 where General de Freitas and Brigadier Bruno were working together, the whole of the army was behind the coup, Guedalla and APRA were completely routed and Guedalla allied with the FLN. Once the opposition was scattered, the cardboard nature of the Hernandez government was revealed when de Freitas took over the government and declared martial law.

In Grenadilla #2 only Brigadier Bruno was involved in the military coup. General de Freitas had been approached by the landowners who would not promise him that the army would be paid as part of the price of his participation. De Freitas perceived his best course lay in supporting Guedalla which he did throughout. The Bruno/Hernandez faction, with the aid of two regiments, took over the government in Fandango city but could not consolidate their position and were deposed shortly afterwards by de Freitas, Guedalla, and the loyal regiments. It may be inferred that Bruno, with the help of the army, might have disposed of Hernandez as soon as the new government was sufficiently well established. The entire planning for coups in both games was done by Brigadier Bruno, who found, in both games, the majority of his support in conservative Santa Maria. Salivar, the governor, the local garrison, and the local middle class were deeply involved in the planning and recruitment for the coup in both games, although only in Grenadilla #1 did the Bruno/Hernandez group take over Santa Maria.

The army, in both games, ended as a unified force. In Grenadilla #1 the army unity was maintained effectively throughout and in #2, although three regiments supported Bruno against de Freitas in the pro-Hernandez coup, de Freitas managed to isolate Bruno from any army support by the end. Even

the 42nd regiment, which for some time in #2 fought with the FLN, recorded their decision at the end to return to fight for the forces of democracy. As in the Patria series, however, it was clear that no government could subsist without the support of almost the whole of the army. Three regiments were sufficient to topple the APRA government in #2.

The pattern of FLN activity followed a somewhat similar course in both games. In neither could they make any consistent headway with the peasants of Verdia. In both the FLN took over the province for a short time, making a law student and Infidel in #1 and #2 respectively the Governor of Verdia. In both cases the APRA government managed to regain the peasants' apathetic loyalties. In Grenadilla #1 the Minister of the Interior stationed himself in Verdia after the quasi military takeover in the capital; regained the peasants' loyalty and persuaded them to get rid of the FLN and oppose the military government. This action incidentally saved Guedalla from being totally eclipsed in the so-called APRA/FLN front by giving him support clearly differentiated from support for the FLN. In #2 Carreras, the Minister of Agriculture, persuaded the peasants to withdraw their support from the FLN and, by reassuring them of imminent land reform, kept them loyal to APRA until the end, frustrating FLN attempts to repeat Castro's success in the Sierra Maestra.

The FLN were highly successful with their program of industrial sabotage in Marque. In both games the oil fields were closed by wildcat strikes for about one quarter of the game, approximating to some three months in real time. In #1 of course the oil industry was actually nationalized and the agents for the American owners thrown out of the province, although their position might well have been restored by the army. The American owners suffered in both games as in #2 they were compelled to renegotiate the agreement whereby profits were split 50/50 with the government so that the government took 70% for the future. In both games they were compelled to raise wages considerably.

The FLN in both games adopted the tactic of keeping their forces together and keeping one province ahead of the army. In #1 they started operations in Fandango, moved to Verdia and ended in Marque. In #2 they

started in both Verdia and Marque, took both, trapping several army commanders and de Freitas without their troops in Marque, then moved in force into Fandango to take over the government. In neither game did they plan to take Santa Maria, although in #2 Enerves, working completely on his own and without using his terrorist forces, did manage to inspire a 'Workers Revolution' which resulted in a complete defeat of the conservative sections in Santa Maria and a thinly disguised FLN government under the ostensible leadership of one of the industrial workers.

In one major respect, strategies differed between the two games. In #1 the FLN followed a classic pattern of Latin American insurgency by starting with an urban insurrection. This failing, the FLN (as did Fidel Castro) retreated to the hinterland where a solid but limited base was secured. In #2, however, the FLN followed the more up-to-date pattern recommended by Che Guevara, beginning with the development of a rural base (also in Marque) and then snowballing the movement through Verdia and Santa Maria into a march on the capital.

The fate of the APRA government was quite different in both games. In #1 Guedalla ended as part of an APRA/FLN front saved from assassination or eclipse only by his Minister of Interior. In #2 he was in reasonably good shape with the army united in its resolve to support him and the right wing part eclipsed. In both games Guedalla took much the same route to reach these widely different ends. He announced land reform in both games, and made determined attempts to deal with the FLN. He tried to promote industry and foreign investment to placate the urban working classes, and gave, or promised, aid for housing and schools to the slum dwellers. Both Guedallas did their best to placate upper and middle class opinion. In Grenadilla #2 however Guedalla was able to retain de Freitas' crucial support. This was more because the landowners were not willing to commit themselves to the responsibility for army pay rather than because Guedalla played it right. In #1 the right wing elements simply offered de Freitas more assurances. Guedalla was perhaps luckier than he deserved in #2 since he and de Freitas also went out of their way to alienate Bruno, misinterpreting his honest disagreement with their policies towards the FLN as dangerous disloyalty. Without any army support Guedalla in #1 undoubtedly made a mistake by throwing in with the FLN, but he was rescued from the full consequences of this action by his Minister of Interior, and could have started operations again from the APRA stronghold in Verdia. The other Guedalla, with army support, had a much easier task but he also kept a APRA-held Verdia to fall back on.

### 5.3 Inertia as a Type

The "Inertia" scenario was designed to study three major aspects of conspiratorial behavior in a politically underdeveloped country under a long-established military dictatorship. These aspects are as follows;

1. Internal competition among an elite group in a highly-structured situation in which the relative status of individuals is fixed and in which any change in status is dependent on sanction by a supreme authority.
2. Competition among population groups (in this case, "native Inertian" peasants versus an Asian peasant minority imported from the Kingdom of Sarakhan) who are divided by race, religion, culture and direct economic rivalry.
3. Conspiratorial behavior on the part of illegal and relatively weak opposition parties, one democratic and one Communist, attempting to maintain clandestine operations in a tightly-controlled situation. Important interactions here include those between the two illegal parties themselves as well as those between their covert organizations and the population, Government and secret police.
4. Attempts by the secret police to penetrate and expose the illegal parties.
5. The effects of a succession crisis and subsequent power struggle on all these groups and upon the interactions between them following the sudden death of the caudillo.

Until the sudden demise of Field Marshal Subaila, Inertia appeared to be an exceedingly "stable" country. The opposition, whether FLN or RDP, was weak and their activities were necessarily clandestine because of government measures against political activity. Meanwhile, possible threats to stability from within the power structure itself were minimized by rivalries between members of the elite group and by the fact that no single individual had sufficient power or was able to command enough popular support to constitute a danger to the regime.

Despite this apparently stable situation, the Inertian political system was in fact highly fragile in that domestic harmony depended entirely on one man-

Field Marshal Suballa. When Suballa was removed from the scene, political chaos was almost inevitable because no basis for immediate consensus existed. Coups and countercoups took place with the various leaders appealing to population groups for support, thereby bringing previously quiescent elements into the political process. Navarro's unlikely alliance with both the Inertian and Sarakhanese peasantry is a case in point. The sudden political breakdown after Suballa's death also gave the opposition parties a chance to operate more or less openly. With the universal need for allies, the RDP was able to gain concessions from Medina in return for supporting him against Navarro while the FLN was undecided about whom to back, alternating between Navarro and Medina.

In any case, Suballa's death brought the conspiratorial activities which often characterize politics in a country at Inertia's stage of development into the open. Ultimately, the kind of struggle which ensued might well have served to bring Inertia closer to the stage simulated in the "Grenadilla" scenario by forcing the winning side to make concessions to previously illegal or unrepresented elements. It did not appear likely that another full-fledged caudillo would emerge. Even Inertia, then, may be seen as probably entering a stage of political transition.



#### 5.4 POLITICA As A Game

We feel that POLITICA has emerged from the series of experimental plays as a powerful tool for modelling national conflicts and observing their solutions. The game is playable. It can exercise a wide range of political crises. It is capable of operationally expressing the present list of social variables or other variables which may be of interest. It is generally balanced, so that even small changes at the outset (as in POLITICA III, with two, instead of only one, garrisons loyal to the right wing faction) result in different political outcomes. It can easily be made area-specific. Most significant, it is possible to draw conclusions from the game play that are not obvious from the scenario alone. Finally, the game may offer the possibility of the forecasting of the responses of actors and groups faced with a situation which can be modelled in the laboratory.

## 5.5 Feasibility of Computer Simulation

The principal obstacle to programming a computer simulation of any behavioral interaction model is the uncertainty of specific causal or correlational chains. While aspects of POLITICA remain qualitatively defined, and many behavioral patterns have not been described numerically, the quantification and numerical specification of many aspects of the game suggest the feasibility of further quantification and eventual simulation entirely in the form of a computer program.

Even a computer simulation that only grossly represents some of the actors in POLITICA may make possible more sophisticated experiments with the consequences of alternative policies. For example, given the always limited number of human players, a man-machine simulation's capacity to assume the roles of some standard groups would permit disaggregation and human simulation of the micro-structure of other groups. If, on the other hand, more substantive scope were demanded, a man-machine simulation could provide replication from human-played or standardized groups. A man-machine simulation can also be used to test the sensitivity of replicated sequences to individual player or policy differences.

POLITICA has been refined to the point where a man-machine simulation of its operations appears feasible. Whether or not this is desirable depends on the nature of current research and training objectives and the resources available.

## 5.6 Recommendations

It is recommended that POLITICA be refined further by additional test play with varied scenarios, varied players in repeated scenarios, and increased quantification of variables. Validation efforts should then proceed with the exercise of actual historical situations not well known to the players.

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13 ABSTRACT <p>This report presents the substantive contents and test results of the game of POLITICA, a human player simulation of the role of the military and other factions in socio-political conflict in a primarily pre-violent, incipient insurgency situation in an idealized Latin American setting.</p> <p>The game was designed and test played by Abt Associates, Inc. staff members during the last three months of 1965 and early 1966.</p>		

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