

DARE

Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning

Understanding the Mechanisms of 1989 in Europe - a Simulation on Regime Change for Use in Youth and Adult Education

Complete Manual
with Actors Cards and Facilitators' Package

DARE BLUE LINE EDITION

Simulation developed by:

Humanity in Action Deutschland e. V. & Fundacja Humanity in Action Polska



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Foreword

This simulation is a collaborative work in progress. It was developed and tested by *Humanity in Action Deutschland e.V.* (www.humanityinaction.org/germany) during a seminar on the 1989 regime changes with 15 international students and educators in spring 2009. The experts' support by Simon Raiser and Björn Warkalla (*Planpolitik*, www.planpolitik.de) and the guidance and financial support of the German *Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur* (www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de) helped to create a pilot format of the simulation, allowing dissemination and further use in adult education.

The simulation proved to be an excellent educational tool for understanding the political and social dynamics of the 1989 regime changes in Europe:

- Through active role play, participants have to immerse into the positions of all relevant groups.
- In the negotiation phase participants experience liberties as well as boundaries of action.
- A simulation focuses on solutions and compromises – like in real-life politics.
- The inclusion of all important stakeholder groups and a minimum duration of 4 hours allows to raise awareness for complexity and uniqueness of the 1989 revolutions

In cooperation with *DARE – Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning* (www.dare-network.de) and the Polish partner organisation *Fundacja Humanity in Action Polska* the simulation was publicly presented at the *Geschichtsforum09 / History forum09* (May 2009 in Berlin) and tested with an audience of 30 European educators.

The results of this second “test run” and all updates until August 18, 2009 are documented here. For regular updates, additions, alterations and other improvements of this of this manual please check: www.dare-network.eu or www.humanityinaction.org/germany.

Are you interested in using the simulation? Please contact us and share your experiences! With your help, we can update and improve the simulation manual constantly. Please contact Anne Stalfort at Humanity in Action (a.stalfort@humanityinaction.org), or Georg Pirker at AdB Germany (pirker@adb.de).

This simulation was made possible by countless contributions of many volunteers – be it outlining the actor's profiles, leading and evaluating workshops, or writing, editing and proofreading texts. Thank you!

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1. Information for simulation game facilitators

1.1 Some basics about simulations as an educational tool

“In a simulation, participants take the roles of the relevant protagonists, having to make a convincing presentation of their positions and aims. Exploring these mechanisms through active role play leads to a more sustained, in-depth understanding of the subject matter – and it’s a lot of fun!

Politics is a matter of negotiation. Who gets what? And how much? The aim is to unite conflicting interests and to reach decisions concerning the distribution of money, power, security, autonomy etc. Usually, negotiations consist of tough and lengthy wrangling about what appear to be small steps of progress and minor compromises. Outside observers often find it difficult to understand why negotiations or attempts to settle conflicts succeed or fail. Which concessions have made an agreement possible or which demands have prevented it? Which strategic considerations are the actors led by? What scope are they given within institutional, domestic and other constraints? Which negotiation strategies are successful?

Simulating conflicts and negotiations provides a playful way of learning and understanding the political dynamics behind them. This is the exact goal of simulation games. After a negotiation or conflict situation has been chosen, the participants of the game proceed to assume the roles of the different parties and agents relevant to that situation. They have to represent their “character’s” interests convincingly and aim to make them prevail in negotiations. In order to achieve this, they must determine any existing scope for negotiation, use it to their advantage and recognise situations which call for compromise.

A simulation will, of course, never perfectly reflect reality. A simulation game is an abstraction which inevitably involves a certain amount of simplification. The main focus lies with the aim of exposing the main driving forces and mechanisms of political decision making. Also, in a reflection of reality, crucial steps of negotiation are usually reached in an informal fashion.”

(Quote from <http://www.planpolitik.de/en/simulationgames.htm>)

1.2 Scenario outline

- The simulation is set in “Allonia”, a fictitious communist country, member of the likewise fictitious Marxist Union, an international coalition of Communist Nations.
- There is a general climate of discontent and economic depression. Due to recent food shortages demonstrations have started and are quickly getting more powerful.
- If the status quo is maintained, the demonstrations threaten to become so massive that revolution will occur. Therefore the simulation participants (7 parties / interest groups / other important stakeholders; all in all 16-30 participants) have to take action.
- The actors are representatives of:
 - Commonwealth of the Peoples Republics

- Democratic Workers Party – Hardliners
 - Democratic Workers Party – Softliners
 - Secret Intelligence Service
 - Opposition Movement / Peace & Religion Movements
 - Trade Unions
 - Intellectuals
- The goal of the game is *to find a solution that is acceptable for all the parties to the negotiations – a common statement accepted unanimously is to be reached.*
 - The participants should *try to identify themselves with their roles*, and should be *creative when implementing* it – whatever fits their character, but is not included in the scenario – is acceptable (or if they have doubts about it – they can always ask the facilitator of the game)

1.3 The “solution” (=common statement)

The common statement should have three sections (= paragraphs / top issues):

- changes in the state's political system
- economic/labour issues
- political/civil freedoms.

Each statement should contain about five sentences and should be prepared by particular sub-commissions in several versions in order to allow options for choosing and negotiating between the actors.

The final statement therefore has the following structure:

1. section of political system resolutions
2. section describing decisions concerning the economic system
3. section describing the agreed changes on political and civil liberties/rights

Each section should be prepared in several variations in subcommissions (which will be constituted representatives of the actors, one representative of the actor in each subcommission) and then decided together on the plenary meeting, what kind of solutions will be chosen.

Note – in case the participants won't reach the common statement within the time provided (which is likely!) – ask them to meet for 5-10 minutes in their teams and decide what further steps their actors will take. They can collaborate with other teams here.

Each actor has the option of 'nasty' action alternatives to the round table negotiations:

1. A large number of Marxist Union soldiers (about 500.000) are still stationed in Allonia. The Marxist Union may thus decide to make use of their military power in order to 'help' Allonia to re-establish 'in the country
2. The leading political party of Allonia could use either the Marxist Union troops, or introduce martial law, or use their national security service against the opposition
3. The trade unions of Allonia have enormous support from the workers – they could organise mass demonstrations, but most severely – they could claim a general strike and therefore practically stop the state's entire industrial production

4. The Peace and Religious movements could organise mass demonstrations. They also have strong links to some of the Western powers (that are for example financially supporting their movement) and the Vatican.

However, it *should be clearly stated, that all parties are reluctant to use these resources*, because once used these 'actions' will act on their own and no one could control whatever happens afterwards.

1.4 The Issues (=sections of the common statement)

I. Political Reforms

- Multi-Party system
- Free/transparent elections
- Introducing separation of powers
- Limiting the power of the Security Services

II. Political Freedoms

- Freedom of travel (possibility for passport-open border)
- Allow unionization
- Freedom of assembly
- Freedom of speech
- Freedom of the press

III. Economic Issues

- Privatization
- Working conditions
- Economic liberalization
- Stop food rationing
- Open borders for trade
- Relative disparity in economic power with neighbouring countries

The façade-reforms as provided for the participants:

- lowering the retirement age
- waiving the censorship towards Western literature, but only those books which are older than XIX century
- introducing an additional national holiday
- allowing to build new churches, but without providing any financial support (including the land) from the state
- Withdrawal of a relatively large yet insignificant number of Marxist Union soldiers based in Allonia (50,000 or even 100,000)
- Shortening the compulsory military service from one year to 9 months
- Offering some 'special' friendship gesture from the MU to Allonians – allowing annually 20 students from Allonia at MU's universities without tuition fees (de facto allowing them to deep communistic indoctrination)
- Allowing registration of trade unions, but only of they are leftist
- Allowing the citizens to legally buy/keep 50\$ for personal usage (=slightly opening the currency market, but only in a minor area)

1.5 The Actors

A) Representatives of the Marxist Union/Moderators:

- Want to preserve the stability of the system and dependence of the satellite country.
- They desire to retain their role as “big brother” in the region – but want to be perceived as the ‘helpful friend’
- Their main aim is to find a solution and make other actors come to a solution
- They understand the importance of the process and what they want most is preventing violence and revolution

B) Members of The Party:

- Only political party present in the public life of Allonia, strongly under the influence of the Marxist Union
- Aware of the facts that some sort of change has to happen. And that if they don't anticipate the events, these will be uncontrollable and detrimental to them
- Attempt to keep up the appearance that everything is fine
- There is an ongoing rivalry between the factions of the party, which is, however, unknown to the public and the opposition as political decisions used to be made behind ‘closed doors

B1) The Party, Hard-Liners:

- Personally and politically close to the Marxist Union.
- Created the Communist System approximately 40 years ago with material support and instructions from the MU.
- Old guard
- Prefer the system as it is and are opposed to actually reform
- Opposed to party soft-liners who are gaining more power/influence.
- Utilize the security service to spy upon the soft-liners.
- Close relationship between Security service and Hardliners.
- Are negotiating with social movements for the first time.
- In case the system collapses, they want to be guaranteed that no penal liability will be imposed on them. They should be given warranty to retire peacefully (without losing their privileges) or the possibility and resources to leave the country
- When it comes to economic reforms – they are likely to introduce the “façade-reforms”, but if it won't be enough: then they can agree on ‘some liberalization’ for trade – but only within the communistic bloc (and with some limits, contingents, quotas)

B2) The Party, Soft-Liners

- Members of the younger generation that realizes that the system needs change and it is imperative that they act.
- Aware of the coalition between the hardliners and the secret service.
- They desire some political and economic reform.
- Opposed to the hard-liners.
- Political changes: Reduce the power of the security service, in favour of partially free and transparent elections
- Economic reforms: fully opening border for trade within the communistic bloc, cautious opening for Western markets – only in non-strategic sectors, limited by value, size (contingents, quotas etc.), strong state's control over the trade with the West

C) Security Service

- In alliance with the Hardliners, and through them strongly connected to the MU.
- Distrust all sides.
- Aware of the fact that when the system breaks down, they may cease to exist.
- In case the system collapses, they want to be guaranteed that no penal liability will be imposed on them, and that they will the option of deciding internally, who from the agents can stay in the service (and organize some new security units in the new system). The other should be given warranty to retire peacefully (without losing their privileges)

- As for granting any kind of political or social freedom –they are generally opposed to change! The furthest they would go is granting greater freedom as for social interaction, i.e. general accessibility to phones or greater freedom as for inter-regional travel.
- One of the secret agents is a catholic intellectual. S/he was blackmailed into working for the secret service as they discovered his/her illegitimate child.

D) Social Movements (Peace and Religiously motivated movements)

- The Church of Allonia functions as a sort of ‘umbrella’ protecting socially and religiously motivated movements – regardless of their religiosity.
- They all want change, but do not have a specific agenda as there are many various interests involved. In general, however, their focus is on social and religious matters rather than economic change.
- Hope for change, and intend to bring all the small groups together.
- They recruit their members from ‘the people’ and are strongly connected with them. They function as the people’s voice.
- They suspect they might have some secret agents among them
- They want the Security Apparatus to be abolished and the files to be open.
- They want to change the system into democratic one, including changing the constitution (=continuing the round table talks) and having free election
- As for economic reform: they have only vague and blurred idea of ‘better working conditions’ and ‘stopping food rationing’ – but in fact they are all white collars and therefore hardly any of them has any idea what precisely should be done here

E) Trade Unions

- Illegal, spontaneously set up, unregistered.
- Experience difficulties in the system.
- Voice of the workers.
- Possible employee is in the security service
- Main goal: improvement of social standards (opening of the borders for the exchange of consumer goods).
- Brain drain problem
- Concerned for the current situation, hope to make the economy more competitive.
- Don’t feel very competitive towards ‘huge’ reforms – although they have some general support for democratization – they are ok with both fully and partially free elections
- They are in favour of some autonomy for local governments (as in their opinion better understand the local enterprises/labour needs)
- As for working conditions they want:
 - Allow free unionization
 - Working day – maximum 8hours per day
 - Paid overtime
 - Introducing trade unions’ representation in the state government (or some kind of special commission that the government should be obliged to consult)

F) Intellectuals – will be given separate role papers, will hardly constitute a group, will be to ‘mess up’, ‘stir’, ‘meddle’, ‘confusing others’ etc.

- Presenting their own opinion, not group interests
- Swing vote
- Concerned about the situation, undecided about revolution or reform.
- They survived the system without censorship, have some personal connections to the party.
- Have so far acted within the confines of communist doctrine.
- Recognize that life is changing in a negative manner.
- Feel the pressure of the security service.
- They have the respect of the public.

F1) Diehard communistic ideologist – Prof. Erich Morar

- Is 100 % familiar with all publications written by Karl Marx
- truly believes in the socialistic systems, blindly praises the ‘idealistic’ communism

- believes that what we have now is only the 'Realsocialismus' and they should head for the ideal one
- naturally supports the Marxist Union and the hardliners, although is criticizing them as well, because in his opinion they 'do it wrong' with achieving the ideal communism
- have little political sense, pretty academic
- uses 'communistic' vocabulary – all these <social class, revisionists, proletariat, class conflict, public enemy, exploitation of workers, alienation of work, means of production, bourgeois> etc.

F2) Two catholic intellectuals – well educated, journalists, with some previous work at a university – one is a 'pure' one, one is a secret agent

F2a) workers' oriented journalist - Kaylene de Mag

- 100% catholic, 100% anticommunist
- Want to come to terms with the past, punish all the guilty ones etc.
- The nation and God are the biggest values
- The unions and social movement have in his/her opinion a potential to take over the power
- He/she is a pretty big authority among the workers
- not specially liked by the Peace and Religion Movements leaders – he/she used to be part of the peace movement, but stopped because she believed that the social movement is too vague and it's the trade unions that are 'concrete' and can push some changes through (but still – the leaders are more against the communists than him/her)

F2b) the secret agent priest – Falco Zach

- plays a good catholic etc.
- Was blackmailed by the security service, when they discovered that he/she has illegitimate child that would destroy his/her career and public image if it was published.
- Supports façade-reforms, using 'caring' arguments for this, like-people are not ready for such changes, we shouldn't act rashly, we should take it easy, we should think twice before putting people, and especially priests, at risk, that acting unreasonably might be harmful to the church etc.

1.5.1 Table of actors interests

ACTOR	Marxist Union	Hard-Liners	Soft-Liners	Security-Service	Peace & Religion Movement	Trade Unions	Intellectuals
1. SIZE (4h game / 6h)	2 persons / moderators	3/6 persons	3/6 persons	2 persons	3/6 persons	3/6 persons	3 persons
GOALS	<p>Wants to preserve the stability of the system and dependence of the satellite country.</p> <p>Wants to preserve military presence of the MU in the country.</p> <p>Puts pressure on the party members to act in the interest of the Marxist Union</p> <p>They desire to retain their role as "big brother" in the region</p> <p>They are opposed to all types of actual reform.</p> <p>Desire to introduce "façade-reforms" to alleviate the tensions of the demonstrations.</p> <p>Have a strong connection with the Hardliners</p>	<p>Party members</p> <p>Only party present in public life, under influence of MU Aware that something has to happen. Keep up the appearance that everything is fine Constant competitions between the factions (competition is unknown to the public, till that time everything was behind closed doors).</p> <p>"Old guard"; close to Marxist Union; created the Communist System in Allonia ca. 40 years ago with material support and instructions from the MU</p> <p>Prefers the system as it is-opposed to the softliners who are gaining more power-/influence.</p> <p>Utilize the security service to spy upon the softliners</p> <p>Are negotiating with social movements for the first time; are opposed to actual reform, rely on the security apparatus and MU to undermine the importance of the social movements.</p>	<p>Young generation that realizes the system needs change and it is imperative that they act.</p> <p>Aware of the coalition between the hardliners and the secret service.</p> <p>They desire political and economic reform.</p> <p>Opposed to the hard-liners.</p>	<p>Connected to the Hardliners, and through them to the MU.</p> <p>Distrust all sides.</p> <p>Aware of the fact that when the system breaks down, they may cease to exist.</p> <p>Are in an alliance of convenience with the Hardliners.</p>	<p>Peace movements under church umbrella</p> <p>They want change, but do not specify the change, one may be an informer for the security services.</p> <p>A lot of different interests, but economy is not a priority.</p> <p>Hope for change, and intend to bring all the small groups together.</p> <p>Have a connection to the people.</p> <p>Voice of the public atmosphere.</p>	<p>Illegal, spontaneous, unregistered.</p> <p>Experience difficulties in the system.</p> <p>Voice of the workers.</p> <p>Possible employee is in the Security Service</p> <p>Main goal: improvement of social standards (opening of the borders for the exchange of consumer goods).</p> <p>Brain drain problem</p> <p>Concerned for the current situation, hope to make the economy more competitive.</p>	<p>Presenting their own opinion, not group interests</p> <p>Swing vote</p> <p>Concerned about the situation à undecided about revolution or reform.</p> <p>They survived the system without censorship, have some personal connections to the party.</p> <p>Have so far acted within the confines of Communist doctrine.</p> <p>Recognize that life is changing in a negative manner.</p> <p>Feel the pressure of the security service.</p> <p>They have the respect of the public.</p>

ACTOR	Marxist Union	Hard-Liners	Soft-Liners	Security-Service	Peace & Religion Movement	Trade Unions	Intellectuals
POLITICAL REFORM			Reduce the power of the security service. For free and transparent elections.	-Maintain the scope of the services of the Security Apparatus. Utilization of force to silence dissent.	Abolish the security apparatus. For a Multi-Party system. Introduce a separation of powers.		Create a commission to oversee Security Service Activities
ECONOMIC REFORM		Open border just for trade.	Economic liberalization. Some privatization		Working conditions -Food rationing	Working conditions	
POLITICAL FREEDOMS/CIVIL LIBERTIES		Reduce restrictions on travel (less stringent visa laws)	Reduce restrictions on travel, speech, and assembly.	no changes!	Freedom of Travel Freedom of Assembly Freedom of Speech	Allow unionization	Freedom of Press, Speech, Assembly

Recommended number of participants:

The party: hard-liners 3 -5; soft-liners 3–5 / Security service: 2 / Peace & Religion Movements 3- 6 / Trade Unions 3- 6 / Intellectuals 3 / Moderators:2

Note: for the groups with flexible number, the group should be always equal, so, e.g. if you choose to have 4, then in all the 'flexible' groups. The difference in 5/6 maximum is because of the 2 security service representatives – always add them to the total number of participants on the government side.

Minimum - 18 people, maximum – 30. You can consider also an option with bigger 'main' (party + opposition) teams, like having 6-7 people, and then only representatives go to the round table, the rest can still run the informal talks, or sent messages or recommendations, call for a break etc. – then you need more time for the game! It is problematic a bit, because you need a precise number of people - the groups should be equally strong. But the 'small' groups (Marxist + Intellectuals) give you some option for 'manipulation' with the number of participants.

1.6 Action cards for game facilitators

These are your 'rescue cards' or a Plan B, in case the participants don't 'get into the game' and might need some more, external incentives in order to deeper involve in the game. You may use them also to boost the action, if this is needed. But: do not use too many of them, as the participants may become less creative.

- the political leader of the Marxist Union dies
- the small peaceful demonstration in a minor town somewhere in the state is pacified by police – a young boy get injured by bullet and dies in a hospital few hours later
- the communistic system in a neighbouring state collapsed after mass riots. The situation there is very unstable, there are rumours of tens of deaths
- one of the opposition leaders is prized with Peace Nobel
- some serious domestic problems in a Western power, that was strongly financially supporting the opposition, causes the suspension of the donations
- they have just discovered that one of the leaders of the opposition was stealing the money collected by the members to finance the movement
- one of the hardliners during the ongoing negotiations is having some kind of brainwave and shifts towards democratization. He/she publically and dramatically states that he/she was always loyally serving the system while believe the system is good for the people, but now realized that he/she was fooling themselves and now doesn't want to live in a lie anymore.
- one of the opposition leaders gets bribed and joins the party (he/she was given a well-paid position)

1.7 Simulation structure / schedule for game facilitators

(first version: 6 hour game / second version: 4 hour simulation)

1. Introduction (20 min /10 min)
2. Reading phase (20 min / 15min)
(Consider sending the background info in advance to all the participants)
3. Developing opinions / planning strategy (30 min / 30min)
(Approach each team/participant and make sure they know what to do, what the game is about and what their concrete task is)
4. Separate talks in the party and opposition milieux (45 min / 30min)
5. Informal talks (all together 40 min / 30min) *
6. Formal negotiations – 1st round (45 min / 30min)
(After a short opening it is recommended that groups divide into subcommissions that will work on several variations of statement's paragraphs)
7. Informal talks – 2nd round (40 min / 20min)
8. Formal negotiations – 2nd round (60 min / 30min)
9. Debriefing (60 min / 45min)

**Points 5-8 are suggested only, as the participants may initiate breaks and get-togethers suitable for them. During that phase facilitators should 'step back' and give the power of organizing the game to*

the moderators – it's their task! Make sure in advance, that the moderators know what they are to do - and make sure YOU know what they are to do! Read all the descriptions in advance and have a copy of each description for yourself – so you can easily refer to each actor.

The **introduction** should include:

- a short information about playing a simulation game, focus on this specially if you have a group with little to none experience with simulations
- the schedule – it should be also written on a visible place, like a flipchart or on a wall
- a brief presentation of the fictitious country Allonia and of each actor – the names of the actors can also be prepared on paper and displayed
- the *aim* of the game (see information above)

The **debriefing** should include:

- disclosing the information about one's figures, aim and objectives, so the others will understand why they were behaving in certain ways during the game. The ones with 'dirty secrets' should make it open – if they were agents etc.
- talking about the identification with the figures, the emotions and feelings it caused. What was interesting, tough, challenging for the participants
- a phase of discussing the game itself – ask participants on their opinion on the purpose of the game. What did they learn?
- wrap up the discussion, thank your participants for committing to the game and taking this challenging task.
- always ask for anonymous feedback!

Do not underestimate the debriefing phase. Give the participants time to 'leave' the game and talk it over. Take care that comfortable conditions are provided, sit in circles.

2. Information for the simulation participants

2.1 Introduction to the Simulation Scenario: Civil Unrest on the Streets of Allonia

Revolution! The word appears to be upon everyone's lips. For the first time in decades, the citizens of Allonia have taken to the streets. On the streets of the Sipa, the capital city, 80,000 demonstrators rallied in the city square and agitated for increased civil and political liberties. In the industrial center of Coslow, laborers protesting oppressive work conditions openly clashed with officers of the once-feared Secretariat for Internal Security (SIS). In the coming days, the demonstrations threaten to become ever bigger, the demands ever greater, and the possibility of revolution, ever more real.

Even a short time ago, such agitation seemed impossible. For years, residents abstained from voicing opposition to the regime, fearing they would draw the attention of the Party. The Party came to power 57 years ago, having forced out the previous Fascist regime with the aid of foreign allies in a brutal war that cost millions of lives. The Party initially enjoyed the support of the population, pushing an agenda of nationalization of industry, collectivization of property, and isolation from potential fascist influences of other countries.

However, these policies quickly translated into economic stagnation as the industrial infrastructure suffered from an exodus of skilled laborers and a lack of trade with non-socialist nations. Early demonstrations were repressed quickly and mercilessly. Organizers were arrested as enemies of the State and many were never heard from again. The Secretariat for Internal Security was created to monitor civil groups for signs of dissent and had the authority to imprison activists indefinitely and without charge.

The power of the Party was mainly predicated upon the support of the neighboring Marxist Union. Of the foreign allies during the anti-fascist war, the Marxist Union by far contributed the most material support. The Marxist Union represented then, as it does now, the pinnacle of Socialist Power in the known world. In Allonia, the threat of military intervention from the Marxist Union has prevented democratic movements from ever publicly challenging the regime.

In the years since the foundation of Allonia, conditions have only worsened. The Party, ever paranoid about dissent in its population, has severely restricted political freedoms related to speech, press, and assembly. The borders are now not only sealed to trade, but to travel as well. As the economy has suffered, the Party has demanded more and more out of a shrunken labor supply, creating oppressive working conditions.

However, a gust of change has slowly blown over the land. A new generation of Party members, more concerned with economic re-development than anti-fascist credentials have taken a more pronounced role within the Party ...

2.2 Basic information on the fictitious country “Allonia”

- Population: 18 millions, 98% Allonian
- Geography: lowlands 46%, highlands 54% - of which 12% mountains; sea border – 291 km
- Religion: 71% Catholics, 19% atheists, 6% Muslim, 3% other
- Currency: alute (ALU)
- Agriculture: organized in the State Agricultural Farms (SAF)
- Public television: ALTV, 2 programmes, state-controlled
- Capital: Sipa (2,5 million inhabitants)
- Other cities over 1 million inhabitants: Coslow – the biggest industrial center (mining, heavy industry, military production); Chwaleiq – port city, shipyard; Gadegard – textile industry

- System: people’s republic, communistic
 - established 57 years ago in the so-called Glorious Revolution that wiped out the fascist government (which itself took over the power 25 years later, overthrowing the king Anton Louis III)
 - President: Goran Bar - in office for 16 years already. Recent rumors of him having a heart attack spread and warmed up already hot situation on the streets.

- Member State of the Commonwealth of the People’s Republics (CPR), the international organization of the communist countries, with the leading role of the Marxist Union, the biggest and most important communistic state in the world. Its capital Wenberg is the world’s biggest centre of communistic ideology, both politically and academically.

- previous civil unrests:
 - 40 years ago – first massive demonstrations after introductions on further limits of civil liberties (fatality cases: at least 40, interments – over 700; the Party refused to openly confirmed any numbers)
 - 27 years ago – similar situation, street demonstrations after brute pacification of a strike in Coslow’s coal mine; (over 400 arrested, 34 death toll)
 - 8 years ago – massive demonstrations in Ralavia, neighboring communistic country. In both cases intervention of MU troops stopped the unrests.

2.3 Issues on the agenda of the round table

1. Political Reforms
 - Change into multi-party system or keeping the mono-party one
 - free, partly free, transparent elections
 - introduction of separation of powers
 - Limiting the power of the security services

2. Political Freedoms
 - Freedom of travel (possibility for passport, open borders)
 - Independent unionisation
 - Freedom of assembly
 - Freedom of speech
 - Freedom of the press

3. Economic Issues
 - Working conditions
 - Privatisation
 - Economic liberalization
 - Food rationing
 - Open borders for trade
 - Relative disparity in economic power with neighbouring countries

3. ACTOR CARDS

Actor Card A

Moderators:

Representatives of the Commonwealth of the Peoples Republics

Actor Card B1

Democratic Workers Party (DWP) – Hardliners

Actor Card B2

Democratic Workers Party (DWP) – Softliners

Actor Card C

Secret Intelligence Service (SIS)

Actor Card D

Opposition Movement

Peace & Religion Movements

Actor Card E

Trade Unions

Actor Card F1

Prof. Dr. Erich Morar

Diehard communistic ideologist

Actor Card F2a

Intellectual

Kaylene de Mag

Actor Card F2b

Intellectual

Falco Zach

Actor Card A

Moderators:

Representatives of the Commonwealth of the People's Republics

You are the representatives of the Commonwealth of the People's Republics, delegated by the organisation to moderate the round table talks in the state of Allonia.

The situation in the country became a real issue of international concern. The communist governments in other socialistic republics are well aware that if the current events will overthrow the regime in Allonia, it will be only a matter of time when the same will happen to them as well.

Shortly after the information about the unrest in Allonia was passed to the leaders of the CPR, an special summit was held. The head of MU, Mr. Eberhard Gierk, was furious, because he already has enough problems in his own country. The council of CPR decided, that an observer shall be send to Allonia, possibly even offering their mediation help to Allonians, which will actually give some possibilities to still control the situation and attempt to influence it in the most desirable direction – this is, to calm down the unrests and preserving the communistic system.

Your offer to be a neutral moderator of the talks has been welcomed by the Allonian government. The rebellion movements accepted that as well, probably fearing military intervention.

You have a natural strong connection with the hard-line fraction in the Democratic Workers Party and significant response from the SIS, as they closely cooperate with the security system of the MU. However, the Party members themselves are not crucial for you in here. If replacing the old guard with some fresh blood will appear to be a suitable measure, you will sacrifice them. Then you only should take care that the new chosen government will not be willing to introduce any significant changes.

You want to preserve the stability of the system and the dependence of all the satellite countries to the Marxist Union and the Commonwealth, as this is the best way to preserve the influence over as large a territory as possible. You want to preserve military presence of the MU in the country, because you believe this will be the best prevention measure for possible uprisings or overturns of the governments. You put pressure on the members of the DWP to act in the interest of the socialistic international milieu, that they are also a part of it. You know that the Marxist Union desires to retain their role as the "big brother" in the region, but wants to be perceived more as the 'helpful friend' and 'protector' of the working people of Allonia and of the world peace.

You are opposed to all types of actual reform, but you are instructed to act as a neutral mediator. All your real activity should be then hidden and limited to informal talks, so in public you will keep your image as a neutral arbitrator.

You hope that introducing the co-called façade-reforms will alleviate the tensions of the demonstrations. They could be like that (although you're open to other propositions):

- lowering the retirement age for a year
- waiving the censorship towards Western literature, but older than XIX century
- introducing one more national holiday

- allowing to build new churches, but without any financial support (including the land) from the state
- 50,000 (or even 100,000) reduction of the 500,000 MU's army based on the territory of Allonia
- Shortening the compulsory military service from one year to 9 months
- Offering some 'special' friendship gesture from the MU to Allonians – allowing annually 20 students from Allonia at MU's universities without tuition fees (de facto allowing them to deep communistic indoctrination)
- Allowing registration of trade unions, but only of they are leftist

Allowing the citizens to legally buy/keep 20\$ for personal usage (=slightly opening the currency market, but only in a minor area)

Marta Kopesh – comes from Ralavia, educated thanks to the new system, which was giving extra points to students with rural or labour background, former headmistress of a foster home, fully believing in socialism; currently working for the Ministry of Information and Public Education in Ralavia

Larry Raine – comes from the Marxist Union, a lawyer educated at the University of Wenberg, party member since his student time already, always loyal to the system, for many years he used to be the mayor of Wenberg, currently in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Marxist Union.

Actor Card B1

Democratic Worker's Party (DWP) – Hardliners

You have been with this state from the first moment on. Back in the days you were the ones who ensured the support from the Marxist Union, picked up the guns to free the country from the former fascist government and brought the salvation of communism to Allonia.

You put all your heart and effort into Allonia and made sure that it can be what it is today – an honest democratic workers state.

As many other young people in those times some of you in your twenties went to study, enjoy life and experience the exciting time of a new regime in the Marxist Union. There you got inspired by the idea of communism. Until today you are convinced that communism is the future. Through university and political activities in the name of communism you gained contact to Marxist Union's state officers. They helped you to get trained, provided arms and political support from the Marxist Union and to install the DWP as a single party in Allonia.

Living through these first rough days makes you very close to your colleagues – and ensures that you still have personal friends within the Marxist Unions. You will never forget that they helped you to gain power and install communism in Allonia. They helped you to really understand what communism means. They have been a loyal and securing big brother during all these years.

But lately you disagree more and more with the dangerous liberal politics of the Marxist Union. You think they might have the same problems as you have in Allonia. A bunch of young, inexperienced greenhorns think that they are now what is best for the state! The so-called Softliners don't know what it means to live under a bourgeois dictatorship! The young party members haven't fought for the communist freedom like you have! Of course true communism asks for sacrifice – but in the end there will be a just society. There is no way that you will give up so close before the finish line. The workers will have to work a bit harder so you will be able to take back the food rationing and everything will be fine again.

Of course you are not naïve as well. Leading a state is not easy – especially not if you have to fight against the class enemy. Therefore together with the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) you make sure that the slightest action against the state or anti communist attitude in the society is squelched. Therefore you encouraged the SIS to install a fine network of informers within the society. Regarding the protests you are even willing to give further competences to the SIS. You don't worry about the loyalty of the SIS – the head of the SIS is one of your best friends back from the days at university.

But on the other hand you are worried as well. Lately the SIS gives you more and more information on agitation and insubordination within the society – and even worse within your own party. Even one of your close friends, the well respected intellectual Erich Morar criticises your politics as not communist enough.

You have the feeling that you are losing the grip of the state – especially because the Marxist Union is no longer willing to give you armed support. You are not sure if you can put down the revolt with your own arms.

But the real threat in your eyes is not coming from the streets or from the unions or the movements – but from the softliners within your own party. The young party members don't understand that if you loosen the grip a little bit everything will fall apart. The softliners are not aware that they are giving the power away and therefore betraying the communist idea itself. You are not willing to share the real power with them. Especially because you are afraid that if they gain more power and get access to the SIS they might undertake unpleasant inquiries about incidences in the past which you were involved in.

Facing the revolts and mass demonstrations on the street you know that something has to happen. At least you have to create the illusion that something will change. Therefore for the first time after years of sole reign of your party you are willing to talk with actors from the society. To improve the economic situation you might even offer them to temporarily open the borders for trade and as well to loosen the visa recruitments, so people can travel easier out of the state and in it. You would be happier if the changes are more symbolic than anything else but to ensure that you stay in power you are willing to make some concessions.

And don't forget! There is one loyal friend left - the SIS agencies might be able to give you some inside information's on the strategies of other actors.

Your representatives at the round table:

Goran Bar – president of Allonia for 16 years, truly committed both to the state and to the communistic ideology, but loves power as well. Recently had some serious cordial problems, but still believes that he's still well enough to rule for some years more.

Elisabeth Zopp – Minister for Media and Public Information, responsible for propaganda, controlling the media and ensuring that the circulation of certain ideologies is limited; newly appointed – eager to show to her principals, that she was worth it.

Vladimir Radko – Minister of Home Affairs, governs the police and other public services, stiff and down-to-earth, when needed treats people instrumental. Rules and order are the main values for him. Very effective, has been in office for several years.

Actor Card B2

Democratic Worker's Party (DWP) – Softliners

You are the young generation! The stories about the glorious victory of the DWP with the support of the MU 57 years ago you have heard only from your parents or grandparents or read about in your history books. You are still devoted to the idea of communism – but you want a communism that is able to ensure a dignified life for everybody. Honest payment for honest hard work! And criticising the system if it's not living up to the communist standards!

You supported the food rationing because you are aware that if you don't do anything now there will be nothing left to eat in the winter. But as well you speculated that some resistance will appear and you could use them to put some pressure on the hardliners to introduce some reforms. But at no time you were expecting mass demonstrations with this size!

But maybe this is your moment! The moment you can finally get rid of some of the old guards within the party! For you the hardliners are a bunch of old man which lost contact to reality and still longing after the old days where they were the communist hero's and when the economy was fine. Till that moment you were trying to keep the division within the party out of public concern, but the situation gives you a chance to take over. The facade- unanimity of the DWP is no longer beneficial to the state, so you have decided to oppose the old guard.

But the reality has changed today. There is need for reforms within the system. To achieve a just communist society there is a need to open up the borders to trade with the neighbours and not only within the MU and other fraternal communistic states. The strict centrally planned economy could be even improved by some privatisation in some way or the other.

The mass demonstrations also show that there will have to be some sort of liberalisation on political grounds. Within limits you could imagine to reduce restrictions on travel, speech and assembly. By this way you might buy some peace within the society.

But you are aware that the main issue is the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS). Not only in your eyes it is one of the influential power-instruments of the hardliners – but also are people sick to be under surveillance all the time. You are aware that the SIS operates a very effective and wide spread net of informers within the society. The information gained by the SIS is passed on to the hardliners. This way the Hardliners are always prepared to act and to squelch any slightest disobedience. You even have the feeling that sometimes the Hardliners are as well very well informed about your own strategies. Therefore one of your main goals is to cut down the competences of the SIS. For example no person should be brought to prison without a charge anymore or the SIS should be further controlled by the party as a whole. This position would make you popular within the society – and cut down the power of the hardliners. If you would gain access to the archives of the SIS you even might be able to find some information on the hardliners which you could use against them. 40 years ago a smaller revolt has been defeated with arms – until today it's not clear if the MU send its troops on its own or because the hardliners asked them for help.

So to sum it up: you want to get ride of the hardliners and gain power yourself. Therefore you are willing as well to cooperate with actors form the society. You think especially the trade unions has some good ideas how the economy could be improved. But you know as well that some civil liberties would be good to appease the demonstrations. And you need some peace to install the communism you vision yourself after you thrown over the hardliners and got ride of the influence of the MU.

Your representatives to the round table are: **Ronald Magdo**, **Anne Gernhoff** and **Antje Ahorn**. All of you are in your mid-thirties, married and kidded. All have tertiary education, in social and political science.

Actor Card C

Secret Intelligence Service (SIS)

Your role is very important in this game. You are one of the main power instruments of the current government within Allonia – the Hardliners. You are the reason why Allonia is still present and functioning the way it does today.

You highly respect your sister organisation within the Marxist Union. They managed to install a surveillance apparatus which is close to perfection. You learned a lot from them. Your goal is to employ as many informers as possible to know each and every moment what is going on within the society and the other actors. For that you don't hesitate to recruit wives, husbands or children which spy within their own families. Each instrument to put pressure on a potential informer is welcomed by you.

In this game you have managed to recruit some informers within different actor groups. Ronald Magdo of the Softliners and Zachary Welch of the trade unions are both working for you. However, your informer within the trade unions is not responsive since many months, so you hardly have any use of him. However, you recently gained a very, very important source: you blackmailed one of the religious leaders, the catholic priest Falco Zach. His illegitimate child was enough to persuade him to openly support the façade-reforms the Party prepared.

You have to be cautious when you try to contact them and get some information on the strategies of their actor groups – if their fellow colleagues' get that they have informers within their own groups they might not share any information with Ronald and Marta anymore. Maybe you could even try to recruit an informer from the religious movement. You have heard that Simon Mueller wasn't as peaceful as he should have been in the past. On a photo of the demonstrators during the revolt 40 years ago he is carrying a gun on one of the pictures? Who shot first again at this event – the demonstrators or the army of the MU?

You pass on to the hardliners the information you gain. Your loyalty is clear: you are devoted to the hardliners. The secretary general of the SIS has been studying and fighting side by side with the hardliners in the time of the foundation of the MU.

But actually lately you notice more and more disobedience and dissatisfaction with the current government. You have the feeling that the disobedience is spreading more and more. It is not only restricted to smaller organised groups anymore but in the minds of hundreds of thousands. With your competences you are not able to keep track of all the developments. You are in need for more competences and you push for it during the discussions. More surveillance should be possible.

But if you rethink the situation with all the mass demonstration maybe it would also be a good idea to think about alternatives. Who knows how much longer the hardliners are able to stay in power? For you the worst case which could happen is if you have to open your archives. You know that if the public realises how deeply rooted you are in the society and just how many informers you have and with which methods you recruited them, that wouldn't be good for the SIS. As well as you are guarding some delicate secrets about the role of the hardliners during the revolts 40 years ago in your archives.

Maybe it would be an option to support the softliners and offer them some information – perhaps even on the hardliners. The crucial for you is to evade any clearance of SIS – you want to keep your secrets secret and your people safe from accusations.

But knowing that you yourself are questioning your loyalty towards the hardliners makes you think you doesn't. Your distrust towards everybody else even increases. Maybe your colleague next to you even has a different strategy than you do!

The facade-reforms:

- lowering the retirement age for a year
- waiving the censorship towards Western literature, but older than XIX century
- introducing one more national holiday
- allowing to build new churches, but without any financial support (including the land) from the state
- 50,000 (or even 100,000) reduction of the 500,000 MU's army based on the territory of Allonia
- Shortening the compulsory military service from one year to 9 months
- Offering some 'special' friendship gesture from the MU to Allonians – allowing annually 20 students from Allonia at MU's universities without tuition fees (de facto allowing them to deep communistic indoctrination)
- Allowing registration of trade unions, but only if they are leftist
- Allowing the citizens to legally buy/keep 20\$ for personal usage (=slightly opening the currency market, but only in a minor area)

Your representatives at the round table: **Zohra Kollwitz, Till Floyd, Frank Rytz**

Actor Card D

Opposition movement Peace & Religion Movements

Ever since the new regime established itself as the single dominant representative of the people in Allonia after the defeat of the fascist threat, it aligned itself to the doctrine of the Marxist Union. One of the consequences was that all the religious institutions were de facto outlawed, their work curtailed and closely monitored by the Security Intelligence Service, and much of their property confiscated by the State. The Catholic Church has been under special scrutiny, since, apart from the obvious threat its existence posed to the ideological path the Party intended to take, it also was deemed as a serious political threat. The Party never approved of the Vatican's pulling the strings and having even a minute influence on the population of Allonia. Therefore, the men of the cloth, from the low-ranking priests to the highest church officials, have constantly been suspected of espionage, contriving with the external enemy of the State, and it wasn't rare that the State resorted to foul means to suppress their activity – from threats of violence to imprisonment and even murder.

However, even in such a hostile environment, the Church has managed to persevere with the help of many contributions, not the least of which came from abroad, and not always by legal channels. This financial aid that's been coming covertly from the sources in the West was not without strings attached and politically neutral and, combined with the negative experience the Church and its supporters have had within the borders of Allonia, the Church became one of the most adamant critics of the current Regime.

Along the way, the Church allied itself with the like-minded people from the various local opposition movements. These underground groups were often allowed to hold their secret sessions in the premises of the Church, and, not surprisingly, they shared common stands on many issues involving democratic reform and civil liberties. However, the efforts of these groups have incessantly been undermined by the clandestine work of informants who infiltrated the movements on behalf of the Secret Intelligence Service, reporting on their activities and membership. One could never tell with complete certainty whether there was a traitor to the cause in their midst.

In all the years of working against the regime, the opposition movements which sprang from the people's dissatisfaction with the regime and the Churches which have traditionally been close to the common folk have had a direct insight into the popular sentiment. Even when the Party deluded itself in the early years of the regime into thinking there was no dissent among the people and that they enjoyed an unconditional support of all Allonians, the Church's ear was to the ground. Over the years, the Church gained the reputation among the opposition groups that they were the legitimate leader in seeking reforms and more – the complete abolition of the dictatorial regime.

Since the protests broke out in the streets of Allonia, the opposition movements, steered by the Church, have begun to come out of the shadowy backrooms and basements and make themselves heard. Somewhat lukewarm and hesitant reactions of SIS, who, to everybody's surprise, have underestimated the extent of popular discontent, have given an ample opportunity for the first truly massive protests in years to evolve, uncurbed by the police. The Church and the opposition

movements did support the worker's demands for a higher appreciation of their labor, but have never explicitly stated the economic issues as their priority. The latest protests caused by the terrible work conditions and food deprivation are, however, an opportune moment for the Church to jump on the bandwagon of the popular dissatisfaction and advocate their objectives.

Although all the different fractions and movements within this loosely connected brotherhood contesting the Party's right to power have their share of disagreements and push their own agendas, they all agree that the only satisfactory end of the recent turmoil in the country can be the dissolution of the Party and wide-ranging democratic reform. They therefore motion for the free elections featuring several, democracy-oriented parties as candidates to take place as soon as possible. The main points in their common program are concerned with civil liberties, the most prominent being the freedom of assembly and freedom to travel. The Church is also pushing for the right of people to profess freely their religious beliefs and practice the religion of their choice. This conveniently coincides with Church getting their lands and real estates back since, obviously, people need to have churches to attend the service.

One of the most uncompromising and relentless demands of the opposition movements is to dissolve the secret service, which they consider their arch enemy. You credit the secret service with many unlawful imprisonments of your fellow oppositionists and charge them with illegal tapping of the phones, countless cases of intimidation, extortion and blackmail. For the benefit of the whole society and the individuals harmed by the SIS, you, as the opposition movements demand the SIS archives to be opened and used to absolve the innocent of the accusations, and indict the responsible figures in the Service for acts of espionage against their own people. In order not to have show-trials, but fair and just courts, the opposition movements are stark proponents of the separation of powers and an independent judicial system.

Your representatives at the round table: **Henriette Lisht, Mark Larson, Lena Baroud**

Actor Card E

Trade Unions

In the beginning, it all looked perfect. The promises of the Revolutionary Government given during the war for the liberation of the homeland were made true. The vast areas of arable land were taken from the landowners and given to the hardworking peasants; the factories were nationalized and entrusted to workers for self-management. Everyone was given a chance to earn their daily bread. The initial industrial recovery was extraordinary and the reconstruction of the state was undertaken at a staggering pace. The socialist ideal, which people of Allonia were transferring into reality, was a matter of pride and all workers and peasants of Allonia were envied by the rest of the world for their tremendous progress.

At least that's what the party officials had been saying.

And in the first couple of decades of the regime's time in power, the majority of population firmly believed in the party propaganda. However, as the time passed, it was not easy to hide the fact that the economic disparity between Allonia and its western neighbors was steadily increasing. For Allonians it has been getting more difficult to buy quality goods, go on a vacation, and owning a new car has become a ridiculous thought. Nevertheless, even though the life in Allonia was not as peachy as the party portrayed it day in and day out, in spite of all the hours the workers invested at the work place, everyone enjoyed a significant level of social security. The basic commodities were never scant and every worker could put the food on the table. Until now...

It came as a shock to workers in the third largest city and the industrial center of Allonia, Kozlow, when the government announced that it will be introducing food rationing because there was a shortage of food. It was unconceivable that after they put in so many hours of overtime and even after they forsook a part of their yearly leave and acceded to yet another reduction in salaries that they should go back to the food rationing system like the one in the time of war.

The last straw, however, was when president Goran Bar refused access to food and supply convoys from the west which were sent in response to distress the western countries witnessed in Allonia. This made the workers abandon their work posts and go to the streets, calling for the borders to be opened at once so that the convoys can enter the country without hindrance. If the state was unable to provide its population with the basic sustenance, then the workers would prefer to see the western products fill the empty shelves in the Allonian department stores.

Prior to the outbreak of the demonstrations, all workers were members of a single, state-wide syndicate which was supposed to protect the workers' right and interests. However, in the period leading to the crisis which culminated with the riots, it became transparent that the the only people the syndicate has been protecting all along were the party functionaries. That was why over night the workers substituted the Syndicate an interim, provisional body of Allonian Workers Union spearheaded by the people the workers chose among their own ranks.

Needless to say, the government condemned this illegal and unauthorized unionization, and in fact proclaimed latest developments in Kozlow to be counter-revolutionary. The Security forces were sent

to suppress the workers, but that only added fuel to the fire. Now, the laborers even talk about marching to the capital and overthrowing the government themselves.

The government, already facing a rebellious mob in the streets of the capital Sipa, is quite eager to avert a crisis which now threatens to explode into a nation-wide revolution. AWU (Allonian Workers Union) has set out a clear set of demands which have to be complied with, if the government wishes to appease the workers. Apart from the request for the immediate acceptance of the foreign humanitarian help, the list of demands covers also the long term issues of interest to state-employed Allonians. They request from the government to undertake reforms which will make the Allonian companies competitive on the international market and prevent the brain drain experienced in the recent years. AWU still believes that the people's government is the best form of government, but if necessary, it would like to see some reforms in the social system. If the government is unable to lead the Allonian companies out of bankruptcy, then they should be privatized.

Furthermore, the AWU is to become the official Syndicate representing the rights of the workers, and a provision for the creation of other local unions for specific trades is to be written into the constitution. The workers also demand to be adequately paid for their work and make a stipulation that the right on 8 hours work days in a 5 work day week can not be violated by the government. Although AWU is generally in favor of the democratization reform, their main concern is the economic issues. Therefore, their demand for the decentralization of the government has little to do with politics, but is founded upon their belief that if regional governments were given more autonomy, they would be more apt to respond to the looming economic disaster due to their inherent understanding of the local economic climate.

Trade Union's Representatives:

1. **Lech Stalfish** – electrician from the Chwaliq's shipyard, in his late forties, married to Ursula, a florist, a father of two (both in high school)
2. **Wilma Sprout** – livestock technician at State Agricultural Farm in Leknica, a village 60km north from Chwaliq, married to Randy, a vet. In her early fifties. Has a daughter, who also studies veterinary medicine
3. **Zachary Welch**– coalminer, shortly before retirement age, have secondary education, married to Maria, who works in the mine's administration, 3 kids - the oldest son works in the mine as well, middle daughter studies Allonian philology to become a teacher, youngest son is in high school. Used to cooperate with the SIS for some time, to protect his father-in-law, who heavily involved in publishing banned books, by "distracting" the secret service with fake or irrelevant information. You informed your friends about it so they could provide you with some data like that. Several months ago you stopped cooperation.

Actor Card F1

Prof. Dr. Erich Morar Diehard communistic ideologist

You are a professor emeritus at the Sipa University, however you are still active within the academia, publishing books, giving lectures and working at the National Academy of Sciences. Your scientific output is continuously respected and very often cited. You are a popular and widely respected individual, often commenting on current events on the national TV channel, ALTV. You are perceived as the state's best specialist on the communistic doctrine and one of the best worldwide.

You have read all that was written concerning communism and socialism since 19th century and you are still a strong believer that the scientific communism is both the best philosophical system and political ideology ever. You know by heart all the Marx's publications, even woken up in the middle of the night you would be able to recite the Communist Manifesto without any single mistake.

You take pride of the fact that you have chosen the communistic path as a teenager already, volunteering at the age of 15 as a member of communistic guerrilla that subsequently, after receiving the Marxist Union help and support, took over the power in the state of Allonia.

Graduating summa cum laude from political science at the Sipa University, you followed to obtain a Ph.D. at the University of Wenberg, the capital city of MU, which was known for its best centre for interdisciplinary studies on communism. Afterwards you came back to Sipa as an assistant professor and after a few years became a full professor. Moreover, for many years already you are a teacher at the National School of Public Governance and most of the top politicians of the state were your students at some point. Therefore the Party members respect you and fear to openly introduce any reform that you might dislike.

You naturally support the Marxist Union and the hardliners within the Party, although you do not spare criticisms, when they introduce politics you find detrimental to the path to the 'ideal' socialistic state. You accept the fact that the current system is only the imperfect 'real socialism', but believe that the politicians could do better with aiming and achieving steps to reach the ideal socialism. You are aware of the tangible situation on the streets, but you do not really get it, why the workers turned out against the state that was created in their class interest. You are not sure, whether this will lead to a revolution and you are not sure, whether revolution might be a good opportunity for introducing the ideal socialistic system.

You have many influential friends in the Marxist Union and Allonia, as well as in other fraternal communistic states. Your social network is very expanded, although it is mostly among academicians. Your best friend is the former head of SIS, who during his time in office gave you his protection umbrella, so you were never tempted to become an agent. Actually, you were serving the system openly, so in your opinion there has never been a need for you to enroll as an agent.

You have little political sense and are pretty academic. However, you believe that your experience and knowledge entitles you to claim for attention when it comes to the state's governance.

You use the 'communitistic' vocabulary – all these *social class, revisionists, proletariat, class conflict, public enemy, exploitation of workers, alienation of work, means of production, bourgeois* etc.

A few days ago some important representatives of the Party asked your for a meeting. The Party is truly concerned about the situation in the state and decided to meet with the social movements to somehow calm the pressure in the nation. They presented to you their ideas, which basically are nothing else than some sort of façade-reforms aiming on cooling down the people, but preserving the system itself. You decided to help them. However, you are willing to somehow use the situation to push the reforms towards the 'ideal' system.

The façade-reforms draft include such ideas as:

- lowering the retirement age for a year
- waiving the censorship towards Western literature, but older than XIX century
- introducing one more national holiday
- allowing to build new churches, but without any financial support (including the land) from the state
- 50,000 (or even 100,000) reduction of the 500,000 MU's army based on the territory of Allonia
- Shortening the compulsory military service from one year to 9 months
- Offering some 'special' friendship gesture from the MU to Allonians – allowing annually 20 students from Allonia at MU's universities without tuition fees (de facto allowing them to deep communitistic indoctrination)
- Allowing registration of trade unions, but only if they are leftist
- Allowing the citizens to legally buy/keep 20\$ for personal usage (=slightly opening the currency market, but only in a minor area)

You understand the gravity of the situation and therefore you will rather restrain from criticizing the government openly. Nevertheless, if they want your help and your support, they'd rather stick to the rules of communism!

Actor Card F2a

Intellectual

Kaylene de Mag

You are a journalist working for the state's only weekly periodical on politics, named "Forward". You specialise in social and sociological issues and you wrote some significant reportages on working conditions in the enterprises and the state's policy towards the working class. You have been publishing in this particular paper for the last 7 years.

Previously you worked at the "People's Rostrum", the state's only daily newspaper, which you left after you discovered in the archives some data suggesting that your supervisor is probably working for the secret service. Luckily for you, you have hidden the real reason, claiming that you leave because of your third pregnancy and your will to spend some longer time at home with your kids.

You are in your mid-forties. You have a loving and caring husband Jacob and three kids, Wenke (17), Barry (13) and Raji (10). Your husband is a well-known, respected engineer, working in the construction industry. You two met in Sipa, where you were studying social sciences and Jacob was pursuing a degree in architecture. You married already before graduation and you are still a very happy couple. Your family is a great value for you. It is a traditional, old-fashion one, with prayers before meals and so on. Faith and tradition are very important for you.

You are purely anticommunistic, but you only recently started to show it openly. You are aware that this means putting your job at risk, but right now living according to your beliefs is now more important for you. Your attitude changed some months ago, when your mother Natalie confessed to you that the man you believed for your whole life to be your father, is not your biological father. He died of cancer one year ago and your mother kept the secret even some time after his death. Your step-father, called Al de Mag, was one of the most important trade union activist, one of the first to start organising independent (and most often illegal) trade unions in enterprises. He have even spent some time imprisoned, because he refused to stop his activity as well as to betray the names of his companions. The horrifying part of the story is that your real father was one of the Party's that-time prominent leaders that had a love affair with your mother. He paid her for keeping the secret and this money was a significant help for her to support you during your studies.

After a time of a big shock, you decided to refuse to acknowledge your biological father and to treat your remembered in peace 'real' father as the only you had. Therefore you have decided to continue his work on the way to people's freedom and to abolishing the communistic system. You are widely recognised in the society, especially by the blue collars, both as a popular and respected journalist and as your father's daughter. You have a feeling that you owe something to the society and that you should not waste the capital of trust that is in your hands.

You find the system more and more rotten and detrimental, and you want it to be wiped away immediately. You want all the archives to be opened, guilty ones to be punished and the system changed according to what the citizens want. However, you don't truly believe in this 'spontaneous' social movements. Admittedly, at the beginning you used to be part of the peace movement, but then

you severed because you believed that the social movement is too vague and it's the trade unions that are 'concrete' and can effectively push some changes through. In your opinion it is the unions and not the social movements that have the potential to take over the power.

You are aware that you might not be specially liked by the peace and religion movement leaders, as you somehow "betrayed" the case when openly stating that they are not strong enough to make a change. But still – the peace movement leaders are more against the communists than you, you hope. You have a common goal, after all.

Actor Card F2b

Intellectual

Falco Zach

You are a catholic priest and a social activist.

You are in your fifties and you are a country parson in a small parish 40 km east from Sipa, the capital of Allonia. Ten years ago you obtained a Ph.D. in theology, focusing on the charity policies of the Church. You also work part-time at the University of Sipa, where you give lectures to theology students.

You have a rural background, your family since centuries were poor peasants and farmers. You were the first in your family to obtain tertiary education. You have studied theology and philosophy at the University of Coslow and you were ordained to become a priest some time later by a widely-respected archbishop Atilla Grubegern, who currently governs the archdiocese of Sipa.

However you are proud of your personal success and your role in the movement to improve the situation of the Church as well as of living standards of the common people of Allonia, you have many complexes that sometimes are not easy for you to hide. As a kid of a peasant you were given extra points when applying for the university and you don't like the idea that actually you were helped by the system that you are fighting against now.

You are lacking the social and cultural background of the elites and sometimes you don't feel at ease when contacting other people. Sometimes you simply don't know how to behave.

You are respected for your intellect and many publications concerning the role of religion in people's lives. For many years already you are very active in volunteering at the Red Cross, Caritas and some other catholic organizations. You like working with simple people, helping and supporting them on the lowest, organic level. You are widely known for your untypical charisma when preaching (although it seems to disappear in face-to-face contact) and for your untypical ability to write homilies that reach the common people's hearts.

But there is a flaw on your perfect image. A few years ago you had committed a sin that caused many dramatic consequences. You fell in love with a woman and didn't manage to fight the feeling. But what is worse, this relationship ended up with pregnancy. The Church managed to hide the information from the public so its and your opinion did not get hurt. Officially you are a god-father of your 6-year-old illegitimate daughter. You have stopped the relationship with this woman and since then you live in chastity.

Two years ago the secret service paid you a visit and 'proposed' cooperation. They had discovered the real identity of your god-daughter and threatened you to disclose the information in public. You couldn't allow that. Even if you could pay the price for your mistakes, you couldn't jeopardize the public image of the Church and people's trust in it. Moreover, if this information had been disclosed, it would have ruined not only the image of the Church itself, but also the moral authority of most of the prominent clergy involved in the shady dealings, including His Excellency Archbishop Grubegern.

Therefore the blackmail was successful and you became a secret agent. You know that you had no other choice but you felt really bad in the situation. You are given instructions on how to teach the priests-to-be, what policies you should support during your sermons and similar. A couple of weeks ago you were given untypical instructions. Due to the civil unrest in the state the Party decided to meet with the representatives of the trade unions and the opposition movements. You will be asked to participate in these talks as an advisor. Your task will be to provide some fake 'religious' or 'social' justifications for the façade-changes the Party is to propose. You are to somehow support them, using 'caring' arguments for this, like: "people are not ready for such changes", 'we shouldn't act rashly', 'we should take it easy', 'we should think twice before putting people, and especially priests, at risk', that 'acting unreasonably might be harmful to the church and to confessors' etc.

Here you can find the list of the façade-reforms provided for you by the Secret Intelligence Service:

- lowering the retirement age for a year
- waiving the censorship towards Western literature, but older than XIX century
- introducing one more national holiday
- allowing to build new churches, but without any financial support (including the land) from the state
- 50,000 (or even 100,000) reduction of the 500,000 MU's army based on the territory of Allonia
- Shortening the compulsory military service from one year to 9 months
- Offering some 'special' friendship gesture from the MU to Allonians – allowing annually 20 students from Allonia at MU's universities without tuition fees (de facto allowing them to deep communistic indoctrination)
- Allowing registration of trade unions, but only of they are leftist
- Allowing the citizens to legally buy/keep 20\$ for personal usage (=slightly opening the currency market, but only in a minor area)

Of course, you will try to support the Church and the opposition movements in any area, that you're not directly instructed to act according to your perpetrators' will.

4. Feedback and follow-up tasks

Collected at the simulation presentation and test run on June 29, 2009 (DARE meeting / History Forum 09); workshop facilitated by Marta Kozłowska and Wilhelmina Welsch

Participants' feedback:

1. Simplify the language and shorten the description a bit – but without losing the essential information on the role/situation;
 2. Add at the end of each actor card a clear outline of the main interests and aims of the particular actor, preferably in bullet points – so the participants will not lose time on picking the essential info from the description; and will be easier for them to quickly get back to it during the game;
 3. There should be a short information on how an actor should approach other actors – are they friends, potential allies, foes – do they trust each other or are they cautious?
 4. For the debriefing a meeting with an eye-witness will be an asset. Or play it in a mixed group of youngsters and people who have lived during communism.
 5. Prepare an additional charter with some information on typical elements of everyday life in a communistic country.
 6. How about the "nasty actions" – we have them in the scenario outline, and they can make the game even more spicy. But we haven't included it in the game we played at DARE conference and it worked without that information. Do we want/need it?
 7. Include an information on the description of the moderators - what tasks has he/she concretely? What should they prepare and what aim they want to reach with the negotiations? They should be informed on how to run negotiations.
- give some intro to the 1989 changes in the different countries, as well as a collection of common limitations of basic freedoms pre -89 in one or more countries.

Facilitators' feedback:

- Moderators have to be chosen in advance and voluntarily take the role, as they're crucial for the smooth coordination of the talks. The other roles can be randomly distributed.
- In the role description of the SIS they should be encouraged to investigate other players, to attempt to win more informers, either by blackmailing or bribing.
- The general description on the roles, presenting each actor briefly so the participants have an idea on 'who is who' in the game should be either included in the introduction part or prepared by facilitators on a board.
- The participants didn't reach the common statement in the end. So, as part of the debriefing, we've asked them to meet in (role) groups for 5 up to 10 minutes to decide, what steps will they take next, as the agreement was not reached during the talks.
- Additionally, we used the following debriefing questions: How did you feel playing your role? What do you think about simulation games as an educational method? How can we improve the game? What did you like most? What did you not like? What would you add/skip in order to make the game better?

Want to know more?

A **download version of this brochure** with all updates and added materials since August 18, 2009 is available at:

- www.dare-network.eu,
- or www.humanityinaction.org/germany.

Are you interested in using the simulation? Please contact us and share your experiences! With your help, we can update and improve the simulation manual constantly. Please contact:

- Anne Stalfort at Humanity in Action (a.stalfort@humanityinaction.org),
- or Georg Pirker at AdB Germany (pirker@adb.de).