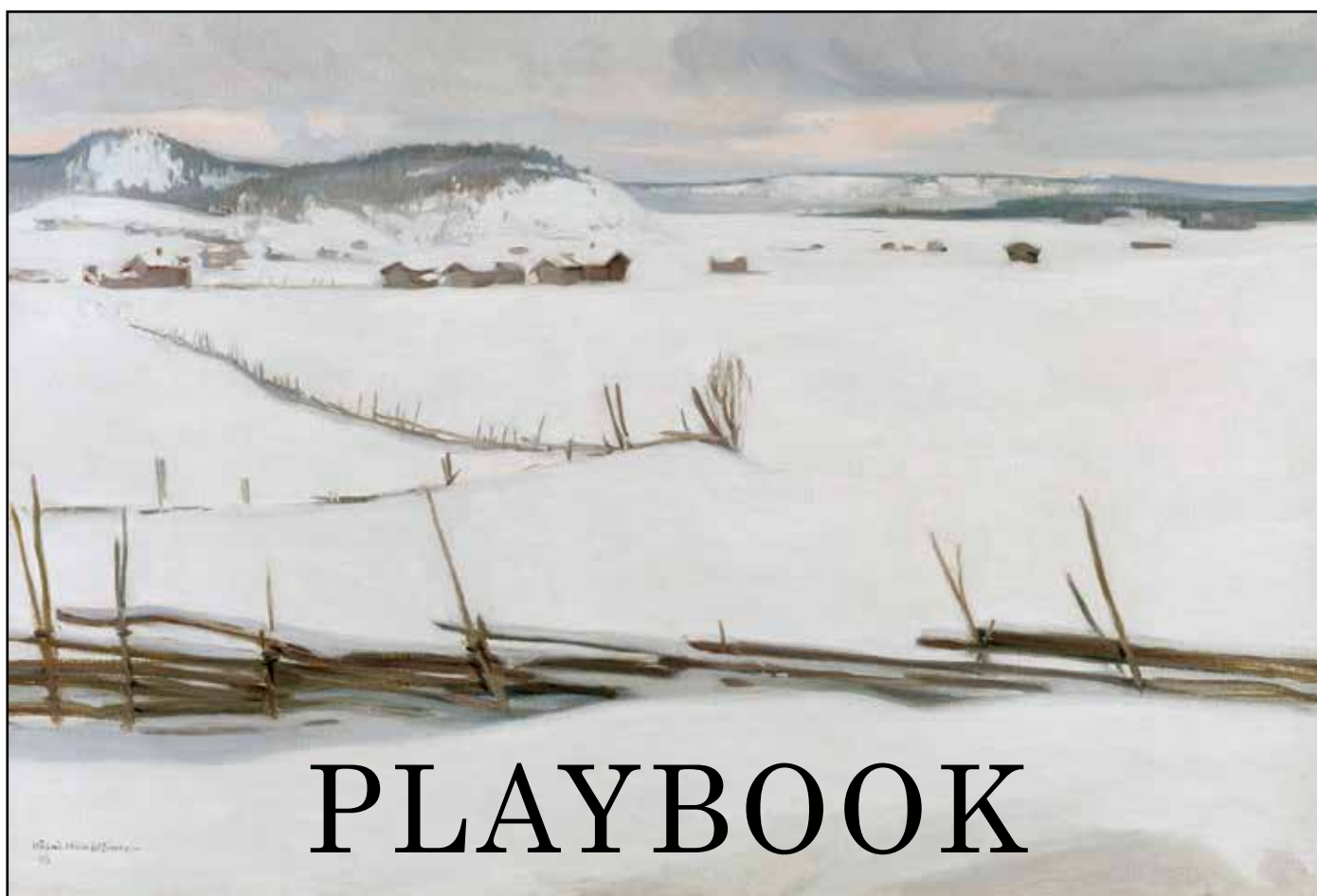


# All Bridges Burning: Red Revolt and White Guard in Finland, 1917-1918



## PLAYBOOK

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction .....	2	Selected Sources .....	37
Historical Background .....	2	Series Creator's Notes .....	38
Faction Introductions .....	5	Series Developer's Notes .....	38
Faction Aims & Interactions .....	6	Designer's Notes .....	38
Examples of Play .....	8	Credits .....	40
Non-Player Examples of Play .....	21	Guide to Pronunciation .....	40
Events Background .....	29		

This is the "Living Playbook" document for the game. It includes updates and clarifications to the original rules. To aid readability, updates and clarifications are indicated in blue text.

## Introduction

### Welcome to the *All Bridges Burning* Playbook!

This Playbook begins with an historical overview of the Finnish Civil War for players not familiar with the conflict (see below). Events Background information on each of the game's Event cards provides a deeper look at the history behind each card (page 29).

The Playbook also provides guidance to new players in the form of detailed examples of play designed to ease players into the game (page 5). Examples of play for running the game's solitaire system are also provided. Examples of play start on page 8.

To help players understand the different concepts and mechanics included in *All Bridges Burning*, the Playbook includes short Faction introductions—also containing strategic and other game play information (page 4).

Finally, the Playbook also contains a Selected Sources section with reading recommendations (page 37).

## Historical Background

*All Bridges Burning* takes players to the northern edge of Europe, more specifically, to Finland. The year is 1917. Finland is not yet an independent country, but a semi-autonomous province of Tsarist Russia. By March 1917, however, the Tsar will have abdicated and Russia will be rapidly descending into internal turmoil.



Developments in Russia are seen in Finland as a great opportunity for the country to obtain its long-desired national independence, a goal shared by all political factions in the country—be it the representatives of the working class (the Reds), those of the bourgeoisie and nobility (the white Senate), or the moderates in the political center ground (the blue Moderates).

Finland, however, remains backward socioeconomically. Near-feudal conditions still obtain in many parts of the coun-

tryside as serfs live and work on the owner's lands, paying for that right by providing labor or produce, all while the ability to participate in the political decision-making is based on their income and ability to pay taxes. At the same time, rapid industrialization is creating conditions for rising class conflict in the growing urban centers.

In the power vacuum created in Finland by the troubles in Russia, and after much political haggling, independence is declared in December 1917. Meanwhile, class tensions build up as both the working class and bourgeoisie mobilize their supporters. Violent, often bloody clashes had begun to occur in the context of strikes and demonstrations throughout that year.

Events come to a head in January 1918, as the Finnish working class movement stages the Red Revolt, bringing most of the larger towns and localities in southern Finland under working-class control. Only a month after the declaration of independence, the country has drifted into civil war between hastily assembled Reds and Senate armies.

A bloody civil war is fought, ending in the Senate's decisive military victory by mid-May of 1918. The German Imperial army, which landed in Finland in April 1918, plays a key role in the Reds defeat.

\* \* \*

In the historical literature, the Finnish Civil War is usually depicted as a two-party struggle between the Senate and the Reds—the Whites versus the Reds, or the bourgeoisie versus the working class. *All Bridges Burning*, however, makes a case for viewing the conflict as a three-party affair. Why?

Historically, the Senate forces won by suppressing the Red Revolt, yet arguably, the real winners were the Moderates, a mixed group of individuals—including from both the Reds and the Senate factions—opposed to civil war and championing national unity, parliamentary democracy, and sociopolitical reform. In game terms, the Senate defeated the Reds militarily. But at the same time the political work conducted by the Moderates secured the political survival of a reformism that was then able to take political root in the post-war period.

The game views the Senate victory as an unqualified victory for "activism," a term which originally referred to the activism of early Finnish nationalists against Tsarist Russian rule in Finland. Activism, however, gradually took a more and more radical form, culminating in the attempted right-wing coup against the Finnish state in 1932 (the so-called Mäntsälä Rebellion).

By 1918, these activists had already shown signs of abandoning the project of national reconciliation. They had taken determined steps towards politically suppressing working class agitation. Possibly the clearest sign here was the project of turning the country into a monarchy and installing a German prince as the king of Finland. This was justified on the grounds that were Finland allowed to become a parliamentary democracy, the working class—including the Bolshevik

communists among them—would soon wrest back political control and socialism would follow. The best antidote for that was to give ultimate political say to a strong, non-elected leader, a king. For more details, see the event background text to #45 FATE IN THE BALANCE (page 30).

In addition to this kingmaking episode, there was a certain preparedness in the white Senate—also called the Vaasa Senate in reference to the town from which the Senate leadership operated during the Red Revolt—to accept wide-ranging German influence in the country at some expense to Finnish independence.

The Finnish historian Seppo Hentilä wrote (Jussila et al 1999: 116-117):

As early as December 1917, immediately after the declaration of independence, the Finnish government deliberated over whether or not to request military assistance from Germany. In mid-January [1918] it proposed to Germany that Jägers should be sent home to Finland [see Event #10] to form the core of the country's future army, and requested the necessary armaments for an infantry division. [...] Sending troops to Finland was on the Germans' agenda even in mid-February 1918, but only when it suited their plans: they broke the armistice with Russia, and to improve their strategic position decided to send 'military expeditions' to the Ukraine, the Baltic lands and Finland to crush the Bolshevik revolution on the Russian periphery. But in order to implement this plan, Germany needed a request for help from Finland. Accordingly, on 14 February the representatives of the Vaasa Senate in Berlin, Edvard Hjelt and Rafael Erich, presented a memo to the German high command, without reference to the Senate, let alone its permission, requesting the dispatch of troops to Finland 'to save [our] fatherland from imminent defeat'. A week later Germany announced that it consented to the Finnish request. Thus Germany had in effect invited itself to go to the aid of White Finland. [...] In fact, Hjelt and Erich were obliged to sign, on 7 March, three agreements with Germany that were most disadvantageous to Finland [...] Finland was not permitted to concede any privileges to a third party without first referring the matter to Germany. With the trade and maritime agreement, Finland granted Germany economic preference. The secret cost assurance, which was confirmed by an exchange of diplomatic notes, effectively made Finland a German military bridgehead: it would be obliged, when required, to grant Germany the right to establish bases for its naval forces 'anywhere within Finnish territory'.

In game terms, an unqualified Reds victory would have seen Finland become a socialist state closely aligned with the Bolsheviks in Russia. The Finnish working class, however, was far from being uniformly ideological Bolsheviks. The most recent scholarship identifies grave inequalities

and near-feudalistic societal structures, especially in the countryside, rather than socialist or communist ideology as such, as the driving motivators of most rank and file Reds. A watershed moment in the process of recognizing the plight and motivations of the rural working class, in particular to join the Red Revolt, was the 1959 publication of the novel *Under the North Star* by Väinö Linna that quickly became a modern classic (see Selected Sources on page 37). At the same time, the ideological connection between Finnish and Russian Bolshevism was strong. Many of the leaders of the Red Revolt in Finland were said to have been "professional revolutionaries" with close connections to Russian Bolsheviks (Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 117). Coordination of revolutionary activity between Finnish and Russian Bolsheviks took place in the fall of 1917 (Lehtinen & Volanen 2018). Some of the Reds leadership that survived the Finnish Civil War would go on to pursue political careers in Soviet Russia (many of them, ironically, were to perish in Stalin's purges).

In reality, a Reds military victory was perhaps never in the cards. For one, the Senate army—and even more so the 13,000-strong German contingent that landed in Finland to assist the Senate forces—were always going to crush the untrained Red Guards. In April 1918, the Germans landed on the Hanko peninsula, southwest of Helsinki, advancing from there to capture Helsinki and a number of other localities in southern Finland. By contrast, despite an estimated 40,000 Russian troops garrisoned in Finland in early 1918, in the end only a small number of Russian volunteers fought on the Reds side.



*Red Guard militia pose for effect. Lack of proper military gear tell of the poor, possibly non-existent training received by most militia that fought in the conflict.*

In addition to the military challenge, an even more significant challenge for the Finnish working-class movement would have been the construction of a working socialist society. In the game, the Reds Administration discs represent organs of civilian and other administration that the revolting Reds historically attempted, but ultimately failed to establish. As the Finnish historian Risto Alapuro (1988: 174) put it:

The socialists, unlike the Whites, therefore devoted considerable attention to consolidating the administration at the expense of military development. To be sure, to a certain extent this task was necessary. Practically the entire central administration had deserted [once the Red revolt broke out in January

1918], and the Social Democrats had to work hard to keep it running — another indication that the revolutionary polity did not result from the fragmentation of the old polity but that power was being seized by another polity, whose members had been only marginally involved in the old one.

In the game, the Moderates abstractly represent groups of moderate-minded socialists and bourgeoisie as well as, and more abstractly still—centrist or broadly speaking social democratic political ideals. In the historical period, the Finnish Social Democratic Party represented the Finnish working class, yet the social and political reform process was important not just to the Social Democratic Party, but enjoyed wider support also among the self-confessed bourgeoisie, such as the seminal Finnish novelist Juhani Aho — one of the people represented by the Moderates Personality marker in the game (4.3.1).

On 26 March 1918, as rumors of the fall of Tampere to Senate forces and the impending end of the Red Revolt were circulating in Helsinki, Aho recorded in his diary a meeting between “about ten persons influential and active in different walks of society” (1918c: 104 ff.). Throughout his diary, Aho is an ardent critic of the Red Revolt, yet the gathering, which was chaired by Aho was unanimous on the urgent need to find reconciliation along pathways strikingly reminiscent of the Social Democratic manifesto published in 1917—land reform must be instituted, a broad amnesty must be issued to Red Guards other than their leadership, and more. Aho summarizes a discussion point of the meeting as follows:

[W]idespread among the working class is the sincere belief that the Reds are fighting for justice. Do we not see thousands of them unflinchingly sacrificing themselves for their putative cause? That builds upon a certain seriousness. We have to recognize that. We cannot return to the old forms. A new society must be built. We must begin with a confession of sins. The causes that have led to this situation must be eliminated.

More details on the war-time activities of the Moderates, and how these are modeled in the game, can be found in the Event background texts to #38 TANNER ABROAD and #30 MEETINGS IN THE CATACOMBS below.

\* \* \*

Central to the concept of victory in *All Bridges Burning* is the level of Polarization, which thematically depicts the level of national unity and preparedness for political compromise across the political spectrum.

Senate and Reds will be unable to win the game if Polarization—combined with the Vassalage level of the friendly foreign Power (Germany and Russia, respectively)—exceeds a certain threshold (7.0). Such circumstances represent Finland becoming a failed, fragmented state and losing true national independence to the overwhelming influence of a foreign Power.

Historically, inviting foreign intervention, whether Russian or German, threatened Finnish national independence. The political centrist and seminal Finnish politician of the period, Santeri Alkio (1862-1930), worried in his diary that “some foreign nationality would take power here, put our people under its rule, and then destroy our national identity.”

Despite admiration for the revolt the Russian working class had staged in Russia, the Finnish working class also prized Finnish independence. Jalmari Parikka, a Red Guard team leader, wrote in his memoir:

That the working class wanted full Finnish independence was clear. It was the nonnegotiable demand of all workers at the time. [...] It is also clear that the Finnish working class, on the other hand, also admired the Russian revolutionaries. The revolution had been an heroic act. And did it not, after all, have the deciding influence upon the fate of our country? A part of the working people was mesmerized by the revolution; this was understandable in a period of rupture like this.

The Moderates are unable to win if Polarization exceeds the number of Networks and Resolved Issues combined. This represents the death of the spirit of political reconciliation and Finland becoming a failed state.

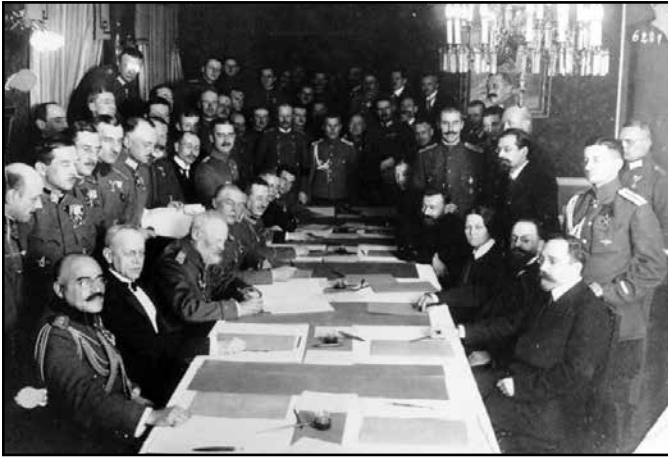
With its Support and Opposition mechanic, the *COIN Series* has done a great deal to bringing the non-kinetic, “hearts and minds” aspect to wargaming. In a similar vein, the Polarization mechanic in *All Bridges Burning* “looks into the future” as it were, to the time after the conflict, and having the participants think through the implications of their actions for the day after. Historically, the threat of national disintegration due to overt partisanship by both sides was a very real consideration for many among the warring parties during the Finnish Civil War.

\* \* \*

Arguably, the historical outcome of the Finnish Civil War was always going to be partly dependent upon the actions of the great patron Powers: Germany and Russia. Geopolitically, Finland to this day to occupies a strategically difficult position at the gates of St. Petersburg (Petrograd in 1917). This remains a continuing source of tension. For this reason, in 1917, both the Germans and the Russians had competing national interests in seeing a friendly government in charge of Finland.

It seems fair to say that, historically, the intervention in the Finnish Civil War by the German Empire—combined with a lack of a similar response from the Russian Bolsheviks—probably sealed the conflict in the Senate’s favor. The German invasion was a geopolitical move for dominance in the Baltic Sea region. It followed the peace treaty forced upon the Russians at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. The invasion was launched from two locations along Finland’s southern coast, bringing in the only really capable and trained military forces to participate in the conflict. These German forces were

pivotal in the taking of, for example, the capital Helsinki from the Reds.



*The outcome of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918 had a great impact on the ultimate course of the Finnish Civil War.*

Early on, White propaganda cast the struggle as a “war of liberation” from Russian oppression, arguing that significant Russian assistance was already being received by the Reds, an impression also reinforced in the memoir of the supreme commander of the White army, C.G.E. Mannerheim (1951: 84):

*Despite the fact that the Soviet government formally recognized our independence, it, of course, did not heed the request of Parliament to withdraw Russian troops from Finland. Their stay in the Finnish territory had a definite purpose: to join in the future our state to Russia.*

Ultimately, however, Russian military participation in the revolt turned out to be insignificant (e.g., Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 121). The Reds did receive support from ideologically motivated individuals, as well as former Russian army soldiers and officers. One of them was General Mihael Svetshnikov, a key commander and adviser of the Red Guards during the course of the Finnish Civil War. Svetshnikov’s memoir on the conflict (published in 1925) argues that a turning point in the war was the order issued in mid-March 1918 by the Russian Bolshevik government to disband the Russian army in Finland. This order was a direct consequence of the aforementioned Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed on 3 March 1918. But even before that, Russian forces stationed in Finland had already suffered from significant desertions and lack of motivation caused by the political turmoil back home. The class divisions coming to a head in the Russian Civil War ran right across the Russian army, the cadres generally being Tsarists and bourgeoisie, while the rank and file were working class. These tensions within the army tended to fragment and paralyze the forces stationed in Finland.

\* \* \*



*Numerous Red prisoners of war constituted a difficult problem for the winners.*

The Finnish Civil War set the political stage for challenges the young country was to deal with in the decades to come. In the volatile decades after the war, despite continuous pressure from the extreme left and right, political centrism and parliamentary democracy did in fact prevail in Finland, which contributed to national reconciliation and the unification of the young nation as it headed into the turbulent years of World War II. A mere twenty years later, starting in the Winter War of 1939-1940 with the Soviet Union, Finland was to become a stage for superpower geopolitics once again. That, however, is a topic for a different game.

## Faction Introductions

This section introduces the Factions, looks at some of the game mechanics pertaining to Victory in *All Bridges Burning*, and provides a few more words on strategic considerations.

### Reds

The Reds aims in the game are focused on building up a good level of **Opposition** to bourgeois rule as well as demonstrating to the people of Finland the ability of the working class to institute an effective socialist **Administration** in the country.

Alongside these primary goals, the Reds will find themselves, on the one hand, needing to keep the Moderates from undermining the working class cause “from within,” and on the other hand, fighting a rather desperate military campaign against a far more powerful double-threat consisting of the Germans and the White Senate army. The **Russians** may be of some help in this, but you will rarely be able to count on them.

In terms of game mechanics, the key to (preventing) a Reds Victory in *All Bridges Burning* is awareness of the relationship between Opposition, Control, Administration discs, and Active Reds Cells. As is typical of most games in the *COIN Series*, the **Propaganda Round** (6.0) is a prime time for shifting Opposition and Support, so make sure you are aware

that the Reds require an Administration disc *and* Control in order to be able to shift spaces to Active Opposition. Control and an Active Red Cell only enable the Reds to shift up to Passive Opposition.

## Senate

The Senate wins by bringing a decisive portion of Town populations back under Senate **Control**—a feat usually requiring them to strike hard and repeatedly against the Reds and beat back the Red Revolt. The question is not whether the Red Revolt will occur, but *when*, so in order to prepare for the onset of the hostilities properly, study the RED REVOLT! **Pivotal Event** card carefully; i.e., the conditions for when it is triggered and its effects.

The **Germans** and the use of **Capabilities** will help the Senate achieve their military goals more effectively. Pay special attention to the ability of the **Jaeger** to double the Attack Strength of your other Capabilities, plus the ability of Trains to make your Attacks mobile (3.2.4).

The Senate's creation of **Support** may seem less critical for Senate Victory in the game, but two important caveats. First, Senate Resource earnings during the Propaganda Rounds depend upon the overall level of Support. Second, Support is critical for conducting effective Rally Commands (3.2.1) and ought not be neglected.

**Terror** and **Attacks** are double-edged swords in that they will help the Senate (as well as the Reds) to establish much-needed Control, yet they also drive up **Polarization**, which may ultimately come back to haunt the Senate in the endgame. The same warning can be given about German participation in the conflict.

## Moderates

The Moderates are a non-violent Faction who win by accumulating political will, that is **Resources**, by organizing themselves in **Networks**, and advancing key societal reform **Issues** (6.2).

Building up Moderates board presence is key to efficient Resource earnings via the **Publish** Special Activity (4.3.3). That Special Activity contains some subtleties, so be sure to study it in detail. Grabbing the **News** markers and successfully getting them to your **Personality** may provide a decisive boost to your efforts (4.3.1).

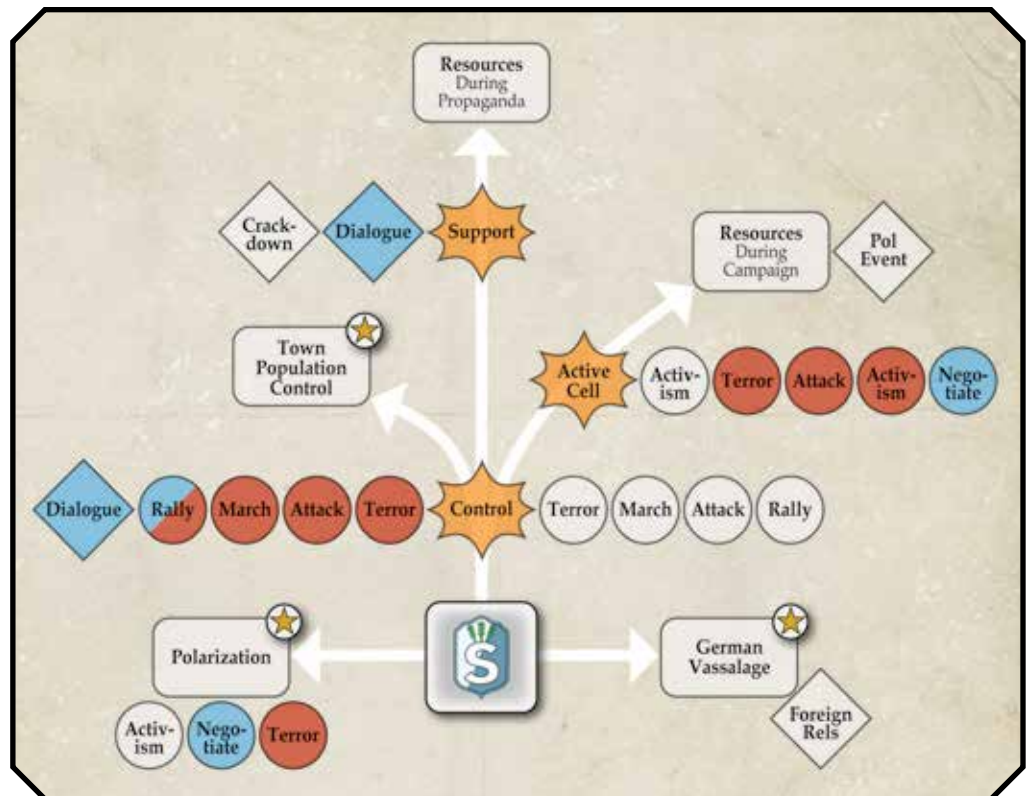
**Terror** can be a mighty weapon against the defenseless Moderates. Note, however, that Terror may be conducted by Active

enemy Cells only—and here the Negotiate Command (3.3.3) may prove useful in keeping emotions under control. Also, the ferocity of Terror depends upon the level of Polarization, and Negotiation can help deal with that. Ultimately, if they really want it to, the Reds and the Senate will be able to get at the Moderates, so think about staying on good “metagame terms” with your opponents!

## Faction Aims & Interactions

The graphics below illustrate Faction aims and interactions. One graphic for each of the three Factions is provided. Note that there is also a range of more indirect and subtle ways to help and hinder each Faction that are not illustrated in these graphics.

**Reading the Graphic.** One way to read these graphics is to first identify a Faction objective; such as the Senate's ability to earn Resources outside the Propaganda Rounds. Some of the objectives are marked (★) to indicate their status as contributing to a Faction's Victory (7.0). Next, to see how to achieve that objective, set out from the central Senate symbol, following the arrow towards the objective, and passing through contestable game features (yellow explosions) that the Senate need to secure in order to earn Resources. The first contestable feature along this arrow is Control, the second one is named Active Cell. For each contestable feature, the graphic identifies the Commands (circle) and Special Activities (diamond), printed in Faction colors, that can be used to help or hinder the Senate with regard to a given contestable feature.





## Examples of Play

These examples of play are intended to walk players through some of the key mechanics of game play in *All Bridges Burning*. Without further ado, let's get the game on the table, shall we?

### Setting Up

Setting up the game is a great way to start getting familiar with the basic features of the map. We will follow the set-up instructions at the back of the Rules of Play booklet.







**Map, Pieces, and Markers.** First lay out the map on the table, then look at the back cover of the Rules of Play booklet for the instructions to set up the game. Some things that we may note right off include:

- 

**Area Control.** The map is divided into a number of Town and Province spaces that may each be Controlled by either the Reds or the Senate (but not by the Moderates), or be **uncontrolled**. Control always concerns the Population value of the space,

ranging from 0 to 2 (see the number in the box for each space).

- 

**Support/Opposition.** The map spaces may also have a level of Senate Support or Reds Opposition ranging from Neutral (no marker) via Passive to Active Opposition or Support (markers provided).
- 


Once we get further into the game, we will see that both of the above concepts are multiply intertwined with various game mechanics, Victory conditions (7.0), and more.

- **Pieces.** Each side has a number of Available pieces in their holding boxes that they will be placing on the map in the course of the game, chiefly via the Rally Command (3.2.1, 3.3.1), but also through Events and some Special Activities (see e.g., Moderates Dialogue, 4.3.2).

**NOTE:** If you run out of Available pieces, you may, in one go, remove any existing pieces of yours on the map during your turn and proceed to place these now Available pieces somewhere else (1.4.2). You are likely to make use of this ability in your games.

- **Markers.** The Factions make use of various different markers during gameplay:



◦ The Personality marker for the Moderates (4.3.1)



◦ News marker (3.3.2)



◦ The Prepared markers for the Senate and the Reds (4.2.3).

- Plus a number of different, and often important, Capability markers (5.3).

**Pause here...** and follow the Setup instructions at the back of the Rules of Play to make the game ready for play. However, ignore the deck Setup instructions for now – we will take care of that together below.

During Setup, you noticed how the placement of one Senate and one Moderates Cell depends upon a die roll. For the sake of this example of play, place the Moderates Cell in Tampere and the Senate Cell in Viipuri. The Control marker in Viipuri now needs to be adjusted accordingly – but how? See 1.7 Control, then adjust Control.<sup>1</sup>

**Event Deck.** With the pieces and markers set up on the map, let's look at the Event cards included in the game. A basic principle of any game in the *COIN Series* is that there is an Events deck from which, for each round of play, a new Event card is drawn to become the current Event. The ability to trigger the current Event will be one of your action options during your turn (alongside playing Commands, Special Activities, or Passing). On most cards, the text is divided into upper unshaded and the lower shaded parts – this is known as Dual Use (5.2).

**PLAYNOTE:** *The lower part tends to favor the Reds and the Moderates, the upper part the Senate – although creative use of the Event text is both possible and encouraged, by design!*

Now, let's construct the game's draw deck. You are going to be drawing Event cards from this deck: one Event card for each new round, plus one Event card always showing as a preview of what Event is coming on the next turn.

**Pause here...** and read the deck construction instructions at the back of the Rules of Play, then return here.



**Eligibility cylinders.** Grab the three Eligibility cylinders (red, white, and blue), hide and toss them around in the palm of your hand, then draw one random cylinder at a time, placing them in the slots marked "1st", "2nd", and "3rd" in the Sequence of Play track on the map in that order. This cylinder order is the initial Eligibility order in which the Factions get to choose actions in this turn. Suppose our initial Faction order comes out: 1st Senate, 2nd Reds, 3rd Moderates.

**Seeding the Deck.** For the sake of this example, stack the following Events to form a mini-draw-deck:

- current card: #18 MOBILIZATION IN THE PERIPHERY
- next card: #19 POLITICAL STRUGGLE
- first hidden card: #11 WEAPONS FROM LENIN

## Sequence of Play

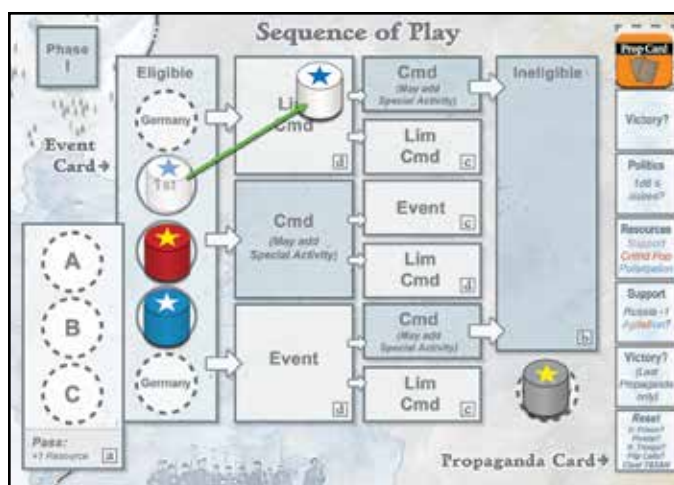
Now, with everything set up, it is time to make the first move of the game.

**Pause here...** and see Rules of Play section 2.0 for an overview of the Sequence of Play.

Senate is the first Faction to play. They move their Eligibility cylinder to the box with the text "Lim Cmd" (Limited Command; 2.2.4) in the-top left part of the Sequence of Play track.

- The first Faction determines the horizontal row of action options from which – alongside the Pass option – the remaining Factions must select their actions.
  - Following the Senate player's decision, the option of triggering the current Event is no longer Available to any of the other Factions (as there is no Event box among the boxes remaining in the horizontal row selected by the Senate player).
- The Limited Command option (2.2.4) allows the Senate player to play one Command in one *single* space – hence the designation of the Command as "limited".

<sup>1</sup> ANSWER: The one Reds and one Senate Cell in Viipuri cancel each other's Control out, so do not place a Control marker in Viipuri at all. (Note that the Russian Troop cube in the Town does not affect Control.)



The Senate cylinder has been moved to the top-left “Lim Cmd” box. That selection limits the action option for the Reds and the Moderates.

The Senate player now goes on to take the first action of the game, a Limited Command Activism. We look at the details of that action in the section below.

Next up, the Reds player chooses an action option. Let’s say they choose to execute a full Rally Command with a Special Activity. We look at the details of this action in the section *Reds Rally + Prepare*.

This leaves the Moderates with the option to Pass or play a Limited Command. They choose to play a Limited Command Politics. We look at the details of this action in the section *Moderates Politics* below (page 12).

## Senate Activism

The Senate has opted for the Activism Limited Command option. We have already moved the Senate Eligibility cylinder into the “Lim Cmd” box in the top row of the Sequence of Play track.

**Pause here...** and read 3.2.2 Activism.

The Activism Command gives the executing Faction essentially four separate options:

1. Remove Active friendly Cells to Available for a reduction in Polarization—this option is used mostly later in the game, as the Factions will then be trying to meet their Polarization-related Victory condition (7.0).
2. Expose Moderates, or Deactivate Reds or Senate enemy Cells—this is useful for preventing enemy Terror (3.2.3) or disabling the blue Moderates Faction to prevent them from conducting a range of actions. For each of these actions, the enemy Faction requires a Cell with a particular status: Terror may be conducted by Active Cells only, while for example, the Moderates Publish Special Activity (4.3.3) requires an Underground Moderates Cell.
3. Activate 1d6 of the executing Faction’s Cells across the map—useful for setting up Terror or Agitation (6.4.2), or Political Event opportunities (4.2.1).

4. Finally, the Reds (only) may Agitate to create more Opposition in spaces with Reds Control and an Administration disc—this is useful for the obvious reason that it helps the Reds meet their Opposition-related Victory condition.

Of these four options, in the current circumstances, the Senate may really only make good use of the third one, namely: to Activate their own Cells on the map. Do you see why?<sup>2</sup>

To take the third option, the Senate player rolls 1d6: it’s a “3”. The Senate player may now Activate up to three Senate Cells *anywhere on the map*—even if they are only executing a Limited Command—but with the restriction that this needs to happen *evenly*. That is, the player may not Activate a second Cell of a single space unless they have already Activated at least one friendly Cell in every other space on the map where they may do so during this Command.

The cost of this “1d6 Activation,” as we might call it, is one Resource, so we move the Senate Resource cylinder down one step to “4”.

The Senate player chooses to Activate the Senate Cells in Viipuri, Helsinki, and Pohjanmaa. Flip those white Cells to show their star side.

This concludes the Senate action.

**PLAY NOTE:** Pay close attention to the Activism Command and how it is used! Active Cells play a crucial role in the game, and **critically:** this does not have a precedent in the COIN Series.

## Reds Rally + Prepare

The Reds player is up next. They choose the full Command with a Special Activity option. We move the Reds Eligibility cylinder in the “Cmd +SA” box next to the Senate cylinder.

Note two things about the rules regarding adding a Special Activity to a Command (4.1):

- A Special Activity may be added at any time before, during, or after the Command. However, whenever you play the Special Activity, you must execute it in its entirety.
- There may be limits on which Special Activity may be combined with which Command. This information can be found in the Rules of Play for each Special Activity separately, and is also neatly summarized in the Faction foldout play aids.

The Reds player decides to play the Command first, and chooses the Rally Command.

**Pause here...** and read 3.2.1 Rally.

<sup>2</sup> ANSWER: Because the first option requires the presence of Active Senate Cells on the map, of which there are none at the moment; and the second option cannot be executed effectively, because the single Inactive Senate Cells occupying spaces with the enemy are not sufficient to flip an enemy.

The first thing we note about Rally is that the number of spaces that may be selected as Rally locations equals the current level of Polarization, which is “3” (with the caveat that *at least two spaces may always be selected*, even if Polarization is less than two).

Marking each space with a pawn (3.1.1), the Reds select Uusimaa, Tampere, and Helsinki.

In Uusimaa the Reds choose to replace the two Reds Cells there with a Reds Administration. This causes the Oppose+Admins marker up on the edge track to move one space up from “3” to “4”. The Reds still maintain Control in Uusimaa.

In Tampere the Reds wish to place Cells. Can you figure out how many? As the Reds or Senate play, you can think of a Rally Command as placing a single Cell – after which Cells may be subtracted from or added to as follows:

- Reds place one Cell more for each level of Opposition in the space; the Senate does so for each level of Support.
- Conversely, for each level of enemy Opposition or Support, deduct one Cell from those you are allowed to place.
- Finally, each Terror marker in the enemy’s color means a deduction of one Cell you may place.

In the current situation, this means the Reds may place two Cells in the Town: one anyway, plus one for Passive Opposition in that space.

If Tampere had a white Terror marker, the Reds would only get to place one Reds Cell there, *unless* they made use of the Offsetting rule and paid one additional Resource to cancel the effect of the white Terror marker. Similarly, the Reds could Rally – even in the Senate stronghold Town of Vaasa – yet doing so would only place one Reds Cell there and cost three Resources in total: one Resource for selecting the space as a Rally location plus two more for offsetting the Active Support there.

**DESIGN NOTE:** Thematically, think of these rules as reflecting the motivating effects of past enemy Terror in a space on the people’s willingness to get engaged for a factional cause. The offsetting rule reflects political leaders’ ability to employ political will (say, in the form of rhetoric) to get their supporters to stand up.

Finally, in Helsinki the Reds place a single Reds Cell.

The total cost of the Command comes to three Resources which we mark on the edge track by sliding the Reds Resource cylinder from “5” to “2”.

With a bunch of new Reds Cells on the map, we need to adjust the Cells on Map marker on the edge track from “13” to “14”. The math here is: two Cells got replaced by an Administration, but three other Cells were placed on the map, so net one Cell was added to the on-map total. We’re keeping track of the position of this marker for the purposes of triggering the

RED REVOLT! Pivotal Event, and with that the start of Phase II of the game (2.4).

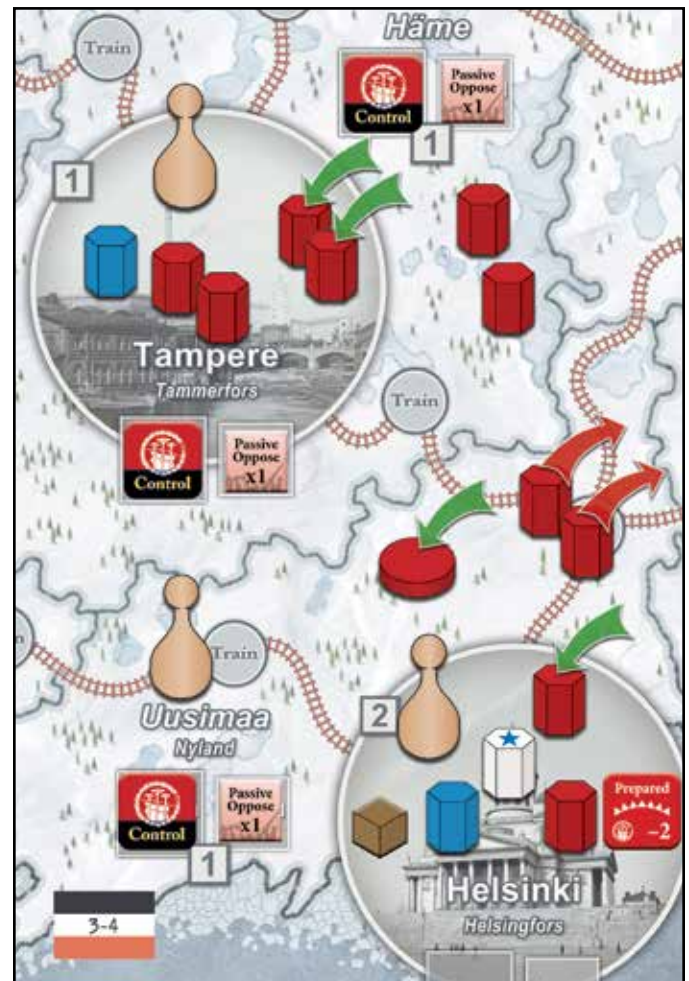
**Prepare Special Activity.** Next up, the Reds player executes a Special Activity. As the Faction foldout play aid notes, Rally may be combined with any Special Activity. The Reds select Prepare.

**Pause here...** and read 4.2.3 Prepare.

The Prepare Special Activity offers two options:

- In Phase II of the game, a border with a Railway connecting one space to an adjacent one may be Sabotaged – this option is useful for canceling the TRAINS Capability to enable Attacks into adjacent spaces (3.2.4).
- Placing a Prepared marker with a friendly Cell in a space – this is done to better withstand Attacks in Phase II (3.2.4), as well as to protect friendly Cells against removal by Terror (3.2.3) and the Moderates Dialogue Special Activity (4.3.2).

If you wish, place a different colored Pawn in Helsinki to mark it as the Special Activity location. Then, the Reds take one Available Prepared marker from the Capabilities box and place it, red face up, in Helsinki.



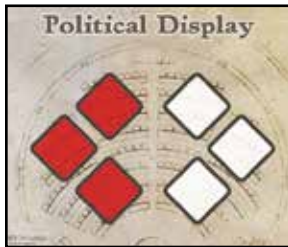
This concludes the Reds player turn. Clear the pawns from the map.

## Moderates Politics

The Moderates player is left with the option to Pass or play a Limited Command. They opt for a Limited Command Politics.

**Pause here...** and read 3.3.4 Politics.

With the Politics Command, the Moderates may advance the political process with the ultimate aim of resolving Issues during the Politics Phase of the Propaganda Round (6.2). Resolved Issues contribute to Moderates Victory.



The Moderates pick one white cube from the Senate Available box and put it in one of the white slots in the Political Display.

The cost of the Command is determined by the current level of Polarization. Looking at the Polarization track on the map, we

note Polarization is "3"; the text underneath the third space on the track informs us that Politics costs two Resources. We adjust the Moderates Resource cylinder from "5" to "3".

This concludes the Moderates turn—and with that the first round of play.

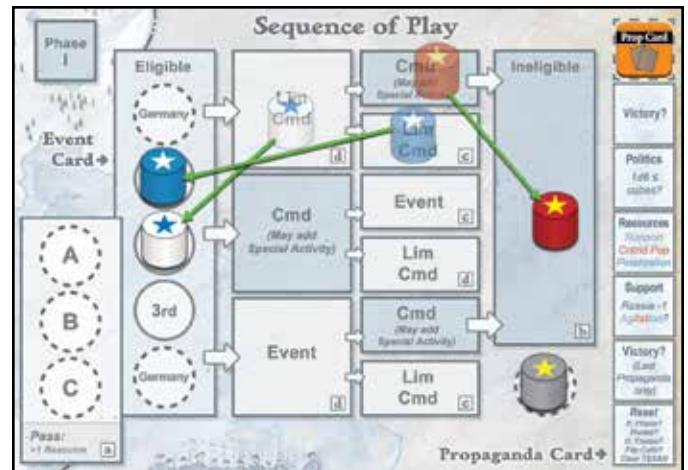
## Adjusting Eligibility

With each Faction having executed their Action, we now adjust Eligibility.

**Pause here...** and read 2.2.5 Adjust Eligibility.

We adjust the Eligibility order as follows:

- The Reds chose the full Command with Special Activity option, so their cylinder is moved into the Ineligible box. The Reds will not be able to play on the next Event card.
- Both Moderates and Senate will retain Eligibility, but in which order? Note the boxed letters in the action option boxes in which the Moderates and the Senate cylinders currently reside, then set their Eligibility in alphabetical order: the Moderates box says [c], so they become 1st Eligible while the Senate with [d] becomes 2nd Eligible.



*Adjusting the Eligibility after the first round of play.*

Now discard the current Event card (#18 MOBILIZATION IN THE PERIPHERY), place the top card of the draw deck (#19 POLITICAL STRUGGLE) in its place, and reveal the next Event, placing it face up on top of the draw deck. A new turn now commences.

## Moderates Event

The current Event is now #19 POLITICAL STRUGGLE. The Moderates—as first Eligible—opts to play it. Place the Moderates Eligibility cylinder in the "Event" box in the bottom row of the Sequence of Play track.



Even though the shaded card text usually benefits the Moderates, this is one of those Events in which both options may be attractive to the Moderates. In the present situation, however, there is only a single cube in the Political Display (1.11), so playing the unshaded part of the event does not really make sense. Hence, the Moderates player resorts to the shaded event text, rolls 1d6, and it's a 1! The

Moderates player may now place an Available cube in the Political Display. This time they select a red cube.

## Senate Terror + Political Event

The Senate player opts for a full Terror Command with a Special Activity.

**Pause here...** and read 3.2.3 Terror.

**PLAY NOTE:** *Players with previous experience in the COIN Series games will note that in All Bridges Burning, the Terror Command works quite differently. In this game, it may be helpful to think of Terror as functionally resembling—but by no means being identical to—the Ambush Special Activity found in some previous COIN games. In All Bridges Burning, Terror cannot be used to adjust Support or Opposition.*

The Senate player places three pawns to mark the locations in which they wish to conduct Terror: Viipuri, Helsinki, and the Political Display.

In Viipuri, the Senate removes the Reds Cell and places a white Terror marker there. Removing the Reds Cell causes Viipuri to become Senate Controlled. Therefore, we adjust the Senate Town Pop marker on the edge track from "1" to "2" and place a Senate Control marker in the corresponding slot in Viipuri.

In Helsinki, the Senate also removes a Reds Cell, again also placing a white Terror marker there. Helsinki, however, does not thereby become Senate Controlled.



*Senate Terror in Helsinki and Viipuri has removed a Reds Cell and placed a white Terror marker in each space. Thereby, Polarization increased from "3" to "5".*

Next, Terror in the Political Display allows the Senate to remove a red cube from there, which they do. No Terror marker, however, is ever placed in the Political Display.

The total cost of the Command is three Resources, which we indicate by moving the Senate Resources cylinder from "4" down to "1".



Finally, we must adjust the Polarization marker on the Polarization track. Move it one level up for each Terror marker placed during this Terror Command. That is, the marker moves two steps, from "3" to "5".

**Political Event Special Activity.** For their Special Activity, the Senate selects Political Event.

**Pause here...** and read 4.2.1 Political Event.

The Political Event Special Activity allows the Reds and Senate to collect additional Resources outside the Resource Phase of the Propaganda Round. In this Special Activity, up to four spaces with both friendly Control *and* a present Active

friendly Cell may be selected. Each selected space will give the Faction one Resource.

The Senate player marks Viipuri and Pohjanmaa with a different-colored pawn, collecting one Resource for each selected space. We move the Senate Resource cylinder from "1" to "3".

**PLAY NOTE:** Note that Viipuri had just become a Senate Controlled space following the Terror Command. Paying attention to the order in which you combine Commands and Special Activities may be used to your advantage like that.

This concludes the Senate turn, as well as the round. Once again we clear all the pawns, then adjust the Event cards, as well as the Eligibility order.

### Transitional Pivotal Event RED REVOLT!

For the next part of this example of play, we skip ahead in the game to look at the transition from Phase I to Phase II. For this purpose, adjust the board-state as follows:

- Remove all Terror markers from the map.
- Place the Reds Eligibility cylinder in the "1st" Eligible box, the Moderates cylinder to the "Event" box in the bottom-left, and the Senate cylinder to "Lim Cmd" beside it.
- **Pohjanmaa:** Add Senate Cells in this Province so that you have five white Cells there.
- **Häme:** Place one Reds Administration and Reds Cells so that you have four Reds Cells, in total, in the space. Also, place a Reds Prepared marker from the Capabilities box in Häme.
- **Uusimaa:** Add Reds Cells to bring the total to three Reds Cells (with the existing Administration). Also flip the Passive Opposition marker in Uusimaa to show Active Opposition instead.
- **Viipuri:** Add Senate Cells to bring the total to three Senate Cells in the space.
- **Helsinki:** Add one Senate Cell and a Prepared marker, showing its white side, for a total of two Senate Cells. Then, add **one Moderates Cell, to bring the total to two Moderates Cells**, and the Personality marker.
- **Karelia:** Add two Reds Cells.
- Flip one Reds Cell in each space to show its Active symbol side up.
- Place the Oppose+Admins marker on "6" on the edge track.
- Place the Cells on Map marker on "26" on the edge track.
- In the Capabilities box, place a Senate Train, Jaeger, and a Cannons marker.
- Reduce the Russian Vassalage marker from "3" to "2".
- Place the Reds Resources cylinder at "2" and the Senate cylinder on "7" on the edge track.
- Place a Resolved Issue marker, showing its white side, in the top-most Issue slot in the Political Display. Adjust the Networks+Issues (+1) marker from "1" to "2" on the Polarization track.

- Add two red and one white Politics cubes to the Political Display. The Display will now contain two white and two red cubes.
- Finally, leave #19 POLITICAL STRUGGLE as the current Event. Next to it, stacking from the bottom up, stack one Propaganda card face down, then #35 HOME FRONT face down, then #45 FATE IN BALANCE also face down, then #31 GERMAN INVASION OF HANKO face up, as the next Event.

With this setup completed, let's continue with our example.

**Rally.** The Reds player elects to play a full Command with Special Activity, starting with a Rally in Uusimaa. With that Province now at Active Opposition, the Reds may place three of their Available Cells there. Reds Resources decrease from "2" to "1" on the edge track.

**Political Event Special Activity.** The Reds pause their Rally Command to collect some Resources using the Political Event Special Activity. There are more than enough spaces that could be selected here with both Reds Control and an Active Reds Cell, but only up to four spaces may be selected. The Reds player chooses Tampere, Häme, Turku, and Uusimaa. The Reds collect four Resources, which shifts their Resource cylinder from "1" to "5".

**Rally Continued.** With Resources in the bank again, the Reds conduct one more Rally, this one in Tampere. There, two Reds Cells are replaced with one Administration from Available. This costs one Resource, down to "4" now. The Oppose+Admins marker also moves up a notch, to "7" on the edge track.



Finally, we move the Cells on Map marker to "27" to reflect the new combined total of Reds and Senate Cells on map.



The Reds action has now come to an end and we notice that the Cells on Map marker has just breached the threshold (27) for triggering the process of playing the RED REVOLT! Pivotal Event.

**Pause here...** and read 2.4 Phase I & II and Pivotal Event. (You don't need to read as far as through 2.4.1 just yet.)

We now discard the *next* Event (#31 GERMAN INVASION OF HANKO) and replace it with the RED REVOLT! Pivotal Event card. The *current* #19 POLITICAL STRUGGLE Event card remains in place for the time being.

**NOTE:** It is worth noting that at this stage that the game has not quite transitioned to Phase II yet. Were there a Faction still Eligible to play during the current Event card (#11 WEAPONS FROM LENIN) after the Reds, they would still take their turn in Phase I. The game only transitions to Phase II when RED REVOLT! becomes the *current* Event.

Next, we return to the normal Sequence of Play and adjust the Eligibility order. The Reds cylinder goes to the Ineligible box, the Senate cylinder to "1st" Eligible, the Moderates cylinder to "2nd" Eligible. Then we adjust the Event cards by discarding the current Event (#19 POLITICAL STRUGGLE), moving RED REVOLT! from next to the current Event, and revealing #45 FATE IN BALANCE as the new next Event. Remember also to clear all the pawns.

The game has now transitioned from Phase I to Phase II. To signal this, flip over the Cells on Map marker to show its "Phase II" face, then place the marker in the slot provided in the top-left corner of the Sequence of Play track.

**Pause here...** and read 2.4.1 Playing the RED REVOLT! Pivotal Event.

With RED REVOLT! now the current Event, we go through the sequence listed in 2.4.1 (summarized also on the RED REVOLT! card itself):

- First, we move the Reds Eligibility cylinder into the bottom-left "Event" box in the Sequence of Play track. Note that this happens even if the Reds cylinder was in the Ineligible box.
- Next in the sequence, the Reds get a free action: they may *either* remove all Senate pieces in a single Town with Reds Cells *or*, if they prefer, the Reds may free Rally in one such Town. The Reds opt to remove all Senate Cells, including the Senate Prepared marker, from Helsinki. The Senate Cells go to the Senate Available box, the Prepared marker in the Capabilities box.
- Next up, first the Reds, then the Senate, place any Capability markers they have acquired on the map. There is a set of rules governing the placement which says that the Jaeger markers must all go to Vaasa (simulating the historical fact that the Jaeger landed in the Town of Vaasa). The Senate player places a Train marker in Vaasa as well, while the Cannons marker goes to Pohjanmaa. The Reds have no Capabilities to place.
- Finally, for the first time in the game, we get to do something with the two Powers' forces—recall that the German and Russian Troop cubes do not do anything in Phase I. We adjust their number to correspond to the current foreign Vassalage levels. Three Russian cubes begin the game on—but note that one of them must now be removed, as Russian Vassalage is "2". The cube to be removed is determined randomly (simulating the random nature of the desertions of the Russian forces stationed in Finland at the time; see Historical Background, page 2, above). Suppose random selection picks the brown cube in Helsinki, which we now move to Out of Play (this can

be a designated area next to the board, or the game box, or wherever you like). As to the German forces, none start on the map, but now with German Vassalage at “3”, three German Troop cubes are placed from Out of Play into the German Available box. These cubes will enter the map in the next German Action Phase (3.4; see German Action Phase, below).

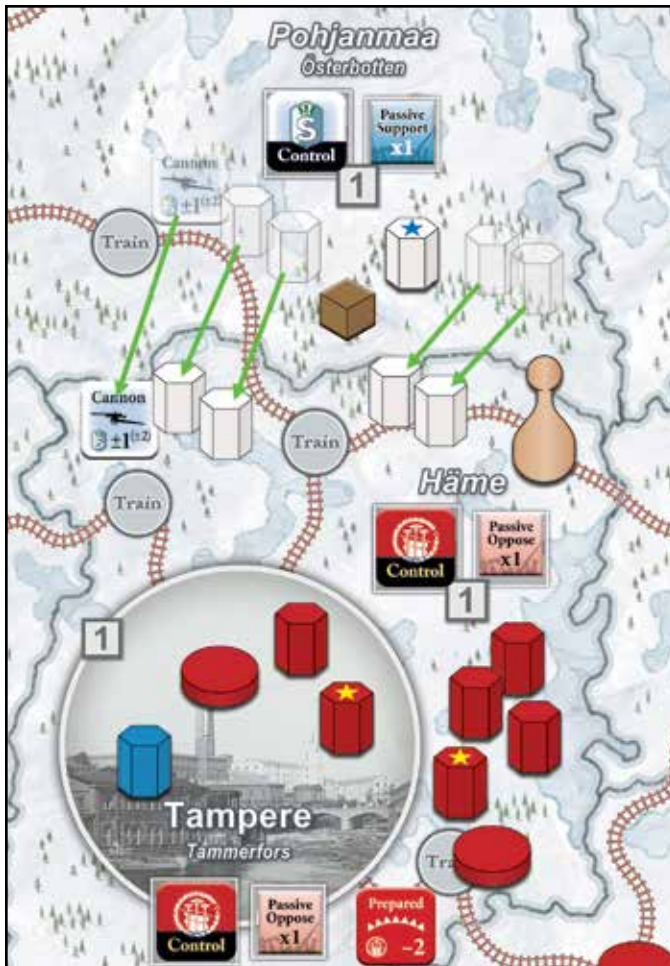
This concludes the RED REVOLT! sequence and we return to regular play. As the second Eligible Faction, the Senate is now to play their turn.

## Senate March

With the game now in Phase II, the March Command may be made use of, and this is just what the Senate player intends to do: It’s time to start rolling South!

**Pause here...** and read 3.2.5 March.

There is a decent-size Senate force in Pohjanmaa. The Senate player wishes to move it South, selecting the Province of Häme as the destination. Now move four of the five Senate Cells, along with the Cannons Capability marker in Pohjanmaa, into Häme, leaving the sole Active Senate Cell behind in Pohjanmaa. Can you figure out the total cost of this March?



You can think of March as having a base-cost of one Resource, which suffices to move three Cells. Moving any additional

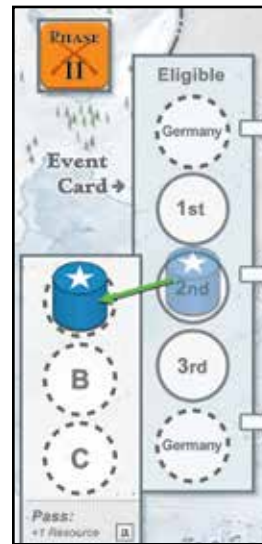
Cells beyond that will cost you one additional Resource for every three additional Cells (rounding down). That means moving four Cells will cost the Senate a total of two Resources. Implicit in this is that up to six Cells could move for that same cost of two Resources. Bearing that in mind, this particular Senate March could be viewed as a somewhat sub-optimal use of Resources. Let’s adjust the Senate Resource cylinder from “7” to “5”.

Note that moving the Capability marker does not cost any additional Resources. Any number of Capabilities may be moved along with Marching Cells. (Reds may bring Russian Troops along, one Troop cube per each one Cell, 3.2.5.)

Finally, we note that the arrival of the Senate Cells causes no change of Control in Häme.

This concludes the Senate action. The Senate player has decided to take a Limited Command only—can you think of what the strategic reasoning here is?<sup>3</sup> So, we move the cylinder in the “Lim Cmd” box in the Sequence of Play track.

## Moderates Pass



Next up, the Moderates simply Pass. We move their Eligibility cylinder into Pass, in the “A” position. For this, the Moderates collect one Resource, so their Resource cylinder moves up to “4” on the edge track. What tactical consideration might have motivated this move by the Moderates?<sup>4</sup>

Next, we discard the current Event #24 RED REVOLT!, place the next Event #45 FATE IN BALANCE in its stead, and reveal a new next-Event, #35 HOME FRONT. Finally, we adjust the Eligibility cylinders: the Moderates become first Eligible, Senate second Eligible, and Reds third Eligible.

## German Action Phase



Note that the new current Event card #45 FATE IN BALANCE has the German Action Phase text at the top. This means we need to check whether the German Power is to now conduct an action.

<sup>3</sup> ANSWER: The Senate player is paying close attention to the way the Eligibility order changes for the next card. In effect, the Senate player will get to play a second action before the Reds player can react. We will cover this below.

<sup>4</sup> ANSWER: The Moderates player notices that #45 FATE IN THE BALANCE is the next Event—and the shaded part of this Event is bad for the Moderates, as it can be used to remove their hard-earned Resolved Issue marker from the Political Display. Passing now, since no other Faction Passed before, guarantees the Moderates first dibs on that harmful Event.

**Pause here...** and read through 3.4 Germans Actions, then find the German Actions flowchart sheet.

The first check we conduct is to see whether the Germans act *before* or *after* the player Factions. For this purpose, roll a 1d6. Suppose we get a 2. This means the Germans go first. Place the German cylinder in the upper “Germany” slot in the Eligible box in the Sequence of Play track. Had we rolled 4 or greater, the cylinder would go to the bottom-most “Germany” slot, and the Germans would go after the Factions.

Next, we begin to go through the action selection flow to see which action the Germans will take. Don’t worry, in practice you will see that the selection mechanism is very straightforward and soon you will be selecting the appropriate German action without having to consult the flowchart at all. The basic principles are:

- If the Senate player has used the Coordinate Special Activity (4.2.4), the Senate player decides all the details of the German action, plain and simple.
- Otherwise, if there are no German pieces on the map yet, the Germans will make a Landing at a randomly determined Landing Site location. Once the Landing has occurred, remember to place an Available News marker in that location.
- Otherwise, if the Germans are on the map and in a space with Reds or Russian pieces, the Germans will Attack those enemies.
- Finally, if none of the above has occurred, the Germans will March closer to an enemy (for this purpose, the Moderates are ignored). Note that if there are multiple potential March destinations, select the destination randomly (for example, using the Random Spaces Map, 8.6).

In the current circumstances, of these options we select the second one: the Germans make a Landing in one of the three Landing Sites printed on the map.



*The German Landing Site in the Province of Varsinais-Suomi. This Site is associated with the die-roll range 1-2.*

Each Landing Site has an associated die-roll range, so we simply roll a 1d6. It’s a 4, so the Germans make a Landing in the Province of Uusimaa, right at the gates of Helsinki!

Now place all three Available German Troop cubes in Uusimaa. Note that the arrival of the Germans does not affect Control. The German Landing, however, is News (literally), so we place one News marker from the Moderates Available box in Uusimaa.



This concludes the German Action Phase. Return the German cylinder to the “Germany” slot below the Ineligible box in the Sequence of Play track.

### Moderates Message

After the German Action Phase, the Moderates are first Eligible. We move the Moderates Eligibility cylinder in the “Lim Cmd” box in the top-left of the Sequence of Play track. This ensures that no Faction will be able to trigger the current Event harmful to the Moderates.

The arrival of the Germans was definitely a bit of News and News markers are useful to the Moderates, so let’s see how to make good use of them.

**Pause here...** and read 3.3.2 Message.

In a nutshell, the Moderates will want to move their Cell to the News marker’s location, pick up the marker, and have that Cell move the News to the space where the Personality marker resides – subject to Capture (more on that below). This is all done using the Message Command. After the News is with the Personality, the Personality Special Activity (4.3.1) will be needed to “cash in” the News marker. Here, either additional Resources or a decrease in Polarization can be achieved.



Note that the Personality Special Activity may *not* be combined with the Message Command. Therefore, the Moderates will need at minimum two turns to pick up and “cash in” a News marker: one turn for the Message Command, and a second turn for the Personality Special Activity (in combination with some other Command).

The Moderates player designates one of their Cells in Helsinki to be moved via Message. Any such Cell may move up to three times, always moving from one space to an adjacent space. Thus, the Moderates plan to move their Cell from Helsinki to Uusimaa, pick up the News marker there, and then

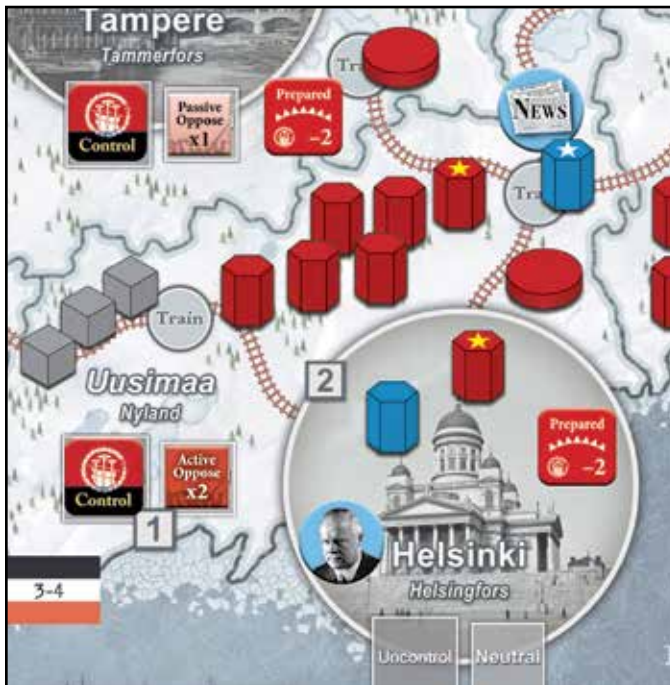
back again to Helsinki, where the Personality resides. Note for this trip, that third available movement will not be needed.

However, because the Cell is carrying News from Uusimaa onwards its movement is subject to a Capture check. Capture is checked in the space along the Cell's movement path with the most Active enemy Cells, and within that, closest to the News marker's origin. In the present case, this means Uusimaa is picked over Helsinki as Uusimaa is closer to the News marker's origin (that is, Uusimaa is the origin).

The Capture check itself is conducted by rolling a 1d6. If it rolls more than the number of Active enemy Cells, there is no Capture and the Moderates Cell may continue on its journey.

Suppose this time the Moderates roll a 1 and the Cell is Captured. Bad luck! In this case, the News carrying Cell is flipped Active (symbol-side up), and the Cell is forced to remain in the Capture space, Uusimaa. Place the News marker underneath the Active Moderates Cell.

Yikes! The Moderates Cell is now alone and exposed in Uusimaa, with the Reds player certainly considering the use of Terror to take out the Moderates Cell and gain possession of the News marker. The Reds could then use that marker to conduct an additional, non-free Limited Command themselves.



This Message Command costs one Resource, so we move the Moderates Resource cylinder to "3" on the edge track. This concludes the Moderates player's turn.

## Senate Attack

Cleverly, the Senate player only conducted a Limited Command on the previous Event card. This meant the Senate became Eligible before the Reds, thus effectively getting in two moves – the March above, plus whatever the Senate player decides to do now – before the Reds have an opportunity to react.

With the newly arrived Senate force in place in Häme, the Senate player chooses to Attack there.

**Pause here...** and read 3.2.4 Attack.

The Attackers will be the group of Senate Cells and the Cannon marker in Häme. The Defenders are the four Reds Cells and the Administration in Häme.

Next, we need to figure out the Attack Strength. The initial value is zero, to which various modifiers may be added or subtracted. Let's look at them in detail:

- First of all, the Attacking force is at least three Cells strong (more precisely, it is four Cells strong). This adds a "+1" to the Attack Strength.

**NOTE:** Note that the modifier is *not* cumulative: Attacking, say, with six Cells would *not* give the Attacker a "+2" modifier.



- The presence of the Cannons marker adds another "+1" to the Attack Strength.

**NOTE:** Were a Jaeger Capability marker present, the Jaeger would upgrade the Cannon's contribution to a "+2".



- There is a Reds Prepared marker in Häme. This subtracts a "-2" from the Attack Strength. With all the above modifiers taken into account, the total Attack Strength comes out to zero. An Attack Strength like that cannot advance the Senate player's cause. However, one more option remains: the Attacker may pay any number of additional Resources desired to increase the Attack Strength, one level for each Resource spent.

- The Senate player pays their remaining four Resources to lift the Attack Strength to four. We move the Senate Resource cylinder from "5" to "1" on the edge track. (Do you know why it makes sense to increase Attack Strength to up to five only, and not more?<sup>5</sup>)

The total Resource cost of this Attack Command comes to **five**: one Resource must be paid for executing the Command, and **four** additional Resources to boost the Attack Strength. Therefore, let's move the Senate Resource cylinder one more notch, down to "0".

- Next, as a bonus, the Attacker gets to Activate one of their Cells involved in the Attack. Thematically, think of this as radicalization happening in the context of gearing up for a fight.

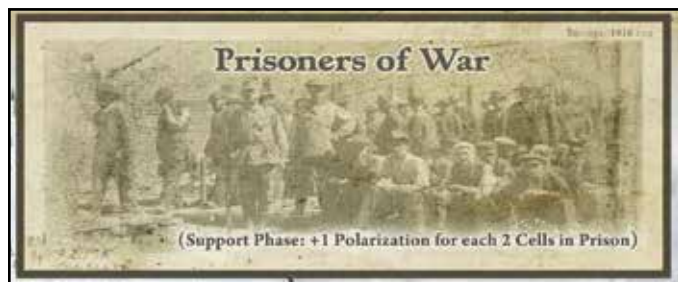
<sup>5</sup> ANSWER: It makes no difference for the Attack outcome to have the Strength any higher than five. This is because the Attack Strength gives you a target value and you hope to roll a 1d6 at or below that value for the Attack to be effective, while a 6 is always an auto-fail.

Now it is time to make that fateful Attack die-roll to see how effective the Attack will be. With five Reds pieces defending against four Senate Cells in Häme, the Senate player is looking to roll at least a 2 for Control to change in the space. Preferably, the Senate player would like to see all Reds gone from Häme to avoid a potential Reds counter-Attack down the line.

The die-roll result is average, a 3. This allows the Senate to Engage the Reds and remove up to three Reds as Casualties.

Alternatively, the Senate could force the Reds into a Retreat, in which case the Reds player must relocate three Cells to an adjacent space of the Senate player's choosing. The advantage of choosing the Retreat option is that it does not increase Polarization, which can be an attractive option in some circumstances.

This time, the Senate player, however, decides to Engage. Three Reds Cells must therefore be removed. The first goes back to Available, the second into the Prisoners of War box, and the third goes back into Reds Cells Available. The Senate player gets to choose which enemy pieces are removed, and they choose the Active Reds Cell to be one of the Casualties. (Why the Active Cell, though? <sup>6</sup>)



The Senate forces must suffer Attrition as a result of removing those three enemy Cells. One of the Attacking Cells, at the Senate player's discretion, must be removed to Available.



Finally, the Attack led to some Prisoners of War being taken. Therefore, a white Terror marker is placed in Häme and Polarization is increased one step.

We adjust the Polarization marker from "5" to "6" on the Polarization track. Also, a News marker is placed from the Moderates Available box in Häme – word of the clash is now ready to spread.

The Senate player decides to add a second Attack, thereby making this a full Command, not just a Limited one. Let's place the Senate Eligibility cylinder in the "Cmd with Special Activity" to the left of the Moderates cylinder on the Sequence of Play track.

**Political Event Special Activity.** Before the Command may proceed, however, the Senate needs more Resources. They thus pause the Attack and conduct the Political Event Special Activity box, selecting Pohjanmaa, Häme, and Viipuri. The earnings amount to three Resources – so we move the Senate Resources cylinder to "3".


**Attack Continued.** Now, back to the second Attack. The Senate player selects Pohjanmaa as the space to be Attacked. The

origin of the Attack will be Vaasa. That is possible because there is a Senate Trains Capability marker in the Town and Trains enable Attacks into adjacent spaces.



The Defender will be the sole Russian cube in Pohjanmaa. The Attackers shall be an assorted group consisting of the following: from Vaasa, one Cell, the Jaeger marker, and the Train move to Pohjanmaa, where they join forces with the lone Active Senate Cell already in the space.

The Senate Attack Strength consists of these elements:

- The Jaeger marker provides a +2.
- In presence of the Jaeger, the Train marker also provides a +2.
-  The Russian Troop in Pohjanmaa contributes a -2 since Russian Vassalage is at "2". At "1" or less, the Troop's contribution would be a mere -1.
- The Senate player throws in two more Resources to lift the Attack Strength from 2 to 4.

The single remaining Senate Resource must be spent to pay for the Command itself. With that, Senate Resources are back at "0" again.

Note that with the last Senate Cell moving out of Vaasa, the Town is now Uncontrolled, so we remove the Control marker from there.



**NOTE:** Were there a Senate Prepared marker in Vaasa, the departure of the last Senate Cell would cause that marker to be removed (it cannot move with the Senate Cell).

Once again, the Senate gets to Activate one of the Inactive Attacking Cells.

Next, the Senate player rolls the Attack die. It's a 6! That is an auto-fail. All those coughed-up Resources are forfeited, and the Command ends there! This time, there is no counting Casualties.

**DESIGN NOTE:** Thematically, a failed Attack like this represents the historical fact that the Finnish Civil War was largely fought with untrained forces. Occasionally, even the best laid plans will come to nothing, especially when executed by poorly trained forces.

<sup>6</sup> ANSWER: Active Reds and Senate Cells tend to be more valuable to their owner because an Active Cell is able to do quite a bit more than an Inactive one. An Active Cell may, for example, engage in Terror (3.2.3), earn Resources via the Political Event Special Activity (4.2.1 – provided the executing Faction also Controls the space), and much more. Note that for the Moderates the converse applies. The Moderates generally prefer their Cells to be Underground for the purposes of them being able to be Activated in the context of, for example, the Publish Special Activity (4.3.3).

## Reds Terror

Finally, the Reds are up. This is easy pickings: the Reds will conduct Terror in Uusimaa to gain possession of the Moderates News marker there.

The Terror Command costs one Resource, down to “4”, removes the Moderates blue Cell in Uusimaa, places a red Terror marker in the space, and increases Polarization from “6” to “7”. The News marker is now held by the Reds in Uusimaa. Place it under a Reds Cell there.

In fact, as indicated on the Polarization track, with Polarization at “6”, **any further Terror** now removes two enemies, instead of the usual one. Note that there are no further removable enemies in Uusimaa right now – the German Troops in the space may not be removed by Terror.

## Reds Rally

Per the rules under NEWS in 3.3.2, the Reds may now (or at a later stage, if they so wish) discard and return their newly acquired News to the Moderates Available box to immediately conduct an additional non-free Limited Command of any kind.

The Reds choose to Rally in Häme. This Command costs one Resource, down to “3”. However, with a white Terror marker now in Häme, the Reds Rally there is less efficient, placing one Reds Cell only, despite Passive Opposition in the Province. Here the Offsetting rule (3.2.1) allows the Reds to pay an additional Resource to Offset the effect of white Terror in the space. The Reds player decides to do this. The Reds Resources go down to “2”, and the Reds player places two of their Available Cells in Häme. With that, Häme becomes Reds Controlled again.

The Reds turn has come to an end. Next, it’s time for house-keeping again. We adjust Eligibility: Reds go to first Eligible, Moderates to second, Senate to Ineligible. We adjust the cards: #45 FATE IN BALANCE is discarded, #35 HOME FRONT moves from next to the current Event, which then reveals the Propaganda card as the next Event. This in turn means the Propaganda card switches places with #35 HOME FRONT, which means a Propaganda Round will now be executed.

## Propaganda Round

We can think of a full draw deck as it is constructed at the start of the game (40 cards) as consisting of four Campaign “sub-decks” (10 cards each), each of which contains a Propaganda card among the last five cards. During play, it is advisable to keep counting the number of cards forthcoming before the earliest possible next Propaganda card so you are prepared for it.

The appearance of a Propaganda card as the *next* card interrupts the usual flow of play and a special set of procedures called the Propaganda Round (6.0) is executed. As we saw above, the appearance of a Propaganda card as the next card *immediately* triggers the Propaganda Round. For this purpose, we switch the places of the Propaganda card and the Event card preceding it.

**DESIGN NOTE:** In each COIN game, including All Bridges Burning, many of the Actions taken by Factions in the course of play essentially aim to make the most out of the possibilities presented by the Propaganda Round. A crucial part of playing a COIN game well is learning to place your pieces strategically – in anticipation of a Propaganda Round.

**Pause here...** read through 6.0 Propaganda Round. Alternatively, read through the different parts of the round as we go through them below.



**PLAY NOTE:** If you prefer, make use of the Prop Round marker on the Propaganda Card track along the right-hand edge of the Sequence of Play track to follow the progress of the Propaganda Round. The boxes of the Propaganda Card track contain helpful reminders of what happens at each stage of the round.

**Victory Phase (6.1).** Victory is checked at the start of each Propaganda Round by comparing the Factions’ current score to their Victory thresholds (7.0). Comparing the current situation Faction by Faction, we see that nobody has yet met their Victory conditions.


**Politics Phase (6.2).** In the Politics Phase, the Moderates conduct a die-roll to determine whether an Issue becomes Resolved. Here the Moderates player counts the Politics cubes currently in the Display – two red and two white cubes; four in total – and rolls a 1d6 wishing to roll equal or less than that value. The die-roll is a 4, which means that an Issue does become Resolved! A number of things now happen:

- Adjust the Networks+Issues(+1) marker by one, to “3”.
- Place a Resolved Issue marker in one of the Unresolved Issue slots in the Political Display. The color of the marker to be used is determined by which color of cubes is in the majority in the Political Display. This time we have a tie, which the Moderates player gets to break. They decide to place a **Red** Resolved Issue marker in the Political Display.
- Return all cubes in the Political Display to their respective slots in the Reds and Senate Available boxes.

**Resource Phase (6.3).** It’s Resource earning time! Each Faction earns Resources in a different way:

- The Senate earns one Resource per *level* of Support anywhere on the map. At this moment there is Active Support in Vaasa – which is two levels – and Passive Support in Pohjanmaa – one level. In total, this makes three Resources, up from “0” to “3”.
- The Reds earn one Resource per point of Population they Control. Right now, the Reds Control five points of Population – Turku, Tampere, Häme, Uusimaa, and Karelia – each of which has one level of Population. The Reds Resources thus go up from “2” to “7”.
- The Moderates earn Resources based on the level of Polarization, as indicated on the Polarization track. With Polarization at “7”, the Moderates earn **four** Resources, up from “3” to “7”.

**Support Phase (6.4).** In many ways, the Support Phase is the beating heart of the Propaganda Round. This is where the magic happens as the Factions get to increase Support and Opposition and do other things that matter greatly for Victory.

- 
**Russian Turmoil.** The first step of the Support Phase sees the Russian involvement in Finnish affairs automatically decline by one level. We move the Russian Vassalage marker from “2” to “1” on the edge track.

Next comes the Agitation step, during which the Factions may adjust Support and Opposition, and Polarization, as well as place Networks and Administrations, though each a little bit differently in their own way. Whether and where a Faction may Agitate depends on them having achieved a particular board position during the Campaign preceding the Propaganda Round. In that sense, the strategic, forward-looking placement of pieces plays a key role in playing any COIN game well.

- Senate Agitation.** The Senate may Agitate in any space that they Control and in which they have an Active Cell. The Senate may adjust Support and Opposition in such spaces and/or, for each such space, reduce Polarization by one step. The cost is one Resource per shift. Any Terror markers in these spaces must also be removed before shifting, costing one Resource per removed marker. (That is, Terror is a way of clearing spaces of enemies, yet it tends to leave a costly mess for the player to clean up.) In addition, any red Resolved Issue markers in the Political Display increase the Senate Agitation cost in the first Agitation space (only!) by one Resource.
  - The Senate Agitates in Viipuri, going from Neutral to Active Support, for a cost of two Resources. Here they must also pay one extra Resource for the red Resolved Issue marker in the Political Display (see 6.2.1). Senate would love to Agitate also in Pohjanmaa, but their Resources have already hit rock bottom at “0”, so no adjustment can be made there.
- Reds Agitation.** Reds Agitation works very similarly to Senate Agitation, but in one qualifying space the Reds may replace two Reds Cells with an Administration. A second difference is that the Reds need an Administration (and Control) in place before they may increase Opposition all the way to Active Opposition. In other words, with Control and an Active friendly Cell in a space only, the Reds may only increase up to Passive Opposition. One more important rule is that the placement of an Administration must happen as the first step.
  - The Reds qualify for Agitation in Häme, Turku, Tampere, and Karelia. Uusimaa also qualifies, only it is at Active Opposition already, so the space could be used to lower Polarization. With these options in mind, the Reds Agitate as follows:
- To begin with, as with Senate, note that there is a white Resolved Issue marker in the Political Display. This increases the Reds Agitation cost by +1 Resource in the first Agitation space below (see 6.2.1).
  - Opposition in Turku and Karelia is adjusted from Neutral to Passive at a cost of one Resource each. This is where the aforementioned rule about the Reds only being allowed to increase Opposition to Active in spaces with only an Administration bites. Passive Opposition is a good start nonetheless.
  - Reds Agitation in Häme costs two Resources—one for removing the White Terror marker there, and one for increasing Opposition to Active. The space qualifies for Agitation because it has Reds Control and an Administration there (while lacking an Active Reds Cell).
  - Finally, Tampere is at Passive Opposition and there is a Reds Administration in the Town. The Reds pay one Resource to shift Tampere to Active Opposition.
  - The total cost of the Reds Agitation comes to 6, which leaves the Reds with one Resource remaining after Agitation.
- Moderates Agitation.** The Moderates Agitation differs from the others a little bit more still. The Moderates qualify for Agitation in spaces that are Uncontrolled, contain a Moderates piece, and have one or more Population. The Moderates may either adjust Support and Opposition, or place a Network in such a space; or for each such space, place an Available Political cube in the Political Display; or, for each such space, lower Polarization by one level. The Moderates do not have to pay to remove Terror markers.
  - The Moderates qualify for Agitation in Helsinki only. They decide to pay one Resource and place a white cube in the Political Display.

Next in the course of the Propaganda Round, a brief **Game End?** check is conducted, but *only* if this is the final, fourth, Propaganda Round. We are not that far along yet, so we ignore this step.

**Reset Phase (6.5).** Finally, the Propaganda Round closes with a little bit of housekeeping.

- Prisoners of War.** As we saw above in the Attack example of play, Cells may be removed to the Prisoners of War box. This is where these removed Cells come back to haunt us: each two Cells (counting both colors, combined) in Prison increase Polarization by one level. However, before Polarization is adjusted, first the Reds, then the Senate, have a chance to free any Prisoners in order to avoid an increase in Polarization. Freed Prisoners go back to their respective Available boxes. [The Senate could choose to free prisoners, but decides to leave them imprisoned.](#)
- Pivotal Event.** Sometimes the RED REVOLT! Pivotal Event does not get auto-triggered by the aforementioned Cells on map threshold being broken. If this is the case, the Pivotal Event is automatically inserted as the next card after the second Propaganda Round instead. In the current example this does not apply, so we may skip this step.
- Powers.** Next, we check that the number of foreign Troop cubes in Finland corresponds with the current Foreign

Vassalage levels—the Foreign Relations Special Activity (4.2.2), certain Events, as well as losses in Attacks, may cause discrepancies in their respective values. There are two Russian cubes on the map, and Russian Vassalage is at “1”. Therefore, a random Russian cube must be taken from the map to Out of Play. For this example, we’ll assume that Pohjanmaa was randomly chosen—remove the Russian Troop cube from that space.

- **Old News.** During this step we remove any Terror, Sabotage, and News markers remaining on the map. The News markers are stored in the slots in the Moderates Available box. The Sabotage and Terror markers are kept in piles near the board.

We are now done with the Propaganda Round and the next Campaign can commence. In preparation for the next Campaign, we discard the Propaganda card, the next Event becomes the current Event, and we reveal a new next Event from the draw deck.

Importantly, unlike after each Event card, following a Propaganda card the Eligibility order is *not* adjusted.

This concludes this extended example of play. Feel free to continue playing from here or reset the game and start afresh. Enjoy!

## Non-player Examples of Play

*All Bridges Burning* contains a cards-based Non-player system that shares some features with, but also differs from, the flowchart-based systems used in most other previous *COIN Series* games. The following examples of play introduce the player to how to run this solitaire system.

- The following extended example of play—and the running of the solitaire system itself—presupposes some familiarity with the base-game mechanics. It is recommended that especially inexperienced *COIN Series* players first familiarize themselves with the base game before attempting a solo game with the Non-players.

Now read sections 8.0 through 8.1.2 for a brief introduction to the system.

### Non-player Set Up

For your solitaire game, the game Setup is done exactly as for a full 3-player game (as detailed at the back of the Rules of Play booklet), with the following exceptions:

- **No Resource Spending.** If the Senate and the Reds are Non-player Factions, that Faction’s Resource marker is not needed at all. Put them away in the game box.
  - If the Moderates are a Non-player Faction, place their Resource marker on the “0” space of the edge track. We will use this marker to detect Moderates Victory (one of their Victory conditions is Resources-related, 7.0). Like the other Non-players, the Non-player Moderates also do not spend Resources when conducting actions.

- **Non-player Decks.** Take the Non-player cards, separate them into mini-decks, one for each Faction. Then shuffle each deck and place within reach next to the map.

**PLAY NOTE:** *If you wish, you can go through each mini-deck and take out those Non-player cards that pertain to Phase II of the game only. To spot those cards, look for the green Conditions Box (8.2.1) on each card to see whether it specifies that the card is used in Phase II only (the card will read “Phase II”).*

**Remember to shuffle those cards back in in Phase II again!**

*Conversely, in Phase II, you may leave out the Phase I cards.*

**Eligibility Order.** Per the Setup instructions, we select a random Eligibility order. For the sake of this example, let the Eligibility order be: 1st Senate, 2nd Reds, 3rd Moderates. In the examples below, we shall treat each Faction as a Non-player Faction.

**Event Draw Deck.** For the purposes of these examples of play, seed an Event Draw Deck as follows: #2 “JULY DAYS” IN RUSSIA as the current Event, #17 TRAINS as the next Event. Place the Event #4 STRIKES face down, see below TRAINS.




**Finish Set Up.** Finally, per regular game Setup instructions, we are to randomly determine the location of one Senate and one Moderates Cell. Place the Moderates Cell in Turku (making the Town Uncontrolled) and the Senate Cell in Viipuri (also now Uncontrolled).

### Non-player Sequence of Play

**Action Selection.** The Non-players follow a particular action selection priority list whenever it is their turn to select an action option in the Sequence of Play. You will also find this summarized in the Solitaire Play Aid sheet provided.

**Pause here...** and read 8.1.4. (We may skip 8.1.3 for now and return to it in the course of the examples below.)

We go through each step below, until we find one that applies.

1.  **NP to Play?** First we check whether the “NP to play” marker is in play. This marker comes to play in situations in which a Non-player Faction has Passed with the intention of playing the next Event card (see the steps below). There is no such marker in play at this time.
2. **Pass?** Second, we check whether a Pass occurs now. Here we look for the  and  symbols (depending upon which Non-player Faction is taking its turn) on the *next* card in the draw deck. There is no such Pass symbol on the next card.
3. **Capability?** Third, we check whether the *current* or the *next* Event is a Capability Event (5.3), because if one is, a special procedure must be executed.
  - The next Event is indeed a Capability Event, #17 TRAINS. As we will see in more detail in the next section, *Non-player Senate Pass* below, the next Event being a

Capability Event has implications for the Non-player Senate action this turn.

**4. Event Symbol?** Finally, we check whether the current Event card has the Event play symbol (●○●) printed on it.

- JULY DAYS has the blue Moderates symbol. We will return to this symbol during the Moderates turn below.

**NOTE:** Occasionally, the Event play symbol has a small “i” in it (●i●). This means there are special Event instructions for the Non-player-handling of that Event card. These instructions are listed in the Solitaire Play Aid sheet provided.

**5. Command (+ Special Activity)?** Now we get to the Non-player Sequence of Play step that you are probably going to make the most use of: selecting a Command, possibly accompanied by a Special Activity. As a general rule, we draw one card from the Non-player deck of the Non-player Faction currently taking its turn and conduct a *Limited Command* (2.2.4) as instructed on the card. However, if the Non-player Faction is the *last* Eligible Faction to play on this card, then the choice is a full Command with a Special Activity. (For the purposes of determining the last Eligible Faction, keep in mind the Germans are not a Faction, but a Power.)

- We will look at the details of this step in sections *Non-player Reds Activism* and *Non-player Moderates Rally* below.

**6. Event?** In certain relatively rare circumstances, the Non-player may be left with only the Event play option (or Pass). In such a case, we are to play the Event using the general priorities listed in 8.1.6 and 8.17.

**7. Pass?** In the extremely rare case that no action is possible, the Non-player will simply Pass. If the Pass is conducted by the Non-player Moderates, remember to give them one Resource.

**8. Record Steps.** After the Non-player has conducted one action option (as detailed above) always remember to record the *actual action* they took in the Sequence of Play exactly as you would do when playing a three-player game.

- Occasionally it may happen that a Non-player is due to take a full Command with a Special Activity, yet executing the Non-player card’s instructions yields just a Command taken in a single space, without a Special Activity. In that case, *provided that action option is available in the Sequence of Play track*, record the Non-player’s action as a Limited Command.
- It may also happen that a Non-player is due to conduct a full Command with a Special Activity, but that a Special Activity cannot be conducted, while a full Command can. In that case, again record the action as actually taken, namely: a Command (with or without a Special Activity).

**9. Reconstitute the Non-player Deck.** Finally, if any Non-player cards were drawn during this turn, shuffle them back into the relevant Non-player card deck at the end of that Non-player Faction’s turn. This is an important step in that it enables the Non-player to potentially take that just-taken action again.

Having gone through the Non-player Sequence of Play in general terms, let us now turn to examples of using that sequence to select Non-player actions.

### Non-player Senate Pass

The Non-player Senate is the first to go. As noted above (the third step of the sequence), the next Event card is a Capability, namely #17 TRAINS, and the Non-player Senate Capability Event instructions contain a simple, special clause for treating TRAINS: *always get them!*



To catch the TRAINS Event, the Non-player Senate will want to Pass. Therefore, we move the Senate Eligibility cylinder in the Pass box (slot A). As a reminder for yourself, you may want to place the “NP to play” marker on the TRAINS card. This concludes the Senate turn already.

### Non-player Reds Activism

The Non-player Reds are up next. This time we get a little further than the Senate in the Non-player Sequence of Play, namely, to step five: *Command (+ Special Activity)*.

At this step, we get to draw a card from the Non-player Reds mini-deck. Suppose the card we draw is #51 Terror.

**Pause here...** and read 8.2 to find out about the general structure of the Non-player cards.

The first thing we look at on a Non-player card is the **Conditions Box** at the top (8.2.1). In the case of the Terror card, the condition states that there must be at least one Active Reds Cell together with an enemy Cell somewhere. Well, at the game start there are no Active Cells on the map at all, so we know the condition cannot be met. Therefore, just set the Terror card aside and draw another Non-player Reds card.

**DESIGN NOTE:** The function of the Condition Box is two-fold. On one hand, in some cases it states a general condition without which the Command of the card could not be executed at all. As such, the condition saves the player the trouble of going through the entire Command to find out what can be summarized in the Condition Box. On the other hand, in some cases the Condition Box serves to sort the Non-player Commands into an implicit order of priority, much like the so-called “diamond conditions” in the flowcharts of previous COIN Series volumes.

Suppose the next card we draw is #49 ACTIVISM. The Condition Box at the top simply asks whether it is Phase I—yes, it is—and whether a 1d6 rolls higher than the number of already Active Reds Cells on the map. As noted above, at game start there are no Active Reds on the map at all, so it will be

impossible to roll less than a “0”. Therefore, the condition is automatically met and the Non-player Reds are good to go with Activism! We could still roll that die, since we will be making use of it very soon (this has to do with one of the Non-player rules exceptions, 8.1.3).

Now recall from the Non-player Sequence of Play section above that unless the Reds are playing as *the last Eligible Faction* on this card, they are to conduct a Limited Command only. Here, the Reds are not the last active Faction, the Moderates will be. This Activism Command will thus have to be a Limited Command.

**PLAY NOTE:** Take a mental note that the Reds are only going to be playing a Limited Command. Alternatively, you might take a single pawn in your hand now and place it as soon as the one Limited Command action space has been found.

Next, we start going through the priorities, or action points as one might call them, listed on the card. This card has only two of them, and the first priority “❶” tells us to ignore it if we are executing a Limited Command, which we are.

So, we skip straight to action point “❷”, which tells us to Activate the above rolled 1d6 of Reds Cells. Let’s say we rolled a 3. This means the Reds will now get to Activate three Cells of theirs anywhere on the map. You will recall from the base game rules (3.2.2) that doing this “1d6 activation” still counts as a Limited Command, even though it allows the player to Activate Cells in multiple spaces.

Now there are more than three Reds Cells on the map, so we need further criteria for deciding which Cells exactly are to be Activated. The priority “❷” contains a specification nested within the top-level action point, highlighted in the Reds’ Faction **color**. The nested priority says “Ⓐ” to Activate lone Reds Cells, that is, Cells in spaces with no other Reds Cells. Okay, that narrows down the selection to just the three spaces, exactly the number we need: Helsinki, Turku, and Viipuri. Now, in each of those Towns, flip the Reds Cell to show its symbol side.

That concludes the Reds Limited Command Activism already. We mark this on the Sequence of Play track accordingly, and move the Reds Eligibility cylinder to the “Lim Cmd” box at the top-left. Then, shuffle the two Non-player Reds cards we drew – Terror and Activism – back into the Reds mini-deck.

## Non-player Moderates Rally

As the last Eligible Faction we have the Moderates. Per the Non-player Sequence of Play, the last Eligible Non-player will always seek to play a full Command with a Special Activity.

Once again we draw a Non-player card, this time from the Moderates deck. Suppose the card is #61 NEGOTIATE. The Condition Box at the top asks whether Polarization is at six or more, or whether the Moderates have fifteen or more Resources. Neither is the case, therefore we set this card aside and draw a new one.

Suppose the second card is #60 RALLY. There the Condition Box question is answered in the affirmative: there are both Moderates Cells and Networks in the Moderates Available box. The Non-player Moderates will therefore attempt to Rally.

**Preliminaries.** Found in the top-part of the card, following the name of the Command, most Non-player cards contain a brief set of conditions called *Preliminaries*. These specify certain general priorities, or other guidelines, that the Non-player will follow in the execution of the Command at hand. In the present case, the Preliminaries simply state that the Rally is going to occur in at most two spaces (unless Polarization is very high, in which case more Rally spaces may be selected).

Note that were the Moderates conducting a Limited Command only, the base-game rule takes priority over the preliminaries: the instruction to Rally in up to two spaces would be ignored, and a Rally conducted in a single space only.

**DESIGN NOTE:** The ruling that the Non-players do not spend Resources here necessitated coming up with some other way of limiting the number of actions they take. Setting a simple and fixed numerical limit seemed like a good compromise between reducing the solitaire rules overhead and safeguarding competent Non-player play. In some cases you will find that such a limit gives the Non-player an edge, at other times it may seem like a limitation.

Next, let’s go through the action points, one by one. The first priority “❶” is to get a Moderates Network into a space with at least three Moderates (for the Network gets replaced by two Moderates Cells, leaving one to protect the newly placed Network). There is no such space on the map.

Second, “❷”, the card has us look for spaces, first ❶, with the Personality marker or a Network that is not protected by a number of Moderates. There is no Personality and no Networks on the map, so we skip this priority as well.

Next, “❸”, we are to check whether the Moderates have pieces in one Town only (this is to ensure better earnings during a future Publish Special Activity, 4.3.3). No, Moderates exist in two Towns, so we skip this action point as well.

Then, “❹”, we are to Rally in one space with one or more Population. Well, there are many of those spaces, so we need to narrow it down. This is where we consult the tie-breaker priorities. “Ⓐ” tells us to look for a space where a Moderates Rally would remove Control, while “Ⓑ” has us look for Uncontrolled spaces without a Moderates presence. Special to this particular set of tie-breaker priorities: we use a weighted die-roll to decide which of the two, Ⓐ or Ⓑ, is evaluated first. Suppose, against the odds, the die selects Ⓑ. Taken together “Ⓐ” and “Ⓑ” have us look for a space with one or more Population that is Uncontrolled and contains no Moderates. The **three** candidates that fit the bill are Varsinais-Suomi, **Viipuri** and Karelia. In the absence of further decision criteria, we select randomly. Suppose Karelia is selected. We place an Available Moderates Cell there.

**DESIGN NOTE:** The above die-roll based priority selection simulates a decision between two Moderates strategies: actively deny Reds and/or Senate Control, or seek out a more peaceful corner of the map and build up there in anticipation of the Propaganda Round.

We are still looking for one more Rally space (as per the Preliminaries' "in up to 2 spaces" limit noted above).

We now move down to "3". There, the "1" applies in Phase II only, so we ignore it.

However, the second priority, "2", is a hit. This priority has us look for a Rally space with existing Moderates pieces. Turku and Helsinki qualify. Absent further criteria, we once again select randomly. Suppose Turku becomes our chosen space. Next, place an Available Moderates Cell there. The Moderates now outnumber the Reds in Turku!



*Moderates Rally in Turku.  
A green pawn is used to mark the Rally space.*

### Moderates Special Activity: Personality

The Moderates may still add a Special Activity to their Command. To find that Special Activity, just look further down on the Non-player Moderates Rally card for the Special Activity box.

Only one Special Activity is associated with the Moderates Rally Command, the one called Personality (4.3.1).

The first action point "1" applies in Phase II only, so we skip it. The second "2" point tells us to place the Personality marker in a space with at least two Moderates Cells. There's only one such space: Turku. We place the Personality marker in Turku. That concludes the Moderates Special Activity already.

Finally, to wrap up the Moderates turn, we move the Moderates Eligibility cylinder to the "Cmd (may add Special Activity)" box beside the Reds cylinder.

**NOTE:** Had the Moderates been unable to Rally in more than one space (for lack of Available Cells, for example) and also been unable to conduct the Personality Special Activity (because the Personality was on the map already), the Moderates could have ended up executing a Limited Command only. In such a case, remember to place the Eligibility cylinder according to the action option actually taken – that is a Limited Command instead of a full Command with Special Activity.

With all Factions having now taken an action, we adjust the Eligibility order, as well as discard and reveal cards according to the base game rules (2.2.5, 2.2.6).

Remember also to shuffle the two Non-player Moderates cards back into the Moderates mini-deck.

### Non-player Senate Event

**NP to play** Having passed on the previous turn in order to pick up the TRAINS Event, the Non-player Senate goes on to do just that. The "NP to play marker" on the TRAINS card reminds us of this earlier decision. We move the Senate Eligibility cylinder in the Event box at the bottom-left. Then find and place a Senate Train marker in the Capabilities box at the top. Discard the "NP to play marker". The Senate is done.

### Non-player Reds Terror

Next up are the Reds. As the last Eligible Faction, the Non-player Reds are looking to conduct a full Command with a Special Activity.

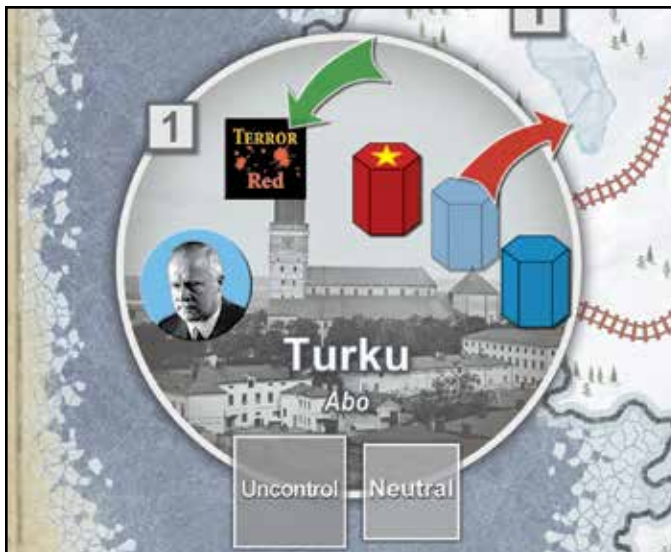
Once again we draw a Non-player card, now from the Reds' mini-deck. Suppose it is #51 Terror. The preliminaries section on the Reds Terror card says the Reds will Terror in up to two spaces.

Let's find some Terror spaces, then, shall we? The first Terror priority "1" has us look for spaces where Reds Terror could create Reds Control. Knowing from the base-game rules that Terror can remove up to one enemy (or two if Polarization is high enough, 3.2.3), we see that Viipuri is the only possible choice where the removal of a single enemy would create Reds Control.

Select Viipuri for Reds Terror, remove the solo Senate Cell there, place a Reds Terror marker in the space, and increase Polarization from "3" to "4".

The second Terror priority "2", targets spaces in which Active Senate Cells can be snapped before they snap the Reds. There is not such a space, however.

The third priority "3" is to target Moderates Networks and the Personality. This priority means Turku becomes the second, and last, Terror target. Remove a Moderates Cell and place a Red Terror marker there, then adjust Polarization from "4" to "5".



*Polarization increases as a wave of Red Terror rolls over the South.*

### Non-player Reds Special Activity: Prepare

Next we need to find a Special Activity to accompany the Terror Command. There are two Special Activity boxes on the Reds Terror card. We go from top down, and first consider Foreign Relations (4.2.2).

Foreign Relations has its own small green condition box that checks whether it is Phase I, and Russian Vassalage is at level "2". The latter is not the case, therefore we skip this Special Activity.

The second Special Activity on the card is Prepare (4.2.3). Action point "1" looks at opportunities to place a Sabotage marker to hinder the movements of any Senate Train Capability markers on the map. There are none, so we skip ahead.

The second action point "2" places a Prepared marker. Priorities target a Town space, and within that, a Town closest to Helsinki, which can include Helsinki itself. Helsinki indeed has a Reds Cell, so we place a Reds Prepared marker from the Capabilities box in Helsinki.



That concludes the Non-player Reds move, as well as this turn of play. We again adjust the Eligibility order, discard and reveal cards, and proceed to the next turn of play. Remember to return all Non-player Reds cards back to their mini-deck.

### Non-player Moderates Rally

Moderates are the first to play on the current Event, #3 OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA, with #14 CANNONS showing as the next Event. There are no Moderates symbols on these Events, so we pass straight to drawing a Non-player card. The aim will be to conduct a Limited Command only (as the Senate is the last Eligible Faction this time). Suppose we again draw #60 RALLY.

Once again, the first priority "1" does not apply, as there are no groups of three or more Moderates on the map just yet.

The second priority "2", however, does apply. Turku now contains the Personality marker and it is not protected by a sufficient number of Cells. Turku thus becomes the target location for this Limited Command Rally action. Place one Available Moderates Cell there. The Moderates Eligibility cylinder is placed in the top-left "Lim Cmd" box of the Eligibility track. Shuffle the Rally card back into the Non-player Moderates mini-deck.

### Non-player Senate Pass

The next Event is a Capability Event. We are to follow a simple die-roll based decision-making procedure here (step 3., 8.1.4).

- Roll 1d6. If the die-roll is less than or equal to the number of existing Senate Capabilities—multiplied by two—the Event will not be taken. In other words, the Senate needs to roll anything but a 1 or 2 for them *not* to Pass now to pick up CANNONS on their next turn.

Suppose the die-roll is a 4. The Senate will therefore Pass again, in order to pick up the CANNONS on the next card. This concludes the round, and resetting of the Eligibility order and a new Event card follows.

**NOTE:** Were the Non-player Reds conducting this decision procedure, they would receive a +2 die-roll modifier on their roll. This tweak makes it less likely that the Non-player Reds amass a mighty Capability-supported army.

### Non-player Senate Event

The Senate are first up on the new current Event, #14 CANNONS. This Capability is taken and the corresponding marker placed in the Capability box, next to the Senate Train marker there. The Senate Eligibility cylinder goes in the bottom-left "Event" box.

## Non-player Reds Rally

It's the Reds turn. The next Event #8 GENERAL STRIKE has a Non-player Reds symbol with an "i" on it. However, this does not trigger a Pass from the Reds, only a "P" does that, so we move on to conduct a Limited Command (because the Moderates will be the last Eligible Faction this card).

We draw a Non-player card from the Reds mini-deck, and it is #48 RALLY. The green top-level condition is satisfied: there are Available Reds Cells and Administrations.

The Preliminaries state that a Rally is to occur in up to three spaces – yet we ignore this because, as noted above, per the Non-player Sequence of Play Options (8.1.4), the Reds are to play a Limited Command only. The second part of the Preliminaries gives guidance on where the Administrations are going to come from should any get placed during this Command; more on this below.

The first Reds Rally priority "1" seeks to cover unprotected Administrations, or Admins for short. There are none on the map, so let's ignore this priority this time.

At "2", the Reds are looking to place an Administration in a space with at least one Population, with no existing Active Opposition, and "0" where there are at least two Reds but no Senate Cells. Failing that, the next target would be a one or greater Population space without Active Opposition and "2" three or more Reds and any Senate (including zero). However, "1" already gives us more options than we need: Tampere, Häme, and Uusimaa each qualify.

With no further selection priorities to fall back upon, we are left with choosing the target space randomly. Suppose Uusimaa is selected. Replace the two Reds Cells there with an Available Reds Administration. This concludes the Reds Limited Command. The Reds Eligibility cylinder is moved to the "Lim Cmd" box at the bottom-right of the track. Shuffle the Reds Rally card back into the mini-deck.

**NOTE:** Later on in the game, the Reds may well have all three of their Administrations on the map. In a case in which no Administration can be placed from Available, the Preliminaries tell us to relocate an Administration from an Active Opposition space (only). You will recall this is a legal move as detailed in 1.4.2.

## Non-player Moderates Pass

Next up, the Non-player Moderates note the blue "P" symbol for Pass on the upcoming GENERAL STRIKE Event. Without further ado, move the Moderates Eligibility cylinder into the Pass box (slot A), and move the Moderates Resources cylinder from "0" to "1" on the edge track. Mark GENERAL STRIKE with the "NP to play" marker. This concludes play on the current Event.

Next, as we begin to adjust Eligibility and the Event cards, and the first Propaganda pops up as the next Event. Per the base-game rules of play, the Propaganda Round will now

occur immediately. Swap GENERAL STRIKE (keeping the "NP to play" marker on the card) with the Propaganda card.

## Non-player Propaganda Round

For the Non-player Propaganda Round priorities, we need to find and consult the play aid sheet provided.

**Solitaire Play Aid (8.0)**

**Non-player Sequence of Play (8.1.4)**

- "NP to play" on current Event?
- If Pass to play next Event? (Moderate Resources +1)
- Capability? Senate always TRAINS, if last (Reds +2) > 2x total Capabilities
- 1: 0: Play Event with or without instructions?
- Select: 0: Lim Cmd (with: Cmd if None) 1: Last Eligible, Cmd +5A 2: Event + Pass
- Record steps (2.2).

**Propaganda Round (8.1.8)** Conduct a Propaganda Round making Non-player decisions as detailed below.

**Politics (6.2)** In a tin to cubes, Moderates receive the lower in favor of a Non-player Faction.

**Agitation (8.4.3)**

**Senate:** In/for all spaces with friendly Control and friendly Active Cells:

- 0: Senate, if Senate Town Pop 1+ and first Propaganda, reduce Polarization such that German Advantage + Polarization is exactly "0" (otherwise do not)
- 0: Senate: Agitate to maximum everywhere else

**Reds:** In/for all spaces with friendly Control and Active Cells or Admins:

- 0: Place an Administration in one space with 1+ Population, no Active Opposition and 0: 2+ Red Cells and no Senate
- 0: 1+ Red Cells and no Senate
- 0: For the same priority but ignoring "no Active Oppose"
- 0: Raise mass Opposition
- 0: 0: 2+ Towns 0: at 14 Pop
- 0: If Oppose+Admins 12+ and first Propaganda, reduce Polarization such that Russian Advantage + Polarization is exactly "0" (otherwise do not)

**Moderates:** For all spaces with 1+ Pop, without Control, and containing a Moderate priority:

- 0: If last Propaganda and Moderates Resources 12+, reduce Polarization such that it equals Issues + Networks (+1)
- 0: If Oppose+Admins 10+, shift toward Neutral as able and Oppose+Admins is 9 or less
- 0: Unless last Propaganda and there are Unresolved Issues, place max cubes roll 5A, 1-2 Reds 3-4 Senate 5-6 Non-player
- 0: Shift toward Neutral, stabilize player's Support / Opposition line

**Precursors of War (8.5.1)** Reds and Senate release all enemy prisoners if Polarization is 6 or more, otherwise none.

**Capabilities (8.1.9)** Place up to two friendly Capabilities in each space unless placement elsewhere is not possible:

- 0: Senate place jumper
- 0: In Vaasa
- 0: with largest Senate group of Cells
- 0: Place Trains
- 0: If Senate, with jumper
- 0: Reds and Senate, evenly, with a largest group of friendly Cells, one Train per group
- 0: closest to largest Reds or Senate-enemy group
- 0: Place other Capabilities evenly
- 0: If Senate, where a Senate Capability already
- 0: closest to largest Reds or Senate-enemy group

**Random Spaces Map (8.4)** Roll two dice to determine the first to the "low" and the second to the "one". Then find the corresponding space on the map. If the indicated space is not suitable, follow the arrows to find one. EXAMPLE: "2" joined by "3" is 26. Opponent

**Victory Phase (6.1).** There is no winner yet. No Faction has made it to their Victory threshold.

**Politics Phase (6.2).** No action takes place during this Phase, as there are no cubes in the Political Display.

**Resources Phase (6.3).** You will recall that the Non-players do *not* spend Resources. However, the Moderates still earn Resources for the purposes of tracking Victory. Therefore, With Polarization at "5", we move the Moderates Resources cylinder by *two*, from "1" to "3". (The Reds and the Senate Resource cylinders were set aside at Setup, and are not used at all.)

**Support Phase (6.4).** In this example, we only cover those steps of the Support Phase in which a Non-player decision is needed.

- **Agitation.** The regular Rules of Play apply in terms of where the Non-player Factions are able to Agitate (6.4.2). The only rules-exception is, once again, that Non-players do not spend Resources.
- **Senate.** First, it is the Non-player Senate's turn to Agitate. However, in absence of Active Senate Cells (regardless of Control), there is no space in which they qualify, so no Agitation will occur.

- **Reds.** Next, the Reds Agitate. They qualify in Viipuri and Uusimaa, each space having an Active Reds Cell and in Reds Control. Looking at the Non-player Reds Agitation column on the play aid sheet, “1” and “2” both concern the placement of Administrations. However, since there is no qualifying Agitation space with two or more Reds Cells on the map, we may skip to action point “3”. It says to raise maximum Opposition (within the regular Rules of Play, naturally). Therefore, in Uusimaa, we shift Opposition from Passive to Active. In Viipuri, we remove the Red Terror marker, then shift from neutral to Passive Opposition (as, per the regular Rules of Play, a Reds Administration would be needed to raise all the way to Active Opposition). Note that throughout these actions, the Non-player Reds are considered to have spent the necessary Resources to remove Terror and increasing Opposition. Finally, to keep track of increasing Opposition, move the Oppose + Admins marker from “3” to “5” on the edge track.



- **Moderates.** Next, it is the Moderates turn to Agitate. They qualify in Turku, Helsinki, and Karelia. The first priority “1” applies in the final Propaganda Round only, so we ignore it. The second priority “2” checks whether the Reds have accumulated dangerous levels of Opposition (+ Administrations on the map). That’s not yet the case, so we pass on this point as well. The third point, “3”, tells us to place as many cubes in the Political Display as the Moderates are able. So, for all three qualifying spaces, we place three cubes. Roll a 1d6 three times to determine the color of each cube placed. (Finally, while the Moderates have run out of possible Agitation spaces, the fourth “4” priority would spring into action if the Political Display was already full and there were still spaces that would qualify for Agitation remaining. Here, the Moderates would seek to erase as much Opposition and Support as able.)

**Prisoners of War (6.5.1).** There are no Prisoners at this point, so no action is taken here.

After conducting the rest of the Reset steps, remember that as in the base game, we do not reset the Eligibility order following a Propaganda Round. The Moderates will therefore be first Eligible (and there’s the “NP to play” marker on the next Event card to remind us that the Moderates will want to play that Event).

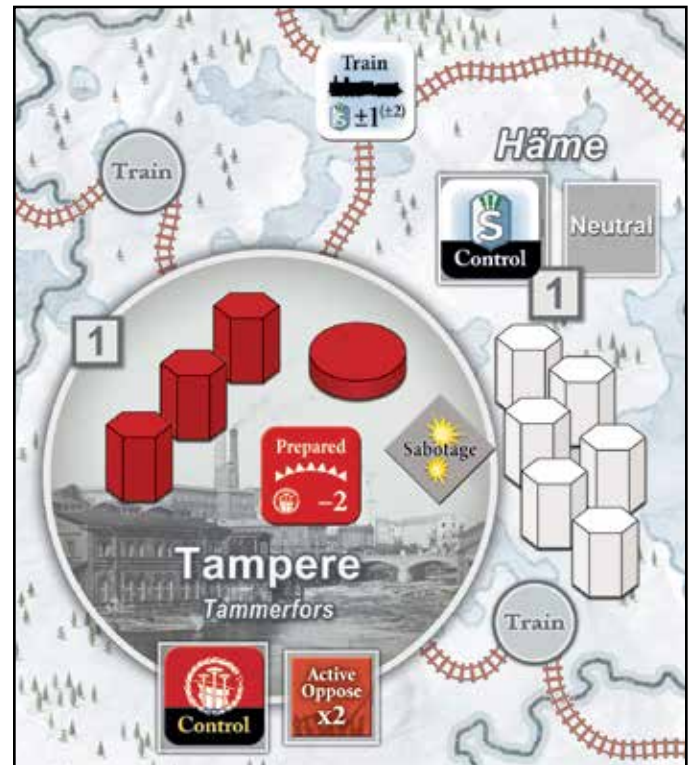
\* \* \*

This concludes our extended Non-player example of play. In the next section, we look at the Attack Command that comes to play in Phase II of the game.

## Non-player Senate Attack

For this example, we will focus upon just two spaces on the map. Set up the example as follows:

- Place three Reds Cells, a Reds Prepared marker, and an Administration in Tampere. Set the Town to Active Opposition and under Reds Control. Place a Sabotage marker on the Tampere Town border.
- In Häme, place six Senate Cells and a Senate Train Capability marker. Place the Train in the Train slot in the north-most part of Häme. Häme is Senate Controlled.



It is now the Non-player Senate’s turn to play. Suppose we draw the Attack card. First we check the green condition. Yes, it is Phase II (for the sake of this example). In our example there are no groups of at least three Senate Cells in spaces with Reds or Russians, so the first tick-box condition is not met. However, it *is* the case that at least four Senate Cells and a Train are *adjacent* to Reds. Therefore, we may move forward with this Command.

The second thing we note is the Preliminary instructions concerning the kinds of groups we are to form and Attack within the priorities below. We shall return to those instructions below.

The first priority “1” has the Non-player Senate check whether the Prepare Special Activity, as detailed on the Non-player card, should be performed before the Attack. In case the Special Activity cannot be performed, the Non-player will prefer to conduct a Limited Command only.

**Special Activity.** This time, however, the Prepare Special Activity can be performed. The single Prepare priority “1” says to remove a Sabotage marker closest to a Senate Train—the wavy “equal to” sign stands for “closest to” as noted in the list of special terms and abbreviations used on the Non-player cards (see TERMS in 8.2). In this example there’s only one the Sabotage marker and only one Senate Train on the map, so we remove Sabotage on the Tampere Town border. With the rails repaired, the Senate Train is now free to move into Tampere.

**Command Continued.** We now return to the Attack Command. The next two Attack priorities, “2” and “3”, are used to form and select Attacking groups. Priority “2” selects any spaces with Senate Cells that contain at least three Cells and a Train Capability. In this particular example, we select the group in Häme. The third priority, “3”, would select any groups of three or more Senate Cells, of which we have none in this example of play.

In the remaining action points “4” and “5”, we use the just-selected groups to conduct Attacks against targets identified by these priorities.

Priority “4” targets Towns. The Train in Häme enables the Senate Cells there to Attack the adjacent Town of Tampere, and so we select Tampere as an Attack destination.

Supposing there was a second Town with Senate Cells, we would need to consult the tie-breaker priorities (a etc.) to prioritize one Attack over the other. In such a case, the priority “a, with Train” would prioritize the Attack against Tampere. (Such prioritization would be especially important if the Senate was conducting a Limited Command only. In the case of a full Command, the Non-player priority order is not important, as Attacks will occur everywhere with sufficiently large Senate groups anyway.)

With Tampere selected as our Attack destination, it is time to conduct the Attack itself. At this juncture we need to recall the instructions from the Preliminaries: we are to form an Attacking group of up to five Cells, making sure to leave at least one Senate Cell behind. This fits the situation. With six Senate Cells in Häme, five of them will take the Train to Tampere, while the sixth Cell stays in place. Given a choice, the Senate would prefer to leave an Active Cell in Häme, but in this example all the Cells are Inactive.

The Attack follows the regular Rules of Play (3.2.4), with two exceptions: once again, the Non-player Senate pays no Resources; and the Senate Attack strength is initially “7”. The Reds Prepared marker in Tampere reduces that “7” to “5”, but the Senate Train bumps it up, for a final Attack Strength of “6”.

The rest of the Attack follows the normal Rules of Play. We Activate one Attacking Senate Cell, roll 1d6, then remove enemies, place a Terror marker, and so on, depending upon the die-roll result. As detailed in 8.1.7, the Attacking Non-players never allow enemies the Retreat option, but always Engage and remove enemies to Prison (within that, remove Active before Inactive enemies).



A propaganda postcard from 1918 depicts a Finnish White Guard and a German soldier in comparable equipment.



Marcus Collin's (1882-1966) *Kotiinpaluu* (“Returning Home”) from 1917, depicts a scene from, at the time, a rapidly industrializing Finland. (Image: Finnish National Gallery)



Edvard Isto's (1865-1905) *Hyökkäys* (“Attack”) from 1899, depicts the two-headed Russian eagle attacking the Book of Laws held by the Maiden of Finland. The idea of national independence from Russia had long been in the agenda in Finland.

## Events Background

The following is a list of the game's Event cards, providing historical background information on each Event.



**1. FEBRUARY REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.** 1917 was a tumultuous year in Russia, with successive revolutions overthrowing governments. Events #1 to #3 represent a number of effects Russian disintegration had in Finland. On one hand, the so-called activists—who for years had been secretly channeling Finnish men to Germany to receive military training (the so-called *jaegers*)—got new impetus from expectation of an opportunity to decisively separate Finland from Russia. On the other hand, the crumbling of Russian authority left the various factions within Finland working to fill the ensuing power vacuum. The transfer of power in Russia from Tsar to provisional government in February 1917—and eventually to the Bolsheviks in October 1917—formed an important background that was closely followed in Finland. For more information on the “activists” mentioned in the card text, see Event #10 WEAPONS AND JAEGER FROM GERMANY?.

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**2. “JULY DAYS” IN RUSSIA.** See above.

**3. OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.** See above.

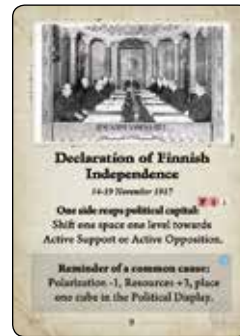
**4. STRIKES.** On several occasions throughout 1917, the working-class movement used strikes as a means for advancing their political aims. In the absence of an effective national police force, often these strikes would turn violent and lead to deaths (see #20 THE LEG OF TOKOI'S CHAIR).

**5. “POWERS ACT”.** This act of the Finnish parliament was prepared during the latter half of 1917. On one hand, it meant independence and a transfer of power from Russia to the Finnish Parliament. It was thus welcomed across the Finnish political spectrum. On the other hand, the act would transfer power to the parliament and thus reflect its then current political party make-up, and therefore an unavoidable cause for strife as the parties jockeyed for political advantage.

**6. GENERAL ELECTION.** The general election of October 1917 in Finland was held in an antagonistic atmosphere of riots, unrest, and strikes. In that election, the Social Democratic Party received more votes than in the previous election—but lost their absolute majority in the parliament—as the conservative and centrist parties put their differences aside to form a shaky coalition.

**7. “WE DEMAND” MANIFESTO.** Published in November 1917 by the Social Democratic Party, the manifesto contained demands for a number of reforms, among others, the introduction of an eight-hour work day. The key demands of the manifesto—including the eight-hour work day—were eventually ratified after a general strike (Event #8).

**8. GENERAL STRIKE.** Organized by the Worker's Revolutionary Central Committee (a group of the most zealous rebellion leaders on the left)—and backed by the Social Democratic Party, the Finnish Labor Unions, and the Red Guards—the general strike of November 1917 was a violent prelude to civil war. Nationwide, 34 people died during the week-long strike. This strike demonstrated working class abilities to mobilize forces, and in many localities, the forces mobilized on the streets constituted a de facto state of revolution. The situation was defused after a number of key proposals from the “We Demand” manifesto (Event #7) were driven through parliament. That the strike ended without a permanent working-class revolt was a pivotal event in Finnish history. By the time the Reds eventually launched the Red Revolt in January 1918, a number of key parameters had changed. The bourgeoisie was then much better prepared to resist the revolt. Perhaps more crucially still, the Russian Bolsheviks were very close to being forced, in the forthcoming Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, to concede Finland to the German sphere of influence—while German forces were making gains in the Baltic area and would soon enter Finland (see Event #31).



**9. DECLARATION OF FINNISH INDEPENDENCE.** Made in December 1917, just a month before the Finnish Civil War would commence, the declaration made real the long dreamed-of Finnish national independence. At the same time, against the backdrop of the recent Bolshevik revolution in Russia, the declaration was seen by many in Finland and Russia as an attempt by certain political factions

to distance themselves from the new rulers in Russia. This declaration would also, necessarily, transfer power to whichever party controlled the Finnish parliament. For these reasons, the declaration was not a wholly neutral matter.

**10. WEAPONS AND JAEGER FROM GERMANY?** Jaeger were Finnish volunteers who, since 1914, had been receiving military training in Germany. The return of the jaeger, starting in October 1917, greatly strengthened the Senate forces, affording them much-needed trained and disciplined soldiers and leaders. The historian Alapuro (1988: 157-158) wrote:

A group of ‘Activists’ had worked for Finnish independence since 1915. [...] The Activists looked to Germany for help. In 1915 and 1916 Germany had created a Jäger battalion consisting of 1,500 Finnish volunteers, which fought on Germany's eastern front and was, given opportune conditions, supposed to act to separate Finland from Russia, with German help, using an organization to be set up in Finland. [...] Although Finnish independence was the Activists' objective, the fact remains that they envisioned an armed bourgeois organization. Therefore their efforts were potentially

linked with more popular bourgeois efforts to ‘restore internal order’: both had as their ultimate goal the protection and fortification of the bourgeois state and civil society.

One activist, later to gain a questionable prominence as the leader of the rightwing Lapua Movement and the so-called Mäntsälä Rebellion in the 1930s, was Vihtori Kosola. Kosola’s memoir (1986: 126) relates one story of how, from early 1917 onwards, the White Guards of Pohjanmaa acquired weapons from the Germans:

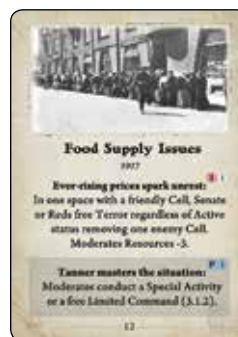
We arrived in Pietarsaari [a town some 60 miles or 100 kilometers north of Vaasa] the next day. At the railway station, some stranger whispered us the number of a room in the town’s hotel. Following the instructions, we went to the hotel, knocked on a particular door three times, and entered. In the room there was a lively middle-aged man who told us to come back at 4 o’clock in the morning, from where we’d head to the forest’s edge, where we’d then be meeting someone who’d guide us to the shore. We were told to carry pocket-sized guns in case of Russians, and we were to shoot immediately if we were caught by surprise. [...] At night, we then arrived at the forest’s edge from where the guide took us to an empty hut at the shore. There we waited in the cold until the afternoon, when a group of activists from Pietarsaari arrived wearing their hunting gear as if they were on a hunting trip. We headed now into the archipelago. In intense excitement, we stepped into motorboats that, after a several hours’ ride, took us to the Larsmo archipelago. Here a German arms vessel was due to arrive that evening at 9. Darkness fell upon us. We looked from the cliffs out to sea. Soon, about five kilometers to the East, we saw a dark figure, the silhouette of a ship! However, it could just as well be a Russian vessel that had gotten wind of our plans. [...] Soon the ship got closer, German language commands echoed sharp in the darkness of the evening. [...] The discharging of the valuable load commenced. Had the Russians only known what went on under their noses! The atmosphere was straight-out festive. One after another, piles began to form on the shore: rifles, machine guns, ammunition, hand grenades, railway bombs, motorbikes, and other heavy materials needed in war. [...] We were wondering about the generosity of the Germans. But the captain of the ship said, laughing, that the materials were spoils of war acquired from the Russians. We began our trip back home, which passed without incident. Our valuable cargo stayed first in the Pietarsaari archipelago, and a large part of it was transported to the mainland only after the main contingent of the jaeger had arrived.



**11. WEAPONS FROM LENIN?** After coming to power in November 1917, Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia were attempting to supply the Red rebels in Finland with weaponry (see Event #14 below). Despite this assistance, the aims of the Finnish Reds and the Russian Bolsheviks did not entirely coincide. The historian Seppo Hentilä wrote (Jussila et al 1999: 118):

In late February [1918], Oskari Tokoi and Edvard Gylling, as representatives of the People’s Council [the body leading the Red Revolt in Finland], were negotiating a treaty between Finland and Russia with the Bolshevik government. Lenin, in preparation for his hoped-for union with Finland, proposed that Finnish citizenship should be immediately granted to all Russians in Finland; likewise he undertook to grant Russian citizenship to all Finns in Russia. However, Tokoi and Gylling did not accept this. Disagreements also arose over territory, notably the problem of where to place the border line in the Karelian Isthmus. [...] The treaty between Soviet Russia and Red Finland was made on 1 March, 1918, and in it, on Lenin’s insistence, Finland was named ‘the Socialist Workers’ Republic of Finland.’ Tokoi and Gylling reluctantly accepted the name. In other ways they behaved in the negotiations as the representatives of any [other] nation-state would when defending their own interests. Above all else, the aim of the People’s Council was the preservation of Finnish independence. [...] If the Reds had won the war of 1918, the ‘Socialist Worker’s Republic of Finland’ would probably have been unable to prevent ‘voluntary’ annexation to Soviet Russia in accordance with Lenin’s nationalities policy.

The top level of the Finnish working class was effectively split in three. On one hand, there were the Finnish ideological Bolsheviks, such as Eino Rahja (1885-1936) – a one-time body guard of Lenin, when the latter was hiding in Finland in 1917 – who were actively co-ordinating Finnish and Russian revolutionary activities (Lehtinen & Volanen 1918). On another, there were front-line politicians such as Tokoi (see Event #20) and, finally, the pacifists such as Väinö Tanner who denounced, and stayed outside of, the armed revolt altogether.



**12. FOOD SUPPLY ISSUES.** The historian Risto Alapuro (1988: 163) wrote:

The worsening food shortage played a central role in radicalizing the masses. In late September [1917] party leaders stated that the masses were growing restless over the food situation, and a few days before the foundation of the national security guard organization, party and trade union lead-

ers unanimously agreed that the workers could not be held back if the government did not take action on food.

From 1915 on, the Social Democratic politician Väinö Tanner – one of the key Moderate Personalities, as depicted in the game – had served as the chief executive officer of Elanto, the leading grocery retailer in the country. Throughout the period covered in this game, Finland faced food supply issues that caused unhappiness and riots. Tanner and Elanto supplied the Red Guard militias, but only against proper and well-documented payments – a demonstration of impartiality that helped to protect Tanner from White Senate retributions later on. Tanner is one of the Moderates Personalities (4.3.1) in the game.



A Finnish family peels tree bark for making bark bread.

**13. JOBLESSNESS.** As a part of the Russian Empire, Finland's economy depended heavily on Russia's. Initially, Russian participation in the First World War stimulated agricultural production, as well as manufacturing in Finland. Eventually, however, and especially from the Summer of 1917 on, instability in Russia led to decreased demand, then to further economic difficulties, and ultimately to joblessness and even hunger in Finland. This fed radicalization in the streets. (Image: Kansan Arkisto / The People's Archives.)

**14. CANNONS.** Alongside Armored Trains (see Event #15 TRAINS below), cannons were some of the heavier weaponry used in the Finnish Civil War. These were acquired from Russian garrisons in Finland, or secretly from the Germans (Event #10) and from the Bolsheviks in Russia. For example, on 27 January, 1918, on Lenin's orders, a weapons train carrying 10,000 rifles, 10 cannons, 30 machine guns, and ammunition, departed from Petrograd (St. Petersburg) and delivered them to the Reds in Tampere on 2 February 1918. (Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 103 ff.)



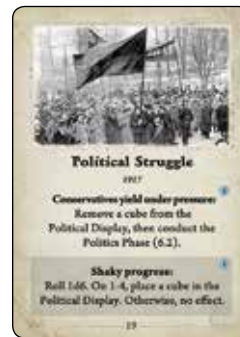
**15. TRAINS.** In 1918, in Finland, the railways represented virtually the only viable mode of speedy mass transportation. Through the long Winter and late into the Spring, snow and ice would hinder road-based transportation in a country whose motorized transportation and road networks were underdeveloped anyway. For those reasons, the rail net-

work and trains played a central role in military maneuvering during the war. Alongside train transportation, both sides made some use of armored trains to support their otherwise often ill-organized operations. Some armored trains were improvised from converted regular trains, while others were formed with equipment confiscated from Russian army garrisons in the country. (Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 127-128)

**16. JAEGER.** See Event #10 above. The shaded Event-text refers to the historical role of the few Russian military advisers that worked on the Reds' side. One of them was Colonel Mihail Svetsnikov (1882-1938), the former chief of staff of the Russian 106th Army Division. He advised the Reds, among others, in the battle of Tampere (Event #40).

**17. TRAINS.** See #15 above.

**18. MOBILIZATION IN THE PERIPHERY.** *All Bridges Burning* focuses on the events in central and southern Finland, where most of the civil war was fought (and most of the populace lived). In the early parts of the war, some fighting also took place in the northern parts of the country. For example, the town of Oulu (just beyond the map's northern edge) and its surroundings were said to have had as many as 14,000 Red Guards present, however they were not fully armed. Early in the war, the town was subjected to a Senate army offensive as part of an operation that sought to, and did, establish Senate control along the coast towards the border with Sweden (outside the map). The Russian garrisons in the region, some of whom voluntarily gave up their arms, were the only source of weaponry. The card image shows the White Guard of the game designer's home town (Kemi, also outside the map) on a march in 1918.



**19. POLITICAL STRUGGLE.** Throughout 1917 and the build-up to the Finnish Civil War, a parliamentary struggle for political reforms went on. Strikes, the mobilization of the guards, and an effective power vacuum on the streets, gave rise to many opportunities for political blackmail.

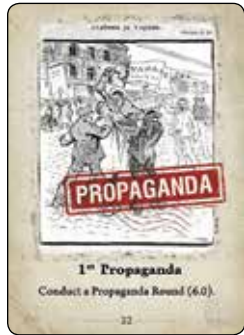
**20. THE LEG OF TOKOI'S CHAIR.** The "leg of Tokoi's chair" was the nickname given to the batons carried by the replacement police force (essentially, militias) that in the course of 1917, in a situation of deteriorating law and order throughout the country, was ordered by the Finnish Senate to replace the forces of the Russian gendarmerie in Finland. Oskari Tokoi (1873-1963), who later became one of the leaders of the Red Revolt, was the leader of the Finnish Senate until September 1917. The historian Alapuro (1988: 152) wrote:

In the years following the revolution of 1905, the police had been largely 'Russified,' that is, reorganized to comply with imperial policy. Immediately after the February revolution policemen and rural police officials were again forced to resign, much as they had been in 1905. Finland was not to have a police force strictly constituted according to prevailing legal stipulations.

The reorganization of the police force was to obscure the borderline not only between the state and the working-class movement but also between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity in the labor movement.

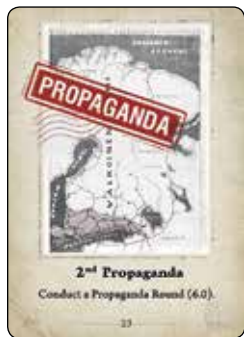
The absence of an effective, impartial police force exacerbated problems at political rallies and strikes (see #4 STRIKES).

**21. WORKERS' HALLS.** Workers' Halls, built throughout the country, served as central meeting points for the Reds, offering premises for political organization and activity.



**22. PROPAGANDA.** Pictured on the card is a political drawing from *Velikulta* magazine, published in 1917. The drawing argues that despite *svaboda* – liberation – achieved by the workers in Russia, working-class demonstrations in Finland were continuing to be suppressed by the bourgeoisie, represented by the man in the white coat, as well as the men wearing a white bandana on their

upper arms – a symbol of the White Guard.



**23. PROPAGANDA.** This card features a White Senate propaganda poster. It attempts to illustrate that a far larger portion of Finland was in White, rather than in Red, hands. What the poster fails to mention is that by far the largest portion of the Finnish population lived in the southern areas, which was controlled by the Reds.

**24. RED REVOLT! (Pivotal Event)** On 27 January, 1918, the Reds launched a revolt, taking control of the major population centers in the south of the country. The historian Alapuro (1988: 172-173) wrote:

Even the party leadership could not ignore the government's intention to put down the worker security guards as soon as it felt strong enough. After encounters with the bourgeois guards in several localities, and after the civil guards gained official status as governmental troops, it was decided, with great reluctance, to launch the revolution on 27 January. Not surprisingly, it was described as having 'a defensive character.' Revolutionary spirits ran generally low among the party leaders, but despite misgiving and opposition in previous months, few felt that they could distance themselves from the attempt.

One journalist and Social Democratic politician of the time, Karl Harald Wiik (1883-1946), wrote in his 1918 account of the background to the revolt:

When one investigates the circumstances that gave Finnish social democracy the label of a party of unrelenting and vehement class struggle, we must first of all note the societal conditions in which the workers movement developed. In a way it has been in the same

position as the workers movement of those agrarian countries (first and foremost in Eastern Europe) in which capitalism is shaking the old peasant economy, impoverishing and flat out proletarianizing vast portions of the less resistant and less development-able farming folks. [...] The possibility of even development was hampered in Finland also by the fact that we did not yet have a radical bourgeoisie party that would have regularly and with resolve began to correct the worst societal discrepancies.

**25. Disarming Russian Garrisons.** Russian garrisons existed all over Finland in 1917. As political instability in Russia grew, many garrisons gradually evaporated into thin air as soldiers were either ordered to head home or did so on their own initiative. One attempt to disarm a Russian garrison in Laihia (near Vaasa) ended in untrained White Guards there panicking, with some getting killed in the incident (Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 108). In particular, Russian navy sailors were known, and in some circles feared, for their support of Bolshevism. A faction among Finnish and Russian revolutionaries actively coordinated their activities (see Event #11) and, according to some sources (Lehtinen & Volanen 2018), that coordination very nearly bore fruit in late 1917, as the October Revolution in Russia was followed by revolution-like conditions in Finland brought about by the November General Strike (see Event #8).

**26. JAEGER RETURN TO FINLAND.** The card image shows a contingent of jaeger being received by the commander-in-chief Mannerheim, in the marketplace in the town of Vaasa. See also #10 above.



**27. REDS MAJOR OFFENSIVE.** In February 1918, the Reds launched a major offensive on all fronts. A harbinger of the Reds military ineptitude, it failed to produce any notable results. The next offensive was planned and partially executed in March of 1918. By that time, however, Senate forces were already in the midst of an operation to retake Tampere (see #40 BATTLE OF TAMPERE below).

**28. HENNALA.** This was a former Russian garrison base in the town of Lahti (see Event #41), was the location of the one of the more notorious Senate prison camps. Formed in May 1918, at the end of the war, it housed over 20,000 Red prisoners and refugees. The camp – essentially an open field – was not equipped to handle such a large number of prisoners. The Spanish Flu of 1918, and malnutrition made life hard for the prisoners. (See also Event #39.)



*The field of Hennala, full of Reds prisoners;  
a pair of guards looks on.*

**29. WAR WITH MANY NAMES.** Already during the conflict itself, the war came to bear different names, depending on who was speaking about it. The Senate side viewed it as a “war of liberation” for Finland from Russian influence. Others, such as the Finnish novelist Juhani Aho (1918b: 166), described it as a “war between brothers” to emphasize the particularly tragic nature of the conflict. The Social Democrat and working-class politician K. H. Wiik (1918: 107) wrote in his account of the war:

Only an insignificant number of Russians took part in the revolutionary war. [...] But the Russian participation on the side of the rebels made the war, from the point of view of the White segment of the people, not only one of defeating the revolt, but also a war of liberation to free Finland from its archenemy. Only because of that has the White cause received support—first and foremost in Pohjanmaa among the democratic peasant populations—and caused a virtual popular uprising. This fact, that the peasant class as well as part of the working class itself took to the sword against the revolutionaries, was to the Social Democratic Party a costly but necessary reminder that by no means is it what it usually has been taken to be: “the party of all working people.

**30. MEETINGS IN THE CATACOMBS.** The “catacombs” was the nickname of the secret meeting place for those working-class Social Democrats who did not join the Red Revolt, among them Väinö Tanner. The card’s image pictures the building in Helsinki, in the catacomb-like basement where the secret meetings were held (Image: Helsinki City Museum, License CC BY 4.0). For decades, the building also hosted the Finnish Parliament. Tanner (1949: 344) relates a story of the first meeting in the “catacombs” worth translating here in full:

Imprinted in my mind is a lively memory of the chaotic situation in Helsinki that day [the day after Helsinki fell to the Germans], how difficult it was to get downtown from the northern parts of town. At Pitkäsilta [a bridge on a main thoroughfare] the White Guards controlled traffic and only for a particularly impor-

tant reason was it possible to get past them toward downtown. At the bridge still laid some bodies from the battle. A headless woman and a dead horse laid there as a terrifying testimony of the brutality of war. Giving whatever reasons, about ten of us managed to get to the meeting place. Who these were, there are no notes, because neither in those days nor for a long time afterwards did we dare to take any such [...]. We could never be sure when house searches and arrests would be happening.

This first meeting, however, was nearly ruined. Apparently some ‘evil eye’ had observed a few men steal away through the door and came to their own conclusions about it. In any case, it happened that we had just started when a group of out-of-breath policemen accompanied by some White Guards came into the room. They began to demand to know what kind of a meeting this was and what the subject matter was. The leading police commander demanded the meeting adjourn, and at one point there even was talk of arrests. The intruders, however, were faced with a group that could not be fazed that easily. We appealed to our citizen rights and were loudly wondering what right the police had to intrude and interrupt our perfectly legal meeting. So significant still then was the impact of an appeal to the rule of law that little by little the police began to have doubts. As many of us present were well-known citizens that had had no part in the events of the past months, in the end we won. With apologies, the police and their company withdrew, leaving us to continue our meeting.



**31. GERMAN INVASION OF HANKO.** With the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, in March 1918, the Russians agreed to give up a host of their European possessions, including Finland. This freed the Germans to assert themselves in the country. On 3 April, the Germans landed in Hanko, about 77 miles (or 125 kilometers) southwest of Helsinki, unopposed. A week later they arrived in Helsinki (see Event #33).

The historians Roselius and Tepora (2014: 4) wrote:

From a German point of view, national anti-revolutionary movements such as the White Army in Finland, were to be integrated into the German war effort. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in early March 1918 which ended the war between Bolshevik Russia and Germany, was more of a one-sided declaration by the latter, a final confirmation of an accomplished fact of German supremacy in the East ... In Finland the shift from the waning Russian sphere to the German sphere was completed when the revolution of the Finnish socialists, who had to wage the war without the official support of the Bolshevik Russia, was crashed [sic] two months after the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

**32. ARMISTICE PROPOSAL.** On 10 April 1918, towards the end of the civil war, the Työmies newspaper – hitherto the voice

of the Red Revolt, but now changing course as the defeat of the Reds began to seem inevitable—published an armistice proposal that Tanner and 20 other Social Democrat signatories, who had not participated in the revolt, had “prepared over several weeks” (Tanner 1949: 270). The novelist Aho commented on the proposal in his diary (Aho 1918c: 182):

This proposal is an altogether peculiar historical document, if in no other respect than in the kind of ideas even the most temperate members of the Social Democratic Party take themselves to be able to propose, even at this most critical hour. Even though the proposal is stillborn, I do not want to bypass it here. It is highly indicative that going now into the aftermath of this criminal revolt, they do not see a reason to investigate whose fault the war is because that investigation apparently is of secondary importance at this moment.

**33. BATTLE OF HELSINKI.** The Finnish historian Seppo Hentilä wrote (Jussila et al 1999: 119):

The main German force—the Baltic division, consisting of some 11,000 men under the command of General Rüdiger von der Goltz—landed in Hankoniemi on 3 April [see Event #31]. Another detachment of some 3,000 men landed in Loviisa on 7 April and invaded Lahti two weeks later [see Event #41]. The main force launched its attack in the direction of Helsinki and entered the capital on 12-13 April 1918.

The battle for Helsinki is the subject of the board game Helsinki 1918: German Intervention to the Finnish Civil War (U&P Games, 2018).

**34. POLITICAL ARRESTS.** Both the Reds and Whites held suspicions about the true allegiance of the well-known Social Democrat politician Väinö Tanner. Tanner (1949) details a number of failed and successful attempts to arrest him for allegedly supporting the enemy. Tanner survived the war, and in subsequent decades, served in important political roles—through World War II and beyond (see also Event #31 TANNER ABROAD).



**35. HOME FRONT.** On 18 February, 1918, the White Senate ordered the conscription of all males aged 21 to 39. By April, an estimated 11,000 conscripts were fighting in the war on the White side. (Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 137)

The shaded text on the Event card refers to trains sent by the Finnish Reds to Russia to fetch grain for the purpose of relieving food-supply

pressures faced by the Red administration in Finland. In early February 1918, one of the leaders of the Red revolt and a former leader of the Finnish parliament, Oskari Tokoi (see Event #20 THE LEG OF TOKOI'S CHAIR), traveled to Petrograd (St. Petersburg) to negotiate on grain-trade matters with the Russian Bolshevik government there. The disrepair of Russian railways prevented the Russians themselves from

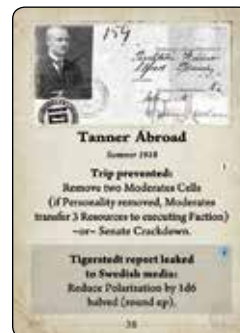
bringing the grain to Finland, so it was agreed that trains, soon collectively nicknamed “Tokoi’s grain train”, would be sent from Finland to do the job. Altogether three trains left Finland during the Spring of 1918. The first train left Helsinki on 19 February; the destination was the far away Siberian city of Omsk, over 2000 miles (3500 kilometers), one-way, from Helsinki. The trip was a downright adventure involving the abandonment of some of the wagons along the way. One source calculated the train’s average speed as having been 10 miles or 15 km per hour (Tainio, Jukka 2012. *Tienhaarasta Vasempaan*. Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura, Helsinki). Five weeks later, however, the train returned to Helsinki, representing something of a propaganda coup for the Reds. The novelist Aho (1918c: 130) sourly recorded in his diary on 31 March, in Helsinki:

Tokoi is now the hero of the day. He has had his grain train—30 wagons—arrive from Siberia at the Helsinki railway station. The rumors at least say that it is grain, and that the grain that’s arrived is from Siberia. Unless this all is made-up theater. [...] It was received with much celebration. [...] ‘Työmies’ [a Reds newspaper] is not entirely wrong to brag that this is one of history’s key events. It has branded the bourgeoisie as provocateurs and defamers of the working class with undeniable shame and shown that what the bourgeoisie government could never have achieved, the working class and its government indeed have. (Image: Kansan Arkisto / The People’s Archives).

**36. PRISONERS.** See Event #28.

**37. VATO.** In the course of 1918, a special purpose department of the Senate forces’ headquarters, named VATO (*Valloitetujen Alueiden Turvaamisosasto*) or the Department for the Pacification of Conquered Areas, was formed to oversee the management of the prison camps, as well as for other reasons. For instance, the department also directed units in the use of violence in the pacification efforts (Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 236). Haapala & Tikka (2012: 81) write:

The special paramilitary units consisted of remarkably young volunteers, sometimes even 12-15-year-old schoolboys and their teachers. These units hunted, arrested, guarded, sentenced, and executed POWs. One of these units that operated in the Southern part of Tampere shot over 900 Reds and arrested more than 4,000 political opponents in the space of a few weeks.



**38. TANNER ABROAD.** In the Summer of 1918, after the hostilities had already ended and the White retributions against the Reds were in full swing, the leading Social Democratic politician Väinö Tanner left on a trip to neighboring Sweden. His intention was to inform the Swedish and international media about the White retributions taking place in Finland. Armed with a copy of a leaked report

by the inspector of prison camps, professor Robert Tigerstedt,

Tanner leaked highly sensitive and damaging details about the conditions of the Red prisoners in prisons, forcing the White Senate to address the problem. (Tanner 1949, p. 363 ff.) The card image shows the passport of Väinö Tanner from 1918. (Image: Työväen Arkisto.)

**39. FIRST POST-WAR PARLIAMENT.** The new Finnish parliament met for the first time on 15 May, 1918. It was a rump parliament of the victor, lacking many of its members, over half of which had been Social Democrats, implicated or killed in the revolt, or escaped to Russia:

The Eduskunta [the Finnish parliament] assembled for the first time on 15 May 1918, the day before the White victory parade, with only eighty-four delegates present. Of the ninety-two Social Democratic members who had been elected the previous year, some forty had fled to Russia and fifty had been captured by the Whites. Five of these were immediately executed, and the rest awaited sentence in a prisoner-of-war camp (Jussila et al 1999: 121).

Väinö Tanner (1949: 308) quotes in his memoir from a speech in a parliamentary meeting given by the conservative politician Arthur Lagerlöf on the situation after the civil war:

We have received a proposal to form additional court tribunals for adjudicating the rebels, but we have not received a proposal how to punish them. Still it is clear that we can neither kill them all nor afford to support them in our penitentiaries... They are dying in scores, not only due to lack of medical care in illnesses, but also due to lack of proper food in starvation. We hear terrible rumors of secret extrajudicial punishments by irresponsible persons that, if true, will earn us the contempt and anger of the European peoples, as well as prevent peaceful return to work at home.



*Red prisoners of war in Hennala, Lahti (see Event #28).*

**40. BATTLE OF TAMPERE.** One of the fiercest and strategically most important battles of the war, winning the the Battle of Tampere was also a major morale-boost victory for the Senate forces. The order “shoot where you see fit,” referenced in the card’s text, was given by a Red commander (Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 195) indicating the level of poor military organization which the Reds suffered from throughout the war.

On 25 March 1918, the Finnish novelist Juhani Aho (1918c III: 100) quotes in his war-time diary from a private letter from someone in Tampere on the eve of the battle:

The cadre officers deserted, taking the salary reserves, those little that were left. On Wednesday, new leaders Salmela and Rahja were elected, while the chief of staff Hyrskymurto, who did not manage to escape, was taken captive. He was one to demand the town to surrender without a fight because defense was hopeless.



**41. BATTLE OF LAHTI.** The town of Lahti lies 62 miles or 100 kilometers north of Helsinki. After the German contingent led by Goltz had taken Helsinki, they headed north towards Lahti, as did the Brandestein contingent from Loviisa. The Germans were quick to defeat the Reds along the way, but not always without taking casualties. On the 20 April, the Senate army and the Germans, for the first time, established connection in the northern fringes of Lahti. (Haapala & Hoppu 2009: 214)

**42. BATTLE OF VIIPURI.** Having taken Tampere (see Event #33) and secured a strategically important railway junction toward the east at Haapamäki North of Tampere, Mannerheim quickly shifted the emphasis to the eastern front (Mannerheim 1951: 325). Senate forces would soon cut the Reds’ resupply and escape routes to Russia. The move culminated in the capture of the Town of Viipuri.



**43. ROUGH JUSTICE.** Terror was an inseparable part of how both the Reds and Senate forces conducted the war. It took increasingly arbitrary forms as the conflict progressed. The Red Revolt, from January 1918 onward, had seen the Red Guards avenge personal retributions on the bourgeoisie and nobility for perceived past injustices. Upon their reconquest of the country, the white Senate forces were to pay it back in kind. The role of the commander-in-chief of the white Senate army, C.G.E. Mannerheim, has long been a subject of discussion in this context. In February 1918, Mannerheim and the Senate army issued the so-called “shoot-on-the-spot” declaration (*ammutaan paikalla-julistus*), authorizing Senate forces to execute captured enemies on the spot if they were judged to have been involved in certain kinds of violations. The declaration was vetted for legality in the context of an unclear transitional constitutional situation—from Russian Tsarist to independent Finnish law. In practice, the declaration was often perceived to give the Senate army field commanders the relative freedom to dispense justice as they saw fit. Retributions quickly got out of hand and continued even after the end of the Finnish Civil War in May 1918. The situation was recognized by the Senate leadership, but despite repeated orders, it was difficult to

maintain discipline among the militia. As a result, incidents of “rough justice” such as reported by the Senate agitator, activist, and a White Guard, Kyösti Wilkuna (1918: 148), could not be avoided:

*In the bushes some of us find a Red Guard wounded in the leg, who had in his pocket — a whole bunch of keys, lock picks, and other tools of a burglar — Woah! And so this prison-escapee and builder of the ideal society receives from us a thorough rehabilitation.*

For more information on “activists”, see #10 WEAPONS AND JAEGER FROM GERMANY?

**44. MANNERHEIM’S VICTORY PARADE.** The card’s image shows one of the most memorable photos taken during the war: the commander-in-chief of the White army, Mannerheim, and his entourage, leading the Helsinki victory parade on horseback. The parade was politically charged. As recounted in his memoirs, already on 16 January 1918, Mannerheim had received the promise from the head of the White Senate in Vaasa, P.E. Svinhufvud, that no German help would be requested to defeat the revolt. Later, when the White Senate did, however, request German help after all, Mannerheim considered resigning. After some deliberation, Mannerheim decided to stay and got in touch with the Germans declaring, as the German General Ludendorff put it in his memoirs, that Mannerheim “did not want them too soon or in too great strength, so that his Finns might have some fighting to do, and thereby gain confidence” (page 263 in Ludendorff, Erich. *Ludendorff’s Own Story, Vol. II, August 1914 – November 1918*. Harper & Brothers, New York 1919). Mannerheim was very conscious of the need to portray the defeat of the Red revolt, as far as possible, as a feat achieved by the home-grown White army, rather than the Germans. The victory parade, on 16 April 1917, was intended as a demonstration of this. The commander of the Germans in Finland, Major General Goltz, staged a German parade in Helsinki just two days earlier, on 14 April.



*The commander-in-chief Mannerheim’s entourage during the victory parade in Helsinki. One of the most iconic images from the Finnish Civil War.*

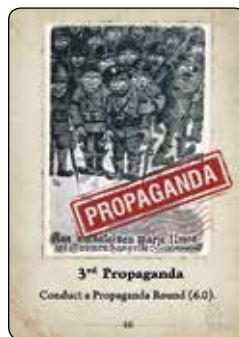
**45. FATE IN THE BALANCE.** This card represents the effects of two episodes, the historical ends of which lie outside the temporal scope of this game, yet they crucially affect some of the processes depicted in the game.

One of them is the “kingmaking” episode from the Fall of 1918. For several years leading up to the war, the nobility and bourgeoisie, and the so-called activists among them, had been aligning Finland with Germany (see Event #10). Already, during the closing stages of the Finnish Civil War, a powerful block from among the victors began to champion a monarchy for Finland’s next form of government, with a king to be selected from among the German nobility. This notion went as far as the Finnish parliament—a rump parliament, missing more than half of its representatives (and all but one of the over 90 Social Democrats) voting in favor of the proposal in October 1918. However, the collapse of Germany in World War I, in late 1918, ended that monarchist project. Formative to monarchist views was the experience of the Red Revolt, as one activist and Senate agitator, Kyösti Wilkuna (1918: 145), opined:

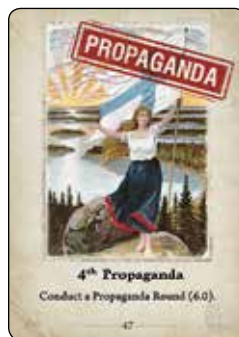
*The experiences had in the war had made many look at things from a different point of view as before, and these experiences were prone to give rise to monarchist opinions.*

Had this monarchist project had staying power in Finland, it would possibly have meant a less reformist domestic policy orientation in the country.

The second set of circumstances referenced on this Event card concerns the progress of World War I and its effect upon German and Russian participation in the Finnish Civil War. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk imposed upon Russia by Germany in March 1918, forced the Russians to withdraw their support of the Finnish Bolsheviks. Similarly, the German capitulation in late 1918 forced the Germans to withdraw from Finland. The unshaded text on the Event card speculates a counterfactual version of World War I in which, for example, it would be possible for the German presence in the Baltic Sea area, including in Finland, to suddenly collapse. (Image: German Federal Archives.)



**46. PROPAGANDA.** This card features a cartoon drawing of a crowd of obviously frightened Red Guards looking at the ominous shadow of a German soldier’s helmet rising on the snow.



**47. PROPAGANDA.** The card shows an image from a period postcard depicting the “Maiden of Finland” waving the Finnish flag as a new day breaks — or is the sun about to go down?

## Selected Sources

For a general introduction to the conflict, English-language readers can turn to the introductory chapter in Tepora & Roselius, 2014 (see below).

All quoted passages in the Rules of Play and the Playbook are the game designer's translations, where the original language is Finnish.

### Finnish Language Sources

In Finland, the centenary of the Finnish Civil War saw a wide range of new material published, as well as many old favorites reprinted. In the selections below, the focus is on lesser-known works.

**Aho, Juhani, 1918a, 1918b, 1918c.** *Hajamietteitä Kapinaviikoilta I-III*. Helsinki: WSOY. –The diary of the Nobel-Prize-nominated novelist Juhani Aho offers fascinating, often critical glimpses of life in Reds-controlled Helsinki throughout the civil war. Aho's political activities reported in the book also inspired the design of the Moderates.

**Haapala, Pertti & Hoppu, Tuomas (eds.) 2009.** *Sisällisodan pikkujättiläinen*. Helsinki: WSOY. –This is an extensive, encyclopedic collection of the latest academic research on the Civil War.

**Kosolo, Vihtori 1986.** *Viimeistä piirtoa myöten*. Helsinki: Erika-kirjat.

**Lehtinen, Lasse & Volanen, Risto 2018.** *1918: Kuinka valankumous levisi Suomeen*. Helsinki: Otava.

**Parikka, Jalmari 1938.** *Viimeinen taisto*. Helsinki: WSOY. –The memoir of a former Red Guard team leader.

**Tanner, Väinö 1949.** *Kuinka se oikein tapahtui: Vuosi 1918 esivaiheeseen ja jälkiselvittelyineen*. Helsinki: Tammi. –This is an extensive and detailed autobiographical account of the activities and experiences of Väinö Tanner during the Civil War. He was a leading Social Democratic politician both before and after the war. Many aspects of the Moderates Faction in the game, as well as a good few Events, draw from Tanner's book.

**Wiik, Karl Harald, 1918.** *Kovan kokemuksen opetuksia: sananen Suomen työväelle*. Kansanvalta, Helsinki.

**Wilkuna, Kyösti, 1918.** *Kun kansa nousee, muistelmia ja kokemuksia Suomen vapaussodasta*. Kustannusosakeyhtiö Kirja, Helsinki.

### English and Other Language Sources

For the English (and Swedish) speaking audience, the following readings can be recommended and have been of use in the design process:

**Alapuro, Risto, 1988.** *State and Revolution in Finland*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Arosalo, Sirkka, 1998.** "Social Conditions for Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 35(2).

**Haapala, Pertti & Tikka, Marko, 2012.** "Revolution, Civil War, and Terror in Finland in 1918" in *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe After the Great War*. Gerwarth, Robert & Horne, John (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Jussila, Osmo & Hentilä, Seppo & Nevakivi, Jukka, 1999.** *From Grand Duchy to a Modern State: A Political History of Finland Since 1809*. London: Hurst & Company.

**Kirby, D.G., 1978.** "Revolutionary Ferment in Finland and the Origins of the Civil War 1917-1918." *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 26(1).

**Linna, Väinö, 1959/2001.** *Under the North Star*. Aspasia Books. –This classic Finnish novel detailing the story of a family before, during, and after the Finnish Civil War has been translated into English. (Original: *Täällä Pohjan Tähden Alla*. Helsinki: WSOY. 2001.)

**Mannerheim, Karl Gustav, 1951.** *The Memoirs of Marshal Mannerheim*. Translated by Count Eric Lewenhaupt, E.P. Dutton & Company, 1954. –The memoir of one of the best-known Finns, General and Commander-in-Chief Mannerheim, offers a detailed look at the military, strategic, as well as some interesting political aspects, of the war. (Original: *Muistelmat*. Helsinki: Otava.)

**Manninen, Ohto, 1978.** "Red, White and Blue in Finland, 1918: A Survey of Interpretations of the Civil War." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 3(1-4). –To my knowledge the only written source to have ever spoken of the Finnish Civil War as a three-party (rather than a two-party) affair.

**Mawdsley, Evan, 1987.** *The Russian Civil War*. London: Allen & Unwin.

**Tepora, Tuomas & Roselius, Aapo (eds.), 2014.** *The Finnish Civil War 1918. History, Memory, Legacy*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. –See in particular the chapter Introduction: The Finnish Civil War, Revolution and Scholarship.

**Westö, Kjell 2006.** *Där vi en gång gått*. Helsinki: Otava. *Translated in Finnish as Missä kuljimme kerran*. –This award-winning novel looks at the Civil War from the perspective of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland; a nice accompaniment to Linna's novel (see above).

## Series Creator's Notes

To steadfast fans of the *COIN Series* and to those exploring it for the first time with this design, I am delighted to see *All Bridges Burning* in your hands!

VPJ Arponen ("Vez" to us) has not only brought the system to a fresh setting that I would never have thought of myself, he has done so from the deep and passionate historical perspective only available to a native of the land. Moreover, independent from concurrent efforts on other volumes in the Series, Vez has brought an ingenious solution to deliver the *COIN Series* experience to three players, introduced new mechanics for foreign intervention forces, and taken another step forward in easing the use of Non-players.

I sincerely hope that you will enjoy this gem in the Series.

Warm regards,  
Volko

## Series Developer's Notes

With *All Bridges Burning*, the *COIN Series* now contains an astonishing 10 volumes. The challenge, as with all series games, is keeping each new volume distinct, while maintaining the core series rules to make it easy for new players to jump right into the new games.

I am pleased at the work that Vez has done to balance these constraints; series players will find that *All Bridges Burning* gives them new strategic decisions and incredible tension, while still being a *COIN Series* title through and through. More than that though, Vez has continually encouraged innovation and new ideas in the series, and for that I am very thankful.

I hope you enjoy *All Bridges Burning* and the *COIN Series* volumes still to come.

Jason Carr

## Designer's Notes

My first notebook entries on the game stem from 2015. I first envisioned *All Bridges Burning* as a solitaire game. At that time (and still today), I was a keen player of the *COIN Series* games. And so, gradually, the idea of *All Bridges Burning* as a COIN game began to take shape.

Over the same period of time, I became involved with the *COIN Series*, first as a fan, then as a playtester, soon as a designer of solitaire systems. A line of communication to series creator Volko had been established.

In the summer of 2017 I put in a concerted effort to get my ideas together to produce a playable prototype of my game. Later that year, I approached Volko with a prototype. Before I knew it, I was in touch with GMT and Gene Billingsley. We were working out a P500 preorder list entry date for the game.

At the time of writing this, almost exactly two years ago, *All Bridges Burning* entered the P500 list.

\* \* \*

*All Bridges Burning* was my first touch with game design. In contrast to a number of other designs I was working on, *All Bridges Burning* built upon an existing game system, the *COIN Series* system. Most established designers will advise novice designers to begin with working on an existing system—design an expansion to an existing game, tweak an existing design, or design a game in an established series.

An existing system like the *COIN Series*, gives one a kind of "language" of *mechanism* in which to express thematic and historical elements. The dual use structure of event cards gives you a feel for the possible alternative courses a given historical event could have taken. The active and inactive status reflected in a flippable game piece makes it possible to depict a group of people as having different functional statuses that can be changed during the game.

Interlinking game mechanics give rise to *dynamics* of player interaction from which particular *aesthetics*—the feel of game play—are born.

Most novice designers will find it easy to come up with mechanics, but much harder to produce dynamics and aesthetics. The availability of an established system as a springboard for creative game development greatly aided me in the design process.

**NOTE:** See Robin Hunicke, Marc LeBlanc, and Robert Zubek: *MDA: A Formal Approach to Game Design and Game Research*.

\* \* \*

For me, alongside a suite of mechanics, dynamics, and aesthetics, the *COIN Series* also seemed to offer a *philosophy*. That philosophy contrasted the kinetic, military part

of fighting conflicts with what one might call the winning of the hearts and minds.

Now, board games have relatively long been interested in portraying a broad array of politics as part of the war effort.

Yet, what the *COIN Series* did with the hearts and minds seemed different. Drawing from military and non-military conflict management in modern counterinsurgency\*, the *COIN Series* separated the military means and ends from the non-kinetic, civilian, nation-building means and ends.

\* **NOTE:** For a more thorough account, see my article *On Similarity and Diversity in the COIN Series* in the C3i Magazine Nr 32.

One consequence was that in a *COIN Series* game, one typically cannot win the hearts and minds by taking military actions only (often the opposite). A quite different set of non-kinetic actions are required for winning the hearts and minds.

A second, deeper consequence is that one cannot typically win a *COIN* game by taking military actions only. That is to say, the *COIN Series* introduced the concept of winning military conflicts as ultimately involving the reaching of non-military goals.

For me then, the “*COIN* philosophy” revolves around the idea of military conflicts as always looking beyond themselves to the *world after* the conflict. Winning the hearts and minds in the Vietnam of *Fire in the Lake* or in the Afghanistan of *A Distant Plain* meant essentially that it was possible to think of those places as having a *future* after the war. Losing the hearts and minds meant these places would become failed states and/or come to have political, religious, and socio-economic systems not favored by one or the other protagonist.

\* \* \*

Enter the Finnish Civil War of 1918.

Arguably a corner stone of modern Finnish identity is the so-called miracle of the Winter War of 1939-40, or more generally the miracle that Finland managed to retain national independence through the Second World War despite being a pawn in the superpowers’ geopolitical game.

The miracle is all the more miraculous if you consider that only twenty years prior, the country had gone through a bloody and bitterly divisive civil war as depicted in *All Bridges Burning*. How was it possible that the Finns nonetheless pulled together and stood united in the Second World War?!

One of my early design goals – no, a *conviction* – was that *All Bridges Burning* had to become a game on the Finnish Civil War that put the achievement of national unity front and center. The *COIN Series*, and the “*COIN* philosophy”,

was the perfect home for this game. Looking into the future *after* the conflict is precisely what that philosophy was about as I understood it. For the Finns, the post-civil war reconciliation definitely posed a pressing question – for many it was already being asked during the war.

This conviction put *All Bridges Burning* somewhat at odds with those few other games that existed on the topic. It also put the game at odds with (at least the popular) historical literature on the topic. After all, the Finnish Civil War was typically understood as a two-player affair revolving around the ins and outs of the inevitable military defeat of the Reds by the White Senate armies and the Germans.

A particularly controversial aspect of the design, then, is the introduction of the third Moderates faction – not the Whites – as the carrier of the kind of flag associated with post-civil war Finland: a socio-economically reformed parliamentary democracy and welfare state with a broad centrist and/or social democratic political orientation visible across the political spectrum to this day.

Earlier in this Playbook, I make the case for the history of the period as involving the Finns making a momentous choice between three options: Bolshevism on the left, conservatism with monarchist and right-wing overtones on the right, and parliamentary democracy and centrist reformism in the moderate middle.

\* \* \*

Incidentally, in the course of the past years of working on *All Bridges Burning*, contemporary forms of partisanship, polarization, and societal divisions have begun to emerge in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere.

This game is not a political commentary on the contemporary events.

Nonetheless, as they say, history might occasionally repeat itself, so learning from history is a possibility. I guess what *All Bridges Burning* might tell us in that regard is, no one can win if at game end Polarization is “5” or more...

\* \* \*

*All Bridges Burning* began as a small dream about a game on an obscure historical topic. Never in a million years did I dare dream the game would eventually find an internationally acclaimed publisher in GMT Games!

I am thankful to Volko Ruhnke, Gene Billingsley, and the rest of the GMT team for the broad creative freedom (and responsibility) bestowed upon me in this project. And I am thankful to the historical conflict simulations gaming public for taking interest in a game like this!

V.P.J. Arponen  
November 2019

## Credits

**Game Designer:** V.P.J. Arponen

**Series Creator:** Volko Ruhnke

**Series Developer:** Jason Carr

**Developer:** Örjan Ariander

**Art Director, Cover Art, and Package Design:**

Rodger B. MacGowan

**Map:** Chechu Nieto

**Event Cards:** Chechu Nieto

**Counters and Solitaire System Cards:** Mark Simonitch

**Manuals & Player Aid Cards:** Charles Kibler

**Production Coordination:** Tony Curtis

**Executive Producers:** Gene Billingsley, Tony Curtis, Andy Lewis, Rodger B. MacGowan, Mark Simonitch

**Thanks:** Andy Aiken, Wendell Albright, Jeremy Antley, Ron Artigues, Gene Billingsley, Jan Bjørndalen, Jim Campagna, Jason Carr, Tony Curtis, Alvaro Diaz, Benjamin Dirks, Cezary Domalski, Adam Gastonguay, Jeff Gringer, Mark Herman, Gunnar Holmbäck, Patrik Hyvärinen, Matthias Jahr, Andreas Kaiser, Juha Kettunen, Michael Kirk, Rodger B. MacGowan, Bruce Mansfield, Steven Mitchell, Chechu Nieto, Janne Niinivaara, Njål Nordmark, Gordon Pueschner, Lino Sanguino, Brian Schlorholz, Riku Siren, Kent Stuckert, Martin Syvertsen, Colin Taylor, Ken Tee, Vesa Tenhunen, Steve Thorne, Brian Train

**Images:** Unless otherwise indicated in the Playbook Events Background (page 29 forward), all images are from the historical collection of the Finnish National Board of Antiquities ([www.nba.fi](http://www.nba.fi)), CC BY 4.0 license

## Guide to Pronunciation

For historical reasons, many of the spaces have their Finnish, as well as their Swedish, names provided.

Vaasa – Vah-saw

Vasa – Vah-saw

Pohjanmaa – Po-yan-ma

Österbotten – Oes-tah-botten

Varsinais-Suomi – Var-si-nice suo-me

Egentliga Finland – Eh-yent-ly-ga Finn-lund

Turku – Tour-coo

Åbo – Aw-buh

Uusimaa – Uh-sea-ma

Nyland – New-land

Helsinki – Hell-sin-key

Helsingfors – Hell-sing-force

Viipuri – Ve-puh-rey

Viborg – Ve-borg

Karelia – Karelia

Kuopion lääni – Cuo-pee-on lay-nea

Mikkelin lääni – Mick-kay-lyn lay-nea

Oulun lääni – Oh-loon lay-nea

Tampere – Tam-pe-ray

Tammerfors – Tummer-force

Häme – Hay-meh

The years roll by. Time hurries on. Every year, the year 1918 is further and further away. Year by year, the moss of forgetting grows thicker on that large mound that is called the war between brothers. In that mound rest unfathomable amounts of human aspiration, effort, and suffering. Let them rest there forever. At least once – during the future generations – tales will be told about it, as if of a terrible nightmare. At least then will we remember all that brought us together again that, in spite of everything, has grown out of that mound.

~ Jalmari Parikka (1938), Red Guard team leader



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