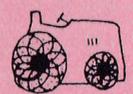
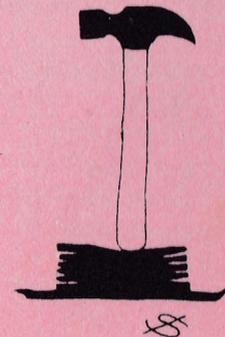
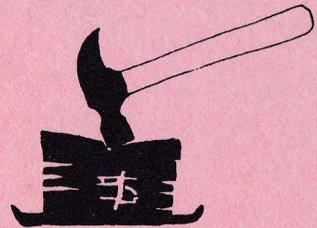
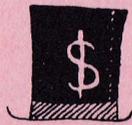
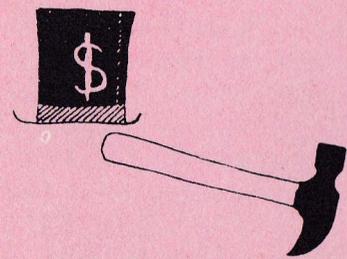


CLASS STRUGGLE

Play
It
like
it
isbut more so.

- I. Full rules and some strategiesp. 1
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AF

DON'T BE SCARED BY ALL THESE RULES

The three sets of rules differ in regard to complexity and the roles they give to chance and strategy, with **BEGINNERS RULES** relying most on chance and **TOURNAMENT RULES** permitting the most strategy.

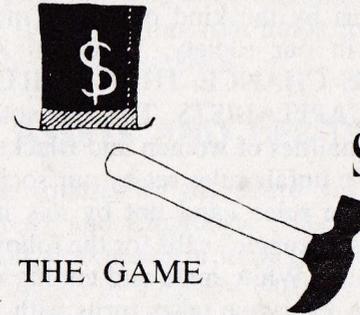
BEGINNERS RULES—The basic structures for the game are laid down. Everyone should start here. **READING THE SENTENCES WHICH ARE CAPITALIZED IN EACH RULE IS USUALLY ALL THE PREPARATION THAT IS NEEDED TO BEGIN PLAYING.**

FULL RULES—The structures are filled in with the life of capitalist society. Adults and older adolescents should move on to these rules as quickly as possible, even—by common consent—in the middle of a game. But don't stop here. Before *rigor mortis* sets in, go on to . . .

TOURNAMENT RULES—This is where the real action is. See, for example, **TOURNAMENT RULE** number 8 (this rule can be added to **FULL RULES** whenever players feel ready for it). No adult should linger more than one game each in **BEGINNERS** and **FULL RULES** before taking on the wheeling and dealing made possible by **TOURNAMENT RULES**.

It is possible to play "Class Struggle" with two players, but—given the importance of alliances—it is better to play with four, and best with six. Go ahead, invite another friend to play.

Full Rules and Some Strategies



OBJECT OF THE GAME

"Class Struggle" reflects the real struggle between the classes in our society. **THE OBJECT OF THE GAME IS TO WIN THE REVOLUTION . . . ULTIMATELY.** Until then, classes—represented by different players—advance around the board, making and breaking alliances, and picking up strengths and weaknesses that determine the outcome of the elections and general strikes which occur along the way.

PLAYERS

1. "Class Struggle" can be played by two to six players.
2. The real players in "Class Struggle," however, are classes, not individuals. Workers (those who produce shoes, cars, houses and so on) and Capitalists (those who own the machines and factories with which these things are produced) are the Major Classes. Farmers, Small Businessmen, Professionals (doctors, lawyers, professors, etc.) and Students are the Minor or Allied Classes. In the game, the hammer symbolizes the Workers, the top hat—the Capitalists, the tractor—the Farmers, the cash register—the Small Businessmen, the brief case—the Professionals, and the mortarboard—the Students.
3. Only Workers and Capitalists can win this game. The other classes participate in winning or losing through alliances with one or another Major Class. (See Rule 15) While Workers and Capitalists struggle to win, the Minor Classes struggle to be on the winning side.

DICE

- NEW ★**
4. Individual players cannot choose their class. In real life, **ONE'S CLASS IS DETERMINED BY CHANCE**, which usually means by the kind of family into which one is born. Also in our society, **WOMEN AND BLACKS HAVE LESS CHANCE THAN WHITE MALES TO BECOME CAPITALISTS**. This has nothing to do with the human qualities of women and Blacks and everything to do with the unfair rules set by our society. Attempting to reflect these rules (and not by any means to justify them), "Class Struggle" calls for the following: beginning with the lightest White male and ending with the darkest Black female, everyone takes turns with the Genetic (or luck-of-birth) Die, the one with the symbols on it, to see who throws the Capitalist Class first. (If the people playing include a black man and a white woman, the players themselves have to decide which one has the greater handicap in becoming a Capitalist). After the Capitalists are chosen in this way, the players throw the Genetic Die in just the opposite order to see who plays the Workers. The remaining players can throw the Genetic Die in any order to see who plays the other classes.
 5. It is important that Workers and Capitalists be represented in the game, so if there are only two players these are the classes they should play. If there are less than six players, one person can represent two Minor Classes. It is also possible in a two-person game for each player to represent a Minor as well as a Major Class. It is simply more interesting when all or most of the Minor Classes are represented, but it is also possible to play "Class Struggle" with one or more of the Minor Classes left out.
 6. Again, to be true to real life, where the Capitalists' wealth and power over people and factories give them many unfair advantages, the Capitalist Class is the first to throw the numbered dice. They also decide whether the order in which the other classes take their turn at the dice proceeds from their left or their right.
 7. Classes now throw the numbered dice and move forward as many squares as the number shown, except when this number is the same as the one thrown by the class that went before. In this case, the class which has just thrown

*Signals a change of or an addition to the rules for "Class Struggle" found in BEGINNERS RULES.

the dice does not move at all. **THINKING FOR ONE-SELF, AND NOT JUST DOING WHAT OTHERS DO, IS ESSENTIAL FOR WINNING AT CLASS STRUGGLE**. If a class throws a double number, it gets an extra turn at the dice, and this rule holds for as long as any class throws double numbers.

ASSETS AND DEBITS

- NEW**
8. Most of the squares on the board are divided between Workers (red) and Capitalists (blue), and list the real strengths and weaknesses of these two classes. Depending on its importance in the Class Struggle, each strength is worth one to three plus-points (called "assets") and each weakness one to three minus-points (called "debts"). Whenever Workers or Capitalists land on a square which carries its name, it picks up the number of assets or debits listed there. Landing on its opponent's squares earns the trespasser neither assets nor debits, unless this happens on three successive throws of the dice (and only if one's opponent has kept track of this). In this case, the offending class picks up one debit. **PRETENDING TO BELONG TO A CLASS OTHER THAN YOUR OWN WEAKENS YOUR CAUSE IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE**.
 9. As part of their unfair advantages, the Capitalists decide which of the other classes should do the hard but necessary work of handing out assets and debits, that is of taking care of the "Bank."
 10. The Minor Classes pick up assets and debits whenever they land on either Capitalist or Worker Squares until they enter an alliance with one of the Major Classes, after which they get points only from squares that carry the name of their ally. (See Rule 15).

CHANCE

11. When landing on a Chance square, Capitalists pick up a Chance Card from the pack marked "Capitalist", and Workers from the pack marked "Worker". **WHAT IS SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE MAY BE SAUCE FOR THE GANDER, BUT WHAT IS GOOD LUCK FOR THE CAPITALISTS IS BAD LUCK FOR THE WORKERS, AND VICE VERSA**.

12. Until they enter into an alliance with one of the Major Classes, the Minor Classes can take their Chance Cards from either pack. After an alliance, they must pick their cards from the same pack as their Major Class ally. (See Rule 15.)
13. Trade Union and Workers' Political Party Cards: if the Workers or their allies land on squares 11 or 52, they receive a Trade Union Card; landing on squares 16 or 56 earns them a Political Party Card. Minor Classes can acquire these cards only while they are allied with the Workers, and must return them should this alliance be broken (See Rule 15).
14. On the highest level of "Class Struggle", starting with square no. 65, classes have a choice of receiving the number of assets and debits listed on the squares on which they land *or* forcing any one of their opponents to move *double* that number of squares (backward when it is assets that are listed, forward in the case of debits). The latter class then picks up the assets, debits, chance card, etc. listed on the square to which it has been forced to move.

NEW

ALLIANCES

15. Squares which read "Chance for an Alliance with the Farmers" (or Small Businessmen, or Professionals, or Students) permit the Major Class which lands there to enter into an alliance with the Minor Class named there. Each Minor Class has a Class Alliance Card which it gives to its new ally to seal the alliance. Like the player pieces, Alliance Cards can be mounted on the blocks of wood which are provided. Though each allied class retains its own assets and debits, their points are counted together in any future "Confrontation" (See Rule 27).
16. When there are less than six players in the game, a Major Class which lands on the Alliance Square of a Minor Class that is not represented by a player still receives the latter's Alliance Card and a bonus of five assets.
17. Whenever the Capitalists or Workers enter into an alliance with a Minor Class that is represented by a player they agree—in order to cement their new relationship—to accept from the Bank a number of debits equal to the number showing on their new ally's next turn at the dice, except when a double number is thrown, in which case there is no need to accept any debits at all. **THERE IS OFTEN A PRICE TO PAY IN FORMING NEW ALLI-**

NEW

- ANCES, AND CLASSES MUST ASK THEMSELVES, "IS IT WORTH IT?"
18. Minor as well as Major Classes have a chance to enter into alliances if they land on an Alliance Square. Rule 17 also applies here, and again it is the class which lands on the Alliance Square and initiates the alliance which receives the Alliance Card from the other class and picks up the extra debits.
19. If a Minor Class (say Farmers), which is already allied to a Major Class (say Capitalists), lands on a square that makes possible an alliance with the Students, the latter automatically becomes an ally of the Capitalists as well. In this way, the Minor Class allies of each Major Class can pick up alliances for their Major Class ally.
20. If a Minor Class is not allied to either of the Major Classes, it can still enter into an alliance with another Minor Class. In this case, the two Minor Classes have made themselves doubly valuable to the first Major Class to enter into an alliance with either of them; for—given the alliance of the two Minor Classes—to ally with either one of them is to ally with both. This also implies, of course, that the Major Class in question agrees to accept from each new ally a number of debits equal to the number showing on its next turn at the dice, except—again—when double numbers appear.
21. After two Minor Classes enter into an alliance with a Major Class, their special relationship comes to an end. Thus, if the other Major Class forces either of these Minor Classes to change alliances, its one-time partner is unaffected.
22. Change of alliances: whenever any class (Major or Minor, allied or unallied) lands on an Alliance Square of a Minor Class already allied to its opponent (or picks up a Chance Card which speaks to the same thing), a change of alliances becomes possible. Rule 17 also applies in every change of alliances.
23. If there are less than six players in the game, forcing a change of alliances with a Minor Class that is not represented by a player is simply a matter of transferring the Alliance Card and the five assets which came with it from the old Major Class ally to the new one.
24. Right to refuse alliances: whenever there is a chance for an alliance or a change of alliances, the classes directly affected have a right to accept or refuse it. If both classes

NEW

NEW

NEW

NEW

agree, an alliance is formed. If both classes reject it, there is no alliance. If one wants the alliance and the other does not, the two throw the dice and class with the higher number has its way. In case of a tie, they throw the dice again.

- NEW**
25. Natural Alliances: **SOME CLASS ALLIANCES ARE MORE VALUABLE THAN OTHERS.** If the Capitalists gain an alliance with both the Small Business and Professional Classes, the assets and debits of the latter two classes are counted twice in "Confrontations". (See Rule 27). This applies only if both of these classes are allied with the Capitalists at the same time. If the Workers gain alliances with the Farmers and Students, the same thing applies: the assets and debits of these two classes are counted twice.
- NEW**
26. The Natural Alliance Rule holds even if one or both of the Minor Classes involved are not represented by players. That is, the five assets the Workers would have received for allying with the Farmers and the five assets they would have received for allying with the Students—assuming neither class is represented by players (see Rule 16)—is worth twenty assets as long as this double alliance holds.

CONFRONTATION

27. There are six Confrontation Squares: Life in the factory, two Elections, two General Strikes (when all the workers lay down their tools) and the Revolution. If either Major Class or its allies lands on a Confrontation Square, it has a choice whether or not to call a Confrontation. Non-allied Minor Classes cannot call a Confrontation, and only the Major Classes (not even their allies) can call the final Confrontation, which is the Revolution. In a Confrontation, each side adds up its assets and debits (allies' points are counted together), and the side with the highest number of assets after debits are subtracted wins. In the case of the Elections and General Strikes, winning the Confrontation secures the victorious Major Class three free throws of the dice, improving in this way its position in the overall Class Struggle. Rule 7 regarding double numbers does not apply to these three throws. To keep opponents guessing as to whether they can win a Confrontation, each class should keep its own assets and debits securely covered.
28. It is obviously not in the interest of a class to provoke a Confrontation unless it believes it can win. To make an

intelligent judgment on this matter, each class should try to keep track of the assets and debits acquired by other classes. **IN CLASS STRUGGLE, VICTORY GENERALLY GOES TO THE CLASS WHICH KNOWS THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE OTHER SIDE AS WELL AS ITS OWN.**

- NEW**
29. Elections are true Confrontations only if the Workers, or one of its allies, has already landed on Squares 16 or 55 indicating that a Working Class political party has been formed. Otherwise, the Capitalists automatically win this Confrontation. **IN AN ELECTION BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST PARTIES OF TWEEDLE DEEmocrats AND TWEEDLE DUMlicans, THE WORKERS CAN ONLY LOSE.**
30. Revolution is the last square on the board and the final Confrontation. The winner of this Confrontation wins the game. If the Workers win, humanity enters a new era of peace, democracy and equality, which is called **SOCIALISM**. A Capitalist victory, on the other hand, simply means the rich get richer while the poor are left to stew in their own juice, leading eventually to the collapse of civilization. **HENCE THE CHOICE BEFORE US—SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM?**
- NEW**
31. A Revolution can be called by either of the Major Classes once it arrives in the final square. As in earlier Confrontations, the assets and debits of both Workers and Capitalists are counted no matter where these classes are on the board. The allies of the Major Class which calls the Revolution, however, are counted only if they are safely in the final square when the Revolution is called. The points of the allies of the other Major Class are counted no matter where these classes are on the board. **REVOLUTION IS THE GREAT TEST OF ALLIANCES AND SOME CLASSES ARE FOUND WANTING.**
32. For the Natural Alliance Rule (See Rule 25) to apply in the Revolution, the Major Class and *both* of its natural allies must be in the final square. If only one natural ally has made it to the final square in time for the Revolution, its assets and debits are counted but once. In the case of classes not represented by players, simply having the Natural Alliance is sufficient for doubling their assets in the Revolution as in all other Confrontations.
33. For any class to advance to the final square, it must roll an exact number on the dice. If it is two squares away, it

has to keep throwing the dice until it gets a two. If it is one square away, it throws only one die.

34. Once any class (Major or Minor) arrives in the final square, it continues to receive a turn at the dice which it can use to advance any of its allies. The ally that it wishes to help must be chosen before the dice is thrown.
35. As the Capitalists control the Government, only they—not even their allies—can trigger off a nuclear war and destroy the whole world. **IN DANGER OF LOSING THEIR POWER, THE CAPITALISTS ARE CAPABLE OF ANYTHING.** If the Capitalists land on Square 81, then, this means nuclear war and the automatic end of the game. Nobody wins. If the Workers or any of its allies land on this square first, however, the possibility of the Capitalists starting a nuclear war has been removed for the remainder of the game.

STRATEGY

- NEW** 36. It is in the interest of every class to become part of a Natural Alliance (see Rule 25), and it is this interest which determines most efforts to establish alliances.
- NEW** 37. Since establishing an alliance with a Minor Class generally means accepting a few extra debits (except when the latter throws a double number on the dice), there will be occasions when a Major Class may want to refuse such an alliance. These are when the Minor Class in question has few or no assets, early in the game when changes in alliances are still very likely, or late in the game when the Major Class has a large lead in assets and believes it can win without this alliance. Should this happen, the Minor Class on whose Alliance Square the Major Class has landed—wishing to be on the winning side—may insist on forming an alliance, in which case the two classes throw the dice with the higher number deciding the issue.
- NEW** 38. The necessity of getting one's Minor Class allies into the final square in order to have their assets counted in the Revolution gives a Major Class with few and even no allies a chance to win. Though it is usually an advantage to have as many alliances as possible early in the game for the help they provide in the early Confrontations, this is not always so in the end. As the Revolution approaches, the value of alliances depends in large part on the position of one's Minor Class allies on the board, and this should

be kept in mind in deciding whether to accept a new alliance.

- NEW** 39. For a Minor Class, the possibility of being left out of the Revolution (being short of the final square when the Revolution is called, or being there but not having an alliance with either Major Class) offers a third possible outcome to the game besides winning or losing. Again, the main objective of each Minor Class is to be on the winning side, but if this goal is beyond its reach it should try at least to avoid being on the losing side. In pursuit of this second best outcome, a Minor Class should refuse an alliance with a Major Class if it believes the latter is going to lose.
- NEW** 40. Because it picks up assets and debits from *both* Capitalist and Worker Squares before it enters into an alliance with a Major Class, there is some advantage to a Minor Class' steering clear of alliances until it sees which of the Major Classes is ahead.

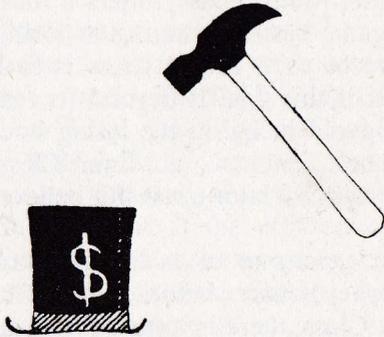
SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM

- NEW** 41. The class which wins the Revolution has only won in one country, but Class Struggle is taking place throughout the capitalist world. Give the winning class(es) a bonus of five assets (**VICTORY IN ONE COUNTRY HELPS ONE'S CLASS IN OTHER COUNTRIES**), roll the Genetic Die to see who is going to represent which class (**AS ALWAYS, EACH PERSON'S CLASS IS LEFT UP TO CHANCE**), and let the struggle begin anew.

INNOVATION

- NEW** 42. But before you start, look around you at life in capitalist America and add at least one new Chance Card for each Capitalists and Workers. Several blank Chance Cards have been provided for this purpose. The player who offers the best idea for a Chance Card should be rewarded with two assets for the new game.

Tournament Rules



(These rules are for older adolescents and adults who are already familiar with the FULL RULES and who favor games with more complex strategies.)

1. In BEGINNERS and FULL RULES, winning has been simply a matter of having more assets at the end of the game. TOURNAMENT RULES, however, recognizes three kinds of victories: smashing victory, middling victory and bare victory, which is no less than what can happen in any real revolution.
2. Here, Workers or Capitalists win a smashing victory if it—
 - a) beats the other Major Class by a margin of fifteen or more assets,
 - b) has more allies than its opponent in the final square at the end of the game, and
 - c) has won all of the confrontations which were called.
3. A Major Class wins a middling victory if it satisfies any two of these criteria. If less than two of these criteria are satisfied, the winning class wins but a bare victory.
4. In the real world, the larger the victory, the quicker the winning class can put its program into effect. It also con-

tributes to the success of this same class in the Class Struggles going on in other countries. Consequently, in the next game of “Class Struggle”, the class which has just won a smashing victory starts the game with nine assets. A middling victory is worth six assets and a bare victory three. In every case, the allies of the winning class receive the same bonus. These assets go to the winning class and not to the player who represented it, as each new game starts with a throw of the Genetic Die.

5. It is obviously in the interest of each Major Class, therefore, not only to win but to win big, or if it is losing to lose by as little as possible.
6. TOURNAMENT RULES, unlike FULL RULES, also allows for the possibility of a Minor Class, or an alliance of Minor Classes, winning. This occurs when the two Major Classes have fought to a standoff in their struggle. This standoff is represented in the game by the following:

- a) no more than ten assets separates the totals of the Major Classes,
- b) neither has won more than one Confrontation, and
- c) neither has more than one ally.

In these circumstances, an unallied Minor Class, or an alliance of Minor Classes, which has more assets than either Major Class can—when it arrives at the final square—call a Revolution and win. Again, for the points of the allies of the class calling the Revolution to be counted, these allies must have arrived in the final square. If a Minor Class calls a Revolution and the criteria for its victory are not met, the Major Class with the most assets wins. If the Minor Class wins, it receives a bonus of nine assets for the next game, and so too any of its allies.

This unusual outcome corresponds to the equally unusual outcome of real Class Struggles in which a standoff between Major Classes permits representatives of a Minor Class to assume temporary control of the state. Louie Bonaparte’s rise to power as representative of the small farmers in mid-19th century France is an example of this.

7. The variety of possible outcomes increases the number of options before any class. A Major Class which takes an early lead can try to win big or simply try to make sure that it wins. While a Major Class which falls behind early in the game now has the option of still trying to win or

trying to limit the size of its loss. And Minor Classes, if circumstances allow, can strive to defeat both Major Classes, or—as before—to be on the side of the winning Major Class, or at least not to be allied to the losing Major Class. Clearly, the possibility and attractiveness of these different options will change as the game progresses with its changing relations between the classes.

8. In order to give each class greater flexibility to pursue these different outcomes, TOURNAMENT RULES permits the following:
 - a) any class can buy from another its turn(s) at the dice for whatever (assets, future Chance Cards, decision making power in the alliance, or alliances) that the latter will accept.
 - b) a class can also buy from another, using whatever the latter will accept, future Chance Cards (in the hope of coming up with the one or two cards that could change the course of the game). Such a purchase must be concluded, of course, before the card in question is picked.
 - c) class alliances can be made, traded or sold, again for whatever the parties will accept. (Only Minor Classes can be sold or traded, whether by a Major or Minor Class ally). As before, the class landing on a Class Alliance Square can force the class named there to enter into an alliance, whether or not it is already part of another alliance (given, of course, that the class which lands on the square wins the subsequent throw of the dice), but now alliances can also be forged and broken in other ways. The only exception to this open market in alliances is that Workers and Capitalists can never ally together.

The only time when alliances can be made, traded, sold or broken in the above manner is when a class, any class, lands on an Alliance Square. Besides permitting the class which lands there to enter into an alliance with the class named, an open market is declared on all such transactions. If the class being traded or sold objects, however, the issue is decided as always by a throw of the dice. This means too that a Major Class which was denied the right to trade or sell its ally because of an unlucky throw of the dice has another opportunity to do so as soon as someone

lands on the next Class Alliance Square. A class simply wishing to get out of an alliance cannot force the issue in this way, but must find a price to buy its freedom that its ally finds acceptable.

- d) a Major Class can concentrate as many of its assets as it wishes on any upcoming Confrontation other than the Revolution. This is the political equivalent of “putting all of one’s eggs in the same basket”. In this case, if the betting class or its allies are lucky enough to land on this square, the assets which have been “sent ahead” count for triple in the Confrontation. If this square is passed over without a Confrontation, or if the Confrontation is called and lost, the assets which were “sent ahead” are returned to the Bank. Given the danger of losing these assets, this strategy is best suited to a Major Class which is already losing but hopes to win at least one Confrontation and in this way keep its opponent from a smashing victory.

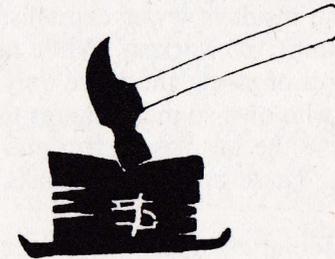
STRATEGY

9. All the strategies listed in Full Rules apply here (See Full Rules numbers 36-40).
10. Knowing that other classes can and are even likely to land on the Class Alliance Squares coming up, it is unwise to make “expensive” alliance deals early in the game, for this will just mean losing alliances for which one has paid dearly. On the other hand, if a Major Class is pursuing a strategy directed toward winning an early (or middle) Confrontation, paying a lot for an alliance—especially if the price is in future turns of the dice or future Chance Cards—may be a clever move.
11. If a Major Class is behind in assets and lagging far behind on the board, it should consider giving one or more of its allies their independence in exchange for assets or future turns at the dice. It is always preferable for a Major Class to strike a bargain with a Minor Class than with the other Major Class, since bargains generally strengthen both parties.
12. If a Major Class is far behind in everything, only luck will save it and it is probably a good idea to trade future turns at the dice, assets, etc. with other classes for future Chance Cards. Generally speaking, this a desperation move, but there are a couple of Chance Cards which could turn the

game around. Each Major Class picks up Chance Cards from the pack that carries its name no matter where and from whom it has purchased the right to do so.

13. A Minor Class trying to win by itself (or in alliance with other Minor Classes) will not only use its assets to keep or buy back its independence, but also to bolster the position of the losing Major Class so that the criteria necessary for a Minor Class to win can be satisfied. (See Rule 6). It can't simply hand over assets to a Major Class which is losing badly, but it can buy a Chance Card from it, for example, at an inflated price.
14. If allied to a losing Major Class which refuses to sell its independence, a Minor Class may refuse to follow its ally's advice on whether to accept an advantageous alliance with another Minor Class or to reject a disadvantageous one, or to call or not call a Confrontation should the opportunity arise. The very possibility that one's Minor Class ally might force a Confrontation when one is sure to lose serves as pressure on a Major Class to trade or sell its troublesome ally.
15. An independent Minor Class with a great many assets can offer itself as an ally to a Major Class in return for the power to take all decisions pertaining to the alliance, i.e., whether to call a Confrontation, including the Revolution, whether to accept and/or trade for other allies, what kind of victory to aim for, etc. A Major Class is unlikely to give up such power, of course, unless it sees no other way of winning.
16. In TOURNAMENT "Class Struggle", the relations between the classes are likely to change often and drastically, requiring frequent reassessments of what outcomes are possible, which desirable, and what strategies are best to obtain them. Flexibility in choosing one's goal is as important as skill in choosing effective means in determining both who will win and what kind of victory it will be.
17. For the rest, all the rules given in FULL RULES, except where specifically superceded by 1-16 of the above, also apply to TOURNAMENT "Class Struggle".

Why?



Explanations for the assets and debits awarded on each square

1. Class Struggle begins.
2. CONFRONTATION: in the factory every day. With neither land or tools to call their own, workers are forced to sell their labor-power to capitalists for as much as they can get in order to stay alive. Capitalists buy this labor-power for as little as they can give in order to make things which they can sell at a profit. They then try to expand this profit by making workers work harder, faster and longer (no matter how unhealthy and unpleasant the conditions of work, since every improvement in these conditions costs money); while workers struggle to defend themselves against capitalist greed by doing as little as they can as slow as they can.
3. Growth of industry leads to an increase in the number (hence the power) of workers. There are about 95 million people (or 62% of everybody over 16) who work for wages in America today. These are the workers. Growth of industry also leads to an increase in the profits (hence the power) of capitalists. Workers—2 assets; Capitalists—2 assets.
4. Market spreads overseas giving capitalists an important influence in the lives of foreign peoples and their govern-

- ments. The capitalist system's need for the continuous expansion of this market (since workers are not paid enough to buy all that they make) is at the core of what is called "imperialism". Capitalists—2 assets.
5. Increasing concentration of industry makes workers the majority in most cities. The workers' power lies not only in their numbers but in the fact that they live in cities which are the nerve centers of capitalist society. Workers—2 assets.
 6. Competition between capitalists drives many of them out of business. The result is fewer capitalists in relation to the growing number of workers. While many Americans own a few shares of stock, there are only about one half million people who own so many shares that they have an influence on how the business is run and/or can live off their dividends. These are the capitalists. Capitalists—1 debit.
 7. Growth in church attendance. Because it encourages the poor and oppressed to think more about the next life than about this one, Karl Marx called religion, "the opium of the people". Workers—1 debit.
 8. Chance for an alliance with the Farmers.
 9. Congress is supposed to represent all the people, but most of its members (Democrats and Republicans) are capitalists and lawyers for capitalist interests. It is no wonder then that most of the laws which Congress passes favor the capitalist class. In the words of Anatole France, "The law in all its majesty forbids rich and poor alike from stealing bread and sleeping under bridges". So much for what capitalists, without recognizing the irony, call "equality under the law". Capitalists—2 assets.
 10. CHANCE.
 11. Trade Unions are established to defend workers' interests (higher wages, shorter hours, safer conditions and the like). Only through organization can the workers' power be felt. Workers—3 assets.
 12. Natural disaster. Floods, hurricanes, etc. mean workers lose their homes and cars, while for the capitalists disasters generally mean more business, since workers have to buy more homes and cars. Workers—1 debit; Capitalists—1 asset.
 13. Chance for an alliance with the Professional Class.
 14. Competition between workers for jobs and, inside each work place, for the few easier and higher paid jobs makes

- it difficult for workers to cooperate on behalf of their common interests. Workers—1 debit.
15. Police are not for directing traffic, nor soldiers for marching in parades. The main job of the police and the army is to protect the factories, stores and fine homes of the capitalists. Capitalists—2 assets.
 16. Workers organize a working class political party. Only when they stop relying on capitalist parties to represent them can the workers hope to win in class struggle. Workers—3 assets.
 17. Big drop in the stock market. Millions of small investors lose their savings and capitalism momentarily gets a bad name. Capitalists—2 debits.
 18. CHANCE.
 19. CONFRONTATION: election. An election is a true confrontation only if the workers have their own political party. If elections are a matter of choosing between bosses who look like elephants and bosses who look like donkeys, the workers can only lose.
 20. Trade Unions are taken over by union bureaucrats (only applies if the Workers or their allies have landed on number 11 above). When the unions are led by people who think only of their own careers, the workers' interests are forgotten. Workers—2 debits.
 21. Chance for an alliance with the Small Shopkeepers.
 22. Press, radio and T.V. are owned by the capitalists and present their point of view on everything. This is not just a matter of editorials, but of what the media merchants choose to call news and the slant they give it. Capitalists—3 assets.
 23. The success of the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.) shows that production can go on without capitalists. An important lesson. A public corporation, the T.V.A. produces and sells electricity more cheaply than any private power company could . . . or would. Workers—2 assets; Capitalists—1 debit.
 24. CHANCE.
 25. Capitalists control the courts. With laws biased on behalf of the rich, establishment judges who naturally sympathize with their own kind, and the best lawyers working for those who pay most, there is little real justice. As a general rule, the richer the criminal (for those few rich criminals who are caught and tried), the shorter the sentence. Capitalists—1 asset.
 26. Chance for an alliance with the Students.

27. Strike. By withholding their work from the capitalists, the workers force them to give in to their demands, and win a new self-confidence. Workers—3 assets.
28. Through their control of school boards and the publication of text books, the capitalists determine most of what is taught in the schools. Capitalists—2 assets.
29. CHANCE.
30. Workers party is taken over by party bureaucrats (only applies if the Workers or their allies have landed on number 16 above). Workers—2 debits.
31. Inflation. With higher prices, workers buy less but capitalists make more profit. Workers—1 debit; Capitalists—1 asset.
32. Chance for an alliance with the Farmers.
33. Development of a socialist press to present the workers' point of view. The big job now is making people aware that it exists and encouraging them to read it. Workers—3 assets.
34. CHANCE.
35. State and federal regulatory commissions (like the Interstate Commerce Commission) are supposed to protect the public from overly greedy (as distinguished from typically greedy) businessmen. When the capitalists themselves or their lawyers are appointed to these commissions, the wolf has been given the job of guarding the sheep. Capitalists—2 assets.
36. You are about to enter a higher stage of the class struggle. Knowledge of this helps you plan accordingly. On passing: Workers—2 assets; Capitalists—2 assets.
37. Chance for an alliance with the Professional Class.
38. Workers organize community action groups and put pressure on landlords, local hospitals and schools for better services. In the process, they learn how to struggle more effectively. Workers—3 assets.
39. CHANCE.
40. Capitalists provoke an imperialist war in their constant search to find new countries in which to turn a fast buck. In such wars, the workers are usually fooled by patriotic propaganda into supporting their bosses, at least at the start. Capitalists—2 assets.
41. CONFRONTATION: election. (See number 19).
42. Chance for an alliance with the Small Shopkeepers.
43. CHANCE.
44. Watergate scandal forces the Government, momentarily, to put aside its "dirty tricks" operations against the work-

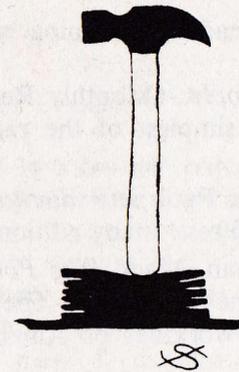
- ers and their allies. Workers—1 asset; Capitalists—2 debits.
45. Crime in the streets is no answer to poverty. It only divides the workers and increases repression. Workers—1 debit.
46. Capitalists expand their profits by getting the Government to waste more of the tax payer's money on arms, or what they hypocritically call "defense". Before all the double-talk set in, the Defense Department was called the War Department. Capitalists—1 asset.
47. CHANCE.
48. When the capitalists' profit is the deciding factor, progress in inventions leads to fewer jobs rather than to lighter work. That's why workers often oppose the introduction of new machines. Science will work for the people only when the people, not the capitalists, control it. Workers—1 debit.
49. Strike. (See number 27) Strikes become bigger and more frequent as the class struggle intensifies. Workers—3 assets. But the capitalist often responds by locking the workers out of the factory until they accept his conditions. Capitalists—3 assets.
50. Chance for an alliance with the Students.
51. State legalizes gambling to fool each worker into believing that one day he will become rich. The only sure winners in this game are the capitalists. Capitalists—2 assets.
52. More trade unions. (See number 11) In the United States today, less than a quarter of our workers are in unions (much less than in any other capitalist country), so a lot of organizing remains to be done. Workers—3 assets.
53. CHANCE.
54. Successful workers' revolution abroad reduces the capitalists' business opportunities in that country and encourages the workers' movement at home. Workers—2 assets; Capitalists—1 debit.
55. Workers start a new, more broadly based political party. The more people within the working class who get involved in the political struggle, the greater the power of the workers. Workers—3 assets.
56. Chance for an alliance with any of the minor classes.
57. Watergate scandal is forgotten. Government resumes its "dirty tricks". If people only had a better memory for historical injustices, capitalism would have been put to bed a long time ago. It doesn't help, of course, that history

- teachers spend so little time talking about these injustices. Workers—1 debit; Capitalists—2 assets.
58. CONFRONTATION: general strike. All the workers lay down their tools. The workers' power is evident as all economic life comes to a halt.
59. CHANCE.
60. Black and white workers unite to fight racism. Racism is one of the main reasons for the division and resulting weakness of the working class. The capitalists understand this all too well, and do their best to promote hostility between black and white workers. Workers—3 assets.
61. Using the excuse of the fiscal crisis, the banks refuse to lend the cities any more money until they get rid of free higher education. It is dangerous for capitalism when too many young people from the working class are learning how to think for themselves. It is also not very profitable. Workers—1 debit; Capitalists—1 asset.
62. CHANCE.
63. Increase in attendance and in the T.V. audience of mass spectator sports, another "opium of the people". By making people of all classes into "fans" of the same teams, capitalists also make it difficult for the workers to think about their interests as workers (and turn a neat profit in the process). Capitalists—2 assets.
64. You are about to enter the highest stage in the class struggle. (See number 36 above) Workers—2 assets; Capitalists—2 assets.
65. Crisis (or "depression", or "recession", now called a "pause"): production and sales go down, unemployment goes up, while machines and often the things they produce are left to go to waste and even destroyed. All this at a time when millions of people are going hungry. More and more workers begin to see how irrational it is to let capitalists, who are only interested in their profit, decide what our society needs. Workers—2 assets.
66. Capitalists enlarge the size of the police and the army as their surest means of staying in power. Capitalists—2 assets.
67. Rent and tax strikes are spreading throughout the country. Squeezed by a tight economic situation and encouraged by a growing working class movement, people are ceasing to play by the capitalist-imposed "rules of the game". Respect for traditional authorities is weakening. Workers—2 assets.
68. CHANCE.

69. Like religion, T.V. thrillers, spectator sports and gambling, pornography keeps workers from thinking about their class interests and organizing to do something about them. The name of the capitalist game seems to be to get workers to think about everything except what is really happening to them. Workers—1 debit.
70. Police scandal exposes the links between the Mafia, Big Business and the cops. Watch out when workers learn that at the top of high society the cops and the robbers are the same people. Capitalists—2 debits.
71. CHANCE.
72. CONFRONTATION: general strike. (See number 58).
73. Male and female workers unite to fight sexism. Along with racism, sexism is among the greatest barriers to working class unity and power. Again, the capitalists understand this very well, and do their best to promote hostility between male and female workers. Workers—3 assets.
74. F.B.I. spies have infiltrated the leadership of the workers' party. In politics, as in business, when the capitalists can't win by playing within the rules (rules which they themselves have made), they don't mind breaking them. Capitalists—3 assets.
75. Capitalists throw many workers' leaders in prison. This is an act of desperation by the capitalists that temporarily stalls the workers' advance. Workers—2 debits.
76. Chance for an alliance with any of the Minor Classes.
77. Strike. "Nobody throws our leaders in jail and gets away with it", say the workers. In a strike, new leaders are formed. Workers—3 assets.
78. CHANCE.
79. Cold Feet. In the final stages of the class struggle, they who hesitate are lost. Think about this as you miss as many turns at the dice as you have allies.
80. Capitalists start another imperialist war but the workers have wised up and refuse to fight. Why kill and be killed in a war that only benefits the capitalists? Capitalists—2 debits.
81. Nuclear War. The capitalists control the state, so only they can trigger off nuclear war. And the capitalists are capable of any folly once they sense their days in power are numbered. If the capitalists land on this square before the workers or their allies, the game is automatically over.
82. Government orders the destruction of all copies of that

dangerous game, "Class Struggle". It may be too late, however. Capitalists—3 assets.

83. Socialist ideas are spreading in the police and the army. Policemen and soldiers, especially in the lower ranks, begin to understand that they too have bosses and that they share many interests with the workers. The time when they have unthinkingly served as watchdogs for capitalism has come to an end. Workers—3 assets.
84. CONFRONTATION: revolution. No one knows what a revolution in America would look like. All that can be said for sure is that the more people who want it, who reject capitalism and who want a society shaped in the interests of the workers and their allies, the swifter, more democratic and less violent it will be. Yes, revolution, which means a radical change in capitalist social and economic structures, can come about democratically and without major violence. Whether it will or not depends less on the workers than on the means the capitalists use to defend their privileges at that moment when the long suffering majority have decided they have had enough.



Hints for Classroom Use

1. It is best if there is one set of "Class Struggle" for every six players. But if only one copy of "Class Struggle" is available, several people can represent each class. In this case, they can take turns throwing the dice, but decisions regarding strategy—whether to enter into an alliance, for example—should be taken by a majority vote of the whole group.
2. With several people representing each class, it is probably not possible, even with college students, to use **TOURNAMENT RULES**. Younger students should stick to **BEGINNERS RULES**, while older students (fourteen and over) should play by the **FULL RULES**.
3. Again, with several people representing each class: as classes land on the different squares, someone—perhaps the teacher—should read the explanations of why these squares offer the number of assets and debits that they do (See "Why?" section of this booklet).
4. As the game progresses from one level of Class Struggle to the next, it is a good idea—no matter how many players are representing each class—to pause for questions and discussion.
5. Time should also be left at the end of the game to discuss whether what has been depicted is fact or fiction.
6. Don't let any of the above interfere with the students' fun and enjoyment of the game.
7. There are literally thousands of good socialist books and journals available these days, but those which I believe would be particularly appropriate to read along with (or after) using "Class Struggle" in class include—
 - a. Dowd, Douglas F., *The Twisted Dream: Capitalist Development in the United States since 1776* (Winthrop Publishers, 1974).
 - b. Edwards, Richard, et al., *The Capitalist System*

- (Prentice-Hall, 1972). A reader containing many excellent articles.
- c. Huberman, Leo, *We, the People*, (Monthly Review Press, many editions). The simplest of the radical histories of the U.S.
 - d. Huberman, Leo, and Sweezy, Paul, *Introduction to Socialism*, (Monthly Review Press, many editions).
 - e. Katznelson, Ira, and Kesselman, Mark, *The Politics of Power* (Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1975). The best socialist introduction to the workings of American government.
 - f. Marx, Karl, and Engels, Frederick, *The Communist Manifesto*.
 - g. Marx, Engels, and Rius, *The Communist Manifesto Comic Book* (Quixote Publishers, 153 East Gilman St., Madison, Wis., 53703). Excellent.
 - h. McLellan, David, *The Thought of Karl Marx* (Harper and Row, 1971). The simplest of the many books of selections of Marx's writings. Contains a brief biography.
 - i. Tressel, Robert, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist* (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1976; and Monthly Review Press, forthcoming). My favorite socialist novel. Contains several simple explanations of difficult socialist ideas.
 - j. Williams, William A., *America Confronts a Revolutionary World: 1776-1976* (William Morrow and Co., 1976). Eye opening history.

For teenagers, let me add, *FPS: A Magazine of Young People's Liberation* (2007 Washtenaw, Ann Arbor, Mich., 48104). Like it says.

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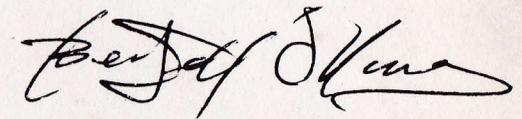
Dear Friend,

Please do not read the rest of this letter until you have played the game...

Now that you have played "Class Struggle" (and if you have enjoyed it), you may be asking "What can I do to get 'Class Struggle' into the hands of more people?". The answer is that you can do a lot that is beyond the power of our limited distribution network. You can, for example, show your copy of the game to local book, toy, game, stationery, gift, department, and magazine stores, and encourage them to order. The back cover of the box tells most of the story.

With you allied to us, we cannot lose...nor can you.

Yours In Struggle,



Bertell Ollman
(For Class Struggle, Inc.)

*If "Class Struggle" is not available in your community, individual copies can be obtained directly from Class Struggle, Inc., 487 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y., 10013 for \$11.95 (includes postage in U.S.) (N.Y. residents add \$.96 sales tax). Foreign buyers should inquire from their local post offices what it costs to send a three pound package by mail and send that sum together with \$11.95 in a check drawn on a U.S. bank.