

# Pax Porfiriana Living Rules

A revolutionary card game for 2 - 5 players

based on *Lords of the Sierra Madre*

Version **May 29, 2013**

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## A. INTRODUCTION

*Pax Porfiriana* is Latin for “The Porfirian Peace”. It refers to the 33-year reign of dictator Porfirio Díaz, ruling Mexico with an iron hand until toppled by the 1910 Revolution. As a *Hacendado* (rich businessman) in the pre-revolutionary borderlands of the U.S. and Mexico, compete to build business empires of ranches, mines, rails, troops, and banks while subverting your opponents with *bandidos*, Indians, and lawsuits. To win, accumulate enough Loyalty, Outrage, Command, or Revolution points to topple Díaz, either by succession, Mexican annexation, coup, or popular revolt. If Díaz remains firmly seated at the game’s end, the player with the most gold is the winner.

### Number of Players:

*Pax Porfiriana* plays best with two to five players. Since there are six *Hacendado Cards*, if you provide 15 extra cubes of a distinct color, six players are possible.

- *Solitaire*. An experimental *solitaire* variant is in Part L.

**Important: Terms in Capital Letters are defined in the Glossary.** These core definitions are **essential** for playing *Pax Porfiriana*.

Golden Rule: If the text on a card contradicts these rules, the card has precedence.

Changes from the 2012 published version are marked in **RED**.

Learning guide courtesy Paul-Michael Agapow and Martin Griffiths at the following link:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/126tK0feUuiQacaPNAve45HQ2DRullFzyi9o2w-Rchjg/edit>

## B. COMPONENTS

### 60 Disks

- 35 white (worth 1 gold)
- 15 red (worth 5 gold / unrest disk)
- 10 blue (worth 10 gold / “in jail” disk)

### 75 Cubes (Income, Prestige, Connection, Extortion, and Speculation Cubes)

- 15 each in red, **yellow**, green, white and black

### 220 Cards

- 1 **Play Aid Card** (white, double-sided)

**6 Hacendado Cards** (double-sided) are not in the Play Deck, but are rather identify who you are. The starting side is “Loyalist”, and you may flip it over to either Orientation of its “Partner” side during a Toppling or Retreat.

- On its flipped side, a Hacendado Card loses its 2-cube income and starting abilities. The colored boot or rail icon indicates the Faction Color and cost to Retreat for Private Armies.

**4 Regime Cards** (double-sided) are also not in the Play Deck, but are used to identify what kind of Regime

governs all three Districts, including the price of metals and the Economy. See Part H and the card anatomy on the side of the box .

**58 Enterprise Cards** (tan) represent business infrastructures such as banks, mines, and ranches owned by players. They provide Income, see Part F.

- Enterprises are vulnerable to Unrest Disks and Extorting Troops.
- Each Enterprise has a flag showing its District location and a rail, mule, or boot icon in a square indicating its Connection.
- Some Enterprises have one or two Connection Ovals indicating the Connection can be upgraded. See card anatomy on the side of the box.
- Some Enterprises include a Prestige Point in the upper right corner.

**40 Partner Cards** [in 4 Faction Colors: blue (U.S), green (federal), red (rebel) and white (local)] are specialists with whom you have an arrangement.

- Once played into your Row, Partners provide special abilities or Prestige. Some provide a bonus action. **Some provide a discount to Enterprise Cards, however each Enterprise can be discounted by only one Partner (or by your Hacendado starting ability).**
- See card anatomy on the side of the box.

**2 Public Cards** (double-sided) are a type of Partner Card.

- They are not in the Play Deck or Market, but are purchased by the “Buy Public Card action” (Part E3).

**30 Troop Cards** (also in Faction Colors) are military forces deployed to “protect” Enterprises, either yours or an opponent’s. They can also be part of your Private Army.

- Troops have a flag indicating its Jurisdiction.
- The cost in gold to play a Troop, or to Redeploy it after it has been played, depends upon the Connection of the destination Enterprise: rail, mule, or foot.
- In the upper-left corner of the card is found one of three Firepowers: bow, rifle, or machine gun. See Part G and the side of the box.

**23 Black Cards** are one-time defamations, lawsuits, assassinations, or other dirty-dealings played against other players (or against yourself, see Part J).

- If the Black Card specifies a process, you CANNOT play it unless you can perform the process (e.g. the card says to remove an opponent’s cube and he has none to remove).
- Black Cards expend 2 Actions to play unless played in the Regime specified.
- If a Black or Orange Card depicts an upside-down Prestige Point, it is Victim-Awarded after playing. Your victim stores the card as a victory point in his Prestige Stack, and if specified is put in Jail.
- Orange or Black Cards often steal gold as indicated in the gold peso icon (see illustration on the side of the box), and you can play this against a victim even if he has insufficient gold to pay.

**23 Orange Cards** are played against enterprises, even if they are protected by troops, stealing gold from the owner and placing red Unrest Disks representing bandits, Indians, strikers, etc. A few cause Regime Change.

- An Orange Card with a flag may only be played against an enterprise located in that District. For card anatomy see the side of the box.
- Like Black Cards, an Orange Card is one-use, requires you to perform the process specified on the card, sometimes puts your victim in Jail or steals his gold, and almost always is Victim-Awarded after playing.
- Orange and Black Cards can target an enterprise even if defended by troops.

- You can play an Orange Card against one of your own enterprises, if it has no Unrest, see Part J.

**29 Headline Cards** (light yellow) indicate impending events impacting all players. If purchased, they are played immediately as a single action.

- Headlines have two Orientations, an event side, and a status quo side. Upon purchase, you may play either side. If you play the event side, the listed effects are applied in the order listed on the card and impact all players, starting with the player to your left. This usually includes Strife and a Regime Change (see Glossary and the card anatomy on the side of the box). If you play the status quo side, there are no changes or effects.
- After playing, discard a Headline face-up into the Bull-Bear Discards. This can start or end a Depression, see Part I.

**4 Topple Cards** (yellow) are a special type of Headline Card representing one of four opportunities to dethrone President Díaz and instantly win the game. Buying a Topple Card initiates a Toppling, either modified or unmodified as chosen by the purchaser. If purchased, see Part K.

## C. SETUP

1. Separate the 13 double-sided cards from the others. These are Play Aid (1), Hacendado (6), Regime (4), and Public Cards (2).
2. With the remaining 207 cards build the Play Deck:
  - a) Remove the four Topple Cards for now.
  - b) Count 50 cards plus 10 cards per player in the game.
  - c) Shuffle these cards and create six stacks of about the same size.
  - d) Shuffle one Topple Card each in four of the six stacks.
  - e) Put the six stacks on top of each other, with the two stacks without a Topple card being uppermost.
3. From the top of the Play Deck lay out 12 face-up cards in two rows of six each to the left of your Play Deck - this is the Market. See the diagram below - this is the Market. ILLUSTRATION
  - **5- or 6- Player Game. Draw the 12-cards for the Market from the unused cards instead of the Play Deck. This results in 12 extra cards in play.**
4. From the double-sided cards lay out the two Public Cards on the table, separate from the Market.
5. Stack the four Regime Cards together with the starting Regime “Pax Porfiriana” on top, the color-side face-up.
6. Shuffle the six Hacendado Cards and deal one to each player.
7. The remaining cards go back into the box, as they won’t be used in this game.
8. Each player gets 15 cubes of any available color. Place two cubes of your color where indicated on your Hacendado Card (upper right corner).
  - These are Income Cubes that earn one gold each at the end of your turn.
9. Randomly determine a starting player.
10. The starting player receives four gold, the second player in order five gold, the third player six and so on.
11. The starting player begins the first turn by performing his three actions.

ALTERNATE RAPID SET UP: Remove the 13 double-sided cards and the 4 Topple Cards. Shuffle the 203-card deck, remove 12 random cards to be used to build the Market, remove approximately half the remaining cards (they won’t be used), and shuffle in the 4 Topple cards into the other half. Then prepare the Market, Public Cards and Hacendados per steps 3 to 11 above.

## D. SEQUENCE OF PLAY

Do these 4 phases, and then play passes to the player to your left.

- Your Hand is kept secret, but your gold, cards in your Row, and cards in your Prestige Stack are open for opponents to examine.

**1. Action Phase** ⇒ Perform **up to** three Actions; see Part E below.

- If a Topleft Card is purchased, see Part K.

**2. Discard Headlines** ⇒ Discard without effect any Headlines (i.e. cards with the Bull-Bear icon, including Topples) in the zero-cost column in the Market. They go face-up into the Bull-Bear Discards. The player whose turn it is decides the order in which the cards are discarded. Discarding a bear card on top of another bear card initiates a Depression (Part I). Discarding a bull card on top of another bull card ends Depression.

**3. Restore Market** ⇒ Restore the Market to 12-cards by sliding cards away from the Play Deck, along their respective rows to fill the Market Slots left empty by player purchases. Then one-by-one flip fresh cards to fill the newly created empty slots.

**E 4. Income Phase** ⇒ Collect one gold for each in-play cube of your color (except for Speculation Cubes, and except for cubes on enterprises afflicted by one or more Unrest Disks). Do not forget to collect for Extortion and Connection Cubes that are in the Rows of other players. See Part F.

- During a Depression (Part I), pay one gold for each card In Play (partners and enterprises in your Row, and all of your troops). If you choose not pay for a card, then discard it.

## Deal-Making:

You may never transfer cards or money; but other than that, you can make any deal during the game. Deals however are non-binding; after all, everybody wants to become the next dictator-for-life.

## E. ACTIONS

During your turn, you may expend up to three Actions, in any order, from this list:

- 1. Play card** = Play a card from your Hand; this costs the amount of gold listed in the top right corner (or, in the case of troops, in the lower row according to the Connection of the destination.)
  - An Orange Card is played against an enterprise (including yours), placing on the target the number of Unrest Disks indicated (in the red icon) and stealing from the victim up to amount of gold indicated (in the gold peso icon). If the victim does not have enough gold, you must steal as much as he has. An Orange Card with a flag cannot target enterprises outside that District. Both Orange and Black Cards can target an enterprise even if it is defended by troops. Both Orange and Black Cards are played once from your Hand, and then is discarded or Victim-Awarded.
  - A Black Card is played against an opponent (or yourself, see Part J). Unless played during the Regime depicted, this play expends two Actions instead of one. Like Orange Cards, a Black Card play steals up to the amount of gold indicated from the victim, then is discarded or Victim-Awarded. *For instance "steal 4" means steal as much as that victim can pay up to 4 gold.*
  - An enterprise or Partner Card is played in your Row. If it has a Loyalty icon, during the Pax Regime put a Prestige Cube on the icon. For an enterprise, place on the card the number of Income Cubes indicated in the upper left corner, see below. Note that for mine and bank enterprises, the number of cubes is Regime-dependant.
  - A troop is played to an existing enterprise or to your flipped Hacendado Card. Place the Troop Card half-under the card supporting it, implement the effects listed on the card, then follow the process detailed in Part G.
  - If a card has a special effect listed, execute it immediately after placement.
- 2. Buy Market Card** = Purchase one of the 12 revealed cards on the Market. You may only perform this Action twice per turn, and buying a second card from the Market expends two Actions. The gold cost of the card depends on which column the card is located in; the diagram on the last page shows the Market Purchase costs for each column, ranging from zero to sixteen gold.
  - Vacant Slots. Leave all empty Market slots empty until your "restore market phase", see Part D3.
  - Play-Immediately Cards. If you buy a Headline or Public Card, play it immediately on the Orientation (Headlines) or Side (Public Card) of your choice. The effects **of** a Play-Immediately Card (Strife, Regime Change, **Depression**, etc. see

Glossary) impact all players, starting with the player to the left of the purchaser and going clockwise ending with you. Headlines (including Topples) are discarded after play into the Bull-Bear Discards.

- Regime Change. The swirling arrow icons indicate a Regime Change, see Part H.
- Topples Card. These are special Play-Immediately Headline Cards, see Part K.
- Hand. Except for Play-Immediately Cards, purchased cards go into your Hand. If you are at your Hand Limit (5 cards), Play-Immediately cards are the only ones you can buy!

**3. Buy Public Card** = Purchase and put into play one of the two Public Cards, which are separate from the Market.

- A Public card is bought at the price as indicated in the top right corner
- A Public card is a Play-Immediately Card and never goes to your hand. You can buy a Public Card even if at your Hand Limit (5-cards).
- You may play a Public Card on either side. If indicated on the card, this causes Strife or a Regime Change, see Glossary.
- A Public Card is not a Market Card and expends one Action to purchase/play, regardless of how many Market Cards you purchase that turn.

**4. Sell Card** = Discard a card and take gold from the pool equal to the Economy of the current Regime. You may sell a card from your Hand or In Play. *For instance, if the Regime is Anarchy, you get one gold for discarding a Hand Card.*

- Selling an In Play enterprise causes troops there to be Retreated or discarded by their owners and returns all cubes to their owner's reserves.
- You cannot sell an enterprise with Unrest.

**5. Redeploy troop** = Move a troop from one destination to another at the Connection-dependant cost listed on its card, **or redeploy in place for no cost.** See Part G.

**6. Buy Land** = Expend two Actions to add one Income Cube to **your** ranch or plantation. The cost in gold is the number of cubes already on the ranch or plantation. *For instance, if a Plantation enterprise has an Income Cube, a Connection Cube, and an Extortion Cube, then it costs 2 Actions and 3 gold to buy land to add a second Income Cube.*

- You may buy land as long as you still have cubes.

**7. Upgrade Connection** = Place an Connection Cube on the Connection Oval on ANY enterprise In Play that does not already have its Connection upgraded. The cost is as noted in the Connection Oval. This upgrades the Connection to the level depicted, see Glossary.

- The upgrade replaces the prior Connection. However during Unrest the upgrade is shut down and the base Connection must be used. ILLUSTRATION
- A Connection Cube of your color on a Chain Railroad confers special advantages (see Glossary), as long as the enterprise is free of Unrest.

**8. Police** = It costs three gold to remove an Unrest Disk from one of your enterprises, or zero gold if either the enterprise has troops present (regardless who owns the troops), or during the Martial Law Regime.

- You may instead spend three gold to get out of Jail (Zero gold during Martial Law). Getting out of Jail immediately restores your third Action for the turn.

**9. Speculation** = Place one of your cubes, called a Speculation Cube, on any card in the Market that does not already contain a Speculation Cube. If an opponent buys a card with your Speculation Cube on it, whatever he spends for the card is given to you instead of to the pool.

*Example: Reyes buys a card with your Speculation Cube for 16-gold, and pays you the 16-gold. But if he has a special ability to buy the card for zero, your speculation gets nothing. In either case, the cube is returned to you.*

- You may speculate for as long as you have cubes.
- Every card in the Market may only have one Speculation Cube.
- Any Market card can be speculated, including Headlines and Topples, **with the exception of the fourth and final Topples Card.**

- By expending an Action, you can move a Speculation Cube from one card to another in the Market.
- A Speculation Cube is returned to your reserves if the card is purchased or discarded.
- Speculation Cubes do not earn income.
- **Cube Management.** You are limited to the 15 cubes provided. If you are out of cubes then as a speculation action you can shift one Income, Connection, Prestige, or Speculation Cube (but not an Extortion Cube) from one valid location to another (including back to your reserves). You can also use this action to add a cube from your reserves to an enterprise that currently has fewer Income Cubes than allowed under the current Regime (because you were earlier out of cubes, e.g. a Bank with only two income during Pax, or a smelter without income even though it is hooked up to a mine). Note that ranches and plantations can never increase Income Cubes except by the “buy land action” (and certain Headlines), and Connections cannot gain cubes except by the “upgrade connection action”.  
*Example.* You have used all your cubes. You use a speculation action to shift a Connection Cube from one enterprise suffering from Unrest, to a bank enterprise that is allowed an additional Income Cube (because of the Regime). Any player can rebuild the abandoned Connection.

## F. EARNING INCOME

Income is earned at the end of your turn according to the number of cubes of your color on the Hacendado and Unrest-free Enterprise Cards in your Row, plus the Connections and Extortions in your opponent’s Row.

- **Hacendado.** As long as you pretend to be a pro-Díaz loyalist, your Hacendado maintains two Income Cubes on its card. Once you flip your card to its “partner” side during a Retreat or Topple, you lose this personal income.
- **Ranches** start with one Income Cube, but can grow using the “buy land action” (Part E6). Because of diminishing returns, it is thriftier to buy land before upgrading Connections.
- **Plantations** are treated like ranches, but as listed on the card they are vulnerable to Slave Revolts, should the Unrest be more than the cubes on the card. (Enslavement of Yaqui Indians was still legal in Sonora.)
- **Mines** have Income Cubes set by the Mine Value of the current Regime. For instance during Pax the “MINES” = 2, so all mines have two Income Cubes. Adjust the number of cubes whenever the Regime Changes, or if Depression hits. See E1.
- **Banks** have Income Cubes equal to the Economy, as set by the current Regime. Adjust this whenever the Regime Changes, or if Depression hits.
- **Gun Stores** have one Income Cube plus a cheap Connection, representing their pivotal role in smuggling most of the guns for the revolution. As listed on the card, each owner of one or more gun stores receives two gold from the pool every time any player (including themselves) plays an Orange Card against somebody. You receive this gold even if the gun store is shut down in the Orange Card attack. See the example in Part J.
- **Connection Upgrades**, found on all mine, ranch, plantation, and smelter cards, represent upgrading property access by building roads, rails, or canals. A cube sitting in the oval icon on the card (see Part E7) shows that the Connection is upgraded, superseding the base Connection. This Connection Cube earns income and is immune from Extorting Troops. Connections can be built by any player, so watch for opportunities to build your opponent’s Connections. Owning a Chain Railroad (i.e. a cube of your color on a Connection with a chain icon) without Unrest allows you to build any Connection for 1 gold.
- **Smelters and Projects** have a number of Income Cubes which can vary throughout the game, depending on how many enterprises of the specified type (without Unrest) are built (by any player). Smelters and projects also provide the Loyalty Prestige Point indicated.
- **Extorting Troops** don’t so much earn income as requisition (or plain steal) one income from the opponent’s enterprises they were deployed to protect. If the income of an enterprise is reduced to the point that its Extortion Cube is removed, the enterprise (and Extorting Troops) are Sacked. See Part G.
- **Regime Bonus.** During the “Pax Porfiriana” Regime each Loyalty Point is given a Prestige Cube, representing kickbacks by President Díaz. This earns income like other cubes, but is removed every time the Regime Changes to anything other than Pax, see Part H1.

### Earning Gold Outside Of Your Income Phase.

- **During Your Action Phase**, you can gain instant cash by selling cards, **using orange/black cards to steal from opponents**, or playing the event side of certain Headlines.
- **During Your Opponent's Turn**, you can gain gold using Monopolies, gun stores, and Speculation Cubes.

## G. PLAY OR REDEPLOY TROOPS

As an Action, you may play a Troop Card from your Hand, or Redeploy a troop of yours already In Play. Playing a troop activates the effects listed on its card (i.e. Regime Change, adding Unrest to every enterprise in the District other than the destination, etc.), but redeploying or Retreating it does not. The destination may be the enterprise in the Row of any player, or your flipped Hacendado Card.

- If leaving an enterprise you are extorting, convert the Extortion Cube back into the color of the player who owns the enterprise.
- The play of any Troop Card affects the Regime, see Part H.

### 1. Requirements.

- The destination enterprise must be in the troop's Jurisdiction, see Glossary.
- Each enterprise can only be occupied by one troop. If the destination enterprise is occupied with a troop (regardless of ownership), your troop must have greater Firepower. This defeats the defender which is discarded.
- Pay an amount of gold depending upon the destination's Connection-type (boot, mule, or rail). An upgrade changes this Connection unless in Unrest.

### 2. Destination.

- If you arrive at your own enterprise, place your troop half-under the Enterprise Card as shown. If your enterprise has Unrest, remove a number of Disks equal to your troop's Firepower. Note that your troop can remain at your own enterprise and will not Sack it, even if it has no income.
- Your troop arriving at an opponent's enterprise becomes an Extorting Troop, see G3 below. **You can move here only if you have a cube in reserves for the Extortion Cube.** Also, you cannot extort your opponent's Hacendado.
- Your troop arriving at your flipped Hacendado becomes a Private Army, see Glossary.
- Redeploy In Place. You may expend a "redeploy troop action" to activate a troop of yours without moving it. This costs no gold, and removes a number of Unrest equal to the Firepower of the troop.

### 3. If The Destination is Your Opponent's Enterprise.

If you arrive at an Enterprise in your opponent's Row, follow these 5 steps:

- (1) Your troop must have the Firepower to defeat any troops present per G1 above.
- (2) If the target has Unrest, remove a number of disks equal to your troop's Firepower, see Glossary.
- (3) If the target has no Income or Extortion Cubes, it is Sacked, see Glossary.
- (4) Place your Troop half-under the target. ILLUSTRATION
- (5) Remove one of the target's Income Cubes (or the Extortion Cube of the previous Extorter if present), and replace it with an Extortion Cube of your color. The Extortion Cube, remaining on the Enterprise Card (or optionally shifted to the Extorting Troop for ownership clarity), shows that the Extorting Troop is in your employ, and earns income for you.

### 4. If Your Enterprise Is Extorted.

- The presence of an Extorting Troop allows you to remove one Unrest as a zero-cost "police action" (Part E8).

- If during the game your extorted enterprise loses income (e.g. Depression or Regime Change), remove the Income Cubes first, and the Extortion Cube last. If the Extortion Cube is removed, the enterprise is Sacked, see Glossary.

## H. REGIMES

The four Regime Cards depict the four types of governance, as listed below

1. **Pax Porfiriana** (“Pax” icon, Mines = 2, Economy =3, i.e. the income for mines and banks). The Latin for “Porfiriana’s Peace”, referring to Porfirio Díaz, the dictator firmly in control. Abbreviated “Pax”. **Topple Prestige** is Loyalty (Díaz Retirement). **Special:** Place one Prestige Cube on every Loyalty Point (representing government kickbacks and cronyism).
2. **U.S. Intervention** (American flag icon, Mines = 3, Economy =2). American forces are occupying northern Mexico. **Topple Prestige** is Outrage (U.S. Annexation). **Special:** U.S. troops may be played or Redeployed into Sonora and Chihuahua (i.e. not bound by their Jurisdiction).
3. **Martial Law** (“M” icon, Mines = 2, Economy =2). Northern Mexico is under a local military regime, independent from Mexico City. **Topple Prestige** is Command (Coup D’état). **Special:** A ‘police action’ (Part E8) to remove an Unrest or get out of Jail costs zero gold.
4. **Anarchy** (“A” icon, Mines = 1, Economy =1). Anarchists opposed to property rights have seized control. Or perhaps nobody is in control and the government is nothing more than local gangs. **Topple Prestige** is Revolution (Free Elections). **Special:** All troops may be played or Redeployed into any District (i.e. not bound by their Jurisdiction).

**Regime Change.** The starting Regime is “Pax Porfiriana”, but this changes instantly if a card with the swirl-arrow icons is played (i.e. certain Headline, Troop, Orange, or Public Cards). Indicate the Regime Change by placing the new Regime face-up on top of the Regime stack.

- All players adjust the Extortion Cube plus **Income** Cube sum on each bank to equal the new Economy, and on each mine to equal the new Mine Value.
- Changing the Regime to and from Pax changes the Prestige Cubes as noted.
- When adding cubes, players are limited to the cubes provided.

## I. DEPRESSION

Once a second “bear” card in a row is discarded in the Bull-Bear Discards, place a disk in the “red bear” spot on the current Regime Card. This disk, signals an economic Depression, persisting even if the Regime Changes.

**Mines and Banks.** The Mine Value and Economy are zero during a Depression, so remove all Income and Extortion Cubes from mines and banks, leaving only their Connection and Prestige Cubes. Even mines improved by patents fall to zero value. Because mines and banks now have no income, if they are extorted they are immediately Sacked. Remember that your troops in your own Row do not need Extortion Cubes and do not Sack.

**Depression Expenses.** After drawing your income during your income phase during a Depression, pay one gold for each card you have In Play, including enterprises, partners and troops (both Extorting Troops and Private Armies). Do not pay for your Hacendado Card or the non-troop cards beneath it. If you fail **or refuse** to pay the gold for a card, then instead discard it.

**Ending Depression.** If two cards in a row with the bull icon are discarded into the Bull-Bear Discards, then the Depression ends instantly and the disk is removed from the Regime Card.

## J. THE STRAW MAN

As a rather Machiavellian tactic, you may play Orange or Black Cards against one of your own Enterprises or Partners! Welcome to Mexico! This is called a *Straw Man* play.

**Why play a card against yourself?** If you are the victim of your own Orange or Black Card play, you suffer the attack but receive the Victim-Awarded Prestige Point. Typical Straw Man plays are nationalizing your Enterprise or assassinating your Partner to gain the Outrage Point.

*Example: You own a slave plantation and a gun store. On your turn, you play ~~Apache Indians and~~ Villistas against your own slave plantation, stealing 3 gold (which is ignored) and generating 3 Unrest, enough for a Slave Revolt. You lose the plantation, but on the other hand you gain 2 gold because of the gun store's bonus, gain the **Outrage on the Orange Card**, plus gain the plantation's Revolution Point for being the Liberator. It's as if you say, "What a great revolutionary I am, freeing the oppressed", omitting the fact that you were also the oppressor.*

- **Limitations.** You cannot play an Orange Card against one of your own Enterprise that already has Unrest Disks. You cannot play against yourself a Black or Orange Card that specifies use against an opponent (e.g. conspiracies and Antitrust). Stealing gold from yourself has no effect.
- **Scapegoat Plays.** Certain Orange Cards (e.g. strikes) can sometimes be played for zero cost to inflict zero Unrest. This play nevertheless still awards the card to your Prestige Stack.

## K. TOPPLING DÍAZ FOR THE WIN

If a player purchases one of the four Topple Cards, interrupt the game to see if one or more players topples Díaz and wins. Depending on the Regime, Díaz could retire, be shot, lose the popular vote, or be invaded by America. If he is deposed, somebody wins the game. If he instead prevails, the game continues until the fourth Toppling.

**Buying a Toppling Card.** If you buy a Toppling Card, you must initiate a Toppling. Flip over the current Regime Card to see the Tripartite Defense and Prestige Points.

- If the current Regime is the type specified on the Topple Card, you may either choose to play the Orientation with the "minus one" Díaz defense modifier, or play it on its "Díaz Rallies" side (i.e. ignore the modifier but the Toppling still proceeds).
- The Toppling Type is Regime-specific (e.g. during Martial Law the Toppling is always a Coup).

**Toppling Procedure.** Starting with the player to the left of the player whose turn it is (who played the Topple Card) and continuing clockwise, each player makes the following topple decisions:

1. Flip their Hacendado Card over to its "partner" side to the Orientation of their choice, if they have not already done so.
2. Discard any "DURING TOPPLING" cards (e.g. Spies, Courts) that are In Play to modify all Toppling Attempts this turn (regardless of Tripartite).

The player whose turn it is decides last.

**Topplers.** To topple Díaz, you need more Prestige Points of the specified type than those held by your Tripartite. Your Tripartite consists of Díaz with 2 Prestige Points, plus two of your opponents with the lowest Prestige Points specified by the Regime.

- **Two-player game.** The Tripartite consists of President Díaz with 2 Prestige points, his Vice-President with 1 Prestige point, plus the Prestige points of your opponent.
- **Iron Hand Variant (recommended for the 5-6 player game).** For a longer, more gold-oriented game, have the

Tripartite consist of Díaz plus your two strongest opponents.

- **Díaz Senility Variant** (recommended for the 3 player game). With experienced players, it is often difficult to topple Díaz late in the game, especially with 3-players. Therefore, rather than a flat Diaz defense of 2 Prestige Points, give him 3 on the 1st topple, 2 on the 2nd, 2 on the 3rd, and 1 on the last.

**Game Winner.** If there are multiple Topplers, then there is a Gold Victory among them. If nobody is able to topple Díaz on the fourth Toppling, then there is a Gold Victory among all players **when the card is discarded into the Bull-Bear Discards.**

**Toppling Example.** *Playing as Boss Shepherd, you buy and Play-Immediately the “Presidente Diaz is shot” Topple Card. The Regime is Pax, and the flip side states: “Win if your Loyalty is more than the Tripartite Loyalty.” Because the modifier is only relevant during Martial law, it does not matter which Orientation you play. The player to your left is Reyes, who decides to flip his Hacendado to the “Successor Reyes” Orientation and discard his Pinkertons adding one to the Diaz Loyalty (from two to three). The other two players have already flipped their Hacendados, and have no spies or courts to discard. Finally, you announce that you are not flipping your Hacendado. By choosing the two players with no Loyalty Points to be the Tripartite, both you with four Loyalty Points and Reyes with five Loyalty each beat the Díaz Loyalty of three, and both topple Díaz. But you have more gold and win the game.*

## L. SOLITAIRE VARIANT

**Overview and Setup.** Setup the game as per Part B for two players, but your opponent is Díaz himself. Díaz gets no gold, cubes, or cards, but he has 6 Outrage points and 4 of every other kind of Prestige Point. You will need a 6-sided dice. You go first.

**Díaz Turn.** On his turn, roll the dice twice for Díaz, once for each row in the Market. Díaz always buys the two cards indicated by the dice-roll, with the zero-cost column corresponding to a “1” and the 16-cost column corresponding to “6”. He plays both cards per below, in any order you choose.

- If it is a Topple or Enterprise Card, Díaz discards it.
- If it is a partner, Diaz plays it into his Row. Díaz can buy and play partner cards as a single Action, without paying any gold. If it has two Orientations (e.g. Newspapers), rollback the die for the Orientation.
- If it is a Headline, Díaz plays it on its event Orientation if it changes the Regime to Pax Porfiriana, otherwise he discards it.
- If it is a troop card that can extort an enterprise of yours, he does so, against the eligible enterprise with the most cubes. Use a white cube to show the Díaz extortion, although he gets no income from this.
- If it is an Orange or Black card, he automatically plays it if it steals gold or inflicts unrest, otherwise he discards it. Díaz can buy and play Orange and Black cards as a single Action, without paying any gold.
- Ties. If Díaz plays a card against an enterprise or partner, he chooses the eligible enterprise with the most cubes. or the eligible partner with a Prestige Point that you have the most of. In case of further ties, he chooses the card with the highest card number and no Unrest.

### Special Rules.

- If a Headline at the zero-cost column is discarded, it is played on its event Orientation if it changes the Regime to Pax Porfiriana.
- You may speculate on cards, and receive gold if Díaz buys them.
- If Díaz is hit by Strife, roll the die to see which Faction Color he discards.
- **To win.** Topple Díaz during one of the four Topplings. The Diaz Defense is four (6 if Outrage) plus the Prestige Points of his partners.

### Optional Rules.

VicTiger of BGG suggests these extra solitaire rules, which give Díaz extra opportunities for prestige:

- Díaz plays all enterprises with prestige icons (including plantations) to his row and discards the rest.
- Díaz always attempts to play orange/black cards against you first. If you have no valid target, he will attempt to play strawman actions against his own partners/enterprises. Discard if not playable.
- Díaz always attempts to play troop cards against you first. If you have no valid target, he will attempt to deploy to one of his own enterprises. Discard if not playable.

## M. GLOSSARY (Words in Capital Letters are defined here):

**Actions** – During your turn, perform up to three *actions* (two actions if Jailed). Some Partner Cards grant you an Extra Action of a specified type.

**America** – One of the three Districts in the game. This does not mean the entire U.S. but merely the narrow strip of borderland known as the Gadsden Purchase. Bought from Mexico in 1854 to secure a southern transcontinental railroad route, this strip was and is primarily Hispanic in population and culture. The main cities are Tucson (Arizona Territory) and El Paso Texas.

**Assassination** – The play of this Black Card discards an In Play partner out of the game. It costs an amount equal to the “Cost to play” of your target. *For instance, it costs 18 gold to kill General Huerta (a Public Card costing 18).*

- Player Assassination. **By playing any Assassination Card and** paying 10 gold, you are allowed to assassinate a Hacendado Card flipped over to its “partner” side. This flips your victim’s card permanently back to its “Loyalist” side (representing his son or heir). Note that Hacendados with Private Armies are immune to assassins.

**Bull-Bear Discards** – Headlines (including Topple Cards) have a *bull* or *bear* in their corners. If played, or if at the start of the “restore market phase” they have reached the zero-cost column, discard them (without effect) into a special Bull-Bear Discard Pile. If two Headlines are discarded in the same turn, the player whose turn it is decides the order they are discarded. If two bears in a row are discarded, then there is Depression. Two bulls in a row end the Depression.

**Chain Railroad** – Certain Connections are marked with the *chain icon*. If you have a cube on a chained Connection, with no Unrest on the enterprise, your cost to build any Connection is one gold. Further, a Chain Railroad allows you to play all Federal troops (these are Green in color) in either Sonora or Chihuahua. (Building a Chain Railroad represents a rail line linking Sonora with Chihuahua over the Sierra Madre. Historically northern Mexico’s east and west coasts were not rail-linked until 1924.)

**Chihuahua** – The Mexican State of *Chihuahua* is one of the three Districts in the game, renowned for its cattle, silver, and railroads.

**Command Point** – A card marked with a right-side up oval white icon provides a Command Prestige Point. The card must not be in your Hand and not on an enterprise with Unrest. It reflects your military power, using troops of assured loyalty. With enough Command Points you can topple Díaz during a Coup D’état Toppling, see Part K.

**Connection** – All enterprises and the flip side of Hacendado Cards can be accessed by *rail*, *pack mule*, or *foot*, as indicated by the locomotive, mule, or boot icons respectively in the bottom center of the card. This access, called a Connection, determines the cost to play or Redeploy troops to the enterprise or Hacendado, see Part G.

- Upgrade. If an enterprise contains a Connection Oval, playing a Connection Cube here (see Part E7) upgrades the Connection to the level indicated, either from foot to mule or rail, or from mule to rail.
- Rail-Connected. An enterprise that starts with a rail, or has been upgraded to a rail, is “Rail-Connected”, the highest level of access. Building irrigation canal or steamship Connections provides extra income, but the

enterprise is still “rail-connected”.

- An enterprise with Unrest reverts to its prior (basic) Connection.
- Once upgraded, troops cannot use the movement costs of the previous Connection. *For Instance, guerrilla forces have a higher cost to enter a target that has been upgraded to a rail, since the legitimate troops of the region have easier access and supply.*

**Connection Cube** – A cube in the connection oval icon found on many Enterprise Cards. It depicts the building of the mule, rail, or ship depicted, linking the enterprise to its distribution point. Build it by expending an “upgrade connection action” (Part E7) and paying the gold indicated.

- Each oval can contain only one cube, and they are first-come first-served.
- A Connection Cube of your color earns an income of one gold per turn.
- While in Unrest, the Connection Cube is inactivated, so that the non-upgraded Connection of the enterprise must be used when moving troops there.

**Coup D’État** – If anyone buys a Topple Card during the Martial Law Regime, count your Command Points. If this is greater than the Command Points of the Tripartite, then you assassinate Díaz and become a toppler (Part K).

**Cube Limit** – You are limited to the 15 cubes provided. If at your limit and you need another cube (e.g. a card gains income), as a “speculation action” you may shift an income, Connection, Prestige, or Speculation Cube from one card to another valid location. You cannot shift an Extortion Cube, however (because this identifies the Extorting Troop as yours).

**Depression** – Representing a catastrophic monetary contraction, a Depression occurs whenever a card with a Bear Icon is discarded directly on top of another card with a Bear Icon in the Bull-Bear Discards. See Part I “Depression” for its duration and effects.

- Tip. If there is a “bear” on top of the discards, and a second bear imminent in the Market, a Depression can be averted only by purchasing a bull Headline from deeper in the Market.

**Díaz Retirement** – If anyone buys a Topple Card during the Pax Regime, count your Loyalty Points. If this is greater than the Loyalty Points of the Tripartite, then you become a toppler as Díaz’ successor (Part K).

**During Toppling** – Some Partner Cards (e.g. spies) have a “DURING TOPPLING” ability. If one of these is In Play it can be discarded to increase the Díaz Loyalty, Outrage, Command, or Revolution as specified. This occurs during the Toppling only, effective for all players. (Thematically, the Díaz Loyalty = his health, Díaz Outrage = strength of the Mexican Resistance, Díaz Command = strength of his Palace Guard, and Díaz Revolution = his popularity.)

**District** – There are three Districts in the game: Sonora, Chihuahua, and America. See the map on the box. Each Enterprise has a flag indicating its District. An Orange Card with a District flag can only target Enterprises in that District. A Troop Card has a Jurisdiction indicated by its District flag, and it may normally only move to Enterprises within its Jurisdiction.

- Tip. Because Sonora is to the west of Chihuahua, the Sonoran flag is always on the left.

**Economy** – The Economy value is set by the current Regime. It determines how much gold you gain in a turn by using the Sell Card action, and how many Income plus Extortion Cubes sit on each bank Enterprise. The Economy reflects freedom of trade conditions in the three Districts.

**Extortion Cube** – Your Extorting Troop converts one Income Cube of an Enterprise into an Extortion Cube of your color. This Extortion Cube can be shifted so that it sits on your Troop Card for troop-ownership clarity, but it is considered to be on the Enterprise Card for all game purposes. Your Extortion Cube provides income during your income phase (Part D) as long as the extorted Enterprise does not have Unrest. If during the game the target Enterprise loses income (e.g. a smelter loses a supporting mine), the Extortion Cube is the last to be removed. If it is removed, the Enterprise is Sacked.

**Extorting Troop** – An Extorting Troop is a Troop Card belonging to one player but residing at the Enterprise in his opponent’s Row. The ownership of an Extorting Troop is shown by the color of the Extortion Cube on the Enterprise. To Play or Redeploy you troop as an extorting Troop, see Part G. If the Enterprise supporting the Troop is lost or sold, the Troop must be Retreated or discarded.

**Extra Action** – Certain partners give you an extra action. *For instance, if you have the Henry Ford Investor, you may sell one card during your action phase without expending any of your three standard actions (two standard actions if Jailed).*

**Faction Color** – Troops and Partners are colored with one of four factions: green (Mexican federal), blue (American), white (Mexican local), and red (rebel). These colors are distinct from the player colors.

**Firepower** – There are three levels of Firepower, as indicated by the number of dots on the Icon in the upper left corner of the Troop Card. One dot = bow and arrow, two = rifle, and three = machine gun. Playing or Redeploying Troops removes Unrest Disks in the destination equal to the Troop Firepower. Troops at machine gun level cannot be defeated. Playing or Redeploying Troops against Extorting Troops with lesser Firepower defeats and discards them. Note that certain Partners (Generals) boost all of your Troops to the Firepower level three.

**Free Elections** – If anyone buys a Topple Card during the Anarchy Regime, count your Revolution Points. If this is greater than the Revolution Points of the Tripartite, then you depose Díaz in a popular election and become a toppler (Part K).

**Gold** – The game's currency. Each white disk = 1 gold, red disk = 5 gold, and blue disk = 10 gold. If you run out of disks, use alternate tokens for gold.

**Gold Victory** – If after the resolution or discard of the fourth Toppling no player has toppled Díaz, then the player with the most gold is the winner. If tied in gold, the player with the most income in gold per turn is the winner.

**Hacendado** – You are randomly assigned a starting Hacendado Card, representing a rich landowner. This card starts on its “Loyalist” side with two Income Cubes and a special ability. The Income Cubes are personal wealth and are guaranteed until you flip the card over to its “Partner” side, which can happen **only** during a Toppling or Retreat. Flipping your Hacendado Card means you have “taken a stand”, and you gain the Prestige Point noted. This allows you to play or Redeploy troops there as a Private Army, as indicated by the rail or boot Connection icon. However, it also forfeits **both** your special ability and the two Hacendado Income Cubes.

**Half (round up)** – Sometimes things in the game are halved, always round up. This is indicated by the (+) icon.

**Hand** – A purchased card goes into your Hand (exception, Play-Immediately Cards). The Hand Limit is 5 cards, **although it's possible for you to hold more cards if they are returned to your hand after being played (e.g. during Sacking)**. If at **or beyond** your limit, you may not buy more cards except Play-Immediately Cards.

**Headlines** – See Part B and **Bull-Bear Discards**.

**Income Cube** – Orange cube icons on Hacendado and Enterprise Cards depict the number of Income Cubes placed on the card upon entering the game. Each provides an income of *one gold per turn* (unless on an Enterprise with Unrest). Income Cubes on ranches and plantations increases with the “Buy Land” action. Income Cubes on mines and banks vary with the Regime.

**In Play Cards** – Includes cards in your Row, your Private Army, and your Extorting Troops, but not Victim-Awarded cards in your Prestige Stack.

**Jailed** – If as a Victim-Award you receive a Revolution Point that states “JAILED”, then you have been incarcerated as a revolutionary. Place the card in your Prestige Stack, and place a blue disk on your Hacendado Card to show you are imprisoned.

- While you are in jail, you have only two actions per turn instead of three. If you are jailed during your turn (e.g. Straw Man actions), this effect activates as soon as your turn is over. If you are unjailed during your turn you get your third action immediately.
- If you have a Partner that gives you jail-immunity, than “JAILED” has no effect (even if the immunity card itself is destroyed in the attack).
- Suffering additional “Jailed” cards while you are already in jail has no effect.
- Expending a Police Action (Part E) on your turn gets you out of jail (but still keep the Revolution Point). You also get out of jail if you acquire immunity to Jails while in Jail.

**Jurisdiction** – A Troop can only move to an Enterprise within the District indicated by the American, Sonoran, or

Chihuahua flag listed on the Troop Card. Certain Regimes, Partners, and Chain Railroads lift this limitation, as listed on their cards.

- If these conditions change, the Troop is not required to leave the Enterprise. *For instance, during Anarchy all Jurisdiction Limits are lifted; Troops can play or deploy in any District. If your Texas Rangers take advantage of this to move to extort a Chihuahua Ranch, the Rangers do not have to leave once Anarchy ends, and may redeploy in place.*

**Liberator** – See **Slave Revolt**.

**Loyalty Point** – A card marked with a right-side up oval green icon provides a Loyalty Prestige Point. The card must either be In Play and without Unrest or in your Prestige Stack. Each Loyalty Point gets a Prestige Cube during the Pax Regime. With enough Loyalty Points you can topple Díaz during a Díaz Retirement Topple, see Part K.

**Market** – The 12-card Market is composed of two rows of 6 face-up cards each. Obtain cards from the Market by Market Purchase. Note: The Public Cards are not part of the Market.

**Market Purchase** – Play cards are acquired or played by purchase in the 12-card Market. The cost in gold depends entirely upon its column, see the last page. The two cards in the rightmost column closest to the Play Deck are the most expensive, costing 16-gold. Cards in each column further from the Play Deck are cheaper, costing half as much, with cards in the leftmost column are free. *In the “restore market phase”, the empty slots are filled by cards from higher up in the row, and a new card is drawn from the Play Deck to fill the newly empty Cost-16 slot in that row.*

**Mine Value** – The Mine Value is set by the current Regime. It determines how many Income plus Extortion Cubes sit on each mine Enterprise. The Mine Value reflects the price of silver and copper in the three Districts.

**Monopoly** – If you have a Partner titled “Monopoly” In Play, then an opponent playing the specified cards pays you the purchase gold that he normally would have paid the pool. However the monopoly card does not discount the price of items that you yourself buy.

*Example: You have Senator Fall In Play (who collects gold spent building U.S. Enterprises). Your opponent pays 5 gold to build the African Ostrich Farm, so you collect the 5 gold. However, if instead you buy the Farm, you must pay the 5 gold to the pool.*

**Nationalization** – Some Black Cards and Headlines call for the *nationalization* of certain Enterprises. This means that the Enterprise has been taken over by the government and is discarded. Any troops **present** must be discarded or Retreated.

**Newspaper** – This is a type of Partner Card (Part B) with two Orientations. Choose its orientation when you play it. This Orientation is permanent (unless the Newspaper changes hands), and assumes the Prestige Point and Faction Color of its Orientation.

**Orientation** – Headlines, Topples, Newspaper Cards, and the flip side of your Hacendado Card have two Orientations (“right-side up” or “upside down”). When playing any of these cards, you may choose which edge to orient right-side up. Except in the cases of Hacendado assassination and Newspapers that exchange Hands, Orientation is permanent.

**Outrage Point** – A card marked with a right-side up oval blue icon provides an Outrage Prestige Point. The card must either be in your Prestige Stack, or In Play and not on an Enterprise with Unrest. If a Toppling occurs during U.S. Intervention, the player with enough Outrage can use it as a *casus belli* for an American Annexation and topple Díaz, see Part K. Cards providing Outrage are often Victim-Awarded. *For instance, the assassination card used to kill your Partner is awarded to you and stored under your Hacendado Card as an Outrage Point. Use it to topple Díaz during U.S. Intervention.*

**Play Deck** – A face-down deck of cards from which the market is refreshed. Each game uses only about half the cards provided.

**Play-Immediately Cards** – Headlines (including Topples) and Public Cards are purchased and played as a single action, and never go into your Hand. The effects listed (Strife, Regime Change, etc.) impact all players, starting with the one to the left of the purchaser and going clockwise. Play Partners into your Row, and discard

Headlines into the Bull-Bear Discards. *For instance, if you buy a Headline Card you can either filibuster the press by playing its Status Quo Orientation – then nothing happens – or publish the news, causing the listed effects starting with the player to your left.*

**Prestige Points** – There are four kinds of Prestige Points: Loyalty, Revolution, Command, and Outrage. They are depicted on cards in green, red, white, and blue ovals respectively. Prestige Points are important during Topplings, but are activated only if In Play or in your Prestige Stack, and inactivated if upside-down (e.g. on slave plantations or newspapers), or on an enterprise with Unrest Disks.

**Prestige Stack** – Cards that are Victim-Awarded to you are stored in this stack, stored half-under your Hacendado Card. Other players can examine this stack. The Prestige Points on these cards are valid during Topplings, but these cards are otherwise not In Play and can't be used.

**Prestige Cubes** – A Prestige Point can contain a Prestige Cube, which earns income for the player of that color per Part D. For instance, during the Pax Porfiriana Regime, place a Prestige Cube on each of your Loyalty Points In Play and in your Prestige Stack. Each earns one gold per turn if not on Enterprises in Unrest. Remove these Prestige Cubes if the Regime Changes out of Pax. Important: a Prestige Cube only earns income and is NOT necessary for a Prestige Point to be active.

**Private Army** – Private Armies are the marshalling of forces supporting your ideological plan. If your Hacendado has been flipped to its Partner side, then you can play or Redeploy Troops stored half-under the flipped card. Pay the cost indicated by the Connection icon on the Hacendado Card (rail or boot).

- Faction. Any number of Troops may be stored, regardless of Jurisdiction, but they all must be the same Faction Color as your flipped Hacendado.
- A Private Army is In Play and its Prestige Point (if any) is active.
- Depression. Each Private Army must be paid for during Depression.
- Bodyguards. A Private Army protects your Hacendado from Assassination.
- Troops of other Players may not move to or extort your Hacendado.

**Public Cards** – The two Partner Cards labeled “Public Card” sit side-by-side near the main deck, and can be purchased during a player's turn for the cost in the upper right corner. Public Cards are instantly played once purchased, and do not require an extra action to play them. Public Cards are double-sided, and you choose which side to play. This decision is permanent. Never add a Public Card to your Hand.

*Example: For 18 gold, you purchase Card 215 and play it on its Roosevelt side. This changes the Regime to U.S. Intervention, and then causes red-blue Strife for all players. Discard all your red Partners and troops.*

**Rebel Governors** – Two Partner Cards, one for Sonora and the other for Chihuahua, have the effect to nationalize everything in their District. (This recreates the periods in which the rebel Mexican governor broke all ties with the federal government and effectively seceded from the union under a “Red Flag”.)

- Civil War. The play of a Rebel Governor discards all Enterprise Cards in his District, and **all** troops there are Retreated or discarded. For as long as the card is In Play no cards can be played that contain the flag of the District.
- Strife. The play of a Rebel Governor causes immediate Strife for all players between factions red and white (simulates Civil War).
- End of Civil War. If the Partner Card is assassinated, sold, or otherwise discarded, then the cards in the affected District become available again.

**Redeploy** – With this Action, move a troop from one Enterprise to another within its Jurisdiction, or to your flipped Hacendado if it is the same Faction Color. You may also Redeploy Private Armies to an Enterprise.

- Cost. Redeployment costs gold depending on the destination Connection. *For instance, a Rebel Troop with a 6•3•1 cost would spend 1 gold to move to a mine by foot, but 6 gold if the rail to the mine was built. (This is because only Government Troops have legal authority in rail-linked boomtowns).*
- Effects. Redeployment does not activate the effects on the card, such as Regime Change.

- Battle. If the destination already has a troop, you must have superior Firepower in order to “defeat” or “relieve” him into the discards.
- Unrest. If the destination has Unrest, remove a number of Disks = Firepower.
- Extortion. If the destination is not in your Row, your troop becomes an Extorting Troop.
- **Redeploy In Place.** You may expend a “redeploy troop action” to activate a troop of yours without moving it. This costs no gold, and removes a number of Unrest equal to the Firepower of the troop.

**Regime** – There are four Regimes in the game: *Pax Porfiriana*, *U.S. Intervention*, *Martial Law*, and *Anarchy*, see Part H. The topmost Regime Card determines the number of Income Cubes on mines and banks, and the proceeds from sold cards.

**Regime Change** – If a card with the swirl-arrow icons is played, the Regime Card of the new Regime is placed on top of the stack, and all players adjust their Income Cubes on mines and banks (also on Loyalty if the Regime changes to or from Pax).

**Retreat** – A special type of Redeployment that can occur outside your turn. If the enterprise your troop occupies is nationalized, sold, Sacked, or Slave Revolted, ~~or reduced to zero Income Cubes~~, you must either discard the troop or *Retreat* it into your Private Army. To Retreat, flip your Hacendado Card to the same Faction Color as the Retreating troop (if not already so flipped, and if this color is available on your card), and immediately pay the Redeployment Cost (depending on the Connection of your Hacendado). This does not expend an Action.

- You cannot Retreat troops that are defeated by superior Firepower. (Optional: troops that are replaced by other troops of the same Faction Color are NOT defeated, only “relieved”. Such troops CAN be retreated.)

**Revolution Point** – A card marked with a right-side up oval red icon provides a Revolution Prestige Point. The card must either be in your Prestige Stack, or In Play and not on an Enterprise with Unrest. With enough Revolution Points you can topple Díaz during a Free Election Toppling, see Part K.

**Row** – Each player has a Row of cards on the Table, consisting of his Hacendado Card (with Prestige Stack and Private Army) plus the Enterprises (with Troops of his) and Partners he has In Play.

**Sack** – If during a Troop Deployment, Regime Change, or Depression an Extorted Enterprise loses all Income and Extortion Cubes (only has Prestige and/or Connection Cubes), then the Enterprise is Sacked (e.g. returned to the owner’s Hand, and the extorting Troop is discarded or Retreated). This happens with mines and banks during a Depression, or with smelters and projects with zero income. The general rule is that an extorted Enterprise must have an Extortion Cube to identify the owner of the Extorting Troop. If this cube is lost, then Sacking occurs. Your own Troops in Enterprises in your Row do not need Extortion Cubes and do not Sack.

**Slave Revolt** – If an Enterprise depicts a Revolution Point (upside-down), it employs Yaqui slave labor. Playing of Orange Cards, Headlines, or Troops can cause Unrest or reduce Income and thus liberate slaves. As noted on the card, if you cause Unrest Disks on a Slave Enterprise greater than its Cubes (Income, Connection, Prestige, and Extortion), you become the Liberator. Several Rebel (Yaqui) Troops cause a Slave Revolt if used to extort a plantation. In either case, the Enterprise Card is Victim-Awarded to the Liberator as a Revolution Point, stored in his Prestige Stack.

**Sonora** – The Mexican State of Sonora is one of the three Districts in the game, renowned for its mines and rich farmland in the Río Yaqui valley.

**Speculation Cube** – A cube on a card in the Market. If you purchase a card with an opponent’s Speculation Cube, you pay that opponent whatever you pay for the card instead of the pool. This returns the cube to its owner’s reserves. Discarding speculated Bull-Bear Cards also returns the cube to its owner. Unlike other cubes in play, Speculation Cubes do not give you any gold during your income phase. Buying a card with your own Speculation Cube does not give you any benefit, other than giving you your cube back. Note that it takes an action to remove or move a Speculation Cube; you cannot remove it for free even if it is in the zero cost column!

**Spy** – A special Partner Card that you can discard to cancel a Black or Orange Card immediately after it is played, even if it is not your turn. **A spy cancels the effects of the card played (rather than cancel the actual playing of the**

card). The spy cancels the attack effects (discarding both the attack card and the spy) even if the spy itself is targeted. Most spies can also be discarded during a Toppling to increase the Díaz Loyalty, Outrage, Command, or Revolution. See Part K for procedure.

**Strife** – Playing a card with the fist symbol (certain Partners or a headline on its event Orientation) immediately causes Strife between the two Faction Colors indicated. Strife forces all players with cards In Play from both factions to discard all cards of one color or the other (i.e. one faction threatens to quit if you employ the other faction).

- Order. If you cause Strife, starting with the player to your left and going clockwise each player discards all Partner and Troop cards from one faction or the other, if he has both In Play.
- Strife is temporary and valid only on the **instant** the Strife occurs.
- You are never allowed to discard your flipped Hacendado Card.

*Example, if the Lusitania is torpedoed causing Strife between the blue (U.S.) and the white (local Mexican) factions, and you have a Blue Partner and two White Troops In Play, discard either the Partner or both Troops. If your Hacendado is flipped to the Blue Partner side, you must discard the white Troops.*

**Toppling** – A Toppling attempt must be made whenever one of the four Topple Cards is played, see Part K. There are four kinds of Topplings:

1. During Pax Porfiriana there is a Díaz Retirement (You become a Toppler if you have more Loyalty than your Tripartite).
2. During U.S. Intervention there is an attempted U.S. Annexation (Toppler if more Outrage than Tripartite).
3. During Martial Law there is a Coup Attempt (Toppler if more Command than Tripartite).
4. During Anarchy there is a Free Election (Toppler if more Revolution than Tripartite).

**Tripartite** - During a Toppling, the Tripartite consists of Díaz himself plus two of your opponents with the least number of the specified Prestige. You become a toppler if your Prestige Points (of the type specified by the Regime) are greater than the combined Prestige Points of the Tripartite.

**Unrest Disk** – Red disks representing Unrest are placed on enterprises by the play of certain Headlines, Orange Cards, and troops. If your enterprise has one or more Unrest, none of its Income, Extortion, Prestige, or Connection cubes earn gold, and its Prestige, abilities (e.g. the Chain Railroad ability), and Connection upgrade, **as well as the Prestige on occupying troops**, are inactivated. Remove Unrest with police actions **or troops**.

**U.S. Annexation** - If anyone buys a Topple Card during the U.S. Intervention Regime, count your Outrage Points. If this is greater than the Outrage Points of the Tripartite, then America annexes Mexico and you topple Díaz (Part K).

**Victim-Awarded** - If an opponent plays an Orange or Black Card against you that depicts an upside-down Prestige Point, or if you are a Liberator, you receive that card with the Prestige Point as a Victim-Award. Store the card into your Prestige Stack. This may land you into Jail.

- Straw Man. You can be the victim of your own play (see Part J).

## N. PABLO'S ANALYSIS AND STRATEGY

Your basic three-prong strategy is to build Enterprises to gain income, buy cards conferring Prestige, then control the Regime during the Topple for the win. As making money is covered in Part F, let's look at the four different Prestige/Regime types:

### Loyalty / Pax Porfiriana

- **Prestige:** 29 Loyalty Points available, split between Partners and Enterprises. Easiest way to win, and the Enterprises and the Prestige Cubes help you financially as well!
- **Regime Changes to Pax Porfiriana:** 22 (a lot, but over half are on Headlines that can't be held in your Hand).

### **Revolution / Anarchy**

- **Prestige:** 35 Revolution Points available, on almost every kind of card. Watch for slaves to Liberate (7 plantations), buy Partners (and hope they don't die), be prepared for some straw man action and move your troops in position (5 points).
- **Regime Changes to Anarchy:** 21. Mostly in Troops (11 out of 21) and Orange Cards (4 out of 23), so keep one in your Hand. The most flexible way to win!

### **Command / Martial Law**

- **Prestige:** 14 Command Points available (11 on troops). Don't forget the two on Public Cards, one of which is a Regime Change.
- **Regime Changes to Martial Law:** 13 (also scarce). The hardest way to win, but ironically also the hardest to stop or defend against!

### **Outrage / U.S. Intervention**

- **Prestige:** 34 Outrage Points available (27 as Victim-awarded Orange and Black Cards). You are the Machiavellian player par excellence, with the advantage that your points are mostly Victim-Awarded and thus invulnerable.
- **Regime Changes to U.S. Intervention:** just 10! You will need a U.S. Troop, timely Headline, or Teddy for the crucial Regime Change.

### **Gold / Default Victory**

It is quite risky to play for the default win, especially with fewer players. In a 5- or 6-player game though, it is a useful back-up. Get your economy running fast and accumulate Prestige in all four regimes (to stop other players from winning). Aggressively buy every defensive card like Courts and Spies. Attack everyone with Orange or Black so nobody has a monopoly on Revolution or Outrage. Keep the Regime economy-friendly, yet do not hesitate to wreck it with a bear if you are relatively Depression-resistant.

- Troops can be played in your home Row, which gives them a measure of mutual protection, or played in an opponent's Row that gives you "protection" income at the expense of your opponent, but leaves them vulnerable to deserting if the property is sold. And don't forget the third option, holding a Troop in your Hand to enact a Regime Change just before a Topple. Establish an Enterprise in the Jurisdiction of your Troop or Orange Card so that you can play it at just the right moment.
- Speculation and Monopolies are more a way to defend and acquire important cards than making money.
- Winning Card Combos: Gun Stores and Rebel Activists!, Banks and Investors, Mines and Smelters, Rebel Governors and U.S. Monopolies!, Dynamite Monopoly and Chain Railroad, Rebel Monopolies and non-Federal Troops, and Conspiracies and Spies.
- Do not get fixated on just one kind of Prestige Point and be prepared to change objectives. Look towards the next Topple, not the one showing. But if you have a shot at the victory, go all in: perhaps you can force others to commit their Hacendados (thus losing flexibility and 2 income)! Be flexible and remember: the deck will hate you!

**Pablo Klinkisch 2012.**

## **PHILOSOPHY OF PAX PORFIRIANA**

The numbers in brackets [] refer to card numbers (listed in the lower right corner of each card).

*"It is a great comfort to me in my old age to feel that the future of Mexico is secure at last."* Dictator Porfirio Díaz, on the

twilight of his 3-decade peaceful but paternalistic reign called the *Pax Porfiriana*.

Shortly after, the wealthy hacendado and spiritualist Francisco Madero published the Plan of San Luis de Potosí [209], calling for armed rebellion against Díaz and exploding Mexico into a tragic decade-long Revolution with a million plus casualties. At issue were foreign investments, land ownership, slavery, and capitalism versus socialism.

GAME LOCATION. *Pax Porfiriana* is located partly in the U.S. and partly in northern Mexico (see map on the game box). The American portion is the Gadsden Purchase, a strip of borderland purchased from Santa Anna in 1854. The Mexican portion includes the two bordering states of Sonora and Chihuahua. During the *Pax Porfiriana*, rails were built from the U.S. to these two states, increasing trade 900% [113]. At the same time they remained physically isolated from Mexico City, and separated from each other, by the generally trackless Sierra Madre mountain range. By 1910 these states, “so far from God and so close to the United States”, became the catalyst for revolution and putsch. Like Boston in 1776, Paris in 1789, or Petrograd in 1917, almost all the guns, leaders, battles, and ideology would pivot around a small corner of the nation.

GAME SCALE. The game begins during the *Pax Porfiriana* in the late 19th century, about 1898. Each round of turns is one year, so a typical game lasts until 1920, the year of Obregón’s coup against Carranza ending the Revolution. Each Income Cube is 50,000 pesos a year and each gold piece is 50,000 pesos (approx the same in dollars). Each Income Cube on a ranch is 60,000 Ha (about 148,000 acres). Each gold building a Connection lays 20 km of track in desert terrain (factoring in the \$12,500/km Díaz rail subsidy). Each Troop contains 1000 men.

## TROOPS AND REGIMES

GAME PHILOSOPHY: MAKERS VS. TAKERS. The *Pax Porfiriana* game theory distinguishes between businessmen, those who produce products and services for customers, and agencies of force (Troops), those who seize that which the makers produce. The latter includes obviously *bandidos* and thieves, but also politicians because taxation is another form of non-productive seizure by force of arms. All Troops depend on their supply lines, and all supply lines lead to the enterprises of the productive businessmen (i.e. farmers, employees, tycoons, anyone who earns their living by persuasion rather than force). Even U.S. troops funded from Washington cannot afford to remain over protracted periods in an area with no U.S. interests, i.e. enterprises. Troops cannot themselves run the enterprises, but only leech off of them, as the very nature of physical force precludes it from being productive. Thus the simplified game mechanism: one Enterprise can support one Troop.

REGIMES. A *regime* (aka government) is the institution with a monopoly of the use of force in a region. Regimes are supported by *taxes*, funds seized using their monopoly of force. There are four Regimes in the game, *Pax Porfiriana*, *U.S. Intervention*, *Martial Law*, and *Anarchy*.

PAX PORFIRIANA REGIME [216]. A regime (aka government) is the institution with a monopoly of the use of force in a region. The Díaz regime was enforced by the game’s green troops, notably the *Rurales*, elite cavalry reporting directly to Mexico City. They counterbalanced local forces commanded by ambitious State Governors. The *Rurales*, recruited from economically displaced peasants and workers, numbered only 2400 men. They moved in quickly to suppress dissatisfaction with land law policies, tax revolts, escaped slaves, and labor unrest. By 1905, 80% of the *Rurales* were deployed at factories to break strikes. The most notorious of the *Rurales* commanders was Emilio Kosterlitsky [180], a deserter from the Czar’s Navy. His spy network kidnapped anti-Díaz dissidents from America to be executed in Mexico [162]. Defeated in the *Huerista* defense of Nogales, he escaped to Arizona and joined U.S. Intelligence [101].

The most notorious of the *Rurales* commanders was the Russian Emilio Kosterlitsky [180], a deserter from the Czar’s Navy. Running his own spy network, he participated in kidnapping anti-Díaz dissidents from America to be executed in Mexico [162]. Defeated in the *Huerista* defense of Nogales, he escaped to Arizona and joined U.S. Intelligence [101].

MARTIAL LAW REGIME [218]. Ultimately the only way to change any Regime is by the actual or implied use of force, i.e. Imperialism and Troop Deployment. Direct military control of a region, without separation of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches of government, is called Martial Law. In this game, it is imposed when ambitious or rebellious State

Governors start a Civil War by declaring their independence from the Federal Government in Mexico City. The Governors had the upper hand because the local white Troops outnumber the thinly-spread Federal Green troops.

U.S. INTERVENTION REGIME [217]. The U.S. was on the verge of being a world power, and Taft came close to intervening to prop up the Díaz dictatorship, deploying almost 30,000 troops and warships to the border. Later interventions in Mexico included the occupation of Veracruz in 1914 [109] and General Pershing's 1916 "Punitive Expedition" into Chihuahua [172]. Although Pershing reported that initial hostility was quickly transformed into active collaboration, both of these operations were met with unexpected resistance and triggered public reprisals against U.S. citizens residing in Mexico, many of whom abandoned their properties.

Theodore Roosevelt [215] advocated intervention in Mexico as he had in Panama [108], and had the Revolution occurred during his 1901-1909 Presidency, or if the Bull Moose Party had swept the 1912 elections, Mexico may have become a U.S. Protectorate [207]. The previous Taft administration had annexed Hawaii and the Philippines [207]. Another possibility was the "Cubanization" of Mexico by modeling conditions modeled after those in the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States considerable control in Cuba after the American troops withdrew following the Spanish-American War [122].

A notorious U.S. Intervention was the use of the Arizona Rangers to break the 1906 strike in Cananea [198]. The strikers, demanding pay raises and racist quotas favoring Mexicans, exchanged gunfire with American employees (with fatalities on both sides) and started fires. Mine-owner William Greene [067] called for help after fruitlessly addressing the strikers. The mines were linked to Arizona by railroad and so the Arizona Rangers were on the scene first. When Kosterlitsky's Rurales [180] arrived by wagon road 3 days later, they executed and deported hundreds of strikers according to Turner. The U.S. Cavalry at Fort Huachuca [171] was mobilized to the border but did not enter Mexico on Taft's orders.

ANARCHY REGIME [219]. Even the most chaotic region has a regime. If the local and federal troops are scattered or defeated, the neighborhood gang becomes the new regime. Wherever two men gang together to intimidate a third, there is a regime. The pivotal question is: what philosophy does the regime follow? The chief anarchist intellectuals for the Revolutionary Regimes were the brothers Magón [003, 010]. Following their 1904 exile they were arrested by U.S. Attorneys [144] for various imaginary charges and died in prison. For a brief period in 1911, Baja California fell to the Magonistas [006], and revolutionary communes were established, following the ideas of the anarchist Kropotkin. Other collectivist and socialist intellectuals in Mexico included Jack Reed [031] (protagonist in the Warren Beatty movie "Reds"), and Manabendra Nath Roy [043].

SLAVERY. A *slave* is one who is under physical force to live for the sake of another, a definition often ignored in modern usage. A sweatshop laborer is not a slave. He or she may work under bad conditions, but ultimately all employees are there for their own betterment, and are free to leave if they find no advantage to the arrangement. To refer to an employee as a slave does a disservice towards real slaves, such as the Yaqui peoples of Sonora. In Porfirian Sonora there was no pretense of freedom. Escapees attempting to reach freedom in the U.S. were returned in chains or could be shot by the Rurales [162]. The descendants of the lucky escapees have formed their own tribe in the city of Tucson Arizona.

YAQUI WARS. How did slavery, outlawed in Mexico since 1829, continue into the twentieth century? The Yaquis, fighting the Spanish since 1533, were the last unsubjected natives in the Americas, with an independent republic centered around the fortress of El Añil in the Río Yaqui valley. It successfully repulsed Mexican attacks for decades, until forces armed with German repeating Mausers successfully besieged the fortress in 1886. A year later, the Yaqui leader Cajeme [192] was captured through treachery and executed, ending the republic. Cajeme's warriors fought on in guerrilla actions and uprisings [190]. The nefarious Governor Ysábel [184] responded in 1903 by sponsoring and personally leading "organized manhunts" [175] which sold 8000 to 15000 Yaqui of all ages into slavery in Sonoran Plantations or in the henequen fields of Yucatán [105]. The irrepressible Yaqui were almost totally vanquished when the Revolution breathed new life into their cause [189]. In 1915 Chief Felipe Bachomo led 2000 Yaqui warriors against the plantations [064] and

liberated most of the slaves. Medieval torture devices were reported discovered in Ysábel's own slave hacienda at La Europa. Yaqui resistance was still active in 1926 with the kidnapping of President Obregón, who was passing through Yaqui country by train.

Kenneth Turner's *Barbarous Mexico* and James Creelman's *Diaz: Master of Mexico* are two American books written just before the apocalypse. One is a paean to Díaz "the greatest man of the American continent..an incarnation of power and courage", the other calls him a cowardly tyrant, can you tell which is which? The first is a sort of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and a horrid photo from the book is depicted on the game cover. The other says the Yaquis (the entire tribe!) should be called prisoners of war, and that the slave-owners are really nice to their wards. Quoting from page 417 of the Creelman book: "The Mexican people are too busy to fight each other now. They know that the influence of the railways alone has not only made commerce and industry possible, but that the wages of agricultural labor have practically doubled since Diaz gave the signal for a general railway development in the republic. They also know that even the humblest businessman can borrow money at rates undreamed of in the old days of imaginative democracy and anarchy. Life and property are safe. The poorest peon understands that what he can earn he can keep. The vast system of hospitals, asylums, libraries, museums, and schools daily preach the gospel of peace."

Ironically, Creelman himself can be said to have toppled Díaz. In the 1908 Creelman Interview, Díaz made the mistake of mentioning that he would not run for re-election [204], and would open up Mexico to free elections in 1910. There was enthusiastic public response, and Madero immediately applied. Díaz recanted and had Madero imprisoned [209], but it was too late. *Alea iacta est*.

## ENTERPRISES

LAND OWNERSHIP. Despite the rising of the influential *hacendados* and the urban middle class, 85% of the Sonoran and Chihuahuan population were subsistence farmers and herdsman dependant on the land. Organized under *caudillos* (warlords), these *campesinos* had defended with their blood these lands against the incursions of Apache [134] and Yaqui Indians. A person who defends and improves property has a legitimate claim on the values it produces. Yet the Díaz regime regarded them as squatters on public lands. Municipal Land Laws [110] empowered federal surveying monopolies to seize and sell *baldíos* (unregistered village lands) [037, 038]. The surveyors kept a third of the proceeds, the remainder of the booty going to higher officials. By 1910, 75% of the cultivable land was dominated by mega-haciendas. Among the gringo hacendados who acquired cheap property this way included William Randolph Hearst [052], Teddy Roosevelt [099], and the official spokesman for Americans in Mexico, Senator Albert Fall [018]. The embittered rightful owners of the land resources demanded "Land and Liberty".

RESOURCES. The Native Americans had it right: one cannot objectively own land. How can one lay claim to a forest or mountain? But one can own improvements on the land: the dwellings, roads, fences, dams, mines, and other improvements collectively called "Enterprises" and "Connections" in this game. And one can objectively own the *resources* derived from Enterprises one builds. The Revolution and its million casualties was fought over a misunderstanding of the word "Resource".

A tree, ore deposit, or river is not a *resource* until human technology, ingenuity, and sweat is applied to make it useful. An example is the porphyry copper ores in the Moctezuma Copper District [081]. Lots of low grade copper, no way to profitably extract it. The mining engineers Ricketts and Douglas [020] spent years on their research and patents [039] and were the first to successfully extract copper with concentrations below 3%. Similar measures taken on problem ores in the Cusi Silver District [096] turned worthless rocks into a fortune. My point is that oil, cattle, garbanzo beans, lumber...none of these are resources outside of the technological investments to locate, extract, process, and distribute them. It is an act of injustice for a government to claim a land as "public" (i.e. regime-owned), because again only improvements can be legitimately claimed, and only by the maker. Land-grabbing government surveyors cost a million lives, and doomed Mexico into becoming a third-world nation.

LAND REFORM. The unfortunate "solution" to unjust Land Laws was "Land Reform", xenophobic nationalization of

properties with a supposed egalitarian redistribution to peasants [116]. An example found in the 1917 Constitution is the *Ejido* System [154], a reversion to utter feudalism. Control of the land is seized by powerful socialist politicians, who allow the *campesinos* to work it in a commune. The politicians retain all *de facto* ownership rights, and distribute the profits. Without individual ownership, the industrious workers effectively support the lazy ones. In 1991, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari eliminated the constitutional right to *ejidos*, citing the "low productivity" of communally owned land. Many other schemes taking property from the productive and redistributing it to the non-productive, represented by Black Cards [145, 146, 152, 160, and 164], were also failures.

MEXICAN RAILS. Starting with 750 miles of railroads in the 1860's, the *Pax Porfiriana* laid over 12,000 miles of track by 1900. Hoping to modernize Mexico, Diaz and Limantour subsidized the rails [112] and in 1903 bought out the two main ones, the Mexican Central and the Mexican National. Don Porfirio's rail network, erected by entrepreneurs for importing and exporting rather than internal communication, ran from the Enterprises to the U.S. or to major ports such as Guaymas in Sonora. This radial structure hampered centralized federal control and thus aided local troops and U.S. Intervention.

CONNECTION GAME THEORY. The cost to deploy Troops is based upon their supply-lines. Federal or U.S. Troops have supply lines along the rails and thus low railroad cost-to-deploy. Guerrilla fighters, with grassroots support, are the opposite: the more remote the location, the more vulnerable it is to guerrilla attack.

COPPER SKYROCKET. The archetype rags-to-riches-to rags mining and ranching entrepreneur in Mexico was William Greene, the "Copper Skyrocket". The copper reserves in Cananea had been mined many times, but the Greene Consolidated Copper Company [086] attracted investors and brought modern methods to the site. At his pinnacle Greene was given ticker tape parades in New York, as master of an empire of ranches [067], lumberyards [102], mines and rails [059] throughout Sonora and Chihuahua. But the skyrocket just as quickly came back to Earth, and the 1906 Cananea strike combined with aggressive New York speculators forced Greene to sell his businesses. Greene's story inspired my game *Lords of the Sierra Madre*.

GUN STORES. The principle source of arms for the Revolution was border guns stores. Profitable border stores launched some of Arizona's most famous dynasties, producing such notables as Barry Goldwater [057] and singer Linda Ronstadt [077]. It was a violation of U.S. neutrality laws to sell guns to the Revolutionaries, so sales of Winchester rifles and .30-30 ammunition were conducted in secret and along hidden mule trails. Germany also imported Mauser rifles [065], rail howitzers [174], and American-purchased arms [097] in support of various regimes. The outbreak of WWI [125] meant that gun store owners, as well as their revolutionary customers, suddenly had to compete with France, Britain, and other buyers for scarce U.S. arms.

SONORAN BANKS. In Sonora, most banks were owned by the Corral-Ysábel oligarchy [076], or the Germans [074]. These banks remained open under Huerta, but the supplanting Carranza Regime declared the Huerta notes invalid and raided the banks for hard money. Bank owners trying to protect their client's investments by shipping them to the U.S. were jailed and ransomed, and their banks seized. The nationalized banks folded completely when the Chinese were expelled, withdrawing \$400,000 in two months.

CHIHUAHUAN BANKS. In Chihuahua, the banks were bureaucracies owned by the Creel-Terrazas oligarchy [213]. In a classic Straw Man play, Creel staged the 1908 robbery of his own Banco Minero [056]. 300,000 pesos were taken, and Creel had the usual suspects arrested and tortured into confessing. The regime's case was broken by the newspaperman Silvestre Terrazas [035], a rebellious distant cousin to Luis Terrazas and later the *villista* Governor of Chihuahua.

## PARTNERS

HACENDADOS. Your personal card starts on its loyalist side, meaning that you are a pragmatic minion, doing whatever the Regime says. "Pragmatic" is a polite word for unscrupulous, standing for nothing. But sooner or later you may have to take a principled stand, represented in the game by flipping your Hacendado Card over to a Faction Color. In Mexico this

means publishing a “Plan”. Examples include the Madero Plan of San Luis Potosí declaring the Díaz Regime invalid [209], the Zapata Plan of Ayala installing Orozco as head of a Land Reforming government [211], and the Carranza Plan of Guadalupe installing the 1917 Constitution [208]. Madero and Enriquez also wrote influential books, quickly banned by the dictatorship [147].

**BUREAUCRATIC VS. PRIVATE PARTNERS.** The separation of business and state is a principle of free enterprise. Many “businessmen” seek to set prices and production policies independent of the market, by colluding with the regime. Such men are actually bureaucrats, and their “business” is a bureaucracy. A heavily regulated business is also a bureaucracy. In the *Pax Porfiriana*, most businessmen had their prices and quotas set by the *Centro Industrial* bureaucracy [149], making Secretary of Finance Limantour [165] the effective head of their business (and receiving much of the profits).

**MEXICAN OLIGARCHIES.** In all of Mexico, the worst offenders of the separation of business and state were the Corral-Ysábel oligarchy of Sonora [044], and the Terrazas-Creel oligarchy of Chihuahua [213]. These hacendados were simultaneously Governors, heads of the state bank, leaders of the state troops, tax-collectors [140], and chief landowners [143]. They were, after Díaz, the most powerful men in Mexico, and the most opposed to reform. Enrique Creel became son-in-law of Luis Terrazas by virtue of marriage to his daughter Angela [017], and the Terrazas-Creel clan dominated 66 terms in the state legislature and 22 terms in the national legislature [011]. In Chihuahuan tax disputes [139], Díaz would sometimes side with the rebels, in order to keep the Terrazas-Creel clan from gaining too much power [119].

**MONOPOLIES.** “Monopoly” is a much abused word. A successful businessman is not a monopolist if he offers a new or cheaper product, even if it proves wildly popular [151]. A monopoly is an institution that uses the force of arms to outlaw competing producers from a given field. This can be accomplished only by an act of government intervention, in the form of subsidies, regulations, bailouts, franchises, or tariffs. A notorious example is the Teapot Dome Scandal [018], when Senator Albert Fall became the first U.S. cabinet member imprisoned for soliciting kickbacks from Sinclair Oil. A typical Mexican Monopoly is the Dynamite Company run by the son of the dictator [028]. This profitable monopoly outlawed internal competition, and subjected dynamite imports to stiff tariffs.

**CATHOLIC CHURCH.** To his credit, Díaz practiced the separation of church and state: “As Porfirio Díaz, in private and as head of a family, I am a Roman and Apostolic Catholic; as Head of State I profess no religion, because the law does not permit me to do so.” [120]. The “distinguished and faithful” friend of Díaz, Archbishop Gillow, established Catholic Labor Groups inspired by the papal *Rerum Novarum* [126]. The “Red Church” soured when the Freemason and Revolutionary governor of Sonora, Plutarco Elías Calles, gained control of the Presidency. and sought to seize Church properties. During the anti-Calles resistance known as the Cristeros War [199], priests went on strike, refusing to administer the mass or give absolution for the dead, and declaring it a sin [130] to join Red Labor groups such as CROM [029]. Thousands of priests were shot [202], and about 90,000 died in the fighting. I have simulated the omnipresent yet two-faced nature of the Church in Mexico by making it a bi-color red-white Public Card [214].

## LABOR AND UNIONS

The early twentieth century labor movement was split into two warring camps: the anarcho-syndicalists (striker cards conferring a Revolution Point) and the conservatives (striker cards conferring an Outrage Point). The former, such as the IWW “Wobblys” and the WFM [004], aimed to abolish capitalism and the wage system, while the latter, such as the AFL led by the ex-Socialist Sam Gompers [141], sought to advance labor interests while accommodating capitalism. Gompers cooperated with widespread regime arrests and deportations of anarcho-syndicalists members [123], who were all but defunct by 1920.

The Mexican anarcho-syndicalists [197] recruited urban workers into Red Battalions [002], fighting alongside Constitutionalist Armies. Paradoxically, The Reds fought against rural peasants of similar ideology such as Zapatistas. In 1916 Carranza disbanded the Red Battalions and forcibly closed down the syndicates. The conservative alternative to the radical unions was the CROM, led by Luis Napoleón Morones [029]. Coronas, allied to Gompers [142], led a lavish lifestyle full of flashy cars, women, and jewels.

Ultimately the anarcho-syndicalists failed because their ideas are objectively wrong. The Wobbly manifesto [005] stated “the working class and the employing class have nothing in common”, a false dichotomy. In reality, all employees are businessmen. From the janitor to the CEO, each cooperatively works for his own benefit, on the trader principle (e.g. work for pay). A person deserves from another that and only that which he earns. A syndicalist cooperative, paying every employee the same regardless of what he does, violates the trader principle and rewards the unproductive at the expense of the productive.

## HEADLINES AND ECONOMY

**HALLEY’S COMET.** It is a Sierra Madre Games tradition to have a comet appear in every game [128]. In 1910 astronomers announced that Earth would actually pass through Halley’s tail during May of that year. Unscrupulous doomsayers asserted that since comets contain cyanide gases that all of humanity was at risk. Some newspapers ran with this story, shysters sold “comet pills” said to counteract the poison, and the resulting minor panic may have helped push Mexico over the edge.

**COSTS OF LOCAL VS. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.** Examination of the financial reports of New Mexico and Arizona before and after statehood in 1912 supports claims that statehood allows the federal regime to use its greater sovereignty to impose more taxes. The ratios of receipts and expenditures to property values and the U.S. GNP show that the cost of government rose far more in the two new states than in a control state, Nevada. This cost is reflected in the Arizona Statehood Headline [106].

**DEPRESSION.** New ideas and technologies make products and services cheaper and more accessible [036]. Falling prices are a sign of progress and health. What wipes out profits and makes debt repayment more difficult is not falling prices but *monetary contraction*, i.e., the reduction in the volume of spending in the economic system following the expansion of the supply of fiduciary media relative to the supply of gold. In 1902, Secretary of the Treasury L. M. Shaw instituted a central bank [117, 118], a bureaucracy capable of printing fiat money in case there is a bank run and people want their property (money) back. This idea, opposed by those who support hard money on the gold standard, was to provide an elastic currency through regime control of the money supply. It allowed commercial banks to expand their supply of credit without risk, and led to monetary contraction and the Panic of 1907.

**PANIC OF 1907.** The 1907 Panic was the most serious that Porfirian Mexico ever suffered, felt most keenly in the northern states, the economies of which were closely linked to the United States. Exacerbated by droughts in 1908 and 1909, the price of food rose 200%. Middle classes were particularly hit hard, and small enterprises went bankrupt. The cost of money rose to 18 to 24% for private moneylenders. The price of silver and copper plummeted, and the mining tycoons Greene [067, 086, 102] and the Guggenheims [079, 081] shut down operations in Mexico. The U.S. proclaimed the first ever ban on Mexican Immigration, and more than 2000 Mexicans were given railway tickets for deportation into Chihuahua.

**FEDERAL RESERVE.** In 1913 the U.S. took another step in the demonetization of gold with passage of the Federal Reserve [118]. This set up a government-backed central banking system for the pooling of emergency funds, and reduced not only the necessary legal reserves held at the Federal Reserve Banks (increasing the multiplier by which banks could expand the money supply through loans), but also the vault cash requirements. The Federal Reserve aggressively expanded the money supply in the belief that printing “elastic” money could contribute to prosperity and support the British pound in foreign exchange markets. From 1923 to 1927, \$548 million in Federal Reserve Credit was forced into the banking system. The problem is that bureaucrats can print all the money they wish, but they are takers and only makers can give money value. The “elastic money” system crashed in 1928. Yet it has remained popular among politicians, allowing them to print their way out of debt, at the expense of every citizen with a savings account. In 1993 and 1999 Congress passed acts designed to allow persons with limited finances to get housing. The heavily-regulated banking industry, backed by government funny money, crashed in 2009.

## THE REVOLUTION

**THE FALL OF DÍAZ AND MADERO.** The Maderista leaders Villa, Orozco, and Zapata toppled Díaz in 1911. But when the new regime failed to redistribute land or break up the Porfirian command structure, the disgusted revolutionaries both left and right turned on him. A right wing coup led by General Huerta [215] and Bernardo Reyes [211], and backed by the U.S. Consul Henry Lane Wilson [163] deposed and executed Madero in the *Decena Trágica* [155].

**REVOLUTIONARY REGIMES.** The *Decena Trágica* returned Mexico to the *Porfiriana*, but without the *Pax*. Sonora and Chihuahua became a battleground for “The Big Four” personalities of the post-Madera Revolution: Orozco, Villa, Carranza, and Obregón:

- 1. The Orozquista Red-Flaggers** [167] promised land reform, but Pascual Orozco [210] would prove to be a pragmatic opportunist who never redistributed any land. Funded by cattle baron Luis Terrazas [213], he backed the Huerta coup against Madero and a return to a neo-Porfirian Chihuahua [041]. British Oil [045] and German Intriguers [153] also supported the successful Huerta coup. But Orozco and President Huerta were toppled and exiled in 1914, and both were arrested by the U.S. Secret Service trying to re-enter Mexico with German backing. Both died in captivity in 1915.
- 2. Venustiano Carranza** [208] was born and raised a *hacendado*, and so strongly opposed confiscating land from the upper class. Nevertheless, he had to enact radical agrarian legislation to increase his support against his chief rival, Pancho Villa. In 1915, President Carranza nullified all Porfirian land, water, and forest concessions [116] and placed all Mexico’s natural resources under nation domain, clearing the way for massive nationalizations [040]. This attacked all three landowning pillars of the Díaz regime: hacendados, foreign investors, and the Catholic Church [214]. Carranza’s Constitutionalist regime violently resisted the U.S. Punitive Expedition [172], heavily taxed selected U.S. enterprises in Mexico, sponsored the tragic *Sedonista* revolt in Texas [138], and consorted with Germans culminating in the notorious Zimmermann Telegram [121]. Despite these, Carranza enjoyed the support of Cleveland Dodge of Phelps Dodge [098], U.S. Oil, labor leader Sam Gompers [142], and President Wilson [133].
- 3. Pancho Villa** [177] was the most pro-American of the revolutionaries, hoping for access to U.S. arms and eventual U.S. recognition. He scrupulously left the American Enterprises alone while mercilessly expropriating Spanish and Mexican haciendas, especially those of the hated Terrazas-Creel clan. Many panicked hacendados sold their properties to U.S. speculators for bargain prices. With Villa’s defeat in April 1915, these speculators divested themselves of large amounts of Villa currency acquired when it seemed that Villa could not lose. This collapsed the Chihuahuan economy and brought soaring prices and food riots. When Villa desperately put pressure on U.S. firms, President Wilson not only recognized the regime of Villa’s arch-rival Carranza [133], but he also helped the *Carranzistas* smash Villa at Agua Prieta. After this, Villa went on a rampage against Americans [203], culminating in the infamous 1916 raid against Columbus, New Mexico [124].
- 4. Alvaro Obregón** [022], an impoverished but clever farmer and entrepreneur, gained Yaqui support by promising to end slavery and distribute land to anyone who fought for him [189]. Recognizing that the modern battlefield had become dominated by defensive weapons, he favored artillery [024], machine guns [030], and aeroplanes [033] rather than the wild cavalry charges preferred by Villa. Joining the Revolution as a Maderista and then a Constitutionalist, Obregón eventually turned on President Carranza and had him assassinated, ending the Mexican Revolution in 1920. As the “one-armed President” (he lost his right arm to *villista* artillery), he is widely suspected of sponsoring the assassination of Pancho Villa as well.

**Mexico For the Mexicans** [131]. The *Pax Porfiriana* welcomed persons of all races and nationalities in its development of Mexico (with the tragic exception of the Yaqui tribe). Not just Americans but low budget immigrants such as Mormons [156] and Chinese [146] flourished in Mexico, which is why card 146 is the only victim-awarded Loyalty Point. The supplanting Revolutionary Regimes were racist, and the Calles regime [202] even embraced fascism, deporting Jews, Chinese, and other undesirables. Another step backwards for Mexico. Think about it. “Mexico for the Mexicans” implicitly accepts the idea that one race can own mountains and trees, combining the mistakes of Hitler with those

described in the “resources” essay.

**Legacy.** The Revolution yielded a series of Communist regimes, although the fighting did not entirely end in 1920 [191, 130, 199, 202]. By the 1930’s President Lázaro Cárdenas seized the remaining property owned by foreigners without compensation. But bureaucrats are unsuited to run businesses and most fell into ruin. The new Constitutionalist power block of middle-class urbanites yielded the socialist PRI state party [181], which would win every election for the next 70 years with the help of massive electoral fraud. Even with all its population and potential resources, Mexico would enter the 21st century resembling a banana republic [030] rather than the U.S. or Canada. Since 2000, three journalists a year are murdered. The U.S.-Mexico border, unfenced and unpatrolled during the Pax Porfiriana, resembles a Gulag today. Each year hundreds of brave and industrious hopefuls yearning for work in the U.S., including perhaps Mexico’s best minds, die of thirst in the desert not so far from my Tucson home.

**The Bandidos And I.** In the late 1980’s my nine-year old son Matt and I visited the giant solar-powered aquaculture center, built by the University of Arizona [083] and Coca-Cola. A caretaker let us into the abandoned complex near Puerto Peñasco, Sonora. The domes and tanks from my marine biology undergrad days were empty and rusted through. Nationalized by armed *Federales* in the great shrimp shutdown of June 26, 1980, Dr. Hodges’ team had evacuated that same day. As a further nasty reminder that in Mexico one is never far from the gun, Matt and I were detained by armed men on a lonely dirt road. An unmarked van, no uniforms, automatic rifles, autoloading pistols shoved into waistbands without the benefit of holsters. These were extralegal *Judiciales*, empowered to prey on Mexico’s own refugees attempting to escape to America.

**The Meaning Of Revolution.** A revolution is the climax of a clash of philosophical ideas, an outburst of discontent that sets the course of entire peoples and cultures. The tragedy of the Mexican Revolution is that it failed to correct the core problem of the Porfiriana, the intertwining of business and state. In contrast to the American Revolution, it subjugated the makers to the takers. By empowering politicians to control the means of production, it doomed Mexicans to a kind fatalistic paternalism. But for the flaws and quirks of its principal activists and intellectuals, the events of 1910 could have resulted in a very different Mexico today. Matt and I have reacted this struggle to investigate what could have been

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## Credits.

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Prestige Icons: Contains elements from revolutionary painter David Alfaro Siqueiros, who fought as a Constitutionalist during the Revolution.

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We plan to publish more games in this series, using the same components and similar rules. If you think your cardgame design comprehensively captures the political, military, and economic zeitgeist of a period, send a note to [phileklund@gmail.com](mailto:phileklund@gmail.com) or [matthew.eklund@gmail.com](mailto:matthew.eklund@gmail.com). Join the **Paxgames** Yahoo group to see the latest files. Other active Yahoo groups with files, tips, and science about Sierra Madre Games include **HighFrontier**, **OriginsGame**, **Megafauna** (Bios Megafauna), and **phileklund** (High Frontier Colonization).I already have