

PARLEMENT -- A NEW GAME OF COALITIONS

In the following pages you will find a hastily-typed semifinal version of the rules of Parlement, along with a sample game. Comments and questions are welcome. In particular, questions about why so-and-so did what in the sample game may be enlightening. In constructing the game, I tried to have the five players act rationally, but it is difficult to do that for all five players at once.

The rules are quite complicated because they must cover a multitude of special situations which probably will not occur very often, such as ties. It may help to skip some of the less important paragraphs on first reading; if you read the following paragraphs the basic outline of the game should come clear: 1, 2, 5, 9, 12, 13, 16-19, 21-24, 25 (first two sentences), 26-31, 35, 36.

We may briefly summarize the game this way. Each player is the leader of a party in Parlement, which is the parliament of a mythical European country. He controls the party MP's (members of Parlement), the party's blocs of voters in elections, and the party finances. The game consists of Parliamentary sessions (divided into "periods") each followed by an election. In the session the party leader leads his MP's in votes on bills that are proposed by the Government and the opposition. He may be a member of the Government, with its lucrative salary and other powers. (The party also has an income based on the number of seats it holds). The way he votes on bills is recorded by three independent voting blocs, who vote for the candidate with the best record in each district when the election is called. The party leader controls blocs of voters, too, and he may increase their size by the expenditure of money.

I have tried to design the game so that being in the Government is slightly more desirable than not; it is much more lucrative and has considerable power (particularly for the Premier). On the other hand the members of the Government must vote together, which can cause embarrassment and perhaps resignations from the Government.

It will probably benefit a party leader if he votes consistently the way an particular independ bloc wishes him to; otherwise he may lose control of that bloc. Notice in the sample game how the Socialists and Radicals were forced to share the favors of the Workers' bloc with the Monarchists.

Electoral strategy is very important. American players may not ~~even~~ even be aware that there IS such a thing as electoral strategy, unless they are familiar with the maneuverings that go on in an European election, particularly a French one. The same type of maneuvering goes on here within parties, but it is rather hidden from public view. Generally speaking the game is realistic as to the type of electoral maneuvering that will work. The election system is the single-member district with runoff, much like what goes on in Southern Democratic primaries. (It was chosen because it allows for a lot of wheeling and dealing without taking up the time that the French system would). Notice in the sample game the Monarchists were evidently double-crossed by either the Liberals or the Conservatives in putting up candidates; the Monarchists would have been eliminated entirely if it hadn't been for their good legislative record.

Some form of revision of these rules will be published when the first experimental game has been played.

--Charles Wells

THE RULES OF PARLEMENT (POSTAL VERSION)

PRELIMINARIES

1. Parlement is a game for five players. Each is the party leader of one of five parties in the fifty-member parliament of a mythical but typical European country. The game consists of sessions of Parlement, each followed by an election. The game is won by the party which manages to obtain a majority (twenty-six) of the members of Parlement in an election. At the beginning of the game each party has 10 members of Parlement.

2. The five parties are the Socialist, Radical, Liberal, Conservative and Monarchist parties (usually abbreviated by their first letters). The players are assigned to the parties by lot and each player remains the party leader of that party for the duration of the game. The game structure imposes certain restrictions on the positions the party may take on issues, with the result that the parties run roughly left to right in the order given. However the player has wide leeway on exact positions and it is perfectly conceivable, for example, that in a particular game the Liberal party may be more leftist than the Radical. /Generally speaking, it will be good strategy to take consistent positions on the issues and not to deviate too much from the position in the political arena the game imposes on you/

SESSIONS OF PARLEMENT

3. Each session of Parlement is divided into periods; each period is the length of time between successive issues of the Bulletin, which are published no oftener than once every two weeks. All actions in a given period are assumed to take place at the same time, and are reported in the issue of the Bulletin published at the end of that period. The possible actions players may take include the formation and fall of Governments, the proposal of bills, voting on bills, and elections. The Gamesmaster may set deadlines for receipt of all official actions of the players which are to take place during a given period; generally he will announce that deadline in the issue of the Bulletin published just before that period begins.

4. The first ~~issue~~ period does not end until a Government has been formed (paragraph 9). After that one Government stays in power until another one is formed, in accordance with the procedure in paragraph 9, unless the Premier resigns (paragraphs 10 and 12).

THE GOVERNMENT

5. The Government consists of the Premier, the Foreign Minister, the Defense Minister, and the Finance Minister. Each position is filled by a party leader; the same person may fill more than one position /and usually will/.

6. A "proposed Government" consists of a list of the persons to fill each position in the Government (no positions may be left vacant), which is submitted to the Gamesmaster. The signed assent to the membership in the proposed Government of each person holding a position in the proposed Government must be included in the proposal. If he wishes, a member with his assent may specify exactly the composition of the Government which he is consenting to join; if there are differences in the specifications of different members the proposal is void.

7. No member of a proposed Government may withdraw from the proposed Government during that period unless all members agree to withdraw the pro-

positional. However, it should be noted that if the Government is installed the member may immediately resign.

8. A party leader not in a proposed Government may endorse the proposal, specifying the details of the proposal if he wishes. To be valid, the endorsement must be received by the Gamesmaster in the same period as the proposed Government. Such endorsement need not be sent in the same envelope as the proposed Government and may be withdrawn provided that the withdrawal reached the Gamesmaster before the deadline he sets for the end of the period. A player may not simultaneously endorse more than one proposed Government.

9. A Government is installed as the Government as of the beginning of the period in which it is proposed if it represents a majority of Parliament; that is, if the number of MP's in the parties of the persons in the proposed Government plus the number in the parties endorsing it is 26 or more. Any other proposals made during that period fail and the Government in power falls.

10. If a proposed Government does not represent a majority of Parliament and there is already a Government the proposal fails and the incumbent Government remains in power. If there is no Government and no proposals have a majority then the Gamesmaster announces the fact, and during the following period there is no Government and no bills may be proposed. If during this following period no Government is formed an emergency national unity Government is formed containing all the parties (working without salaries), and bills #1 through 7 are proposed by the Gamesmaster to be voted on simultaneously in the following period. At the same time the parties put out candidates and an election is conducted in the following period (the ~~same~~ period after the period in which the bills #1-7 are voted on) in accordance with paragraph

11. At the end of each period the Gamesmaster publishes any proposals for Governments made during that period, giving the proposed members and any endorsers.

12. The Premier has the right to dismiss ministers and install new ones at any time without the ~~opposition~~ approval of Parliament. Any minister has the right to resign; in such a case the Government does not fall unless the minister is the Premier (the only way the country can be without a Government other than at the beginning of the game is for the Premier to resign).

BILLS

13. One bill may be proposed in each period of a session except the last (in rare cases there may be two opposition bills proposed in the same period; see paragraph 15). The proposer may be either the Premier (a "Government proposal") or a collection of one or more party leaders not in the Government having 15 or more votes in Parliament (an "opposition proposal"). If there is a Government in power at the opening of a session the Premier has the right to propose a bill first; in the next period the opposition has the right to propose one, and so on. Any proposed Government (paragraph 6) may carry with it a bill proposal, which becomes a legal proposal if the Government is installed (and all other attempted proposals fail). Then in the next period, the opposition may make a proposal, and so on.

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14. No member of the Government may join in an opposition bill proposal, ~~nor may he vote for an opposition proposal (paragraph 14).~~ If the Government does not exercise its right to propose a bill in a given period then no bill is proposed; and conversely if the opposition fails to propose a bill in a period in which it has the right to, then no bill is proposed. The Government may not propose bills #5 and 6 without the signed approval of the Finance minister, or bill #4 without the approval of the Defense minister, or bill #7 without the approval of the Foreign minister.

15. If two or more proposals are made by parties or groups of parties with more than 15 votes each during a period in which the opposition has the proposal-right then both proposals are voted on simultaneously in the next period. No party may sign more than one bill proposal, so this event will rarely occur (only possible when the Government consists of parties with a total of less than 20 members).

16. When a bill has been legally proposed the Gamesmaster calls for a vote on it, which takes place in the period following the proposal. Each party leader may vote yes, or no, or abstain.* All his MP's vote the same way, unless he votes no on one of #1 through 3 where there is a Y indicated for the bill under his party (Table 1), or unless he votes yes when there is an N indicated (such a vote is said to be "restrained"). In those cases half his MP's vote the way he votes and half abstain; if he has an odd number of MP's the extra one abstains. If a player fails to vote his MP's abstain. *Add: All members of the Government must vote as the Premier votes.

17. If the bill receives more yes votes than no votes, provided it receives at least 10 yes votes, it passes. Otherwise it fails. A bill once passed by a session may not be proposed against during the session, but it may be proposed again in subsequent sessions.

ELECTIONS

18. ~~When~~ An election is called by the Gamesmaster at the end of the fourth period of a session, if it lasts that long. He may call an election earlier in accordance with paragraph 10 if there is a prolonged crisis. The Premier may call an election anytime Parliament is in session.

19. When an election is called, during the period following the call the players submit lists of the districts (table 2) in which they are putting up candidates. This period is the last period of the session; in it players vote on any bills submitted during the preceding session, but may not submit new bills.

20. If each player's party treasury has sufficient funds to cover the costs of the candidate-submission (see paragraphs 28 and 32) the lists are published in the bulletin for the end of the last period of the session. /Naturally the ~~ex~~ players will only put up candidates in the districts where they have some hope of winning. And note that the players must make up the lists without knowing how the vote went on the last bill of the session, unless no bill was proposed in the period in which the election was called./

21. During the period following the last period of the session the primary election is conducted. Each district has five blocs of voters

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~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ The Workers, Bourgeois, and Catholic blocs (abbreviated W, B and K) are known as the independent blocs; the others (S, R, L, C and M) are the "party blocs" and are partially under the control of the party leaders (paragraph 24). The independent blocs occur in every district; each party bloc occurs in 40 of the 50 districts. The Socialist bloc is missing in #1-10, the Radical bloc in #11-20, the Liberal bloc in #21-30, the Conservative bloc in #31-40, and the Monarchist bloc in #41-50. Each bloc starts the game with 2000 votes in each district in which it appears. However, each party bloc gains as many votes as the party leader expends crowns in that district, and after each election each party bloc loses 500 votes (paragraph 28).

22. Each party earns a legislative record with each independent bloc in accordance with its votes on bills. If a party voted for a bill which the bloc favored, or against one it opposed, the party earns 2 points with that bloc, with the following exceptions: (1) if the party's vote was restrained it earns only one point, and (2) if the party voted FOR a bill which the bloc favored AND THE BILL PASSES the party earns 5 points instead of 2. Note that the legislative record is calculated for each party and each independent bloc separately.

23. In the primary election each independent bloc votes for the candidate in each district whose party has earned the most points according to paragraph 22. If there is a tie for "most points" the vote of the bloc is split evenly between or among those candidates whose parties are involved in the tie.

24. Each party bloc in the primary election votes for the candidate of its party, if there is one; otherwise it votes in accordance with the party leader's instructions. The votes of party blocs may not be split.

25. If one candidate gets more than half the votes in the district, he wins. If not, a runoff election is held between the 2 leading candidates. If a tie makes it impossible to determine who the "two leading candidates" are, then all the candidates involved in the tie and the leading candidate enter the runoff and the requirement that a party bloc vote for its own candidate is relaxed. If no candidate gets a majority a third election is held, conducted as if the second election were the primary, and Parlement proceeds with the seat vacant until a winner is determined.

FINANCES

26. Each player has control of his party's treasure. The monetary unit is the crown; no fractions of crowns are used. The gamesmaster keeps the accounts of each party and records all payments and receipts as they happen; all payments and receipts in a given period are assumed to happen simultaneously.

27. A player may transfer money to another player by means of a gamecheque, which has the form, "Pay n crowns to X, /signed/ _____ (I party leader)". The gamesmaster transfers the stated sum to the account of X's party as of the period in which he receives the gamecheque. The cheque may

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be sent to the gamesmaster either from the payer or the payee, but it must be signed by the payer. The payer may write "not a valid check" or other statements to that effect across the gamecheque if he wishes to avoid it being confused with a real-world check.

28. A party leader may pay out treasury money to local party units at any time; such payment may be written "Pay n crowns to the mth district X party /signed/ _____ X party leader." In the next election the X party bloc in that district has as many additional votes (above what it had in the preceding election) as there were crowns paid, less 500. If the requirement that 500 be subtracted leads to a negative number, the party has no votes in that district in that election. Money may be paid to a district in which the party has no votes.

29. Each party must pay the Gamesmaster 500 crowns for each candidate it puts up in a primary election -- the 500 crowns is deducted as of the period in which the candidate is put up.

30. The salary of each officeholder of the Government (paragraph 5) is 1000 crowns for each period the office is held. A Government is considered as holding office for the period in which it takes office, and not for the period in which ~~xxxx~~ it is replaced.

31. In the first period of a new session of Parliament each party treasury receives 1000 crowns (contributions) for each seat it holds. If there are vacant seats which are later filled the party which later fills it does NOT receive the 1000 crowns for that seat.

32. If after all receipts for a period have been counted a party treasury has attempted to pay more in the period than it has, the party is in a state of bankruptcy. In order to make up the difference all payments to local parties are rescinded. If the deficit is still not made up, and if the overdraft occurs in a period in which candidates are being put up in an election, then the gamesmaster withdraws as many candidates as necessary to make it up, starting with the set of ten ~~xx~~ districts in which the party has no party bloc at the start of the game, and other than that going in numerical order. If the overdraft is still not made up then all payments are rescinded.

33. The bulletin of the period in which an overdraft occurs must contain a complete accounting of the steps taken, with a listing ~~xx~~ of all payments and receipts made by the party during the period.

34. In the first period of a new session a listing of all payments and receipts made by each party since the last listing is given, along with the current state of the party treasury. The gamesmaster may not divulge the state of a party's account to any player (including the player of that party) at any other time.

AMENDMENTS AND RULINGS

35. At any time any player or players representing at least 15 votes may propose any amendment to these rules. Such an amendment is adopted if it is approved by at least 38 votes in two successive sessions of Parliament, or by unanimous vote of one session.

36. Unless overridden by an amendment the rulings of the gamesmaster are final.

TABLE I
BILLS

Premier 7

Bill number	S	R	L	C	M	W	B	K	vetoable by	Name of bill
1	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y		
2	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N		
3	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y		
4						Y	Y	N	Defense	
5						Y	N	N	Finance	Income tax
6						N	N	Y	Finance	Salestax
7						N	Y	Y	Foreign	NATO appropriations

SAMPLE GAME

First Session

First Period: Socialists and Radicals form Government endorsed by Liberals; Socialist Premier and Defense Minister, Radical Foreign and Finance Ministers. S and R each pay L 1000 crowns (this would not be published until the first period of the second session).

S and R propose #4.

Second Period: Vote on #4: SY RY LY CY MY passes unanimously
~~MM~~ L and C propose #1.

Third Period: Vote on #1: SA RA LN CN MY fails 20-10 with 20 abstentions
S and R propose #5 and S calls an election.

Fourth Period: Vote on #5: SY RY BN CN MN fails 30-20.

CANDIDATE LISTS

	1 L M	11 L M	21 S M C	31 S L	41 L S
	2 C M	12 C M	22 S M C	32 S L	42 C R S
	3 L M	13 L M	23 S M C	33 S L	43 L S
	4 C M	14 C M	24 S M C	34 S L	44 C S
LEGISLATIVE RECORDS	5 L M	15 L M	25 S M	35 S	45 L S
S R L C M	6 C	16 C	26 R	36 R	46 C R
W 8 7 5 5 7	7 L	17 L	27 R	37 R	47 L R
B 5 5 9 9 7	8 C	18 C	28 R	38 R	48 C R
K 0 0 2 2 4	9 L	19 L	29 R	39 R	49 L R
	10 C	20 C	30 R	40 R	50 C R

Note that the players had to put up the candidate lists before they knew the results of the voting on #5.

PRIMARY ELECTION: Here the parties indicate how they vote in districts where they have no candidates and pay various amounts of money to the districts in attempts to swing the election. The Socialists and Radicals have 9500 crowns to spend, the Liberals 2500, the Conservatives 2500 and the Monarchists 2500.

Socialists:

Expenditures: 1000cr each in 21-24, 5000 cr in 25

Radicals: 4500 each in 46 and 47.

Liberals: 1000 each in 1 and 11.

Conservatives: 500 in 2

Monarchists: 1000 each in 11 and 14.

Whenever they didn't have a candidate of their own, the Liberals voted for the Conservatives, and vice versa, and both for the Socialists as second choice, and the Radicals and the Socialists voted for each other with the Liberals and Conservatives as second choice. The Monarchists voted for the Socialists as second choice. This situation could be indicated succinctly as follows: S: R then L and C R: S then L and C L: C then S C: L then S M: S. Of course any party is perfectly free to vote district

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by district and is under no obligation to have a consistent second choice.

ELECTION RESULTS: The code is best explained by using the first district as an example. In that district the Liberals won with 9000 votes; the letters in parentheses mean that the Radical, Liberal, Conservative, and Bourgeois blocs votes for the Liberal candidate, the Liberal bloc with 3000 votes and the others with 2000 (the figures for a bloc with 2000 votes is omitted). The Monarchist candidate received 6000 votes from the Monarchists, Workers and Catholic blocs.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. L; L9000 (RCB, L3000), M6000 (MWK) | 26. R |
| 2. C; C8500 (RLB, C2500), M6000 (MWK) | 27. R |
| 3. L; L8000 (RLCB), M6000 (MWK) | 28. R |
| 4. C; C8000 (RLCB), M6000 (MWK) | 29. R |
| 5. L; like 3 | 30. R |
| 6. C | 31. S; S8000 (SRW), L6000 (LBK) |
| 7. L | 32. S; like 31 |
| 8. C | 33. S; like 31 |
| 9. L | 34. S; like 31 |
| 10. C | 35. S |
| | 36. R |
| | 37. R |
| 11. L; L9000 (ECB, L3000), M7000 (WK, M3000) | 38. R |
| 12. C; C8000 (SLCB), M6000 (MWK) | 39. R |
| 13. L; L8000 (SLCB), M6000 (MWK) | 40. R |
| 14. C; C8000 (SLCB), M7000 (WK, M3000) | 41. L8000 (LCBK), S6000 (RSW) |
| 15. L; like 13 | 42. C8000 (LCBK), S6000 (RSW) |
| 16. C | 43. L; like 41 |
| 17. L | 44. C; like 42 |
| 18. C | 45. L; like 41 |
| 19. L | 46. R; C8000 (LCBK), R10,500 (SW, R6500) |
| 20. C | 47. R; L8000 (LCBK), R10,500 (SW, R6500) |
| 21. SM RUNOFF; S 6000 (R, half of W, S3000), C1000 (CB), M5000 (MK, half of W) | 48. C; C8000 (LCBK), R6000 (RSW) |
| 22. S; RUNOFF; like 21 | 49. L; L8000 (LCBK), R6000 (RSW) |
| 23. SM RUNOFF; like 21 | 50. C; like 48 |
| 24. SM RUNOFF; like 21 | |
| 25. S; S10,000 (R, half of W, S7000), C and M like 21 | |

THE RUNOFF. In the runoff C votes for M. M spends 500 in 22, S 500 in 21.

21. M; S6500 (R, half of W, S3500), M9000 (CMBK, half of W)
22. M; S6000 (R, half of W, S3000), M9500 (CMBK, half of W, M2500)
23. M; S6000 (SR, half of W), M9000 (CMBK, half of W)
24. M; like 23.

As a result, the breakdown of seats in the second session of Parlement by party is as follows: Socialists -- 6; Radicals -- 12; Liberals -- 14; Conservatives -- 14; Monarchists -- 4. At this point a closely cooperating three party government of the center would have a chance of eliminating the Socialists and the Monarchists entirely.

THE RULES OF

PARLEMENT

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PLEASE NOTE

Additional copies of these rules are available at 25¢ each.

This game is still in an experimental stage. All comments, criticisms and suggestions -- and reports on games played -- are welcome; send them to

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Revisions and corrections will be published from time to time. This copy is printed on 3-ring paper so that the rules may be kept in a looseleaf binder and the revisions inserted as they are received. You may obtain a subscription to the revisions and corrections by sending 25¢ to the address above.

Copies of the two forms, the "Legislative Record" (p. 16) and the "Election Form" (p. 21), may obtained for a penny apiece from the address above. Minimum order: one dollar. Please allow three weeks for delivery. Suggestions for the improvement of these forms are welcome.

PARLEMENT

DESCRIPTION OF THE GAME

This description is a summary of the rules of Parlement, which begin on page 3. In this description the effects of the major rules are described (so you will find it helpful to reread this after you read the rules), but many minor points are omitted.

Parlement is a game for seven players. Each player is the Party Leader of one of seven parties in the fifty-member Parlement of a mythical but typical European country. The game consists of sessions of Parlement followed by Elections. The game is won by the party which obtains a majority of the seats in Parlement after an election.

The game consists not of teams but of individuals who form free coalitions. Each move is written out by the players after a period of negotiation; the moves are exposed all at once, so that in effect the players are moving simultaneously rather than in turn. During the negotiations the players may say anything to each other they wish, secretly or publicly, but they are not bound by anything they say. The point is for some players to form coalitions to try to do harm to other players, while jockeying for position within the coalition (and occasionally double-crossing the coalition after having made secret deals with its opponents). The game thus mimics real life. Players who have scruples about lying will not do well unless they are VERY skillful.

The basic mechanism of the game is this: each Party has one or more factions who vote as a unit on bills (see below and 1.4). The votes on legislation during a session are recorded as the Legislative Record of that faction. The fifty voting districts of the country have five voting blocs distributed throughout them; these blocs take a stand on each item of legislation (Tables 3,6 page 11). During the election a candidate of a faction gets the bulk of the bloc's votes if he has the best Legislative Record in the eyes of that bloc. He gets some votes from other sources, too, but this is the most important. This is described in more detail below and in sections 6 and 8.

The game begins in the first year of the first session of Parlement. A Government is formed by one or more of the parties (section 3). It then proposes a Budget and other bills to be voted on during the first year (section 4). When that is done, it proposes a Budget and bills for the second year; this continues until an election is held. The Government stays in power only as long as it can get its legislation passed: defeat on a bill removes it from office (3.7, 5.8). Advantages of being in the Government: it is remunerative (see the next paragraph) and it gives a player some control over proposed legislation (next following paragraph). Disadvantages: the necessity of passing Government bills means that occasionally a party will be forced to vote for a bill it opposes.

A party receives an income in proportion to the number of seats it holds and additional income from Cabinet offices and from being a bloc's favorite. Money may exchange hands in the form of

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bribes, too. A fairly stiff sum is required for putting up a candidate in an election (this keeps the parties from putting up candidates in every district), and money can buy votes in elections. See section 7 and paragraph 8.17 for details.

The Government proposes all legislation; non-Government parties have no rights in this respect. The legislation must be approved by the Premier and by certain other Cabinet officers (4.2). It is naturally greatly to the advantage of a party who has strength with two blocs not to be forced to vote on legislation which one of the blocs favors and the other opposes. There are two ways out of this difficulty: (i) concentrate on voting the wishes of just one bloc and try to gain control of it in accordance with 8.15, or (ii) join the Government and try to exercise control over the legislation. The second is preferable in more circumstances than the first is, since gaining control of a bloc can usually help you to win elections in only one region.

The fifty voting districts are divided into five regions; a faction (mentioned above) is just the collection of all members of Parlement from a given party in a given region. The different distribution of blocs in the different regions tempts a Party Leader to have his factions vote in different ways on bills; the balance of power rule (6.2), which gives a bonus point on the Legislative record (under some circumstances) to a party if its vote was large enough to "make a difference" in the vote on a bill, tempts the Party Leader to keep his factions voting together.

The parties put up candidates in the first phase of an election. The candidate of a party runs on the legislative record of the faction of that region, if there is one (but see 8.8 through 8.12). A bloc gives the bulk of its votes (8.14) to the faction with the best legislative record. A candidate can also get votes by expending money, by being an incumbent, and by being a Cabinet Officer, but the bloc is the source of most of the votes. (See 8.16 and 8.17). A party solidly in control of a bloc (8.15) can influence the bloc's votes in districts other than where it has candidates. This rule will usually have only a negative effect in that other parties act to stop a party from gaining this control.

A slightly simplified version of the classical French system is used in the elections (it allows for the most politicking!). On the first ballot, you win if you get an absolute majority; if no one does, a period is allowed in which candidates may withdraw, then a second election is held in which only a plurality is sufficient to win. Electoral strategy in this game is very important. If a candidate in a district cannot win his withdrawal may still make a difference in who does win; such a situation should be milked for maximum leverage. Electoral strategy is also very difficult, because (1) you want to get rid of parties whose bloc strength is similar to yours, while keeping the opposition divided if possible, but (2) you must cooperate with "nearby" parties to avoid suicidal competition in elections.

THE RULES FOR PARLEMENT

1. THE PARTIES AND MEMBERS OF PARLEMENT

1.1 Parlement has 50 members, elected from the 50 districts shown in Table 7, which can be regarded as a schematic map of the country. The districts are distributed among five regions, each with its special arrangement of voting blocs (Table 4).

1.2 The members are in seven parties, the Communist, Socialist, Radical, Center, Conservative, Monarchist and Nationalist parties in rough order of political stand from left to right. The Communists and Nationalists are called the "extremist" parties; the others are the "moderate" parties.

1.3 At the beginning of the game each extremist party has 10 members and each moderate party has 6. The districts the various parties hold at the beginning are indicated in Table 6.

1.4 All the members of a party from a particular region form a "faction" of that party. The Party Leader may instruct different factions of his party to vote in different ways on bills and other matters before Parlement. He may NOT instruct different members of the same faction to vote in different ways (this rule serves to reduce the bookkeeping necessary to run the game, and ambitious players may omit it). It will be noticed (Table 5) that at the beginning of the game each party except the Conservatives has two factions.

1.5 Each player is assigned a Party by lot at the beginning of the game. The player remains Party Leader of that Party for the duration of the game.

1.6 The Party Leader has control over how the members of Parlement of his party vote on bills (section 5) and over the manner in which they take part in Governments (section 3). He controls the finances of his party (section 7) and decides when and where his party should put up candidates in elections (section 8).

1.7 Under some circumstances, some members of Parlement may be independent, as, for example, in 1.8 and 8.7. Each such member is always associated with some bloc.

1.8 A Party Leader may at any time expel any faction from his Party (this has advantages under 7.4 and 8.9). The expelled members become independents associated with the bloc that has given them the most legislative points (see section 6). If more than one bloc ties in this respect, the expelled Members associate with the bloc that has the most votes in that region. If there is a tie also in this respect, alphabetical order is used.

2. THE MOVES

2.1 Each session of Parlement is divided into years, which are subdivided into periods. Each election is also divided into periods.

2.2 During each period, each player may consult with and negotiate with any other players. The rules do not bind a player to abide by the promises made during these negotiations, and he is not required to show other players his moves before he hands them in.

2.3 In the first period of a year, the Government puts forth its program. In the second period, the Budget is voted on, and in succeeding periods the Government's bills are voted on one at a time, subject to interruptions according to 5.7 and 5.8.

2.4 Each election consists of four periods. The first period is also the last period of the preceding session of Parlement; in this period the Parties put up their candidates. Votes are cast in the second period, candidates are withdrawn in the third, and votes for the runoff are cast in the fourth. The period after the fourth period is the first period of the new session. See Section 8 for details.

2.5 All moves for a given period are written out by the player during the period and are opened at the end of the period and reported to the players. The moves are therefore effectively simultaneous.

3. THE GOVERNMENT

3.1 The Government consists of the Premier and seven other Cabinet officers listed in Table 1.

3.2 The first order of business of the first session of Parlement is the formation of a Government. Also, any time a Government falls (3.7) another one must be formed before the game can proceed, unless an election intervenes in accordance with 8.3.

3.3 This is how a Government is formed: A Proposed Government is drawn up, listing by district which members of Parlement is to hold each Cabinet Office, and listing any factions endorsing the proposed Government which are not represented among its Cabinet Officers. Then if the factions represented in and endorsing the Proposed Government have among them a majority (26) of Parlement, the Proposed Government becomes the Government and the game proceeds.

3.4 In a proposed Government, each Cabinet Office must be filled by a member of Parlement, but one member may hold more than one office.

3.5 No faction may enter or endorse different Proposed Governments at the same time; but different factions of the same party may do so.

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3.6 Independent members of Parliament do not join Governments, but if all the factions in the Proposed Government are "acceptable" to the bloc an independent member belongs to, he endorses it. (See 8.7).

3.7 If the Premier resigns, or if a Government bill is defeated after being voted on twice (see 5.8), the Government falls. The game cannot proceed until a new Government is formed.

3.8 The Premier may rearrange the Cabinet and replace resigning members without the formal consent of the other parties in the Government (except those involved in the reshuffling).

4. THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

4.1 When a new Government takes office, it must propose a Program for the first year of its office (unless the preceding Government did not complete the voting on its Program - see 5.8). The Program consists of a Budget and (if desired) bills for Parliament to vote on.

4.2 The Program must be signed by the Premier and by all relevant Cabinet Ministers: if any Bill is proposed which is "controlled by" a certain Ministry, then that Minister must sign the program. In addition, a low Defense, Welfare or Education budget item must be approved by the Defense, Welfare or Education Minister respectively.

4.3 The Budget consists of a H (high) or L (low) listing for each of the four items in Table 3.

4.4 The Government Program must specify not only all bills to be voted on, but the order in which they are to be voted on. This order may not later be changed, and no bills may be added or subtracted during the year.

4.5 If a Government falls before the voting on its Program is completed, the incoming Government need not follow the former Government's Program unless it has the same factional makeup as the former Government (that is, each Ministry is held by a member of the same faction as previously). However, if the preceding Government was unsuccessful in getting its Budget passed, the new Government must propose a Budget for that year, and if the preceding Government was successful in passing its Budget, the new Government may NOT propose a Budget for that year, although it may propose additional bills.

5. VOTING ON BILLS

5.1 After the Government has proposed its program, the Budget is voted on, and then each bill is voted on in the order specified.

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5.2 In voting on a Bill, each Party leader indicates in writing how each faction of his Party votes (Yes, No, Abstain), and then places his ballot in a central place. After all Party Leaders have voted, the ballots are counted.

5.3 To vote on the Budget, the Party Leader indicates how each of his factions votes on each item, and the game proceeds as for a Bill. The items of the Budget may not be voted on one at a time.

5.4 The Party Leader may not split the vote of a faction; all members of a faction vote together.

5.5 An independent member of Parliament votes in accordance with his bloc, as specified in Table 3.

5.6 A bill or budget item passes when it receives more Yes votes than No votes, provided that the total number of Yes and No votes is at least 25.

5.7 If one or more items of the Budget are defeated, the Government must resubmit the entire Budget, changing it if it wishes. The game cannot proceed until the Budget has passed in its entirety.

5.8 If a Government Bill is defeated, the Government must resubmit the Bill immediately. If it is again defeated, the Government falls. The Government may, of course, resign upon the first defeat, in which case the Bill need not be resubmitted.

5.9 A bill which has passed may not be submitted again until an election has intervened.

6. THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD

6.1 The legislative votes of each faction builds a record with each of the blocs in its region. Each "right" vote on a bill or a Budget item (Table 3) earns the faction one point with that bloc. If there is an exclamation point beside the Y or N an additional point is earned.

6.2 In addition to the points earned according to 6.1, a faction earns a bonus point if it voted "yes" on a bill (this section does not apply to budget items) the bloc favored, if the bill passed, AND if the party the faction was part of was a balance of power on the vote; that is, if the bill would not have passed had all the factions of that party which voted for the bill had abstained instead.

6.3 Factions which abstain receive no points from any bloc.

6.4 Independent members of Parliament build up a legislative record in the same way as factions. Each one is treated as a separate party.

6.5 The legislative record is cumulative throughout a session of Parlement. However, immediately after each election, the number of each faction's points is divided by the number of years (a fraction of a year is counted as one) the preceding session lasted; the quotient obtained, with remainders ignored, constitutes that faction's legislative record at the beginning of that year.

6.6 Each party's legislative record at the beginning of the game is given by Table 2.

6.7 If a Budget for a particular year, or a bill, is voted on more than once, the legislative record is calculated on the basis of the last time it is voted on; all previous times are ignored.

7. FINANCES

7.1 Each Party has a treasury, controlled by the Party Leader. The unit of currency is the crown.

7.2 The Party of a Minister of Government receives 1000 crowns at the beginning of each year the Minister is in office.

7.3 At the beginning of the game, and immediately before each election, each Party receives 2000 crowns for each seat in Parlement it holds.

7.4 If every faction of a Party has at least as many legislative points as any faction of any other party with some bloc (and that Party is the only one in that situation with that bloc), that Party received 5000 crowns immediately before each election.

7.5 The Party Treasury loses 1000 crowns for each candidate it puts up in an election. In addition, the Party may expend additional money on that candidate to gain him additional votes in accordance with 8.17 below. Such money, once expended, cannot be recovered.

7.6 Independent candidates accumulate money in accordance with 7.3 and 7.4 above, but not by 7.2 (because by 3.6 they never hold office). The expenditures of an independent candidate are controlled by 8.17.

8. ELECTIONS

8.1 The Premier may call an election at any time. When he does the voting on Government bills proceeds to completion, with the last bill being voted on simultaneously with the first period of the election. (If the Premier calls the election in the period in which the last bill of the year is being voted on, the Budget for the next year must be proposed and passed before the election can be held). Calling an election is a move of the game and is written out and put in with the other moves.

8.2 An election must be held when Parlement has been in session for five years since the last election (or the beginning of the game). In this case, the first period of the election is the period in which the last bill of the fifth year is voted on.

8.3 An election must be held immediately after the fall of the second Government in a given year.

8.4 In the first period of the election, the Party Leaders put up candidates in the various districts. The Party Leader must pay 1000 crowns into the central bank for each candidate he puts up. The list of candidates to be put up are written out and exposed simultaneously, like any other move, and, like any other move, one Party's list may not be made conditional on another's. If the list is not accompanied by sufficient payment, candidates are withdrawn, nonincumbents in numerical order by district number, then incumbents in numerical order, until the payment that was made is sufficient.

8.5 Parties may put up candidates earlier than specified in 8.4 (even before the election is called), but not later. Once a candidacy has been announced, it may not be withdrawn.

8.6 All independent members of the preceding session of Parlement stand for re-election as incumbents, paying out 1000 crowns just as any other candidate. Once an independent member has been defeated, he does not stand for election again.

8.7 If after candidates have been put up it appears that no Party has put up a candidate (in a given district) who has better than a 25% voting record with some bloc (this is calculated by dividing the number of bills voted on, with each Budget counted as 4 bills, into the legislative record of the Party with that bloc), then an independent candidate supported for that bloc files for election. Such a candidate is not an incumbent and has no funds other than those with which to pay his 1000 crown filing fee.

8.8 A candidate of a Party in a region where that Party has no legislative record because it has no incumbents in that region runs on the legislative record of whatever other faction of the party the Party Leader designates. That faction must have at least one fifth of the members of the Party in it, and the Leader must designate the same legislative record for all the candidates in a given region.

8.9 If a Party Leader wishes to expel a faction and run candidates in that faction's region under the legislative record of another of his factions in accordance with 8.8, the faction must be expelled before the first period of the election.

8.10 Expelled members are independents in the meaning of 8.6.

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8.11 If a Party refuses to put up one of its incumbent members for reelection, that incumbent leaves the party and runs on his own, on the legislative record he otherwise would have had. If elected, he sits in Parliament as an independent, voting with the bloc it is associated with in accordance with 1.8. Note that such incumbent members receive the incumbent vote of 8.16..

8.12 A Party may not use 8.11 to circumvent the requirement of 8.9 that a faction must be expelled before the election starts if the Leader wishes to run under another legislative record in that region.

8.13 In the second period of the election, the voting is done. Orders written by players include the expenditure of money in various districts, and orders to certain blocs concerning who to vote for (see 8.11).

8.14 Each bloc casts half its vote, plus an additional 10 percent for each point lead the Party has, for the candidate with the most legislative points for that bloc in that district. The rest of the votes go to the second best qualified candidate if he has more than a 25% voting record as defined in 8.7; otherwise they also go to the leading candidate. If there is a tie for first place the votes are split evenly among the tiers. If there is a tie for second place, any votes due the second place candidate are also split evenly among the tiers. This rule may be superseded by 8.15

8.15 If every faction of a party has 5 or more points more than any faction of any other party with a bloc, then the Party Leader of that party can override 8.14 and instruct the voters of that bloc to vote for anyone; EXCEPT that (a) they will not vote for candidates with a voting record poorer than 25%, and (b) the Party Leader does not have this power in regions where he has no factions. For the purposes of this paragraph, the legislative records of independents are ignored except in the district where they are running (where such a Party Leader cannot take away their vote if their legislative record is within five points of his lowest faction).

8.16 An incumbent candidate receives 1000 votes in addition to votes he would receive under any other rule. He receives 2000 if he is also a member of the Cabinet (but if he holds more than one post he still only receives 2000).

8.17 In addition to the votes received in accordance with 8.14, 8.15, and 8.16, a Party Leader may expend money in a district to help a specified candidate (it need not be of his party). Votes are gained at the rate of one crown per vote. No more than 1000 votes may be gained by a candidate in this manner. Money once expended cannot be recovered, even if (because more than 1000 crowns was spent, presumably because of lack of communication among the candidates supporters) it was wasted. An independent automatically spends all the funds he has to gain votes for himself.

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8.18 In the second period, a candidate who receives more than half the votes in his district wins the seat. If no candidate wins in a district, a runoff must be held there.

8.19 In the third period, candidates in districts where runoffs are to be held may be withdrawn. The 1000 crown filing fee (8.4) is not saved by doing this. New candidates may not be entered.

8.20 In the fourth period the runoff elections are held in those districts where no candidate was elected in the second period. Voting is done in precisely the way detailed in the sections above.

8.21 Votes gained by the expenditure of money in the second period remain with the candidate in the fourth period. New money may be expended on the candidate in the fourth period, but the candidate may not receive more than 1000 votes this way, counting the money expended in BOTH periods.

8.22 In the runoff, a candidate wins if he has more votes than any other candidate.

8.23 If there is a tie for the winner of the runoff, the candidate first in alphabetical order is declared the winner in odd-numbered districts, and the candidate last in alphabetical order wins in even-numbered districts. Party name is used to determine alphabetical order. Leaders may call their parties anything they wish, but for the purposes of this rule the names given in these rules must be used.

TABLE 1 THE GOVERNMENT

Office	Controls bills
Premier	all
Foreign	1,2,5,6
Finance	4,5,9,10
Justice	3,7,8
Defense	1,3
Agriculture	4,6
Education	9
Welfare	10

TABLE 2 LEGISLATIVE RECORD AT BEGINNING OF GAME

Party	W	I	B	K	P
Com	4	4	0	0	0
Soc	4	4	2	0	0
Rad	2	4	4	2	0
Ctr	0	2	4	4	0
Con	0	0	2	4	4
Mon	0	0	2	4	4
Nat	0	0	0	4	4

TABLE 3 BILLS Col A: number of bill

Col B: controlled by

A	B	W	I	B	K	P
1	Def, For	Y!	Y	N	N	N
2	For	Y	Y!	N	N!	N
3	Jus, Def	Y	Y!	Y	N	N
4	Agr, Fin	Y	Y!	Y!	N	N!
5	For, Fin	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6	For, Agr	Y	N	N	N	Y
7	Jus	N	N	Y	Y!	Y
8	Jus	N!	N	Y	Y	Y
9	Fin, Edu	N	N!	N	Y!	Y
10	Wel, Fin	N!	N	N	Y	Y!

TABLE 4 DISTRIBUTION OF BLOCS

Bloc	Cap	Eas	Wes	Nor	Sou
Wor	5000	2000	2000	1000	2000
Int	3000	1500	1500	1000	1500
Bour	1000	2000	5000	1000	2000
Cath	1000	2000	1000	7000	2000
Peas	0	3000	3000	3000	6000

TABLE 5 DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS AT BEGINNING OF GAME BY REGION

Prty	Cap	Eas	Wes	Nor	Sou	Tot
Com	6	4				10
Soc	4	2				6
Rad		2	4			6
Ctr			4	2		6
Con				6		6
Mon				2	4	6
Nat		4			6	10

TABLE 6 THE BUDGET

Item	W	I	B	K	P
Def	L	L	H	H	H
Wel	H	H	L	H	L
Edu	H	H	H	L	L
PubWor	H	H	L	L	H

THE DISTRICTS, WITH INCUMBENT PARTIES AT BEGINNING OF GAME

TABLE 7

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N1 Center	N2 Center	N3 Monarchist	N4 Monarchist	N5 Conservative
NORTHERN				
N6 Conservative	N7 Conservative	N8 Conservative	N9 Conservative	N10 Conservative
C1 Communist	C2 Communist	C3 Communist	C4 Communist	C5 Communist
CAPITAL				
C6 Communist	C7 Socialist	C8 Socialist	C9 Socialist	C10 Socialist
W1 Center	W2 Center	E1 Communist	E2 Communist	E3 Communist
W3 Center	W4 Center	E4 Communist	E5 Socialist	E6 Socialist
WESTERN		EASTERN		
W5 Radical	W6 Radical	E7 Radical	E8 Radical	E9 Nationalist
W7 Radical	W8 Radical	E10 Nationalist	E11 Nationalist	E12 Nationalist
S1 Nationalist	S2 Nationalist	S3 Nationalist	S4 Nationalist	S5 Nationalist
SOUTHERN				
S6 Nationalist	S7 Monarchist	S8 Monarchist	S9 Monarchist	S10 Monarchist

EXAMPLES

At the beginning of the game, the following Government is formed:

Premier	Soc E5	Defense	Soc E6
Foreign	Ctr N1	Agriculture	Rad E8
Finance	Mon S6	Education	Ctr W1
Justice	Rad E7	Welfare	Mon S7

This Government is endorsed by the Conservatives and by the other factions of the parties represented in it (i.e., Soc-Cap, Rad-Wes, Mon-Nor), giving a total of 30 supporters.

Note the large number of Cabinet members from the Eastern region, which is the most volatile and in which the 1000 vote advantage a Cabinet member has will presumably do the most good. Also note that the Radical party controls the Justice ministry, which controls Bills 7 and 8, two of the four bills that could cause the Radicals the most embarrassment (since they force them to choose between the Intelligentsia and the Bourgeoisie). In forming a Cabinet this is the sort of thing that must be bargained over. Presumably there will be money changing hands too.

The Government program for the first year, which the Government must put forth in the first period (4.1), is as follows:

BUDGET: Defense H, Welfare H, Education H, PubWks L.

BILL #5

BILL #8

Bill #5 must be approved by the Socialists (which is pro forma since they have the premiership) and the Monarchists (see Table 3), and #8 must be approved by the Radicals. Presumably the Radicals insisted on #8 instead of #7 because they intend to move leftward and wish to reap the benefits of the exclamation point besides the Socialists' "No" in Table 3 (see 6.1). They may have asked for other compensation for approval of #8, as may the Monarchists for approval of #5.

In the second period, the Budget is voted on. The vote is as follows:

Faction	Def	Wel	Edu	P.W.	Faction	Def	Wel	Edu	P.W.
Com-Cap	L	H	HH	H	Ctr-Nor	H	H	L	L
Com-Eas	L	H	H	H	Cons	H	H	L	L
Soc-Cap	L	H	H	H	Mon-Nor	H	H	L	L
Soc-Eas	H	H	H	L	Mon-Sou	H	L	L	H
Rad-Eas	L	H	H	L	Nat-Eas	H	L	H	L
Rad-Wes	H	L	H	L	Nat-Sou	H	L	L	H
Ctr-Wes	H	L	H	L					

The results are: Def H-34, L-16 Wel H-28, L-22 Edu H-30, L-20 and P.W. H-24, L-26. The Government's Budget therefore passes. If it had not, the Government would have been forced to resubmit it, perhaps with changes, again and again until it did pass.

In the third and the fourth periods, Bills 5 and 8 are voted on, and in the third period the Premier calls an election. Note that by 8.1 if he had called the election in the fourth period, a Budget for the second year would have had to be proposed and adopted before the election could proceed.

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The results of the voting on the two bills is summarized below:

Faction	5	8	Faction	5	8	Faction	5	8
Com-Cap	N	N	Rad-Wes	Y	Y	Mon-Nor	Y	Y
Com-Eas	Y	N	Ctr-Wes	Y	Y	Mon-Sou	N	Y
Soc-Cap	N	N	Ctr-Nor	Y	Y	Nat-Eas	Y	Y
Soc-Eas	N	N	Con-Nor	Y	Y	Nat-Sou	N	Y
Rad-Eas	Y	N						

Both bills pass, 28-22 and 32-18 respectively. On #5, any party (not faction) which gave 6 or more votes for the bill gets a bonus point under 6.2. This bonus is given to each faction which voted for the bill, and is given by each bloc favoring the bill (in this case, the Intelligentsia, the Bourgeoisie, and the Catholics). For example, both Radical factions are given 2 points by the Intelligentsia, but the North faction of the Monarchists gets only 1 point because the South faction voted no; in other words, the Monarchists gave the bill only 4 votes, not a balance of power. Thus 6.2 provides an inducement for the various factions of a party to vote together.

Included in this booklet are copies of the Legislative Record sheets for each bloc for this first session of Parlement. Note that each square is divided by a diagonal; in the upper corner one puts how the faction voted; in the lower corner, the number of points it received from that faction. (But the row of blocks just underneath the word "Budget" is done differently: there the upper corner has the government proposal and the lower corner the bloc stand.) The points are totaled down the right side of the sheet. In the totals, a star indicates that the total is below the 25% mark mentioned in 8.7 and elsewhere (there were six bills, counting the budget as four, so 0 or 1 points is less than 25%); thus the Southern Monarchists will never under any circumstances receive the votes of the Intelligentsia.

In this example most of the factions voted strictly with the major bloc of their region, except of course the Eastern factions (the East has no major bloc). In the East, the faction generally votes with one of the blocs that it is already strong with. (But note the Nat-Eas vote on Education).

It is instructive to consider some of the chances the Government took. For example, on #5, the Socialists and one of the Monarchists' factions voted against the bill, even though these parties were in the Government. This was logical considering the blocs involved, but the Government took a chance on the bill failing; indeed, the bill needed the Nat-Eas votes to pass. (An argument could be made for the Nat-Eas voting "no" here but under most circumstances the "yes" vote is more logical). If the Eastern Nationalists had voted "no" the Government would have had to resubmit the bill and put pressure on one or more of its constituent factions to change its vote.

Also enclosed are some sample election votes listed on the Election Form. Note that the Form has room for four districts with five candidates each. Districts will very rarely have more than five candidates. The small number in the upper left corner of each block

Also enclosed are some sample election votes listed on the Election Form. Note that each Form has room for four districts with five candidates each, so at most 13 forms will be necessary to conduct an election. Actually less will usually be necessary, since frequently districts will only have one candidate each and since one can often squeeze two districts into one space (as when they have only two candidates apiece).

The small number in the upper left corner of a block is the number of points assigned by the bloc to the faction; the larger number is the number of votes that faction receives from that bloc. A star indicates an incumbent. One would use two stars to indicate a Cabinet Officer (who would receive 2000 votes under "Incumb. & Cab.Off.").

One of the forms indicates four different possibilities in District N2. In none of them is it indicated that anyone spent money on the candidates (except for the filing fee, see 7.5). In all four cases the election is close enough that the expenditure of money could make a difference.

These elections, of course, could be either the first election (in which case the only winner would be Nat-Eas in the first E-1 race on page 22), or the second election. The N2 races on page 21 show what happens if the Radical, Center, Conservative and Monarchist parties put up candidates and then what happens if each one withdraws (the reader may calculate that if the Center party candidate withdraws the result would be Rad - 2800, Con - 5700, Mon - 4300, with the Monarchists not tying with the Conservatives solely because of their split vote on Bill #5).

A detailed analysis of one of the district elections may be helpful. In N2, with four candidates (top of page 21), consider the Rad-Wes figures (note that this is a Northern region, where the Radicals have no incumbents, so they chose to run on their Western record). They get all 1000 Workers votes because they are the only party with a better than 25% voting record; if they withdraw (as in the second election on page 21) an Independent Workers candidate will automatically run and collect the 1000 Workers votes. Since they are only 2 points ahead of their nearest competitors for the Intelligentsia vote, they get 700 (half plus 20%) and the Center party gets the rest (300). Same for the Bourgeois. The Catholic vote is split evenly between the Centrists and the Conservatives, who tie in their Legislative Record. Note that the Monarchists receive no Catholic vote even though they are only one point behind. If only one of the tying parties, say the Center party, ran, then it would get 4200 and the Monarchists would get 2800, since 4200 is 60% of 7000. As the election stands, no one has a majority and there must be a runoff. Note that no expenditure of money could have won this election without a runoff.

FACTION ↓ BLOC STAND	BUDGET				5 8		B I L L S				
	Def	Wel	Edu	P.W.	N	N!	start				
Com-Cap	L 1	H 1	H 1	H 1	N 1	N 2	4				11
Com-Soc	L 1	H 1	H 1	H 1	Y	N 2	4				10
Soc-Cap	L 1	H 1	H 1	H 1	N 1	N 2	4				11
Soc-Soc	H 1	H 1	H 1	L 1	N 1	N 2	4				9
Rad-Soc	L 1	H 1	H 1	L 1	Y	N 2	2				7
Rad-Wel	H 1	L 1	H 1	L 1	Y	Y	2				3
Ch-Wel	H 1	L 1	H 1	L 1	Y	Y					1*
Ch-Not	H 1	H 1	L 1	L 1	Y	Y					1*
Com	H 1	H 1	L 1	L 1	Y	Y					1*
Man-Not	H 1	H 1	L 1	L 1	Y	Y					1*
Man-Soc	H 1	L 1	L 1	H 1	N 1	Y					2
Nat-Soc	H 1	L 1	H 1	L 1	Y	Y					1*
Nat-Soc	H 1	L 1	L 1	H 1	N 1	Y					1*

FACTION ↓ BLOC STAND	B U D G E T				B I L L S			
	Def	Wel	Edu	P.W.	5	8		
	H L	H H	H H	L H	Y	N	start	
Com-Cap	L	H	H	H	N	N	4	
Com-Eas	L	H	H	H	Y	N	4	
Soc-Cap	L	H	H	H	N	N	4	
Soc-Eas	H	H	H	L	N	N	4	
Rad-Eas	L	H	H	L	Y	N	4	
Rad-War	H	L	H	L	Y	Y	4	
Chr-War	H	L	H	L	Y	Y	2	
Chr-Nor	H	H	L	L	Y	Y	2	
Con	H	H	L	L	Y	Y		
Mon-Nor	H	H	L	L	Y	Y		
Mon-Sou	H	L	L	H	N	Y		
Nat-Eas	H	L	H	L	Y	Y		
Nat-Sou	H	L	L	H	N	Y		

9

10

9

7

10

7

5

5

3

2

1*

2

1*

FACTION ↓ BLOC STAND	B U D G E T				5 8		B I L L S			
	Def	Wel	Edu	P.W.						
	H	H	H	L	Y	Y	start			
Com-Cap	L	H	H	H	N	N				
Com-Eas	L	H	H	H	Y	N				
Soc-Cap	L	H	H	H	N	N	2			
Soc-Eas	H	H	H	L	N	N	2			
Rad-Eas	L	H	H	L	Y	N	4			
Rad-Wes	H	L	H	L	Y	Y	4			
Chr-Wes	H	L	H	L	Y	Y	4			
Chr-Nor	H	H	L	L	Y	Y	4			
Con	H	H	L	L	Y	Y	2			
Mon-Nor	H	H	L	L	Y	Y	2			
Mon-Sou	H	L	L	H	N	Y	2			
Nat-Eas	H	L	H	L	Y	Y				
Nat-Sou	H	L	L	H	N	Y				

1*

1*

3

5

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11

11

9

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6

5

6

3

FACTION ↓	BLOC STAND	B U D G E T				5 8		B I L L S			
		Def	Wel	Edu	P.W.						
		H H	H H	H L	L L	Y	Y	start			
Con-Cap		L	H	H	H	N	N				* 1
Con-Eas		L	H	H	H	Y	N				2
Soc-Cap		L	H	H	H	N	N				* 1
Soc-Eas		H	H	H	L	N	N				3
Rad-Eas		L	H	H	L	Y	N				6
Rad-Wes		H	L	H	L	Y	Y				7
Ch-Wes		H	L	H	L	Y	Y				9
Ch-Nor		H	H	L	L	Y	Y				11
Con		H	H	L	L	Y	Y				11
Mon-Nor		H	H	L	L	Y	Y				10
Mon-Sou		H	L	L	H	N	Y				7
Nat-Eas		H	L	H	L	Y	Y				8
Nat-Sou		H	L	L	H	N	Y				7

FACTION ↓ BLOC STAND	B U D G E T				B I L L S			
	Def	Wel	Edu	P.W.	5	8		
	H H	L L	H L	L H	N	Y	start	
Com-Cap	L	H	H	H	N	N		
Com-Eas	L	H	H	H	Y	N		
Soc-Cap	L	H	H	H	N	N		
Soc-Eas	H	H	H	L	N	N		
Rad-Eas	L	H	H	L	Y	N		
Rad-Wes	H	L	H	L	Y	Y		
Ch-Wes	H	L	H	L	Y	Y		
Ch-Nor	H	H	L	L	Y	Y		
Com	H	H	L	L	Y	Y	4	
Mon-Nor	H	H	L	L	Y	Y	4	
Mon-Sou	H	L	L	H	N	Y	4	
Nat-Eas	H	L	H	L	Y	Y	4	
Nat-Sou	H	L	L	H	N	Y	4	

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Dist# N2 Candidate	Workers	Intellig.	Bourg.	Catholic	Peasant	Incumb.& Cab.Off.	Crowns	TOTAL
Rad W	3 1000	7 700	11 700	7	3			2400
*CHN	1	5 300	9 300	11 3500	3	1000		5100
COM N	1	3	7	11 3500	7 1500			5000
MOU N	1	2	6	10	7 1500			1500
Dist# N2 Candidate	Workers	Intellig.	Bourg.	Catholic	Peasant	Incumb.& Cab.Off.	Crowns	TOTAL
*CHN	1	5 700	9 700	11 3500	3	1000		5900
COM N	1	3 300	7 300	11 3500	7 1500			5600
MOU N	1	2	6	10	7 1500			1500
Ind W	1000							1000
Dist# N2 Candidate	Workers	Intellig.	Bourg.	Catholic	Peasant	Incumb.& Cab.Off.	Crowns	TOTAL
Rad	3 1000	7 700	11 700	7	3			2400
*CH	1	5 300	9 300	11 3500	3 300	1000		5400
COM	1	3	7	11 3500	7 2700			6200
Dist# N2 Candidate	Workers	Intellig.	Bourg.	Catholic	Peasant	Incumb.& Cab.Off.	Crowns	TOTAL
*CH	1	5 700	9 700	11 3500	3 300	1000		6200
COM	1	3 300	7 300	11 3500	7 2700			6800
Ind	1000							1000

ELECTION FORM

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Dist# E1 Candidate	Workers	Intellig.	Bourg.	Catholic	Peasant	Incumb.& Cab.Off.	Crowns	TOTAL
* ^{cap} Cam	" 2000	⁹ 1500	¹	¹	²	1000		4500
^{cap} Nat	¹	²	⁶ 2000	⁸ 2000	⁷ 3000			7000

Dist# E1 Candidate	Workers	Intellig.	Bourg.	Catholic	Peasant	Incumb.& Cab.Off.	Crowns	TOTAL
* ^{cap} Cam	" 1800	⁹ 600	¹	¹	²	1000		3400
^{cap} Rad	⁷ 200	¹⁰ 900	⁸ 1400	⁶ 600	⁰			3100
^{cap} Nat	¹	²	⁶ 600	⁸ 1400	⁷ 3000			5000

Dist# E1 Candidate	Workers	Intellig.	Bourg.	Catholic	Peasant	Incumb.& Cab.Off.	Crowns	TOTAL
* Cam	" 2000	⁹ 1500	¹	¹	²	1000		4500
Mon-Nor	¹	²	⁶ 1000	¹⁰ 1400	⁷ 1500			3900
Nat	¹	²	⁶ 1000	⁸ 600	⁷ 1500			3100

Dist# Candidate	Workers	Intellig.	Bourg.	Catholic	Peasant	Incumb.& Cab.Off.	Crowns	TOTAL

PLAYING THE GAME IN PERSON

A large room with plenty of corners for secret negotiations is a great help in playing the game. At some central point a sheet of paper for recording the composition of the Government and the votes on bills should be kept. Players should repeatedly check this for accuracy. It is suggested that the most experienced player be drafted to keep it up to date.

Play money should be used for currency transactions. It is much too complicated to try to keep a checking account system. A central bank for the purpose of making and receiving payments under 7.2 - 7.5 should be kept on the same table as the record sheet described above. This bank may also be used for making change, but a player should announce to the other players when he is making change so that he can be checked by his opponents. (Alternatively a combination banker and Gamesmaster could be used).

During each period each player should write out his orders and put them on the table where the record sheet is. When candidates are being put up, it is a good idea to require each player to clip the necessary money for filing fees to the orders. At the end of the period the orders should be opened up one at a time and recorded on the record sheet.

Before the candidates are to be put up in an election, the Legislative Record sheets should be filled out by some player with the others looking on, as in pp. 16-20. These should be kept in clear view of the players to aid their negotiations concerning who should put up candidates in what district.

After the candidates have been put up, the Election Sheets should be prepared, filling in the left hand column and the little numbers in the boxes that indicate the Legislative Record. Then the election is conducted; the moves consist mostly of orders to expend money in certain districts and again the proper amount of money must be included with the order. (The moves may also include voting instructions for certain blocs, according to 8.15).

About 15 minutes should be allowed for each period during a session. The election will be more time-consuming. The players may wish to agree that if more than, say, a half-hour has gone by and no Government has been formed, the game should be abandoned. Agreement should also be made concerning errors: errors not found before the next move is made should stand, since otherwise players would find making deliberate errors to their advantage.

Some rule should be agreed on to take care of the case when an order requiring the expenditure of money does not have sufficient money with it. It should NOT be left to the discretion of the offending player how his moves should be changed. In this connection, see 8.4.

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PLAYING THE GAME BY MAIL

A Gamesmaster -- a non-player who knows the rules -- is absolutely essential for postal Parlement. He should set deadlines for each move and report the results of each move promptly to the players. It is suggested that between 10 days and two weeks be allowed for each vote on a Budget or a bill, and that three weeks or more be allowed for the period in which candidates are put up in an election, since the latter can involve very complicated negotiations. The second through fourth periods of the election will need less time. Of course, no deadline, or a very long one, should be set for the period of interregnum when a Government is being formed. The Gamesmaster should report the lack of progress to the players at intervals during a protracted interregnum.

There are two possible ways to handle currency transactions in a game. One is to use play money as in the in-person game. The major disadvantage of this is the tendency of players to lose or misplace their money over the long periods of time it takes to play a mail game. If this method is tried the players should be warned to obtain a file folder for currency and other matter connected with the game. Gamesmasters who conduct more than one game should print differing currency for their different games!

The other way to run the game is for the Gamesmaster to keep accounts for each player. If the players wish to transfer money among themselves, this can be done in one of two ways (the Gamesmaster may wish to allow either one or both): (i) write a "gamecheck" and send it to the player, who then sends it to the Gamesmaster to "cash" it, or (ii) send in an order to pay the other player the amount specified, to be executed when the other moves are executed (but to be kept secret from the other players). This method has many disadvantages: (a) it is more work for the Gamesmaster; (b) when a player receives a gamecheck he may not know whether there are sufficient funds in the player's account to cover it -- this provides an opportunity for doublecrossing that does not exist in the in-person game; (c) if the Gamesmaster is not prompt in cashing gamechecks (i.e., confirming to the player receiving the check that it was valid) misunderstandings can arise: in particular, if the Gamesmaster is prompt with one player and not with another, favoritism is the result. In addition, method (ii) above provides an opportunity for doublecrossing not in the in-person game.

It is safe to say that there is no way to handle currency transactions in the postal game that is as satisfactory as play money in the in-person game.

It is suggested that the Gamesmaster use the Legislative Record sheets and the Election Sheets illustrated herein to report results of moves.

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1. All moves are due midnight of the specified deadline. However, the Gamesmaster will accept later changes and revisions if he has not yet typed up the results.
2. Deadlines will generally be set two weeks or more after the date the preceding moves are mailed out. Three weeks will be allowed during the first and third periods of elections.
3. During interregna, that is, times during which there is no Government, the Gamesmaster will notify the players periodically of the progress or lack thereof in forming Governments. The notification will specify the following, and only the following: each attempted Government, listing only the parties involved and which of the parties signed it. The specific offices to be held will not be listed; nor will the Gamesmaster announce who initiated the proposal.
4. When a proposed Government has been signed by everyone involved, the Gamesmaster will allow five days for any signer to back out. When a player signs a proposed Government for one of his factions, and then later signs a different proposal for the same faction, the later signature has the effect of canceling the earlier one. A player may withdraw his signature from a proposed Government without having to sign a new one.
5. When the Premier proposes a Government program involving bills or budget items under another player's control by 4.2, and that other player fails to approve the proposal of one of those items, the Program is voted on with that item deleted. The Premier's move (proposal of the Program) may not be conditioned on other players' assent; the assent of a player may not be conditioned on the order the bills are to be voted on or on what other bills are in the Program.
6. Other than as provided for in Rules 7 and 8, a player's position is his own and he cannot be replaced without his consent.
7. A player who misses two moves in a row will be asked by the Gamesmaster if he wishes to continue playing and will be asked to reply within a reasonable deadline. If the player does not reply, the Gamesmaster will replace him.
8. Five days before the candidate lists are due in an election, the Gamesmaster will write those players who have not yet got their lists in reminding them of the deadline. If the player's list has not arrived by the deadline, the Gamesmaster will write him again, asking him to send a list immediately or be replaced. If the Gamesmaster does not receive a list within a week, he will be replaced.
9. All players must send in standing orders on voting on bills, specifying how each of their factions will vote on each bill and budget item. These orders will be followed if the player fails to get his vote in by the deadline.
10. The Gamesmaster will keep an account for each player. All payments, including those to other players, are treated as moves and take place simultaneously at the end of the period. At the end of each period, the Gamesmaster will notify each player privately of any change in his account. Notifications will not be made at any other time.
11. To pay money to another player, a player must write an order to pay the other player the amount in question, sign it, and send it to the Gamesmaster. The transfer to the other player's account will be made at the end of the period in which the Gamesmaster received the check (unless the writer specifies a later period); the transfer may not be made sooner.
12. In balancing a player's books, promises to pay another player have higher priority than other payments. If there is insufficient money to pay all the promises, all the players will be paid first (prorating if necessary), then other payments will be made, again prorating or applying 8.4 if applicable.