

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 7 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.

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| 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 |
| 11. L; L9000 (ECB, L3000), M7000 (WK, M3000) | 36. R |
| 12. C; C8000 (SLCB), M6000 (MWK) | 37. R |
| 13. L; L8000 (SLCB), M6000 (MWK) | 38. R |
| 14. C; C8000 (SLCB), M7000 (WK, M3000) | 39. R |
| 15. L; like 13 | 40. R |
| 16. C | 41. L8000 (LCBK), S6000 (RSW) |
| 17. L | 42. C8000 (LCBK), S6000 (RSW) |
| 18. C | 43. L; like 41 |
| 19. L | 44. C; like 42 |
| 20. C | 45. L; like 41 |
| 21. SM RUNOFF; S 6000 (R, half of W, S3000), C1000 (CB), M5000 (MK, half of W) | 46. R; C8000 (LCBK), R10,500 (SW, R6500) |
| 22. S; RUNOFF; like 21 | 47. R; L8000 (LCBK), R10,500 (SW, R6500) |
| 23. SM RUNOFF; like 21 | 48. C; C8000 (LCBK), R6000 (RSW) |
| 24. SM RUNOFF; like 21 | 49. L; L8000 (LCBK), R6000 (RSW) |
| 25. S; S10,000 (R, half of W, S7000), C and M like 21 | 50. C; like 48 |

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), M7000 (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.