

# THE BRITISH PARTY GAME

## Section 1

### A General Description

The British Party Game is played by two teams of between six and twelve players. The number of players in the two teams need not be each identical. The same group of 6 - 12 players may constitute first one team and then the other team; however, if this is done certain moves (joining the other team and doing a favour for a member of the other team) are ruled out.

Play takes place during a pre-election period. The two teams are the Labour Party and the Conservative Party, and the players are M.P.'s (or, more precisely, blocs of identical M.P.'s). At the end of a predetermined period of play, the parties decide their position on each of seven issues. (These issues are the same for both parties.) After this, there are a further two minutes for play. The decisions of the Party Conferences on the seven issues are then determined, and the result of the General Election is calculated. Finally, the players work out the extent to which they have achieved their aims, and the player with the highest score is the most successful. If desired, the game may then be re-played, starting from the balance of party strengths which results from the General Election. Where the same group of players constitutes each party in succession, the determination of Party Conference decisions and of the General Election result takes place after play is completed in each party. Those taking part add together the score achieved as a member of the Labour team and that as a member of the Conservative team; the winner is the player with the highest combined score.

The policy issues, and the proportions and strengths of pro and con attitudes among M.P.'s, the Party Conferences, and the national electorate, are intended to simulate (very roughly, no doubt) the politics of the period between (roughly, again) 1954 and 1961. However, it is hoped that the structure of the game exemplifies a number of the relatively permanent strategic problems of British party politics.

The M.P.'s of a party have some common interests and some divergent interests. It is not postulated that an M.P. derives satisfaction from the mere fact of his party's winning at the General Election; but his values and the structure of the game are such that he will find that, other things being equal, a win for his party will increase his satisfaction. An M.P. may gain satisfaction from:

1. Having a policy of which he approves adopted by the party (whichever it is) that wins the General Election;
2. Having a policy of which he approves adopted by the party of which he is himself a member;
3. Retaining his seat in Parliament;
4. Achieving office as a member of the party that wins the

General Election; and

5. Being done favours by other M.P.'s.

An M.P. may lose satisfaction from not having his policies adopted, losing his seat, not getting office, doing favours, and, in addition, from not keeping promises which he has made publicly and on which he has staked his reputation. M.P.'s in the same party are liable to differ in the weights that they give to these various sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction (they may ascribe a weight of zero to some) and they are liable to differ in the policies adoption of which gives them satisfaction. These differences represent the potentialities for divergent interests among M.P.'s of the same party.

During the period of play preceding the decision on the party's programme, the main object of the players is to arrange things so that the policies adopted will be the ones providing the greatest prospect of satisfaction, either intrinsically or as a means to winning the election. The strategies by which a player may pursue this aim are various. If the decisions on policy are to be taken by a vote among the M.P.'s he may engage in log-rolling with colleagues (promise to vote a certain way on one issue in return for a promise by a colleague to vote a certain way on another issue). He may offer favours to those whose decisions are important in settling party policy. He may threaten to resign, or the others may threaten to expel him, unless certain decisions are taken. (These steps damage the player who resigns or is expelled but also damage the party's chance of winning the General Election. This is what makes them possible, though dangerous, threats for both sides.) He may also threaten to attack the party leadership publicly, which weakens its chance of winning, or he may threaten to publicize a split in the party on one or more issues of policy. This weakens the party's chance of winning the General Election indirectly, by increasing the probability that the Party Conference will disagree with decisions of the Parliamentary Party, thus again alienating the electorate.

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Section 2

The Initial Party Strengths

The result of the election is expressed in terms of percentage "swing" towards one party or the other. Thus to know who has won, it is necessary to know the initial state of the parties. This is determined before play begins, because it may crucially affect the strategic judgements of the players.

To determine the initial state of the parties and, later, the random element of the election results, a pack of playing cards with the Aces removed is required. Depending on the card drawn from the pack, the state of the parties at the outset is as follows:

<u>STATE OF PARTIES</u>		<u>CARD CUT</u>
LAB. LEAD	7%	2
	5%	3
	3%	4,5
	1%	6,7
CON. LEAD	1%	8,9
	3%	10,J
	5%	Q
	7%	K

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Section 3

Attitudes of M.P.s

I. Attitudes to Issues

Each member of a party gets seven cards, each giving his attitude on one of the seven public issues on which the party will fight the election. (These issues are the same for both parties, though the sets of cards are not the same.)

LABOUR PARTY CARDS (16 ON EACH ISSUE)

		<u>Points</u>	<u>No. of Cards</u>
		4	1
<u>Evenly divided:</u>	YES	3	1
		2	2
For Entry into the Common Market		1	3
		0	2
For further nationalization	NO	1	3
		2	2
		3	1
		4	1
		<hr/>	
		4	3
<u>Intense minority:</u>	YES	3	2
		2	1
For Unilateral disarmament by Britain		1	0
		0	1
	NO	1	2
For tightening up controls on immigration		2	4
		3	2
		4	1
<u>Weak minority:</u>			
	YES	4	2
Against decontrol of rents		3	2
		2	3
For decolonization; against Katanga		1	3
		0	2
	NO	1	2
		2	1
		3	1
		4	0
<u>Unanimity:</u>			
	YES	4	3
		3	4
Increase expenditure on welfare state		2	5
		1	3
		0	1

CONSERVATIVE PARTY CARDS (16 ON EACH ISSUE)

Evenly divided:

For decolonialization in Africa; against Katanga

Increase expenditure on welfare state

(point distribution as with Labour's evenly divided issues)

		<u>Points</u>	<u>No. of Cards</u>
<u>Intense minority</u>	YES	4	1
		3	2
		2	4
For entry into the Common Market		1	2
		0	1
For tightening up controls on immigration	NO	1	0
		2	1
		3	2
		4	3
<u>Weak minority:</u>			
Against unilateral disarmament by Britain	YES	4	2
		3	2
		2	3
		1	3
For decontrol of rents	NO	0	2
		1	2
		2	1
		3	1
<u>Unanimity</u>	YES	4	6
		3	6
		2	4
		1	0
Against further nationalization		0	0

In the Labour there is an element of factionalism, that is to say the attitudes of Labour M.P's on some issues would form a satisfactory Guttman scale. This is represented in the game by making attitude on Unilateral Disarmament a partial predictor of attitude on Further Nationalization.

Cards on Unilateral Disarmament read:

"UNIL. DIS.: FOR 4 pts; ADD 3 pts. FOR to FURTHER NAT. score"  
(up to 4 pts maximum FOR)

3 pts 2 pts

2 pts 1 pt

. .  
. .  
. .

"UNIL. DIS.: AGAINST 2 pts; ADD 1 pt AGAINST to FURTHER NAT. score"  
(up to 4 pts maximum AGAINST)

3 pts 2 pts

4 pts 3 pts

## II. Weighting of Issues

The "satisfaction" scores of players are measured in "satisfaction units" ("s.u.'s"). Players derive satisfaction in connection with policies from two sources: (i) the adoption of their preferred policy by their own party and (ii) the adoption of their preferred policy by whichever party wins the General Election. It is postulated that different M.P.'s give different relative weights to these two factors, and also give different weightings to both factors together compared with the various other sources of satisfaction.

These two kinds of variation are introduced by having a single set of cards for each party, one card out of which is dealt to each member of the party. These cards instruct the recipient how to convert the "points" set out on the seven "Issue" cards into s.u.'s.

There is a set of 12 cards for each party. (Since this is the same set for both parties, only one set is required if a single set of players are to constitute the two parties in turn.) These 12 cards are marked as follows:

3 cards: "PARTY INFIGHTER:  
POLICIES ADOPTED BY OWN PARTY, POINTS X ( $\pm$  2)  
POLICIES ADOPTED BY WINNING PARTY, POINTS X ( $\pm$  1)"

3 cards: "NOT PARTY INFIGHTER:  
POLICIES ADOPTED BY OWN PARTY, POINTS X ( $\pm$  1)  
POLICIES ADOPTED BY WINNING PARTY, POINTS X ( $\pm$  2)"

3 cards: "WEAK POLICY ORIENTATION:  
POLICIES ADOPTED BY OWN PARTY, POINTS X ( $\pm$  1)  
POLICIES ADOPTED BY WINNING PARTY, POINTS X ( $\pm$  1)"

	<u>LAB. MAJORITY</u>				<u>CONS. MAJORITY</u>			
	Evenly Divided	Intense Minority	Weak Minority	Unan- imity	Evenly Divided	Intense Minority	Weak Minority	Unan- imity
1. Entry into Com.Mkt.	YES					MAJ FOR		
2. Tighten up immigr.		MAJ AGST				MAJ FOR		
3. Incr.exp. on welf.st.				FOR				
4. Decol. in Africa			MAJ FOR					
5. Unil.dis. by Brit.		MAJ AGST					MAJ AGST	
6. Further nationaliz.	YES							AGST
7. Rent decontrol			MAJ AGST				MAJ FOR	

3 cards: "STRONG POLICY ORIENTATION:  
POLICIES ADOPTED BY OWN PARTY, POINTS X ( $\pm$  2);  
POLICIES ADOPTED BY WINNING PARTY, POINTS X ( $\pm$  2)"

If the policy is adopted, the positive score is taken; if the policy is not adopted, the negative score is taken. Thus, for example, a player who got a "Party Infighter" card, and who had an "Issue" card reading "ENTRY INTO COMMON MARKET: FOR, 3 pts.", would score as follows:

Entry adopted by own party : + 6 s.u.'s.

Entry rejected by own party : - 6 s.u.'s.

Entry adopted by election winner : + 3 s.u.'s.

Entry rejected by election winner : - 3 s.u.'s.

Obviously, if Entry is adopted by his own party and the party (whichever it is) that wins the election, he will score  $+6+3 = 9$  s.u.'s. If it is adopted by his own party but not by the party that wins the election he scores  $+6-3 = 3$  s.u.'s. If it is rejected by his own party but accepted by the party that wins the election he scores  $-6+3 = -3$  s.u.'s. And if it is rejected by both he scores  $-6-3 = -9$  s.u.'s. Thus, in general, the amount (positive or negative) by which points are to be multiplied to yield s.u.'s depends on:

- (i) whether or not the policy in question is adopted by one's own party,
- (ii) whether or not the policy in question is adopted by the other party,
- and (iii) which party wins at the General Election.

These effects are worked out in the table on the following page for each of the four kinds of card.

### III. Attitudes to Obtaining Office

Some, though not all, M.P.'s are postulated to have an interest in their party's winning at the General Election because they hope that they will obtain a government post if and only if their party wins. Strictly speaking, the score in s.u.'s from this source that is represented by the party's winning the election is made up of two elements:

- (i) the amount of satisfaction that the M.P. thinks he would derive from actually obtaining office, and
- (ii) the strength of his expectation that if his party did win the election he would be given office himself.

For convenience, these two elements are run together on a single card, to give a single score in s.u.'s representing the satisfaction the M.P. thinks he would derive from obtaining office discounted by the probability of his failing to be given office even if his party does win the



Adopted by	OWN PARTY WINS				OTHER PARTY WINS			
	Party Infighter	Not party Infighter	Weak Pol. ORIENTATION		Party Infighter	Not party Infighter	Strong Pol. ORIENTATION	
OWN PARTY OTHER PARTY	+3	+3	+2	+4	+3	+3	+2	+4
OWN PARTY -----	+3	+3	+2	+4	+1	-1	0	0
----- OTHER PARTY	-3	-3	-2	-4	-1	+1	0	0
-----	-3	-3	-2	-4	-3	-3	-2	-4

election.

Twelve cards are prepared for each party. (If only one party at a time is to be simulated, only one set of 12 cards is needed.) With six players in a party, the following six cards are dealt out to the M.P.'s:

- (a) 2 cards to read "PERMANENT BACKBENCHER : DISCOUNTED VALUE OF OFFICE = 0"
- (b) 2 cards to read "WEAKLY-MOTIVATED MINISTERIAL HOPEFUL : DISCOUNTED VALUE OF OFFICE =  $\pm 5$  s.u.'s."
- (c) 1 card to read "STRONGLY-MOTIVATED MINISTERIAL HOPEFUL : DISCOUNTED VALUE OF OFFICE =  $\pm 15$  s.u.'s."
- (d) 1 card to read "MINISTER/SHADOW MINISTER : DISCOUNTED VALUE OF OFFICE =  $\pm 30$  s.u.'s."

FOR	7	players	add	a	card	of	type	(a)
"	8	"	"	"	"	"	"	(c)
"	9	"	"	"	"	"	"	(b)
"	10	"	"	"	"	"	"	(a)
"	11	"	"	"	"	"	"	(c)
"	12	"	"	"	"	"	"	(b)

(Composition of the set of 12 cards is thus:

4 of (a), 4 of (b), 3 of (c) and 1 of (d))

The significance of the " $\pm 5$ ", " $\pm 15$ " and " $\pm 30$ " is that if the M.P.'s party wins at the General Election he scores +5, +15, or +30 s.u.'s, whereas if his party loses he scores -5, -15 or -30 s.u.'s.

#### IV. Attitudes to Retaining Seat in Parliament; Marginal Seats

It is postulated that all M.P.'s would derive some satisfaction from being returned to Parliament at the General Election, though the amount of satisfaction is liable to vary from one M.P. to another. A single set of cards contains two pieces of information:

- (i) the value of retaining his seat to the M.P., measured in s.u.'s, and
- (ii) whether the M.P.'s seat is in a marginal constituency, and, if so, to what percentage swing the seat is vulnerable.

There are twelve cards for each party. (If only one party at a time is to be simulated, only one set of 12 cards is needed.) These cards are marked as follows:

- 4 to read "SAFE SEAT: VALUE =  $\pm 5$  s.u.'s"
- 4 to read "SAFE SEAT: VALUE =  $\pm 15$  s.u.'s"
- 1 to read "MARGINAL SEAT, FALLS TO 1% SWING: VALUE =  $\pm 10$  s.u.'s"

1 to read "MARGINAL SEAT, FALLS TO 2% SWING: VALUE =  $\pm$  10 s.u.'s"  
1 to read "MARGINAL SEAT, FALLS TO 3% SWING: VALUE =  $\pm$  10 s.u.'s"  
and 1 to read "MARGINAL SEAT, FALLS TO 4% SWING: VALUE =  $\pm$  10 s.u.'s"

If an M.P. retains his seat at the General Election, he scores +5, +10 or +15 s.u.'s; if he loses it he scores -5, -10 or -15 s.u.'s.

A seat may be lost in two ways. The first is that it may be lost due to resignation or expulsion from one's original party. The rules about this are set out below in the sections on "Crossing the Floor" and "Independents". The other way of losing one's seat applies only to those who are dealt a "Marginal Seat" card and are still with their original party at the end of play. A player who gets a card saying "Marginal seat, falls to 2% swing" loses his seat if there is a swing against his party in the General Election of 2% or more; otherwise he retains his seat. (And so on.)

If a player is dealt a "Minister/Shadow Minister" card as well as a "Marginal Seat" card, the former is allowed to modify the effect of the latter to this extent: provided that his party wins the General Election he is to count as retaining his seat, even if the swing against his party is equal to or greater than that to which his seat is vulnerable. The rationale of this is that it is supposed his party will find him another seat in place of that he has lost, so long as it gets a majority.

#### V. Disclosure of Attitudes

Players turn face up all the cards they are dealt except the seven cards defining their position on the seven issues. How far they are to disclose the contents of these is determined by a "Disclosure" card, one of which is dealt to each player. There are 12 cards for each party. (If only one party at a time is to be simulated, only one set of 12 cards is needed.)

1 "DISCLOSURE: OPEN BOOK"  
10 "DISCLOSURE: STANDARD"  
1 "DISCLOSURE: NEW MEMBER"

A player who receives a "Disclosure: Open Book" card turns his seven "Issue" cards face upwards.

Other players keep their seven "Issue" cards face downwards throughout the game. Such a player is not allowed to show these cards to any other player, even if he would like to. Nor can he use a line on his credit sheet (see below) in order to guarantee the truth of his assertions about the content of these cards: public promises (i.e.

promises with sanctions) can be made only in respect of future behaviour - not in respect of attitudes. (Of course, any player may make private - non-enforceable - promises about the contents of these cards.)

The difference between "Standard" and "New Member" cards is that the possessor of the latter is not allowed to provide any guaranteed information about the content of his issue cards. (This does not, of course, mean that he cannot tell the truth about them; but he cannot prove that it is the truth.) The possessors of "Standard" cards, however, have to fill in correctly a section of the "Credit sheet" (see below) which requires them to indicate whether they are FOR on each issue; they may not provide any other information (e.g. the actual point values involved, or whether if they are not "for" this is because they are "against" or because they do not derive any score from the issue in question).

SECTION OF CREDIT SHEET

	ISSUE	TICK IF "FOR"
1	_____	_____
2	_____	_____
3	_____	_____
4	_____	_____
5	_____	_____
6	_____	_____
7	_____	_____

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#### Section 4

##### The Decision-Making Process in the Parliamentary Parties

Play is started by a time-keeper (who may be one of the players) after the cards have been dealt out and the players have (where relevant) filled in the section of their Credit Sheets that gives their attitudes (whether "For" or not) on the seven issues. The M.P.'s of the party must settle their election programme (i.e. the parliamentary party's stand) on each of the seven issues by the end of a pre-determined period (e.g. 2 hours) from the time that play begins. After the programme has been settled, play continues for a further two minutes. The words "settling the programme" are left deliberately vague, because the method by which this is to be done varies from one party to the other. In the Labour Party each issue is voted on separately (with open voting), and the majority view prevails. (The player with the Minister/Shadow Minister card has a casting vote.) The order of voting is to be settled in advance, also by majority voting. In the Conservative Party, the player who is dealt the "Minister/Shadow Minister" card is the Leader of the Party. He decides personally what the programme is to be, so long as he is Leader. If and only if he is expelled, he ceases to be Leader and some other member of the party is elected in his stead. (This player now gives obtaining office a discounted value of  $\pm 30$  s.u.'s.)

If the Labour M.P. with Minister/Shadow Minister card is expelled, another member is elected in his place. This member now gives obtaining office a discounted value of  $\pm 30$  s.u.'s but (like the original Minister/Shadow Minister) has no special powers, except for a casting vote to break ties.

The object of each player is to maximize his score in s.u.'s at the end of the game. Since most players will derive s.u.'s from getting certain policies adopted rather than others and from their party's winning the election (each of these being both directly beneficial and means to each other) a complex bargaining situation exists. Certain formal moves are catered for in the game, as follows:

#### I. "Party Disunity" Cards

Each player is dealt a "Party Disunity" card for each of the seven issues, reading "COMMON MARKET: PARTY DISUNITY" etc. One or more of these cards may be played (by placing it in a central pool for that party) at any time during the period of play - i.e. until two minutes after the programme has been settled. Once played such a card cannot be taken back again.

Playing a "Party Disunity" card increases the probability that the Party Conference will disagree with the stand on the same issue taken by the Parliamentary Party (Labour) or the Leader (Conservative).

## II. "Weak Leadership" Cards

Each player is dealt one "Weak Leadership" card, and one "Weak Leadership - Charge Withdrawn" card. A "Weak Leadership" card may be played (by putting it in the party's central pool) at any time during the period of play. If a "Weak Leadership" card has been played, the same player may subsequently withdraw it, but he must then substitute in its place his "Weak Leadership - Charge Withdrawn" card. If this double manoeuvre is carried out during the period of play before the party programme is settled, the player may (in the closing two minutes, after the programme is settled) play his "Weak Leadership" card a second time. In this event, the "Weak Leadership - Charge Withdrawn" card stays in the central pool, and the second playing of the "Weak Leadership" card is also irrevocable.

The effect of a "Weak Leadership" card in the party's central pool at the end of play is to produce (pro tanto) a swing against the party. A "Weak Leadership - Charge Withdrawn" card has a similar effect but of only half the size.

## III. Expulsion and Resignation

In the Conservative Party, any member may be expelled at any time by the Leader, except that any member of the party may make a counter-proposal that the Leader be expelled instead. The person whom the Leader wishes to expel and the Leader himself may both vote on this proposition, and, if it is carried, the Leader is expelled but not the person the Leader wished to expel. Any member may at any time propose that the Leader be expelled, and until this is voted on the Leader's ex officio powers (including expulsion) lapse. If the Leader is expelled, the member elected to fill the vacancy takes over all the powers of the Leader.

In the Labour Party, members may be expelled by majority vote. (The member in question may take part in the voting.)

An M.P. may be re-admitted to one of the parties by the procedure that the party uses for expulsion (i.e. the Leader's decision in the Conservative Party and majority vote in the Labour Party). There is no limit on the number of times an M.P. may be expelled and re-admitted.

A member of a party may resign from it at any time during the period of play. He may be subsequently re-admitted as in the previous paragraph.

While an M.P. is not a member of a political party he cannot play

"Party Disunity" and "Weak Leadership" cards. He has to take back those that he has played while a member of the party. Only members of the party at the time can vote on the party programme.

Players who are not a member of either party at a certain time are Independents. A player who is an Independent at the end of the period of play scores the appropriate number of s.u.'s for the adoption of the positions that he favours on the issues by the party that wins the General Election. He cannot score anything for the adoption of his preferred policies by his own party, because he does not have one. He automatically loses his seat at the General Election, and thus also fails to obtain office.

An M.P. who is still a member of his original party at the end of the period of play, but who has been expelled from it or has resigned from it at some time during play, scores only one half of his maximum s.u.'s from obtaining office, even if he keeps his seat at the General Election. (If he loses his seat, though, he deducts the full s.u. score for obtaining office.) An ex-Minister/Shadow Minister who is re-admitted loses the immunity to losing his seat that he had previously enjoyed provided his party won the election; and he scores +15 or -30 depending on whether he retains or loses his seat.

#### IV. Crossing the Floor

When the British Party Game is being played by two teams simultaneously (representing the two parties) an M.P. who is expelled, or resigns, from one party may apply to join the other. The same procedure is used by the party he wishes to join to determine whether his application succeeds as is used by it in order to expel members.

If, at the end of the period of play, an M.P. is a member of the opposite party from that in which he started, he computes his score on the Issues in just the same way as if he were still in his original party, though of course he now counts his "own" party as his new one. As far as retaining a seat in Parliament is concerned, he disregards the "Safe Seat" or "Marginal Seat" card that he was dealt with and instead gives himself a one in three chance of being returned as an M.P. of his new party. (I.e. he rolls a die and is returned if he gets a 5 or 6.) If he keeps his seat, he also scores half the positive value of his value-of-office units; otherwise he scores the full negative amount of his value-of-office units.

#### (Note: Records of Moves

A few record cards are kept in reserve so that players can keep track of moves that affect the party's chances in the election but do not involve the playing of individual cards. These record cards are as follows:

- (i) "MEMBER EXPELLED/RESIGNED"
- (ii) "EX-MEMBER READMITTED TO PARTY"
- (iii) "EX-MEMBER OF OTHER PARTY ADMITTED"

It is the responsibility of the Minister/Shadow Minister of a party to put the relevant cards into his party's pool along with the individual cards that have been played. It should be observed that if a (ii) is put into the pool, a (i) may be removed from it. But a (ii) once played cannot be subsequently removed, even if the same player is expelled or resigns again. If an M.P. joins the opposite party but is then expelled or resigns, the (iii) card is kept in the party's pool, but a (i) has to be added to it.)

#### V. Patronage

The player in each party with the "Minister/Shadow Minister" card is allowed to draw one "PATRONAGE" card from a central pool. (With 10-12 players to a team he may draw two.) These cards may be given to any Ministerial Hopeful (whether strongly or weakly motivated) in his own party. The effect of this is to increase the discounted value that the recipient attaches to obtaining office from  $\pm 5$  s.u.'s to  $\pm 10$  s.u.'s or from  $\pm 15$  s.u.'s to  $\pm 25$  s.u.'s.

If the recipient of a "Patronage" card is expelled from or resigns from the party whose Minister/Shadow Minister has given him the card, he must give it back. The Minister/Shadow Minister can then re-use it if he wishes.

If the Minister/Shadow Minister is expelled from his party, his "Patronage" cards (whether already assigned or not) are given to the newly-elected Minister/Shadow Minister, who may dispose of them as he wishes.

#### VI. Favours

Each player starts the game with four "FAVOUR CONFERRED": +2 s.u.'s" cards. These may be given to any other player (whether he is a member of the same party or not) at any time during the period of play. A player who receives a "Favour Conferred" card may at any time give it away again. A player may give away any number of "Favour Conferred" cards to the same player at one time.

At the end of the game, each player adds to his final score 2 s.u.'s for each "Favour Conferred" card in his possession, including any that he has not used since the start of the game. (Thus doing favours in effect always costs 2 s.u.'s.)



### VII. Promises (or Threats)

At the start of the game, each player is issued with a Credit Sheet. This contains ten lines on each of which the player can write a public promise, on which his credit with other M.P.'s is staked. A player may stake any number of s.u.'s on any promise, subject to the overall limitation that the number of s.u.'s staked in the course of a game shall not exceed 50. If the promise contained on a certain line is broken by the player making it, the player writes "FORFEIT" in the space provided, and the number of s.u.'s he has staked on the promise is deducted from his score at the end of the game.

Promises are not, strictly speaking, made to other players; they are public statements of intent upon which the player stakes his reputation for keeping his word and thus his future credibility. A promise may be made concerning any legitimate move in the game: thus a player may promise to vote for or against a given policy, or to abstain on it (a promise may be made about only one policy to one line on the Credit Sheet); he may promise to play or not to play a "Party Disunity" card, a "Weak Leadership" card, a "Weak Leadership - Charge Withdrawn" card, a "Patronage" card, or one or more "Favour" cards (with the exception of the last, a player may make a promise about only one card per line); he may promise to vote a certain way on some intra-party issue such as expulsion, re-admittance or order of business; or he may promise to resign, apply for admittance to a party etc. (or not to do so). The carrying out of these promises may (and usually will) be made contingent upon some specified behaviour of another player or other players, a certain proposal's getting a majority or failing to do so, and so on. These contingencies should be set out in the terms of the promise.

Promises can be made only by a member of a political party; Independents cannot make promises. If a player is expelled from or resigns from his party any promises that he has made which have not already been broken are cancelled. (In other words, all promises that do not already have "Forfeit" beside them have "Cancelled" written beside them.) These lines may not be re-used if he subsequently joins a party; nor are the promises re-activated if he rejoins his original party. However, any unused lines become available again if he becomes a member of a political party later.

Sample Credit Sheet (top half only):

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Party \_\_\_\_\_

	PROMISE	No. of s.u.'s staked	Running total of s.u.'s staked	Whether Stake is Forfeit
1		5	5	FORFEIT
2		3	8	
3		10	18	FORFEIT
4		5	23	
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

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Section 5

Party Conference Decisions

After play has ended for both parties, the decisions of the party conferences on the seven issues are determined by throws of a die. Other things being equal, the probability that the party conference will disagree with the parliamentary party on an Issue (with deleterious consequences for the party in the General Election) is greater the more "Party Disunity" cards have been played on that Issue. (In other words, the party conference is more intractable if the parliamentary leadership is divided.) However, it is also postulated that on most of the Issues the party conference will have a built-in bias towards one side or the other, so the effects of Party Disunity cards are superimposed on this initial bias.

The fractions given in the table are probabilities of the party conference's accepting the decision of the parliamentary party; and this is shown to depend on what that decision is and on how many Party Disunity (P.D.) cards have been played on that Issue. Where "1" is shown this means that under the given circumstances the parliamentary party's policy is certainly accepted by the conference.

Example: top left fraction. If the Parliamentary Labour Party decides "Yes" on seeking entry to the Common Market and no Party Disunity cards have been played, there are five chances out of six that the Labour Party Conference will also vote "Yes" on the Issue.

With 8 or 9 players to a team, subtract one Party Disunity card from the number actually played to get the number to be read in the top of the table. (I.e. count 1 as None, 2 as 1, and 3 as 2.) With 10, 11 or 12 players, halve the number of Party Disunity cards actually played to get the number to be read in the top of the table. (I.e. count 1 as None, 2 or 3 as 1, and 4 or 5 as 2.)

	LABOUR						CONSERVATIVE					
	PARL. PTY. "YES"			PARL. PTY. "NO"			PARL. PTY. "YES"			PARL. PTY. "NO"		
	No P.D. Cards	1 P.D. Card	2 P.D. Cards	No P.D. Cards	1 P.D. Card	2 P.D. Cards	No P.D. Cards	1 P.D. Card	2 P.D. Cards	No P.D. Cards	1 P.D. Card	2 P.D. Cards
1. Entry into Com.Mkt.	5/6	4/6	3/6	1	5/6	4/6	5/6	4/6	3/6	5/6	4/6	3/6
2. Tighten up immig.	4/6	3/6	2/6	1	5/6	4/6	1	5/6	4/6	3/6	2/6	1/6
3. Incr. exp. on welfare state	1	5/6	4/6	3/6	2/6	1/6	5/6	4/6	3/6	1	5/6	4/6
4. Decol. in Africa	1	5/6	4/6	4/6	3/6	2/6	3/6	2/6	1/6	1	5/6	4/6
5. Unil. disarm. by G.B.	5/6	4/6	3/6	4/6	3/6	2/6	4/6	3/6	2/6	1	5/6	4/6
6. Nationalization	5/6	4/6	3/6	3/6	2/6	1/6	3/6	2/6	1/6	1	5/6	4/6
7. Rent decontrol	3/6	2/6	1/6	1	5/6	4/6	1	5/6	4/6	4/6	3/6	2/6

Section 6

Calculating the Election Result

I. Non-random Swing

The non-random swing at the General Election depends on the extent to which one party is superior to the other in satisfying the electorate. It is postulated that the electorate has a taste (a) for certain policy decisions and (b) for parties which are not torn by internal conflict.

(a) Policy-based Swing

If the two parties adopt the same stand on an Issue (both For or both Against) there is no policy-based swing on that Issue. If, however, the parties take an opposite stand on an Issue, the party that takes the side supported by the greater weight (intensity x number) of sentiment among the electorate gains a certain size swing, as follows:

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>PARTY STAND</u>	<u>SWING TO</u>
1. Entry into Com.Mkt.	Against	0.3%
2. Tighten up immig.	For	0.8%
3. Incr. exp. on welfare state	For	0.9%
4. Decol. in Africa	No effect on result	
5. Unil. disarm. by G.B.	Against	0.6%
6. Nationalization	Against	0.7%
7. Rent decontrol	Against	0.8%

Thus, for example, if the Parliamentary Labour Party decides against Entry into the Common Market while the Parliamentary Conservative Party decides in favour, this produces a swing to Labour of 0.3%.

(b) Conflict-based Swing

(i) Each "Weak Leadership" card in the Conservative pool counts 0.6% (0.3%) against; each "Weak Leadership" card in the Labour pool counts 0.4% (0.2%) against.

(ii) Each "Weak Leadership - Charge Withdrawn" card counts 0.3% (0.15%) against the Conservative Party and 0.2% (0.1%) against the Labour Party.

(iii) Each "Member Expelled/Resigns" card in the pool counts 1.0% (0.5%) against the party.

(iv) Each "Member Re-admitted" card counts 0.5% (0.25%) against the party.

(v) Each "Member of other party admitted" card counts 0.5% (0.25%) for the party doing the admitting.

Note: in the above, (i) - (v), the percentages in brackets are to be taken where there were 10, 11 or 12 players in the party at the start of the game.

(vi) Disagreement between the decision of the Parliamentary Party (or the Leader) and the Party Conference counts 0.6% against the Conservative Party and 0.9% against the Labour Party.

II. Random Swing

Net non-random swing is obtained by calculating the net swing to each party (counting swing against as negative swing to) and subtracting the smaller from the larger.

Example

		<u>LABOUR</u>	<u>CONSERVATIVE</u>
ISSUE-BASED SWING		1.1	1.5
	{ (i)	-0.4	-0.6
	{ (ii)	----	-0.15
CONFLICT-BASED SWING	{ (iii)	----	----
	{ (iv)	-0.5	----
	{ (v)	----	----
	{ (vi)	-0.9	-0.6
SWING TO:		-0.7	+0.15

NET NON-RANDOM SWING TO CONSERVATIVES = 0.85%

To arrive at the overall swing in the General Election, a random element is added to this figure, representing fortuitous factors such as the state of the economy, election scares, advertising successes etc. This random swing is obtained by cutting a pack of cards with the Aces removed, as follows:

<u>SWING TO LABOUR</u>	2%	Hearts or Diamonds	K
	1.8		Q
	1.6		J
	1.4		10
	1.2		9
	1.0		8,7
	0.8		6
	0.6		5
	0.4		4
	0.2		3
	0	2 of any suit	

SWING TO CONSERVATIVES	0.2	Clubs or Spades	3
	0.4		4
	0.6		5
	0.8		6
	1.0		7,8
	1.2		9
	1.4		10
	1.6		J
	1.8		Q
	2		K

Example:

{	Net non-random swing to Conservatives	=	0.85%
{	Random swing to Labour	=	0.2%
	Overall swing to Conservatives	=	0.65%
	To nearest one percent	=	<u>1.0%</u>

### III. Which Party Wins

To see which party has won the General Election all that is necessary is to adjust the Initial State of the Parties by the swing. It should be remembered that, since a 1% swing represents a gain of one voter in a hundred for one party and an equivalent loss for the other party, a 1% swing towards a party changes the state of the parties by 2%. For example, if at the beginning of the game the Labour Party had a lead of 5% over the Conservative Party, a swing of 1% to the Conservatives would produce the result that the Labour Party led by 3%. If the Labour Party had led by only 1%, a 1% swing to the Conservatives would have put them in the lead by 1%.