Rules for *Die Macher*

Karl-Heinz Schmiel

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"Die Macher" is the battle for control in Bonn. Four parties (players) compete for the most seats in the Federal election at the end of the game. But first, they must go through the Regional Elections, because the results in the Regions form the basis for the Federal Election.

The path to victory is long, and requires a number of decisions: outlining the party's Platform, striking Coalition agreements, organization of campaign meetings, setting up the Shadow Cabinet, purchasing opinion polls, negotiation, manipulation, and smears (*hetzen*, to annoy, provoke, egg on). Your most important resource is money. But money is tight, and the campaign expensive. As a last resort there are contributions from special interests.

A high-carat, complex game that holds the players in suspense for four hours.

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1 Game Equipment

1 **Bonn** board

4 Regional boards

11 Region cards

1 Regional Election pad (white)

1 Bonn pad (blue)

- Wooden playing pieces (in four colors):

  Party Conferences (flat squares): 1 Ordinary (large)
  2 Special (small)

  Party Bases (pawns): 7 single unit pieces (small)
  3 five-unit pieces (medium)
  4 ten-unit pieces (large)

  5 Media tokens (cylinders)

  4 Trend disks (disks with the 'fist' symbol)

  15 Campaign Meetings (small cubes)

  8 Vote share indicators (small cubes)

- Game cards

  24 Opinion Poll cards (**Umfrage**)

  42 Party platform cards (**Programm**)

  48 Opinion cards (**Meinung**)

  28 Shadow Cabinet cards (**Schattenkabinett**)

  1 Donation card (**Spenden**)

3 dice (each with 3 blanks, two '1', and one '2')

1 Debate doubler (disk marked '2')

4 Game Sequence References

- Game money
- Game rules

2 Advice on reading the rules

Find someone who reads German; the Just Games *folk did not see fit to translate this section, and it is probably unimportant. It seems to say mainly that sections 7 is the core of the game.*

3 Object of the Game

The object of the game is to rise to power in Bonn. To this end, one's party must win the most seats in the Federal Election at the end of the game. The result of the Federal Election is given by the following formula:

$$(10m + 10\ddot{u} + p) \times s$$

where

$10m$	is	Media tokens in Bonn times 10
$10\ddot{u}$	is	Agreements of a party Platform with the Federal Opinion, times 10
p	is	number of Party Bases
s	is	Number of votes in Bonn

The determination of the election outcome in Bonn is the sum of ($M \times 10 + \ddot{U} \times 10 + P$) multiplied by S. The party with the highest total wins the game.

4 Preparation

4.1 Placing the Boards

The Bonn board is placed at the head of the table. It shows, in conjunction with the blue pad, the current standings of the parties. To the right, place the four Regional boards. From the eleven Region cards, select four and place each one face up above a Regional board. Also place three Region cards face down at the end of the row of boards. The remaining four Region cards will play no part in the game.

4.2 Player Equipment

Each player has, in his or her color, the following wooden pieces:

Party Conferences (flat squares): 1 Ordinary (large)
2 Special (small)

Party Bases (pawns): 7 unit pieces (small)
3 five-unit pieces (medium)
4 ten-unit pieces (large)

5 Media tokens (cylinders)

4 Trend disks (disks with the 'fist' symbol)

8 Vote share indicators (small cubes)

15 Campaign Meetings (small cubes, to be kept separate from the vote share indicators)[1]

[1] My set seems to have 16, not 15, Meeting cubes

Party Platform

Each player receives a Central Platform (**Programm**) card which is never changed during the course of the game. The cards are:

CDU (black)	Freiheitliche Grundordnung (Civil Liberties)
SPD (red)	Gewerkschaft (Trade Unions)
FDP (yellow)	Markwirtschaft (Free Market)
Grüne (green)	Umweltschutz (Environment)

Each player then receives four additional, different Platform cards. A duplicate or contradictory card is returned to the deck. (For example, if a player has *Atomkraft JA* and draws *Atomkraft NEIN*, the latter is discarded and another drawn). The remaining cards form the Platform deck. There are three duplicates in the deck for each platform position.

Shadow Cabinet

Each player secretly selects five of his or her seven **Schattenkabinett**[2] cards to play in the course of the game. The other two cards are discarded face down. The individual personalities have varying capabilities and varying costs.

Money

Each player receives 2,000 as starting funds.

4.3 Setting up the Boards

Four Opinion (**Meinung**) cards areplaced on each of the Regional boards. On the Region nearest to Bonn, all four cards are placed face up. This is the current Election Region, in which elections will occur after a Campaign Round. On the next board, three cards are face up and one face down, on the next two up and two down, and on the last one up and three down.

Duplicate or contradictory Opinions in a Region are removed to one side, face up (and, although this is not explicit here, are replaced), to form the Undecided Opinion Deck, important because it is only from this deck that Regional opinions can later be changed. This deck must begin with at least four cards, filled out to this number if necessary. The remaining Opinion cards are placed face down to form the Concealed Opinion Deck.

Each player places his or her Trend disks on the four Regional playing boards, with the thumbs in the horizontal position. Each player also places a vote-share cube on the '0' of one of the voting share (**Stimmanteile**) scales on each board.

[2] "This is what they call officials of the opposition party, who functionally correspond to the ministers of the ruling party, and who will, in the event of victory, of course become ministers." — R. Fössmeier.

The other four cubes come into play when the party reaches '10' in its share of the vote in that Region.

5 The Game

Play comprises seven Regional Elections. Each is preceded by a Campaign in all four of the openly exposed Regions. The Campaign sequence is:

- Holding Party Conferences
- Deploying the Shadow Cabinet
- Forming a Coalition
- Buying Media coverage
- Organizing Campaign Meetings
- Taking an Opinion Poll
- Regional Assessment

After each Campaign Round the vote takes place in the current election Region. This vote affects the game standings in Bonn (Media tokens, Federal Opinion, Votes in Bonn, Party Bases). Each players player receives financial support based on the results of the election and the strength of the Party Bases. Each party can also accept contributions to its work.

After an election, the Region card is removed from the game. The board is cleared and moved to the last place in the row of boards and gets the next Region card. A new Campaign begins.

At the end of the seven Regional elections, the Federal election takes place for power in Bonn. The basis for the Federal election is the results of the Regional elections (votes, media, party bases, and agreement of the platforms with the Federal opinion).

6 Starting Round

This first round sets up the initial positions. No payments are made for any actions in this round.

Setting the Vote Share

Each player may distribute 15 Vote shares among the four Regional boards, by moving the vote share indicator cube up the scale. The shares are placed five at a time in three rounds. Each batch of five votes may be placed in any combination on the four exposed Regions. The first player is randomly selected, and the others follow in clockwise order.

Distribution of Campaign Meetings
Each player may place nine of the fifteen Meeting cubes onto the **Wahlveranstaltungen** spaces. This takes place in three round of three blocks each, in the same manner as Vote Shares. The first player is again chosen at random, and the others follow.

Placing Media Tokens
Each player may place one Media token in one of the four Regions. The first player is chosen at random, and the others follow.

Establishing Party Bases
Each player places three Party Bases (small pawns) in Bonn.

7 The Campaign Sequence

For all actions in the Campaign there is a single first player, with the others following in clockwise order. The first player is the one who has the highest Vote Share in the current election Region. Ties are broken, in order, by Campaign Meetings (**Wahlveranstaltungen**), Media counters, and agreement of the Regional Opinion with party Platform.

7.1 Party Conferences

Party Conferences give the players the opportunity to rearrange their Party Platform to come closer to the present public opinion in the Regions and in Bonn.

The first player announces whether or not he will hold a Party Conference. To do so, he places a square Conference plaque on the current Region card. The other players follow in order. A Conference may be an Ordinary Conference or a Special Conference.

Special Conference (small square) Cost: 500
One party Platform may be exchanged for *any* platform from the Platform deck. Alternatively, the player may forego a change in Platform and increase his or her Party Base by three tokens.

Ordinary Conference (large square) Cost: 700
The player may exchange two program cards *and* increase his or her Party Base by three tokens.

Each party may only hold two Special and one Ordinary Conference during the course of the game. Used Conference plaques are removed from the game after play.

After the Conferences, each player may increase Party Base in Bonn by as many pawns as his or her party Platform is in agreement with the Opinions of the current Region. Count only Opinions in agreement, not those in disagreement.

7.2 Deploying the Shadow Cabinet

The party hierarchy, or Shadow Cabinet, gives a player the opportunity to improve party standing in the Regions. It is also the method by which Coalitions may be formed.

The first player announces whether he will send a Cabinet member to one of the four Regions. To do so, he places a card face down on the respective Region card. Other players follow in clockwise order, either playing or passing, with players passing having no further opportunity to send Cabinet members that Turn. Play continues until all four players pass. A player may send more than one Cabinet member to the same Region. Cards are then revealed in order, and players pay the Cabinet members' expenses as marked on the card.

Each Cabinet member may carry out a single action (see below), and is then discarded. The first player selects an action for one of his Cabinet members, then the others follow. When all the Cabinet members have acted, the round ends.

The range of actions possible for each Cabinet member is shown on his or her card, and are carried out in the Region to which the member was sent. It should be noted that rival Cabinet members may cancel the action of a previous player.

S: **S**hare. Increase the Vote Share by the number indicated.

R: (**R**hetoric) Debate. The visit focuses attention on an issue in *the current Region*. Place the ×2 disk on a selected Opinion card. This disk may *not* be removed by the action of a following player, nor by Media control nor the Regional assessment.

M: **M**edia campaign. The visit represents a major media campaign in the Region. The player may remove another player's Media token and replace it with one of his own. He then pays a bribe of 800 to that player.

P: **P**opularity. The visit boosts party popularity by the number shown. The player turns his own Trend disk upward by the appropriate number.

H: (**H**ate) A smear campaign (*Hetze*). The player may turn another party's Trend disk in the downard direction by the appropriate number.

Turning the Trend Disk

There are five positions for the Trend disk, ranging from the most favorable (two thumbs up) to the least favorable (two thumbs down) as follows:

Two thumbs up
One thumb up
Thumb horizontal

One thumb down
Two thumbs down

For example, if a disk begins with one thumb down, and is increased by two steps, it will be placed with one thumb up.

The position of the Trend disk affects the conversion from Campaign Meetings to voting share, as follows:

One or two thumbs up:	Multiply by 2
Thumb horizontal:	Multiply by 1
One or two thumbs down:	Multiply by $\frac{1}{2}$

The conversion from Meetings to voting shares is also affected by Regional Opinion, as described in Section 7.7.

7.3 Forming Coalitions

Coalitions may be formed in the current voting Region with the help of visiting Cabinet members, in order to jointly win the Regional election. There must be a Cabinet member from both parties present, and both members must have the letter **K** on their cards. Two parties may form a coalition if they have at least two Platform positions in common, and both parties agree to the Coalition. If two parties have three or more Platform positions in common, either party may force the other into a Coalition. If more than one coalition is possible, the Party with the *fewest* votes in Bonn has the first option, then then next fewest, and so no.

The votes of both parties in a Coalition are added together when the Regional vote is calculated. If a Coalition has a plurality[3] (more votes than any one party or the other Coalition), the Coalition wins the election. Both parties receive the benefits of victory (see Section 8.2).

When Cabinet members visit Regions other than the current election Region, their cards should remain on the Region and move with it if they are marked with a **K** and thus could help form a Coalition. They may take no further action, but may be joined by other **K** cards.

7.4 Buying Media

The purchase of Media tokens gives a player the opportunity to influence a Region's media. This enables the player to influence public opinion and negate the effects of unfavorable opinion polls.

The first player may purchase exactly one Media token and place it in one of the four Regions. The cost of a Media token is 400. The next player may then

[3] The *Just Games* translation says 'simple majority' here, but the German phrase *einfache Mehrheit* can also be translated as 'plurality'. In any case, the clarification in the rules makes it clear that a plurality is intended. It is also possible that the British take 'simple majority' to mean 'plurality'.

purchase one token, and so on until all four players pass consecutively. Each Region has only five Media spaces; more Media tokens may not be placed there.

After the purchases, each Region is examined to see if anyone has a plurality of Media tokens. If one player has thus achieved *media control*, that player may exchange one Opinion card in that Region with any card from the Undecided Opinion deck (Exception: an opinion marked with the 2 > counter from a Debate may not be exchanged). Media control also protects that party from adverse Trends from Opinion Polls, i.e., that party's Trend marker in this Region may not be turned downward.

The presence of a Media token in the voting Region allows the winner to move one Media token to Bonn.

7.5 Campaign Meetings

These[4]are the core party work. They form the basis for the gathering of the vote share. They are thus central to the outcome of the Regional elections.

Campaign Meetings are limited to 10 per Region. More may not be placed in a single Region. However, the conversion of Meetings to voting shares will make room for more Meetings.

The first player may pay for Campaign Meetings and allocate them to the four open Regions. The cost for each Meeting is 100. A player may place up to four Meetings in each Region per Campaign Round. The cubes are placed in the appropriate boxes on the Regional board. The other players follow in sequence.

7.6 Opinion Polls

Opinion polls give the players the opportunity to improve their parties' Trends and damage their opponents'.

Polls are auction for each of the four Regions in turn, beginning with the current election Region; the starting player for the appropriate Region makes the opening bid. Players bid in sequence, making either a higher bid or a pass. Once a player has passed in an auction, that party may not re-enter the bidding. The Poll cards enable the buyer to affect the Trends of two parties.

The player with the highest bid must purchase one or more Poll cards, paying the bid price for each card. The cards must be purchased as a group, without seeing the first cards before drawing more. The purchaser may now decide whether to publish the results of one of the Poll cards. To do so, the card is revealed and trend markers must be moved, one up and one down. The player may move either of the Trend disks of the parties indicated above the line, in a

[4] "*Wahlveranstaltungen* are campaign meetings, where a candidate speaks to the public, either in a hall our outdoors. If in a hall, usually only people who are already sympathetic show up, so the effect is small. Outdoors, opponents show up showing tomatoes or eggs, so there is more danger." — R. Fössmeier

positive direction. The higher party must have its disk moved up by two levels, or the party above the line by one level. One of the parties below the line must be moved negatively; the lowest party by two levels, or the other by one level. Recall that a party with Media Control may not be negatively affected (see Section 7.4).

The published Poll is discarded along with any unpublished Poll cards. Play then continues with the next Regions with the same sequence of auction, publication, and turning of Trend disks. The setting of the Trend disk is important in the conversion of campaign Meetings to vote shares as it can halve or double the conversion.

7.7 Regional Assessment

Regional Assessment only takes place in the three Regions that are not the current election Region. It is an appraisal of the effectiveness of the campaign so far.

The players decide whether to convert their Regional campaign Meetings to vote share, in whole or in part, or not at all. The starting player for the appropriate Region decides first, then the others in turn. The conversion of Meetings to vote share follows the formula:

$$\text{Meetings} \times \text{Trend} \times \text{Agreement}$$

Meetings: The number of Meeting cubes that the player wishes to convert.

Trend: The Trend multiplier depends on the current state of the party's Trend in the Region:

Thumbs horizontal:	$\times 1$
One or two thumbs up:	$\times 2$
One or two thumbs down:	$\times \frac{1}{2}$

Agreement : This is the number of party Platform policies that agree with the Region's Opinions. Each agreement provides one point, while each opposite policy deducts one point. An Opinion with the $\times 2$ Debate marker counts as double, either positive or negative. The minimum Agreement factor is 1, even if the total would be zero or negative.

Example:

5 Meetings converted	$\Rightarrow 5$
Trend: one thumb up	$\Rightarrow 2$
Agreement: two agree, one opposite	$\Rightarrow 1$

Total change= $5 \times 2 \times 1 = 10 \Rightarrow$ Voting share increased by 10 points.

The highest possible vote share in a Region is 50; any points above this are lost. After the assessment, each Region is checked to see if any one party has an absolute majority of the voting share. Such a party is entitled to exchange any one Regional Opinion with any card from the Undecided Opinion deck.

8 Regional Election

8.1 Regional Results

The Regional election takes place in the current election Region and follows the sequence described in Sections 8.1–8.5, after which the next Campaign Round begins. The first step is the conversion of Meetings to voting shares. This takes place as per Section 7.7, except that there is *no* option to change Opinion cards.

The final vote tally is taken with the aid of the white pad. For each Party, enter the following information:

Mandate **M**:	This number is found under the table **Mandatsverteilung** in the Region card for the current Region.
Überstimmung **Ü**:	The number of party Platform agreements with the Regional Opinions. The Opinion with $\times 2$ counts double, but opposing Opinions are *not* deducted.
Stimmanteile **S**:	The party's total voting share in the Region, to a maximum of 50.

The voting result is calculated by the formula:

$$(M + \ddot{U}) \times S$$

This figure is entered in the *Stimmen für Bonn* ('Votes for Bonn') section, and also on the blue pad. After each Regional election the votes for Bonn should be entered on the blue pad immediately so that the current standings are visible to everyone.

8.2 Winning a Regional Election

The party or Coalition with the highest vote total is the Regional winner. In case of tie, there are multiple winners.

The Regional winner may place a Media token in Bonn if that party has a Media token in the voting Region. The winner may also transfer two Regional Opinion cards to Bonn, *except* for central party Policy cards (i.e., only cards with *Ja* or *Nein* may be transferred). If there is already a like Opinion card of that type in Bonn, the second (or third) card is added and adds to that Opinion's strength. If there is an opposing Opinion in Bonn, two opposites cancel each other out and the cards return to the Undecided Opinion deck. Otherwise the card just forms the new Federal Opinion.

If a party wins an absolute majority, the player may transfer three Regional Opinion cards to Bonn.

If a Coalition wins, each member may place a Media token in Bonn, and each may transfer *one* Regional Opinion. If the coalition wins an absolute majority, the stronger Party transfers two, then the other one.

Each party may add Bases to Bonn; for each agreement between the party's Platform and the Federal Opinion, one Base may be added. Opposing Opinions or added Federal Opinion cards do not alter the total.

8.3 Campaign Funding

Each party receives funding equal to ten times the number of votes for Bonn received in the Regional election, rounded to the next hundred.
Example: If the CDU gets 442 votes in the Bayern election, they also receive 4500 ($442 \times 10 = 4420$, rounded up) as party income.

Each party also receives income from their party base. For each Party Base, a party receives 100.

8.4 Party Donations

Before the new Campaign Round, each player may accept one Donation to the party warchest. There are four sources for Donations (Pankow[5], Kirche (Church), Banken (banks), and Flick[6]), and each player must accept a different Donation. If, for example, one player has accepted a Church Donation, the other players may only accept Donations from the other three sources. Players choose donations in ascending order of votes in Bonn, with the *weakest* party going first. A player may decline to accept a donation.

Three of the Donation sources carry a risk of alienating popular support when they are accepted. Roll the appropriate number of dice and remove the resulting number of Party Bases in Bonn. For Flick, roll three dice; for Banken roll two; for Kirche roll one. No dice are rolled for Pankow.

8.5 Rearranging the Boards

After the election, the board for the current election Region is cleared. The Media and Meeting tokens are returned to the players. Cabinet cards and party Conference plaques are discarded from the game. The remaining Opinion cards are added to the Undecided stack. Trend disks and voting share markers are left on the board, but are reset to their original (horizontal/zero) positions.

The other three boards are moved to abut Bonn and the cleared board is placed at the foot of the row. A new Region card is turned over and placed above the new board, and four Opinion cards are dealt onto it, but with only

[5] A suburb of Berlin; its significance is unclear.

[6] "Herr Flick is a big banker with an economic empire, who became famous some years back when it was revealed that he bought some important government officials through party donations. In return, he received tax breaks." — R. Fössmeier

one face up. One Opinion card is turned over on each of the other Regions so that the one now next to Bonn has all four face-up, the next has three, and so on. If the new Opinion conflicts or repeats an existing one, it is placed in the Undecided Opinion deck and replaced by a new Opinion card. A new Campaign begins.

9 Federal Election

After the seventh Regional election, the crucial Federal election takes place. The Federal election is based on results of the Regional elections as recorded on the Bonn board.

For the calculation of the Federal election result use the lower table on the blue **Wahl in Bonn** pad. Enter for each party:

M = Medien $\times$ 10:	Number of Media disks in Bonn times 10
$\ddot{U}$ = Übereinstimmung $\times$ 10:	Number of party Platform policies that agree with Federal opinion, times 10. Opposing Federal opinions are ignored.
P = Parteibasis:	Number of Party Bases in Bonn
S = Stimmen für Bonn:	Total of the number of votes in Bonn from the seven Regional elections.

The winner is calculated from the calculation:

$$(M + \ddot{U} + P) \times S$$

The party with the highest total wins the election in Bonn and the game.

10 Strategy Tips

There is no strategy for this game that will guarantee victory. Here the novice will find only some notes from experience of many test games.

1. Do not attempt to win the game single-handedly. Coalitions prove themselves thoroughly helpful, particularly in stopping a winning opponent. Consider therefore your party's Platform and the Platforms of the others, towards the possibility of a Coalition. You should disregard political party scruples.

2. Do not attempt to win every Regional election. That is, because of the limited game material, impossible, even when you have enough money. Give the cold shoulder to one Region, and concentrate your strength on another Region and capture the election there. The last Regional election is thus of greater significance. *(Some other prose here about how most is decided here, the end of the nose, and that it should be planned for.*

Perhaps they are merely observing that at the end of the game everyone is going to shoot their remaining wad).

3. The game is characterized by a deficiency syndrome: one always has too little money or too few Media tokens, Cabinet members, Conference plaques, etc. Plan the spending of your 'material' carefully, don't blow it all at once.

4. Keep your opponent in the dark as to your money and other material.

5. This game is playable with or without negotiation. Played strictly by the rules, the game runs without problems. The players act and react through the play of their material to help their game standing. Naturally, a group can permit negotiations (for example, setting up a Coalition in exchange for the nonpublication of an Opinion Poll). How binding such negotiations are is up to the group to determine. Negotiation and communication add to the drama of the game. Or something like that.

Turn Reference Sheet

Costs:	Meetings	100	Media Tokens	400
	Special Conference	500	Ordinary Conference	700

Starting Round:	15	Vote shares (5 at a time)
	9	Meetings (3 at a time)
	1	Media token
	3	Party Bases

Campaign Rounds

Start player: vote share/Meetings/media/agreements

1. Party Conferences (current Region)
   - Ordinary: change 2 party Platforms **and** gain 3 Party Bases
   - Special: change 1 party Platform **or** gain 3 Party Bases

   Increase Party Bases (1 per agreeing Opinion)
2. Deploy shadow cabinet: member cards face down to perform one action.
   - **S** Share increase
   - **R** Debate ($2\times$ opinion)
   - **M** Media (cost 800)
   - **P** Popularity (trend) increase
   - **H** Smear campaign (downtrend)
3. Coalition Building: 2 agreements for voluntary; 3 agreements for forced.
4. Purchasing Media: plurality can change 1 opinion.
5. Campaign Meetings: bought and placed up to 4 per Region
6. Opinion Polls: For each Region, auction/publish/turn
7. Regional Assessment: Convert Meetings to shares; absolute majority may change one Opinion.

Regional Election

1. Hold election. Votes for Bonn $= (M + \ddot{U}) \times S$
2. Results of election
   - Media disks to Bonn
   - Opinions to Bonn: plurality=2; majority=3
   - Increase Party Bases in Bonn (Federal Opinion agreements)
3. Party Revenue: $10\times$ votes for Bonn + 100 per Party Base
4. Donations
5. Rearrange boards.

Federal Election

$$(10m + 10\ddot{u} + p) \times s$$

Glossary

Platform Policies

Umweltschutz	Environmentalism
Gewerkschaft	Trade Unions
Markwirtschaft	Free Market
Freiheitliche Grundordnung	Civil Liberties
§218	Paragraph 218 in Constitution (right to abortion)
Atomkraft	Nuclear Power
NATO	Membership in NATO
Stuersenkung	Taxes lowered on the rich
35-Stunden-Woche	35-hour working week

Parties

CDU	Christlich-Demokratische Union	Christian Democrats
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschland	Social Democrats
FDP	Frei Demokratische Partei	Liberal Democrats
Grüne	Green	Greens

Shadow Cabinet

Kanzler	Chancellor
Parteiboss	Party boss
Fraktionsführer	Party whip
Innenminister	Home (interior) Secretary
Außenminister	Secretary of State
Generalsekretär	General Secretary
Hinterbänkler	Undersecretary

Boards and Cards

Medien	Media
Parteibasis	Party Bases
Bundesmeinung	Federal Opinion
Umfrage	Opinion Poll
Trend	Trend
Schattenkabinett	Shadow Cabinet
Meinungen	Opinions
Stimmanteile	Vote Share
Wahlveranstaltungen	Campaign Meetings