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A Positive Theory of Income Taxation*

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Abstract

We propose a dynamic version of the standard two-party electoral competition model adapted to nonlinear income taxation. The theory has a number of desirable features. First, equilibria always exist, even though the set of admissible tax policies is multidimensional. Second, the Nash set can be characterized generically, and its components give sharp predictions. Third, the features of equilibrium tax policies depend only on empirically meaningful fundamentals. Equilibrium tax schedules benefit the more numerous income groups and place the burden of taxation on income groups with fewer voters. For empirical income distributions, the features of an equilibrium tax schedule are reminiscent of Director’s law of public income redistribution (Stigler [36]).

Keywords: nonlinear income taxation, electoral competition, Director’s law, extensive zero-sum game.

JEL classification: H23, H31, D72, D78.

1. Introduction

Extant positive theories of income taxation are for the most part formulated in terms of small sub-classes of tax functions. This contrasts with the generality achieved by the canonical model of optimal income taxation.¹ Unlike this model, positive theories of taxation focus on the choice of tax policy by agents not necessarily interested in maximizing welfare. This approach often entails the formulation of strategic

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¹See, among others, Mirrlees [28] and Saez [33].
games played by actors who interact within institutions (for example, two candidates competing for office). Strategic considerations make it difficult to consider as rich a set of available tax policies as in the standard optimal taxation model, even for very simple institutions. The fundamental difficulty is that collective decision-making processes modeled as strategic games with multidimensional action spaces (such as spaces of general nonlinear tax schemes) typically have no (pure-strategy) equilibrium.

To overcome this problem, an important part of the existing literature on voting over income taxes assumes policy spaces that are artificially constrained. Restraining policy domains reduces their multidimensionality and renders the game easier to analyze. For instance, to be able to make use of the median voter theorem, the seminal papers of Romer [32], Roberts [30], and Meltzer and Richard [27] consider only linear tax schemes.

In general, resort to various forms of constraints imposed on the set of admissible tax schemes for the sole purpose of obtaining a coherent model, namely one for which an equilibrium can be shown to exist, is pervasive. However, existence of equilibrium often vanishes as soon as the constraints are removed. The essence of the problem that arises when tax policies are not constrained can be grasped in the context of the standard model of two-party competition, where voters switch support from one candidate to the other if promised a more favorable policy. When the set of admissible policies is sufficiently rich, this creates incentives for a bidding war between the parties, which leads to cycling over alternative platforms. This is a fundamental problem that is not specific to taxation settings, but rather rooted in Arrow’s impossibility theorem and intrinsic to environments of collective choice over many dimensions. This argument (or some variation of it) can be used to explain why the constraints on the set of admissible tax schemes cannot be dispensed with in most of the literature on positive income taxation.

Relaxing these constraints is desirable to evaluate (1) the relationship between democracy and observed nonlinearities in actual tax structures and (2) the trade-off between the candidates' incentives to favor certain voter groups and the distortion of labor supply embedded in income redistribution. A number of research avenues have been explored to study collective decision-making with nonlinear tax schemes.

\[\text{Despite the constraints, the field has produced studies that are useful to understand various aspects of the political economy of income taxation (cf. Romer [32], Roberts [30], and Meltzer and Richard [27], Cukierman and Meltzer [12], Gouveia and Oliver [16], Snyder and Kramer [35], Marhuenda and Ortuño-Ortín ([25],[26]), Roemer [31], Benabou [5], Berliant and Gouveia [6], Austen-Smith [2], Hindriks [18], Kranich [19], De Donder and Hindriks [13], and Bandyopadhyay and Esteban [4].)}\]

\[\text{See Austen-Smith and Banks [3] for a general treatment.}\]

\[\text{In this paper, income is assumed to be exogenous (and therefore the second point cannot be addressed). This is a natural first step. The analysis with incentives is left for future research.}\]

\[\text{See, for instance, Aumann and Kurz [1], Hettich and Winer [17], Lindbeck and Weibull [22], Chen [11], Myerson [29], Lizzeri and Persico [23], Laslier and Picard [20], Carbonell-Nicolau and Klor [9], Carbonell-Nicolau and Ok [10], Dekel, Jackson, and Wolinsky [14], and Ledyard [21].}\]
Nonetheless, no clear pattern has emerged concerning the relationship between pre-tax income distributions and income tax structures. In this paper, we propose a positive theory of income taxation with a number of desirable features. First, equilibria always exist, even though the set of admissible tax policies is multidimensional. Second, the Nash set can be characterized generically, and its components give sharp predictions. Third, the features of equilibrium tax policies depend only on empirically meaningful fundamentals.

We extend the static two-party electoral competition model studied in Carbonell-Nicolau and Ok [10] by allowing the parties to reveal their tax platforms gradually in more than one period. The candidates reveal—when it is their turn to do so—small pieces of information concerning their platform and must commit to any current and past announcements. We assume a discrete money unit and formulate this scenario as a finite extensive game. Imposing a smallest money unit \( \varepsilon > 0 \) means that all money amounts (tax liabilities, pre-tax income levels, etc.) must be multiples of \( \varepsilon \). This, together with the assumption that, when it is their turn to speak, the candidates must provide some information (however minimal this information may be) about their prospective tax policy, implies that tax functions are described in finite time. Finiteness of the strategy spaces guarantees the existence of a subgame perfect equilibrium.

Equilibrium tax policies depend only on empirically meaningful fundamentals—the shape of the income distribution and the government’s target revenue. In particular, the theory does not need to resort to probabilistic voting to get existence of equilibria (as in Lindbeck and Weibull [22]), and therefore the results do not depend on the distribution of preferences over the candidates’ personal attributes.

For generic games, we characterize the Nash set and show that, at each component, equilibrium tax schemes lie within a small set of admissible policies that benefit the more populous voter groups and place the burden of taxation on income groups with fewer voters. When the income distribution resembles a log-normal density function, the features of an equilibrium tax schedule are reminiscent of Director’s law of public income redistribution, which states that ‘public expenditures are made for the primary benefit of the middle classes, and financed with taxes that are borne in considerable part by the poor and rich’ (Stigler [36]).

Finally, our model allows for the introduction of sources of voter heterogeneity other than pre-tax income, such as marital status, immigration status, etc., according to which tax structures may discriminate between taxpayers. Results are obtained for any given partition of the population consisting on various groups of

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6This assumption is discussed in Subsection 2.1.
7The convenience of introducing a discrete money unit was first exploited by Dekel, Jackson, and Wolinsky [14].
8Theories that build on probabilistic voting models yield a version of Director’s law under the assumption that the middle class cares less about the candidates’ personal attributes (and more about the policy implemented) than the poor and the rich (Lindbeck and Weibull [22]).
9On the other hand, the results suggest a u-shaped pattern of effective marginal tax rates, which is observed in the data on US effective marginal tax rates (see, for instance, [8]).
‘similar’ individuals (where the relation of similarity is defined in terms of the individuals’ pre-tax income and possibly in terms of other attributes that may be relevant for tax purposes).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the setup and discusses the modeling strategy. The results appear in Section 3. Subsection 3.1 contains an example, and the general results are provided in Subsections 3.2 and 3.3. Section 4 concludes. The proofs are relegated to Section 5.

2. The model

Society consists of a continuum of individuals and two political parties, denoted as $A$ and $B$. Let $X$ be a large positive real, and, for $+\infty > \varepsilon > 0$, define

$$X_\varepsilon := \{0, \varepsilon, 2\varepsilon, \ldots\} \cap [0, X].$$

The set $X_\varepsilon$ represents the universe of possible pre-tax income levels (multiples of $\varepsilon$). We refer to $\varepsilon$ as the money unit for $X_\varepsilon$.

Fix a finite set $A$. The set $A_\varepsilon := X_\varepsilon \times A$ represents a set of individual attributes. Each individual is characterized by an element $(x,a)$ of $A_\varepsilon$, which is a description of the individual’s pre-tax income $x$ along with other attributes $a$ that may be relevant for tax purposes (e.g., single/married, homeowner/renter, etc.).

A pre-tax income distribution is defined as an element of

$$\mathcal{D} := \left\{ d \in \bigcup_{\varepsilon > 0} [0, 1]^{A_\varepsilon} : \sum_{(x,a) \in A_\varepsilon} d(x,a) = 1 \right\}.
$$

A distribution $d \in \mathcal{D}$ determines the measure $d(x,a)$ of individuals with characteristic $(x,a)$. For $d \in \mathcal{D}$, let $\varepsilon(d)$ denote the money unit corresponding to the domain of $d$. In the remainder of the paper, $\{d > 0\}$ shall be used to designate the set

$$\{(x,a) \in A_\varepsilon(d) : d(x,a) > 0\} =: \{d > 0\}.
$$

Let

$$\mathcal{M} := \left\{ (d,r) : d \in \mathcal{D}, 0 \leq r \leq \sum_{(x,a) \in A_\varepsilon(d)} d(x,a)x \right\}.
$$

\textsuperscript{10}Imagine a situation where society has identified a partition of the set of all individuals such that each element of the partition contains individuals that are identical with respect to a number of characteristics (pre-tax income, marital status, immigrant status, etc.). Tax structures cannot discriminate between people belonging to the same element of the partition, and may discriminate between members of different elements of the partition. Thus, the partition is a specification of the relation of ‘similarity’ between individuals that is necessary to objectify the notion of horizontal equity (here we are referring to the traditional public finance concept of horizontal equity; see Berliant and Strauss [7]). In this paper, we take this partition as given. In terms of our notation, the population is partitioned into as many groups as there are elements in $A_\varepsilon$, and each $(x,a) \in A_\varepsilon$ can be interpreted as the list of characteristics (including pre-tax income) shared by the members of group $(x,a)$. (If $A = \emptyset$, then income is the only source of discrimination.)
Each tuple \((d,r)\) in \(M\) consists of an income distribution \(d\) and a target revenue \(r\). A **tax policy** in \((d,r) \in M\) is a map \(t : \{d > 0\} \to X_{(d)}\) that assigns to each vector of attributes \((x,a)\) a total tax liability \(t(x,a)\) with the property that \(0 \leq t(x,a) \leq x\) for all \(x \in \{d > 0\}\). The first inequality rules out negative taxation, that is, subsidies.\(^{11}\) The second inequality says that an individual can never be required to pay more than her endowment. Let \(P_{(d,r)}\) represent the set of all tax policies.

A tax policy \(t\) is admissible for \((d,r) \in M\) if \(\sum_{(x,a)} t(x,a) d(x,a) \geq r\). That is, \(t\) is admissible if it collects at least the target revenue \(r\). The set of all tax policies that are admissible for \((d,r)\) is designated by \(T_{(d,r)}\).

Before the election, each candidate advocates an admissible tax policy, possibly revealed gradually as follows. There is a number of rounds 1, 2, ..., \(T_{(d,r)}\). The candidates take actions in each round as indicated next. Let \((d,r) \in M\) be the relevant model. In round 1, candidate A announces a mapping \(f_1 \in P_{(d,r)}\). Any such mapping is called an announcement, and may be interpreted as a way of raising part (or all) of the required revenue \(r\). By proposing \(f_1\), candidate A commits to levying (at least) \(f_1(x,a)\) on voter group \((x,a)\). If \(\sum_{(x,a)} f_1(x,a) d(x,a) < r\), then \(f_1\) falls short of collecting the target revenue. In this case, by announcing \(f_1\), candidate A reveals only part of her proposed policy. In subsequent rounds, the candidate will indicate how the remainder of the required revenue, \(r - \sum_{(x,a)} f_1(x,a) d(x,a)\), will be collected. Also in round 1, candidate B makes an announcement \(g_1 \in P_{(d,r)}\), with a similar interpretation. The announcements are revealed sequentially. Some candidate moves first and then the opponent takes an action having observed the other player's move. Nature determines the order of moves. To avoid difficulties generated by an asymmetric treatment of the players (as will become clear our game features a second-mover advantage), we shall assume that each candidate has a 50% chance of moving first.

Again in round 2, nature determines whether A moves first or B does. Candidate A’s second announcement, \(f_2 \in P_{(d,r)}\), is made public in round 2, after A’s observation of B’s first announcement, \(g_1\), and possibly B’s second announcement (if A moves second in round 2); \(f_2\) must be consistent with previous announcements made by A in the sense that \(f_2 \geq f_1\).\(^{12}\) After observing A’s first proposal and possibly A’s second move (if B moves second in round 2), candidate B makes a second announcement, \(g_2\), also in round 2. This announcement must be consistent with B’s first proposal, \(g_1\), as specified above. The parties make proposals according to this time frame, each proposal being consistent with previous proposals as indicated. In each round, each candidate has a 50% chance of moving first.\(^{13}\)

In any given period, a candidate’s announcement \(f\) is **final** if \(f \in T_{(d,r)}\). With

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\(^{11}\)Allowing for subsidies would not change the essence of our results.

\(^{12}\)This assumption is discussed in Subsection 2.1.

\(^{13}\)We know that most of our results would prevail if actions were taken simultaneously in each round, or if nature chose whether the moves are sequential or simultaneous at the beginning of each round. In this case, the probability of sequential moves could be history-dependent.
a final announcement, a candidate discloses all information about its advocated tax policy and commits to its implementation, conditional on winning the election. The sequence of campaign promises reaches an end when both parties have made a final announcement.\textsuperscript{14}

We assume that, when it is one candidate’s turn to make an announcement, this candidate must give new information about its prospective policy. More precisely, given two successive announcements $f$ and $g$ of the same candidate such that $f$ is not final, $g \neq f$.\textsuperscript{15}

After each candidate has fully specified a final proposal, the election takes place. Each voter casts a ballot for one of the two candidates. The candidate that receives the most votes wins the election and implements her proposed tax policy. Ties are broken via an equal probability rule. Voters vote for the candidate whose final announcement most favors their economic interests. In other words, each voter chooses the candidate who will enact, if elected, a tax policy under which the voter’s disposable income is maximal. In case of indifference, voters toss a fair coin to determine their choice.

The candidates are opportunistic; they wish to maximize their net plurality, which is defined as the difference between their vote share and the vote share of the opponent. Formally, if $(f, g)$ represents the observed pair of final announcements, a candidate $i$ receives a payoff of

$$u_i(d, r)(f, g) := \sum_{(x, a): f(x, a) < g(x, a)} d(x, a) - \sum_{(x, a): f(x, a) > g(x, a)} d(x, a), \quad (1)$$

if $i = A$, and $u_i(d, r)(f, g) := -u_A(d, r)(f, g)$ if $i = B$.\textsuperscript{16}

The above scenario can be embedded in the formal definition of a two-player zero-sum extensive game $G(d, r)$ parameterized by an income distribution $d$ and a revenue requirement $r$.\textsuperscript{17} We focus on the notion of Nash equilibrium and subgame perfect equilibrium.

\textsuperscript{14}Observe that an announcement $f \in \mathcal{P}(d, r)$ could also be interpreted as a “promise” that each group of individuals $(x, a)$ will pay at most $f(x, a)$ plus the maximum additional tax this group could face given what is left to be collected.

\textsuperscript{15}This assumption is discussed in Subsection 2.1.

\textsuperscript{16}Other standard candidate objectives include the vote share and the probability of winning. Assuming that the candidates maximize the vote share would not change any of the results of the paper. Moreover, if $u_A(d, r)$ were defined as a continuous, strictly increasing, and symmetric around zero transformation of the expression in (1), and similarly for $u_B(d, r)$, all the results would remain unaltered. Observe that this transformation permits a pointwise approximation of the candidates’ objective to the probability of winning. Finally, Theorem 1 is also true when the candidates’ objective is exactly the probability of winning (and not just a pointwise approximation to it).

\textsuperscript{17}Observe that the set of all possible histories is finite. Further, the game has finite horizon (i.e., all histories are finite).
2.1. Remarks on the modeling strategy

The model proposed here is in the tradition of the standard two-party electoral competition model (the so-called Downsian model (Downs [15])). There is, however, an important difference between the standard model and our model: the latter is richer than the former in the sense that in the current model candidates have more flexibility in the strategies they can use. For example, in the standard model, which is static, the candidates must completely reveal their policy in one shot; by contrast, in our model, the candidates could completely reveal their policy in the first period if they wished, but may decide to wait to do so. It turns out that this extra flexibility matters in that, in equilibrium, the players choose to wait (more on this in Subsection 2.2).

In light of the above comparison between models, we can view our assumption that the candidates must give new information about their prospective tax policy (each time it is their turn to make an announcement) as a weakening of the standard assumption that the candidates must completely reveal their policy in one period.\footnote{Alternatively, one may assume that candidates may remain silent, each time it is their turn to speak, at a cost. If the total cost incurred by a candidate is convex in the number of times the candidate fails to provide new information, then the game can be shown to possess an equilibrium. I conjecture that in this new game Theorem 1 would remain intact.}

On the other hand, the assumption that the candidates must commit to past announcements is also made in the standard model, where the candidates are not allowed to change their actions once a policy has been chosen. It is natural to assume that platform adjustments are costly in that they entail reversing previous promises. In this paper (as in virtually all the literature on electoral competition with commitment), we assume that it is too costly for the candidates to rectify past moves.\footnote{One could envisage a game where, in each round, each candidate must either respect foregoing announcements or incur a cost to amend them. This is related to the variant proposed in footnote 18. I conjecture that the new game would not affect Theorem 1. A thorough analysis is left for future research.}

Finally, our model is one possible extension of the static model towards models of gradual commitment, but there are obviously alternative formulations. While the analysis of some of these alternatives lies outside the scope of this paper, we discuss possible variants in Sections 3.2.1 and 4.

2.2. Second-mover advantage

The static (one-period) version of our model studied in Carbonell-Nicolau and Ok [10] lacks a pure-strategy equilibrium. In fact, given any admissible tax function, it is always possible to find another tax policy meeting the revenue requirement and defeating the original tax function under pairwise majority voting. This would also true here (at least for sufficiently small money units) if the parties were constrained to fully reveal their tax policy in one period. This means that each candidate $i$
would like her opponent to reveal their tax policy completely in the first round, since then \( i \) could commit to some tax platform that defeats the opponent’s policy, after observing the opponent’s first move.\(^{20}\) Obviously, in equilibrium, the opponent would never find it optimal to make a final announcement in the first round. Thus, there is an incentive for the candidates to reveal little information in each round, thereby gaining leverage to react to the opponent’s announcements in future rounds.\(^{21}\)

It is worth noting that, while the candidates have a desire to delay electoral commitment, one should not conclude that this feature of the model is the sole driving force for our results. This is discussed in Section 3.2.1.

3. Results

In the present model, the pre-tax income distribution is exogenously given, and therefore individuals cannot escape excessive tax burdens by reducing their labor supply. For this reason, in the equilibria described here, and absent any limits on the extent individuals may be taxed, smaller voter groups tend to be expropriated. This is obviously unrealistic and would not occur in a model à la Mirrlees [28], with endogenous labor supply. Since the introduction of distortionary taxation lies outside the scope of this paper, one might for now be content with the assumption that, for each group \((x,a)\), there is a maximum (exogenously given) tax liability \( \lambda_{(x,a)} \in X_{e(d)} \) that may be imposed on group \((x,a)\). This assumption would not change the results of the paper, yet we have omitted it to ease notation.\(^{22}\)

Our first result states, roughly speaking, that \( G_{(d,r)} \) possesses a subgame perfect equilibrium whose corresponding tax function is such that taxes are borne by less populous voter groups. Before stating the general result, we present a special case, with three income groups, which illustrates the argument that is used to prove Theorem 1.

3.1. An example

In this example we assume that the set \( \mathfrak{A} \) of other individual attributes is empty, so that the tax system does not discriminate between individuals whose pre-tax endowment is identical. Consider a population consisting of six individuals, one of them endowed with (pre-tax) income $3, two of them endowed with $1 each, and

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\(^{20}\)Even if the second mover made a final announcement in the first round, it would be possible for the first mover (for sufficiently small money units) to reveal little information in the first round and then choose, in the second round (and after observing the opponent’s final policy), some tax scheme ensuring victory.

\(^{21}\)This feature of the model contrasts with the first-mover advantage exhibited by other extensive forms, such as the bargaining game of alternating offers and the Stackelberg game.

\(^{22}\)The results of Section 3, stated (with the obvious modifications) in terms of the upper bounds \( \lambda_{(x,a)} \), remain valid.
the rest in possession of $2 each.\textsuperscript{23} Let \( d \) denote the corresponding pre-tax income distribution. Suppose that the money unit is set at \( \varepsilon(d) = 0.01 \).

It is clear that if the revenue requirement \( r \) lies anywhere between $0 and $3 any equilibrium of \( G_{(d,r)} \) has both players collecting all taxes from the richest individual. Finding an equilibrium strategy for other values of \( r \) is less trivial.

Say \( r = 8 \). We shall first construct one equilibrium profile for this case and then look at the associated equilibrium tax policy. Let us suppose that candidate \( B \) plays only strategies that increase taxes by 0.01 in each round. This simplifies the description of the following strategy of \( A \), but a similar treatment is possible if \( B \) plays any kind of strategy. Throughout the sequel, we consider paths of play in which player \( A \) is always the first mover (the worst-case scenario for this player). By determining \( A \)'s payoffs along these paths at a given strategy profile, we can find a lower bound for this player’s payoff in the game.

Suppose that \( A \) starts announcing that 0.01 will be collected from the richest individual and that, in subsequent rounds, \( A \) takes one of the following three actions until (1) the game terminates or (2) the richest individual’s total tax liability equals $2.97 and the actions listed below prescribe a non-final announcement that increases the richest individual's tax by 0.01 (from $2.97).

- \( A \) increases the tax liability of the richest individual by 0.01 if \( B \)'s announcement in the previous round coincided with that of \( A \).
- \( A \) imitates the announcement made by \( B \) in the previous round if this announcement was different from that of \( A \) and not final.
- \( A \) levies all the uncollected revenue from the richest individual if \( B \)'s announcement in the previous round was different from that of \( A \) and final. (This action is possible because it is taken in a situation where the candidates’ announcements are identical except at two income levels; one of them is 3 and the other is either 1 or 2; at 3 \( A \)'s announcement exceeds that of \( B \) by 0.01, while at the other income level it is \( B \)'s announcement that exceeds that of \( A \) by 0.01; it follows that \( B \)'s (final) announcement collects at most $0.02 in excess of \( A \)'s announcement, and therefore \( B \) may increase the richest individual’s tax liability—which is at most $2.97—to meet the revenue requirement.)

It is easy to see that if \( A \) follows this strategy and the game reaches an end while the above rules are in effect, then, regardless of \( B \)'s choice of a strategy, \( A \) secures a payoff of at least 0.

If the game does not terminate while the above rules are in effect, then the last announcements of both players are identical and tax the richest person at $2.97. We consider two sub-cases.

\textsuperscript{23}While this distribution is not exactly a member of \( \mathcal{D} \), it can be transformed into a member of \( \mathcal{D} \) without altering the essence of the example.
Suppose that the last announcements of both players are identical and tax the richest person at $2.97 and that any final announcement of both players in the continuation game, restricted to the domain \( \{d > 0\} \), is within a distance 0.04 of a tax policy \( t \) with
\[
t(x) = \begin{cases} 
  x & \text{if } x = 1 \text{ or } x = 3, \\
  1 & \text{if } x = 2.
\end{cases}
\] (2)
Then let \( A \) play an equilibrium strategy of the continuation game. In this case, the policy implemented (restricted to \( \{d > 0\} \)) is within $0.04 of some \( t \) with the above properties and, because the continuation game is symmetric, \( A \) obtains a payoff of 0.

Suppose that the last announcements of both players are identical and tax the richest person at $2.97 and that a final announcement exists in the continuation game whose restriction to \( \{d > 0\} \) lies at a distance from a tax policy \( t \) satisfying (2) that exceeds 0.04. If \( A \) can raise all the uncollected revenue from the richest individual, he does so. Otherwise, \( A \) announces that an additional 0.01 will be collected from the two poorest individuals and, in subsequent rounds, \( A \) takes action according to the following until (1) the game finishes or (2) the two poorest individuals’ total tax liability equals $0.96 and the actions listed below prescribe a non-final announcement that increases the two poorest individuals’ tax by 0.01 (from $0.96).

- Suppose that \( B \)’s announcement in the previous round coincided with that of \( A \). Then \( A \) collects all the remaining revenue from the richest person, as long as it is possible to do so. Otherwise, \( A \) increases the tax liability of the two poorest individuals by 0.01.

- Suppose that \( B \)’s announcement in the previous round was different from that of \( A \). If \( B \)’s announcement in the previous round increased the tax liability of the richest person by 0.01, then \( A \) increases the tax of the richest person by 0.01 as well. Otherwise, it means that \( B \) increased the tax of the middle class by 0.01. In this case, \( A \) levies all the uncollected revenue from the richest and the poorest, as long as it is possible to do so. Otherwise, \( A \) imitates the announcement made by \( B \) in the previous round.

If the game reaches an end while the above conditions are in effect, then \( A \) obtains a payoff of at least 0 irrespective of \( B \)’s behavior. Otherwise, the last announcements of both players are identical and tax the richest person at $2.97 and the poorest at $0.96.\footnote{This is not immediate from the above conditions. A complete argument is omitted for brevity.} This implies that any final announcement of both players in the continuation game, restricted to the domain \( \{d > 0\} \), is within a distance 0.04 of a tax policy \( t \) satisfying (2). Suppose that \( A \) plays an equilibrium strategy of the continuation game. In this case, the policy implemented, restricted
to \( \{d > 0\} \), is within $0.04$ of some \( t \) satisfying (2) and, because the continuation game is symmetric, \( A \) obtains a payoff of 0.

We have argued that an action plan specifying, in each round, an announcement for \( A \) contingent on \( B \)'s action in the preceding round may be obtained that secures a payoff of at least 0 against any strategy of \( B \). While this action plan does not constitute a full contingent plan for \( A \), one can prove that an equilibrium strategy profile \( \mu \) in \( G_{(d,r)} \) may be constructed that follows the said action plan along the equilibrium path. Thus, play of \( \mu \) results in the implementation of a tax policy \( t \) satisfying (2). Observe that \( t \) exempts the more populated groups from taxation.

Similar results can be obtained in general. Theorem 1 below says, roughly, that, given an error margin \( \eta > 0 \) and a pre-tax income distribution whose money unit is sufficiently small, there exists an equilibrium of the corresponding game that results in the implementation of a tax policy that lies within a distance \( \eta \) of a tax function that exempts the more populated policy groups from taxation.

3.2. Characterizing an equilibrium

Let \( \tilde{E}_{(d,r)} \) be the set of all admissible tax policies \( t \in T_{(d,r)} \) such that, for all \( (x,a) \),

\[
t(x,a) > 0 \Rightarrow t\big|_{\{(y,b):d(y,b)<d(x,a)\}} = i\big|_{\{(y,b):d(y,b)<d(x,a)\}},
\]

where \( i: \{d > 0\} \to \{d > 0\} \) is the identity function on \( \{d > 0\} \). The set \( \tilde{E}_{(d,r)} \) contains those admissible tax policies that tax more populous groups only if less numerous groups have been taxed to the fullest extent possible. Define

\[
E_{(d,r)} := \left\{ t \in \tilde{E}_{(d,r)} : \text{there is no } \tau \in T_{(d,r)} \text{ with } \tau \preceq t \right\}.
\]

Thus, \( E_{(d,r)} \) is the set of admissible tax policies that levy \( r \) on the less numerous groups, leaving the more numerous groups untaxed.

The result below depends on a parameter \(+\infty > \eta > 0\), which may be interpreted as an error margin for the graph of an equilibrium tax policy. Given \( \eta \) and a model \( (d,r) \in \mathcal{M} \), consider the following statement: the tax policy implemented at a subgame perfect equilibrium of \( G_{(d,r)} \) lies in \( E_{(d,r)} \) with an error margin of \( \eta \) or, more precisely, it lies in \( N_\eta \left( E_{(d,r)} \right) \).\(^{25}\) Obviously, if \( \eta \) is very large, then the assertion is vacuous. If, on the other hand, \( \eta \) is small, then the equilibrium policy lies (approximately) in \( E_{(d,r)} \), and this characterizes the equilibrium policy quite sharply, given the ‘smallness’ of \( E_{(d,r)} \) within the set of all admissible tax policies.

We state our result for all the members of a sub-class of models in \( \mathcal{M} \), which depends on \( \eta \). Roughly speaking, we require that the money unit \( \varepsilon(d) \) be sufficiently small relative to the error margin \( \eta \). This imposes an upper bound on \( \varepsilon(d) \) that decreases with the error margin. If, for example, the error margin \( \eta \) is 100 times the

\(^{25}\) Here \( N_\eta \left( E_{(d,r)} \right) \) denotes the set \( \bigcup_{t \in E_{(d,r)}} N_\eta(t) \), where \( N_\eta(t) \) stands for the \( \eta \)-neighborhood of \( t \) in \( T_{(d,r)} \) (relative to the sup metric).
money unit \( \varepsilon(d) \), and \( \varepsilon(d) \) is taken to be one cent of a dollar, then Theorem 1 says that the graph of an equilibrium tax schedule lies within a neighborhood of radius one dollar of an element of \( \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)} \).

**Theorem 1.** Suppose that \(+\infty > \eta > 0\). There exists \(+\infty > \varepsilon_\eta > 0\) such that, for every \((d,r) \in \mathcal{M}\) with \(\varepsilon(d) \leq \varepsilon_\eta\), \(G_{(d,r)}\) has a subgame perfect equilibrium whose corresponding tax policy lies in \(N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)})\).

Clearly, the content of Theorem 1 is meaningful only if \(\eta\) is a small number, and the informativeness of the theorem is inversely related to the size of \(\eta\). One can ensure a precise statement by choosing a small \(\eta\). The following example illustrates the relationship between the error margin and the magnitude of the money unit using real data.

**Example 1.** Figure 1 depicts the US household income distribution for the year 2004. The data depicted can be presented as an element of \(\mathcal{D}\), for some choice of a money unit. (In this example we assume that the set \(\mathfrak{A}\) of other individual attributes is empty, so that the tax system does not discriminate between individuals whose pre-tax endowment is identical.) Let this distribution be denoted by \(d_{US}\), where \(\varepsilon(d_{US}) = 0.01\) (i.e., say that the money unit is one cent of a dollar). Let \(r_{US}\) be the total amount of taxes collected by the Internal Revenue Service in 2004.\(^{26}\) If one sets \(\eta = 1.74\), then the model \((d_{US},r_{US})\) is such that the tax policy implemented at some subgame perfect equilibrium of \(G_{(d_{US},r_{US})}\) lies in \(N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d_{US},r_{US})})\). Thus, if one takes the money unit to be one cent of a dollar, Theorem 1 gives, with an error margin of at most \$1.74, an equilibrium tax policy in \(\mathcal{E}_{(d_{US},r_{US})}\).

Observe the implications of Theorem 1 for the features of the equilibrium tax policy in a society where the income distribution is of a log-normal type (Figure 2).\(^{27}\) For this type of distribution, at the equilibrium of Theorem 1, the tax revenue

\[^{26}\text{Net collections for individual income tax, IRS Data Book 2004, Table 1.}\]

\[^{27}\text{This type of distribution is empirically relevant: the fact that income obeys a log-normal distribution is widespread. The log-normal distribution has the probability density function}\]

\[f(x;\mu,\sigma) = \frac{1}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}} \exp\left(-\frac{(\ln x - \mu)^2}{2\sigma^2}\right),\]

\[\text{for } x > 0, \text{ where } \mu \text{ and } \sigma \text{ are the mean and standard deviation of the variable’s logarithm, respectively. Discrete analogues of } f \text{ can be defined as follows. Given a partition } \mathcal{I} = \{(0,\delta),[\delta,2\delta),...\} \text{ of the positive real line into intervals of length } \delta > 0, \text{ the discrete version } f_{\mathcal{I}} \text{ of } f \text{ given } \mathcal{I} \text{ is}\]

\[f_{\mathcal{I}}(x;\mu,\sigma) = \begin{cases} 
\frac{1}{\delta} \int_{0}^{\delta} f(y;\mu,\sigma)dy & \text{if } 0 < x < \delta, \\
\frac{1}{\delta} \int_{\delta}^{2\delta} f(y;\mu,\sigma)dy & \text{if } \delta \leq x < 2\delta, \\
\vdots & \vdots
\end{cases}\]
is collected from the tails of the distribution. This is consistent with Director’s law of public income redistribution, which states that ‘public expenditures are made for the primary benefit of the middle classes, and financed with taxes that are borne in considerable part by the poor and rich’ (Stigler [36]).

3.2.1. Discussion

It is useful to outline some intuition for Theorem 1. The candidates’ ultimate goal is to please as many voters as possible. Given our discussion in Subsection 2.2, it may appear that incrementing taxes for smaller groups will serve the candidates’ purpose: In each round, the candidates harden their platforms by incrementing taxes for some voter group, and individuals within this group are treated symmetrically. Because the size of commitment (measured in terms of tax revenue) is proportional to the size of the group on which the tax rate is levied and the candidates prefer seeing the opponent’s move before taking an action, incrementing taxes for the smaller groups (as in the equilibrium of Theorem 1) implies a lesser commitment. In light of this argument, one may be tempted to conclude that the candidates’ desire to delay electoral commitment is the main driving force behind Theorem 1. Yet the fact of the matter is that this force does not per se explain the result. Indeed, there are situations in which incrementing taxes for small groups will imply a higher amount of commitment than incrementing taxes for larger groups. This is illustrated in the following example.

Suppose that there are three income groups $x_1 = 1$, $x_2 = 2$, and $x_3 = 3$ ($x_i$ denotes group $i$’s endowment) with sizes .35, .4, and .25, respectively. Suppose that the revenue requirement is $r = 0.78$. It is clear that the revenue cannot be collected by taxing group $x_3$ only, while it is possible to meet the revenue requirement by taxing group $x_2$ only. Therefore, if a candidate’s first move is to increment group $x_3$’s tax liability by $\varepsilon$, this candidate is committing to taxing not only group $x_3$, but also either group $x_1$ or $x_2$. By contrast, incrementing group $x_2$ tax liability entails no commitment as to whether other groups will be taxed. Moreover, note that the size of group $x_3$ plus the size of either $x_1$ or $x_2$ exceeds the size of group $x_2$.

Theorem 1 tells us that, in equilibrium, the candidates start by incrementing taxes for the smallest group, in spite of the fact that they could choose actions that entail less commitment. To see that this strategy cannot be beaten by a strategy whereby the opponent taxes group $x_2$ only, suppose that candidate $A$ chooses to increment group $x_2$’s taxes by $\varepsilon$ in each round, while candidate $B$ starts levying taxes on group $x_3$. After the first round, $B$ can imitate $A$’s move in the previous round and keep doing this until a point is reached in which $A$ has collected all revenue, say $k\varepsilon$, from group $x_2$, while $B$ has committed to levying $\varepsilon$ on group $x_3$.

\[\text{On the other hand, the locus of equilibrium marginal tax rates against income is reminiscent of a u-shaped pattern. A first look at some US data (see, for instance, [8]) reveals that the theory, augmented to allow for endogenous labor supply, could be useful to understand some aspects of the empirical pattern of effective marginal tax rates.}\]
and \((k - 1)\varepsilon\) on group \(x_2\). At this point, if \(\varepsilon\) is sufficiently small, \(B\) can collect what is left to be collected from group \(x_3\), thereby ensuring that the members of group \(x_2\) will vote for \(B\). Given \(A\)'s position, this gives the electoral victory to \(B\). Here, the candidates’ desire to please a large share of the electorate, along with their endowed flexibility to shape their policy through time in sufficiently small steps, explains the tendency to increment taxes for less populous groups.\(^{29}\)

### 3.3. On the analysis of other equilibria

Theorem 1 states that the game \(G_{(d,r)}\) has a subgame perfect equilibrium whose corresponding tax policy lies, approximately, in \(E_{(d,r)}\). However, the theorem does not say anything about the features of other Nash equilibria in \(G_{(d,r)}\). We can provide a complete description of the Nash set for perturbed versions of \(G_{(d,r)}\). We show that there are perturbations of \(G_{(d,r)}\) such that, at each component of the Nash set, any equilibrium tax policy lies, approximately, in \(E_{(d,r)}\).

We think of \(G_{(d,r)}\) as a member of an enriched class of games where the players may not have perfect information about the order of moves and the second mover may receive distorted information about the first mover’s action. Consider the following extension of the game analyzed in the previous section. In each round, the players do not observe nature’s choice of the order of moves. Rather, they observe signals that contain information on the order of moves. Moreover, the first mover’s actions are only indirectly observable by the second mover through a (not necessarily perfect) signal.

Formally, let \(h\) be any history of announcements in \(G_{(d,r)}\). In the round that follows \(h\), nature determines who will be the first mover (in that round) and then sends a private message to each player. Each message is an element of \(\{0, 1\}\). If 0 is observed by player \(i\), \(i\)'s signal is interpreted as saying that \(i\) is the first mover in the round that follows \(h\). If player \(i\) is chosen as the first mover, nature sends a message \((m_A, m_B) \in \{0, 1\}^2\) with probability \(\lambda_{(d,r)}^{(h,i)}(m_A, m_B)\), where \(m_A\) is the message sent to \(A\) and \(m_B\) is the message sent to \(B\). Each \(m_i\) is private information of player \(i\). If player \(i\) is chosen to be the first mover and nature sends the message \(m = (m_A, m_B)\), the sequence of actions occurs as follows:

- If \(m_i = 0\), then \(i\) chooses an announcement. If \(m_{-i} = 0\), where \(-i \neq i\), then \(i\)'s move is followed by \(-i\)'s move. Before making a choice, the second mover does not have any information on the first mover’s action.

\(^{29}\)The reader may wonder what would happen in slightly different game whereby the candidates promised upper bounds to the voter groups. That is, suppose that, starting from an initial situation where everybody is taxed to the fullest extent, the candidates reduce taxes incrementally up to the point where the required amount of revenue is just barely collected. It can be shown, at least in the context of an example, that Theorem 1 survives if one changes the rules of the game according to this story. Observe that, in this variant of the game, the survival of Theorem 1 implies that, in equilibrium, the candidates start making promises to the more numerous groups, in spite of the fact that, by doing so, the amount of assumed commitment is larger.
hand, \(m_{-i} = 1\), then \(i\)'s move is followed by nature’s choice of a message to 

\(-i\). The content of the message is an announcement feasible for \(i\) in the round that follows \(h\). This message signals \(i\)'s move (which is not directly observed by \(-i\)) and need not be completely accurate. If \(i\) chooses \(g\), the message received by \(-i\) is \(f\) with probability \(\vartheta_{(d,r)}^{-i}(h, i, m, g)(f)\) (thus, \(\vartheta_{(d,r)}^{-i}(h, i, m, g)\) is a probability measure on the set of all the announcements that are feasible for \(i\) in the round that follows \(h\)). After receiving the signal, \(-i\) chooses an announcement.

- If \(m_i = 1\) (i.e., if \(i\) receives information indicating that \(i\) is the second mover, even though \(i\) is the actual first mover), then nature sends a message to \(i\). The content of the message is an announcement feasible for \(-i\) \((-i \neq i\)) in the round that follows \(h\). The message received by \(i\) is \(f\) with probability \(\vartheta_{(d,r)}^{i}(h, i, m)(f)\). After receiving the message, \(i\) chooses an announcement. To describe what happens next, we distinguish two cases. If \(m_{-i} = 0\), then \(i\)'s move is followed by \(-i\)'s choice of an announcement. In this case, \(-i\) takes action without receiving any signal on \(i\)'s move. If \(m_{-i} = 1\), then \(i\)'s move is followed by nature’s choice of a message to \(-i\). The content of the message is an announcement feasible for \(i\) in the round that follows \(h\). This message signals \(i\)'s previous move (which is not directly observed by \(-i\)). If \(i\) chooses \(g\), then the content of the message is \(f\) with probability \(\vartheta_{(d,r)}^{-i}(h, i, m, g)(f)\). After receiving the signal, \(-i\) chooses an announcement.

If player \(i\) receives message 0 and \(\psi_{(d,r)}^{(h,i)}\) is a probability measure on \(\{0,1\}\) representing \(i\)'s prior beliefs on the identity of the first mover at the beginning of the round that follows \(h\), then, by Bayes’ rule, \(i\) believes that she is the first mover with probability

\[
\psi_{(d,r)}^{(h,i)}(0)\left(x_{(d,r)}^{(h,n)}(0,0) + x_{(d,r)}^{(h)}(0,1)\right)
\]

\[
\psi_{(d,r)}^{(h,i)}(0)\left(x_{(d,r)}^{(h,n)}(0,0) + x_{(d,r)}^{(h)}(0,1)\right) + \psi_{(d,r)}^{(h)}(1)\left(x_{(d,r)}^{(h,n)}(0,0) + x_{(d,r)}^{(h)}(0,1)\right),
\]

where \(-i \neq i\). Posterior beliefs about the first mover’s action given the messages received by a player can be formed similarly.  

At the beginning of each round, any uncertainty (about the identity of the first mover and on the second mover’s actions) concerning the previous round vanishes, and the players observe the actual choices made by the opponent (as well as their own) in the previous round.

In order to emphasize the dependence of the new game on the signals sent by nature in each round, we shall designate our game by \(G_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{(d,r)})\), where

\[
\lambda_{(d,r)} = \left(\chi_{(d,r)}, \vartheta_{(d,r)}\right)
= \left(\left\{x_{(d,r)}^{(h,i)}(h,i)\right\}_{i}, \left\{\vartheta_{(d,r)}^{i}(h, i, m)\right\}_{i \neq -i}, \left\{\vartheta_{(d,r)}^{-i}(h, i, m, g)\right\}_{i \neq -i}\right).
\]

The details are cumbersome. We omit the exact derivation in the general case, which is not needed for our purposes.
We shall often omit the second subscript and simply write $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$. Note that $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ is now an extensive zero-sum game with imperfect information. We study Nash equilibria of this game.

Let $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$ be the set of all maps like $\lambda_{(d,r)}$. Each member $\lambda$ of $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$ describes the signals received by the players in each round of $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$. A member $\lambda$ of $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$ is \textbf{perfect} if the signals are completely accurate. Formally, $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$ is perfect if the following is satisfied:

- For each $(h,i)$ and every $(m_A, m_B)$,
  $$\chi_{(d,r)}^{(h,i)}(m_A, m_B) = \begin{cases} 
  1 & \text{if } (m_A, m_B) = (0, 1) \text{ and } i = A, \\
  1 & \text{if } (m_A, m_B) = (1, 0) \text{ and } i = B, \\
  0 & \text{elsewhere.} \end{cases}$$

- For each $(h, i, m, g)$, $\vartheta_{(d,r)}^{-i}(h, i, m, g)$ assigns full support to $g$, where $-i \neq i$.

Figure 3 illustrates the extensive form of $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$, in a given round, when $\lambda = (\chi, \vartheta)$ satisfies

$$\mathrm{supp} (\chi^{(h,i)}) \in \begin{cases} 
  \{(0,0), (0,1)\} & \text{if } i = A, \\
  \{(0,0), (1,0)\} & \text{if } i = B, \end{cases}$$

for each $(h, i)$, and $(\chi, \vartheta)$ is otherwise identical to a perfect signal.\footnote{This case will be particularly relevant for our purposes; it describes a situation where the actual first mover always receives an accurate signal, but the second mover may sometimes receive a signal indicating that she is moving first. In all other instances, $\lambda$ is like a perfect signal.} At the beginning of the round, nature ($N$ in Figure 3) chooses the first mover (either $A$ or $B$). Then nature sends signals about the order of moves to the players. If it chooses $(m_A, m_B) = (0, 0)$, each player is told that she is the first mover. If $(0, 1)$ is chosen, then player $A$ is told that she is the first mover and player $B$ is told that she is the second mover, and so on. If each $m_i$ is 0, both players choose an announcement without receiving any information about the first mover’s action. If $(m_A, m_B) = (0, 1)$, then $A$ moves first and nature sends an accurate signal to $B$ about $A$’s action, and so on. In Figure 3, decision nodes belonging to the same information set are linked using dashed lines.

Note that if $\lambda$ is perfect, the game $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ coincides with $G_{(d,r)}$. We shall consider versions $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ of $G_{(d,r)}$ that are close to $G_{(d,r)}$. To make this statement precise, we need the following notation.

We view $D$ as a metric space with metric $\varrho_D$, where $\varrho_D$ is defined as follows. Let $\varrho_0$ be the discrete metric on $A$ (i.e., $\varrho_0 : A^2 \to \mathbb{R}$, $\varrho_0(a, b) := 1$ if $a \neq b$, $\varrho_0(a, b) := 0$ if $a = b$). Define $\varrho : (\mathbb{R} \times A \times [0, 1])^2 \to \mathbb{R}$ by

$$\varrho((x, a, d), (y, b, \delta)) := \max \{|x - y|, \varrho_0(a, b), |d - \delta|\}.$$
Given \( d \in \mathcal{D} \), we define the graph of \( d \) as

\[
\text{gr}(d) := \{(x, a, d(x, a)) : (x, a) \in \{d > 0\}\}.
\]

Observe that each \( \text{gr}(d) \) is a subset of \( \mathbb{R} \times \mathfrak{A} \times [0, 1] \). Identify the members of \( \mathcal{D} \) with their graphs and define the distance between distributions in \( \mathcal{D} \) to be the Hausdorff distance between their graphs in \( \mathbb{R} \times \mathfrak{A} \times [0, 1] \), where \( \mathbb{R} \times \mathfrak{A} \times [0, 1] \) is viewed as a metric space with associated metric \( g \). That is, given \( d, \delta \in \mathcal{D} \), let

\[
\varrho_{\mathcal{D}}(d, \delta) := \varrho(\text{gr}(d), \text{gr}(\delta)),
\]

where \( \varrho(\text{gr}(d), \text{gr}(\delta)) \) stands for the Hausdorff distance between \( \text{gr}(d) \) and \( \text{gr}(\delta) \) as induced by \( g \).\(^{32}\) Take \( \mathcal{M} \) as a metric space with associated metric

\[
\varrho_{\mathcal{M}}((d, r), (\delta, r)) := \max \{\varrho_{\mathcal{D}}(d, \delta), |r - v|\}.
\]

View any subset \( \mathcal{M}' \) of \( \mathcal{M} \) as a metric subspace of \( \mathcal{M} \) (with its relative topology). If a statement is true for all members of an open and dense subset of \( \mathcal{M}' \), we say that it is \textit{generically true in} \( \mathcal{M}' \).

Let \( \varrho_{\Lambda(d, r)} \) be a metric on \( \Lambda(d, r) \) such that

\[
\varrho_{\Lambda(d, r)} ((\chi, \vartheta), (\psi, \theta)) = \max \left\{ \max_{(h, i, m)} \left| \chi^{(h, i)}(m) - \psi^{(h, i)}(m) \right|, \max_{(h, i, m, f)} \left| \vartheta_{(d,r)}^i(h, i, m)(f) - \theta_{(d,r)}^i(h, i, m)(f) \right|, \right. \\
\left. \max_{(h, i, m, g, f)} \left| \vartheta_{(d,r)}^{-i}(h, i, m, g)(f) - \theta_{(d,r)}^{-i}(h, i, m, g)(f) \right| \right\}.
\]

Let \( \varrho_{\varTheta(d, r)} := \{G_{(d, r)}(\lambda) : \lambda \in \Lambda(d, r)\} \) be a metric space with associated metric \( \varrho_{\varTheta(d, r)} \), where

\[
\varrho_{\varTheta(d, r)} (G_{(d, r)}(\lambda), G_{(d, r)}(\lambda')) := \varrho_{\Lambda(d, r)} (\lambda, \lambda').
\]

By a \textit{neighborhood} of \( G_{(d, r)}(\lambda) \) we mean an open subset of \( \varTheta(d, r) \) containing \( G_{(d, r)}(\lambda) \). We may think of the game \( G_{(d, r)}(\lambda) \) as a perturbed version of \( G_{(d, r)} \) (recall that \( G_{(d, r)} = G_{(d, r)}(\theta) \) if \( \theta \) is perfect) if \( G_{(d, r)}(\lambda) \) lies within a small neighborhood of \( G_{(d, r)} \).

Note that, for each member of \( \tilde{E}_{(d, r)} \) not in \( E_{(d, r)} \), there exists another tax policy that meets the revenue constraint and makes some group of voters strictly better off without making any other voter group worse off. Some of these policies cannot, in principle, be ruled out as equilibrium outcomes of \( G_{(d, r)}(\lambda) \). In fact, in equilibrium, the last move of a player could be optimal and, at the same time, overtax some

\(^{32}\)One could also require that the distance between the money unit associated to each distribution be factored in. The following (more stringent) alternative definition of \( \varrho_{\mathcal{D}} \) could also be adopted without altering our results: \( \varrho_{\mathcal{D}}(d, \delta) := \max \{|\varrho(\text{gr}(d), \text{gr}(\delta))|, |\varepsilon(d) - \varepsilon(\delta)|\} \).
voter group (in the sense that one could reduce the tax burden and still meet the revenue requirement). This could happen if suppressing the tax excess did not switch the group’s support from one candidate to the other.\footnote{Observe that this feature of some equilibria is particularly stark in a model with exogenous labor supply.} To avoid situations where some voter group is soaked excessively (in the sense that some candidate keeps taxing them even when the revenue requirement has been met), we assume that the candidates are forced to choose final announcements in

\[ \mathcal{O}_{(d,r)} := \{ t \in \mathcal{T}_{(d,r)} : \text{there is no } \tau \in \mathcal{T}_{(d,r)} \text{ with } \tau \preceq t \} . \footnote{Without this assumption, Theorem 2 is also valid with } \tilde{\mathcal{E}}_{(d,r)} \text{ replacing } \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}. \]

The statement below refers to the version of \( G_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) in which the candidates’ final announcements must be elements of \( \mathcal{O}_{(d,r)} \). We slightly abuse notation and denote this game again by \( G_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \).

Theorem 2 says that (for a sufficiently small money unit) the components of the Nash set in perturbations of \( G_{(d,r)} \) have the same features as the equilibrium of Theorem 1, in the sense that, for all these components, any equilibrium tax policy lies, approximately, in \( \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)} \).

For \( +\infty > \epsilon > 0 \) and \( 1 > \theta > 0 \), define the set

\[ \mathcal{M}(\epsilon, \theta) := \left\{ (d, r) \in \mathcal{M} : \epsilon(d) < \epsilon, \frac{r}{\sum_{(x,a)} d(x,a)x} < \theta \right\} . \]

This set contains all the pairs \((d, r)\) for which the money unit \( \epsilon(d) \) is smaller than \( \epsilon \) and the revenue requirement as a fraction of total income lies below \( \theta \).

**Theorem 2.** Suppose that \( +\infty > \eta > 0 \) and \( 1 > \theta > 0 \). There exists \( +\infty > \epsilon_{(\eta, \theta)} > 0 \) such that, generically in \( \mathcal{M}(\epsilon_{(\eta, \theta)}, \theta) \), any neighborhood of \( G_{(d,r)} \) contains a game \( G_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) such that the tax policy implemented at any Nash equilibrium of \( G_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) lies in \( N_{\eta} \left( \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)} \right) \).

The proof is relegated to Section 5.

### 4. Concluding remarks

We have modeled electoral competition between two candidates as a dynamical process in which each candidate gradually commits to a tax schedule that is to be implemented if she is elected by a majority of voters. We have characterized the Nash set of the associated game. At each component of this set, equilibrium tax schedules take a very particular form, which is reminiscent of Director’s law of public income redistribution (Stigler [36]).

This paper has proposed a particular extensive form as a representation of the dynamical campaigning process, but other rules of the game could be envisaged. For example, the candidates could announce an arbitrary subset of the set of all tax
policies in the first round, and then refine this subset in subsequent rounds. Another possibility would be for the players to announce intervals of possible tax liabilities for each voter group, each interval being a refinement of intervals announced in previous rounds. Since our analysis does not readily extend to these alternative formulations, the study of these variations is left for future research.

Finally, extending the analysis to the case of endogenous labor supply is desirable for at least two reasons. First, in a model à la Mirrlees [28], the limit on the extent to which a voter group may be soaked would be endogenous, and would depend on elasticities. Second, the predictions of the current model, augmented to allow for distortionary taxation, would give new insight on the interplay of the candidates’ incentives to favor certain voter groups and the distortion of labor supply embedded in income redistribution.35

5. Proofs

The proof of Theorem 1 is omitted and available from the author upon request.36

5.1. Theorem 2: preliminaries

Define $\mathfrak{F}^*_d(f) : P(d,r) \Rightarrow P(d,r)$ by

$$
\mathfrak{F}^*_d(f) := \begin{cases}
\{g \in P(d,r) : 
\begin{align*}
g(x,a) &= f(x,a) + \varepsilon(d), \\
&\text{some } (x,a) \text{ with } f(x,a) < x,
\end{align*}
\end{cases}
\begin{cases}
g = f \text{ elsewhere}
\end{cases}
\end{cases}
$$

if $f$ is not final,

if $f$ is final.

Define $T_d(r) : P(d,r) \Rightarrow T_d(r)$ by $T_d(r)(f) := \{g \in \mathcal{O}(d,r) : g \geq f\}$ and $Z_d(r) : P(d,r) \Rightarrow \mathfrak{A}_{\varepsilon(d)}$ by

$$
Z_d(r)(f) := \arg\min_{(x,a) \in \{d > 0\}} d(x,a) \text{ s.t. } (x-f(x,a)-\varepsilon(d))d(x,a) \geq \max_{(y,b) \in \{d > 0\}} d(y,b) \varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y,b) : d(y,b) < d(x,a)} (y-f(y,b))d(y,b).
$$

Given $(x,a) \in \{d > 0\}$, define $\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(x,a)} : P(d,r) \to P(d,r)$ by

$$
\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(x,a)}(f)(y,b) := \begin{cases}
f(y,b) + \varepsilon(d) & \text{if } (y,b) = (x,a), \\
f(y,b) & \text{otherwise}.
\end{cases}
$$

35If one could interpret equilibrium tax schedules as optimal ones, for some (endogenously determined) social welfare weights, then the machinery developed within the framework of optimal income taxation could be used to understand the features of equilibrium outcomes.

36The argument for this proof was illustrated in Section 3.1. Moreover, Theorem 1 can be viewed as a special case of Theorem 2 (note however that Theorem 2 refers to a perturbation of $G_{(d,r)}$, while Theorem 1 is about $G_{(d,r)}$).
Let $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda)$ be a game exactly like $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ with the following constraints on the actions available to the players: (1) at the beginning of the game, both players are forced to choose an announcement $f^i_1 := 0 := f^B_1$; and (2) in round $k = 2, 3, \ldots$, each player $i$ is forced to choose an announcement $f^i_k \in \mathfrak{F}^*_i(d,r)(f^i_{k-1})$. When $\lambda$ is perfect, we often denote $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda)$ as $G^*_i(d,r)$. Let $A^*_i(d,r)$ be the analogue of $A_i(d,r)$ (that is, the set of all possible $\lambda$ describing the information structure in $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda)$). The set $A^*_i(d,r)$ can be viewed as a metric space with corresponding metric $\varrho_{A^*_i(d,r)}$; where the definition of $\varrho_{A^*_i(d,r)}$ is analogous to that of $\varrho_{A_i(d,r)}$ (Subsection 3.3). One can then view $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda) := \{ G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda) : \lambda \in \Lambda^*_i(d,r) \}$ as a metric space with associated metric $\varrho_{G^*_i(d,r)}$, where $\varrho_{G^*_i(d,r)}(G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda), G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda')) := \varrho_{A^*_i(d,r)}(\lambda, \lambda')$. By a neighborhood of $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ we mean an open subset of $G^*_i(d,r)$ containing $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda)$.

By the subgame of $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda)$ induced by $h$ we mean the subgame of $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda)$ that starts immediately after the history of announcements $h$ in $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda)$, before nature chooses the order of moves in the round that follows $h$. We denote this subgame by $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$, and represent its value as $v^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda) = \left( v^{(h,A)}_{(d,r)}(\lambda), v^{(h,B)}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \right)^{\text{37}}$.

Let $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ be the analogue of $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ for $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$.

A perfect $\lambda$ in $\Lambda^*_i(d,r)$ is the analogue of a perfect signal in $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$ (see Section 3.3). A member $\lambda = (\chi, \vartheta)$ of $\Lambda^*_i(d,r)$ is symmetric in $\Lambda^*_i(d,r)$ if the following holds:

- For each $h$ whose last two announcements are identical, the following holds: $\chi^{(h,A)} = \chi^{(h,B)}$ for all $h$; $\vartheta^A(h, A, m) = \vartheta^B(h, B, m)$ for all $m$; and $\vartheta^A(h, B, m, g) = \vartheta^B(h, A, m, g)$ for all $(m, g)$.

- For each $h$ whose last two announcements are identical and each super-history $(h, f_1, g_1, \ldots, f_k, g_k)$ of $h$ in $G^*_i(d,r)(\lambda)$, the following holds:
  - $\chi^{((h,f_1,g_1,\ldots,f_k,g_k),A)} = \chi^{((h,g_1,f_1,\ldots,g_k,f_k),B)}$,
  - $\vartheta^A((h, f_1, g_1, \ldots, f_k, g_k), A, m) = \vartheta^B((h, g_1, f_1, \ldots, g_k, f_k), B, m)$ for all $m$.
  - $\vartheta^A((h, f_1, g_1, \ldots, f_k, g_k), B, m, g) = \vartheta^B((h, g_1, f_1, \ldots, g_k, f_k), A, m, g)$ for all $(m, g)$.

A symmetric $\lambda$ in $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$ is defined analogously.

Let $\mathfrak{H}_{(d,r)}$ be a map that assigns to each history of announcements $h = (f_1, g_1, \ldots, f_k, g_k)$ in $G^*_i(d,r)$ the set $\mathfrak{H}_{(d,r)}(h)$ of all histories of announcements $(t_1, \tau_1, \ldots, t_k, \tau_k)$ in $G^*_i(d,r)$ such that, for some $k$ for which $f_k = g_k$, $(t_1, \tau_1) = (f_1, g_l)$ for $l = 1, \ldots, \kappa$, and $(f_k, \tau_k) = (g_{k+1}, f_{k+1}, \ldots, g_k, f_k)$.

Let $\mathcal{M}^0$ be the set of all $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}$ for which $\sum_{(x,a) \in X} d(x, a) \neq \sum_{(x,a) \in Y} d(x, a)$ whenever $\{d > 0\}$.

---

\footnote{Each $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ is a special case of the zero-sum game of incomplete information studied by Mamer and Schilling [24]. By Sion [34], this game has a value. Similar statements are true for $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ (to be defined next).}
Let $T_{(d,r)}$ be the set of all $f \in O_{(d,r)}$ such that there exist $f_1, \ldots, f_k$ and $(x_2, a_2), \ldots, (x_k, a_k)$ satisfying the following three conditions: (1) $f_1 = 0$ and $f_k = f$; (2) for all $\kappa = 2, \ldots, k$, $(x_\kappa, a_\kappa) \in Z_{(d,r)}(f_{k-1})$ if $Z_{(d,r)}(f_{k-1}) \neq \emptyset$; and (3) for all $\kappa = 2, \ldots, k$,

$$f_\kappa = \begin{cases} \varphi(x_\kappa, a_\kappa)(f_{k-1}) & \text{if } f_{k-1} \text{ is not final}, \\ f_{k-1} & \text{if } f_{k-1} \text{ is final}. \end{cases}$$

(If $r = 0$ then $T_{(d,r)}^0$ is simply $\{0\}$.) Let $E_{(d,r)}^*$ be the set of all $t \in O_{(d,r)}$ satisfying $t \leq g_r$ for some $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^0$, where

$$g_r(x,a) := \begin{cases} x & \text{if } d(x,a) < \max_{(y,b) : \tau(y,b) > 0} d(y,b), \\ \tau(x,a) & \text{if } d(x,a) = \max_{(y,b) : \tau(y,b) > 0} d(y,b). \end{cases}$$

For $+\infty > \eta > 0$, let $\mathcal{M}_{\eta}^*$ be the set of all $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}$ satisfying the following:

- For any non-final $f \in P_{(d,r)}$ for which $f \leq g$, some $g \in O_{(d,r)}$, $Z_{(d,r)}(f) \neq \emptyset$.

- For all $f \in T_{(d,r)}^0$ and all $(x, a)$ with $f(x,a) > 0$,

\[
\eta - \xi(x,a)\varepsilon(d) \geq \sum_{(y,b) : d(y,b) < d(x,a)} \frac{20}{d(x,a)} \left( \max_{(z,c)} d(z,c)\varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(z,c) : d(z,c) < d(x,a)} (z - f(z,c))d(z,c) \right), \quad (3)
\]

where $\xi(x,a) := 2 + \frac{1}{d(x,a)} \sum_{(y,b) : d(y,b) \leq d(x,a)} d(y,b)$.

Let $\Lambda_{(d,r)}^*$ be the set of all symmetric $\lambda \in \Lambda_{(d,r)}^*$ satisfying the following property: Suppose that $h = (f_1^A, f_1^B, \ldots, f_k^A, f_k^B)$ is a history of announcements in $G_{(d,r)}^*(\lambda)$ such that $f_k^A \neq f_k^B$. Suppose that there is a player $i$ such that, for any announcement $f^i$ that is feasible for $i$ in the round that follows $h$ (i.e., any member of $\mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}^*(f_k^i)$), there exists an announcement $f^j$ that the opponent $j$ may choose (in the same round) in $\mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}^*(f_k^j)$ such that $i$’s value in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,f^A,f^B)}(\lambda)$ is negative. Then the value of $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,f^A,f^B)}(\lambda)$ is nonzero.

Let $\Lambda_{(d,r)}^0$ be the set of all $(\chi, \vartheta)$ in $\Lambda_{(d,r)}^*$ such that the following is satisfied: for each $(h, i)$, supp$(\chi^{(h,i)}) \neq \{(0,0)\}$,

\[
\text{supp}(\chi^{(h,i)}) \in \begin{cases} \{(0,0), (0,1)\} & \text{if } i = A, \\ \{(0,0), (1,0)\} & \text{if } i = B, \end{cases}
\]

and $(\chi, \vartheta)$ is otherwise identical to a perfect signal in $\Lambda_{(d,r)}^*$. Each member of $\Lambda_{(d,r)}^0$ has the property that the actual first mover always receives an accurate signal, but the second mover may sometimes receive a signal indicating that she is moving first. In all other instances, the members of $\Lambda_{(d,r)}^0$ are like perfect signals.

Let $\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)} : \Lambda_{(d,r)}^* \rightarrow \Lambda_{(d,r)}$ be such that the restriction of $\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ to $G_{(d,r)}^*(\lambda)$ coincides with $\lambda$ and $\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ is otherwise identical to a perfect signal in $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$. 21
5.2. Proof of Theorem 2

Lemma 1. Suppose that $\lambda \in \Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$. Then $\Sigma_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ is symmetric in $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$.

Proof. It follows from the definition of $\Sigma_{(d,r)}$ and the following facts: (1) $\lambda$ is symmetric in $\Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$ and (2) a perfect signal in $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$ is symmetric.

Lemma 2. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $(d,r) \in \mathcal{M}^* \cap \mathcal{M}^0$. Let $\theta$ be a perfect signal in $\Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$. Fix any open subset $\mathcal{O}$ of $\Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$ containing $\theta$. Then $\mathcal{O} \cap \Lambda^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$.

Proof. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $(d,r) \in \mathcal{M}^* \cap \mathcal{M}^0$. Let $\lambda_0 = (\chi_0, \vartheta_0)$ be a perfect signal in $\Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$. If $\lambda_0 \in \Lambda^*_{(d,r)} \cap \Lambda^0_{(d,r)}$, there is nothing to prove, so suppose that $\lambda_0 \notin \Lambda^*_{(d,r)} \cap \Lambda^0_{(d,r)}$. Since $\lambda_0 \in \Lambda^0_{(d,r)}$, we must have $\lambda_0 \notin \Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$. Fix any open subset $\mathcal{O}$ of $\Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$ containing $\lambda_0$.

Let $\mathcal{H}_1$ be the set of all histories of announcements $h$ in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda_0)$ satisfying the following: (i) the last pair of announcements $(g^A, g^B)$ in $h$ has $g^A \neq g^B$; (ii) there is a player $i$ such that, for any announcement $f^i$ that is feasible for $i$ in the round that follows $h$ (i.e., any member of $\mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(g^j)$), there exists an announcement $f^j$ that the opponent $j$ may choose (in the same round, in $\mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(g^j)$) such that $v^i(h^{A}, f^B, i)(\lambda_0) < 0$; (iii) $v^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda_0) = 0$; and (iv) there is no super-history $h'$ of $h$ different from $h$ such that (1) the last pair of announcements $(t^A, t^B)$ in $h'$ has $t^A \neq t^B$, (2) there is a player $i$ such that, for any announcement $\tau^i \in \mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(\tau^j)$, there exists an announcement $\tau^j$ that the opponent $j$ may choose (in the same round, in $\mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(\tau^j)$) such that $v^{i}(h', \tau^A, \tau^B, i)(\lambda_0) < 0$, and (3) $v^{h'}_{(d,r)}(\lambda_0) = 0$. Because $\lambda_0 \notin \Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$, since $\lambda_0$ is symmetric, we have $\mathcal{H}_1 \neq \emptyset$. Let $\lambda_{1e} = (\chi_{1e}, \vartheta_{1e})$ be an element of $\Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$ exactly like $\lambda_0$ except for the following:

- Take $h_1 \in \mathcal{H}_1$. For some $1 > \epsilon > 0$,

$$
\chi_{1e}^{(h_1,A)}(m) = \begin{cases} 1 - \epsilon & \text{if } m = (0, 1), \\ \epsilon & \text{if } m = (0, 0), \\ 0 & \text{elsewhere.} \end{cases}
$$

and

$$
\chi_{1e}^{(h_1,B)}(m) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } m = (1, 0), \\ 0 & \text{elsewhere.} \end{cases}
$$

Moreover, for all $h \in \mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}(h_1)$, $\chi_{1e}^{(h_1,A)} = \chi_{1e}^{(h,B)}$ and $\chi_{1e}^{(h_1,B)} = \chi_{1e}^{(h,A)}$.

- Let $h_2 \in \mathcal{H}_1 \setminus \{\{h_1\} \cup \mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}(h_1)\}$. Then, $\chi_{1e}^{(h_2,A)} = \chi_{1e}^{(h_1,A)}$ and $\chi_{1e}^{(h_2,B)} = \chi_{1e}^{(h_1,B)}$.

Moreover, for all $h \in \mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}(h_2)$, $\chi_{1e}^{(h_2,A)} = \chi_{1e}^{(h,B)}$ and $\chi_{1e}^{(h_2,B)} = \chi_{1e}^{(h,A)}$.

- Let $h_3 \in \mathcal{H}_1 \setminus (\cup_{i=1}^2 (\{h_1\} \cup \mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}(h_1)))$ and proceed as in the previous steps until $\chi_{1e}^{(h,i)}$ has been defined for each $h \in \mathcal{H}_1$ and each $i$.  

22
Claim 1. There exists a symmetric $\lambda_1 = (\chi_1, \vartheta_1) \in \Lambda_{(d,r)}^\circ$ such that $v^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda_1) \neq 0$ for each $h \in \mathcal{H}_1$, and $\lambda_1 \in \mathcal{D}$.

Proof. Let $\mathcal{H}_1'$ be the set of all $h \in \mathcal{H}_1$ for which, given $\epsilon$, there exists $\epsilon' < \epsilon$ such that $v^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{1\epsilon'}) \neq 0$. Define $\mathcal{H}_1' := \mathcal{H}_1 \setminus \mathcal{H}_1'$. Suppose that $\mathcal{H}_1' \neq \emptyset$ (if this set is empty, ignore the ensuing argument and go straight to the next paragraph). Let $\lambda_{1\epsilon}' = (\chi_{1\epsilon}', \vartheta_{1\epsilon}')$ be an element of $\Lambda_{(d,r)}'$ that is exactly like $\lambda_{1\epsilon}$ except for the following:

- Take $h_1 \in \mathcal{H}_1'$. Then
  \[ \chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_1, B) = \begin{cases} 1 - \epsilon & \text{if } m = (1,0), \\ \epsilon & \text{if } m = (0,0), \\ 0 & \text{elsewhere}, \end{cases} \]
  and
  \[ \chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_1, A) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } m = (0,1), \\ 0 & \text{elsewhere}. \end{cases} \]
  Moreover, for all $h \in \mathcal{H}(d,r)(h_1)$, $\chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_1, A) = \chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_1, B)$ and $\chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_1, A) = \chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_1, B)$.

- Let $h_2 \in \mathcal{H}_1' \setminus \{h_1\} \cup \mathcal{H}(d,r)(h_1)$. Then, $\chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_2, A) = \chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_1, A)$ and $\chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_2, B) = \chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_1, B)$. Moreover, for all $h \in \mathcal{H}(d,r)(h_2)$, $\chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_2, A) = \chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_2, B)$ and $\chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_2, B) = \chi_{1\epsilon}'(h_2, B)$.

- Let $h_3 \in \mathcal{H}_1' \setminus \bigcup_{i=1}^{2} \{h_i\} \cup \mathcal{H}(d,r)(h_i))$ and proceed as in the previous steps until $\chi_{1\epsilon}'$ has been defined for each $h \in \mathcal{H}_1'$ and each $i$.

Clearly, each $\lambda_{1\epsilon}'$ belongs to $\Lambda_{(d,r)}^\circ$. We claim that, for $\epsilon$ sufficiently small, $v^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{1\epsilon}') \neq 0$ for each $h \in \mathcal{H}_1'$. We momentarily take this statement for granted and relegate its proof to the next paragraph. If, for $\epsilon$ sufficiently small, $v^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{1\epsilon}) \neq 0$ for each $h \in \mathcal{H}_1'$, then, for $\epsilon$ sufficiently small, $v^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{1\epsilon}') \neq 0$ for each $h \in \mathcal{H}_1'$, and $\lambda_{1\epsilon}' \in \mathcal{D}$. Thus, since $\lambda_{1\epsilon}'$ is symmetric by construction, the proof of Claim 1 is completed by taking $\lambda_1 := \lambda_{1\epsilon}'$ ($\epsilon$ sufficiently small).

We now turn to showing that $v^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{1\epsilon}) \neq 0$ for each $h \in \mathcal{H}_1'$, for $\epsilon$ sufficiently small. Fix $h \in \mathcal{H}_1'$. For $\epsilon$ sufficiently small, $\lambda_{1\epsilon}$ is accurate enough that the players’ equilibrium behavior along the equilibrium path in $G^*(d,r)(\lambda_{1\epsilon})$, in the round that follows $h$, is as follows:

(a) For each $i$, if the content of $i$’s first message is 0, then $i$’s equilibrium behavior strategy $\alpha_i$ has support within

\[ \arg\min_{j \neq i} \left( \max_{f \neq -i} v^f_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{1\epsilon}) \right), \quad -i \neq i, \]

at the corresponding information set of $i$. 

23
(b) For each $i$, if the content of $i$’s first message is 1 and the second message says $f^{-i}$ ($-i \neq i$), $i$’s equilibrium behavior strategy has support within

$$\text{arg max}_{f_i} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),i)(\lambda_{1e})$$

at the corresponding information set of $i$.

Analogous statements hold for $G^*_r(\lambda_{1e})$.

Since $h \in \mathcal{H}'', h \in \mathcal{H}_1$, and so $v^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda_0) = 0$. Hence, in view of (a) and (b),

$$v^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda_0) = \frac{1}{2} \min_{f^A} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),A)(\lambda_0) + \frac{1}{2} \max_{f^B} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),A)(\lambda_0) = 0. \quad (4)$$

Moreover, since $h \in \mathcal{H}'$, $v^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{1e}) = 0$, and therefore

$$0 = v^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda_{1e}) = \frac{1}{2} \min_{f^A} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),A)(\lambda_{1e})$$

$$+ \frac{1}{2} \left( \varepsilon \sum_{(f^A,f^B)} \alpha_A(f^A)|\alpha_B(f^B)|v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),A)(\lambda_{1e}) + (1 - \varepsilon) \max_{f^B} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),A)(\lambda_{1e}) \right).$$

We can replace $\lambda_{1e}$ by $\lambda_0$ in this equation, for $\lambda_{1e}$ and $\lambda_0$ coincide at the beginning of the round that follows any history of announcements of the form $(h, f^A, f^B)$. Hence, using (4), we obtain

$$\sum_{(f^A,f^B)} \alpha_A(f^A)|\alpha_B(f^B)|v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),A)(\lambda_0) = \max_{f^B} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),A)(\lambda_0).$$

Since we know that the right-hand side of this equation is negative, so is the left-hand side, and therefore

$$\sum_{(f^A,f^B)} \alpha_A(f^A)|\alpha_B(f^B)|v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),B)(\lambda_0) > 0. \quad (5)$$

Moreover,

$$v^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda'_{1e}) = \frac{1}{2} \min_{f^A} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),B)(\lambda'_{1e})$$

$$+ \frac{1}{2} \left( \varepsilon \sum_{(f^A,f^B)} \alpha_A(f^A)|\alpha_B(f^B)|v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),B)(\lambda'_{1e}) + (1 - \varepsilon) \max_{f^B} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),B)(\lambda'_{1e}) \right).$$

As before, we can replace $\lambda'_{1e}$ by $\lambda_0$ in this equation. Therefore, since equation (4) holds true and $\min_{f^A} v^*_{(d,r)}((h,f^A,f^B),B)(\lambda_0) > 0$, it follows (in view of (5)) that $v^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda'_{1e}) > 0$, as we sought. \(\square\)
Claim 2. For each \( h \in H_1 \), there is no super-history \( h' \) (including \( h \)) of \( h \) such that (1) the last pair of announcements \((t^A,t^B)\) in \( h' \) has \( t^A \neq t^B \), (2) there is a player \( i \) such that, for any announcement \( \tau^i \in \tilde{G}^*_{(d,r)}(t^i) \), there exists an announcement \( \tau^j \) that the opponent \( j \) may choose (in the same round, in \( \tilde{G}^*_{(d,r)}(t^j) \)) such that \( v^i((h',t^A,t^B),i)(\lambda_1) < 0 \), and (3) \( v^{h'}_{(d,r)}(\lambda_1) = 0 \).

Proof. Take \( h \in H_1 \) and a super-history \( h' \) of \( h \). If \( h' = h \), the statement follows immediately from Claim 1. If \( h \neq h' \), the statement follows from (iv) and the fact that when \( h \neq h' \) the choice of \( \lambda_1 \) (in the proof of Claim 1) entails \( v^i((h',t^A,t^B),i)(\lambda_0) = v^i((h',t^A,t^B),i)(\lambda_1) \) and \( v^{h'}_{(d,r)}(\lambda_0) = v^{h'}_{(d,r)}(\lambda_1) \).

Since \( \lambda_1 \in \mathcal{D} \cap \Lambda^o_{(d,r)} \) (Claim 1), if \( \lambda_1 \in \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \), the proof is complete. Suppose that \( \lambda_1 \notin \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \). Let \( H_2 \) be the set of all histories of announcements \( h \) in \( G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda_1) \) satisfying the following: (1) the last pair of announcements \((g^A,g^B)\) in \( h \) has \( g^A \neq g^B \); (2) there is a player \( i \) such that, for any announcement \( f^i \in \tilde{G}^*_{(d,r)}(g^i) \), there exists an announcement \( f^j \) that the opponent \( j \) may choose (in the same round, in \( \tilde{G}^*_{(d,r)}(g^j) \)) such that \( v^i((h',f^A,f^B),i)(\lambda_1) < 0 \); (3) \( v^{h'}_{(d,r)}(\lambda_1) = 0 \); and (4) there is no super-history \( h' \) of \( h \) different from \( h \) such that (a) the last pair of announcements \((t^A,t^B)\) in \( h' \) has \( t^A \neq t^B \), (b) there is a player \( i \) such that, for any announcement \( \tau^i \in \tilde{G}^*_{(d,r)}(t^i) \), there exists an announcement \( \tau^j \) that the opponent \( j \) may choose (in the same round, in \( \tilde{G}^*_{(d,r)}(t^j) \)) such that \( v^i((h',t^A,t^B),i)(\lambda_1) < 0 \), and (c) \( v^{h'}_{(d,r)}(\lambda_1) = 0 \). Because \( \lambda_1 \notin \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \), since \( \lambda_1 \) is symmetric (Claim 1), we have \( H_2 \neq \emptyset \). Moreover, by Claim 2, and letting \( \mathcal{H} \) and \( \mathcal{H}^o \) represent, respectively, the set of all histories of announcements in \( G^*_{(d,r)} \) and the set of all super-histories (in \( G^*_{(d,r)} \)) of the members of \( H_1 \) (including \( H_1 \)), we must have \( H_2 \subseteq \mathcal{H} \setminus \mathcal{H}^o_1 \). Reasoning as before, one can obtain the analogue of \( \lambda_1, \lambda_2 \), in \( \mathcal{D} \cap \Lambda^o_{(d,r)} \) and \( \mathcal{D} \cap \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \). If \( \lambda_2 \in \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \), the proof is complete.

Otherwise, one can define the analogue of \( \mathcal{H}_2, \mathcal{H}_3 \), and show that \( \mathcal{H}_3 \subseteq \mathcal{H} \setminus \mathcal{H}^o_2 \), where \( \mathcal{H}^o_2 \) is the analogue of \( \mathcal{H}^o_1 \). Eventually, there is an element of the sequence \( \mathcal{H} \setminus \mathcal{H}^o_1, \mathcal{H} \setminus \mathcal{H}^o_2, \ldots \) that becomes \( \emptyset \), and some \( \lambda_k \) is obtained in \( \mathcal{D} \cap \Lambda^o_{(d,r)} \) with \( \lambda_k \in \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \).

Lemma 3. Suppose that \(+\infty > \eta > 0\) and \((d,r) \in M^*_{\eta} \cap M^o\). Let \( \theta^* \) and \( \theta \) be perfect signals in \( \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \) and \( \Lambda_{(d,r)} \) respectively. Fix open subsets \( \mathcal{D}^* \) and \( \mathcal{D} \) of \( \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \) and \( \Lambda_{(d,r)} \) containing \( \theta^* \) and \( \theta \), respectively. Then there exists \( \lambda \in \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \cap \Lambda^o_{(d,r)} \) such that \( \mathcal{D} \cap \mathcal{L}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \neq \emptyset \).

Proof. The statement follows from Lemma 2 and the definition of \( \mathcal{L}_{(d,r)} \).

Lemma 4. Suppose that \(+\infty > \eta > 0\) and \(1 > \theta > 0\). Then \( M(\varepsilon(\eta,\theta),\theta) \subseteq M^*_{\eta} \) for some \(+\infty > \varepsilon(\eta,\theta) > 0\).
Proof. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$. It is easy to see that there exists $+\infty > \varepsilon_{\eta} > 0$ such that any member of $\{(d, r) \in \mathcal{M} : \varepsilon(d) \leq \varepsilon_{\eta}\}$ satisfies the second condition in the definition of $\mathcal{M}^*_\eta$ (see (3)).

We show that there exists $+\infty > \varepsilon_{\theta} > 0$ such that any member of $\{(d, r) \in \mathcal{M} : \varepsilon(d) \leq \varepsilon_{\theta} \text{ and } \sum r d(x,a) \leq \theta\}$ satisfies the first condition in the definition of $\mathcal{M}^*_\eta$. Given $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}$, define the sets $X^0_{(d,r)}, X^1_{(d,r)}, \ldots$ inductively as follows: $X^0_{(d,r)} := \arg\min_{(x,a) \in \{d>0\}} d(x,a)$, and, for $k = 1, 2, \ldots$,

$$X^k_{(d,r)} := \arg\min_{(x,a) \in \{d>0\} \setminus \left( \bigcup_{l=0}^{k-1} X^l_{(d,r)} \right)} d(x,a).$$

Define $\tau_{(d,r)}$ inductively as follows:

- $\tau_{(d,r)}(x, a) := \max_{f \in \mathcal{P}_{(d,r)}: (x-f(x,a)-\varepsilon(d))d(x,a) \geq \max_{(y,b)} d(y,b)\varepsilon(d)} f(x,a)$ for all $(x,a) \in X^0_{(d,r)}$;

- for $k = 1, 2, \ldots$, let

$$\tau_{(d,r)}(x, a) := \max_{f \in \mathcal{P}_{(d,r)}: (x-f(x,a)-\varepsilon(d))d(x,a) \geq \max_{(y,b)} d(y,b)\varepsilon(d) + \sum r d(y,b) \leq \theta} f(x,a)$$

for all $(x,a) \in X^k_{(d,r)}$.

Note that the choice of $\tau_{(d,r)}$ entails that, for any $(d,r)$ with $\varepsilon(d)$ sufficiently small, say $\varepsilon(d) \leq \varepsilon_{\theta}$,

$$\frac{\sum_{(x,a)} \tau_{(d,r)}(x,a)d(x,a)}{\sum_{(x,a)} x d(x,a)} > \theta. \tag{6}$$

Now fix any $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}$ with $\varepsilon(d) \leq \varepsilon_{\theta}$ and $\sum r d(x,a) \leq \theta$. The first condition in the definition of $\mathcal{M}^*_\eta$ says that for any non-final $f \in \mathcal{P}_{(d,r)}$ for which $f \leq g$, some $g \in \mathcal{O}_{(d,r)}$, $Z_{(d,r)}(f) \neq \emptyset$. Fix a non-final $f \in \mathcal{P}_{(d,r)}$ for which $f \leq g$, some $g \in \mathcal{O}_{(d,r)}$. Because $\varepsilon(d) \leq \varepsilon_\theta$ (so (6) holds) and $\sum r d(x,a) \leq \theta$, there exists $(r,a)$ such that $f(r,a) \leq \tau_{(d,r)}(r,a)$. Clearly, the choice of $\tau_{(d,r)}$ entails $Z_{(d,r)}(\tau_{(d,r)}) \ni (x,a)$ for all $(x,a) \in \{d > 0\}$. In particular, $Z_{(d,r)}(\tau_{(d,r)}) \ni (r,a)$. Therefore, since $f(r,a) \leq \tau_{(d,r)}(r,a)$, it follows that $Z_{(d,r)}(f) \neq \emptyset$.

We conclude that any member of $\{(d, r) \in \mathcal{M} : \varepsilon(d) \leq \varepsilon_{\theta} \text{ and } \sum r d(x,a) \leq \theta\}$ satisfies the first condition in the definition of $\mathcal{M}^*_\eta$. It only remains to observe that $\mathcal{M} \{\varepsilon(\eta, \theta), \theta\} \subseteq \mathcal{M}^*_\eta$ holds for any $0 < \varepsilon(\eta, \theta) < \min \{\varepsilon, \varepsilon_{\theta}\}$.

---

As $\varepsilon(d)$ decreases, given $f \in \mathcal{T}_{(d,r)}^0$, $(x, a)$ with $f(x, a) > 0$, and $(z, c)$ with $d(z, c) < d(x, a)$, $z - f(z, c)$ decreases, and one can take $z - f(z, c)$ below any positive number if $\varepsilon(d)$ is sufficiently small.
Lemma 5. Suppose that $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^o$ and $\lambda \in \Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$. Suppose that $h = (f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ is a history of announcements in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ such that $f_k^A \neq f_k^B$. If the value of $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ is zero, there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical.

Proof. Suppose that $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^o$ and $\lambda \in \Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$. Suppose that $h = (f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ is a history of announcements in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ such that $f_k^A \neq f_k^B$, and let the value of $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ be zero. We proceed by induction on the number of rounds left until the end of the game.

If the set $\mathfrak{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f_k^A) \times \mathfrak{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f_k^B)$ contains only pairs of final announcements, then, since (1) $\lambda \in \Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$, (2) $h = (f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ is a history of announcements in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ such that $f_k^A \neq f_k^B$, and (3) the value of $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ is zero, for any player $i$, there exists $f^i \in \mathfrak{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f_k^i)$ such that, for all $\tau^j \in \mathfrak{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f_k^j)$ ($j \neq i$), $v^*(h, f^A, f^B, i)(\lambda) \geq 0$. It follows that there is an equilibrium in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that prescribes play of $(f^A, f^B)$ (with probability one) in the first round of $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$. Moreover, since $v^*(h, f^A, f^B, i)(\lambda) \geq 0$ for each $i$, we have $v^*(h, f^A, f^B)(\lambda) = 0$. Therefore, since $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^o$ and, by assumption, each $f^i$ is final, $f^A = f^B$ must hold. We have thus obtained a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical.

Now suppose that the following has been proven: Suppose that $h = (f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ is a history of announcements in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ such that $f_k^A \neq f_k^B$, and let the value of $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ be zero. Suppose that $(\tau^A, \tau^B)$ is a pair of final announcements for any history $(\tau_1^A, \tau_1^B, ..., \tau_{\kappa}^A, \tau_{\kappa}^B)$ of announcements in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ having length $\kappa$. Then there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical.

Suppose that $h = (f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ is a history of announcements in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ such that $f_k^A \neq f_k^B$, and let the value of $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ be zero. Suppose that $(\tau^A_{\kappa+1}, \tau^B_{\kappa+1})$ is a pair of final announcements for any history $(\tau_1^A, \tau_1^B, ..., \tau_{\kappa}^A, \tau_{\kappa}^B)$ of announcements in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ having length $\kappa + 1$. We show that there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical.

As before, there exists an equilibrium in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that prescribes play of $(f^A, f^B)$ in the first round of the game, and $v^*(h, f^A, f^B)(\lambda) = 0$. If $f^A = f^B$, the proof is complete. Otherwise, we have a history $(h, f^A, f^B)$ with $f^A \neq f^B$ and $v^*(h, f^A, f^B)(\lambda) = 0$, and the induction hypothesis gives the desired conclusion.

Lemma 6. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^*_\eta$. Let $h$ be a history of announcements in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$, where $\lambda$ is symmetric in $\Lambda^*_{(d,r)}$. Suppose that the last two

\[39\text{By } v^*(h, f^A, \tau^B, i)(\lambda) \text{ we mean } v^*(h, f^A, \tau^B, A)(\lambda) \text{ if } i = A \text{ and } v^*(h, \tau^A, f^B, i)(\lambda) \text{ if } i = B.\]
announcements in $h$ are identical and equal to $f$, and let $T_{(d,r)}(f) \cap E^*_r \neq \emptyset$. Then either $T_{(d,r)}(f) \subseteq N[h] \left( E_{(d,r)} \right)$ or there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical.

Proof. While the general proof is long, the essence of the argument is relatively straightforward, and can be illustrated within the example of Section 3.1 (the details are available upon request). In this example, assuming the antecedent of the lemma, it is easy to see that, if $T_{(d,r)}(f) \not\subseteq N[h] \left( E_{(d,r)} \right)$, then, for some $(y,b) \in Z_{(d,r)}(f)$, the following map is not final:

$$
(x,a) \mapsto \begin{cases} x & \text{if } d(x,a) < d(y,b), \\
 f(x,a) & \text{elsewhere.} 
\end{cases}
$$

(This is also true in general.) Any player $i$'s choice of $\varphi^{(y,b)}_{(d,r)}(f)$ in the round that follows $h$ is optimal. In fact, if the opponent chooses $\varphi^{(z,c)}_{(d,r)}(f)$ with $d(z,c) = d(y,b)$, then $(z,c) = (y,b)$, since $\lambda$ is symmetric, choosing the same action gives both players a payoff of zero, and zero is the value of $\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ (since $\lambda$ is symmetric and the last two announcements in $h$ equal $f$). If the opponent chooses $\varphi^{(z,c)}_{(d,r)}(f)$ with $d(z,c) < d(y,b)$, then, since the map (7) is not final, she cannot win the election. If the opponent chooses $\varphi^{(z,c)}_{(d,r)}(f)$ with $d(z,c) > d(y,b)$, then two cases are possible: (1) $i$ can keep taxing group $(y,b)$ until the revenue constraint is met, thereby defeating her opponent; (2) otherwise, the map $(x,a) \mapsto x$ if $d(x,a) < d(y,b)$, $(x,a) \mapsto \varphi^{(z,c)}_{(d,r)}(f)(x,a)$ elsewhere, is not final, and $i$ can choose $\varphi^{(y,b)}_{(d,r)}(f)$ after $\varphi^{(y,b)}_{(d,r)}(f)$ in the case, the argument can be repeated (with $\varphi^{(y,b)}_{(d,r)}(f)$ replacing $f$). A finite number of iterations will give the desired result.

Lemma 7. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $(d,r) \in M^*_\lambda \cap M \circ$. Let $\lambda$ be symmetric in $A_{(d,r)}$. Let $h = (f^1, f^2, ..., f^K, f^B)$ be a history of announcements in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ satisfying the following: (1) there exist $(x,a)$ and $(y,b)$ and $i$ and $j$ such that

$$
f^j_k(x,a) = f^j_k(x,a) + \varepsilon(d), f^j_k(y,b) = f^j_k(y,b) + \varepsilon(d), \text{ and } f^j_k = f^j_k \text{ elsewhere,} \tag{8}
$$

and $f^j_k(y,b) > t(y,b)$ for all $t \in E_{(d,r)}$, and (2) $f^A_k$ and $f^K_j$ are not final. Let $\sigma_i$ be a strategy profile in $\Gamma^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that prescribes $\varphi^{(x,a)}_{(d,r)}(f^j_k)$ in the first round of $\Gamma^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$. Then, there is a strategy $\sigma_j$ in $\Gamma^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ that secures a positive payoff in $\Gamma^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ against $\sigma_i$.

---

This is true in the example and, in general, if $(d,r) \in M^\circ$. While the statement of Lemma 6 covers in principle cases where $(d,r) \not\in M^\circ$, proving it only for the cases where $(d,r) \in M^\circ$ suffices for the proof of Theorem 2.
Proof. The details are cumbersome (and available upon request), but the general idea of the proof is simple. Since (8) holds and \( \sigma_i \) prescribes \( \varphi_{(d,r)}^{(x,a)}(f_k^j) \) in the first round of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \), it suffices to show that there is a strategy \( \nu_j \) in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{h'}(\lambda) \) that secures a positive payoff against \( \nu_i \), where the last two elements of \( h' \) are identical and equal to \( f_k^j \), and \( \nu_i \) prescribes \( \varphi_{(d,r)}^{(y,b)}(f_k^j) \) in the first round of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{h'}(\lambda) \).

Observe that, because (1) \( f_k^j \) is not final, (2) \( f_k^j \leq g \) for some \( g \in \mathcal{O}_{\lambda}(d,r) \) (for \( h \) is a history of announcements in \( G_{\lambda}^*(\lambda) \)), and (3) \( (d,r) \in \mathcal{M}_\lambda^* \), we have \( Z(d,r)(f_k^j) \neq \emptyset \). Therefore, the argument in the proof of Lemma 6 can be used to see that there is a strategy \( \nu_j \) in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{h'}(\lambda) \) that secures a nonnegative payoff against \( \nu_i \). Imagine for a moment that \( \lambda \) is perfect. Consider a strategy \( \mu_j \) in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{h'}(\lambda) \) that mimics \( \nu_j \) except that, each time it is \( j \)’s time to move second, \( j \) increases her tax policy by \( \varepsilon(d) \) at the point where \( i \) increased her tax policy as a first mover. Because \( f_k^j(y,b) > t(y,b) \) for all \( t \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}, \) for each non-final \( f \in \mathcal{T}_{(d,r)}(f_k^j) \) and every \( (z,c) \in \mathcal{Z}_{(d,r)}(f) \), we have \( d(z,c) < d(y,b) \). Thus, \( \mu_j \) ensures, against \( \nu_i \), a zero payoff when it mimics \( \nu_j \) and a positive payoff in the event in which \( j \) moves second in each round of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{h'}(\lambda) \). The same argument is valid if \( \lambda \in \Lambda^0_{(d,r)} \).

Lemma 8. Suppose that \((d,r) \in \mathcal{M} \). Suppose that \( \lambda \) is symmetric in \( \Lambda^s_{(d,r)} \). Let \( h \) be a history in \( G_{\lambda}^* \) whose last pair of announcements is \( (f^A, f^B) \), where \( f^A \neq f^B \). Let \( \sigma = (\sigma_A, \sigma_B) \) be a strategy profile in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) with following property: \( \sigma \) is a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \), and play of \( \sigma \) generates a unique history of announcements in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) whose last two elements are identical. Let \( (f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B) \) be a history generated under play of \( \sigma \). Suppose that \( k > 1, f_1^A \neq f_k^A \) for all \( \ell = 1, ..., k - 1 \), and \( f_k^A = f_k^B \). Suppose that \( f_1^A = \varphi_{(d,r)}^{(x,a)}(f^A) \) and \( f_2^A = \varphi_{(d,r)}^{(y,b)}(f_1^A) \), where \( (x,a) \neq (y,b) \). Then the value of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}(h,\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(y,b)}(f^A), f_k^B) \) \( (\lambda) \) is zero. Analogous statements are true for player \( B \).

Proof. Assume the antecedent. We prove the statement for player \( A \) (the argument for \( B \) is similar). By the property of \( \sigma \) and the fact that \( \lambda \) is symmetric, the value of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) is zero. Let \( h' := (h, \varphi_{(d,r)}^{(y,b)}(f^A), f_k^B) \). We show that \( v_{(d,r)}(h',A) \geq 0 \). To see this, it suffices to show that \( v_{(d,r)}(h',\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(x,a)}(\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(y,b)}(f^A)), \tau^B) \geq 0 \) for any announcement \( \tau^B \) that is feasible for \( B \) in the first round of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \). Observe that \( (\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(x,a)}(\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(y,b)}(f^A)), \tau^B) = (f_2^A, \tau^B) \). Further, \( v_{(d,r)}((h,f_1^A, f_1^B, f_2^A, \tau^B), \lambda) \geq 0 \), since the choice of \( f_2^A \) is optimal in the round that follows \((h, f_1^A, f_1^B) \) (and \( \sigma \) is a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) that generates a unique history of announcements \((f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B) \)) in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) whose last two elements are identical). Therefore, \( v_{(d,r)}((h',\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(x,a)}(\varphi_{(d,r)}^{(y,b)}(f^A)), \tau^B), \lambda) = v_{(d,r)}((h, f_1^A, f_1^B, f_2^A, \tau^B), \lambda) \geq 0 \), as desired.

Because the value of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) is zero and there exists an optimal play of \( B \) that prescribes \( f_1^B \) in the first round of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \), regardless of nature’s choices (of the
order of moves and the signals), we must have $v^{h',B}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \geq 0$. Hence, since we know that $v^{h',A}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) = 0$, we obtain $v^{h'}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) = 0$, as we sought.

Lemma 9. Suppose that $(d,r) \in \mathcal{M}^o$ and $\lambda \in \Lambda^*_{(d,r)} \cap \Lambda^o_{(d,r)}$. Let $h = (f_1^A, f_2^B, \ldots, f_k^A, f_k^B)$ be a history of announcements in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ such that $T_{(d,r)}(f_k^A) \cap E_{(d,r)}^* \neq \emptyset$ for each $i$. Let $\sigma = (\sigma_A, \sigma_B)$ be a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda)$ whose last two components are identical. Given a player $i$, suppose that $\sigma_i$ prescribes $g^i$ in the round that follows $h$. Then $T_{(d,r)}(g^i) \cap E_{(d,r)}^* \neq \emptyset$.

Proof. Assume the antecedent. We fix a player $i$, assume that $T_{(d,r)}(g^i) \cap E_{(d,r)}^* = \emptyset$, and derive a contradiction. Because $T_{(d,r)}(f_k^A) \cap E_{(d,r)}^* \neq \emptyset$ and $T_{(d,r)}(g^i) \cap E_{(d,r)}^* = \emptyset$, $g^i = \varphi(x,a)(f_k^A)$ for some $(x,a)$. The choice of $(x,a)$, along with the fact that $T_{(d,r)}(f_k^A) \cap E_{(d,r)}^* \neq \emptyset$ and $T_{(d,r)}(g^i) \cap E_{(d,r)}^* = \emptyset$, entails $g^i(x,a) > g_r(x,a)$ for all $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^o \ (g_r$ was defined in Section 5.1). By assumption, play of $\sigma$ in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda)$ generates a unique history of announcements $((\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_l, \tau^B_l))$ in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical $(\tau^A_l = \tau^B_l)$. Either $l = 1$ or $l > 1$. Both cases can be dealt with using a similar argument, so we only consider the case when $l > 1$.

Without loss of generality, assume $\tau^A_i \neq \tau^B_i$ for all $\ell = 1, \ldots, l - 1$. Since $\tau^A_i = g^i$ and $g^i(x,a) > g_r(x,a)$ for all $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^o$, we may pick the longest sub-history $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$ of $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_{l-1}, \tau^B_{l-1})$ such that the following is true:

\[ (*) \quad \exists m \in \mathbb{N} \quad \text{for } \tau \in T_{(d,r)}^o \quad \exists \ (y,b) \text{ with } \tau^m(y,b) = \varphi(y,b)(\tau^m) \text{ and } \tau^m(y,b) > g_r(y,b) \]

Let $h' := (h, \tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$. Two cases are possible: $\tau^A_m(y,b) = \tau^B_m(y,b)$ and $\tau^A_m(y,b) < \tau^B_m(y,b)$, where $j \neq i$ (the case when $\tau^A_m(y,b) > \tau^B_m(y,b)$ is not possible; for this case $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$ would not be the longest sub-history of $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_{l-1}, \tau^B_{l-1})$ satisfying $(*))$. We consider each case in turn.

Case 1. $\tau^A_m(y,b) = \tau^B_m(y,b)$. Since $\tau^A_1 = \tau^B_1$ and $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$ is the longest sub-history of $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$ such that $(*)$ holds, in this case we must have $\tau^A_{m+1}(y,b) = \tau^B_{m+1}(y,b)$. On the other hand, we know that $\tau^A_m \neq \tau^B_m$ (for $m < l$). Since (1) $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$ is the longest sub-history of $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$ such that $(*)$ holds, (2) $\tau^A_m \neq \tau^B_m$, (3) $\tau^A_m(y,b) = \tau^B_m(y,b)$, and (4) $\tau^A_1 = \tau^B_1$, letting $j$ be $i$’s opponent, $\tau^j_{m+1}$ must be not final, so we may write $\tau^j_{m+2} = \varphi(z,c)(\tau^j_{m+1})$ for some $(z,c)$. Note that the fact that $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$ is the longest sub-history of $(\tau^A_1, \tau^B_1, \ldots, \tau^A_m, \tau^B_m)$ such that $(*)$ holds implies that $(z,c) \neq (y,b)$. Thus, we have $\tau^j_{m+1} = \varphi(y,b)(\tau^j_{m+1})$, $\tau^j_{m+2} = \varphi(z,c)(\tau^j_{m+1})$, and $(z,c) \neq (y,b)$. Moreover, $m + 2 \leq l$ (indeed, we have $\tau^A_m \neq \tau^B_m$ and $\tau^A_{m+1} \neq \tau^B_{m+1}$). Therefore, by Lemma 8, the
value of $\Gamma^*(h',\varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau^*_m),\tau^*_m+1) (\lambda)$ is zero.\textsuperscript{41} Since (1) $(d,r) \in \mathcal{M}^c$, (2) $\lambda \in \Lambda_{(d,r)}^*$, (3) $\varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau^*_m) \neq \tau^*_m+1$, and (4) the value of $\Gamma^*(h',\varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau^*_m),\tau^*_m+1) (\lambda)$ is zero,\textsuperscript{42} Lemma 5 gives a Nash equilibrium $\nu = (\nu_A, \nu_B)$ in $\Gamma^*(h',\varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau^*_m),\tau^*_m+1) (\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements $(t^A_1, t^B_1, \ldots, t^A_\kappa, t^B_\kappa)$ whose last two elements are identical ($t^A_\kappa = t^B_\kappa$). We consider two sub-cases:

Case 1.1. $\kappa = 1$. To ease notation, let $t^i_0 := \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau^*_m)$ and $t^i_0 := \tau^*_m+1$. We have $t^A_0 \neq t^B_0$, $t^A_0$ and $t^B_0$ non-final, and (if $\kappa = 1$) $t^A_1 = t^B_1$. Therefore, there exist $(\eta, \lambda)$ and $(\eta, \lambda)$ and $i_1$ and $i_2$ such that

$$t^i_0(\tau, \eta) = t^i_0(\tau, \eta) + \varepsilon(d), t^i_0(\eta, \eta) = t^i_0(\eta, \eta) + \varepsilon(d), \text{ and } t^A_0 = t^B_0$$

Moreover, we have the following: (1) $t^A_0$ and $t^B_0$ are non-final; (2) $t^i_0(y, b) = \tau^*_m+1(y, b)$ for all $t \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}$ (since $\tau^*_m(y, b) > g_r(y, b)$ for all $r \in \mathcal{T}_{(d,r)}$); (3) since $\tau^A_m(y, b) = \tau^B_m(y, b)$ and $(z, c) \neq (y, b)$;

$$t^i_0(y, b) = \varphi_{(d, r)}(\tau^i_m(y, b) < \varphi_{(d, r)}(\tau^i_m(y, b) = \tau^i_m+1(y, b) = t^i_0(y, b))$$

and so, in view of (9), we have either $(y, b) = (\tau, \eta)$ or $(y, b) = (\eta, \lambda)$. Without loss of generality, say $(y, b) = (\tau, \eta)$, so that $j = i_2$ (and $i = i_1$); (4) and, since $t^A_1 = t^B_1$, $\nu$ is a strategy in $\Gamma^*(h', t^A_0, t^B_0) (\lambda)$ that prescribes $\varphi_{(d, r)}(t^i_0)$ in the first round of $\Gamma^*(h', t^A_0, t^B_0) (\lambda)$. Consequently, by Lemma 7, $\nu$ is not optimal in $\Gamma^*(h', t^A_0, t^B_0) (\lambda)$, thereby contradicting the fact that $\nu$ is a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^*(h', t^A_0, t^B_0) (\lambda)$.

Case 1.2. $\kappa > 1$. In this case, one may proceed as before, i.e., one may pick the longest sub-history $(t^A_1, t^B_1, \ldots, t^A_\kappa, t^B_\kappa)$ of $(t^A_1, t^B_1, \ldots, t^A_{\kappa-1}, t^B_{\kappa-1})$ such that the analogue of (4) is satisfied. One may then consider the analogues of the current Case 1 and Case 2 (below) and either obtain a contradiction or repeat the argument once more, until a point is reached in which a contradiction arises.

Case 2. $\tau^i_m(y, b) < \tau^i_m(y, b)$, where $j \neq i$. We consider three sub-cases:

Case 2.1. $m+1 = l$ and $\tau^i_m$ is final. In this case, $\tau^A_m = \tau^B_m$, and $i$ has an optimal strategy in $\Gamma^*(h', (d, r), \sigma_i$, which chooses $\tau^i_m = \varphi_{(d, r)}(\tau^i_m)$ in the first round of this game (regardless of nature’s choices). Therefore, since $\tau^i_m$ is final by assumption, we must have $\tau^i_m(y, b) > g_r(y, b)$ for all $r \in \mathcal{T}_{(d,r)}$, $\tau^i_m(y, b) > g_r(y, b)$ for all $r \in \mathcal{T}_{(d,r)}$. We claim

\begin{itemize}
    \item By $\Gamma^*(h', \varphi_{(d, r)}(\tau^i_m), \tau^i_m+1) (\lambda)$ we mean $\Gamma^*(h', \varphi_{(d, r)}(\tau^i_m), \tau^i_m+1) (\lambda)$ if $j = A$ and $\Gamma^*(h', \varphi_{(d, r)}(\tau^i_m), \tau^i_m+1) (\lambda)$ if $j = B$.
\end{itemize}
that this implies that there exists \((y, b)\) such that \(d(y, b) < d(y, b)\) and, for some positive integer \(l\), the following map is final:

\[
(x, a) \mapsto \begin{cases} 
\tau_m^i(x, a) & \text{if } (x, a) \neq (y, b), \\
\tau_m^i(x, a) + l\varepsilon(d) & \text{if } (x, a) = (y, b).
\end{cases}
\] (10)

To see this, observe that we must have \((y, b) \in Z_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i)\) for some \((y, b)\) with \(d(y, b) < d(y, b)\) (otherwise, since \(\tau_m^i(y, b) \geq g_r(y, b)\) for all \(r \in T_{(d,r)}\) and 
\[
\text{arg } \max_{(x,a) : (x,a) > 0} d(x, a)
\]
\(a\) is a singleton for all \(r \in T_{(d,r)}\) (because \((d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^o\)), \(\tau_m^i\) would be final, thereby contradicting that \(\tau_{m+1}^i = \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i)\). But since \((y, b) \in Z_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i)\), we have

\[
(y - \tau_m^i(y, b) - \varepsilon(d)) d(y, b) \geq \max_{(x,a)} d(x, a) \varepsilon(d) \geq d(y, b) \varepsilon(d).
\]

Therefore, since \(\tau_m^i\) is final and \(\tau_m^A = \tau_m^B\) everywhere except at \((y, b)\), where \(\tau_m^i(y, b) < \tau_m^0(y, b)\), it follows that the map in (10) is final for some positive integer \(l\) and some \((y, b)\) with \(d(y, b) < d(y, b)\). But then, \(\sigma_i\), which chooses \(\tau_m^i = \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i)\) in the first round of \(\Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda)\), cannot be optimal (in fact, choosing the map in (10) in \(\Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda)\) gives \(i\) a higher payoff).

**Case 2.2.** \(m + 1 = l\) and \(\tau_m^i\) is not final. In this case, \(\tau_{m+1}^i = \tau_{m+1}^j\) (as in Case 2.1), and there exists \((z, c)\) such that

\[
\tau_m^i(y, b) = \tau_m^i(y, b) + \varepsilon(d), \tau_m^i(z, c) = \tau_m^i(z, c) + \varepsilon(d), \text{ and } \tau_m^A = \tau_m^B\) elsewhere.
\]

We omit the rest of the argument, which is similar to that of Case 1.1.

**Case 2.3.** \(m + 1 < l\). In this case, since \(\tau_i^A, \tau_i^B, ..., \tau_m^A, \tau_m^B\) is the longest sub-history of \((\tau_1^A, \tau_1^B, ..., \tau_{m-1}^A, \tau_{m-1}^B)\) such that (*) holds, there must exist \((z, c)\) such that \(\tau_{m+1}^i = \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i)\) and \((z, c) \neq (y, b)\). Thus, we have

\[
\tau_{m+2}^i = \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_{m+1}^i) = \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_{m+1}^i), \quad \tau_{m+2}^i = \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_{m+1}^i),
\]

and \((z, c) \neq (y, b)\). Now, by Lemma 8, the value of \(\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h', \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i))}(\lambda)\) is zero.

Since \(\lambda \in \mathcal{M}^e \cap \mathcal{M}^e, \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i) \neq \tau_m^j\), and the value of \(\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h', \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i), \tau_m^j)}(\lambda)\) is zero, Lemma 5 gives a Nash equilibrium in \(\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h', \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i), \tau_m^j)}(\lambda)\) that generates a unique history of announcements whose last two elements are identical. One may now formulate the analogues of Case 1 and Case 2 for the new history, and repeat the argument as needed, until a contradiction is obtained.

We omit the proof of the following lemma, which is similar to that of Lemma 9.

**Lemma 10.** Suppose that \((d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^o\) and \(\lambda \in \Lambda_{(d,r)}^e\). Let \(h = (f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_{k+1}^A, f_{k+1}^B)\) be a history of announcements in \(\Gamma_{(d,r)}^e(\lambda)\) such that \(T_{(d,r)}(f_{k+1}^A) \cap E_{(d,r)}^e \neq \emptyset\) for each \(i, T_{(d,r)}(f_{k+1}^B) \cap E_{(d,r)}^e \neq \emptyset\) and \(T_{(d,r)}(f_{k+1}^A) \cap E_{(d,r)}^e = \emptyset\) for some \(i, j\). Then the value of \(\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h, \varphi_{(d,r)}(\tau_m^i))}(\lambda)\) is nonzero.
Lemma 11. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}_\eta^* \cap \mathcal{M}^\circ$. Then $\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}^* \subseteq N_\eta (\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)})$.

Proof. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}_\eta^* \cap \mathcal{M}^\circ$. It suffices to show that there exists $g \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}^*$ such that $f(x, a) \in (g(x, a) - \eta, g(x, a) + \eta)$ for all $(x, a)$. Let

$$D := \arg \max_{(x,a): \exists f \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}; f(x,a) > 0} d(x, a)$$

and

$$\overline{d} := \max_{(x,a): \exists f \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}; f(x,a) > 0} d(x, a).$$

Define

$$g(x, a) := \begin{cases} 0 & \text{if } d(x, a) > \overline{d}, \\ \max_{f \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}} f(x, a) & \text{if } d(x, a) = \overline{d}, \\ x & \text{elsewhere}. \end{cases}$$

Because $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^\circ$, $(y, b) \neq (z, c)$ implies $d(y, b) \neq d(z, c)$, so $D$ is a singleton. Hence, the definition of $g$ entails $g \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}$, so it suffices to show that

$$f(x, a) \in (g(x, a) - \eta, g(x, a) + \eta)$$

for all $(x, a)$. We consider three cases.

Case 1. $d(x, a) > \overline{d}$. If $f(x, a) = 0$, since $g(x, a) = 0$, (11) follows immediately. If $f(x, a) > 0$, then there exists $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^\circ$ such that $\tau(x, a) > 0$. Therefore, for all $(y, b)$ with $d(y, b) < d(x, a)$,

$$(y - \tau(y, b)) d(y, b) < \max_{(z,c): d(z,c) < d(y,b)} (z - \tau(z,c)) d(z, c).$$

(12)

We have

$$f(x, a) - \varepsilon(d) \leq \frac{1}{d(x,a)} \sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) < d(x,a)} (y - \tau(y, b)) d(y, b)$$

$$< \frac{1}{d(x,a)} \sum_{d(y,b): d(y,b) < d(x,a)} 2 \max_{(z,c)} d(z, c) \varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(z,c): (z,c) < d(y,b)} (z - \tau(z,c)) d(z, c)$$

$$\leq \eta - \varepsilon(d),$$

where the first inequality is true because $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^\circ$ and $d(x, a) > \overline{d}$, the second inequality uses (12), and the third inequality uses the fact that $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}_\eta^*$ (see (3)). Hence, $0 < f(x, a) < \eta$. Since $g(x, a) = 0$, (11) obtains.
The following equations will be useful to handle the next two cases. Let $D = \{(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})\}$ (recall that $D$ is a singleton). Then

\[
\left( \max_{\eta \in T_{(d,r)}} f(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a}) - \max_{\eta \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}} f(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a}) \right) d(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a}) \leq d(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a}) \varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) < d(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})} (y - \tau(y, b)) d(y, b) \quad (13)
\]

for any $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^o$. Moreover, since $f \in \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)}$,

\[
\sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) > d(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})} f(y, b) d(y, b) \leq \max_{(y,b)} d(y, b) \varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) \leq d(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})} (y - \tau(y, b)) d(y, b) \quad (14)
\]

for any $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^o$.

**Case 2.** $d(x, a) = \overline{d}$. In this case, $(x, a) = (\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})$. We consider two sub-cases.

**Case 2.1.** $f(x, a) \geq g(x, a)$. In this case, since $f \in \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)}$ and $g(x, a) = \max_{\eta \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}} f(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})$, we have

\[
0 \leq f(x, a) - g(x, a) \leq \max_{\eta \in T_{(d,r)}^o} f(x, a) - \max_{\eta \in \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}} f(x, a).
\]

But since $(x, a) = (\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})$ and (13) holds for any $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^o$, we have

\[
(f(x, a) - g(x, a)) d(x, a) \leq d(x, a) \varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) < d(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})} (y - \tau(y, b)) d(y, b)
\]

for any $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^o$. Since the right-hand side of this equation is less than $\eta d(x, a)$ (because $(d,r) \in \mathcal{M}^*_\eta$ (see (3))), we obtain $f(x, a) - g(x, a) < \eta$. This, together with the inequality $f(x, a) \geq g(x, a)$, gives (11).

**Case 2.2.** $f(x, a) < g(x, a)$. In this case, the choice of $g$ entails

\[
(g(x, a) - f(x, a) - \varepsilon(d)) d(x, a) < \sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) > d(x,a)} f(y, b) d(y, b). \quad (15)
\]

If $\sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) > d(x,a)} f(y, b) d(y, b) = 0$, then $g(x, a) - f(x, a) < \varepsilon(d) < \eta$ (since $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^*_\eta$), and therefore, since $f(x, a) < g(x, a)$, (11) follows. If, on the other hand,

\[
\sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) > d(\mathbf{r, a})} f(y, b) d(y, b) > 0,
\]

then there exists $\tau \in T_{(d,r)}^o$ such that $\tau(z, c) > 0$ for some $(z, c)$ with $d(z, c) > d(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})$, and therefore

\[
(f - \varepsilon(d)) d(x, a) < \max_{(y,b)} d(y, b) \varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y,b): d(y,b) < d(\mathbf{r}, \mathbf{a})} (y - \tau(y, b)) d(y, b).
\]
Combining this equation with (14) and (15) (recall that \((x, a) = (\tau, a)\)), we obtain, for any \(\tau \in T_{(d, r)}^x\),

\[
(g(x, a) - f(x, a) - \varepsilon(d))d(x, a) < \max_{(y, b)} d(y, b)\varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y, b): d(y, b) \leq d(x, a)} (y - \tau(y, b))d(y, b)
\]

\[
= \max_{(y, b)} d(y, b)\varepsilon(d) + (x - \tau(x, a))d(x, a)
\]

\[
+ \sum_{(y, b): d(y, b) < d(x, a)} (y - \tau(y, b))d(y, b)
\]

\[
= \max_{(y, b)} d(y, b)\varepsilon(d) + (x - \tau(x, a) + \varepsilon(d))d(x, a) + \sum_{(y, b): d(y, b) < d(x, a)} (y - \tau(y, b))d(y, b)
\]

\[
< 2 \left( \max_{(y, b)} d(y, b)\varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y, b): d(y, b) < d(x, a)} (y - \tau(y, b))d(y, b) \right) + d(x, a)\varepsilon(d).
\]

Therefore,

\[
(g(x, a) - f(x, a))d(x, a) < 2 \left( 2 \max_{(y, b)} d(y, b)\varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y, b): d(y, b) < d(x, a)} (y - \tau(y, b))d(y, b) \right).
\]

Because \((d, r) \in M^*_\eta\) (see (3)), the right-hand side of this equation is less than or equal to \(\eta d(x, a)\), and so \(g(x, a) - f(x, a) < \eta\). This, together with the inequality \(f(x, a) < g(x, a)\), gives (11).

**Case 3.** \(d(x, a) < \bar{d}\). Since \(f \in E^*_{(d, r)}\), we have

\[
(g(x, a) - f(x, a))d(x, a) \leq \left( \max_{f \in T_{(d, r)}} f(x, a) - \max_{f \in E^*_{(d, r)}} f(x, a) \right) d(x, a) + \sum_{y, b: d(y, b) > d(x, a)} f(y, b)d(y, b). \tag{16}
\]

Therefore, if \(\sum_{y, b: d(y, b) > d(x, a)} f(y, b)d(y, b) = 0\), we obtain, using (13),

\[
(g(x, a) - f(x, a))d(x, a) \leq d(x, a)\varepsilon(d) + \sum_{y, b: d(y, b) < d(x, a)} (y - \tau(y, b))d(y, b)
\]

35
for any $\tau \in T_{d,r}$. From Case 2.1, we know that the right-hand side of this equation is less than $\eta d(x, a)$. Hence, $g(x, a) - f(x, a) \leq \eta$. This, together with the inequality $f(x, a) \leq g(x, a)$ (which follows from the fact that $g(x, a) = x$ (since $d(x, a) \leq d$)), gives (11). If, on the other hand, $\sum_{(y,b):d(y,b) > d(x,a)} f(y,b)d(y,b) > 0$, then there exists $\tau \in T_{d,r}$ such that $\tau(z,c) > 0$ for some $(z,c)$ with $d(z,c) > d(x,a)$, and therefore

$$(\tau - \tau(x,a) - \varepsilon(d))d(x,a) < \max_{(y,b)} d(y,b)\varepsilon(d) + \sum_{(y,b):d(y,b) < d(x,a)} (y - \tau(y,b))d(y,b).$$

Combining this equation with (16) and (13)-(14), we get

$$(g(x,a) - f(x,a))d(x,a) \leq \max_{(y,b)} d(y,b)\varepsilon(d) + (\tau - \tau(x,a))d(x,a)$$

$$+ 2 \sum_{(y,b):d(y,b) < d(x,a)} (y - \tau(y,b))d(y,b)$$

$$= 2 \max_{(y,b)} d(y,b)\varepsilon(d) + (\tau - \tau(x,a) + \varepsilon(d) - \varepsilon(d))d(x,a)$$

$$+ 2 \sum_{(y,b):d(y,b) < d(x,a)} (y - \tau(y,b))d(y,b)$$

$$= 3 \max_{(y,b)} d(y,b)\varepsilon(d) + (\tau - \tau(x,a) - \varepsilon(d))d(x,a)$$

$$+ 2 \sum_{(y,b):d(y,b) < d(x,a)} (y - \tau(y,b))d(y,b)$$

$$< 4 \max_{(y,b)} d(y,b)\varepsilon(d) + 3 \sum_{(y,b):d(y,b) < d(x,a)} (y - \tau(y,b))d(y,b)$$

$$\leq \eta d(x,a),$$

where the last inequality follows from the fact that $(d,r) \in M_\eta^*$ (see (3)). Hence, $g(x,a) - f(x,a) \leq \eta$, so (11) obtains, as before.

**Lemma 12.** Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$, $(d, r) \in M_\eta^* \cap M^*$, and $\Lambda \in A_{(d,r)}^* \cap A_{(d,r)}^\circ$. Then the tax policy implemented at any Nash equilibrium of $G_{(d,r)}^*(\Lambda)$ lies in $N_{\eta}(E_{(d,r)})$.

**Proof.** Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$, $(d, r) \in M_\eta^* \cap M^*$, and $\Lambda \in A_{(d,r)}^* \cap A_{(d,r)}^\circ$. Suppose that $\sigma = (\sigma_A, \sigma_B)$ is a strategy profile in $G_{(d,r)}^*(\Lambda)$. Let $h = (f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ be any history of announcements in $G_{(d,r)}^*(\Lambda)$ generated under play of $\sigma$. We know that $f_i^A = 0$ for each $i$, and therefore $T_{(d,r)}(f_i^A) \cap E_{(d,r)}^\circ \neq \emptyset$ for each $i$. If $T_{(d,r)}(f_i^B) \subseteq N_{\eta}(E_{(d,r)})$ for each $i$, there is nothing to prove, so suppose that it is not true that $T_{(d,r)}(f_i^B) \subseteq N_{\eta}(E_{(d,r)})$ for each $i$. Let $(h, f_{k+1}^A, f_{k+1}^B)$ be a super-history of $h$ in $G_{(d,r)}^*(\Lambda)$ generated under play of $\sigma$, and suppose that $T_{(d,r)}(f_{k+1}^B) \cap E_{(d,r)}^\circ = \emptyset$ for some $i$. We first show that $\sigma$ is not a Nash equilibrium of $G_{(d,r)}^*(\Lambda)$.  

36
Observe that, because $T_{(d,r)}(f_{κ+1}^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} = \emptyset$ and $T_{(d,r)}(f_1^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$, there must exist some $κ = 1, \ldots, k$ with $T_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$ and $T_{(d,r)}(f_{κ+1}^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} = \emptyset$. There is no loss of generality in assuming that $i$'s opponent $j$ satisfies $T_{(d,r)}(f_{κ}^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$. Let $h_l := (f_1^A, f_1^B, \ldots, f_l^A, f_l^B)$ for each $l = 1, \ldots, κ$. We consider two cases:

**Case 1.** Either $f_κ^A \neq f_κ^B$ and the value of $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ is zero or $f_κ^A = f_κ^B$, since $T_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$ for each $κ$, Lemma 6 implies that either $T_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*) \subseteq N_η(\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)})$ for each $κ$ or there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ whose last two elements are identical. Thus, if $f_κ^A = f_κ^B$, it suffices to consider the case where $T_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*) \notin N_η(\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)})$ (recall that we are assuming that it is not true that $T_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*) \subseteq N_η(\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)})$ for each $κ$).

There exists a Nash equilibrium $μ$ in $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ whose last two elements are identical (this follows from Lemma 5 if $f_κ^A \neq f_κ^B$ and the value of $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ is zero, and from Lemma 6 if $f_κ^A = f_κ^B$). Since $λ$ is symmetric and $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ is zero-sum, the value of $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ is zero. Since the value of $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ is zero, letting $(t^A, t^B)$ be a history in $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ that is generated with probability one under play of $μ$, and letting $j$ be $i$'s opponent, we must have $v^*(h_κ, t^j, j)(λ) ≥ 0$ for any $t \in \mathfrak{F}_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*)$. Since $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ is zero-sum, this implies $v^*(h_κ, t^j, j)(λ) ≤ 0$ for any such $t$. Observe that we cannot have $T_{(d,r)}(t^j) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} = \emptyset$, for, if this equality held, since $T_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$ for each $κ$, $μ$ would not be a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ by Lemma 9. So we must have $T_{(d,r)}(t^j) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$. Because $T_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$ for each $κ$, $T_{(d,r)}(t^j) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset$, and $T_{(d,r)}(f_{κ+1}^*) \cap \mathcal{E}^*_{(d,r)} = \emptyset$, Lemma 10 implies that the value of $\Gamma^{h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ is nonzero. Since $v^*(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)(λ) ≤ 0$ for any $t \in \mathfrak{F}_{(d,r)}(f_κ^*)$, we must have, in particular, $v^*(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)(λ) ≤ 0$. This inequality, together with the fact that the value of $\Gamma^{(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ is nonzero, gives $v^*(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)(λ) < 0$.

Therefore, since $v^*(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)(λ) = 0$ and $h_κ$ is reached with positive probability under play of $σ$ in $G^*_{(d,r)}(λ)$, if player $i$ chooses $f_{κ+1}^*$ under play of $σ$ as a first mover in the round that follows $h_κ$, then $σ$ is not a Nash equilibrium in $G^*_{(d,r)}(λ)$.

Suppose that player $i$ chooses $f_{κ+1}^*$ under play of $σ$ as a second mover in the round that follows $h_κ$. Since $λ \in \Lambda_{(d,r)}$ (so $λ$ is symmetric) and there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ whose last two elements are identical, at any equilibrium of $\Gamma^{h_κ}_{(d,r)}(λ)$,

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43By $v^*(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)(λ)$ we mean $v^*(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)(λ)$ if $j = A$ and $v^*(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)(λ)$ if $j = B$.

44By $\Gamma^{(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ we mean $\Gamma^{(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ if $i = A$ and $\Gamma^{(h_κ, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*, t^j, f_{κ+1}^*)}_{(d,r)}(λ)$ if $i = B$. 

37
in the first round of the game, the first mover, say player \( \imath \), must choose some \( \tau^\imath \in \mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f^0_k) \) with \( v^*((h_{\imath},\tau^\imath),\imath)(\lambda) \geq 0 \) for all \( \tau \in \mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f^{-1}_k), -\imath \neq \imath \).\(^{45}\) Since we are assuming that player \( \imath \) chooses \( f^j_{\kappa+1} \) under play of \( \sigma \) as a second mover in the round that follows \( h_{\imath} \), \( f^j_{\kappa+1} \) must have the properties of \( \tau^\imath \). We claim that \( T_{(d,r)}(f^j_{\kappa+1}) \cap E^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset \). To show this, we assume \( T_{(d,r)}(f^j_{\kappa+1}) \cap E^*_{(d,r)} = \emptyset \) and derive a contradiction. Suppose that \( T_{(d,r)}(f^j_{\kappa+1}) \cap E^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset \). Recall that \((t^A,T^B)\) represents the history in \( \Gamma^{h_{\imath}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) that is generated with probability one under play of \( \mu \). Observe that we cannot have \( T_{(d,r)}(t^\imath) \cap E^*_{(d,r)} = \emptyset \), for, if this equality held, since \( T_{(d,r)}(f^j) \cap E^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset \) for each \( \imath \), \( \mu \) would not be a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma^{h_{\imath}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) by Lemma 9. So we must have \( T_{(d,r)}(t^\imath) \cap E^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset \). But then Lemma 10 implies that the value of \( \Gamma^*_{(d,r)}(h_{\imath},f^j_{\kappa+1},t^\imath) \) is nonzero, thereby contradicting the fact that \( f^j_{\kappa+1} \) has the properties of \( \tau^\imath \). Thus, \( T_{(d,r)}(f^j_{\kappa+1}) \cap E^*_{(d,r)} \neq \emptyset \). In this case, Lemma 10 implies that the value of \( \Gamma^*_{(d,r)}(h_{\imath},f^j_{\kappa+1},f^B) \) is nonzero. Since there exists a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma^{h_{\imath}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) that generates a unique history of announcements in \( \Gamma^{h_{\imath}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) whose last two elements are identical, there exists \((\tau^A,\tau^B) \in \mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f^A) \times \mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f^B) \) such that, for each \( \imath \), \( v^*((h_{\imath},\tau^\imath,\imath),\imath)(\lambda) \geq 0 \) for all \( \tau \in \mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f^j_{\kappa+1}), -\imath \neq \imath \).\(^{46}\)

This, together with the fact that the value of \( \Gamma^*_{(d,r)}(h_{\imath},f^A,f^B) \) is nonzero, implies that the restriction of \( \sigma \) to \( \Gamma^{h_{\imath}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) is not a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma^{h_{\imath}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \). Hence, because \( h_{\imath} \) is reached with positive probability under play of \( \sigma \) in \( G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \), \( \sigma \) cannot be a Nash equilibrium in \( G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \).

**Case 2.** \( f^A \neq f^B \) and the value of \( \Gamma^{h_{\imath}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) is nonzero. Since the value of \( G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) is zero and the value of \( \Gamma^{h_{\imath}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) is nonzero, there must exist some \( \ell = 1, \ldots, \kappa - 1 \) (note that \( \kappa > 1 \)) such that the value of \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) is zero and the value of \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell+1}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) is nonzero. If the last two announcements in \( h_{\ell} \) are identical and equal to \( f \), Lemma 6 says that either \( T_{(d,r)}(f) \subseteq N_{\eta}(E_{(d,r)}) \) or there exists a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) that generates a unique history of announcements in \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) whose last two elements are identical. Since we are assuming that it is not true that \( T_{(d,r)}(f_k) \subseteq N_{\eta}(E_{(d,r)}) \) for each \( \imath \), in this case there must exist a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) that generates a unique history of announcements in \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) whose last two elements are identical. The same is true if the last two announcements in \( h_{\ell} \) are not identical, for, in this case, since \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) has value zero, one can use Lemma 5 to reach that conclusion.

Therefore, in all cases, there is a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) that generates a unique history of announcements in \( \Gamma^{h_{\ell}}_{(d,r)}(\lambda) \) whose last two elements are identical. This implies that each player \( \imath \) can choose an announcement \( t^\imath \) in \( \mathcal{F}^*_{(d,r)}(f^\imath_{\ell}) \) such that

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\(^{45}\) By \( v^*((h_{\imath},\tau^\imath,\imath),\imath)(\lambda) \) we mean \( v^*((h_{\imath},\tau^\imath,\imath),\imath)(\lambda) \) if \( \imath = A \) and \( v^*((h_{\imath},\tau^\imath,\imath),\imath)(\lambda) \) if \( \imath = B \).

\(^{46}\) Here, the analogue of footnote 45 applies.
\(v^\ast((h,t,\ell),t)(\lambda) \geq 0\) for all \(t \in \mathcal{F}^\ast_{(d,r)}(f^\ast_{(d,r)}),\) \(-\ell \neq t\).\(^{47}\) At any equilibrium of \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\), in the first round of the game, the first mover, say player \(\tau\), must choose some \(\lambda\). And the second mover, say player \(-\tau\), must choose, in equilibrium, a strategy that prescribes, for any announcement \(t\) of the first mover in the first round of \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\), some \(\tau_t\) such that \(v^\ast((h,\tau_t,\ell),-\ell)(\lambda) \geq 0\). Hence, for any history of announcements \((t^A_1, t^B_1, \ldots, t^A_\ell, t^B_\ell)\) in \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) generated under play of an equilibrium in \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\), \(\Gamma^h_{(h,\tau_t,\ell),-\ell}(\lambda)\) must have value zero. But then, since the value of \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r),\ell}(\lambda)\) is nonzero and \(h\) is reached with positive probability under play of \(\sigma\) in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\), \(\sigma\) cannot be a Nash equilibrium of \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\).

We have shown that if (1) \(h = (f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)\) is a history of announcements in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) generated under play of \(\sigma\), (2) it is not true that \(T_{(d,r)}(f^A_k) \subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)})\) for each \(t\), (3) \((h, f^A_{k+1}, f^B_{k+1})\) is a super-history of \(h\) in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) generated under play of \(\sigma\), and (4) \(T_{(d,r)}(f^A_k) \cap \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)} = \emptyset\) for some \(i\), then \(\sigma\) is not a Nash equilibrium in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\). Since \(\sigma\) was an arbitrary profile in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\), we conclude that any history \((t^A_1, t^B_1, \ldots, t^A_\ell, t^B_\ell)\) of announcements in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) generated under play of a Nash equilibrium in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) must satisfy either \(T_{(d,r)}(t^A_i) \subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)})\) for each \(i\) or \(T_{(d,r)}(t^B_i) \subseteq \mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}(\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)}) = \emptyset\) for each \(i\). Now Lemma 12 is obtained via Lemma 11. ■

**Lemma 13.** Suppose that \(+\infty > \eta > 0\), \((d,r) \in \mathcal{M}^\ast \cap \mathcal{M}^\circ\), and \(\lambda \in \Lambda^\ast_{(d,r)} \cap \Lambda^\circ_{(d,r)}\). Suppose that \((f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)\) is a history of announcements in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) generated under play of \(\sigma\). Suppose that (1) \(T_{(d,r)}(f^A_k) \cap \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)} = \emptyset\) for each \(t\), (2) \(T_{(d,r)}(f^B_k) \cap \mathcal{E}_{(d,r)} = \emptyset\), some \(i\), and (3) it is not true that \(T_{(d,r)}(f^A_k) \subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d,r)})\) for each \(i\). Then \(\sigma\) is not a Nash equilibrium in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\).

Proof. The proof of this statement is contained in the last paragraph of the proof of Lemma 12. ■

**Lemma 14.** Suppose that \((d,r) \in \mathcal{M}^\circ\) and \(\lambda\) is symmetric in \(\Lambda_{(d,r)}\). Suppose that \(h = (f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)\) is a history of announcements in \(G^\ast_{(d,r)}\). Suppose that there exists a Nash equilibrium in \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) that generates a unique history of announcements in \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) whose last two elements are identical. Then, in equilibrium, each player \(i\) chooses, in the round that follows \(h\), an announcement in \(\mathcal{F}^\ast_{(d,r)}(f^A_k)\).

Proof. Assume the antecedent. Because \(\lambda\) is symmetric in \(\Lambda_{(d,r)}\) and there exists a Nash equilibrium in \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) that generates a unique history of announcements in \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) whose last two elements are identical, the value of \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) is 0. We assume that there exists a Nash equilibrium \(\sigma = (\sigma_A, \sigma_B)\) in \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) for which \(\sigma_i\) (some player \(i\)) assigns positive probability to an announcement \(t\) not in \(\mathcal{F}^\ast_{(d,r)}(f^A_k)\) and derive a contradiction. Let \(j\) be \(i\)'s opponent and consider a strategy \(\nu_j\) of \(j\) in \(\Gamma^h_{(d,r)}(\lambda)\) with the following properties:

\(^{47}\)Here, the analogue of footnote 45 applies.
• \( \nu_j \) starts prescribing (in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \)) an announcement \( \tau \in \mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}^j(f_k^j) \) that secures a payoff of zero or more against any strategy of the opponent (such a \( \tau \) exists because there exists a Nash equilibrium in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) that generates a unique history of announcements in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) whose last two elements are identical).

• Suppose that \( h' = (g_1^A, g_1^B, ..., g_k^A, g_k^B) \) is a history of announcements in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) generated under play of \((\sigma_i, \nu_j)\).\(^{48}\) If there exists \((x, a)\) for which \( g_k^j(x, a) > g_k^j(x, a) + \varepsilon(d) \), then \( \nu_j \) prescribes, in the round that follows \( h' \), \( \varphi_{(d,r)}^{(x,a)}(g_k^j) \). Otherwise, if

\[
\# \{(x, a) : g_k^j(x, a) < g_k^j(x, a)\} < \# \{(x, a) : g_k^j(x, a) > g_k^j(x, a)\},
\]

then \( \nu_j \) prescribes, in the round that follows \( h' \), \( \varphi_{(d,r)}^{(y,b)}(g_k^j) \) for some \((y, b) \in \arg\min_{(z,c) : g_k^j(z, c) > g_k^j(z, c)} d(z, c).\)

• In all other instances, \( \nu_j \) mimics \( \sigma_j \).

It is easy to see that \( \nu_j \) is optimal in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \), and so (since \( \sigma_i \) is also optimal and the value of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) = 0 \)), play of \( \nu_j \) against \( \sigma_i \) must give \( j \) a payoff of 0. Let

\[
(t_1, \tau), ..., (t_m, \tau)
\]

be an enumeration of the histories generated under play of \((\sigma_i, \nu_j)\) at the end of the first round of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \).\(^{49}\) We know that \( t = t_l \) for some \( l = 1, ..., m \) and \( t \notin \mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}^i(f_k^i) \). We also know that the equilibrium payoff to \( j \) in each of the games \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,t_l,\tau)}(\lambda) \) \((l = 1, ..., m)\) is at least zero.\(^{50}\) In particular, the equilibrium payoff to \( j \) in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,t,r)}(\lambda) \) is at least zero. Since \( t_l = t \notin \mathcal{F}_{(d,r)}^i(f_k^i) \) for some \( l = 1, ..., m \) and \((d, r) \in \mathcal{M}^c \), the properties of \( \nu_j \) entail that the equilibrium payoff to \( j \) in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,t,r)}(\lambda) \) is nonzero. Therefore, the equilibrium payoff to \( j \) in \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,t,r)}(\lambda) \) must be positive. This, together with the fact that the equilibrium payoff to \( j \) in each of the games \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,t_l,\tau)}(\lambda) \) \((l = 1, ..., m)\) is at least zero, implies that the value of \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) is nonzero, a contradiction. \( \blacksquare \)

**Lemma 15.** Suppose that \((d, r) \in \mathcal{M} \) and \( \lambda \in \Lambda_{(d,r)} \). Suppose that there exists a Nash equilibrium in \( G_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) that generates a unique history of announcements in \( G_{(d,r)}^h(\lambda) \) whose last two elements are identical. Then, in equilibrium, each player \( i \) starts choosing the announcement 0.

\(^{48}\) By \((\sigma_i, \nu_j)\) we mean \((\sigma_i, \nu_j)\) if \( i = A \) and \((\nu_j, \sigma_i)\) if \( i = B \).

\(^{49}\) The first component of the pairs in (17) indicates \( i \)'s announcement, while the second component represents \( j \)'s move.

\(^{50}\) By \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,t_l,\tau)}(\lambda) \) we mean \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,t_l,\tau)}(\lambda) \) if \( i = A \) and \( \Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(h,t,t)}(\lambda) \) if \( i = B \).
Proof. Analogous to the proof of Lemma 14.

The proofs of the following two lemmata are analogous to that of Lemma 6.

Lemma 16. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}_\eta^*$. Suppose that $\lambda$ is symmetric in $\Lambda_{(d, r)}$. Let $h$ be a history of announcements in $G_{(d, r)}(\lambda)$. Suppose that the last two announcements in $h$ are identical and equal to $f$, and let $T_{(d, r)}(f) \cap \mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}^* \neq \emptyset$. Then either $T_{(d, r)}(f) \subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)})$ or there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma_{(d, r)}^h(\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma_{(d, r)}^h(\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical.

Lemma 17. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}_\eta^*$. Suppose that $\lambda$ is symmetric in $\Lambda_{(d, r)}$. Either $T_{(d, r)}(0) \subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)})$ or there exists a Nash equilibrium in $G_{(d, r)}(\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $G_{(d, r)}(\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical.

Lemma 18. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$, $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}_\eta^* \cap \mathcal{M}^\circ$, and $\lambda \in \Lambda_{(d, r)}^* \cap \Lambda_{(d, r)}^0$. Suppose that $\sigma$ is a Nash equilibrium of $G_{(d, r)}(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}(\lambda))$. Suppose that $(f_1^A, f_2^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ is a history of announcements in $G_{(d, r)}(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}(\lambda))$ generated under play of $\sigma$. Suppose that $T_{(d, r)}(f_k^i) \not\subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)})$ for some $i$. Then there exists a history of announcements $(t_1^A, t_2^B, ..., t_{k+1}^A, t_{k+1}^B)$ in $G_{(d, r)}^*(\lambda)$ generated under play of a Nash equilibrium in $G_{(d, r)}^*(\lambda)$ such that $(t_{k+1}^A, t_{k+1}^B) = (f_k^A, f_k^B)$.

Proof. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$, $(d, r) \in \mathcal{M}_\eta^* \cap \mathcal{M}^\circ$, and $\lambda \in \Lambda_{(d, r)}^* \cap \Lambda_{(d, r)}^0$. Suppose that $\sigma$ is a Nash equilibrium of $G_{(d, r)}(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}(\lambda))$. Suppose that $h = (f_1^A, f_2^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ is a history of announcements in $G_{(d, r)}(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}(\lambda))$ generated under play of $\sigma$. Suppose that $T_{(d, r)}(f_k^i) \not\subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)})$ for some $i$.

Claim 3. $f_1^A = f_1^B = 0$ and $T_{(d, r)}(0) \cap \mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}^* \neq \emptyset$.

Proof. The equation $T_{(d, r)}(0) \cap \mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}^* \neq \emptyset$ is clearly true. Since $T_{(d, r)}(f_k^i) \not\subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)})$, we must have $T_{(d, r)}(0) \not\subseteq N_\eta(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)})$. Therefore, because $\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}(\lambda)$ is symmetric in $\Lambda_{(d, r)}$ (Lemma 1), Lemma 17 gives a Nash equilibrium in $G_{(d, r)}(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}(\lambda))$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $G_{(d, r)}(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}(\lambda))$ whose last two elements are identical. By Lemma 15, therefore, the players must start choosing 0 at any Nash equilibrium of $G_{(d, r)}(\mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}(\lambda))$. Hence, $f_1^A = f_1^B = 0$. □

Suppose that the following has been proven: there exists a Nash equilibrium in $G_{(d, r)}^*(\lambda)$ that generates the history $(f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$, $T_{(d, r)}(f_k^i) \cap \mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}^* \neq \emptyset$ for each $i$, and the game $\Gamma_{(d, r)}^*(f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_k^A, f_k^B)$ has value 0. It suffices to show that there exists a Nash equilibrium in $G_{(d, r)}^*(\lambda)$ that generates the history $(f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_{k+1}^A, f_{k+1}^B)$, $T_{(d, r)}(f_{k+1}^i) \cap \mathcal{E}_{(d, r)}^* \neq \emptyset$ for each $i$, and the game $\Gamma_{(d, r)}^*(f_1^A, f_1^B, ..., f_{k+1}^A, f_{k+1}^B)$ has value 0.
Claim 4. There exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)} (E_{(d,r)}(\lambda))$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)} (E_{(d,r)}(\lambda))$ whose last two elements are identical.

Proof. By assumption, $T_{(d,r)}(f^*_k) \cap E^*_r(\lambda) \neq \emptyset$ for each $\iota$. Therefore, if $f^A_1 = f^B_1$, because $E_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ is symmetric in $\Lambda_{(d,r)}$ (Lemma 1) and $T_{(d,r)}(f^*_k) \notin N_\eta (E_{(d,r)})$, Lemma 16 gives a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)} (E_{(d,r)}(\lambda))$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)} (E_{(d,r)}(\lambda))$ whose last two elements are identical. Suppose that $f^A_k \neq f^B_k$. By assumption, there exists a Nash equilibrium in $G^*_r(\lambda)$ that generates the history $((f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)$, and the game $\Gamma_r^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)} (\lambda)$ has value 0. Therefore, Lemma 5 gives a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)} (E_{(d,r)}(\lambda))$ whose last two elements are identical. It follows that there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)} (E_{(d,r)}(\lambda))$ whose last two elements are identical. 

Since Claim 4 is true, Lemma 14 implies that, at any equilibrium of $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)} (E_{(d,r)}(\lambda))$, each player $\iota$ starts choosing an announcement in $\mathcal{A}_{(d,r)}(f^*_k)$. But then, since (1) $(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_k, f^B_k)$ is not only generated under play of a Nash equilibrium in $G_{(d,r)} (E_{(d,r)}(\lambda))$ but also generated under play of a Nash equilibrium in $G^*_r(\lambda)$, and (2) $(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_{k-1}, f^B_{k-1})$ is generated under play of $\sigma$, $(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_{k-1}, f^B_{k-1})$ must also be generated under play of a Nash equilibrium in $G^*_r(\lambda)$, as we sought.

It remains to show that $T_{(d,r)}(f^*_{k+1}) \cap E^*_r(\lambda) \neq \emptyset$ for each $\iota$ and $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_{k+1}, f^B_{k+1})} (\lambda)$ has value 0. That $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_{k+1}, f^B_{k+1})} (\lambda)$ has value 0 follows from the fact that there exists a Nash equilibrium in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_{k+1}, f^B_{k+1})} (\lambda)$ that generates a unique history of announcements in $\Gamma_{(d,r)}^{(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_{k+1}, f^B_{k+1})} (\lambda)$ whose last two elements are identical (see the proof of Claim 4 and recall that $\lambda$ is symmetric). On the other hand, since $(f^A_1, f^B_1, \ldots, f^A_{k+1}, f^B_{k+1})$ is generated under play of a Nash equilibrium in $G^*_r(\lambda)$, Lemma 13 gives $T_{(d,r)}(f^*_{k+1}) \cap E^*_r(\lambda) \neq \emptyset$ for each $\iota$.

Proof of Theorem 2. Suppose that $+\infty > \eta > 0$ and $1 > \theta > 0$. Take any $(d,r) \in \mathcal{M}_*^\eta \cap \mathcal{M}^\theta$. By Lemma 3, there exists $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ arbitrarily close to $G_{(d,r)}$ such that $\lambda \in E_{(d,r)} (\Lambda^*_r(\lambda)) \cap \Lambda^0(\lambda)$.

Claim 5. The tax policy implemented at any Nash equilibrium of $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ lies in $N_\eta (E_{(d,r)})$.

42
Proof. Fix any Nash equilibrium $\sigma$ in $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$, and let $(f^A_1, f^B_1, ..., f^A_k, f^B_k)$ be a history of announcements in $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ generated under play of $\sigma$. It suffices to show that if $T_{(d,r)}(f^k_k) \not\subseteq N_\eta(\Sigma_{(d,r)})$, some $i$, then $f^k_i$ is not final. Assume $T_{(d,r)}(f^k_k) \not\subseteq N_\eta(\Sigma_{(d,r)})$, some $i$. Since $\lambda \in \Sigma_{(d,r)}(\Lambda^*_{(d,r)} \cap \Lambda^o_{(d,r)})$, there exists $\lambda^* \in \Lambda^*_{(d,r)} \cap \Lambda^o_{(d,r)}$ such that $\lambda = L_{(d,r)}(\lambda^*)$, and Lemma 18 gives a history of announcements $(t^A_1, t^B_1, ..., t^A_k, t^B_k)$ in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda^*)$ generated under play of a Nash equilibrium in $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda^*)$ such that $(t^A_k, t^B_k) = (f^A_k, f^B_k)$. But since we know that the tax policy implemented at any Nash equilibrium of $G^*_{(d,r)}(\lambda^*)$ lies in $N_\eta(\Sigma_{(d,r)})$ (Lemma 12), since $T_{(d,r)}(f^k_k) \not\subseteq N_\eta(\Sigma_{(d,r)})$, it follows that $f^k_i$ is not final, as we sought. \hfill $\square$

By Lemma 4, $M(\varepsilon_{(\eta,\theta)}, \theta) \subseteq M^*_\theta$ for some $+\infty > \varepsilon_{(\eta,\theta)} > 0$. Moreover, $M(\varepsilon_{(\eta,\theta)}, \theta) \cap M^\circ$ is clearly open and dense in $M(\varepsilon_{(\eta,\theta)}, \theta)$. Therefore, using Claim 5 and the fact that $(d, r)$ was arbitrary in $M^*_\eta \cap M^\circ$ and $G_{(d,r)}(\lambda)$ was arbitrarily close to $G_{(d,r)}$, we obtain the desired result. \hfill $\blacksquare$

References


Figure 1. US Income Distribution for Households: 2004
Figure 2. A log-normal density and its discrete analogue.