

bers followed the French system of committees: each Chamber divided into five sections by lot; for each particular measure each section chose one member; he reported to his section, which then debated the measure. This system is still used in the First Chamber, but since the World War the Second Chamber has tended increasingly to use standing committees, chosen not from the sections but by the president of the Chamber or by the plenum; these committees report directly to the Chamber and disregard the sections entirely.

Ministerial responsibility to parliament was conceded in the constitution of 1848 and until the World War governments were practically responsible to the Second Chamber; the veto power possessed by the king was rarely employed. During the war and post-war periods the functioning of ministries on the basis of a majority support in parliament proved almost impossible and the country was ruled largely by extraparliamentary ministries which revived the monarchical veto.

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SCANDINAVIAN STATES AND FINLAND. *Sweden.* Popular representation in Sweden dates from 1435, when for the first time representatives of the various social classes met in a national assembly, or Riksdag (day of the realm), to consult with the regent on affairs of state. Such meetings were held sporadically thereafter, being summoned usually only in emergencies when the king needed popular support against the nobles or some foreign power. Not until the seventeenth century under Gustavus Adolphus was the composition of the assembly fairly definitely fixed; it consisted then of representatives of the four estates: the nobility, the clergy, the burghers and the peasants. Its procedure was defined also during this period and its authority increased. During the so-called age of freedom (1718-72) the Riksdag held a dominant position in the government and a parliamentary system was applied, although it was controlled more by the central bureaucracy than by the people. The parliamentary system survived even the revolution of 1772, by which Gustavus III ended the supremacy of the Riksdag.

Even after the great constitutional reform of 1809-10, which brought about a balanced rule between king and people, the organization by estates was maintained. It was finally abandoned in 1866 with the institution of a two-chamber system, which has gradually been made more

democratic, the last time by the constitutional changes of 1918-21.

The 150 members of the First Chamber are elected indirectly for eight years, in such a way as to give the Chamber new members each year, by provincial assemblies or in the cities by electoral bodies chosen by all men and women over twenty-seven years of age. The 230 members of the Second Chamber are elected directly for four years by all men and women over twenty-three years of age. Proportional representation applies in the elections to both chambers.

In power and in actual influence the two chambers are practically equal. If they differ on financial questions, however, they must vote jointly, a procedure which favors the Second Chamber. In recent years the First Chamber has once caused a resignation of the cabinet (the Branting ministry in 1923) by defeating a government bill. Financial supervision over the administration is maintained through an elected committee of revisers, which works between legislative sessions. The minutes of cabinet meetings are checked by a parliamentary committee, and ministers who have acted illegally can be cited before a national court composed of high officials. Finally, the Riksdag can apply to the king for dismissal of members who have given bad advice. In practise these methods of enforcing responsibility are no longer used. It is customary, however, for the Committee on the Constitution to criticize specific governmental acts, which are later debated in the Riksdag. The Swedish committee system is peculiar in that the more important committees, seven in number, for which the constitution provides, are shared by the two chambers, containing as a rule from 8 to 10 members from each. The Swedish practise of not admitting cabinet members to the committees is also unusual.

Norway. The Norwegian parliament, or Storting, instituted by the constitution of 1814 consists of a single chamber of (since 1919) 150 members elected by the proportional system by the votes of all men and women over twenty-three years of age. One third of the mandates are assigned to the cities and two thirds to the country districts, a rule which has hitherto favored the cities. Even during the union with Sweden (1814-1905) the Storting acquired great influence over the government and since the dissolution of the union the parliamentary system has prevailed, although the constitution does not provide for it. The Storting enjoys unusually

wide powers; the monarch has no power of dissolution and in legislative matters only a suspensive veto.

As in Sweden minutes of cabinet meetings are inspected by a Storting committee. If it appears that cabinet ministers have made unconstitutional or obviously harmful decisions they may be summoned before a national court composed largely of Storting members. Such a case occurred most recently in 1926-27 but ended in an acquittal. In the handling of most questions the Storting is divided into two sections, the Lagting, elected by the Storting and consisting of one fourth of its members; and the Odelsting, made up of the remaining three fourths. Legislation is taken up first by the Odelsting. If the Lagting does not approve its decision the entire Storting meets and gives a final verdict, for which a two-thirds majority is required. There are seventeen permanent committees with definite assignments. In practise cabinet ministers may by special request attend the meetings of legislative committees.

Denmark. The composition of the representative assembly instituted in Denmark in 1849 has undergone various changes. It is divided into two chambers, Landsting and Folketing, both elected by the proportional system. Since 1915 three fourths of the 76 members who compose the former have been chosen by direct vote of all men and women over thirty-five years of age; the remaining 19 members are elected by the Landsting itself. The term of all members is eight years. The 149 members of the Folketing are chosen for four years by direct vote of all men and women over twenty-five years of age. Twenty-four seats are set aside to be allocated after the election to those political parties which have not secured representation proportionate to their voting power. In principle both chambers are of equal rank; but the Folketing actually has the greater power, exercising decisive control over the government. Financial measures are first introduced in the Folketing, going to the Landsting so late in the session as practically to nullify the latter's right to make changes. The Folketing can cite ministers before a court composed of judges and representatives of the Landsting. At the democratic reformation of the representative system in 1915 a rule was introduced that the Landsting may be dissolved only if it rejects a measure which has twice been adopted by the Folketing, the second time after regular new elections. The Folketing, on the other hand, may be dissolved at any time. This has happened

several times in recent years when there has been no clear majority.

At least five permanent committees are appointed in the Landsting at each session and six in the Folketing; these committees are composed of 5, 7 or 9 members. Each chamber has furthermore a budget committee of 15 members. The competencies of these committees are indistinctly indicated; special committees are often appointed to consider important proposals. Ministers frequently attend committee sessions, although there is no fixed rule.

Finland. During its union with Sweden, Finland had no special legislative representation. The Russian conquest was followed by the summoning in 1809 of an assembly composed of representatives of the four estates, nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants. After 1863 this assembly was convoked regularly but there was no definite division of powers between it and the regent (the Russian emperor). In 1906 a thoroughly democratic reform was instituted, with an assembly composed of 200 members chosen for three years according to the proportional system with universal suffrage for men and women over twenty-four years of age.

When Finland became independent in 1917 the legislature took over all powers of government and in 1919 adopted the present constitution, which provides that the government must enjoy the confidence of the legislature and makes that body the center of Finland's political life. A committee of the legislature, the Constitutional Committee, checks upon the official acts of the ministers; when illegal acts are discovered the legislature may summon cabinet members before a national court composed of high state officials and legislative representatives.

The president has on two occasions, in 1924 and 1930, used his right to dissolve the legislature and order new elections. These dissolutions, however, were brought about not by any real political conflicts but by special circumstances (in 1930 the so-called Lappo movement) which made new elections desirable.

The legislative committees are of great importance. Besides the five special committees which must have from 11 to 21 members, each appointed to handle different groups of subjects, there is the so-called Great Committee composed of at least 45 members. The functions of this committee resemble in some respects those of the Norwegian Lagting. After a bill has been discussed in its appropriate special committee and in the legislature itself it goes to the Great

Committee. The legislature cannot take final action until this committee has reported. Under a special rule ministers may attend committee sessions unless the committees vote to exclude them.

The legislative assemblies of all the Scandinavian states have certain traits in common. The number of professional politicians in them is relatively small, the electors to a great extent choosing representatives of their own social classes. About half the members of the Swedish Second Chamber, for instance, are either farmers or manual workers; the same situation exists in the other countries. The debates are characterized by a matter of fact tone; brilliant oratory or personal attacks are unusual. Committee sessions are of great importance, probably because of the fact that minority governments have been common. The decisive negotiations between parties take place in the committees, where the necessary compromises are prepared. Although the legislatures have been criticized at times for incompetence and logrolling, their prestige is comparatively high and there is little opposition to the representative system. Charges of corruption are rare.

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HUNGARY. The origin of the Hungarian Parliament is at present a highly controversial question. According to the most recent theory the Hungarians originally had the same patriarchal and autocratic form of legislation as the other Mongolian peoples, the Huns, Avars and Turks. The conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity and the marriage of the first Hungarian king, St. Stephen, to a Bavarian princess were followed by the influx of a large number of German knights and the introduction of German (Frankish) institutions. The king before legislating was now required to ask the advice of his council (*senatus*), consisting of the *principes regni*, but he was free to act as he pleased. The statute of 1291 (sect. xxxi) already speaks of the custom of the barons and noblemen to assemble annually. The influence of this body gradually increased as a result of the occasional youth or weakness of the king and especially as a result of the necessity of electing a new king whenever the king died without a natural heir. The nobility, both higher and lower, originally sat together as one house; but the statute of 1608 (*post coronationem*, sect. i) brought about a separation into two houses: the Chamber of Magnates, comprising the higher nobility and the

clergy, and the Chamber of Deputies, comprising chiefly delegates of the nobility from the several counties and delegates from the royal free cities.

The Diet as so constituted had very few of the attributes of a western parliament. The lower house did not represent the commons, as in England, but chiefly the lower nobility. While all bills (not merely financial bills) had to originate in the lower house, the upper house had an absolute veto power. There was no principle of ministerial responsibility, the power of the king was correspondingly great, and at times the function of the Diet was reduced to the registering of royal decrees.

In 1848 through the introduction of a responsible ministry and the enlargement of the electoral base of the lower house the Diet was transformed into an institution resembling a modern parliament. Ministers could be impeached by the lower house and tried in the upper house, and the right of interpellation was granted to both houses. By custom an adverse vote in the lower house required the dissolution of the ministry. Although the veto of the upper house was legally absolute, by custom the power over money bills tended to rest in the lower house, the magnates seldom voicing their opposition more than once to a financial measure which the lower house persisted in passing. The power of the monarch although diminished continued very strong. The government was required by custom to consult the king before proposing measures to the Diet and his final veto power was always more than a mere formality. Through the compromise of 1867 with Austria the conduct of foreign affairs, army and finances for the joint affairs of the dual monarchy were reserved to special joint ministers responsible to two delegations elected respectively by the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments.

Although the electoral base of the Chamber of Deputies was increased in 1848 from 200,000 voters to 800,000, even the higher number represented only 7 percent of the population. The proportion of voters to population decreased slightly during the seventy years ending in 1918, and the Chamber of Deputies thus remained essentially an assembly of the nobility. With the coming of the twentieth century there were to be sure more deputies of non-noble birth, but even these newer elements—industrial and financial capitalism and the higher bureaucracy—readily followed the guidance of the nobility. The composition of the Chamber of Magnates,