

blended with the Liberals and Antirevolutionists. After 1866 two groups of Liberals—a conservative and a progressive—are distinguishable. The final cleavage was caused by the question of universal suffrage, the advocates of which split off in 1901 as a Liberal Democratic party, into which was admitted the Radical party that had meanwhile been formed. The rest again split in two but in 1921 reunited in the League of Freedom. In 1896 the Antirevolutionists also split into a democratically inclined group (the “small folk”) and one of more conservative-liberal leanings; the latter joined the Christian Historical group in 1909. Meanwhile the Social Democratic party had appeared in 1894.

As a consequence of the educational struggle, the “antithesis” that was said to exist between the Catholics and the two Protestant groups on the one hand and the left parties on the other has often been emphasized, although their differences were settled by the constitutional revision of 1917 and the Education Act of 1920. More recently, however, this opposition between “right” and “left” has lost much of its former significance, especially since the three parties of the right, in spite of their parliamentary majority, are not generally able to cooperate.

Since the adoption of universal suffrage and proportional representation, as a result of the legislation of 1917, the parties of both left and right have broken up to some extent. This “splintering” has been more evident in the electorate than in the legislature, however, because the electoral law provides that parties which do not poll at least 75 percent of the electoral quotient are ignored in the distribution of parliamentary seats. Of the many small parties, which are started by discontented or ambitious persons and often have only a single concrete goal instead of a comprehensive political program, most do not generally succeed in gain-

ing seats in parliament. The accompanying table shows the strength of the different parties in the Second Chamber at four-year intervals since 1917. The system of proportional representation, by making the whole country practically a single electoral district, has contributed to the centralization of party organization and leadership and has made even most of the minor parties national rather than sectional in character.

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SCANDINAVIAN STATES AND FINLAND. The party systems in the larger Scandinavian states rest on similar social and economic factors. Against a bourgeois majority stands a strong socialist minority. The socialists in Sweden and Denmark as well as in Finland after the civil war have wholly accepted revisionism, while Norwegian socialism has remained more radical. In all these countries communism has had a weak parliamentary representation. Bourgeois left groups have held the balance of power, cooperating with the Right or with the socialists. Party strengths have changed but little since the World War. No single party has been able to muster a majority and minority governments have therefore been more common than in other parliamentary states. The methods and organization of Scandinavian parties reveal few unusual traits. Their activities have not been regulated by legislation. In general freedom of political action is permitted; only in Finland have special measures been applied against the Communist party.

*Sweden.* In Sweden the first party with a fully formulated program as well as an electoral organization was the Social Democratic party, formed in 1889 but with no representation in the Riksdag until 1896. The restricted suffrage hampered the party. In 1900 the Liberal Alliance was formed with democratization as its chief aim. Subsequently these two parties combined as the Left to work for democratic reform; in 1908 they obtained a majority in the Second Chamber. Their opponents, the conservatives, or the Right, united in 1912 into a party (called the National party in the First Chamber and the Farmer and Burgher party in the Second) which held a majority in the First Chamber until the democratic constitutional changes after the World War.

Partly in connection with and partly as a result of the constitutional modifications of 1918–21 the party system has undergone sig-

Second Chamber

	1917	1921	1925	1929	1933
Catholic	25	29	30	30	28
Christian Historical	9	6	11	11	10
Antirevolutionary	11	13	13	12	14
Social Democratic	15	21	24	24	22
Liberal	21	15	9	8	7
Liberal Democratic	8	5	7	7	6
Communist	—	3	1	2	4
Miscellaneous	11	5	5	6	9
Total	100	97*	100	100	100

\* Three seats vacant.

nificant changes: new parties have been formed; the opposition between the right and the left is less marked than formerly; and the governments have represented definitely organized parties.

The Right is nationalist and moderately conservative, favoring strong national defense and protectionist measures and opposing socialization. Its leading circles accept parliamentary democracy. It is supported by a large proportion of the more well to do farmers but especially by the upper classes, the bureaucracy, the business men and in general the wealthy and the well educated.

Close to the Right stands the Agrarian League (*Bondeförbundet*), organized in its present form in 1921. It has worked for increased duties on grain and for other measures regarded as favorable to the farmers. It has often cooperated with the Right but has consistently rejected all proposals for united action in the formation of governments; and on certain recent questions, such as school reform, it has worked with the left. The party's support comes almost exclusively from the farmers.

After the democratic reforms the Liberal movement receded; many of its electors went over to the Right, the Agrarian League or the Social Democrats. In 1923 the party split. The old name was retained by a minority, which has held its adherents only in the larger cities, especially among the intellectuals. It has played an insignificant role in the Riksdag, but its press has exercised considerable influence. The majority formed the Independent People's party (*Frisinnade folkpartiet*), which advocated a nation wide prohibition of alcoholic liquors. Even after this question lost all importance, the two liberal parties remained separate. The strength of the Independent People's party is primarily in the middle classes, the small shopkeepers, minor officials and artisans, but also among groups of Free Church and Prohibitionist farmers. Both the Liberal and the Independent People's party have as a rule opposed the protective tariff proposals of the Right and the Agrarians, but they have also fought socialist tendencies.

The program of the Social Democratic party is Marxist, but its tactics are revisionist. Since the death of Hjalmar Branting in 1925 the internal differences of opinion have been accentuated. Some sections have stressed far reaching demands, such as disarmament and partial socialization. Others are hardly distinguishable from

the bourgeois left. The party represents the greater part of the industrial workers and also many farm hands and poorer farmers. In 1919 a Communist party was formed, affiliated with the Communist International; since then a faction which adheres in principle to the Communist program but which has withdrawn from the Komintern has split off. A National Socialist party appeared in the elections of 1933 but won no seats.

Relative party strength after democratization has been quite stable. The following table shows party strength in the Second Chamber since

	1925	1929	1933
Right	65	73	58
Agrarian League	23	27	36
Liberal	4	4	4
Independent People's	29	28	20
Social Democratic	105	90	104
Communist	4	8	8

1925. Relative party strength in the First Chamber has been approximately the same as in the Second, although the position of the bourgeois left is stronger in the former. In recent years nearly all the governments have been formed by a single party.

*Norway.* As long as Norway was united with Sweden, the party positions were determined by questions connected with the problem of union. The Left worked for independence, while the Right long remained relatively friendly to the union. Later social and economic questions chiefly decided the party divisions. The Right, with which the so-called Independent Left cooperates, has opposed social reforms and has stressed nationalism. An agrarian party, formed in 1921, has sought to represent the special interests of the farmers, regarding the policies of the Right as influenced too much by urban industrial interests. The Left in general corresponds to the Independent People's party in Sweden. The largest socialist party, the Norwegian Labor party, was attached to the Communist International from 1919 to 1923; since its withdrawal it has supported an extremely radical program. The less radical Social Democratic Labor party combined with this party in 1927. Prior to 1927, when prohibition was repealed, the liquor question was for many years a decisive factor in parliamentary politics. In general the radicals and the Social Democrats supported prohibition, while the Right and a portion of the Agrarians demanded its repeal. Since 1924 the various parties have had the following representation in the Storting:

	1924	1927	1930
Right and Independent Left	54	31	44
Agrarian	22	26	25
Left	34	30	33
Social Democratic Labor	8	—	—
Norwegian Labor	24	59	47
Communist	6	3	—
Scattered	2	1	1

	1926	1929	1932
Conservative People's	30	23	27
Left	46	44	38
Radical Left	16	16	14
Social Democratic	53	61	62
Justice League	2	3	4
Communist	—	—	2
Schleswig	1	1	1

Minority governments have been the rule. In general they have been formed by the Right or the Left; in 1928 the Labor party and in 1931 the Agrarians held power. The Labor government stressed its opposition to the bourgeois parties by submitting a very far reaching program, including among other things a demand for disarmament and heavily increased property taxes. Within two weeks it was forced to resign.

*Denmark.* During the closing years of the nineteenth century, the political battle in Denmark was between the left, which demanded a parliamentary democracy, and the right, which wanted to preserve the king's personal power and the aristocratic privileges. After the constitutional changes in 1915 the constitutional question receded into the background and party lineups changed. The Conservative People's party, the right, represents the upper classes and especially the more well to do landowners; it favors protective tariffs and a strong national defense. As a rule it has cooperated with the so-called Left (agrarian, or moderate, Left), which gained the support of the great mass of farmers and after the termination of the constitutional battle developed on the whole a conservative character, although it still favors free trade in principle. The radical movements are represented by the Radical Left, with support from the city liberals and the small tenant farmers, and by the Social Democrats. Two coalitions have thus regularly opposed each other; in one the agrarian Left has taken the lead and in the other the Social Democrats. In the Folketing the two coalitions have for many years held about equal voting strength, while the aristocratic right and the agrarian Left have dominated the Landsting.

There are also a so-called Justice League, primarily single tax, a Communist party, and in Schleswig a German language minority group. The strength of the various parties in the Folketing since 1926 is indicated in the following figures. The mandates from the Faroe Islands are not included.

In recent years the Social Democrats and the Radical Left have cooperated among other things to force through a disarmament proposal;

the question of national defense has received considerable attention in Danish politics.

*Finland.* In Finland a fairly distinct party system arose in connection with the introduction of universal suffrage for the parliamentary elections in 1907. But so long as the Russian regime lasted, the question of the relations with Russia continued to dominate political life. In connection with the events of 1917-19, the declaration of independence, the Communist revolt of 1918 and the adoption of the new constitution, new party groups were formed, which have in general remained unchanged to the present.

The real party of the right is the National Union, representing the greater part of the Finnish upper class and the wealthy Finnish landowners. Before the present constitution was adopted the party worked for a monarchy and since then has followed a conservative nationalistic policy, supporting the Finnish interests against the Swedish minority. The National Progressive party is liberal, and its chief support is urban. The more radical Agrarian party represents the small landowners and by virtue of its central position has often played a decisive part. Both the National Progressive party and the Agrarians draw their adherents almost exclusively from the Finnish speaking population. The Social Democratic party is distinctly revisionist in policy. The Communists figured in the elections of 1922 as an independent party; in 1923 the party dissolved, but it was reorganized and reappeared at succeeding elections. The Swedish People's party, which represents the Swedish speaking minority (about 10 percent of the population), has above all opposed attempts at Finnification and accordingly has at times cooperated with the Social Democratic party, although in economic and social questions it is relatively conservative. Party strength in parliament is shown by the following table:

	1924	1929	1930	1933
National Union	38	28	42	32
Swedish People's	23	23	21	21
National Progressive	17	7	11	11
Agrarian	44	60	59	52
Social Democratic	61	59	66	79
Communist	17	23	—	—
Scattered	—	—	1	5

Most governments have been coalitions which nevertheless have not had a majority in the parliament. The Agrarians have usually formed the nucleus, cooperating with the National Unionists or with the National Progressives. On a few occasions all the bourgeois parties have been represented in the government. In 1926-27 a Social Democratic cabinet which did not have definite support from any other party acquired bourgeois support on a few questions of the day by pursuing a moderate policy.

During 1930 a nationalistic and anti-Communist movement called the Lapua movement (from its headquarters in the parish of Lapua) appeared as a powerful factor in Finnish politics. Its support comes chiefly from the Finnish farming population but also from the army and from certain industrial and business circles. In its literary expression it is akin to Fascism and national socialism in its special criticism of the parliamentary system and in its insistence upon the necessity for a dictatorship independent of parties. In the summer of 1930 its activities, supported by the National Union in particular and by scattered groups within other parties, led to the overthrow of the conservative cabinet and to the enactment of legislation which deprived the Communists of their seats in the parliament. Later a constitutional amendment made ineligible to the parliament all members of organizations striving for violent social change. The Lapua movement has since lost strength.

*Iceland.* In Iceland the party divisions used to be determined by the question of the relations with Denmark. Since Iceland's independence in 1918, three principal parties have appeared: the Independence, which is conservative; the Progressive, representing the demands of the poorer farmers for reform; and the Socialist, with adherents from the small class of industrial workers. The latter two parties have often cooperated, but not in the formation of governments. In recent years the Independence and Socialist parties have demanded proportional representation, because the present system favors the Progressives. In the 1931 elections the Progressive party received 23 seats in the Althing, the Independence party 15 and the Socialists 4.

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**BALTIC STATES.** The development of political parties in Russia was hampered down to the beginning of the twentieth century by the absence of representative institutions. Even before the revolution of 1905, however, organization of the

peasantry in the Baltic region had begun along clearly defined lines of nationality and religion, while radical groups of urban workers learned from compatriots in Germany, western Europe and America the technique of partisan group organization. Differences of language accentuated regional or quasi-separatist movements, while differences in religion split the populace of the Baltic provinces and Congress Poland, whether Protestant, Catholic or Uniat, into sharply defined groups basically irreconcilable with orthodox Russia.

In the decade following 1906 the few representatives of the Estonian, Lettish and Lithuanian people in the dumas tended to submerge their identity in that of the Russian parties politically most akin to them. Only the Poles, primarily through the National Democratic Union, maintained their distinctive party organization. After the March revolution in 1917 political groups intensified their activity with a view to obtaining more adequate representation in the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. When that body met in January, 1918, deputies from the Baltic provinces came no longer as Russians of a particular political creed but as Estonians, Letts or Lithuanians openly demanding independence. With the dispersal of the Assembly their sense of constitutional obligation to Russia was overridden by the superior law of self-determination. Down to the end of the World War, however, open political activity was impossible, because of the iron hand of German military occupation or of Soviet efforts to impose Communist rule on the Baltic areas. Only after the withdrawal of the invader could freely organized political life begin.

With land reform a burning issue, with control of education at stake, with the organization of society on individualistic or collectivistic lines in the balance, lines of cleavage quickly began to appear. When provisional governments summoned constituent assemblies in each country, party groups previously colloid suddenly crystallized. The foci around which parties were formed were basically national, religious and economic; in addition the national minorities organized to preserve their respective cultural rights. In each country therefore parties of militant nationalist patriots, fundamentally conservative, were quick to assert their programs, uniformly anticommunist in character yet conceding the necessity of far reaching land reform as indispensable to the organization of a stable social order. Such were the National Demo-