



The
GOVERNMENTS
of
FOREIGN POWERS

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PREFACE

IN a time of rapid change, there is need for a book which gives an account of the chief governments of the world. While the method and purpose of this book are discussed in Chapter 1, a few words may be added here.

The government of England receives more space than do the governments of France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan, and China. Present conditions of uncertainty and difficulties of access to information of necessity curtail the discussions of other states. Every effort has been made to give a simple but accurate description, though often the appraisal of institutions and practice must be tentative.

While the authors have frequently consulted with each other during the preparation of the book, Philip W. Buck wrote the first twenty-two chapters and John W. Masland the last seven. Both wish to make acknowledgment to the friends who gave them aid and counsel, particularly to Professor Charles Fairman of Stanford University; to Manfred Vernon, graduate assistant in the Department of Political Science at Stanford; and to John M. Maki of Harvard University. Mr. Vernon's help was most valuable in the preparation of the chapters on Germany. The comments of Mr. Maki contributed greatly to the improvement of the chapters on recent developments in Japan. The authors, of course, must take responsibility for any errors in fact or interpretation.

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THE GOVERNMENTS OF
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CHAPTER 1

GOVERNMENTS, POLITICS, AND NATIONAL POLICIES

THE American citizen of the twentieth century, whether he likes it or not, has become a citizen of a world community. The problems of peace and security, of economic and social welfare, of social and racial minorities, are now so pressing that every citizen must interpret the significance of his government's action in terms of its effect upon foreign as well as domestic policy. World War II and the difficulties of reconstruction in the post-war period have forced these global responsibilities not only upon the political leader when he formulates a program but upon the voter when he casts his ballot.

The gravity of the international aspects of national policy has been amply explained to the citizen by lengthy discussions in public meetings, by articles in periodicals and newspapers, and by many widely read books dealing with the problems of international organization. International relations and the drift of foreign policy of the great powers of the world are constantly brought to the notice of every interested person.

One World of Sovereign States. Behind all these problems of international adjustment and cooperative action, however, lies the fact that the "One World" of this century is still organized in sovereign national communities. The associated action of national states is surely becoming increasingly important; but on the most hopeful estimate the probabilities of establishing a truly effective world government are still relatively remote. And even if a world federation could be successfully organized within the near future, the member-states of such a federation would retain a wide range of freedom of action, just as California and Massa-

chusetts continue to exercise very substantial powers within the framework of American federalism.

To put the matter bluntly, an American citizen should not only understand the government of the United States thoroughly but also possess a working knowledge of how the Russians run the government of the Soviet Union and how the British make use of the English constitution and manage the machinery of association within the Empire-Commonwealth. Ideally, this knowledge should include something about all the states of the world, but that clearly would be too large a task. The terms "Big Four" or "Big Five" suggest the nations about which some knowledge is most necessary.

The aim of this book is to furnish the essential information needed to interpret the policies and action of the great states of the world. Its true subject might be described as "contemporary government," since its purpose is to make available significant facts about the operation of the great states of the world. Comparison and contrast between governments may often be helpful in understanding the working of each, and will be used occasionally to explain how institutions function in any particular country. Reference will often be made to the government and politics of the United States, in order to illustrate problems of administration, or characteristic political attitudes.

The method used, therefore, is that of description. This does not preclude analysis and interpretation, but the chief concern of this book is to *describe* the institutions of the great powers and some near-great powers, and to characterize the working of their institutions.

THE GREAT POWERS AND THE SMALL NATIONS

The choice of governments to be described requires some explanation. Five states have been designated by the United Nations Charter as permanent members of the Security Council: England, the Soviet Union, China, France, and the United States. Since this book is intended for American students, the

United States here appears only as a basis for illustrative comment on the assumption that the student's concern is chiefly with foreign governments.

It should be remembered that, although they were defeated in World War II, the three Axis states, Germany, Italy, and Japan, remain of importance in world affairs. All three have populations as large as some of the five, and all are important industrial and trading communities. Though their governments are disorganized by recent defeats, it is worth while to analyze the pattern which is taking shape in each of them. The United States, moreover, is contributing to the reorganization of political affairs in each of these former enemy nations, and it is essential for the American citizen to appreciate these undertakings.

The exclusion of many governments should also be explained. Spain, Switzerland, the Scandinavian states, the Balkans, the Baltic states, the republics of Latin America—these and others are not discussed. The simplest reason for their exclusion is the inclusions. While the smaller nations occasionally make the headlines, and are always pursuing policies which have great importance for their own citizens and at times for others elsewhere, it is, nevertheless, the great powers which carry weight in the modern world. The pattern of government and politics in the seven—England, France, the Soviet Union, Italy, Germany, Japan, and China—then, is the concern of this book.

THE SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF MODERN GOVERNMENTS

Constitutional History. For each of the governments to be considered, there are certain aspects of modern states which must be understood.

The constitutional development in each community has a powerful influence upon its present political organization. Every American student realizes that the Constitution of the United States has to be interpreted in the light of the story which lies behind its adoption and amendment, and that the present performance of our Congress, our President, and our administrative

agencies, can be fully understood only in terms of our governmental history. The same is true for any state, great or small. Therefore, in dealing with each state, a summary will be given of its political and constitutional growth, in order to explain its present institutions and practices.

Constitutional Framework. The framework of institutions needs also to be described. The significant features of legislative bodies and their procedures in making laws and guiding policy, the powers of executive and administrative agencies, the organization and training of the civil service, the pattern of local administration—all these institutions in action govern the conditions of life and shape national policy in each of these communities.

Political Parties and Public Opinion. A further aspect is fully as important as the history and the institutional framework: the organization of political parties and the movements of public opinion. American students realize that an understanding of the policy of the United States at any given moment requires a knowledge of the tradition, the programs, and the character of the membership of the party in power. This is equally true for the many parties acting in coalition in the Fourth Republic in France, or for the Communist party in Russia which monopolizes the field of political action. In every state, the principal parties must be identified, and their tradition and program must be characterized.

Recent Policies. One final subject requires attention in each of these states. The recent history of leadership and policy has a powerful effect upon the present and future programs of any community. The course of events in the immediate past both limits and initiates the kind of program which may be adopted for the future. Referring once more to American experience—the Republican party, should it succeed in the elections of 1948, would nevertheless maintain and extend, in all probability, the social security legislation placed upon the statute books by the Roosevelt administrations. In the same way, a Conservative government in England would be forced to accept much of the present policies of the Labour Cabinet. And it is hard to imagine

a leadership in the Soviet Union which would attempt to abolish the results of the three five-year plans!

The subjects of chief concern, therefore, are: constitutional history, viewed always with the intention of explaining contemporary practice; constitutional and administrative framework and the powers of institutions and agencies of government; political parties, with special emphasis on their programs and leadership; and the recent history of policy and action in the community.

BY-PRODUCTS OF THE STUDY OF MODERN GOVERNMENTS

The study of contemporary governments yields more than the first important purpose declared in the preceding pages, to understand how the British, French, Russians, Italians, Germans, Japanese, and Chinese run their national affairs. Since all these states, with the exception of China, are large industrial and commercial communities, with great urban populations, the problems faced by all of them are similar to those of the United States. Therefore, an understanding of how these communities organize and operate their own governments, of how their public policies are arrived at, can be provocative to the American citizen. Knowledge of how other communities do things can suggest improvements in our own country, or demonstrate the advantages of our present types of action.

Besides understanding the operation of governments, some comprehension of the temper of other communities can be gained from the study of their political institutions. It might be said that governmental institutions constitute a sort of bony framework which gives some indication at least of the character and potentialities of peoples.

Finally, it must be admitted that the actions of governments, at present, profoundly affect the lives of every citizen. In a modern industrial world, public control of personal action has a much greater significance than it had in the nineteenth century. The more the citizen knows about the working of his own govern-

ment and the performance of other governments in the world, the more intelligently he can express his opinions and exert his influence.

READINGS

The following are a few of the standard and classic works by distinguished scholars in which comparative studies of government have been made:

Bryce, Viscount, James, *Modern Democracies*, 2 vols., London, 1921.

Finer, H., *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, 2 vols., New York, 1932.

Friedrich, C. J., *Constitutional Government and Politics*, New York, 1937.

Marriott, Sir J. A. R., *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1927.

Some books of fairly recent date which deal with these governments are:

Beukema, Herman, William M. Geer and associates, *Contemporary Foreign Governments*, New York, 1946. Colonel Beukema and Major Geer, with their associates of the U. S. Military Academy, made valuable use of the records of American military government authorities in occupied territories.

Buell, R. L., ed., *Governments in Europe*, rev. ed., New York, 1938.

Heinberg, J. G., *Comparative Major European Governments*, New York, 1937.

Hill, N. L., and H. W. Stoke, *The Background of European Governments*, rev. ed., New York, 1940. A very useful collection of readings.

London, Kurt, *Backgrounds of Conflict*, New York, 1945.

Munro, W. B., *The Governments of Europe*, 3rd. ed., New York, 1939.

Ogg, F. A., *European Governments and Politics*, New York, 1939.

Rappard, W. E., and others, *Source Book on European Governments*, New York, 1937. Documentary materials with explanatory comments.

Shotwell, James T., ed., *Governments of Continental Europe*, New York, 1940.

Spencer, H. R., *Government and Politics Abroad*, New York, 1936.

Zink, Harold, and Taylor Cole, eds., *Government in Wartime Europe*, New York, 1941.

In addition to the foregoing suggestions, the student can find illuminating comment in books which deal with the problems of modern government in general. A few books of interpretative comment should be listed:

Becker, Carl L., *Modern Democracy*, New Haven, 1941. The late Professor Becker was one of the most distinguished of American historians, and this essay is representative of the penetrating quality of his mind.

Merriam, Charles E., *The New Democracy and the New Despotism*, New York, 1939; *Systematic Politics*, Chicago, 1945. These two books, by one of America's most distinguished political scientists, discuss the problems of government in general.

Finally, mention should be made of a few periodicals which contain articles on various aspects of government, written by scholars:

The American Political Science Review, published bi-monthly by the American Political Science Association.

Foreign Affairs, New York, published quarterly by the American Council on Foreign Relations.

Foreign Policy Reports, New York, published twice a month by the Foreign Policy Association.

The Political Quarterly, London, published four times a year.

Two annual publications are of importance for the factual data they contain:

The Statesman's Year Book, published in New York and London.
Political Handbook of the World, Walter H. Mallory, ed., New York, published by Harper and Bros. for the American Council on Foreign Relations.

Each of the above lists might be indefinitely extended, but the intention here is to offer suggestions of useful and authoritative writings, and sources of information, which the student may find of value in pursuing his interests further. Succeeding chapters will conclude with similar listings of references for more extensive reading.

ENGLAND

