VI

Having thus sketched the different responses to the "Pouvoir Actif" in three specific political systems, let us now turn to some counterforces operating everywhere in the world.

We can discern a new horizontal division of powers that may develop into a new system of checks and balances. It has been pointed out that the federalist structure of West Germany constitutes a certain "controlling reality" against the growing power of the chancellor and the administration. At times, the Länder, acting through the Bundesrat (Federal Council) seem to offer a more effective counterweight against the federal bureaucracy than the parliamentary opposition. Inspite of the fact that in countries such as the United States and Switzerland, the federal power has been strengthened at the expense of the member states, new supranational agencies may eventually function as a check on the power of the national state. Thus a new type of federalism is likely to emerge. Perhaps we are witnessing the beginning of a development, in the course of which a federal world government or a world federation will take shape. It might be based on continental federations which, in turn, would rest on regional federations, composed of federal states such as the United States and the Soviet Union, India and Brasil, Nigeria, and West Germany. The four-or-five-story building of a world federalism so constructed suggests a new diffusion of power.

Most likely new democratic agencies will take their place beside the organs of classical parliamentary democracies. Within the framework of a "new federalism", more or less autonomous organizations and departments may come to life. We may think in this connection of the office of parliamentary controlers of the military as it exists in Sweden and now also in West Germany, or we may point to the institution of the "Ombudsman" successfully established in New Zealand and ever more frequently discussed in the Federal Republic of Germany. His function could be considerably extended inasmuch as he could be given the right to propose new administrative methods and procedures. Moreover, the Independent Regulatory Commissions in the United States as well as the Public Corporations in England merit our attention, and we should not overlook the very important organs of self-government in the economic, social and cultural fields, i.e. the agencies of social insurance and the advisory councils of the broadcasting and television corporations. Special attention should be paid to the workers' councils and their representatives on the boards of directors, which embody the principle of co-management in West Germany. We should further take note of the Workers' and Producers' councils as they are developing in Yugoslavia. The five chambers constituting the Yugoslav parliament call to mind the "Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain" tentatively designed by the Webbs as early as 1920. Might it not be possible that