We have to find a way to free ourselves both from the fear of want and the fear of war, and the spirit of free inquiry will be basic to the realization of the four freedoms. As M. de Jouvenel proposes to inquire into the the future of political institutions it behooves us to do so. In what direction are those institutions developing? Are they equipped to deal with the dynamism of our technological age? Do they promote the four freedoms?

We may be able to make certain significant observations that might help answer these questions if we consider both the structure and the function of institutions. The functional aspect involves procedures and methods, operations and forms of political behavior and political action in foreign affairs as well as in internal politics. The classical distinction between the policy of a state and international politics, between domestic and international relations is no longer applicable. In this field as elsewhere more interdependence and interaction is evident than was true for previous periods of territorial parochialism and slower change. Finally, political institutions and political action can only be understood within the general framework of socio-cultural dynamics with its ever novel problems.

II

M. de Jouvenel[1] draws our attention to the growth and spread of the "Pouvoir Actif". We may think of it as a political response to the dynamism of our age, to the mass character of our society and to the split of the world into East and West and, as is now becoming more and more apparent, into North and South as well.

In so far as the growth of the Pouvoir Actif is connected with industrial and technical change and the incorporation of ever growing populations into the state, it remains an open question whether and how this growth can be stopped. In so far as the expansion of the function and structure of government is the response to the polarisation of the world and to re-armament, one can well visualize that this expansion might not only be halted, but reversed. It is urgent to examine the effect of this new force on our traditional institutions. How does it affect the constitutional system as M. de Jouvenel postulates it? How does it affect our democratic attitudes?

Perhaps it would be a good beginning to recall that even the most classical constitutional systems were part and parcel of a "minoritarian" democracy. Even where such a democracy was based upon the self-government of the "many", those many constituted but a small fraction of the total population. Even England knows of universal manhood suffrage

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1) Cf. B. de Jouvenal: Political Science and Prevision, American Political Science Review, Vol. LIX, 1965, pp. 29-38.