

only since 1918. Universal suffrage for women is of still more recent date. The problem of constitutionalism in a mass democracy (that does not cease to be a class democracy, to be sure) is a product of our age.

It might be legitimate to distinguish broadly three systems within which the *Pouvoir Actif* has become operative. In the American type of presidential democracy its growth has had more ambiguous effects (both negative and positive ones) than in the classical constitutional systems of the British type. In West Germany, where constitutionalism has not had time to take roots, the impact of the "*Pouvoir Actif*" has weakened the democratic balance of forces.

### III

As for the United States, its political system is full of contradictions. In the first place, here as elsewhere and most noteworthy since the New Deal, the power of the President, of the military and industrial managers, of the civil service etc. has been growing steadily. On the other hand, the United States perhaps more than any other continental power, still suffers from the parochialism of a Congress that, though strong, lacks integrated parties and is exposed to the pressures of most backward sectional and selfish vested interests. Finally America shows signs of the slow emergence of a more integrated national party system. Since 1932 the American parties have to a certain extent become "europeanized". Though largely remaining machine and patronage parties, they are gaining in political profile: the democrats tend to assume some of the characteristics of a progressive party, whereas the Republicans are about to become the Conservative Party, largely because of the fact that they are replacing the Democrats in the South.

M. de Jouvenel has already mentioned the increasing importance of single-purpose or one-cause movements. Indeed, it is those movements that have always constituted the democratic and dynamic element in the American Commonwealth. Only when the pressure of such interest groups had become sufficiently strong, did the American parties carry out reforms. It has thus been found that the minimal program of the Socialist Party of 1912 has by now been practically realized by the two major parties. In that respect the small parties in the United States as elsewhere at times play the role of interest groups or single purpose movements and thus keep the democratic process alive. To sum up, the "*Pouvoir Actif*" in the United States plays a partially positive role inasmuch as it contributes to the integration of a vast continent still plagued by sectionalism and localism.

### IV

Turning now to the countries of classical constitutionalism we are at first sight struck by the steady decline of parliamentary government.