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## Summaries in English

N.A.

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## Mededeling

### Congres racisme en de arbeidsmarkt in historisch perspectief

In september 1991 wordt in Amsterdam een congres georganiseerd met als thema 'Racisme en de Arbeidsmarkt in Historisch Perspectief'. Dit congres is het begin van een langlopend internationaal onderzoeksproject, een samenwerkingsverband van de Stichting Historische Racisme Studies met het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis te Amsterdam. Onderzoekers die zich bezighouden met de relatie tussen arbeidsmarkt en racisme in pre-industriële en industriële samenlevingen worden bij deze uitgenodigd om voor 1 februari 1990 samenvattingen (ca. 100 woorden) en voor 1 november 1990 papers in te sturen. De congresvoertaal is Engels. De geselecteerde papers worden gepubliceerd en de auteurs zullen worden uitgenodigd om op kosten van de organisatie het congres bij te wonen, dat plaatsvindt tussen 5-7 september 1991 in het IISG te Amsterdam.

Om de onderlinge communicatie van onderzoekers uit verschillende disciplines met uiteenlopende onderwerpen mogelijk te maken, zijn vier stellingen geformuleerd die als leidraad moeten fungeren in de papers voor het congres. De theoretische achtergrond van deze stellingen wordt geschetst in een speciale congrespublicatie *Racism and the Labour Market*. Voor meer informatie over het congres en de publicatie kunt u contact opnemen met:

Congres Historische Racisme Studies  
 Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis  
 Cruquiusweg 31  
 1019 AT Amsterdam  
 Nederland  
 Tel. 071-272048 (F. Goedbloed) of 020-6685866 (A. Woudstra)  
 Fax 020-6654181

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Men zou er een onderzoekprogramma op kunnen bouwen. Frissen heeft alle aspecten echter zelf in één keer aan een empirisch onderzoek (hij gebruikt in dat verband zelfs het woord 'toets') willen onderwerpen.

Zoals al verschillende malen is opgemerkt, verschaft de gevolgde werkwijze de auteur de gelegenheid diverse op zichzelf interessante beschouwingen te houden rond de thematiek van zijn boek. Voor wie uitsluitend nieuwsgierig is naar Frissens inzichten en ideeën aangaande de informatisering bij de overheid, blijft het boek tot het einde boeiend en uitdagend.

H.P. Potman

## Summaries

### Right constraints? An analysis of Gauthier's Reasoning about Morals

by Percy B. Lehning

In *Morals by Agreement* Gauthier tries to reconcile morals and reason. This project of reconciliation is analysed and commented on. A main point of critique is based on the way Gauthier conflates concepts and terms such as 'morality', 'impartiality', 'just distribution', 'not taking advantage'. A core idea in his theory is that the proviso determines and protects the rights persons have, taking into account the real differences between persons. The role this (starting)point plays in Gauthier's theory is illustrated by contrasting aspects of his argumentation with those brought forward in Rawls' theory of justice.

Gauthier's idea, for instance, that one should make a distinction between what a person can get without co-operation and the—additional—amount that one can get by cooperating, is compared with Rawls' ideas on social co-operation and the related question on how to distribute the social surplus. In Rawls' case it does not make sense to talk about producing in a situation without co-operation and comparing this situation with one of co-operation.

The core idea that underlies these differences is, on the one hand, the view held by Gauthier that the social order should mirror the partiality of the natural order. Inequalities in basic endowments should be transmitted to the social order when one wants to talk about just benefits. Rawls' view, on the other hand, is that a so-called well-ordered society should be seen as a correction on the arbitrariness of natural, social and accidental contingencies.

It is argued that, in final analysis, a Rawlsian theory of justice captures in a better way what justice is all about, than the theory formulated by Gauthier.

## Political Parties Going Dutch: Party Finances in the Netherlands

by R. A. Koole

In the near future direct allocation of public funds to political parties might be introduced in the Netherlands. The scanty financial resources of the Dutch parties are cited as an argument to introduce this new kind of state subvention, next to the already existing special subsidies for party affiliated foundations for research and educational activities. But how poor are the Dutch parties?

A first goal of this article is to provide—in a comparative way—some recent data concerning the finances of the three major Dutch parties: the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Liberal party (VVD). It will do so after having given an assessment of what is meant by 'party finance'. Party finance can only be understood when a party is not treated as a unity, but rather as a complex of various echelons (section II). The finances of the Dutch parliamentary parties have increased considerably the last decades (section III). But the extra-parliamentary party organizations of the major parties are confronted with important losses in membership figures in the 1980s. Hence, the income of the party headquarters is under strain, since membership dues still constitute the principal source of income. There are no indications for a rapidly expanding party bureaucracy and election campaigns tend to be cheaper than before. Of the three major Dutch parties the VVD is the poorest nowadays, with no capital reserve left. The CDA and the PvdA headquarters are in a somewhat better financial position (section IV). But, as is also argued in section VII, all extra-parliamentary party organizations (of the principal parties) are accompanied by a 'parliamentary party complex', that might to some extent compensate for the relative modest scale of Dutch party finance.

Compared to the situation in other European countries, Dutch party finance is indeed rather modest (section VI). But the practise of public funding in most of these countries also constitutes a warning against a precipitate introduction of direct subsidies to political parties. A profound debate about the basic questions involved should take place first, as is suggested in section V. The idea of the 'equality of opportunities' should be the leading principle in this debate. And a formal recognition of the political parties as important institutions for the formation of the political will should finally be introduced in the Netherlands.

## Turnout and second-order effects in the European elections of June 1989—evidence from The Netherlands

by Cees van der Eijk and Erik Oppenhuisuis

In this article turnout and party choice in the 1989 European elections in The Netherlands are analyzed.

In spite of the fact that turnout was dramatically lower than is customary in national elections, its correlates in terms of individual characteristics appear to be quite similar. Demographic and background characteristics exert very little explanatory power, while political involvement factors are much more important. Still, even when combined, these two groups of variables do not explain more than 22% of the variance of individual turnout.

Perceived irrelevance of the European Parliament, which turns out to be a manifestation of more generalized attitude with respect to other elected assemblies as well, and attitude towards the European Community are also correlated with turn-out, but increase the explained variance only marginally (owing to their correlation with political involvement and voters' background) to no more than 25%.

A causal model of party choice has not been constructed. Owing to the strong similarity of party choice in the European elections and intended party choice in national elections, such a model would merely replicate existing models of (national) party choice published elsewhere. Instead, the analysis has been focused on second-order effects: the extent to which party choice is different from that in national elections owing to the fact that there is 'less at stake' in the European elections, which can for the Netherlands be regarded as second-order national elections. Some support is found for the hypotheses that second-order effects are negative for government parties and positive for small parties. The hypothesis of diminished influence of strategic voting in second-order elections was supported by the finding that (left-right) smallest distance voting is more prevalent in the European elections than in national ones.

Finally, the effect of turnout on the election result is estimated. The two largest parties, CDA and PvdA, have suffered clearly from the low turnout, while all other parties have benefited from it to a smaller or larger degree. This finding is at odds with findings in recent national elections that party-preference of non-voters does not differ substantially from that of voters. The fact that such differences are observed in the Euro-elections is probably caused by the difference in over-all turnout.