



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## Summaries in English

N.A.

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Het congres is bedoeld voor politici, ambtenaren, wetenschappers en andere belangstellenden geïnteresseerd in het openbaar bestuur.

Plaats: Universiteit Twente, Enschede. Tijd: 10.00-17.00 uur.

Kosten: f 190,- incl. lunch e.d. en inclusief de congresbundel welke na het congres wordt uitgegeven.

Inschrijfformulieren en inlichtingen bij het congressecretariaat mevr. S.J. Witterick, Universiteit Twente, afdeling Bestuurskunde, Postbus 217, 7500 AE Enschede, tel. 053-893200.

### Seminar Zuid-Afrika en het nationale vraagstuk

De Werkgroep Ontwikkelingsvraagstukken en het Govan Mbeki Fonds van de Universiteit van Amsterdam organiseren in samenwerking met de Nederlandse anti-apartheidsorganisaties een seminar over Zuid-Afrika. Studenten van alle Nederlandse universiteiten kunnen 4 studiepunten verwerven door deel te nemen aan dit seminar.

Plaats: Oudemanhuispoort te Amsterdam, zaal D 009.

Tijd: Vanaf donderdag 16 oktober 1986 elke week een lezing t/m donderdag 11 december 1986, telkens 14.00-17.00 uur.

16 oktober William Pommeroy: What is the national question in international perspective?

23 oktober Harold Wolpe: Race and Class in the national struggle in South Africa.

30 oktober Anthony Holiday: White nationalism as movement and as system.

6 november Francis Meli: South Africa, Rise of African nationalism.

13 november Essop Pahad: South Africa, Indians as a national minority in the national question.

20 november Kader Asmal: International law aspects of the national question in South Africa.

27 november Pallo Jordan of Thabo Mbeki: The South African liberation movement and the organisation of one nation.

4 december: Bunie Sexwale en Tessa Marcus: National liberation and women liberation in South Africa.

11 december Jean Sindab: International perspective of the question of national liberation of South Africa.

Inlichtingen: Voor nadere informatie over het seminar en het verkrijgen van studiepunten hiervoor kunt u zich wenden tot de Werkgroep Ontwikkelingsvraagstukken: 020-5254764 of 5252897.

### Summaries

#### Arms control and the security dilemma of states

by J.H. Leurdijk

Negotiations on nuclear arms control have been a central focus of international diplomacy since 1945. National armament is conditioned by the security dilemma of states in an international system that is characterized by fragmentation and anarchy. As states are the sole custodians of their own security for which they rely mainly on a system of national armament, it is not self-evident for them to negotiate on the quantity and quality of their arms, and before 1945 they hardly did. Nuclear weapons, however, have the unique quality that they pose a mortal threat not only to the opponent but to the defender as well. This article deals with the contradiction between the simultaneity of an ongoing armaments race and negotiations to control the arms race. After analyzing the structural conditions that sustain the national armament efforts, the article discusses the concept of arms control. It tries to explain why, nevertheless, the world is witnessing an almost continuous effort to control the arms race and to identify the objectives of this effort. Because compliance with the terms of an agreement is seen as the test-case for the reliability of the partner, violations obtain an importance which is out of proportion to their intrinsic importance. That is why the verification issue has been a major stumbling-block for agreements. The agreements that in fact have been concluded evaded the critical question of international verification by relying mainly on national means of verification. Their importance is largely symbolic. However, as the American-Russian adversary relationship is still the dominant fact of international politics, arms control should not only be judged by its failure to achieve substantial results.

#### Continuity and change in the political map of the Netherlands 1897-1913

by C. Stoppelenburg and H. van der Wusten

The geographical pattern of the districts won by each one of the major political families represented in the Second Chamber of the Dutch parliament during 1897-1913 has been analyzed in this paper. Four political tendencies (liberals, catholics,

orthodox-protestants and socialists; some internally fragmented, some not yet fully organized as mass-parties) competed in five national elections for 100 seats in single-membered districts with second rounds if no candidate got an absolute majority in the first round.

The political map remained rather stable in spite of rapid social, political and economic developments. Religious adherence and level of urbanisation were the basic explanations for political differences. In catholic regions, urban and rural districts had catholic representatives, elections being only slightly politicized. Orthodox-protestants representatives typically came from rural areas where this type of religion was followed by a majority or where a majority could be won with support of catholic voters. Rural areas with a majority population of latitudinarian persuasion and urban districts outside the catholic region voted on the left (either liberal or socialist). Districts normally voting on the left were the most highly politicized.

Two distinct systematic changes occurred during this period, a cyclical left-right swing of 10-14 seats producing alternating majorities and a steady increase of socialists, first in the country-side, then in the cities, primarily at the expense of former liberal seats.

### Beyond 'The American voter'

by B. Niemöller and C. van der Eijk

The causal model of *The American voter*, elegantly summarized in the metaphor of the 'funnel of causality' should not, as Van Deth recently proposed in this Journal, be reinstated as the starting point for empirical electoral research. This landmark in the development of electoral research has inspired since its publication in 1960 numerous studies aimed at replication, elaboration, clarification, validation and testing various aspects of the theory proposed by Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes. These studies, and much of the subsequent work of the authors of 'The American voter' as well, demonstrated that central variables in the theory are conceptually ambiguous and operationally inadequate, that core assumptions respecting the unidirectionality of causal relations are untenable, and that many empirical conclusions are not generally valid, but only for the situation of the late 1950s in the USA. In addition to these findings scientific progress is exhibited by the development of comparative and historical electoral studies, areas which have also strongly influenced the understanding of electoral behavior and election outcomes in specific elections.

To the extent that progress in the evolution of electoral research may nevertheless be slower than one would prefer to see, attention is called to the infrastructural and organizational requirements for optimal growth and dissemination of knowledge. With respect to the Netherlands, these conditions are discussed and found to be far from fulfilled.

### Medewerkers aan dit nummer

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