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Daarbij zal voorrang worden gegeven aan Nederlandse politicologische publikaties en aan werken die voor de politicologie in het algemeen van belang zijn.

Croo, Herman-Frans de, en Robert Huenens, *Het parlement aan het werk*. De taak van de hedendaagse volksvertegenwoordiging. Brussel (Emile Bruylant), 1966. — 312 p. Bfrs. 380.

Dahl, R. A. (Ed.), *Political oppositions in Western democracies*. New Haven etc. (Yale University Press), 1966. — 458 p. \$ 10.00.

Dahm, Bernhard, *Soekarno en de strijd om Indonesië's onafhankelijkheid*. Meppel (J. A. Boom en Zoon), z.j. (1966). — 399 p. f 13,50.

Edelman, Murray and R. W. Fleming, *The politics of wage-price decisions: a four-country analysis*. Urbana (University of Illinois Press), 1965. — 331 p. \$ 6.75.

's Jacob, E. H., *Representatie en mandaat in het politiek bestel*. Groningen (J. B. Wolters), 1966. — 23 p. f 1,90.

Kraemer, P. E., *The societal state*. The modern osmosis of State and Society as presenting itself in the Netherlands in particular. A case study of a general trend. Meppel (J. A. Boom en Zoon), 1966. — 210 p. f 13,50.

Lijphart, Arend, *The trauma of decolonization*. The Dutch and West New Guinea. New Haven etc. (Yale University Press), 1966. — 336 p.

Mason, Henry L., *Mass demonstrations against foreign regimes*. A study of five crises. New Orleans (Tulane University Press), 1966. — 98 p. \$ 3.00.

Schelling, Thomas C., *Arms and influence*. New Haven etc. (Yale University Press), 1966. — 293 p. \$ 7.50.

Scholten, L. W. G., *Voetstappen van Thorbecke*. Het eigen geestesmerk onzer staatsinstellingen. Blijvende beginselen. Assen (van Gorcum), 1966. — 144 p. f 12,50.

SUMMARIES

Most of the articles in this issue of ACTA POLITICA deal with the Concept of a new Constitution which was put out by the Netherlands Ministry of the Interior in the spring of 1966, in order to start a public discussion on revision of the Constitution. Seven scholars in the fields of political science and constitutional law discuss various questions raised by the Concept.

CONSTITUTION AND ACHIEVEMENTS

by G. Kuypers

When drafting a constitution, it is not only the formulation that matters, but also and above all the purpose for which the constitution is drafted. The purpose of a new Dutch constitution should be to safeguard the political achievements which are generally accepted and approved in our country.

Therefore not a diminution, but an expansion of the size of the constitution is needed, i.e. a safeguard for as many achievements as possible.

A constitution is not intended to solve political disputes, but to lay down generally accepted solutions — discussion is only possible about the question of which solutions are sufficiently 'generally accepted' to be included in the constitution, and about the removal of barriers to these solutions within the constitution itself.

The authors of the 'Concept of a new Constitution' have intended to enhance its normative character by omitting 'non-judicial and programmatic articles' and 'definitions of the purpose of the governmental activity'.

Matters mentioned in the constitution should be binding — the pretended contrast between 'judicial' and 'programmatic' is irrelevant.

'Purposes' can be subdivided into 'program issues' (i.e. situations to be realised in the future) and 'achievements' (id... in the present) — the authors of the Concept make a mistake in throwing away all 'purposes' along with the 'program issues'.

Among the generally accepted political achievements are the basic social rights. In the concept they are only mentioned in article 69 ('the law lays down rules about the social rights of the residents'), without further explanation, because 'it is superfluous to give an explicit formulation of these rights, as far as they are already incorporated in the national legal system' (p. 139).

Basic social rights can be defined as 'the claims of men and groups to (an) active governmental interference, which purports to a removal of the barriers between man and his development.' Examples of these are the right to employment, vacation, educational facilities, financial aid in case of sickness, old age, disability and unemployment; medical care, workers' participation in industrial management, profit-sharing, pensions, and subsidies.

In Dutch law none of these rights exists as such, although there is a good deal of regulation on these points to be found in the legislation.

These basic social rights should be included in the constitution.

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND POLITICAL PARTIES

by L. G. A. Schlichting

It is disappointing that the Concept makes no mention of the Dutch political parties in spite of their complexity, for political parties are among the most important power-regulating channels of a political system.

The Dutch electoral system of proportional representation is not touched upon, either: only minor linguistic corrections are proposed. The author devotes special attention to the proposed change of article 88 — 'The Estates-General represent the whole of the Dutch people' — into — 'The Estates-General represent the Dutch people' — and article 96 — 'The members vote without mandate or consultation of those who appoint' — into — 'The members vote without mandate' —.

He considers this to be detrimental to the idea of the 'united popular will', while at the same time the legal reins of 'those who appoint' — i.e. the political parties — are loosened.

The author objects to certain practices e.g. of the Catholic People's Party, where a Party Congress can force certain elected persons to vacate their seat; the Concept's new version would sanction this practice. In the author's view, a voters' judgment should not be canceled by party members.

THE NEED FOR A DOCTRINE FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

by H. A. Brasz

The 'Concept for a new Constitution' gives deplorably few guarantees for the organizational unity of administration, which is so greatly needed in our country.

From an organizational point of view, it is a fatal misunderstanding to put together under one title 'Legislation' and 'Administration', two such totally different public institutions as parliament and government. We need a clear, separate regulation of our administration, which would enable us to use modern and more efficient administrative techniques. Especially the hierarchical principle should be followed more consistently than it has been up till now: one office-holder, i.e. the prime minister, should be constitutionally responsible for the good operation of our administration.

A separate chapter of the constitution should be called 'Administration'; the first articles of this chapter could be:

1. the prime minister is head of the administration;
2. the organization and operation of the administration are established by law.

The author sees no need to have the general principles of administrative law established by law, as proposed, in addition to general rules concerning the operation of the administration.

There is a desperate need for a doctrine for the modern democratic administration, based on law, administration studies and practice.

THE CONCEPT AND THE MONARCHY

by H. Daalder

The present constitution devotes a great deal of space and attention to the person and the position of the king — which is understandable in view of the fact that it was drafted in a time of post-revolutionary royal restoration. The Concept's tenor, apart from technical improvements, is a different one.

It proposes that the king's position be increasingly given the character of a public office — with an easy abdication procedure and the possibility of not appointing an heir to the throne.

Mystique should be practically non-existent. Expressions like 'His Majesty' have disappeared; words like 'crown', 'king' etc. should no longer be capitalized, the expressions of humility in the communication between the monarch and the parliament should no longer be used.

Also the king's formal role should be diminished. He would no longer be president of the Council of State, and no longer appoint the presidents of both Chambers of parliament. More important is, that he would no longer possess the formal executive power (as he has in the present constitution) — the new version would be 'the ministers and the king together constitute the government' and 'the king acts as head of the government'.

From a political point of view, the Concept does not deal with current discussions on the question whether there should be a king at all. In the new version the confusion in the use of the words 'king', 'government', and 'crown' which exists in the present constitution is continued. For example it would not yet be clear whether the king has the right to dissolve the parliament.

CONCEPT OF A NEW CONSTITUTION — CHAPTER 7: 'PUBLIC BODIES'

by S. O. van Poelje

Characteristic for the Concept as a whole is its — generally laudable — curtailment and simplification.

In the field of 'public bodies' details as well as more important principles have become victims of this modernization.

Undoubtedly this opens new and valuable possibilities for the legislator, especially in the field of municipal and provincial administration. An essential lack, however, is the omission of a clear statement of the principle and the main instruments of functional and territorial decentralization, a principle that is called a 'postulate' in the explanatory statement of the Concept itself.

The author deplores especially the proposed omission of the constitutional guarantee of a certain amount of autonomy of the townships and provinces, as is provided in the present constitution. He rejects the argument that no program issues, however important, should be included in the constitution. A principle such as that of decentralization, essential as it is for our legislation, deserves a place in our constitution. The author uses quotations from the constitutions of several European countries to demonstrate that the principle of decentralization is usually embedded in their constitutions.

In a detailed, flexible constitution this principle would deserve extensive elaboration; in a constitution such as the authors of the Concept would like to see — i.e. a rigid, concise and formally juridical one —, it should at least be mentioned as a main principle.

THE TACIT CONCEPT

by J. F. Glastra van Loon

The praiseworthy intention of the authors of the Concept to pave the way for possible constitutional developments by a curtailment of the constitution's size, has unfortunately not been accompanied by a clear insight into future social, economic and political developments. These could stimulate, or even necessitate, an easier procedure of revision of the constitution.

The Concept was drafted by a group of civil servants, assisted by juridical advisers, — a fact that made it only a technical revision with a conservative flavour.

One of the important problems concerns the cabinet formation with its consultation procedure.

The present system keeps the parties from binding themselves to coalition partners before the elections — a deplorable situation. The abolishment of political parties would not be very realistic, for political parties are more than mere rationalistic 'channels of political opinion' — their life and function is based above all upon their social roots.

The same applies to a revision of our electoral system: the distribution of the votes is determined by these same social forces rather than by the system. These social factors also make the use of compromise and coalition inevitable.

In the author's view, the solution lies in a revision of the formation procedure, which would enable the parties to present to the electorate several alternative coalition governments before the elections (by way of combining their lists).

On this point a revision of the constitution, although not formally required, deserves recommendation.

WHAT FOR, ANYWAY?

by H. Daudt

The authors of the proposals for a new constitution have performed their task skilfully, but their task was ill-conceived.

Technical reasons are mainly given as arguments for the drafting of the Concept: the present constitution was considered to be too lengthy and inconveniently arranged.

With regard to these arguments, the author fails to see why the old text, which has proved its usefulness for the past 150 years, should disappear. The interpretations provided by constitutional lawyers are at present sufficient to understand the constitution.

The author objects even more to the proposed substantial innovations, such as the changes in the legislative procedure, because, as far as there has been a real input of the political parties, this input is 8 or 12 years old (Van Schaik Commission 1954, Donner Commission 1958). For the more recent developments the authors of the Concept have been guided by their own 'civil servants' attitude, which is a-political or even anti-political.

Proposals for political innovations should be initiated by the political parties, and not by a number of anonymous civil servants. Finally, the Concept in no way solves the great political problems of our country, such as the diminishing governability of the country resulting from the insufficient operation of the party system.

POLITICAL PROTEST

by L. van der Land

In every community people are continually subjected to political power. This leads to counter-forces, which differ in quantity and quality. One of these counter-forces — political protest — differs in several respects from opposition and rebellion.

Opposition and protest are both directed against the government and governmental policy, but not against the regime, as is the case with rebellion. Both are non-violent, while violence is an important element in a rebellion.

Opposition takes place according to carefully prescribed rules while political protest does not make use of the existing institutional channels. Though often strongly expressed, opposition can always be seen as a form of cooperation, political protest is obstruction, breaking laws and regulations in order to provoke the authorities to actions (even the use of violence) which will give the protests greater

publicity and discredit the opponents. Opposition is directed against the entire governmental policy; political protest is directed against one or several parts of that policy. However, the protest can be a tactical means of a wider activity, which does intend to undermine and eventually to overthrow the existing regime.

The effectiveness of political decisions is based on the degree to which relevant reactions to these decisions are foreseen.

By smothering or ignoring these reactions the effectiveness of authority is promoted only in appearance.

The stability of a political system is based on the degree to which that system is able to register and digest dissatisfaction and renew impulses. In view of those considerations political protest should be seen as a constructive element for the very reason that it operates outside the institutionalized channels. The official political institutions are created and manned by the establishment; they may sincerely strive for legality and fairness, but in social and political aspects they are not unbiased. Political protest creates an outlet for criticism, which prevents an accumulation of sentiments of dissatisfaction; it provides the authorities with more extensive information about resistances within the population than the constitutional institutions can offer; it provides the citizen with a possibility for greater variance in his political behavior than would be possible otherwise.

Political protests and the freedom of demonstration which is needed for it, should be hindered as little as possible.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND THE OPERATION OF DEMOCRACY

by J. Kooiman

This article is an extensive review of G. A. Almond and S. Verba, *The civic culture: political attitudes and democracy in five nations*, Princeton, N.J., 1963.

The study is one of the first important works in the new branch in political science — *comparative politics*. It certainly is a trend setter in the behavioral approach to the cross-cultural study of political phenomena and as such its value can hardly be overestimated.

The central question asked by the researchers is whether a significant correlation or congruence between the subjective experience among citizens exists — political culture — and the working of the political systems they live in.

An effort is being made to measure the attitudes of citizens in systems 'democracies' towards their governments and their own place and role as citizens.

The main criticisms are directed against the use of the concept 'culture' — exclusively operationally defined —, the more or less arbitrary way in which the democracies are differentiated and the fact that the authors do not pay much attention to intervening variables between what they call the micro level of attitudes and the macro level of systems variables — in spite of their promise to do this.

These criticisms are mainly an expression of disappointment, in view of the importance, scope and costs of this study.