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Political Economy (later in het Engels Economics) dat is theoretische economie, dat is geheel iets anders als economische politiek waar men bijv. disconto-politiek of in het algemeen zo iets als het stelsel van de Mercantilistische politiek onder verstaat. En dit bedoelde Marx zeer zeker niet.

Jammer! Maar ondanks deze storende fout moet men erkennen dat Lipschits een verdienstelijk werk heeft geleverd en een bijzondere prestatie heeft verricht.

S. Kleerekoper

## TER RECENSIE ONTVANGEN PUBLIKATIES

De redactie kan zich door gebrek aan plaatsruimte gedwongen zien niet alle ontvangen publikaties te doen recenseren, en behoudt zich het recht voor uit onderstaande lijst indien nodig een keuze te maken. Daarbij zal voorrang worden gegeven aan Nederlandse politicologische publicaties en aan werken die voor de politicologie in het algemeen van belang zijn.

Bergh, G. van Benthem van den, *Vietnam en de ideologie van het Westen*. Amsterdam (De Bezige Bij, J. M. Meulenhoff), 1967. —59 p. f 3,50.

Gordenker, L., *The UN Secretary-General and the maintenance of peace*. New York etc. (Columbia UP), 1967. —380 p. 63 sh.

Groot, P. de, *De dertiger jaren, 1936—1939*. Amsterdam (Pegasus), 1967. —184 p. f 8,90.

*Internationale — La deuxième — et l'Orient*. Sous la dir. de Georges Haupt et Madeleine Rebérioux. Paris. (Ed. Cujas), 1967. —493 p.

Muggen, G., *Wageningse eerstejaarsstudenten 1966*. Een onderzoek naar de houding tegenover de studie, het studentenleven en de maatschappij. Wageningen (Landbouwhogeschool, afd. Sociale Psychologie), 1967. —28 p.

*Naar nieuwe politieke verhoudingen*. (Uitg. van het) Democratisch Centrum Nederland. Bilthoven (H. Nelissen), 1967. —160 p. f 8,90.

*Verkiezingen in de landen van Europees gemeenschap en in het Verenigd Koninkrijk, 1957—1959*. Door J. de Meyer, I. B. F. Kormoss, G. Craenen e.a. Brugge (De Tempel), 1967. —377 p.

## SUMMARIES

### FIFTY-TWO STATE SECRETARIES

by A. Dubbeldam-De Vries

Since 1948 state secretaries may be appointed to Dutch ministries. The purposes of establishing and maintaining this institution are:

- 1 to assist the ministers and to alleviate their tasks without increasing the number of cabinet ministers or the number of ministries, while retaining the consistency of government policy;
- 2 to train future ministers;
- 3 to obtain political balance in a government consisting of a coalition of several political parties.

So far, fifty-two state secretaries have been appointed to ninety posts termed state secretaries. A survey of publicly available material shows that the three aims mentioned above were realized to a certain degree.

The increase in the number of ministries was slight. Special tasks within the

ministries are performed by a state secretariat (e.g. matters of taxation within the ministry of finance, and public health affairs within the ministry of social affairs and public health).

Of the nine state secretaries to become ministers at a later date, two eventually became prime minister; only one began his political career in parliament, and three entered a political party at about the time of their first appointment as state secretary. Many state secretaries obtained experience in matters of public government and policy outside parliament, but not much is known about party-political careers. None of the state secretaries filled different state secretariats in succession. Five of them, became ministers in another ministry.

The aim of 'political balance' has been given increased attention since the formation of the De Quay cabinet (1959). The majority of state secretaries was appointed from that time on, while attempts were made to find active party members for the posts concerned.

There is no evidence that any one of these three, sometimes conflicting, aims superseded the others.

## THE IMPLICATIONS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION WITH EIGHTEEN DISTRICTS

by R. Verboom

In the Netherlands the system of proportional representation functions in such a way that, although there are eighteen administrative districts, the country as a whole counts as one district. In this article a recent suggestion to apply proportional representation to each of these eighteen districts is discussed.

The results of such a system for the elections of 1956 and 1957 are shown in tables 1 and 2. The practical results are compared with the theoretical results under some possible combinations of party lists ('comb. I' meaning that no combination of lists took place, 'comb. II' meaning that the lists of the confessional parties are combined, 'comb. III' meaning that there are combinations of the confessional parties and the two main non-confessional parties [Liberal and Labour], 'comb. IV' meaning that there are combinations of the confessional parties, the socialist parties [Labour, Pacifist, Communist] and parties of the 'right' [Liberal, Farmers]).

It is shown that such a reform of the electoral system would not cause the number of parties in parliament to diminish, that the numerical relations between the main parties would hardly change, that cabinet formation would be equally difficult and that the proposed reform would not lead to a two-party system.

## ROLL CALL VOTES IN THE EIGHTEENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS (1963)

by P. R. Baehr

In the course of a graduate seminar in political science at the University of Amsterdam, an effort was made to discover which states should be considered 'most influential' in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Certain

observations in the literature on the behaviour of individual states in the UN are compared with their voting behaviour during the eighteenth General Assembly with regard to eight selected issues: the representation of China, the Korean question, the enlargement of the Security Council and ECOSOC, the question of South-West Africa, the application of the resolution on granting independence to colonial states and nations, the Rhodesian question, the position of Portuguese territories in Africa, and the issue of the Palestinian refugees. The conclusions are based on the results of eight 'key votes' and on the results of the twenty-seven roll-call votes held on the eight questions (including the eight 'key votes'). Among the findings reported were the following:

- the African and Asian states belonged more often to the majority than either the Western or the Communist states;
- the voting record of the Scandinavian countries was almost identical, but it was not shown that they were less inclined to deviate from the voting patterns of Great Britain than of those of the United States;
- the voting record of African states showed more affinity with that of the Scandinavian states than with that of either Britain or the United States;
- Yugoslavia's voting record was in accordance with that of the African and Asian nations;
- Japan's voting record showed a position somewhere between that of the African and Asian nations and that of the United States;
- Israel's voting record was more in accordance with that of the African and Asian nations than with that of the United States;
- Pakistan's voting record showed a position somewhat nearer to that of the Soviet Union than that of the United States;
- on issues of national self-determination the United States' votes were more in accordance with those of Western European states than with those of African and Asian states;
- the United States and Western European states abstained more often on issues of national self-determination than African and Asian states.

Analysis of roll call votes can describe the position a state has taken on various issues and compare it with those taken by other states, but it cannot explain why these positions were taken.

#### DECONFESIONALIZATION AND RADICALIZATION AMONG STUDENTS?

by C. J. Lammers

Survey results concerning undergraduate students in political and social sciences at Amsterdam and Leyden suggest that the majority of these students prefer the same political party as their fathers do. When they deviate from their fathers' party choice, they tend to reject confessional parties (KVP, AR, CH, SGP and GPV). Furthermore, they shift more to 'the left' than to 'the right' in comparison to the party preference of their fathers (a continuum was presumed to exist, in terms of which Dutch parties were ranked from 'left' to 'right' in the following order: CPN, PSP, PvdA, D'66, KVP, AR, CH, VVD, SGP, GPV, BP, rest). The tendency to turn away from confessional parties appeared to be connected with rejection of church-membership by students whose fathers belong to a church. Finally, an index of the socio-economic position of the student did not show an appreciable correlation with preference for 'leftist' parties (PvdA, PSP or CPN).

#### DISCUSSION ON SOME ASPECTS OF ELECTION RESEARCH

by H. Daudt and A. Hoogerwerf

In this issue Daudt and Hoogerwerf end their discussion about Hoogerwerf's article 'The Dutch Voters and the Party System' (*Acta Politica* II [1966/1967]: 4, p. 297-330), which was criticized by Daudt ('Election Research in the Netherlands', *Acta Politica* III [October 1967]: 1, p. 53-74) and defended by Hoogerwerf ('The Point of Research and of some Criticism', *Acta Politica* III [October 1967]: 1, p. 74-78).

#### MEDEWERKERS AAN DIT NUMMER

Dr. P. R. Baehr studeerde politieke en sociale wetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam en Georgetown University in Washington D.C., waar hij in 1964 promoveerde. Van 1961 tot 1966 was hij medewerker aan het Instituut voor Wetenschap der Politiek van de Universiteit van Amsterdam en sindsdien lector in de leer der internationale betrekkingen aan die universiteit. Publ. o.a.: *Onderwijs en Onderzoek in de Internationale Betrekkingen* (openbare les), Meppel 1966. Hij is redactie-secretaris van ACTA POLITICA.

Mej. drs. F. van den Burg studeerde politiek en sociale wetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Zij is thans als medewerkster verbonden aan het Polemologisch Instituut van de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen.

Prof. dr. H. Daudt studeerde politieke en sociale wetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam, waar hij in 1961 promoveerde op *Floating Voters and the Floating Vote*, Leiden 1961. Tot 1963 was hij medewerker aan het Instituut voor Perswetenschap aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam; sindsdien is hij hoogleraar in de wetenschap der politiek en directeur van het Instituut voor Wetenschap der Politiek van de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Publicaties o.a.: *Enige Recente Ontwikkelingen in de Wetenschap der Politiek* (oratie) Leiden 1963; (samenv met B. Sijes), *Beeldreligie: Een kritische Beschouwing naar aanleiding van Reacties of de Derde Uitzending van Zo is het . . .*, Amsterdam 1966; 'Recente Opvattingen over Democratie', in: *Democratie anno 1967*, Meppel 1967.

Mevr. drs. A. Dubbeldam-De Vries studeerde politieke en sociale wetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Tijdens haar studie was zij als bibliothecaresse werkzaam op het Instituut voor Wetenschap en Politiek en daarna als kandidaat-assistente op het Economisch Seminarium van de Faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen van de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Thans is zij lerares maatschappijleer aan de Gemeentelijke Kweekschool te Dordrecht.

Dr. Georg Geismann studeerde economie, sociale wetenschappen en filosofie aan de universiteiten van Amsterdam en Keulen en promoveerde in 1964 op *Politische Struktur und Regierungssystem in den Niederlanden*, Bonn 1964. Daarna ver richtte hij gedurende twee jaar onderzoek in Parijs. Thans is hij medewerker aan het Institut für Sozialwissenschaften der Universität Mannheim voor politieke filosofie en rechtssociologie.

Dr. A. Hoogerwerf studeerde politicologie aan de Vrije Universiteit en is thans wetenschappelijk hoofdmedewerker met leeropdracht voor politicologie aan de