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## Summaries in English

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Britse 'Administrative Class' wordt 'ambtenarenklasse' en de Amerikaanse 'Social Security Agency' wordt 'sociale zekerheidsagentschap'. Opmerkelijk is ook, dat het notenapparaat van de Nederlandse editie nog maar 60% van de oorspronkelijke omvang bedraagt, en dat er in de tekst een aantal omissies voorkomen (b.v. op p. 113).

Gezien deze voorbeelden kan men een dergelijke vertaling moeilijk aan beginnende studenten in de bestuurswetenschappen aanbevelen. Zij zouden slechts een verwarde en onjuiste indruk opdoen. De uitgever heeft met deze uitgave de studenten een slechte dienst bewezen.

W. Y. A. de Groot

## 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 publikaties en aan werken die voor de politicologie in het algemeen van belang zijn.

*China in de internationale verhouding*. Rapport van de commissie China (van de Katholieke Volkspartij). Den Haag (Katholieke Volkspartij), 1958. -52 p. f 2,50.  
Couwenberg, S. W., *Herlevend nationalisme*. Confrontatie met een oude uitdaging. Bilthoven (Nelissen), 1967. -79 p. f 5,90.

Duverger, M., *Politiek als wetenschap*. Een inleiding in de politicologie. Amsterdam (De Bussy), 1967. -292 p. f 11,50.

Freud, Sigmund & Bullitt, William C., *Thomas Woodrow Wilson, president van 1913-1921*. Een psychologische studie. Meppel (Boom), 1966. -256 p. f 13,50.  
*Kernwapens voor alle landen?* Onder red. van F. A. M. Alting von Geusau, met medew. van L. Beaton, L. G. M. Jaquet, H. J. Neuman, B. V. A. Röling en M. van der Stoel. Baarn (Het Wereldvenster), 1967. -204 p. f 12,50.

Lammers, C. J., *Studentenvakbeweging en universitaire democratie*. Amsterdam (Noord-Hollandsche Uitg. Mij.), 1968. -74 p.

Lange, H. M. de, *Rijke en arme landen*. Een verantwoordelijke maatschappij in mondiaal perspectief. Baarn (Het Wereldvenster), 1967. -167 p. f 8,90.

*Militairen en maatschappij*. Sociaal-wetenschappelijk informatiebulletin, nr. 1 (december 1967). Rotterdam (Sociologisch Instituut, Nederl. Econ. Hogeschool).

Oud, P. J., *Honderd jaren*. Een eeuw van staatkundige vormgeving in Nederland, 1840-1940. Assen (Van Gorcum), 1967 (vierde druk). -204 p. f 19,50.

*Rapport van de adviescommissie opkomstplicht*. Den Haag (Staatsuitgeverij), 1967. -31 p. f 1,60.

*Rapport over ontwikkelingsproblematiek*. Opgesteld door een werkgroep van de Federatie van Jongerengroepen in de Partij van de Arbeid, federatie Amsterdam. (Amsterdam, 1967). -57 p. f 1,50.

Valkenburgh, P., *Inleiding tot de politicologie*. Problemen van maatschappij en macht. Amsterdam etc. (Agon Elsevier), 1968. -204 p. f 19,50.

## SUMMARIES

### DEMOCRACY IN THE NETHERLANDS

by J. F. Glastra van Loon

The author criticises the view which considers electoral systems only in terms of the possibilities they offer to the voters to express opinions and have these represented in Parliament. Elections should be considered as part of a political decision-making process. This involves exerting influence on as well as commitment to decisions. Insofar as elections do not produce decisions, the voters not only have to leave these to others but also remain uncommitted.

Various functions of elections are discussed and an analysis is made of the social and political conditions which determined the comparatively satisfactory way in which PR functioned in The Netherlands between the two World Wars, as well as of the changes in these conditions which are now increasingly giving rise to problems and to dissatisfaction with the political system.

Given the fact that the following of political parties in Holland is traditionally determined by adherence to a religious denomination and/or a political ideology rather than by differences regarding practical issues, the party-leaders cannot, but at the risk of losing electoral support, commit themselves either on such issues or to a government coalition before elections. Owing to the fact that denominational and ideological differences have become less and less politically relevant and group-cohesion based on those differences has rapidly diminished since the last War, the party-leadership is now forced to act even more reticently.

The predicament is met by (1) the formation of middle-of-the-road governments; (2) the fragmentation of long term political issues into short term problems of a predominantly technical nature; (3) transferring the decision on policies to advisory committees to the government, bodies of experts, organized interest-groups, etc.; (4) frequently overthrowing governments. As a result, political responsibility is getting more and more diffusely scattered, and political issues are increasingly vaguely defined and covered up by ideological formulas which are decreasingly meaningful to the electorate. The voters thus have fewer and fewer possibilities to vote and exert influence on as well as to commit themselves to decisions which affect their conditions of life. The latter, in turn, enhances the difficulties of the parties indicated above.

A plea is made for a reform of the political system maintaining PR within limits set by the need for electoral majority decisions, and putting a heavy premium on the formation of government coalitions before elections. It is proposed to create the possibility that parties or combinations of parties present governmental candidates at elections. The candidates of the party, or the combination of parties, acquiring an absolute majority of the votes cast will be elected for government. In case no absolute majority is obtained in the first round, a second round must be held in which only the two parties or combinations of parties with the largest relative majorities compete. The victor of this second round has its governmental candidates elected and acquires a number of seats in Parliament proportional to the number of votes that have been cast on it in that round. The remaining seats are divided between the other parties according to the results of the first round.

## EASTON'S SYSTEMS ANALYSIS AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE NETHERLANDS: A FIRST EXPLORATION

by G. H. Scholten

In *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York etc. 1965) David Easton proposed a theoretical framework applicable to the analysis of all political systems. The expedience of his approach can only be tested after further elaboration of this framework and the application to empirical data.

In an attempt to give operational meaning to the concepts and variables suggested by Easton, various difficulties are encountered: some of them caused by shortcomings of the analytical framework itself, others resulting from the lack of empirical data which could be used in the operationalization of the Eastonian variables.

This led to a number of critical remarks on various aspects of *A Systems Analysis*, followed by a report on a first tentative application of the analytical framework in an analysis of the political system of the Netherlands.

It is shown that the framework has not yet developed into a logical and coherent theory. Nevertheless, it enables us to look at political systems in their entirety and in their interactions with the environment. Moreover, it seems possible to improve the framework in a number of ways.

At present it is still impossible to make a satisfactory systems analysis of the political system of the Netherlands. However, a number of promising avenues for further research are suggested. By way of improvisation, existing time-series were used to trace recent trends in the development of demands, support and stresses. This suggests the existence of the interrelationships postulated by Easton. It is to be expected that further work on both the 'Eastonian framework' and empirical research along the lines suggested by this framework will increase our theoretical insight as well as our factual knowledge of political reality in the Netherlands.

## REACTION TO 'THE IMPLICATIONS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION WITH EIGHTEEN DISTRICTS'

by J. in 't Veld

In a reaction to 'The Implications of Proportional Representation with Eighteen Districts' by R. Verboom (*Acta Politica* III: 2 jan. 1968, p. 118-131), the author defends his proposal to divide the country into rather large districts, with a system of proportional representation and the possibility of combined party lists. This would facilitate the formation of two large political groups, which could offer real alternatives to the voters at the polls. The winning group would form the new cabinet, which would represent the will of the majority of the voters. Thus there would be no need for a directly elected prime minister as proposed by 'Democrats '66'.

## NEGATIVE SANCTIONS IN POLITICS

by C. E. van der Maesen

The concept of 'negative sanctions' has for many years been employed in political science. The author describes the way in which the concept has been operationalized by R. E. Agger, D. Goldrich and B. E. Swanson in the *Rulers*

and the Ruled and by J. F. Medler in *Negative Sanctions: Their Perception and their Impact in the Political System*.

Since the author's main interest centers on reasons for political apathy, special attention is paid to the subjective aspect of the problem: do citizens expect to be sanctioned for political activities?

Some of the problems of adapting the questions used in American research to measure sanction-perceptions, to the Dutch situation, are discussed. Sanction-expectations were, in the author's research, tied to a special kind of political activity namely expressing one's opinion in public on an issue salient at the time: Republic or Monarchy. Sanctions included reprisals expected from governmental authorities. One fourth of the Amsterdam respondents expected to be registered by the B.V.D. (the Dutch F.B.I.), if they openly expressed a preference for the Republic. Fifteen percent thought that a preference for the Republic would make it harder to get governmental financial support. Eight percent thought they would get trouble with the police. Other expectations with regard to economic and social sanctions, as well as with regard to positive sanctions, are presented.

## 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-sekretaris van ACTA POLITICA.

Prof. dr. H. Daalder studeerde politieke en sociale wetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam en de London School of Economics. Hij promoveerde in 1960 op *Organisatie en Reorganisatie van de Britse Regering 1914-1958*, Assen 1960. Van 1958 tot 1963 was hij als staf lid verbonden aan het Institute of Social Studies in Den Haag. Thans is hij hoogleraar in de politieke wetenschap aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Publikaties o.a.: *Leiding en Lijdelijkheid in de Nederlandse Politiek* (oratie), Assen 1964; 'The Netherlands: Opposition in a Segmented Society', in: R. A. Dahl (ed.), *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*, New Haven 1966; 'Parties, Elites and Political Developments in Western Europe', in: Joseph Lapalombara and Myron Weiner (eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development in Western Europe*, Princeton N.J., 1966.

Drs. G. H. van Es studeerde politieke en sociale wetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Hij is als wetenschappelijk medewerker verbonden aan het Instituut voor Wetenschap der Politiek van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, waar hij zich speciaal bezighoudt met het aanschaffingsbeleid van de bibliotheek. Hij is redakteur van ACTA POLITICA.

Prof. mr. J. F. Glastra van Loon studeerde medicijnen in Groningen en Londen, filosofie en sociologie in Göttingen en Harvard en rechten in Leiden, waar hij in 1957 promoveerde op *Norm en Handeling*. Bijdrage tot een Kentheoretische Fundering van de Sociale Wetenschappen, Haarlem 1957. In 1958 werd hij