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## Summaries in English

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pagina 68 gegeven definitie van ontwikkeling, is dat daarin al een van de voor- naamste elementen besloten ligt van de conclusie dat industrialiserende landen op de lange termijn naar 'reconciliation systems' tenderen.

Uit deze kritische kanttekeningen, die hier beperkt moeten blijven tot enkele grondslagen van David Apter's boek, moge blijken dat *The Politics of Modernization* minder geschikt is voor lezers, die niet met de behandelde problematiek vertrouwd zijn. Is men dat echter wel, dan zal men het werk, dat min of meer naast de gangbare stroom van ideeën staat, met vrucht — maar niet zonder grote inspanning — uitlezen. Het denken over de vormen van wisselwerking tussen maatschappelijke modernisering en modernisering van het politieke systeem, in termen van zowel veranderingen *binnen* het systeem als veranderingen *van* het systeem zelf, wordt er beslist door gestimuleerd.

I. Th. M. Snellen

### 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 zo 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.

*Besluitvorming in de Europese gemeenschappen: theorie en praktijk.* Door M. Lagrange, M. H. J. C. Rutten, T. Koopmans, P. J. G. Kapteyn, L. Metzemaekers en L. J. Brinkhorst. Deventer (Kluwer), 1968. —161 p. f 14,—.

*Bulletin — Palestina —.* Den Haag.

Gunawan, Basuki, *Kudeta, Staatsgreep in Djakarta.* De achtergronden van de 30 september-beweging in Indonesië. Meppel (Boom), 1968. —216 p. f 13,50.

Kwaadsteniet, W. de, *Het recht van kamerontbinding.* Deventer (Kluwer), 1968. —356 p. f 32,50.

Lall, Arthur, *How Communist China negotiates.* New York etc. (Columbia U.P.), 1968. —291 p. 72 sh.

Schoell, Franck L., *Geschiedenis van de Verenigde Staten.* Brugge etc. (Desclée De Brouwer), 1968. —391 p. f 12,50.

### SUMMARIES

#### TENSIONS IN THE CATHOLIC PEOPLE'S PARTY

door C. S. L. Janse

The process of re-orientation in Dutch politics is most strongly manifest in the Catholic People's Party (K.V.P.). A comparison between the pattern of tensions in the five major Dutch parties shows that the Catholic People's Party — and the other confessional parties A.R.P. and C.H.U. as well — have a high percentage of tension-indications in the field of socio-economic policy (35% compared with 21% for the five parties together). Conversely the K.V.P. displays a low percentage of tension-indications in the field of cultural policy (7% compared with 19% for the five parties together).

It can be stated with a high degree of probability that the confessional parties have cultural policy as their basic sphere. On that point there is a high degree of harmony in the various parties, but on others there is more disagreement and therefore more tension-indications. Similarly, it may be assumed that the socialists (P.v.d.A.) and the liberals (V.V.D.) display few tension-indications in their basic sphere of socio-economic policy and more in the field of international and cultural policy. In a confessional party such as the K.V.P. two integrating factors exist — the religious principles and the political program — which may conflict with one another. In recent years the integrating factor of religious principles has decreased in importance in the Catholic People's Party; some groups within the party seek to eliminate it entirely.

As far as socio-economic policy is concerned, the coordination between left and right has always presented great problems. In february 1968 part of the left wing (the Radicals) left the party. A significant proportion (58%) of the opponents on the right manifests a distinct relation with the class of employers, while no less than 44% of the opponents on the left display a distinct relation with the working class.

The two major controversies in Dutch foreign policy after World War II — the decolonization of Indonesia and Western New Guinea — also gave rise to many tensions in the K.V.P. The first controversy led to a succession of part of the right wing (1947), which rejoined the K.V.P. when the issue became out of date (1955).

Since 1918 it has not been possible to form a stable Dutch cabinet without the participation of the Catholic party. This party can choose its coalition partners from the right (V.V.D.) or from the left (P.v.d.A.). This problem of choice results in many conflicts between the left and right wings of the K.V.P.

In the first decade after the war the Roman Catholic Church strongly supported the Catholic People's Party; this support, however, has now ceased. The Dutch Roman Catholics are now also more integrated in national life. All this means that the differences in political ideas within the K.V.P. are no longer compensated by a strongly integrating factor of common religious principles.

#### NIKLAS LUHMANN'S THEORY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

by J. P. Verhoogt

A critical review of Niklas Luhmann's *Theorie der Verwaltungswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1966), is presented.



Public administration has so far been the subject of two different kinds of approach: the prescriptive method, based on the construction of purely rational models of organization, and the empirical method which emphasizes the causal explanation and prediction of actual social behaviour in organizational structures. Luhmann attempts to make a synthesis between these two opposing approaches. In modern democratic nations, parliament determines the issues that have to be dealt with. The actual execution is the specific function of the public administrative system.

Its decision-making function consists of a standardized process of communication and interaction in which facts are collected, selected and elaborated. This decision-making function of the public administrative system should be rationalized i.e. increased in capacity as much as possible without endangering the continuity of the system.

Continuity of the public administrative system is essential for the survival of complex and rapidly changing societies. Therefore when confronted with successive issues of a different nature, the structure of the system may be changed only partially.

Empirical knowledge of the social reality yields a range of possible alternatives and their effects. The prescriptive approach will single out that alternative which is most suitable for a rational solution of the problem at hand, while the continuing existence of the system as a whole is guaranteed.

It is pointed out that Luhmann, in his analysis, overlooks the fact that the vested interests of the management of the system may obstruct structural changes. This is related to the essential omission in Luhmann's theory, viz. the execution of power. A social structure is not only held together by norm internalization based on free choice, but also by the execution of power. By neglecting this basic fact, Luhmann's theory becomes one-sided and liable to abuse by top management.

#### 'PURE' OR 'APPLIED' SCIENCE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

by J. M. E. M. A. Zonnenberg

It is argued that the forthcoming formation of a 'National Institute for Peace Problems' in the Netherlands necessitates research which will undoubtedly be applied research since it has a clear relation to a particular value of worldwide significance: the value of peace. However, the author fears that the prevailing method of teaching international relations at Dutch universities concerns itself predominantly, if not exclusively, with the teaching of so-called pure science. In this context the recent public lecture of Dr. P. R. Baehr at the University of Amsterdam, on 'Teaching and Research in International Relations' is discussed. The new institute will inevitably suffer from the above-mentioned contradictory situation, as it obviously needs the support of the universities. With a view to avoiding the isolation of the institute, the author makes a plea for the reconsideration of the present situation. In criticizing the position taken by Dr. Baehr the author emphasizes the need for the effectuation of research and teaching on an applied basis. In the opinion of the author, research and teaching on an applied basis would be of multiple utility as compared with the pure basis.

Finally, the author advocates the convocation of a — preferably international — conference in the Netherlands in order to discuss certain items, some of which have already been put forward by the Norwegian peace-researcher, Dr. J. Galtung:

- 1) Is peace-research to be considered a value-oriented field of inquiry built around the value of peace?
- 2) Is this field of inquiry an applied field of research, and is its task then to present what will generally seem like 'policy implication'?
- 3) Will the science of international relations on the one hand, and peace-research on the other, converge into one science that could presumably best be called 'irenology'?
- 4) If the preceding question must be answered negatively, what will be the position allotted to these branches of science in research and teaching at the universities?

In a rejoinder Dr. Baehr defends his earlier standpoint and rejects the proposed international conference, as he feels that there should be scope for both methods of scientific approach.

#### PROTESTANTISM AND PROGRESSIVENESS, A REVIEW

by A. Lange, W. Brinkman and W. Koomen

The data on which this analysis is based were assembled by Dr. A. Hoogerwerf; a random sample of 912 persons in Delft was used.

The authors investigated the influence of several variables on the independent variable of social-political-progressiveness (spp). A matrix of correlations between fifteen items of the original questionnaire was computed: eight items which were highly related to each other were found. These items were used as indicators for social-political-progressiveness by summing the answers of each respondent on every item. On these scores an analysis of variance was carried out with five independent variables: religion, age, income, level of education, and sex.

The following findings were obtained:

- Religion had a significant influence on spp-scores; respondents who do not have any specific religion tend to be more progressive than others. Furthermore, Catholics tend to be more progressive than Protestants and Dutch-Reformed.
- It was also shown that both the level of education and income had significant influences on spp-scores; the higher the income or the educational level, the lower the progressiveness-score.
- The variables age and sex did not have significant influences on spp-scores.
- The five variables included in the design explained 32% of the total variance in the spp-scores. Of the remaining 68% about 27% can be explained in terms of error-variance. This means that about 41% of the total variance in spp-scores has to be explained by factors which are not included in the design.