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het land waar men het liefst wilde wonen, dat Zwitserland bijzonder favoriet was ( $\pm 37$  procent), gevolgd door Zweden ( $\pm 29$  procent), terwijl de VS of USSR door nog geen één procent werd genoemd. Zo zijn meer voorbeelden te noemen. Samenvattend: het onderzoeksrapport geeft interessante informatie. Echter, een enigszins wetenschappelijk onderzoek naar opvattingen van de jongere generatie is het beslist niet geworden. De doelstellingen van het onderzoek getuigen van een nogal bedenkelijke mentaliteit.

D. Boonstra

## 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 zonedig een keuze te maken. Daarbij zal voorrang worden gegeven aan Nederlandse politicologische publikaties en aan werken die in het algemeen voor de politicologie van belang zijn.

- Advies vernieuwing van de conventie van Yaounde.* Publ. nr. 26 van de Raad van advies inzake hulpverlening aan minder ontwikkelde landen. Den Haag (Staatsuitgeverij), 1968. —18 p. f 1,—.
- Bosgra, S. en A. Dijk, *Angola, Mozambique, Guinee.* De strijd tegen het Portugees kolonialisme. Amsterdam (Paris), 1969. —167 p. f 5,90.
- Fanon, Frantz, *De verworpenen der aarde.* Utrecht etc. (Bruna), 1969. —248 p.
- Grujters, Hans, *Amerika's president.* Een partijman als leider van een wereldmacht. (Amsterdam) (De Geillustreerde Pers), 1969. —31 p. f 2,50 (Avenue Cahiers).
- Inkomensverdeling.* (Door C. de Galan en R. M. de Haan). (Amsterdam, Wiardi Beckman Stichting, 1969). —72 p.
- Maarseveen, H. Th. J. F. van, *De heerschappij van de ministerraad.* Den Haag (Staatsuitgeverij), 1969. —62 p.
- Moeder - Van - op dochter.* Onder red. van W. H. Posthumus-van der Goot en Anna de Waal. Utrecht etc. (Bruna), 1968 (derde herz. druk). —413 p. f 3,75.
- Nooij, A. T. J., *De Boerenpartij.* Desoriëntatie en radikalisme onder de boeren. Meppel (Boom), 1969. —225 p. f 16,50.
- Oud, P. J., *Het jongste verleden.* Assen (Van Gorcum), 1969. 6 vol. f 61,20.
- Portugal.* Rapport van de Commissie-Portugal van de K.V.P. Den Haag (Kath. Volkspartij), 1969. —36 p. f 2,50.
- Rhijn, A. A. van, *Arbeider of medewerker.* Nieuwe gedachten over de medezeggenschap in het bedrijfsleven. Assen (Van Gorcum), 1969. —127 p. f 9,90.
- Rothstein, Robert L., *Alliances and small powers.* New York etc. (Columbia U.P.), 1968. —331 p. 90 sh.
- Spock, Benjamin en Mitchell Zimmerman, *Dr. Spock over Vietnam.* Utrecht etc. (Bruna), 1969. —112 p.
- Torres, Camilo, *Revolutie: een christelijke opdracht.* Utrecht etc. (Bruna), 1969. —171 p.
- Vassilikos, Vassilis, *De zaak Lambrakis.* Utrecht etc. (Bruna), 1969. 303 p.
- Verslag over de conferentie van niet-kernwapenstaten.* Den Haag (Staatsuitgeverij), 1969. —78 p. f 4,40. (Publ. van het Min. van Buitenlandse Zaken, 91).
- Woord - Het hoge - in 1968.* (Amsterdam) (De Geillustreerde Pers), 1969. —54 p. f 2,50. (Avenue Cahiers).

## SUMMARIES

### BUREAUCRATS WITHOUT POLITICAL SUPERIORS

by T. Koopmans

The truth of some conceptions concerning bureaucratic behaviour is tested in the wartime situation (1940-1945) in the Netherlands, when the bureaucracy was thrown back on its own responsibility and initiative, since its political superiors had left the country. Three questions are asked: 1) What was the share of the bureaucracy in forcing Dutch citizens to work for the Germans (conscription of labour or 'Arbeitseinsatz')?; 2) How can we explain this bureaucratic behaviour?; 3) Can we justify this behaviour?

Many civil servants were dissatisfied with pre-war liberal unemployment policy. The absence of the political leaders provided them with an opportunity to implement their cherished full employment plans. In doing so, they helped to lay the organizational and administrative basis of the Arbeitseinsatz, which gradually became unacceptable both from a legal and from a moral point of view.

Factors accounting for this bureaucratic behaviour are: the human tendency to be concerned with the solution of problems of the past; the lack of experience with similar situations; the bureaucratic characteristics of depolitization, specialization, stress on law and order ('business should be as usual'), fear of the novel, hierarchical thinking and lack of personal involvement in the results of decisions; the social isolation and resulting political isolations of the higher bureaucrats; the absence of any systematic approach to the problems of co-operation with the German occupiers. The supposition is made, that the absence of traditional political leadership and the lack of contact with and acceptance of political forces in Dutch society, resulted in strengthening the German influence on the administrative apparatus. This hypothesis is confirmed by the outcome of decisions which were influenced by local government officials (Mayors), who were in fact accepted as a relevant political force.

Now that many facts are known, the role of bureaucracy in the conscription of labour cannot be justified. But should officials have acted differently not knowing at the time many of the relevant facts and outcomes? Two aspects of this question are dealt with: 1) Working together with the Germans seemed to give German administration a quality of legitimacy and weakened the forces of the people (political-psychological effect); 2) During the war legal responsibility for controversial decisions was frequently passed on from one official to another; the present writer thinks that in cases where elementary legal principles are violated, moral responsibility for the mere execution of unacceptable decisions cannot be avoided in this way.

### REFLECTIONS ON JUDICIAL REVIEW OF LEGISLATION

by L. Prakke

*Part I: General Observations* is mainly devoted to a discussion of several features of a constitution which very likely have a bearing on the exercise by the courts of their power to strike down acts of the legislature. First it is argued that the absence of a written constitution does not necessarily rule out the possibility of judicial review. But as today almost all countries do have written constitutions and because in England, the most notable exception, judicial review of Acts of

Parliament does not exist, the article is subsequently confined to review of legislation in terms of written constitutions. (I-1)

Subsequently, the operative quality of constitutional documents, their contents and wording, and their inner consistency are discussed as some of the factors which may ultimately determine the actual operation of judicial review. (I-2)

It is then argued that although presumably the rigidity or flexibility of a constitution plays a role in the practice of judicial review, it is extremely hard to identify that role. (I-3)

As to another traditional classification of constitutions, that into federal and unitary, the contention that federalism necessarily implies judicial review of federal legislation is rejected. There is a brief discussion of the role of the American Supreme Court as an umpire of the federal system. (I-4)

Next the ambiguity of the doctrine of separation of powers is demonstrated, and it is emphasized that no easy conclusions follow from it. (I-5)

Finally there is a brief comment on the changing function of certain modern legislation in the light of its possible impact on judicial review. (I-6)

*Part II: Judicial Review in the U.S.A.* does not deal with the constitutionality of judicial review, but takes it for granted in the form in which it has developed in America, to wit as judicial supremacy. (II-1)

In a discussion of the scope of judicial review, neutrality in constitutional adjudication is considered an object which will never be completely attained, however much it should be pursued. (II-2)

As to the democratic character of judicial review it is maintained that the system of checks and balances, which enables Congress and the President to bring a hostile Court into line, together with the statesmanship usually displayed by the members of the Supreme Court, has prevented the latter from operating as an undemocratic force. (II-3)

The concluding pages deal with the relatively neglected area of the legal consequences of judicial invalidation. After some introductory remarks (II-4), the question is raised whether judicial invalidation operates as a repeal, and a distinction is then made between two different kinds of rulings of unconstitutionality: *as applied* or *in toto*. Only as to the latter kind of ruling can there be any question of its being equal to a repeal. (II-5)

This distinction is further elaborated (II-6) and it is shown how it ties in with the so-called standing problem. (II-7)

#### DUTCH-AMERICAN COMPARISONS OF THE 'SENSE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY': SOME REMARKS ON CROSS-CULTURAL 'ROBUSTNESS' OF SCALES

by R. J. Mokken

The concept of 'robustness' of scales in cross-cultural comparison is introduced and used in a comparison of the properties of the well-known scale of 'sense of political efficacy' for American and Dutch data. The same scale properties are compared across several cultural subgroupings within the United States. On the basis of a version of Guttman type scale analysis applied by the author, an improved scale possessing some degree of cross-cultural robustness is constructed. A type of scale construction, devised by the author, was used for the construction of an extended scale for use in the Netherlands. Finally the paper presents this new Dutch scale of political efficacy, consisting of nine items.

#### LEFTIST CHRISTIANS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

by A. E. van Niekerk

The article is devoted to the developmental ideology of the leftist Christians in Latin America, the so-called 'COMUNITARISTAS'.

The author argues that this development-ideology, often called *socialismo comunitario*, is not so leftist as one might suppose at first sight.

Some of their basic ideas have been adopted from the traditional concept of European Christian democracy, with certain local adaptations.

According to the comunitaristas, underdevelopment must be defined as a lack of social integration. That is to say: underdevelopment should not be viewed as a relative backwardness in comparison to the more 'advanced' industrial countries. One should rather speak of 'misdevelopment' in the sense that some structures and population groups are politically, economically and culturally overdeveloped, while others — the so-called 'marginados' — are underdeveloped and excluded from effective participation in the system.

Political development, then, should be conceived as a process of increasing participation, which has to be channelled through the introduction of a complex of new structures and new institutions.

The functions of these substructures are twofold: promotion of material progress and institutionalization of political pressures from below toward the decision-levels of the political system as a whole.

A clear link is discernible between this conception and, on the one hand, the emphasis on the necessity of voluntary associations in the more traditional definitions of democracy, common to certain American political scientists (Huntington, Shils, Coser), and on the other, the principle of subsidiarity in European Christian-democracy.

The author agrees with the necessity of increasing participation as a prerequisite for social and political development. However, putting political development on a par with institution-building — as some political scientists do — may mean no more than the insertion of typically modern — particularly western — structures in a traditional system which is not receptive to them, at least as far as the present stage of political development in Latin America is concerned. A more realistic and operational appraisal of political development might be one which postulates more modest aims in the sense of giving due consideration to the possibility of using certain traditional-autochthonous elements for modernizing ends, producing some form of psychological participation without modern institution-building. This is what is currently being achieved by different kinds of populist movements, a modernizing force which through the use of elements such as paternalism and charisma, provides a closer link with the existing system and which therefore might be more conducive to political modernization.

#### PERCEPTION OF THE CONFIGURATION OF DUTCH POLITICAL PARTIES

by W. Koomen and L. F. M. Willems

It is commonly assumed that the Dutch electorate views its political parties in terms of a progressive-conservative and a denominational-nondenominational division. This assumption was tested by interviewing a sample of 126 voters in a Dutch municipality. Respondents were asked to rank 12 political parties according to preference. Additional data were collected, a.o. progressiveness, frequency of church attendance, authoritarianism.

Because of non-response and incomplete ranking the rank orders of 9 parties

(N = 46) were used. These data were analysed by means of a principal components analysis of the matrix of product-moment correlations between the parties. After varimax rotation of the two first components individual component scores were calculated. By means of additional data the two components, contributing 28% and 23% to the total variance, could be safely interpreted as representing a progressiveness dimension and a denominational dimension respectively.

## WAT DOEN DE NEDERLANDSE AFGESTUDEERDE POLITICOLOGEN? (II)

In april 1967 publiceerde de redactie een eerste overzicht van de functies die door afgestudeerde politicologen van de Universiteit van Amsterdam en de Vrije Universiteit werden uitgeoefend (zie ACTA POLITICA II (1966/1967) afl. 3, p. 245). Voor dit overzicht bleek ook buiten de kring van politicologen grote belangstelling te bestaan, gezien het feit dat die tabel door een aantal andere bladen werd overgenomen.

Hieronder treft men een nieuw overzicht aan, dat is bijgewerkt tot mei 1969. De redactie betuigt hierbij dank aan drs. G. P. Noordzij van de Vrije Universiteit en drs. J. de Lange van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, die dit overzicht hebben samengesteld.

	U.v.A.	V.U.	totaal	totaal december '66
1 universtair onderwijs	32	13	45	( 29)
2 voortgezet onderwijs (bijv. leraren kweekschool, HTS, volkshogeschool)	2	—	2	( 5)
3 niet-universitaire onderzoeksinstituten (bijv. Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Int. Inst. voor Sociale geschiedenis)	4	1	5	( 5)
4 internationale organisaties (bijv. NAVO, EEG, Raad van Europa, VN)	6	3	9	( 6)
5 rijksoverheid (bijv. ministeries, inclusief de buitenlandse dienst)	23	6	29	( 24)
6 gemeentelijke, provinciale en andere publiekrechtelijke organen	10	3	13	( 9)
7 wetenschappelijke bureaus van politieke partijen	3	—	3	( 3)
8 werkgevers- en werknemersorganisaties	4	—	4	( 3)
9 pers, radio en televisie	5	1	6	( 8)
10 maatschappelijk werk	1	1	2	( 2)
11 bedrijfsleven	20	2	22	( 14)
12 lid 2e Kamer	2	—	2	( —)
13 overigen (nog geen vast beroep, gehuwde vrouwen, militaire dienst, postdoctorale studie, overleden, onbekend)	17	7	24	( 18)
<b>totaal</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>(126)</b>

## MEDEWERKERS AAN DIT NUMMER

Drs. D. Boonstra studeerde politicologie aan de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam. Hij is thans als wetenschappelijk medewerker verbonden aan het Sociaal-Wetenschappelijk Instituut (afd. politicologie) van de Vrije Universiteit.

Prof. dr. H. Daalder studeerde politieke en sociale wetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam en de London School of Economics. Hij promoveerde in 1960 aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam op *Organisatie en reorganisatie van de Britse regering 1914-1958*, Assen 1960. Hij is thans hoogleraar in de politieke wetenschap aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Publikaties o.a.: *Leiding en lijdelijkheid in de Nederlandse politiek*, Assen, 1964; 'The Netherlands', in: Robert A. Dahl (ed.), *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*, New Haven, 1966; 'Imperialism', in: *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York) 1968.

Prof. dr. W. Drees Jr. studeerde economie aan de Economische Hogeschool te Rotterdam. Hij was verbonden aan het I.M.F., het Ministerie van Financiën, het Centraal Planbureau en is sinds 1956 directeur der Rijksbegroting. Hij is buitengewoon hoogleraar in de leer der openbare financiën aan de Economische Hogeschool te Rotterdam. Publ. o.a. *On the Level of Government Expenditure in the Netherlands after the War*. Leiden 1955; en (samen met F. Th. Gubbi) *Overheidsuitgaven in theorie en praktijk*. Groningen 1968.

Drs. W. Koomen studeerde sociale psychologie aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Hij is sinds 1963 verbonden aan het Instituut voor Wetenschap der Andragogie, afd. groepspsychologie, van de Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Prof. mr. T. Koopmans studeerde rechten aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam, waar hij in 1962 promoveerde op *De Begrippen Werkman, Arbeider en Werknemer*. Na enige jaren advocatuur was hij achtereenvolgens werkzaam bij het Ministerie van Justitie en bij de juridische dienst van de Raad der Europese Gemeenschappen. In 1965 werd hij tot hoogleraar te Leiden benoemd, aanvankelijk voor inleiding tot de rechtswetenschap, later voor staats- en administratief recht. Publ. op het gebied van het privaatrecht (*Contractueel stippelwerk*, oratie 1965), het arbeidsrecht (o.a. *De internationaalrechtelijke aspecten van de arbeidsovereenkomst*, preadvies 1966) en het Europees recht (bijv. hoofdstuk over samenspel op het administratieve vlak in *Besluitvorming in de Europese Gemeenschappen, theorie en praktijk*, Deventer, 1968).

Prof. dr. A. Lijphart studeerde politieke wetenschap en internationale betrekkingen aan Principia College in Elmhurst, Ill. en Yale University. Doceerde aan Elmira College in Elmira N.Y. en aan de Universiteit van Californië in Berkeley. Hij is thans hoogleraar in de leer der internationale betrekkingen aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Publ. o.a. *The Trauma of Decolonization The Dutch and West New Guinea* (New Haven, 1966), *Verzuiling, pacificatie en kentering in de Nederlandse politiek* (Amsterdam, 1968); *Paradigmata in de leer der internationale betrekkingen* (Amsterdam, 1969).

Drs. R. J. Mokken studeerde politieke en sociale wetenschappen aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam. Was verbonden aan het Instituut voor Perswetenschap en het Mathematisch Centrum te Amsterdam en is thans wetenschappelijk medewerker aan het Instituut voor Wetenschap der Politiek van de Universiteit van