



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Summaries in English

N.A.

Citation

Summaries in English. (1976). Summaries in English. *Acta Politica*, 11: 1976(2), 282-284.
Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3451715>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Leiden University Non-exclusive license](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3451715>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Summaries

The political system of Surinam: elite-cartel democracy

by R. Hoppe

In the introducing section of this article the author states that the functioning of the Surinamese political system may fruitfully be studied by conceptualizing it as an elite-cartel democracy. Also, the exploratory character of the research is stressed. In the second section a brief historical analysis of Surinam's economic history, combined with a class analysis provides the basis of identifying the privileged and the underprivileged actors in the political-economic system. It is also observed that racial characteristics and class position are closely interwoven.

In the third section the ways in which class and race have affected the development of political parties after the second World War are traced. The author advances two hypotheses in this respect. First, the creation of political parties may be viewed as the reaction of different racial elites to the necessity of democratically legitimizing their power towards each other and towards the Netherlands. Second, an analysis of the structural characteristics of the racially separated political parties demonstrates, that the elites have up till now been able to preserve an advantageous position in influencing basic policy decisions within their parties.

The fourth section focuses on clientele groups. Here it is observed, that a tightly

(vervolg Boekbesprekingen van blz. 281)

factoren (zoals de overweging dat een naoorlogs machtsevenwicht uitsluitend via de NAVO kon worden bereikt) in feite tot het koesteren van bepaalde overtuigingen (b.v. die dat de VS als bondgenoot onmisbaar zijn) hebben geleid.

De uit de eisen van theorievorming voortvloeiende bedenkingen doen de vraag rijzen waarom er destijds aan Van Stadens boek zoveel aandacht is geschonken. Dat laat zich in de eerste plaats begrijpen doordat de onderwerpen zeer overzichtelijk zijn gepresenteerd en doordat deze dissertatie in heldere taal is geschreven. Het uitvoerig gebruik van officiële regeringsstukken, de Handelingen en de middels interviews verkregen informatie heeft er voorts toe geleid dat het boek vooral een voorbeeld is van degelijke parlementaire geschiedschrijving over het buitenlands beleid. Zò gezien verdient het dan ook alle waardering.

J. G. Siccama

Summaries

organized business-lobby enjoys a considerable advantage over some poorly organized trade-union federations in influencing governmental policy-making.

After a brief discussion of the constitutional framework in the fifth section, the author turns to the informal characteristics of the political system in the sixth. It is argued, firstly, that the elites of the different political subcultures succeed in controlling the potential inter-groups tensions by means of a form of elite-cartel democracy. The elites govern by means of compromises, made possible by keeping their respective constituencies isolated from each other and fostering strong client-patron relationships between politicians and their constituencies. Secondly, it is observed, that the stability of the system is threatened by the informal character of the coalitions between the two dominating subcultures, and the growing number of interracial transactions, partially originating from an unsuccessful economic policy.

In the concluding section, it is hypothesized that the unfavorable system conditions causing instability will continue to be effective in the long run. This leads to the conclusion, that Surinam, now on the verge of independence, probably awaits a long period of political instability and faces the possibility of external interference.

Rationality and morality: the prisoners' dilemma

by O. Schmidt and R. J. van der Veen

In the Prisoners' Dilemma, a well-known situation in game theory, collective suboptimality results from individual rational behaviour. The essential features of the Prisoners' Dilemma are described, emphasizing the distinction between the matrix of outcomes and the pay-off matrix. Various proposed solutions of the Prisoners' Dilemma are critically reviewed. The recent proposal by Amartya Sen, to find a way out of the dilemma by constructing a moral meta-ordering, is found to be interesting but defective. It is shown that in order to reach the optimal outcome, both players must adopt a rather specific meta-ordering. Sen does not show convincingly why rational players should adopt this specific meta-ordering.

A cognitive map of the dutch political parties (II)

by F. Bronner and R. de Hoog

In an earlier paper (see *Acta Politica*, January 1976), we reported the first part of our research on the identification of the set of attributes that characterize the dutch political parties for the voters.

This paper gives additional information on the interpretations of the dimensions that has been put forward.

The research was done by means of a method that goes back to Osgood et al, the semantic differential. Two alternatives were presented to two sets of individuals. One group was confronted with 12 uni-polar adjectives and a subset of 5 parties, the other group with 13 issues and the same 5 parties. The main result of the analysis of the adjective group was, that there are some adjectives on which the perception of parties changed with party preference and another set which was fairly invariant for this variable. In terms of our attitude-model this means that some adjectives are not suitable for the model because they cannot realise the required separation between cognitive and affective aspects of that model. The analysis of the adjectives by means of unfolding, factor analysis and correlation showed that the interpretations of the first two dimensions of the multi-dimensional representation were largely plausible. Additionally we found a general evaluative dimension,

a not uncommon feature of semantic differential data. The third dimension could not be connected with any attribute. The issue group was analyzed along the same lines. Here we found no differences between issues that remained invariant with party preference and issues that varied with this variable. Nearly all issues correlated high with the third dimension of the multidimensional representation, although there was some interference with the first dimension. This led us to the interpretation of this third dimension as a kind of generalized issue dimension.

The importance of these results for our further research in this field can be summarized in three points:

- the identification of three or four dimensions that can be used as attributes in the attitudemodel;
- the small differences between groups of individuals and over time in the cognitive component, points to the affective component as an important part of the model;
- the required separation between affective and cognitive component can in principle be realized by a shrewd selection of attributes, i.e. with the exclusion of those who vary with party preference.

Political reactions on the 'Club of Rome'

by H. W. Houweling and J. G. Siccama

In part I of this article, the authors discuss why the dismal predictions of the Club of Rome studies concerning the long-run consequences of economic growth and population increases are not translated into policy changes affecting those variables. The authors maintain that the domestic function of economic growth as providing bargaining space for the solution of political conflicts over the distribution of economic values, the prisoners'-dilemma context in which labor unions and employers associations bargain on wages, and the propensity of policy makers to give priority to short-run problems affecting their power position rather than to long-run problems threatening society as a whole, all inhibit such policy changes.

In part II they call attention to the solution proposed by the philosopher Wolfgang Harich from the DDR, a defender of the Club of Rome in Eastern Europe against the slanderous insinuations of some social scientist in communist countries. Harich argues for a rigid centralization of political and economic power at the global level. The authors spell out some of the ideological implications of Harich's proposals.

In part III Harich's ideas are compared with some of the political reactions to the challenge in Western Europe. The authors support Tinbergen's analysis of the optimal regime at the national and international level as preferable solution.

Mededeling

Europese Postdoctorale Opleiding

Tijdens de Europese topconferentie in Den Haag (1969) is besloten in Florence een Europees Universitair Instituut op te richten voor postacademisch onderwijs en onderzoek in vier studierichtingen: Geschiedenis, Recht, Politieke- en Sociale Wetenschappen en Economie. Na enige jaren van voorbereiding zijn medio 1975 de eerste 8 hoogleraren aangewezen en is het programma voor de eerste jaren opgesteld. In september 1976 zal de eerste groep van ongeveer 60 onderzoekers worden ontvangen.

De sectie der politieke en sociale wetenschappen zal worden geleid door de hoogleraren G. Sartori van Florence en J. Georgel van Rennes, die beiden voor drie jaar aan het instituut zullen worden verbonden. Het programma voor het eerste studiejaar zal vooral de studie betreffen van het algemene probleem van de overbelasting (politiek, economisch en sociaal) van democratische en representatieve bestuursorganen in het hedendaagse Europese politieke systeem. Ook zal aandacht worden besteed aan de veranderende rol van de bestaande instellingen en onderzoek naar nieuwe, aangepast aan de gewijzigde maatschappelijke omstandigheden. Twee seminars zullen deze onderwerpen behandelen:

- democratie, overbelasting in besluitvormende processen;
- de transformatie van de rol der nationale parlementen.

In het eerste jaar zullen voor elke studierichting ongeveer 15 deelnemers worden toegelaten, in hoofdzaak uit de landen van de Europese Gemeenschappen. In beginsel zullen de deelnemers twee jaar in het instituut blijven. Uiteindelijk zal de mogelijkheid bestaan de studie met een promotie af te sluiten. Het verdrag tot oprichting van het Europees Universitair Instituut verleent aan dit instituut de bevoegdheid doctoraten toe te kennen.

Het instituut is al bezig een grote gespecialiseerde bibliotheek op te zetten die aan alle eisen van postdoctoraal onderzoek kan voldoen.

De grote waarde van de gemeenschappelijke studie op een gespecialiseerd gebied zal zijn, dat men gedurende twee jaren samenwerkt met deskundigen uit andere landen hetwelk een onderlinge uitwisseling van nationale gegevens vergemakkelijkt en hopelijk ook het inzicht in elkaars problematiek vergroot.

Het werk zal niet uitsluitend de eigen discipline betreffen. Het ligt in de bedoeling, dat het instituut zoveel mogelijk interdisciplinair zal werken. Dit brengt met zich mee dat ook specialisten uit andere secties hun inbreng in de politieke en sociale sectie zullen hebben en heeft andersom ook ten gevolge dat zal worden meegewerkt aan de onderzoekingen van de juristen op het gebied van de mensenrechten, van de historici die onder andere de geschiedenis van de politieke instituties en