



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## Summaries in English

N.A.

### Citation

Summaries in English. (1980). Summaries in English. *Acta Politica*, 15: 1980(2), 284-286.

Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3452139>

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## Summaries

### **Order, Peace and Prosperity. Dutch Expansion in the Indonesian Archipelago about 1900**

by Joep à Campo

At the turn of the century the Netherlands pursued an imperialistic policy, while in industrial development it lagged behind its neighbour countries.

From the point of view of economic theories on imperialism this seems paradoxical.

This article presents a tentative interpretation of the Dutch overseas expansion in order to resolve this apparent paradox.

For that purpose the validity of the basic propositions of four main categories of general theories on imperialism is reviewed summarily in chapter 2. In chapter 3 the empirical relation between Dutch industrialisation and colonial expansion is sketched. It turns out that the development of the world market, rather than Dutch industrialisation, must be considered to be the important *economic* factor in Dutch imperialism. Uneven development of industrialised countries aggravated international tensions. World market and growing imperialistic competition constituted the main external causes in the process of primarily internal expansion.

The traditional emphasis on the relation between mother country and colony straitjackets analysis of imperialism. Imperialism was not a juxtaposition of separate relations between the home countries and their respective colonies. Therefore, Dutch overseas expansion should be analyzed from the point of view of the intermediary position of the Netherlands between more highly developed industrial countries and the Dutch East Indies.

In this way, the 'deviant case' of Dutch imperialism can be fitted into the overall pattern of imperialism.

### **In pursuit of the common weal... a theory of emergence and growth of the political party**

by Johan K. De Vree

The essay presents a theory of the origins and development of the political party as an organisation for mobilising resources, in particular men and money, in the struggle for the occupation of the leading positions in, and the policies to be pursued by, political systems. Thus conceived the party is not limited to competitive, democratic systems, and cannot be sharply distinguished from the interest group.

Investments of money, time, and energy in political parties, as in founding or in

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(various forms of) supporting them such as voting or working for them, is a matter of the several benefits accruing from such activities. These benefits are not all of a public nature. For in addition to increasing the political influence of the membership, a public benefit, parties also are repositories of, or give access to, all sorts of jobs and positions, and more or less important social contacts, thus providing benefits of a private nature.

It is shown that political parties typically are *no* grass-roots phenomena in the sense of more or less spontaneously emerging from among the people. Rather, they are founded and organised by (competing coalitions from among) the system's leadership commanding pre-existing power bases necessary to make the effort worthwhile. Political parties, then, emerge and grow to the extent that (1) the system's leadership is unable to solve political problems among themselves, inciting it, or parts of it, to look for other sources of power in order to break the deadlock; and (2) new interests, groups, or even entire classes of the population emerge and become 'available' for political exploitation and mobilisation. The two aspects of the matter are closely interrelated and are both rooted in fundamental societal transformations, generally as a result of the growth of technology and population, producing more or less radical shifts in the pre-existing distribution of power in society. All this is neatly illustrated by the emergence of general-suffrage democracy, the emancipation of various population layers, and the evolution of the modern mass-mobilising party during the modern period of history.

Finally, the essay shows that the sort of parties thus to emerge, their internal structure as well as their ideologies and platforms, are shaped directly by the availability and structure of the newly emerging opportunities for political exploitation and mobilisation, the 'markets' for the political entrepreneur, in conjunction with the pre-existing party structure.

### **Partisanship and party images**

by Fred Bronner and Robert de Hoog

In previous research (see Bronner, de Hoog, 1978) we found that the additive-difference model describes the way individual voters in the Netherlands reach a decision concerning their party preference very well. In this model we included three attributes that characterise the Dutch party space: religiousness of a party, the capacity of a party to participate in a coalition government and a specific issue attribute. The research reported in this paper focused on two problems:

1. A partial replication of the earlier research in order to find out whether our results showed some stability over time.
2. An answer to criticisms made by several authors on the attributes we selected as characteristic for the Dutch party space.

We found:

1. The model showed a remarkable stability over time. The number of correct predictions of the preference orders of individual voters was the same in 1978 as in 1976. Furthermore, the cognitive map of the Dutch political parties that is implied by our model didn't change very much either.

2. We could counter the criticisms with the following findings:

- the number of correct predictions of individual preference orders decreases if one includes less, more or different attributes in our model
- the attributes we included in the original test of our model didn't belong to the

class of so called proxy measures of preference (for example attributes like good-bad) which artificially enhance the predictive power of the model. Attributes proposed by other authors did belong to this class.

These two points imply a verification of our earlier findings.

#### Membership of the Labor-party in Nijmegen (1898-1920)

by P. F. Maas

After examining a relevant number of SDAP-members at Nijmegen as regards their origin and religion it appeared that: both the founders of the SDAP-branch and the subsequent members were for the greater part (76%) from outside Nijmegen. An unproportionally large part (82.20%) belonged to the non Roman Catholic population of Nijmegen. About 70% of the inhabitants of Nijmegen were Roman Catholics. At the same time 42.6% of the SDAP-members were not registered in any church, a considerably higher figure than the 2.75% for Nijmegen as a whole.

Among those SDAP-members who claimed to be church-goers, but later left the Church, it was found that they decided to enter the SDAP before they resolved to have themselves registered as not church-going.

These data, in cohesion with other things point to the fact that undoubtedly the migration waves have contributed to the rise of the SDAP and the decline in church-going. Moreover, in spite of suggestions to the contrary stemming from party propaganda, the SDAP environment hardly proved suitable for preserving faith and the matching practice of church-going.

At least at Nijmegen, the SDAP was really an active force in the breakdown of church-going, which in many cases led to complete atheism.

#### Where to take up the study of political science III

(See also *Acta Politica* 74/3 and 75/3)

by Liesbeth de Bruin, Hugo de Heide and Walther Kok

The total number of people interested in studying political science has decreased slightly (10%) last year (79-80) after the boom during 77-78 and 78-79 (from 206 to 388 new-comers).

An analysis of the motives of the fresh-years of the last five years shows that the reasons for studying political science at a *specific* university have not changed very much compared with 73-75. Considerations like the distance to the parental home, possibility to rent a room, the presence of family and friends and the (non)confessional character of the university are for most students still decisive in the making of their choice. The kind of curriculum offered also still plays a major role in the final choice. That's why the authors advocate a continuation of these curriculum differences between the four political science departments.

## Medewerkers aan dit nummer

*Dr. F. Bronner* studeerde politicologie aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam en is thans als sociaal-wetenschappelijk onderzoeker werkzaam bij Veldkamp Markt-onderzoek. Hij houdt zich bezig met keuzemodellen in de politicologie en het marktonderzoek.

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