



Universiteit  
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## Summaries in English

N.A.

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cies less often relying on extensive use of coercive measures. It further is assumed that in both types of systems, under certain conditions, the actions of legislative bodies can facilitate voluntary compliance or make it more difficult to achieve. Thus, they either can contribute to the enhancement or erosion of public support for political regimes and their incumbent authorities.

The Legislative Specialists Committee invites interested scholars to participate in the two panels by preparing papers pertinent to the legislative role in facilitating or eroding public support for democratic and authoritarian regimes. An outline of the proposed paper should be sent to the Committee's Chairman, Professor Allan Kornberg, Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, U.S.A., 27706. Proposals should provide as much detail as possible and it should be noted that in addition to the quality of the proposal the need for geographic representativeness on the panels also will be a criterion for selection.

### Associatie van sociaal psychologische onderzoekers

De associatie organiseert op donderdag 11 februari 1982 een lustrumcongres *Zicht op Macht*. (Academiegebouw Rijksuniversiteit Groningen).

In de eerste vijf jaren van haar bestaan heeft de Associatie van Sociaal Psychologische Onderzoekers zich toegelegd op de stimulering en coördinering van empirisch onderzoek op de verschillende deelgebieden van de sociale psychologie. Als thema voor het lustrumcongres is één deelgebied gekozen, dat binnen de Nederlandse sociale psychologie altijd ruime aandacht gekregen heeft: het verschijnsel macht.

Ook in andere vakgebieden is macht een centraal thema. Macht, machteloosheid en machtsverschillen vormen een essentieel gegeven in vrijwel iedere maatschappelijke situatie. De specifieke bijdrage van de sociale psychologie bestaat uit een verheldering en beter begrip van machtsprocessen, die zich in directe interactie tussen mensen afspelen: waarop berust macht, hoe werkt macht, wat is macht, wat voor verschillende gevolgen heeft machtsgebruik, wat zijn de gevolgen van machtsverschillen? etc.

Een aantal ontwikkelingen in dit deelgebied van de sociale psychologie zal op het congres aan de orde komen aan de hand van presentaties van recente onderzoeksresultaten.

Het programma bevat de volgende voordrachten:

Dr. A. Koopman en Prof. dr. H. Thierry (UvA): Resultaten van machtsverschillen.

Drs. Th. v. Haren (RUU): Macht en effectiviteit.

Prof. dr. J. Rijsman (KHT): De legitimering van macht.

Prof. dr. J. Ellemers (RUG): Het meten van macht: netwerkanalyse versus effectenonderzoek.

Het inschrijfgeld bedraagt f 40,—.

Nadere inlichtingen en inschrijving bij: Organisatiecomité ASPO lustrumcongres, p/a Vakgroep Sociale Psychologie Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, t.a.v. B. Emans, Kraneweg 2, 9718 JP Groningen. Telefonisch: 050-116886/050-115154.

### Summaries

#### Limits to policy-making

by Th. Quené

The limits to policy-making are determined by the structure of society in a given period. This is illustrated for three periods in Dutch post-war society. A second limiting factor is the perception of the relationship between society and government in the intellectual climate of that time. Different approaches can be distinguished: instrumental and interactive and among the latter three types: voluntaristic, structuralistic and relativistic. Intellectual and political constraints in recent Dutch politics are discussed with these limits in mind. The intellectual constraints are examined in economic policy, welfare policy, physical planning and foreign affairs. Political constraints are shifting because of changes in the assessment of the market, planning and concerted action as principles of coordination. A qualified strengthening of the consultation model between government, employers organizations and trade unions is advocated with the government laying down the macro-economic and social guidelines. This would 'politicize' government policy by promoting awareness of coherent political visions of society and specifying the main policy lines.

#### Our Minister of Overseas Territories, Mr. Emmanuel Sassen, abandons. Febr. 1949

by P. F. Maas

For three centuries The Netherlands enjoyed the profitable possession of the Dutch Indies (Indonesia), where approximately 250,000 Dutch people had settled in the 20th century. Although nationalistic agitation had been felt before the Government in exile in London and the Dutch nation were convinced that after the German and Japanese defeat Indonesia would again form part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Besides, the reconstruction of the devastated homeland didn't seem possible without the profits from Indonesia, which wasn't ready for complete independence at all in the opinion of the greater majority. However, on 17th August 1945, Sukarno and Hatta declared Indonesia an independent republic, making use of the power vacuum that had arisen through Japan's capitulation. For two months there was an atmosphere of revolution, killing and plundering, the so-called Bersiap-Days, which hindered and retarded the liberation of the Dutchmen and Indo-Europeans confined to the labourcamps. The English commander Christison was compelled, by lack of means and forces, to acknowledge the so-called Djocja-Republic

'defacto'. His labour Government didn't feel like suppressing the nationalistic revolution by force and thus getting into trouble with India. (Forces consisted mainly of British-Indians). In the eyes of the Dutch Sukarno and Hatta were collaborators and war-criminals who had plotted with Japan and were now trying to enforce independence in an unlawful way without having received any mandate from the native population, for example through elections in Indonesia. Under America and later also international pressure (Security Council) negotiations were started and agreements were reached which were, however, never carried out. Holland decided to federate Indonesia and in July 1947 large parts of Java and Sumatra were recaptured from Sukarno et al. who, in this way, had lost the economically most interesting areas. On 13th December 1948, the Dutch Government at the insistence of K.V.P. Minister Sassen and the High Commissioner in Batavia, Beel (K.V.P.) decided to liquidate the Djocja-Republic and to imprison the Republican leaders. Internationally, the successful military operation led to a public outcry and intervention by the Security Council.

The Socialists and the liberal Stikker in the Drees-Cabinet, in which Socialists, Catholics, Liberals and part of the Protestants combined, were inclined to give in to the international pressure, but the young, Catholic Minister of Overseas Territories, supported by his party leader Romme, opposed this. When Beel in Batavia surprised him with a plan that was contrary to his politics and some K.V.P.-Ministers deserted him in the Cabinet, Sassen decided to resign (14-2-'49). Sassen had wanted to ignore the SC-resolution (28-1-'49) and come at terms with the U.S. under threat of a complete abandonment of Indonesia and in the scope of a mutual Western South-East-Asia policy, directed against communism which made itself felt in Indonesia, too.

#### **Decisions leading to the second 'police action' in Indonesia (1948)**

by I. N. Gallhofer

In this article the sequence of governmental decisions which led up to the second Dutch military intervention in Indonesia in December 1948 is studied. The various decisions made by the officials involved at the time, taken from the minutes of the Dutch Council of Ministers and the telegrams of the Dutch governor in Indonesia, are analyzed in chronological sequence, and the choice rule in each case is examined. In the majority of cases, the choice was made according to the risk avoidance rule: the politicians selected the strategy with the lowest probability of a negative outcome. In the remaining cases, strategy was selected on the basis of either Simon's satisficing model, the reversed Simon rule, or the dominance rule.

The study also shows that the decision makers tried to reduce complex political situations in such a way that they were better able to handle them. Whenever great internal discord arose, deliberations stopped, and the decision about the choice of strategy was reached after taking several votes.

#### **May 26, 1981**

by Jan Stapel

May 26, 1981, is the date of the most recent general election in the Netherlands. On that day, before and after it and also prior to the 1977 General Election NIPO surveys contained questions, the answers to which show:

- (1) a large number of voters know about pre election surveys and their results
- (2) many voters base their expectations about election results on such published data, though influenced by their own hopes
- (3) the expected outcome has very little influence on party preference and voting behaviour.

The votes at the last Dutch election are shown to have been strongly motivated by the attitudes about such issues as fighting unemployment, housing shortage, nuclear arms and nuclear power stations, etc.