

Organizing Belgian Cabinets : Governments in Turmoil

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Introduction : The Belgian government.

Governments in a political system that inevitably deals with coalitions and coalitions within coalitions, have to rely on a sound organization that is flexible enough to deal with internal conflicts and also to keep abreast of events with integrated policy-making and implementation. When Belgium emerged from secession, the new king, in the Orleanist tradition, managed his cabinet of individual ministers himself, aiming a small set of clear-cut objectives. They were in charge of rather simple, distinct bureaucracies that did not interfere too much with each other in implementing the governmental objectives. A clear-out responsibility was allocated to each minister. There was no place for a prime minister in this royal cabinet, but only a « chef de cabinet », in many cases the minister of finance, who administered the team. Royal impact faded slowly away toward the end of the XIX century, the king's policy being subjected to parliamentary control and his ministers being integrated into the emerging political parties.

The function of the prime minister heading a government and fully responsible to parliament was recognized formally in Belgium after world war I.

At the same time, individual ministerial responsibility diluted and spread throughout the government as a whole. In addition, policy-making and the execution of decisions overflowed the boundaries of the existing bureaucratic structures which then began to interfere more and more with each other.

A lot of overlapping was inevitable, since most objectives could only be attained through the combined efforts of several bureaucracies, including the ministers heading them.

Structures resist change especially when they are public bureaucracies. Moreover politicians are hard to persuade, to collaborate, coordinate and find new solutions in order to organize and deal with complex and inter-related policy problems. Prime ministers have the extremely difficult task of making collegial decisions with a number of outspoken competitive individualists who are often overwhelmed by the complexity of their own objectives and partisan pressures. They can only succeed if they integrate resources of their colleagues into a workable whole. The governmental cabinet is the place par excellence where conflicts between coalition partners and policy-making should be resolved.

The leadership of prime ministers and the organization of governments as instruments of collegial decision-making are phenomena that highly influence outcomes, but they are also factors of the total political and administrative environment. As factors, they are continually adapted and defined in terms of changing circumstances. They are influenced by the complexity of emerging problems, the technicality of the answers, their capacity to create new intermediate functions — state secretaries, ministerial cabinets and committees — and to mobilize new managerial technologies, such as electronic data processing and the planning-programing-budgeting system, to deal with them and control the different projects across the boundaries of the various bureaucracies.

The governmental structure

Some flexible institutionalization of decision-making units at the governmental level has taken place. First, within the civil service, there are the several services of the prime minister that provide technical support for governmental policy-making. Second, there is the explosion of ministerial cabinets and the appointment of state secretaries. Third, there is the organization of the government itself by means of problem-oriented committees. We shall concentrate on the last of these three. In order to clarify matters, a short description of these units is called for.

1. The council of Government (Regeringsraad).

All members of the government — ministers and state secretaries — participate in this council, but it does not meet often.

2. The *Council of Ministers* (Ministerraad) consists of only the national ministers. It meets every Friday and decides on general policy and supervises governmental cohesion and solidarity. Its deliberations are secret.

3. In the Lefèvre-government (1961-1965) a *committee or core-cabinet* for general policy* developed, that, in some cases, prepares or takes over decisions of the Council of Ministers. Only politicaly powerful and influential ministers are members.

4. A series of project or problem-oriented *ministerial committees* have been created since 1926, their existence fluctuates depending on the current problems. They prepare specific decisions for the Council of Ministers or make decisions themselves on behalf of the Council. Members are chosen according to the functional competence of the minister or state secretary, his membership in a power group or faction in a party and his relationship to one of the regions or cultural communities. The most important is the Ministerial Committee of Economic Coordination, which meets each Wednesday. Other standing committees deal with the budget, institutional reform, the environment and science policy.

An attempt to give the government a new structure was made during the Harmel Government (1965-1966). Finances, social policy, economic policy, foreign policy and infrastructure each were assigned a coordinating minister who was in charge of the rest of the ministers in his particular field. The prime minister directed the government through those five coordinating ministers.

Since then, however, the pendulum has swung steadily toward the « core cabinet for general policy », the prime ministers keeping the reins of the government and of most of the ministerial committees in hand.

Already with the Eyskens-Cools government (1972) an agenda sub-committee was formed for the Council of Ministers, thus reverting to the « core cabinet » structure. Noteworthy is that in this government the prime minister headed only four of the seven committees, and even did not chair the important Ministerial Committee for Economic and Social Coordination.

By the time the Tindemans governments came into power (1974-1978), the General Policy Cabinet gained increasing importance and informally

* *Kernkabinet* since 1973.

played a growing role between the Council of Ministers and the different ministerial committees. This small group of politically powerful ministers made the major policy decisions. This trend toward concentration continued with the later Martens governments.

Another important innovation since October 1974 was the creation of ministerial committees for regional affairs, one for Flanders, one for Wallonia, and one for Brussels. They were the prefiguration of what became the Community or Regional Governments, their composition depending on the local political situation.

The Martens government.

The series of Martens governments between 3 April 1979 and 2 April 1981, began with the firm intention of solving the communitarian problems that scuttled the Tindemans governments. The economic problems were also to be finally tackled.

Martens began with a government of socialists, christian democrats and the Brussels Francophone Front ; with support of the three regions, it took on the problem of institutional reform. The former ministerial committees of Flemish, Brussels, and Walloon Affairs were converted into the Government of Dutch Community, the Government of the Brussels Region, and the Government of the Walloon Region. In each of them were ministers and state secretaries, according to the balance of power within the majority parties of each of the Communities or Regions. The Dutch Community and Flemish Region integrated their government as much as possible. The others not. With Martens III the name of « Dutch Community » was changed in order to avoid linguistic confusion between « Dutch » in the Netherlands and in Belgium. Therefore the official name became « Government of the Flemish Community ».

The ministerial committees

The importance and power of the General Policy Cabinet is increasing to the point that de facto it is considered in many cases to outrank the Council of Ministers. Especially during Martens III, this trend continued, but it was diluted in Martens IV by the admission of more members.

A set of additional ministerial committees were created to keep abreast of the emerging problems. Thus, Martens I reintroduced a Ministerial Committee for defense, created a crisis cabinet, and a Ministerial Com-

mittee for the relations between the national governments and the other community and regional governments, in order to settle disagreements.

Problem oriented ministerial committees were created, the Committees to establish a balanced building policy for schools of both the state and the free educational systems ; the Water Treaty Committee for resolving both the navigation problems of the Antwerp harbor and the related controversy around Walloon water supply to the Netherlands as compensation for the first ; and finally the Zeebrugge harbor development Committee.

A ministerial committee was also set up for dealing with the problem of unemployment introducing temporary employment in the public sector. The last three disappeared after the FDF left the government.

With Martens III a special ministerial committee was created for the status of women : problems of remuneration, working conditions, womens' rights, rights of succession, etc... This was also maintained during Martens IV. Martens IV introduced a ministerial committee to deal with Third World cooperation and another for state pensions. The former dealt not only with cooperation in the Third World countries, but also with some controversies that had arisen around budget-allocations to Belgian universities for the education of Third World students. The latter was to deal with harmonizing and limiting state pensions.

Since Martens III, collegiate decision-making has to be respected by the non-national governments. During the first term after leaving national government, proportional representation will apply and decision-making by consensus.

Martens III replaced the FDF partners with Flemish and Walloon Liberals who, in their turn, left the government in October 1980.

After the departure of the FDF from Martens I, the Dutch participation in ministerial committees at large was generally higher than in Martens I, but the Christian Democrats also got a higher share than the Socialists, who dominated in Martens I. Martens IV showed a more balanced picture, and was a pure Christian Democrats-Socialist coalition and thus ended the way M. Eyskens I began.

Abbreviations.

- P : Chair Person
 Pri M : Prime Minister
 V Pri M : Vice Prime Minister
 M : Minister
 SS : State secretary
 MC : Ministerial Committee
 C.V.P. : Christian Party (Flemish : Dutch speaking)
 P.S.C. : Christian Party (French)
 V.U. : Flemish People Union
 F.D.F. : Brussels Francophone Front
 R.W : Walloon Party
 P.S.B. or P.S. : Socialist Party (French)
 B.S.P. or S.P. : Socialist Party (Flemish : Dutch speaking)
 P.L., P.L.P., or P.R.L.W. : Liberal Party (French)
 P.V.V. : Liberal Party (Flemish : Dutch speaking)
 S : Total sum
 Cab. : Cabinet.

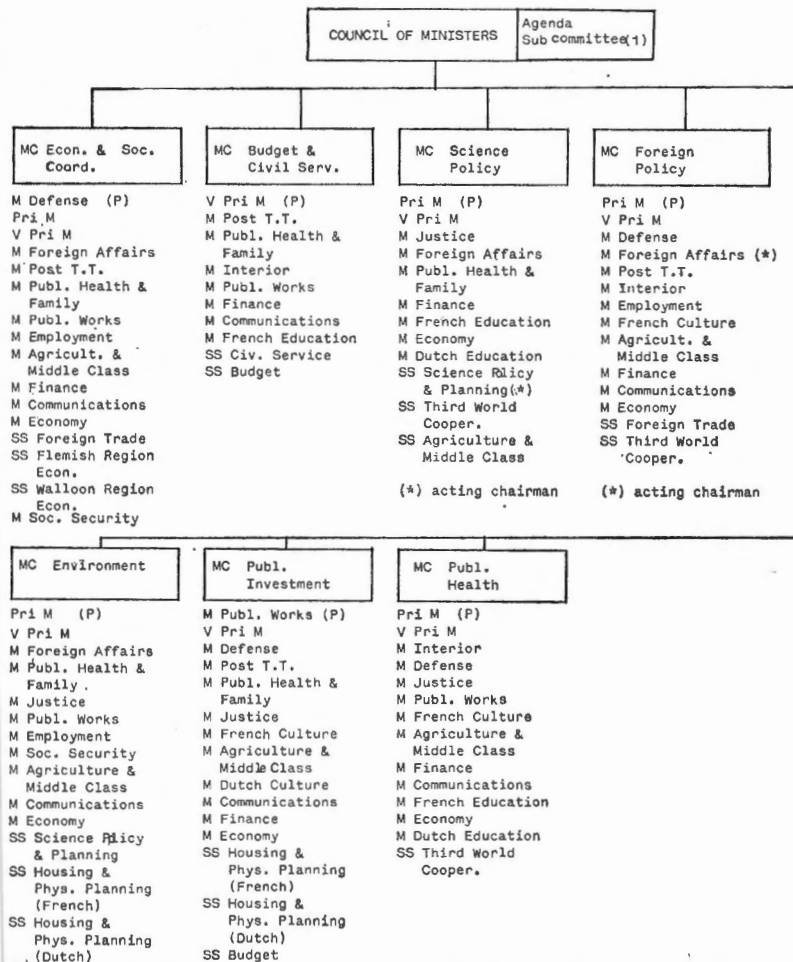
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On Martens governments

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EYSKENS-COOLS (1972-1972)



(1) Committee for the preparation of the agenda of the Council of Ministers chaired by the Prime Minister

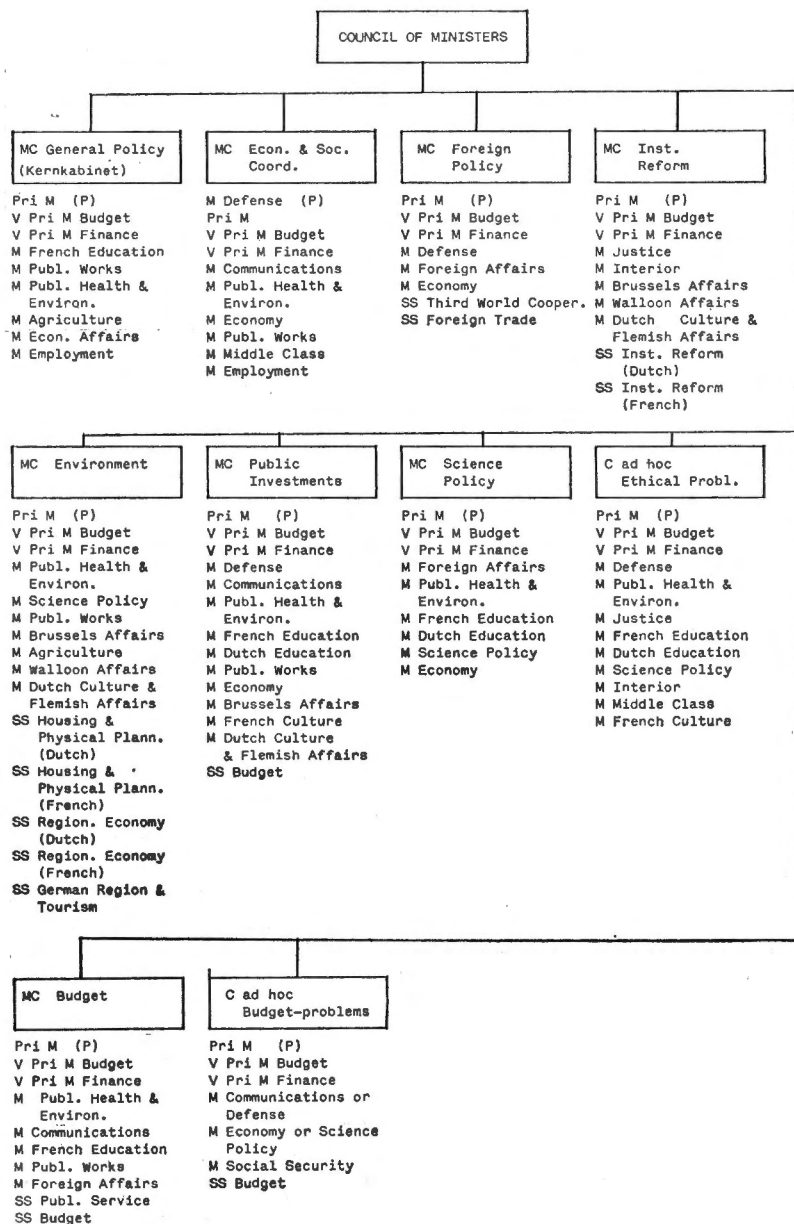
National

Repartition of governmental positions between parties							
	M	SS	S				
P.S.B.	5	3	8				
B.S.P.	4	2	6				
C.V.P.	6	3	9				
P.S.C.	4	2	6				
S	19	10	29				

	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Budget & Civ. Service	Science Policy	Foreign Policy	Environ-ment	Publ. Invest.	Publ. Health
P.S.B.	5	3	4	4	4	3	5
B.S.P.	3	2	2	3	3	4	2
C.V.P.	5	3	4	4	4	4	4
P.S.C.	3	2	2	3	3	4	3
S	16	10	12	14	14	15	14

LEBURTON (1973-1974)

Situation on April 6th 1973



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LEBURTON (1973-1974)

National Government

	Gener. Policy	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Foreign Policy	Inst. Reform	Environment	Publ. Invest.	Science Policy	Eth. Probl.	Budget	Budget- Probl.
P.S.B.	2	2	2	3	4	3	1	3	2	1
B.S.P.	1	2	1	-	-	3	2	1	1	2
C.V.P.	3	2	2	3	6	3	3	2	3	1
P.S.C.	1	2	1	1	4	4	1	2	2	2
P.V.V.	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
P.L.P.	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	2	1	-
	9	10	8	10	16	15	9	12	10	7

Repartition of governmental positions between parties

	M	SS	S
P.S.B.	5	2	7
B.S.P.	4	2	6
C.V.P.	5	4	9
P.S.C.	4	2	6
P.V.V.	2	2	4
P.L.P.	2	2	4
S	22	14	36

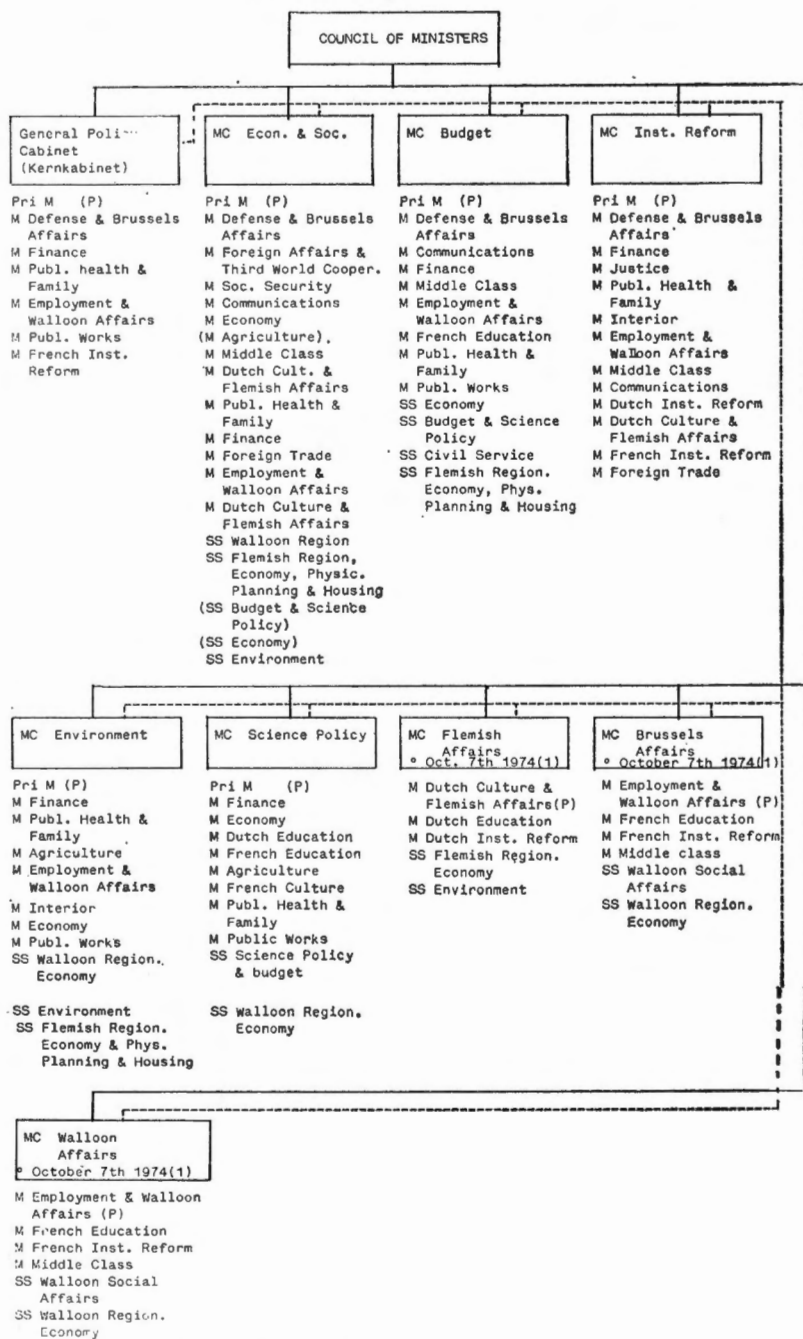
TINDEMANS I (April 25th 1974 - June 11th 1974)

The Tindemans I started initially as a bipartisan minority government. (CVP-PSC / PVV-PLP) and did not last longer as forty-seven days (April 25th - June 11th 1974). It hardly got time to organize itself, except for the establishment of the formal competences of the MC Soc. and Econ. Coord., MC Budget, MC Inst. Reform, MC Science Policy, MC Environment and the (Inner) Cabinet on General Policy. (Royal Decree May 30th). Only four days before the enlargement of the coalition, it was been decided that this General Policy Cabinet, chaired by the Pri M, would be composed of the M Defence, M Finance, M. Publ. Health and Family, M Employment and Walloon Affairs, M Public Works

	Government			Publ. Policy Cabinet			Dutch		Francophone	
	M	SS	S	M	SS	S	M	SS	M	SS
C.V.P.	7	2	9	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
P.S.C.	6	1	7	2	-	2	10	4	9	2
P.V.V.	3	2	5	1	-	1				
P.L.P.	3	1	4	1	-					
S	19	6	25	5	-	5	14		11	

TINDEMANS II : June 11th 1974 - December 8th 1976)

Situation on June 19th 1974



() Only on matters of their competence.

(1) On October 7th one M was replaced, some minor shifts were made and two more SS were nominated. Three more MC's were created, they did not exist yet on June 19th.

TINDEMANS II

Repartition of positions in the new MC's (on Oct. 7th 1974)									
	MC Flemish Affairs			MC Brussels Affairs			MC Walloon Affairs		
	M	SS	S	M	SS	S	M	SS	S
C.V.P.	2	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
P.S.C.	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	-	2
P.V.V.	1	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
P.L.P.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
R.W.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3
S	3	2	5	2	1	3	4	2	6

Situation on June 19th 1974

National Government

	Gen. Pol. Cab.	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	budget	Inst. Reform	Environ-ment	Science Policy
C.V.P.	2	6 (3)	5	5	4	4
P.S.C.	2	3	3	3	3	3
P.V.V.	1	2	2	2	2	2
P.L.P.	1	3	2	2	1	1
R.W.	1	1(1)	1	1	1	1
S	7	15(4)	13	13	11	11

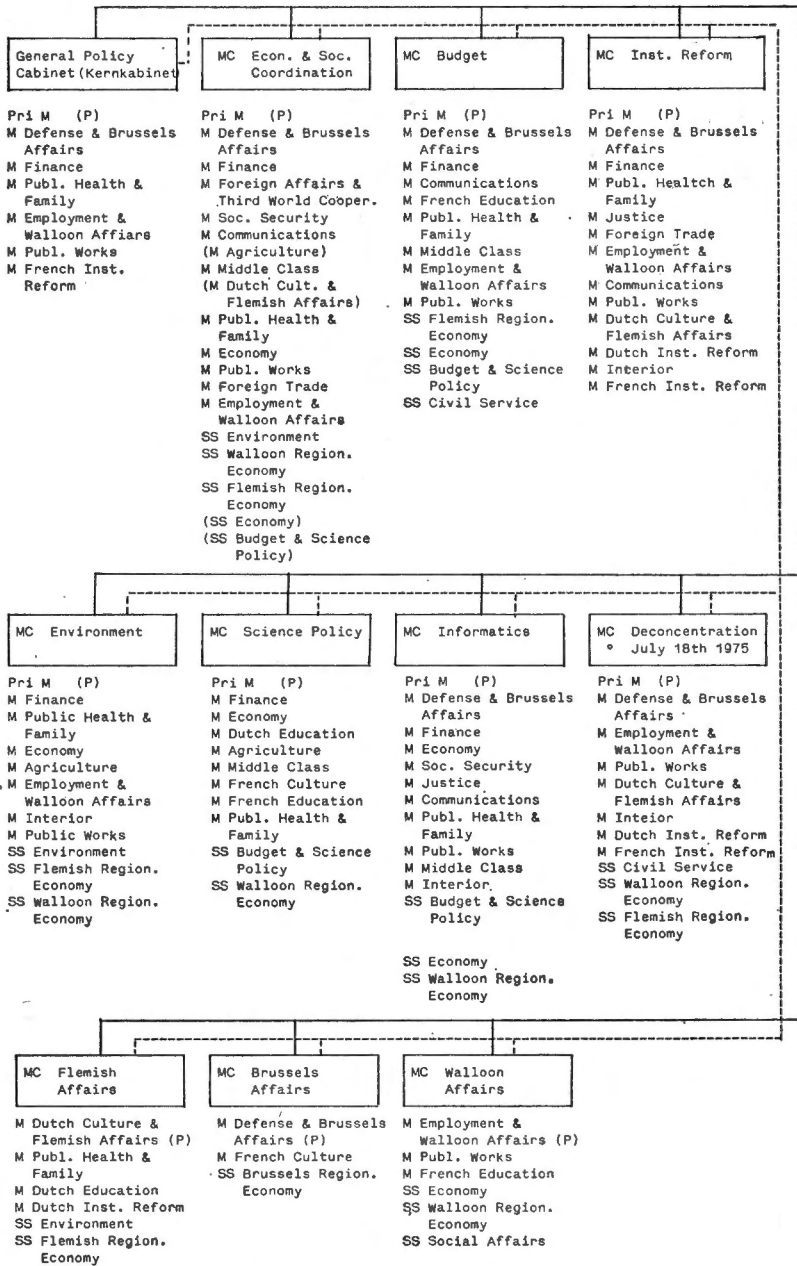
() only on matters of their competence

Repartition of governmental positions between parties						
	M		SS		S	
	on June 19th	On Oct. 7th	on June 19th	on Oct. 7th	on June 19th	On Oct. 7th
C.V.P.	8	8	2	2	10	10
P.S.C.	6	6	-	-	6	6
P.V.V.	3	3	2	3	5	6
P.L.P.	3	3	-	-	3	3
R.W.	1	1	2	3	3	4
S	21	21	6	8	27	29

TINDEMANS II

Situation on October 18th 1976

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS



() Only on matters of their competence.

TINDEMANS II

Situation on October 18th 1976

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

	Gen. Pol. Cab.	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Budget	Inst. Reform	Environ- ment	Science Policy	Infor- matics	Decon- centra- tion	Flemish Affairs	Brussels Affairs	Walloon Affairs
C.V.P.	2	0(2)	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	-	-
P.S.C.	2	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	-	2	2
P.V.V.	1	2(1)	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	-
P.L.P.	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	-	-	1
R.W.	1	1(1)	1	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	3
S	7	15(4)	13	13	11	11	14	11	6	3	6

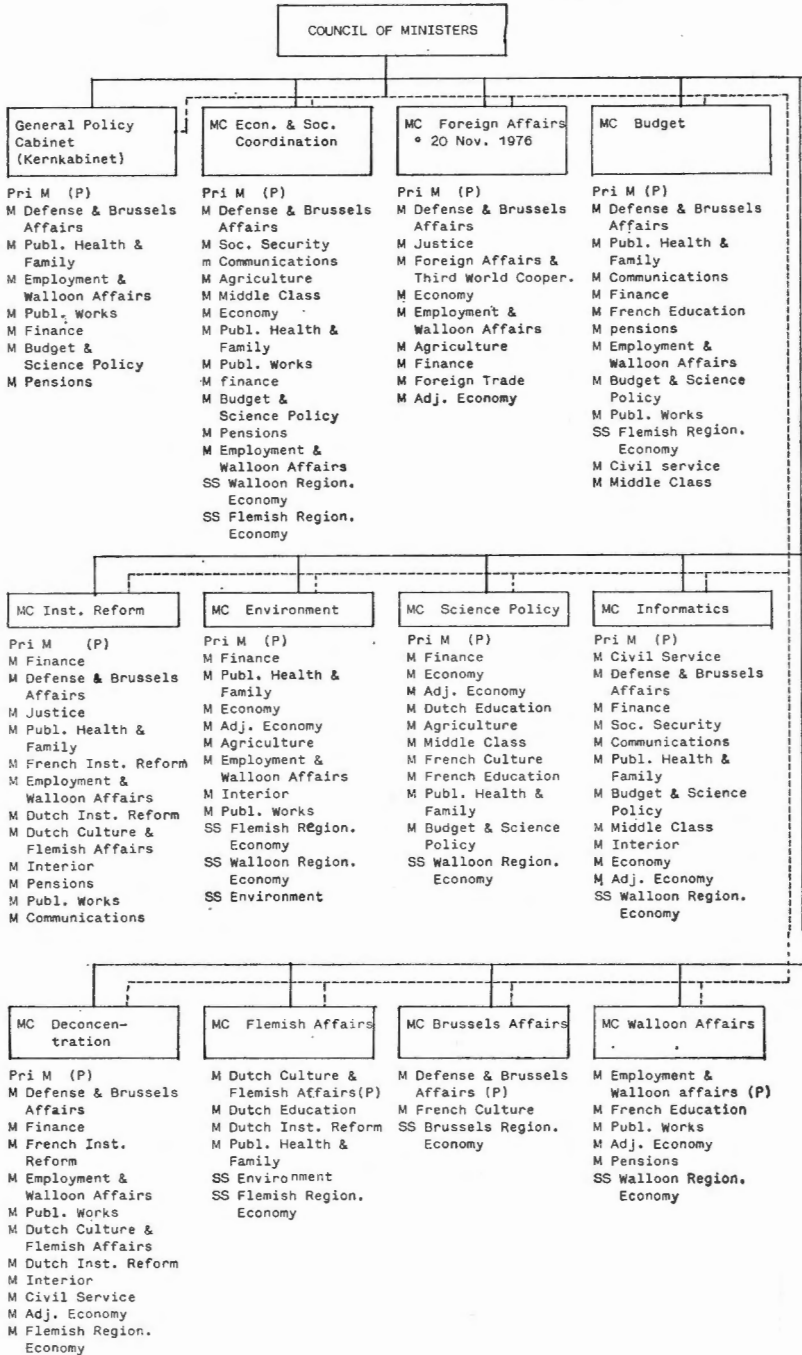
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Repartition of governmental positions between parties

	M	SS	S
C.V.P.	8	2	10
P.S.C.	6	-	6
P.V.V.	3	3	6
P.L.P.	3	-	3
R.W.	1	3	4
S	21	8	29

TINDEMANS III (December 9th 1976 - March 3th 1977)

Situation on December 23th 1976



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TINDEMANS III

Situation on December 23th 1976

National Government

	Gen. Pol. Cab.	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Foreign Affairs	Budget	Inst. Reform	Environ- ment	Science Policy	Informa- tics	Decon- centra- tion	Flemish Affairs	Brussels Affairs	Walloon Affairs
C.V.P.	3	7	3	8	8	3	3	5	4	4	-	-
P.S.C.	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	2	2
P.V.V.	1	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	-
P.R.L.W.	1	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	2
R.W.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	2
S	8	15	10	13	13	12	12	13	12	6	3	6

TINDEMANS III

Situation on January 12th 1977 (changes within the MC's)

National Government

	Gen. Pol. Cab.	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Foreign Affairs	Budget	Inst. Reform	Environ- ment	Science Policy	Informa- tics	Decon- centra- tion	Flemish Affairs	Brussels Affairs	Walloon Affairs
C.V.P.	3	8	3	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	-	-
P.S.C.	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	2	2
P.V.V.	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	-
P.R.L.W.	1	4	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	2
R.W.	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	2
S	8	18	10	13	13	12	12	13	12	6	3	6

TINDEMANS III

Repatriation of governmental positions between parties

	M	SS	S
C.V.P.	9	1	10
P.S.C.	6	-	6
P.V.V.	4	2	6
P.R.L.W.	4	1	5
R.W.	2	-	2
S	25	4	29

TINDEMANS IV (March 4th 1977 - June 3th 1977)

On March 4th the two RW-ministers were dismissed and replaced by a PSC and a PRLW-minister.

Parliament was dissolved on March 9th. Government stayed on, keeping the existing committees normally functioning, until after elections came in Tindemans V on June 3th 1977

TINDEMANS V : 3 June 1977 - 11 October 1978
Situation on June 17th 1977, completed on September 13th 1977



TINDEMANS V

National Government

	Gen. Pol. Cab.	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Foreign Affairs	Budget	Inst. Reform	En- viron.	Science Policy	Inform.	Flemish Affairs	Brussels Affairs	Walloon Affairs
P.S.B.	2	5	2	3	4	2	3	2	-	1	4
B.S.P.	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	2	2	1	-
C.V.P.	3	6	4	4	5	3	4	3	2	1	2
P.S.C.	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	-	1	-
V.U.	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	-
F.D.F.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	-
S	11	19	11	13	17	13	15	11	6	7	6

Repatriation of governmental positions between parties

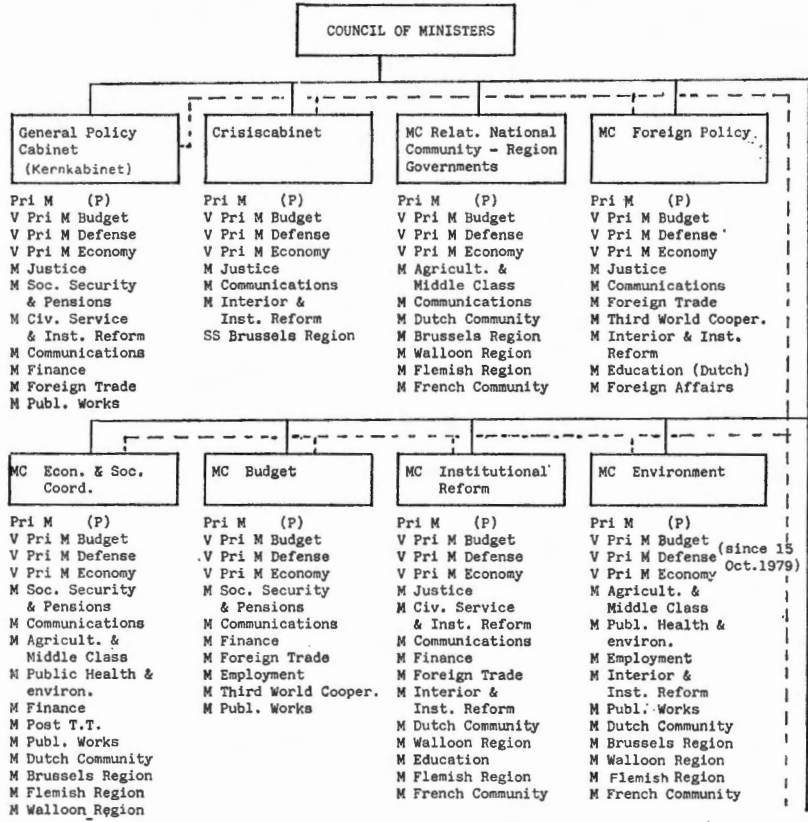
	M	SS	S
P.S.B.	5	2	7
B.S.P.	4	1	5
C.V.P.	6	2	8
P.S.C.	4	-	4
V.U.	2	1	3
F.D.F.	2	1	3
S	23	7	30

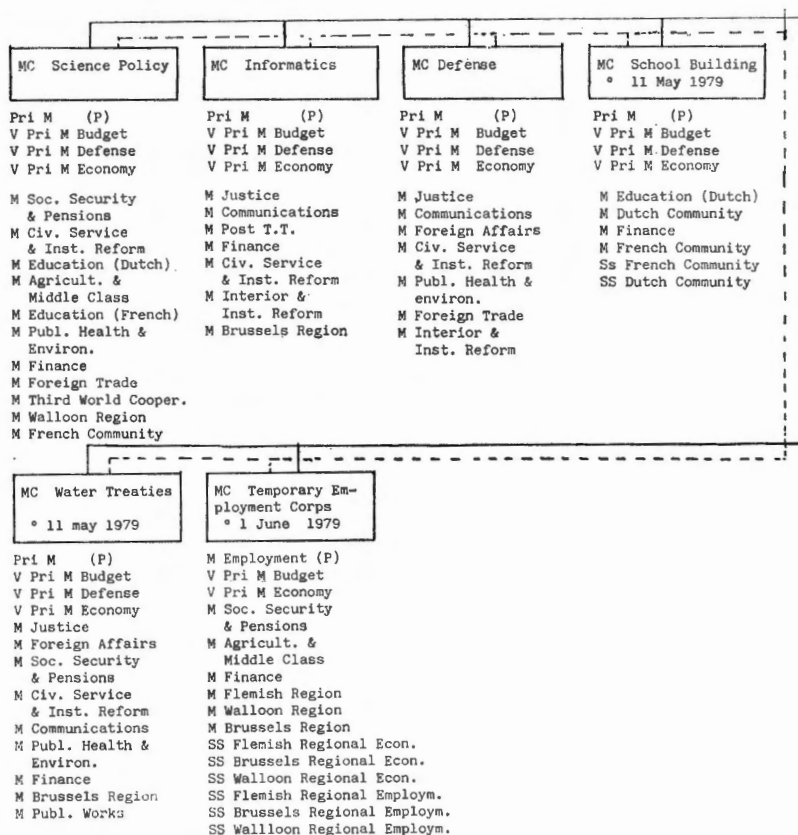
VAN DEN BOEYNANTS II (20 October 1978 - 18 December 1978)

As compared to TINDEMANS V, no changes in the committee structures. The former M of Justice becomes also Vice Prime Minister and the New Prime Minister, in the former government Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, keeps the Defence Department

MARTENS I : 3 April 1979 - 16 January 1980

Situation on May 4th 1979, completed on May 11th and June 1th 1979





MARTENS I

National Government

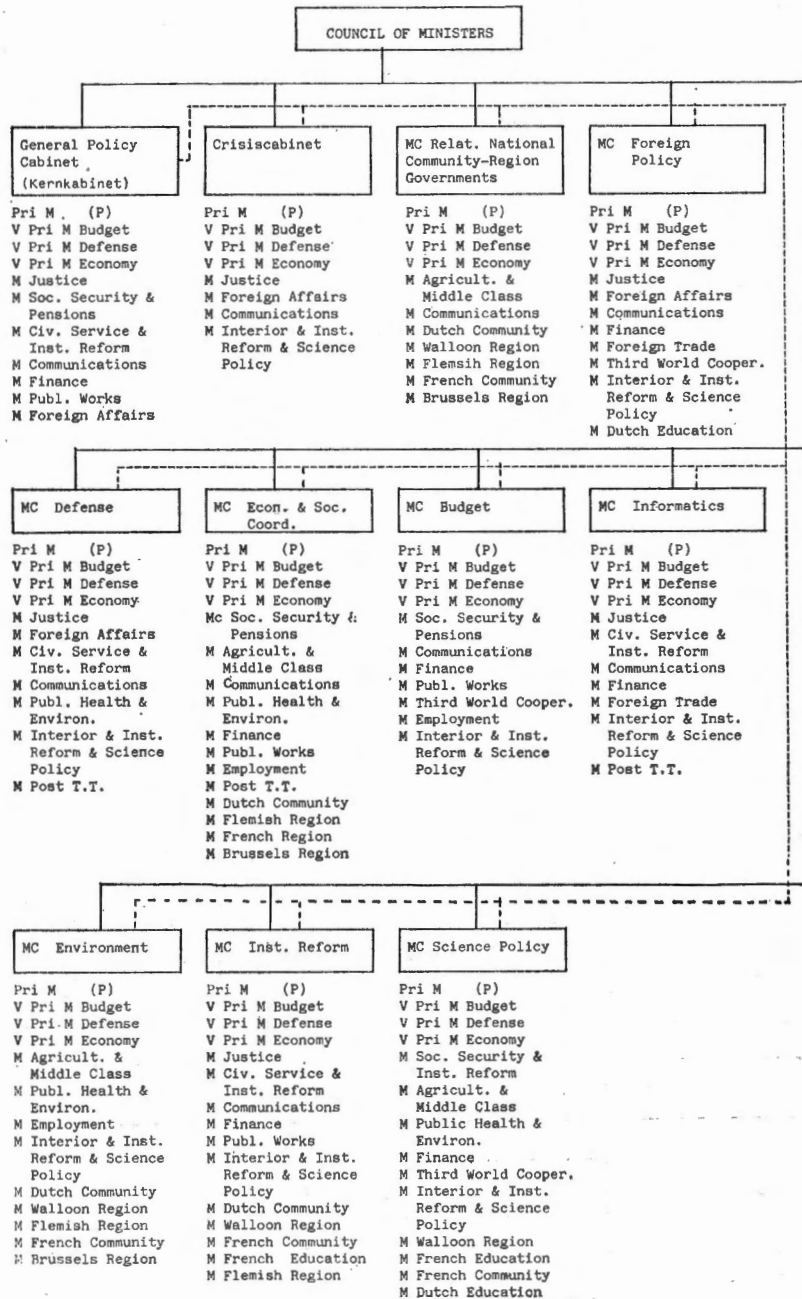
	Ca- bi- net	Cris- cabi- net	Rel. Gov.	For- sign	Econ. Soc. Coop.	Bud- get	Inst. Ref.	En- viron.	Scien- ce	Info	Def.	Sch. Build.	Water Treat.	Temp. Empl. Corps
P.S.	4	3	5	4	6	4	6	5	6	4	4	2	3	4
S.P.	2	1	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	4
C.V.P.	2	1	2	2	4	2	3	3	3	2	2	4	5	4
P.S.C.	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
F.D.F.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	11	8	11	11	16	11	15	13	15	11	11	11	13	15

Repatriation of governmental positions between parties

	M	SS	S
P.S.	7	3	10
S.P.	5	1	6
C.V.P.	8	3	11
P.S.C.	5	1	6
S	25	8	33

MARTENS II : 23 January 1980 - 3 April 1980

Situation on 25 January 1980



MARTENS II National Government

	Cabinet	Crisis-cabinet	Rel. Nat. Comm. Reg. Gov.	Foreign Policy	Defence	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Budget	Info	Environment	Inst. Reform	Science Policy
P.S.	2	2	2	3	3	4	2	3	3	4	3
S.P.	3	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	3
C.V.P.	4	3	4	5	4	6	4	4	4	5	5
P.S.C.	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	4	3	4
TOTAL	11	8	11	12	11	16	11	11	14	15	15

Repartition of governmental positions between parties			
	M	SS	S
P.S.	6	2	8
S.P.	5	1	6
C.V.P.	8	3	11
P.S.C.	4	1	5
F.D.F.	2	1	3
Total	25	8	33

MARTENS I and MARTENS II (1) Governments of communities and regions

Government of the Dutch Community and the Flemish Region

M Dutch Community(P)
M Flemish Region
M Dutch Education
SS Dutch Community and Flemish Region
SS Dutch Community and Flemish Region
SS Dutch Community and Flemish Region

Government of the French Community

M French Community(P)
M French Education
SS French Community

Government of the Brussels Region

M Brussels Region(P)
SS Dutch Community
SS French Community
SS Brussels Region
SS Brussels Region

Government of the Walloon Region

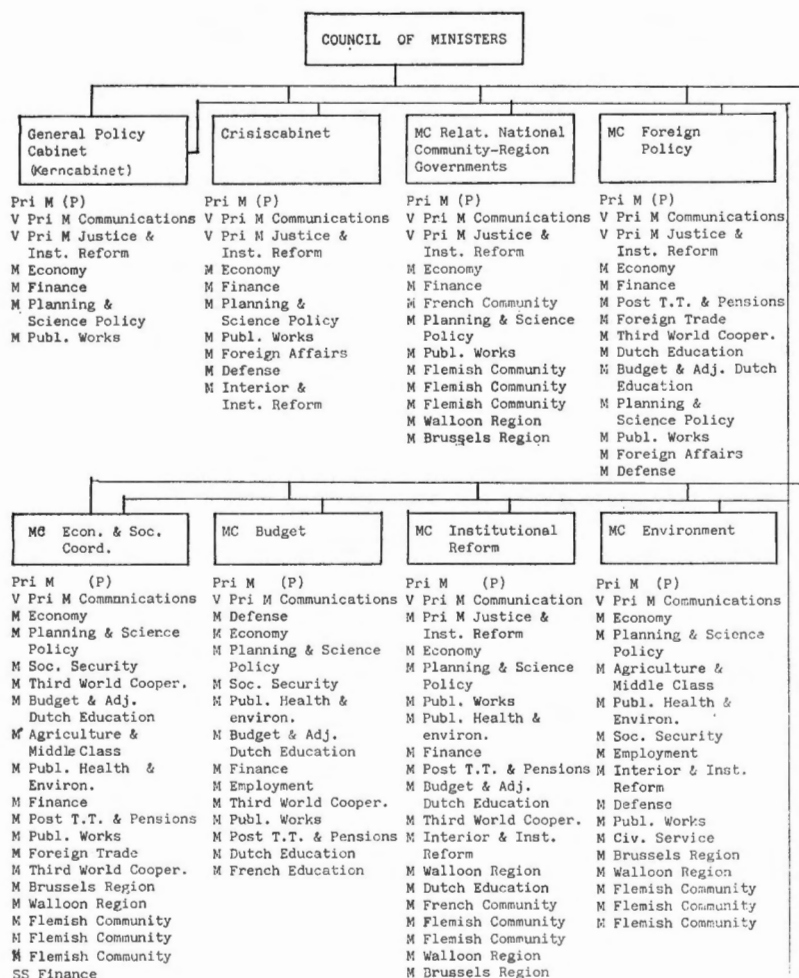
M Walloon Region(P)
SS Walloon Region
SS Walloon Region

	Dutch-Flemish	French Comm.	Bruss. Reg.	Wall. Reg.
P.S.	-	1	1	2
SP	2	-	1	-
CVP	4	-	1	-
PSC	-	1	-	1
FDL	-	1	2	-
TOTAL	6	3	5	3

- (1) In a former first version of Martens I on April 12th 1979, there was no Crisis-cabinet nor a MC for Defense. The Minister of Interior and Institutional Reform was not a member of the MC Relations between the governments but the Minister of Agriculture and Middle Classes was a member of the MC Foreign Policy. On April 12th 1979 a special ad hoc committee was set up to decide on Zeebrugge Harbour development. The Prime Minister chaired the Ministers of Public Works, Agriculture and Middle Classes, Communications, Public Health and Environment and the Secretary of State of the French Community. The Communities and Regional Governments during Martens II as compared with Martens I, did not change in their form and repartition between parties, of the positions held.

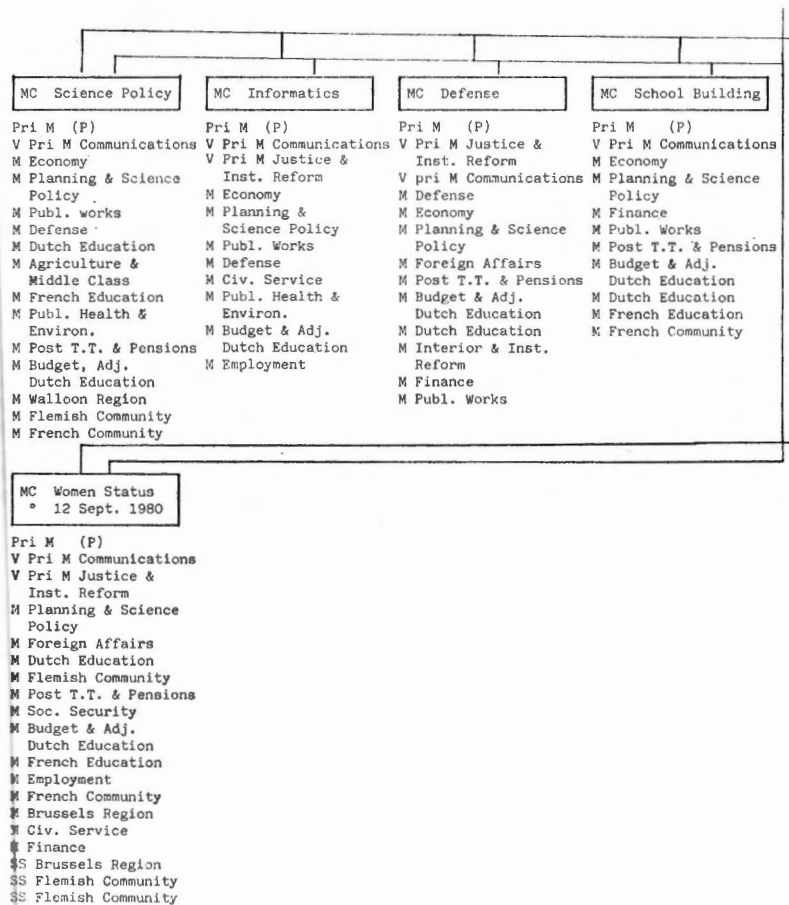
MARTENS III : 18 May 1979 - 7 October 1980

Situation on 21 May 1980, completed on September 12th 1980



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MARTENS III

Governments of communities and regions

	Gen.Pol. Cab.	Crisis- cab.	Rel.Nat. Comm. Reg.Gov.	Foreign Policy	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Bud- get	Inst. Reform	En- viron.	Science Policy	Inform.	Defen- se	School Build.	Women Status
P.S.	1	2	2	3	3	2	4	4	3	2	2	2	4
S.P.	1	1	2	2	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
C.V.P.	2	2	3	4	7	5	5	5	3	3	3	3	5
P.S.C.	1	2	1	2	2	2	4	2	3	4	4	4	4
P.V.V.	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	3
P.R.L.	1	2	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
S	7	10	13	15	20	16	19	17	15	11	13	11	19

Note. On June 29th M Henrion is succeeded by M Hatry as Minister of Finance. From that time on the Minister of Finance becomes a member of the MC of Environment and the MC of Science Policy, but he leaves the General Policy Cabinet, the Crisis Cabinet, the MC of Governments Relations, of Foreign Affairs, of Defense and Institutional Reform.

The Minister of Defense becomes member of the General Policy Cabinet, the Crisis Cabinet, the MC of Governments Relations and of Institutional Reform, but he drops out of the MC of the Budget, of the Environment and of Science Policy.

Repartition of governmental positions between parties						
	M	((M))	SS	((S))	S	((S))
P.S.	6	((4))	1	-	7	((4))
S.P.	4	((3))	1	((1))	5	((4))
C.V.P.	7	((6))	2	-	9	((6))
P.S.C.	5	((3))	1	-	6	((3))
P.V.V.	3	((2))	2	-	5	((2))
P.R.L.	2	((2))	2	-	4	((2))
S	27	((20))	9	((1))	36	((21))

(()) M or SS with exclusively national powers.

ORGANIZING BELGIAN CABINETS

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MARTENS III

Governments of communities and regions

Government of the Dutch Community and the Flemish Region
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Government of the French Community

Government of the Brussels Region

Government of the Walloon Region

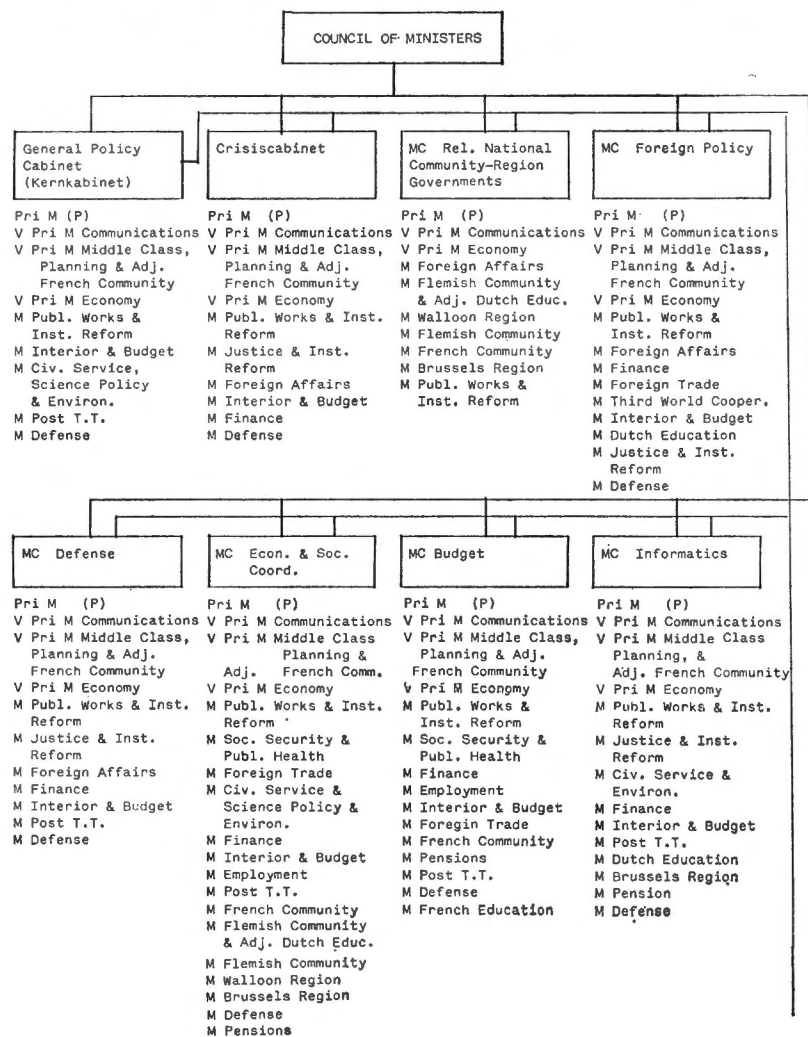
M Flemish Community(P)	M French Community(P)	M Brussels Region(P)	M Walloon Region(P)
M Dutch Education	M French Education	SS Brussels Region	M Walloon Region
M Flemish Community	SS French Community	SS Brussels Region	SS Walloon Region
M Flemish Community		(SS Flemish Community)	
SS Flemish Community		(SS French Community)	
SS Flemish Community			
SS Flemish Community			
M Budget & Adj.			
Dutch Education			

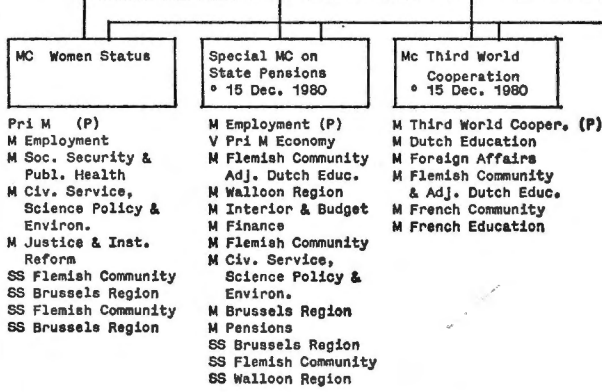
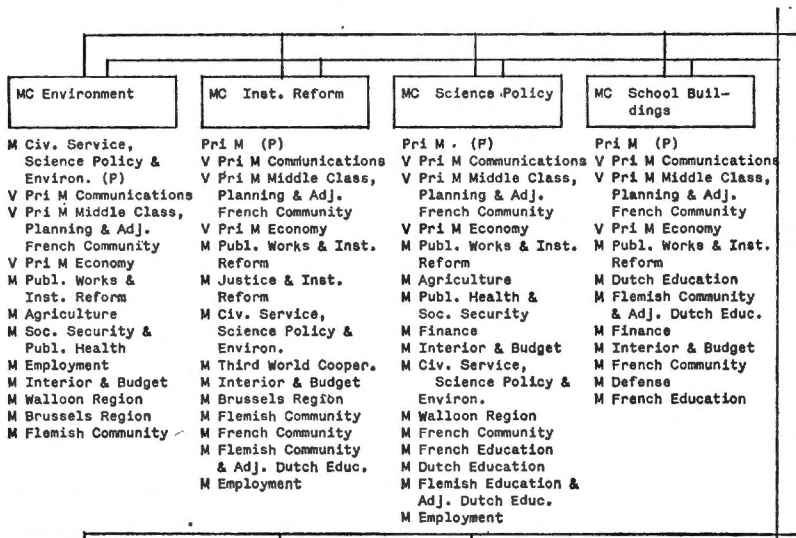
	Dutch Flemish		French Comm.		Walloon Region		Brussels Region	
	M	SS	M	SS	M	SS	M	SS
S.P.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
P.S.	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1
C.V.P.	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	(1)
P.S.C.	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-
P.V.V.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	(1)
P.R.L.	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
S	5	3	2	1	1	2	1	2 (2)

() only codeliberating

MARTENS IV : 20 October 1980 - 2 April 1981

Situation on 18 November 1980, completed on 15 December 1980





MARTENS IV

National Government

	Gen. Pol. Cab.	Cris. Cab.	Rel. Nat. Com. - Reg. Gov.	For. Policy	Defense	Econ. & Soc. Coord.	Budget	Info	Envir.	Inst. Ref.	Soc. Pol.	School Build.	Women Status	State Pens.	Th. W. Coop.
P.S.	2	3	3	5	3	5	4	5	4	6	5	3	-1	3	1
S.P.	2	1	2	1	2	4	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	1
C.V.P.	3	4	3	5	4	6	5	4	3	4	6	5	4	3	2
P.S.C.	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	4	2
S	9	10	10	13	11	19	15	14	12	16	17	12	9	13	6

	M	((M))	SS	((SS))	S	((S))
P.S.	7	((5))	1	((-))	8	((5))
S.P.	5	((4))	1	((-))	6	((4))
C.V.P.	8	((7))	3	((-))	11	((7))
P.S.C.	5	((4))	2	((-))	7	((4))
S	25	((20))	7	((-))	32	((20))

(()) M or SS with exclusively national powers.

MARTENS IV
National Government

Government the
Flemish Community

M Adj. Dutch Education (P)
M Flemish Community
SS Flemish Community
SS Flemish Community
SS Flemish Community
M Dutch Education

Government of the
French Community

M French Community (P)
M Middle Class, Plan. & Adj. French Community
M French Education

Government of the
Brussels Region

M Brussels Region(P)
SS Brussels Region
SS Brussels Region
{M Adj. French Community)
(SS Flemish Community)

Government of the
Walloon Region

M Walloon Region(P)
SS Walloon Region
SS Walloon Region

	Flemish			French			Brussels			Walloon		
	M	SS	S	M	SS	S	M	SS	S	M	SS	S
P.S.	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	2
S.P.	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
C.V.P.	1	3	4	-	-	-	-	(1)	(1)	-	-	-
P.S.C.	-	-	-	2	-	2	(1)	1	1+	-	1	1
S	3	3	6	3	-	3	1+	2+	3+	1	2	3
							(1)	(1)	(1)			

() Only codeliberating.

EYSKENS Mark I: April 6th 1981

Situation on May 1th 1981

Martens IV was succeeded by EYSKENS M. I
The party-repartition of government as compared to Martens IV dit not change.
The MC of Informatics was integrated into the MC of Economic and Social
Coordination on April 15th

Summary : Organizing Belgian cabinets : governments in turmoil.

The internal organization of Belgian governments is described. Several ministerial committees for the preparation of governmental decisions have been institutionalized. The ministers and state secretaries who are members are chosen according the functional competence, region or community association, and party or faction affiliation.

A core cabinet for general policy, which is chaired by the prime minister, and in which are represented the most important members of each coalition partner, tends to take over the role of the council of ministers on crucial matters as an instrument of collegial decision-making.

This trend does not contribute to the consolidation of the prime minister's power.

The existing ministerial committees, one for each community or region, developed into governments.

The article deals also with the internal organization-charts and party distribution among members of subunits of the Belgian governments from 1972 to 1981.

