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-cut 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 begun 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 interrelated 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 politically 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 subcommittee 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

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-
committee 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 com­
pensation 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 stu­
dents. 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 participa­
tion 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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### EYSKENS-COOLS (1972-1972)

**COUNCIL OF MINISTERS**

**Agenda Sub Committee(1)**

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| M Communications       | SS Civ. Service         | SS Third World Cooper,| M Middle Class |
| M Finance              | SS Budget               | SS Agriculture & Middle Class| M Cooper. |
| M Communications       |                         |                  | (*) acting chairman| (*) acting chairman |
| M Economy              |                         |                  |                  |                  |
| SS Foreign Trade       |                         |                  |                  |                  |
| SS Flemish Region Econ.|                         |                  |                  |                  |
| SS Walloon Region Econ.|                         |                  |                  |                  |
| M Soc. Security        |                         |                  |                  |                  |

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| M Communications| M Communications | M Communications|
| M Finance      | M Finance           | M French Education|
| M Economy      | M Economy           | M Economy       |
| SS Housing & Phys. Planning (French) | SS Budget | |
| SS Housing & Phys. Planning (Dutch) | | |
| SS Budget | | |

(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**

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LEBURTON (1973-1974)

Situation on April 6th 1973

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

MC General Policy
(Kernkabinet)

Pri M (P)
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M French Education
M Publ. Works
M Publ. Health &
Environ.
M Agriculture
M Econ. Affairs
M Employment

MC Econ. & Soc. Coord.

M Defense (P)
Pri M
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M French Education
M Econ. Affairs
M Publ. Works
M Middle Class
M Employment

MC Foreign Policy

Pri M (P)
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M Defense
M Publ. Health & Environ.
M Economy

MC Inst. Reform

Pri M (P)
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M Interior
M Brussels Affairs
M Walloon Affairs
M Dutch Culture & Flemish Affairs
SS Inst. Reform
(Dutch)
SS Inst. Reform
(French)

MC Environment

Pri M (P)
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M Environment
M Publ. Works
M Brussels Affairs
M Agriculture
M Walloon Affairs
M Dutch Culture & Flemish Affairs
SS Housing & Physical Plan.
(Dutch)
SS Housing & Physical Plan.
(French)
SS Region. Economy
(Dutch)
SS Region. Economy
(French)
SS German Region & Tourism

MC Public Investments

Pri M (P)
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M Finance
M Publ. Health &
Environ.
M Culture Policy
M Publ. Works
M French Education
M Brussels Affairs
M French Culture
M Dutch Culture
M Flemish Affairs

MC Science Policy

Pri M (P)
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M Foreign Affairs
M Publ. Health &
Environ.
M Science Policy

C ad hoc
Ethical Probl.

Pri M (P)
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M Foreign Affairs
M Publ. Health &
Environ.
M Science Policy
M Economy

C ad hoc
Budget-problems

Pri M (P)
V Pri M Budget
V Pri M Finance
M Communications or
Defense
M French Education
M Publ. Works
M Social Security
SS Budget
SS Budget
LEBURTON (1973-1974)

National Government

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Repartition of governmental positions between parties

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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

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Situation on June 19th 1974

(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.

( ) Only on matters of their competence.
ORGANIZING BELGIAN CABINETS

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TINDEMANS II

Repartment of positions in the new MC's
(on Oct. 7th 1974)

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Situation on June 19th 1974

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(1) only on matters of their competence

Repartment of governmental positions between parties

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## TINDEMANS II

### Situation on October 18th 1976

**COUNCIL OF MINISTERS**

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### MC Deconcentration

*July 18th 1975*

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( ) Only on matters of their competence.
TINDEMANS II

Situation on October 18th 1976

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Repartition of governmental positions between parties

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

Situation on December 23rd 1976

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

General Policy Cabinet (Kernkabinet)

- Pri M (P)
- M Defense & Brussels Affairs
- M Publ. Health & Family
- M Employment & Walloon Affairs
- M Finance
- M Budget & Science Policy
- M Pensions

MC Econ. & Soc. Coordination

- Pri M (P)
- M Defense & Brussels Affairs
- M Soc. Security
- M Communications
- M Agriculture
- M Middle Class
- M Economy
- M Publ. Health & Family
- M Publ. works
- M Finance
- M Budget & Science Policy
- M Pensions
- M Employment & Walloon Affairs

MC Foreign Affairs + 20 Nov. 1976

- Pri M (P)
- M Defense & Brussels Affairs
- M Justice
- M Foreign Affairs & Third World Coop.
- M Economy
- M Employment & Walloon Affairs
- M Agriculture
- M Finance
- M Foreign Trade
- M Adj. Economy

MC Budget

- Pri M (P)
- M Defense & Brussels Affairs
- M Publ. Health & Family
- M Communications
- M Finance
- M French Education
- M Pensions
- M Employment & Walloon Affairs
- M Budget & Science Policy
- M Publ. Works
- SS Flemish Region. Economy
- M Civil service
- M Middle Class

MC Inst. Reform

- Pri M (P)
- M Finance
- M Defense & Brussels Affairs
- M Justice
- M Publ. Health & Family
- M French Inst. Reform
- M Employment & Walloon Affairs
- M Dutch Inst. Reform
- M Dutch Culture & Flemish Affairs
- M Interior
- M Pensions
- M Publ. Works
- M Communications

MC Environment

- Pri M (P)
- M Finance
- M Publ. Health & Family
- M Economy
- M Adj. Economy
- M Middle Class
- M Culture
- M Employment & Walloon Affairs
- M Interior
- M Publ. Works
- SS Flemish Region. Economy
- SS Walloon Region. Economy

MC Science Policy

- Pri M (P)
- M Finance
- M Economy
- M Adj. Economy
- M Middle Class
- M French Culture
- M French Education
- M Publ. Health & Family
- M Budget & Science Policy
- SS Flemish Region. Economy
- SS Walloon Region. Economy

MC Informatics

- Pri M (P)
- M Civil Service
- M Defense & Brussels Affairs
- M Finance
- M Soc. Security
- M Communications
- M Publ. Health & Family
- M Budget & Science Policy
- M Middle Class
- M Interior
- M Economy
- M Adj. Economy
- SS Walloon Region. Economy

MC Deconcentration

- Pri M (P)
- M Defense & Brussels Affairs
- M Finance
- M French Inst. Reform
- M Employment & Walloon Affairs
- M Publ. Works
- M Dutch Culture & Flemish Affairs
- M Dutch Inst. Reform
- M Interior
- M Civil Service
- M Adj. Economy
- M Flemish Region. Economy

MC Flemish Affairs

- M Dutch Culture & Flemish Affairs (P)
- M Dutch Education
- M Dutch Inst. Reform
- M Publ. Health & Family
- SS Environment
- SS Flemish Region. Economy

MC Brussels Affairs

- M Defense & Brussels Affairs (P)
- M French Culture
- M Dutch Inst. Reform
- SS Brussels Region. Economy

MC Walloon Affairs

- M Employment & Walloon affairs (P)
- M French Education
- M Publ. Works
- M Adj. Economy
- M Pensions
- SS Walloon Region. Economy
ORGANIZING BELGIAN CABINETS

TINDEMANS III
Situation on December 23th 1976
National Government

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TINDEMANS III
Situation on January 12th 1977 (changes within the MC's)
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TINDEMANS III
Repartition of governmental positions between parties

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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

| COUNCIL OF MINISTERS |

**General Policy**
- Kernkabinet
- Prime Minister (P)
- Interior
- Finance
- Economy
- Foreign Trade
- Post T.T.

**MC Econ. & Soc. Coordination**
- Prime Minister (P)
- Prime Minister & Civil Service
- Prime Minister & Defense
- Foreign & Brussels Affairs
- Foreing Affairs
- Middle Class
- Agriculut.
- Dutch Culture & Flemish Affairs
- Health & Environment
- Finance
- Foreign Trade
- Employment
- Science Policy
- Interior
- Public Works
- Social Affairs
- Francé Culture
- Flemish Region
- Science Policy
- Public Works
- Flemish Social Affairs

**MC Foreign Affairs**
- Prime Minister (P)
- Prime Minister & Civil Service
- Prime Minister & Defense
- Foreign & Brussels Affairs
- Middle Class
- Agriculut.
- Dutch Culture & Flemish Affairs
- Foreign Trade
- Third World Cooperation

**MC Budget**
- Prime Minister (P)
- Prime Minister & Civil Service
- Prime Minister & Defense
- Economy
- Soc. Security
- Communications
- Finance
- Foreign Trade
- Employment
- Science Policy
- Publ. Works
- Social Affairs
- Francé Culture
- Flemish Region
- Science Policy
- Public Works
- Flemish Social Affairs

**MC Inst. Reform**
- Prime Minister (P)
- Prime Minister & Civil Service
- Prime Minister & Defense
- Justice
- Soc. Security
- Communications
- Agriculture
- Middle Class
- Dutch Culture & Flemish Affairs
- Science Policy
- Employment
- Science Policy

**MC Environment**
- Prime Minister (P)
- Prime Minister & Civil Service
- Prime Minister & Defense
- Environment
- Soc. Security
- Communications
- Finance
- Employment
- Science Policy

**MC Science Policy**
- Prime Minister (P)
- Prime Minister & Civil Service
- Prime Minister & Defense
- Science Policy
- Employment
- Science Policy

**MC Informatics**
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**MC Brussels Affairs**
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- Walloon Affairs (Dutch)
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TINDEMANS V

National Government

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Repartition of governmental positions between parties

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<tr>
<td>C.V.P.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F.D.F.</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 1: 3 April 1979 - 16 January 1980

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

## COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

### General Policy Cabinet (Kernkabinet)

- PM (P)
- VPri M Budget
- VPri M Defence
- VPri M Economy
- M Justice
- M Social Security & Pensions
- M Communications & Inst. Reform
- M Finance
- M Public Health & Environment
- M Post T.T.
- M Public Works
- M Dutch Community
- M Brussels Region
- M Flemish Region
- M Walloon Region

### Crisis Cabinet

- PM (P)
- VPri M Budget
- VPri M Defence
- VPri M Economy
- M Justice
- M Communications
- M Interior & Inst. Reform
- SS Brussels Region

### MC Select National Community - Region Governments

- PM (P)
- VPri M Budget
- VPri M Defence
- VPri M Economy
- M Justice
- M Communications
- M Interior
- SS Brussels Region
- M Walloon Region
- M Flemish Region
- M French Community

### MC Foreign Policy

- PM (P)
- VPri M Budget
- VPri M Defence
- VPri M Economy
- M Justice
- M Communications
- M Interior & Inst. Reform
- M Third World Coop.
- M Education (Dutch)

### MC Economic & Social Coord.

- PM (P)
- VPri M Budget
- VPri M Defence
- VPri M Economy
- M Social Security & Pensions
- M Communications
- M Finance
- M Employment
- M Third World Coop.
- M Publ. Works

### MC Budget

- PM (P)
- VPri M Budget
- VPri M Defence
- VPri M Economy
- M Social Security & Pensions
- M Communications
- M Finance
- M Foreign Trade
- M Employment
- M Third World Coop.
- M Publ. Works

### MC Institutional Reform

- PM (P)
- VPri M Budget
- VPri M Defence
- VPri M Economy
- M Social Security & Pensions
- M Communications
- M Finance
- M Foreign Trade
- M Employment
- M Third World Coop.
- M Publ. Works

### MC Environment

- PM (P)
- VPri M Budget (since 15 Oct 1979)
- VPri M Defence
- VPri M Economy
- M Agriculture & Middle Class
- M Communications & Inst. Reform
- M Publ. Works
- M Dutch Community
- M Walloon Region
- M Flemish Region
- M French Community
MARTENS II: 23 January 1980 - 3 April 1980
Situation on 25 January 1980
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MC Science Policy</th>
<th>MC Informatics</th>
<th>MC Defense</th>
<th>MC School Building</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pri M (P)</td>
<td>Pri M (P)</td>
<td>Pri M (P)</td>
<td>Pri M (P)</td>
</tr>
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<td>V Pri M Communications</td>
<td>V Pri M Communications</td>
<td>V Pri M Communications</td>
<td>V Pri M Communications</td>
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<tr>
<td>M Economy</td>
<td>M Economy</td>
<td>M Economy</td>
<td>M Economy</td>
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<tr>
<td>M Planning &amp; Science Policy</td>
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<td>M Planning &amp; Science Policy</td>
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<td>M Defence</td>
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<td>M Planning &amp; Science</td>
<td>M Planning &amp; Science</td>
<td>M Planning &amp; Science</td>
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<td>M Middle Class</td>
<td>M Middle Class</td>
<td>M Middle Class</td>
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<tr>
<td>M French Education</td>
<td>M French Education</td>
<td>M French Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dutch Education</td>
<td>Dutch Education</td>
<td>Dutch Education</td>
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<td>M Walloon Region</td>
<td>M Walloon Region</td>
<td>M Walloon Region</td>
<td>M Walloon Region</td>
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<td>M Flemish Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>M French Community</td>
<td>M French Community</td>
<td>M French Community</td>
<td>M French Community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MC Women Status**
- 12 Sept. 1980
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>S</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.S.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(3)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.V.P.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.V.V.</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.P.L.</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>(20)</td>
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</table>

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

Governments of communities and regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch Flemish</th>
<th>French Comm.</th>
<th>Walloon Region</th>
<th>Brussels Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.P.</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>C.V.P.</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S.C.</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.V.V.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.R.L.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( ) only codeliberating
### Situation on 18 November 1980, completed on 15 December 1980

#### General Policy
- Cabinet (Kernkabinet)
- Crisis cabinet
- MC Rel. National Community-Region Governments
- MC Foreign Policy

#### MC Defense
- Pri M (P)
- V Pri M Communications
- V Pri M Middle Class, Planning & Adj.
- French Community
- V Pri M Economy
- M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Interior & Budget
- M Post T.T.
- M Defense

#### MC Econ. & Soc. Coord.
- Pri M (P)
- V Pri M Communications
- V Pri M Middle Class, Planning & Adj.
- French Community
- V Pri M Economy
- M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Justice & Inst. Reform
- M Foreign Affairs
- M Interior & Budget
- M Finance

#### MC Budget
- Pri M (P)
- V Pri M Communications
- V Pri M Middle Class, Planning & Adj.
- French Community
- V Pri M Economy
- M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Employment
- M Interior & Budget
- M Finance
- M Pensions
- M Post T.T.
- M Defense
- M French Education
### MC Environment
- M Civ. Service, Science Policy & Environ. (P)
- V Pri M Communications, Planning & Adj.
- V Pri M Middle Class, French Community
- V Pri M Economy, M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Agriculture
- M Interior & Budget
- M Walloon Region
- M Flemish Community

### MC Inst. Reform
- Pri M (P)
- V Pri M Communications, Planning & Adj.
- V Pri M Middle Class, French Community
- V Pri M Economy, M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Agriculture
- M Interior & Budget
- M Walloon Region
- M Flemish Community

### MC Science Policy
- Pri M (P)
- V Pri M Communications, Planning & Adj.
- V Pri M Middle Class, French Community
- V Pri M Economy, M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Agriculture
- M Interior & Budget
- M Walloon Region
- M Flemish Community

### MC School Buildings
- Pri M (P)
- V Pri M Communications, Planning & Adj.
- V Pri M Middle Class, French Community
- V Pri M Economy, M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Publ. Works & Inst. Reform
- M Agriculture
- M Interior & Budget
- M Walloon Region
- M Flemish Community

### MC Women Status
- Special MC on State Pensions *15 Dec. 1980*
- M Employment (P)
- V Pri M Economy
- M Brussels Region
- M Walloon Region
- M Flemish Community
- M Employment

### Me Third World Cooperation *15 Dec. 1980*
- M Employment (P)
- V Pri M Economy
- M Dutch Education
- M Foreign Affairs
- M Flemish Community
- M French Education
- M Flemish Education

### MARTENS IV
#### National Government

**Repartition of governmental positions between parties**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>S</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>P.S.C.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

\[ S = 25 (20) \]

\[
(\ ( \)) M or SS with exclusively national powers.
\]
MARTENS IV
National Government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government of the Flemish Community</th>
<th>Government of the French Community</th>
<th>Government of the Brussels Region</th>
<th>Government of the Walloon Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M Adj. Dutch Education (P)</td>
<td>M French Community (P)</td>
<td>M Brussels Region (P)</td>
<td>M Walloon Region (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Flemish Community</td>
<td>M Middle Class, Plan. &amp; Adj.</td>
<td>SS Brussels Region</td>
<td>SS Walloon Region</td>
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<tr>
<td>SS Flemish Community</td>
<td>French Community (SS Flemish Community)</td>
<td>(M Adj. French Community)</td>
<td>(SS Flemish Community)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>M Dutch Education</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Brussels</th>
<th>Walloon</th>
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<tr>
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<td>S</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

( ) Only codeciding.

EYSKENS Mark I: April 6th 1981

Situation on May 1st 1981

Martens IV was succeeded by EYSKENS M. I
The party-repartition of government as compared to Martens IV did 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.