The last part of the article presents the opinions of emigration publicists expressing the estimates of various political trends regarding the attempt at rising in Frankfurt a/Main and the role played in it by Poles. The Authoress described with many details the controversy which rose in these matters between the Memoirs of the Polish Emigration (Pamietnik Emigracji Polskiej) where the most prominent publicist — Maurycy Mochnacki — expressed his views and the Polish Pilgrim (Pielgrzym Polski) where also the famous poet --Adam Mickiewicz - presented his ideas. While Mochnacki was strongly against the participation of Polish emigrants in this affair and was opposed to 400 Polish officers leaving Besancon in order to help the German Revolution claiming that Germany has not become mature enough for a revolution, the Polish Pilgrim with Mickiewicz praised the activity of Polish soldiers as an example of international solidarity in defense of freedom. According to their judgment Poland could gain her independence only by victorious revolutions in European countries and the duty of every Pole was to support all such movements

### EDWARD PIEŚCIKOWSKI

# POLISH — PRUSSIAN RELATIONS IN LITERARY WORKS OF ALEXANDER ŚWIĘTOCHOWSKI

Alexander Świętochowski was a typical representative of Polish positivism. His political works rather than the literary ones depict the actual problems of this periods. In spite of that our knowledge about this writer is rather scanty. This work is concerned with only one segment of his activity, namely the Polish-German question and consequently with his attitude towards the Poles under Prussian rule.

Świętochowski — the founder and for many years editor of "Prawda" took great interest in these matters and the people of Wielkopolska (Western Poland) were often the subject of his utterances. The writer objected greatly to the political shortsightedness of conservative leaders and their readiness to compromise. His whole sympathy went to Wielkopolska farmers as he considered them politically mature.

Bismarck's displacement policy of 1825 evoked many declarations of Świętochowski. While he expressed his compassion for the displaced he always came to the same conclusion — that this was the result of the failure of Wielkopolska politicians, too servile in their policy. Thus the short story "Oddechy" ("The Breath") depicts a germanized civil servant as an example of this servilism. "Oddechy" is the only short story of Świętochowski with a political theme, written in 1886 after his appeal to the painter Jan Matejko to present in a picture this barbarious Act of Bismarck. This story was intended as a literary answer to "Bartek Zwycięzca" (Bartek Victorious) of H. Sienkiewicz-The Author wanted to prove that it was not the farmer who served the Prussians in Wielkopolska.

In spite of this struggle with servilism both in "Oddechy" and his other works concerned with Polish-German relations Świętochowski was considered as a leading representative of compromise. This work is the first step to deter-

Przegląd Zachodni, nr 3, 1957



mine precisely our opinions about the author of "Wskazania polityczne" (Political Directions).

## KAROL MARIAN POSPIESZALSKI

## THE MAIN TENDENCIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY ELECTORAL LAW IN GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Since 1945 there has been in Western Germany a strong dispute about the electoral system that should be applied for parliamentary elections — the principle of proportional representation (SPD) or of plurality majority in one-candidate districts (CDU). The first electoral system to Bundestag of 1949 was intended as a compromise but in fact it was the principle of proportional representation that proved victorious. But the controversy lasted and that led to new electoral system Acts in 1953 and 1956 which, however, did not essentially change the situation.

The act of Elections for Bundestag of May 7th 1956 provides that candidates in single-member districts can be proposed either by political parties or by voters' groups while in many-candidates Lands only by political parties. Every voter has two votes — he casts one for the candidate of the district and the other for the Land list. A candidate may run for election in the district and in the Land at one time. In the district the candidate who tops the list in number of ballots is elected (the principle of plurality majority). In the Land it is the principle of proportional representation that is adopted. According to the amount of "second" votes the number of representatives for different parties is computed. From these numbers the quantity of successful candidates from districts is deducted and the rest is completed from the Land list. Hence this system is based on proportional representation but the results of elections in districts may be decisive, at least as to the first places on party lists.

The candidate of the party for the district is chosen by local party members at a special meeting. The voter can vote in the district for the candidate of party X and in the Land for the list of party Z. This is intended as an idea of individual choice (*Persönlichkeitswahl*)

The political party which has neither received at least  $5^{6/0}$  of the entire amount of "second" votes in the whole country nor won 3 successful candidates in districts cannot gain representatives from the country list. *Bayernpartei* and *Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei* had raised the objection that this clause was not in accord with the constitution but it was rejected by the Federal Constitution Tribunal.

A stronger means has been applied against the Communist Party. The verdict of the above mentioned Tribunal stated that the party itself was unconstitutional and thus ordered to dissolve.

## WACŁAW RADKIEWICZ

#### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF AGRICULTURE IN WESTERN GERMANY

The Author demonstrates that the agriculture of Western Germany does not develop as quickly as the industry of that country despite strong stimulants

