# Contents

List of Illustrations  ix
Acknowledgments  xi
List of Abbreviations  xiii

1 Institutional Choice and Democratic Survival in New Democracies  1
2 Weimar Germany: Defective Institutional Choice  26
3 Interwar Poland: Institutional Choice by Imposition  78
4 The Federal Republic of Germany: Learning from History  114
5 Postcommunist Poland: Institutional Choice as an Extended Process  183
6 Conclusion  247

Notes  265
References  285
Index  304
Illustrations

Figures

1.1 Structure of Linz’s Argument on Presidentialism 5
1.2 Structure of Sartori’s Argument on Party Systems 7
1.3 Structure of Institutional Choice Arguments 8
1.4 Bringing the Two Arguments Together 21
2.1 Interaction of Institutional and Contextual Variables in the Breakdown of Democracy in Weimar Germany 74
3.1 Interaction of Institutional and Contextual Variables in the Breakdown of Democracy in Interwar Poland 112

Tables

2.1 Elections to State Parliaments, Deputies from Socialist vs. Bourgeois Parties, December 1918–January 1919 37
2.2 National Assembly Elections of 1919 vs. Reichstag Elections of 1912 39
2.3 Governments of the Weimar Republic 65
2.4 The Shift from Parliamentary Government to Dictatorship by Emergency Rule 69
2.5 Reichstag Mandates and Coalition Possibilities, 1920–1933 71
2.6 Combined Mandates in the Reichstag for the Weimar Coalition, 1919–1933 77
3.1 Distribution of Seats by Party in the Constituent Sejm, 1919–1922 87
3.2 Ethnic and Religious Groups in the Population of Interwar Poland, 1921 88
3.3 Elections to the Sejm and Senat, November 1922 102
4.1 Distribution of Seats in the Parliamentary Council by State, Zone, and Party, 1948 141
4.2 Ratification Votes on the Basic Law by State Parliaments 148
4.3 Composition of the First Bundestag, Elected August 14, 1949, by Party and State 149
5.1 Composition of the Sejm following the Semi-Contested Elections of 1989 191
5.2 Composition of the Sejm as of November 1990 210
5.3 Factional Groupings within Solidarity’s “Citizens’ Parliamentary Club,” November 1990 211
5.4 Elections to the Sejm, October 27, 1991 213
5.5 Elections to the Sejm, September 19, 1993 216
5.6 Governments during Lech Wałęsa’s Presidency and Alexander Kwasniewski’s First Term, 1990–2000 221