

Semi-Presidentialism-Duverger's Concept — A New Political System Model

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ABSTRACT

Presidentialism and parliamentarism are the traditional starting points in the analysis of systems of government. *Maurice Duverger*, trying to explain the political structure of the French Fifth Republic, argues that this dichotomy is not adequate for this purpose. This is why he developed the concept of "semi-presidential government", e.g., a president elected by universal suffrage, holding considerable powers, and a prime minister who possesses executive and governmental competences and can stay in office only if parliament does not show opposition toward him.

The word "semi-presidentialism" is now widely, but often controversially used. This article aims at (1) the description and explanation of the concept and (2) its reception by the academic community. Doubts may cause the acceptance of the concept because semi-presidential constitutional constructions differ in practice: The president may be a mere figurehead (Austria, Ireland, Iceland); he can be all powerful (France); he can share his powers with parliament (Weimar Republic, Finland, Portugal). These differences are due to four parameters, namely: actual content of the constitution; combination of tradition and circumstances; composition of the parliamentary majority; position of the president in relation to this majority.

The international academic discussion of the concept is diverse. While in Germany and Austria it is nearly unknown, controversy prevails in France. In Portugal, Finland, and Italy it is accepted nearly

杜瓦傑論半總統制： 一個新的政體模型

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摘 要

內閣制與總統制是傳統上分析政府制度的起點。杜瓦傑認為此一區分，就說明法國第五共和的政治結構，並無助益。此所以他發展出半總統制的概念，也就是總統由全民選出，具相當的權力，同時有一總理，具行政及管理的能力，只要國會不反對他，可在位到底。

現在半總統制此詞已廣為使用，但是卻甚具爭議。本文的目的有二：(1)描述及說明此一概念，(2)學界對此一概念的接受度。由於半總統制的實務不一，有者總統是虛位（奧地利、愛爾蘭、冰島），有者甚具實力（法國），有者與國會分享權力（威瑪共和、芬蘭、葡萄牙），於是可能影響此一概念的接受度。這些差異是源於以下四因素：憲法的實際內容、傳統與當時情境的結合、國會多數黨派之組成以及總統與國會多數黨派的關係。

國際學界對此一概念的討論是頗為分歧。此一概念在德國及奧地利是幾乎不存在的，在法國仍具爭議，在葡萄牙、芬蘭及義大利則毫無疑義被接受，在美國亦被認為對於政治制度的研究具貢獻。

關鍵詞：半總統制，杜瓦傑，法國第五共和