

# 「創造出公民，要什麼就都有了」？ 論盧梭的自由、愛國主義和實現共和的弔詭

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本文從盧梭論述的自由和愛國主義的關係切入，解釋盧梭寫作中的族裔民族主義元素。我首先提出新的分析，在盧梭的政治計畫中，兩種基本自由概念最為根本，一是控制環境的力量，二是免於支配關係的自由。要實現這兩種自由，需要公民已經具備共和愛國主義，可是唯有良好運作的共和國，才能產生共和愛國主義。因此，實現共和的弔詭是：尚未實現理想共和的國家，人民還沒有共和德行，共和國制度無法良好運作。然而，制度無法良好運作，也就無法產生共和德行。如此共和將永遠無法實現。族裔民族主義的功用，在於解開這個弔詭，但是它的成功卻必須危險地單方面仰賴好的立法家或行政權。或許公民參與運動在當代社會可以提供另一個可靠路徑。

關鍵字：盧梭、自由、愛國主義、民族主義、德行

# **‘Create Citizens, and You Have Everything You Need’? On Rousseau’s Freedom, Patriotism and the Paradox of Actualizing Republic**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The essay explains Rousseau’s puzzling employment of ethnic nationalism from the perspective of his discourse on the relations between freedom and patriotism. My analysis shows that his political project consists of two fundamental concepts of freedom, namely the power of environmental control and freedom as non-domination. To actualize those two ideas of freedom, the citizen must be equipped with republican patriotism. Nevertheless, only a well-ordered republic is able to produce the requisite republican patriotism. Hence, the paradox of actualizing a republic: without republican virtues, the republic cannot function well; without a well-functioning republic, there will be no republican virtues. Either the republic already exists or the republic can never come into being. However, Rousseau’s rendering of ethnic nationalism surprisingly solves this paradox. But its success dangerously depends on the good Lawgiver and executive power. In the end I suggest that civic participation may provide a more reliable solution in contemporary society.

Key Words: Rousseau, freedom, patriotism, nationalism, virtue