為何不需要一個世界政府? ——霍布斯論國際關係與自然狀態的 (不)完美類比

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本文的問題意識在於:爲何證成了國內主權者的霍布斯,未能繼續完成其世界政府的推論,以及這是否是一個邏輯上的不一致。一般論者的回答可分兩種:一、認爲行爲主體(國家與個人)的差異使得國際政治領域遠較原初自然狀態緩和,因此不需要一個作爲超級利維坦的世界政府;二、差異存在於行爲主體之間的關係。本文主要論證爲:這兩種回答均有不足之處,若是深入檢視霍布斯對於原初自然狀態的論述,本文試圖指出:原初自然狀態中的「人人認爲自己較他人優越」的心態平等爲回答此一疑問的關鍵。

關鍵字:霍布斯、平等、虛榮之心、世界政府、國際關係

Why Not a World Government? Thomas Hobbes on a (Dis)qualified Analogy between State of Nature and International Relations

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ABSTRACT

In order to answer the long-standing question of why Hobbes does not justify a world government as a super-Leviathan, this paper examines Hobbes's accounts of international relations and the pre-civil state of nature. One common view tends to emphasize the differences between "the agents" in these two realms, namely states as artificial persons and individuals as natural persons; the other common view emphasizes the differences of "the relations between the agents". By re-examining Hobbes's account of the pre-civil state of nature, I argue that both of these common views are not sufficient. This essay intends to argue that if Hobbes's assumption of equality about the original state of nature is re-examined, it can be seen that what actually causes a state of war is not so much the equal ability of men as men's common tendency of considering themselves superior to others, namely vain-glory.

Key Words: Hobbes, equality, vain-glory, world government, international relations