# 哈伯瑪斯論德國學生運動

### 魏楚陽

國立中正大學政治學系助理教授

哈伯瑪斯對一九六零年代德國學生運動的論述,奠基在他對德國脈絡以及 正當性與合法性之間差距的看法。德國作為法治國,擁有一部具有道德理想的 基本法,但也是一個追求經濟利益的社會,因此仍有諸多未能實現其基本法所 宣示的道德理想之處,此乃學生運動得以發揮的空間,同時也是哈伯瑪斯認為 雖然公民不服從可以作為手段,但是仍應以憲法為訴求基礎的原因。學生作為 知識分子,同時亦是社會運動者,能夠透過群眾與輿論的力量,對現行制度施 加壓力,並且讓公共領域具有政治討論的功能,其目的是讓政治生活回到現代 國家之中。

關鍵字:學生運動、公民不服從、哈伯瑪斯、康德、知識分子、正當性

## Jürgen Habermas on the German Student Movement

### Chu-yang Wei

Assistant Professor Department of Political Science, National Chung Cheng University

#### ABSTRACT

Habermas' discussion about the German student movement in the 1960's is based on his understanding of the German political, social and educational context and the problematic nature between legitimacy and legality. In the age of the student movement, (West) Germany was already a constitutional state. But in aspects of political culture, legal system and decision making, the moral ideals in the Basic Law were not completely achieved. The gap between legitimacy and legality was the elbow room for the student movement. The student movement as an intellectual movement had the ideals to overcome the problems of capitalism and challenge the principle of legality on the basis of the constitution; The student movement as a social movement was able to call the attention of citizens and mass media, exert pressure on the government, and politicalize the public sphere. The aim of student movement was to bring the political discourse back to the public sphere of the modern state.

Key Words: student movement, civil disobedience, Jürgen Habermas, Immanuel Kant, intellectual, legitimacy

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