An Irresolvable Tension between Cosmopolitan Citizenship and Patriotic Citizenship in Civic Education—A Rousseauian Perspective

LAM Wing Kwan Anselm

[ABSTRACT] The debate of the approach to civic education in Hong Kong lies upon the notions of citizenships. The foundational principles of cosmopolitan citizenship approach are based on the universal values like justice, human rights and democracy and the patriotic approach instead is based on the sentiment to a particular country and culture. Would they be mutually exclusive? Can patriotism be reconciled with universal morality? Jean Jacques Rousseau, who is a champion of human dignity and rights, advocates both cosmopolitan and patriotic citizenship in his works. According to Rousseau, patriotism is essential for the freedom of citizens. Rousseau understands that man is born free, and everywhere in society he is in chain. He suggests two ways of maintaining freedom in society as in the state of nature, namely education of man in Émile and education of citizen in The Social Contract and other political writings. I will first illustrate Rousseau's education of man in Émile, in which the formation of cosmopolitan citizen is shown. Amour propre is the source of the malady of society but also is the origin of morality. I will then articulate how the malady of alienation of citizen is cured by the submission of his own will to the general will and the significance of patriotism as virtue for citizen. The last part of the paper is to evaluate Rousseau's treatment of these two kinds of education based upon two notions of citizenship and how it shed lights on the conflict in the civic education in Hong Kong. In sum, Rousseau's education of patriotic citizen and cosmopolitan citizen involves both rationality and sentiment. Freedom is their common goal, even though their paths to freedom are different. The development of democratic and legal system and the formation of patriotic affection in social life and culture are two hands of the Legislator that he can establish a society in which citizens are free. Thus, the formation of patriotism beyond curriculum and the development of democratic system could be the next step to freedom in Hong Kong.

I Introduction

A The Controversy of the Moral and National Education in 2012

In summer 2012, people in Hong Kong witnessed a grand social movement initiated by a group of secondary school students, Scholarism, aiming to protest against the compulsory implementation of the Moral and National Education (MNE) by Hong Kong Government as a brainwash project. Over 100,000 people, including many parents and teachers, gathering in front of the Legislative Council building urged for the withdrawal of the MNE. The Chief Executive of Hong Kong finally announced to withdraw the implementation of MNE, which is widely regarded as the political mission of national identity building. What are the potential reasons of the controversy? Why did secondary students, parents and teachers come together to reject the national education, which is not uncommon in different countries? What is the main issue of the conflict between Hong Kong people and Chinese government? There are different explanations of the controversy of the MNE in 2012.

Some suggest that there is a conflict between the promotion of national patriotism and local Hong Kong liberal civic values. Some claim that the conflict is due to the opposition of the local Hong Kong identity to the Chinese communist national identity. How did the conflict come out? What is its genesis?

One country, two systems, suggested by Deng Xiao Ping in early 80s, is a great political experiment of China.

"After China resumes the exercise of its sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997, Hong Kong's current social and economic systems will remain unchanged, its legal system will remain basically unchanged, its way of life and its status as a free port and an international trade and financial center will remain unchanged and it can continue to maintain or establish economic relations with other countries and regions."2

This political experiment intends to maintain the social, economic and legal aspect of Hong Kong unchanged after 97 for 50 years. It, however, put two notions of citizenship of these two systems, cosmopolitan citizenship from Hong Kong and patriotic citizenship from China in conflict. Hong Kong has adopted free market economic systems for many years and the process of democratization has been undertaking rapidly since early 90s. Liberal

¹ Paul Morris and Edward Vickers have done a good literature review of the explanation of the controversy. See Paul Morris and Edward Vickers, "Schooling, Politics and the Construction of Identity in Hong Kong: the 2012 'Moral and National Education' Crisis in Historical Context," Comparative Education (2015, Vol. 51 No. 3),

² Deng Xiaoping, Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping Volume 3 (Beijing, China: Ren Min Publishing Company, 1993), p. 30.

individualistic civic rights and duties clearly shown in the document, School Education in Hong Kong: A Statement of Aims issued in 1993 are emphasized in civic education. "Schools should help students to become aware of Hong Kong as a society; to develop a sense of civic duty, responsibility to the family and service to the community, and to exercise tolerance in interacting with others..."

School leavers are educated as a responsible citizen in Hong Kong, a pluralistic cosmopolitan city. It is worth noting that the orientation of the civic education has been changed after 97. Building national identity became one of the key tasks of civic education. In 2010, "Moral and National Education" (MNE) was introduced as a compulsory school subject. A Curriculum Guide was issued in 2012, in which the building of national identity as a learning objective was clearly mentioned.

The overall learning objective for this domain is to help students enhance their national identity, understand their roles, rights and responsibilities as nationals, foster a sense of affection for the country, actively learn about the national situation and explore the opportunities and challenges of the country's development such as achievements, difficulties, constraints and directions for improvement. It also helps students enhance national qualities such as the ability to distinguish right from wrong and to think independently. It encourages them to stay closely connected with the motherland, stand together in

³ Education and Manpower Branch, *School Education in Hong Kong: A Statement of Aims* (Hong Kong: Government Secretariat, 1993), p. 19. Emphasis added.

adversity, and contribute to the development and betterment of the country and its people.⁴

Students are expected to learn a kind of Machiavellian extreme patriotism claiming that it is "Our Country, right *or* wrong." in the curriculum. Chinese patriotic citizenship based upon the Socialist collective beliefs is acknowledged in the Curriculum Guide. Following the "One Country, Two Systems" principle, how can Chinese government keep the local liberal Hong Kong citizenship unchanged under the sovereignty of China? We see that civic education is closely related to the notion of citizenship, what should the purpose and practice of civic education be? What are the meanings of two notions of citizenship and patriotism?

B Citizenship and Civic Education

Civic education aims to help students to become a responsible citizen by learning the rights and duties of citizen. Its curriculum also consists of teaching "knowledge, skills and attitudes that are required for children to be a virtuous and civically productive member of society". Civic education curriculum is designed according to the notion of citizenship of the society, which defines the rights, duties and virtues of the member of the community. The notion of citizenship can be expressed in different forms, namely, legal,

⁴ The Curriculum Development Council, *Moral and National Education, Curriculum Guide, (Primary 1 to Secondary 6)*, April, 2012, p. 31. Emphasis added.

⁵ Primoratz, Igor, "Patriotism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL =

http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/patriotism/>. 2.2.1

⁶ Meira Levinson, "Citizenship and Civic Education," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*, ed. Denis C. Phillips (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2014), p. 1. URL=< http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:12701475>

political, social and moral. It first denotes a legal status or a political standing in a community. A citizen entitled by law has rights protected by state and duties to state, for instance, right to vote and duty of paying tax. Moreover, it also can be a normative moral standing that represents a particular ideal of civic virtues. Legal rights and duties and civic virtues vary in different political systems. For instance, freedom of expression is the basic right protected in liberal democratic society but can be sacrificed in communist society. Thus there can be big disagreements of civic education curriculum in different countries according to their diverse notions of citizenship.

We have seen that there are two different notions of citizenship adopted in Hong Kong and China, namely, cosmopolitan citizenship and patriotic citizenship respectively. Cosmopolitan citizenship forming a citizen of the world induces a political and moral commitment to universal human rights rather than the moral values or ideology of a particular country. The citizen of the world, as Stoics claims, gives his/her allegiance "to no mere form of government, no temporal power, but to the moral community made up by the humanity of all human beings." The civic education of Cosmopolitan citizenship, concerning the universal moral principles for the rest of the world, is rational in nature.

Patriotic citizenship, on the other hand, is sentimental. Patriotism, as Stephen Nathanson defines, is the love of fatherland. It concerns about the affection to one's own country. A patriotic citizen, moreover, identifies oneself with one's own country and thus the well-being of the self and the well-being of the country become one. A patriotic citizen out of the patriotic affection desires for the

⁷ Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitan," in *For Love of Country, Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996), p. 7.

well-being of the country and even is willing to sacrifice oneself for it.8

As civic education is closely related to the notion of citizenship, how can Hong Kong government reconcile two notions of citizenship in one civic education curriculum? Civic education as a kind of political socialization of national identity after 97 becomes a hot potato for local government. Can these two notions of citizenship be reconciled? The moral and political tradition, the main stream of Enlightenment, including Kantianism and some Utilitarianism, asserts the universal, impartial and impersonal moral principle as the moral and political allegiance. Self-interest, emotions and feelings, values and virtues of particular countries have nothing to do with moral judgment or political commitment. Cosmopolitan citizen, alleged to this universal ideal of humanity is indifferent to race, nationality, or religion. He or she does not have any preference to his or her fatherland or compatriots, when there is a conflict between his or her own country and other countries, or his or her compatriots and people of other countries. The ideal of universal humanity precedes the patriotic sentiment of fatherland and compatriots. However, the love of abstract humanity is criticized as one loves an empty abstract ideal resulting in loving no one in reality.

On the other hand, proponents of patriotic citizenship claim that we learn moral virtues in a community upon which our identity formed and our sense of belonging grown. It is natural to develop affection towards a particular person or community rather than an

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Stephen Nathanson, "In Defense of 'Moderate Patriotism'," *Ethics* (1989), Vol. 99, pp. 535–552. Reprinted in Primoratz (ed.) (2002). It is quoted in "Patriotism" by Igor Primoratz, 2015.

⁹ Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitan," p. 7.

abstract ideal. Thus when a compatriot and a foreigner are in need of your help, it is natural to give a hand to the compatriot. ¹⁰ This preferential option for the fatherland and compatriots is criticized, as it becomes a biased and hostile attitude toward foreigners.

Can these two notions of citizenship be reconciled? McIntyre claims that the conflict between them is inevitable, for instance, the conflict arises from scarcity of essential resources and the ways of life among countries. Cosmopolitan citizens count each individual person equal weight but patriotic citizens would strive for the interest of his or her country.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, who is a champion of human dignity and rights, advocates both cosmopolitan and patriotic citizenship in his works. It is worth noting that patriotism is essential for the freedom of citizens. Some scholars think that Rousseau intended to show that the tension of these two notions of citizenship could not be resolved as Rousseau mentioned their incompatibility in certain works. The other camp of scholars, on the contrary, claims that although Rousseau has not reconciled these two notions explicitly, they are consistent and coherent in his philosophy. The other camp of scholars in his philosophy.

¹⁰ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiment*, eds. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie (1790; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 136-137.

Alasdair MacIntyre, Is Patriotism a Virtue? (Kansas: University of Kansas, 1984), p. 6.

¹² Gourevitch, Gauthier, and Yonah claim that Rousseau acknowledged the resolvable tension between two types of education in Émile and Letters Written from the Mountain. See David Gauthier, Rousseau: The Sentiment of Existence (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Victor Gourevitch, trans. The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings of Rousseau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); and Yossi Yonah, "'Ubi Patria-Ibi Bene': The Scope and Limits of Rousseau's Patriotic Education," Studies in Philosophy and Education (1999, Vol. 18), pp. 365-388.

¹³ Dent thinks that Rousseau favored the priority given to the demand of the common

In this article, I will argue that Rousseau did not intend to reconcile these two notions of citizenship into one coherent theory of education. The education of man forming cosmopolitan citizen and education of citizen forming patriotic citizen are kept separately. The essential concern of Rousseau is not so much of education as freedom. Rousseau understands that man is born free, and everywhere in society he is in chain.¹⁴ He suggests two ways of maintaining freedom in society as in the state of nature, namely education of man in Émile and education of citizen in The Social Contract and other political writings. I will first illustrate Rousseau's education of man in Émile, in which the formation of cosmopolitan citizen is shown. Amour propre is the source of the malady of society but also is the origin of morality. I will then articulate how the malady of alienation of citizen is cured by the submission of his own will to the general will and the significance of patriotism as virtue for citizen. In turn, the education of citizen will be examined. The last part of the paper is to evaluate Rousseau's treatment of these two kinds of education based upon two notions of citizenship and how it sheds lights on the conflict in the civic education in Hong Kong.

good when the common good is in conflict with natural inclination. See N. J. H. Dent, *Rousseau: An Introduction to his Psychological, Social and Political Theory* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988), pp.164-5. Besides, Neuhouser argues that Émile is not made to remain always solitary but to live with others. Emile has learned the art for a man and a citizen for living with his fellows. See Frederic Neuhouser, "Rousseau and The Conflict Between The Educations Of 'Man' And 'Citizen'," in *Institutions of Education: then and today* (Boston, Brill, 2010), pp. 41.

¹⁴ Rousseau, "On Social Contract" in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 41..

II Formation of Cosmopolitan Citizenship

A Natural Freedom in the State of Nature

The essential concern of Rousseau's philosophy is freedom. Man was free in the state of nature according to Rousseau illustrated in the Second Discourse. Although the natural man is solitary and his faculty of perfectibility is dormant, he is self-sufficient and free. 15 His primary concern, out of self-love, amour de soi, is self-preservation. Since he can satisfy his desires, which do not exceed his physical needs, on his own, natural man is independent. He does not need the help of other human beings. In other words, his self-love comes from the sentiment of his existence and he obeys only his own will. The natural freedom consists in his independence and self-sufficiency. However, his faculty of perfectibility develops and amour propre burgeons, when he is inevitably living and working with other human beings due to the need of corporation for self-preservation. Natural man then yearns for regards from others. 16 Public esteem instead of self-existence becomes the source of the sweet sentiment of existence. The natural amour-de-soi develops into an unnatural or artificial amour propre that engenders jealousy, vanity, ambition, shame and pride. How can man living in society be free as in the state of nature? Rousseau thus proposed a remedy in his great work of education, Émile.

¹⁵ Rousseau, "Second Discourse," in *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 141-142.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 175.

B Education of Man in Émile

Formation of a citizen enjoying the natural freedom as the natural man is the main task of Rousseau in his masterpiece of education. At the beginning of the Book Émile, Rousseau clearly distinguished two kinds of education, namely, education from nature and education from man. The former is for the education of man and the latter is for citizen. Based upon the foundation of natural goodness, the education from nature aims to let the child to be self-sufficient and not to follow the opinions of others in society. It endeavors to form the child to be a natural man who is entirely for himself. Natural man is numerical unity, the absolute whole, which is relative only to itself or its kind. 17 On the other hand, the education from man aims to form citizen in society by denaturing. Citizen is only a fractional unity dependent on the denominator, his value is determined by his relation to the whole, which is the social body. 18 The education from nature, avoiding from being denatured by public education, is only implemented at home as domestic and private class. This is only for few special children, who can be taught by an enlightened tutor, like Rousseau. Rousseau here did not say that education from man is inferior to the education from nature. He just brought out their differences and stated that the goal of education is to let the child either to be a man or to be a citizen.

As stated in the *Second Discourse*, *amour de soi*, the self-love of natural man was burgeoned from the sentiment of existence. Keeping connected with this sentiment, Émile, the pupil, is taught how to live out of necessity and becomes independent from others. To live is not only to breathe but also to act. He learns how to make

¹⁷ Rousseau, Émile, or On Education, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), pp. 39.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

use of his organs, senses, faculties of all the parts of himself to give him the sentiment of existence to the most.¹⁹ Thus he can have a felt life.

Child is kept in balance of his needs and his capabilities. He can satisfy his needs by himself without seeking help from others. Although he asks for food and care from others, he does not recognize his parents as other wills. He manipulates his parents by his will because of his weakness. Child, learning the difference between the self and the outside world, is not capable of making the distinction between things and wills of other people. Everything is regarded as things instead of other wills for the child.²⁰

Imagination, the stimulant of *amour propre*, is kept dormant by preventing *Émile* from reading books. ²¹ Despite that, man is not made to live alone. It is inevitable for Émile to have relationship with others. He becomes extreme sensitive and perceptive to other people's attention. He projects his will outside himself and becomes aware of other people gazing at him. *Amour propre* and sexual love emerge. *Amour propre* consists of two elements. First, it involves comparison with other people. Second, one expects other people showing same preference as you show to yourself. It amounts to say one yearns for other's recognition of one's superiority. It is the essence of love that involves comparison with others and craves for the love of another person to you in preference to others. *Amour propre* and love is the most important subject of education. ²²

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 42.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 64-66.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 183-4.

²² Ibid., pp. 220.

Rousseau keeps the amour propre in control by compassion. How to make sure that one's comparison with others resulting in compassion instead of other sentiments? Émile is instructed to read history, in which men from afar are shown to him. Learning history of one's own country is essential for citizen forming a social self.²³ However, there is a flip side that while one identifies himself with the historical heroes, he is discouraged by his real self. Thus Émile is instructed to read history in a new way. He identifies himself with these heroes as an ordinary person with weaknesses and imperfections. He emulates their examples but also feels sorry for their weakness as well. Since Émile sees both the excellences and weaknesses of the heroes, he will not hate nor envy them but take pity on them. Émile thinks himself in the same way as he is neither a genius nor a dull but an ordinary man.²⁴ Rousseau was successive in keeping Émile's amour propre from becoming pride or contempt. Nonetheless, although he reads the history of his country, this way of reading history does not foster his love of fatherland. Émile is not proud of the heroes of his country in history.

The final stage of the education of man is to learn keeping promise in marriage agreement and the social contract with the state. Émile is introduced to Sophie, with whom he falls in love. He then learns keeping commitment in marriage as a husband and a father. Love is a sweet sentiment, which makes one strongly attach to the beloved. The strong attachment of feeling on Sophie will induce fear of losing her. "The fear of losing everything will prevent you from possessing anything. As a result of having wanted to follow only your passions, you will never be able to satisfy them... You will be

²³ Ibid., pp. 236-7.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 245.

miserable, and you will become wicked."²⁵ Natural freedom consists in self-sufficiency and independence. Thus, detachment from persons or things is a critical step to freedom. He, therefore, is asked to leave Sophie as if she is dead.

Moreover, Émile has to know the status and duties of husband and father, government, law, fatherland and the price of being permitted to live in the civil society before getting married. But, before marrying, you must know what kind of man you want to be, what you want to spend your life doing, and what measures you want to take to assure yourself and your family of bread. He travels around in Europe to learn the duty of a citizen before taking a place in the civil order. Émile loves Sophie but not the country where he was born and grew up. He learns the duty of a citizen but with no affection to the country.

The final goal of the education from nature is forming a man. Émile finally becomes free from dependence on man by returning to dependence on nature. When he returns to his tutor, he said, "Rich or poor, I shall be free. I shall not be free in this or that land, in this or that region; I shall be free everywhere on earth...for *I am a man*." "What difference does it make to me where I am? It makes a difference to you that you are where you can fulfill all your duties, and one of those duties is an attachment to the place of your birth. Your compatriots protected you as a child, you ought to love them *as a man*." As a cosmopolitan citizen, Émile is free everywhere. "Freedom is found in no form of government; it is in the heart of free

²⁵ Ibid., pp.444.

²⁶ Ibid., pp.448.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 456.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 472. Emphasis added.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 473-4. Emphasis added.

man. He takes it with him everywhere."³⁰ The education of man makes Émile good rather than virtuous. In order to make oneself free, one has to do nothing. It suffices to keep one from being yielded to dependence on others but necessity. The education of citizen rather is different from the education of Émile. The main task of *The Social Contract*, like the book *Émile*, is freedom. Citizens are made virtuous rather than good to be free and patriotism is the significant virtue for citizens. The freedom of citizen is different from the natural freedom. Below I will discuss how Rousseau delineates the path to freedom for citizen in *The Social Contract* and his major political writings.

II The Education of Citizen

A Virtue: the strength to fulfill duty

The education of man founded on nature aims to educate Émile, being independent from others' opinion, following the natural voice of heart, to be a man for himself. On the other hand, the education of citizen founded on denatured human effort, aims to educate citizen, striving against passions, following the general will, to be a man for others. Natural man is free because he lives for himself disregarding others' opinion on him. He is not alienated from himself that his appearance has no difference from his being. However, civil man, living with others and for others, is no longer a unity whole himself. "Civil man is only a fractional unity dependent on the denominator; his value is determined by his relation to the whole, which is the social body." Although he knows of his duty to his fellow citizens

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

and the state, compassion is not strong enough to stop him from manipulating others for his own interest.

In spite of the rule of the love of men, it is not easy to choose between his interests and the interests of his fellows. Other than the conflict of interests among individuals, it is clear that moral goodness, e.g., duty, can be in conflict with natural goodness, e.g., self-preservation. Rousseau summarized it well in the *Letter to Beaumont*,

"When all the agitated particular interests finally collide, when love of self put into fermentation changes into amour-propre, when opinion making the whole universe necessary to each man, *makes them all each other's born enemies and determines that none finds his own good except in someone else's ill*, then conscience, weaker than the excited passions, is stifled by them, and is no longer in men's mouth except as a word made to deceive each other."

Rousseau brought out the essence of relationship in the modern commercial society, i.e., one cannot be good to oneself without being at the expense of others. In order to preserve justice and the moral relationship among men, men have to compromise his self-interests with the common interests and the duty of the member of the community. Rousseau observed that man living in the society inevitably faces the conflicts of interests among men. "For in the

Rousseau, "Letter to Beaumont" in Letter to Beaumont, Letters Written From the Mountain, and Related Writings, trans. Christopher Kelly and Judith R. Bush, ed. Christopher Kelly and Eve Grace (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2001), pp. 29. Emphasis added.

social state the good of one necessarily constitutes the harm of another."³³ It is impossible to benefit oneself without doing harm to others. But since each man's force and freedom are his primary instruments of self-preservation, how can he commit them without harming himself, and without neglecting the cares he owes himself? Fulfilling civic duty to other fellows and the state is against his natural inclination. How can a virtuous citizen be free? Since it is so difficult to conquer our passions and opt for duty, are all men capable of acting virtuously? Why should citizen be virtuous? Why should citizen be just? What is the foundation of moral obligation for Rousseau?

In *Social Contract*, Rousseau endeavored "to find a form of association that will defend and protect the person and goods of each associate with the full common force, and by means of which each, unifying with all, nevertheless obey only himself and remain as free as before."³⁴ He proposed to establish a body politic, as a moral being that has a will, and this general will, contrary to the individual will, always tending to preserve the common good for the whole and each parts, is the source of the law.³⁵ Thus in order to be in unity with the whole and all other parts, Rousseau asserted that "each of us puts his person and his full power in common under the supreme direction of the general will; and in a body we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole."³⁶ This forms a common self in

³³ Rousseau, *Émile*, pp. 104, note.

³⁴ Rousseau, "Social Contract," in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 49-50.

³⁵ Rousseau, "Political Economy," in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 6.

³⁶ Rousseau, "Social Contract," pp. 50.

unity with the others under the general will. General will concerns the common good of the whole in which each civil man is a fraction of whole. The general will is enacted through the law. Natural man is free as he obeys no law from outside but his natural inner voice. In civil society, man obeys the law from outside and is kept as free as before. The freedom a citizen enjoys is different from the natural freedom, which consists in self-sufficiency and independence. The moral freedom of citizen rather consists in self-legislation. "But when the whole people enacts statutes for the whole people it considers only itself, and if a relation is then formed, it is between the entire object from one point of view and the entire object from another point of view, with no division of the whole." Civil man submitting his own will to the general will, observing the law without regarding his own interests, obeying only himself, is as free as the natural man in the state of nature.

Citizen is asked by law to replace his private self with the social or public self. While citizen as a moral being facing conflicts between self-interests and duty, he will endeavor to overcome the passion of self-interest for duty. He tries to put aside his own needs and passions and cares only about his duty and the common good. In addition, civil man's struggle is a battle between the true source of strength, virtue and its pertinacious enemy, passion. Thus, virtue is the strength that man needs to conquer his passions for the sake of fulfilling his duty. "This word virtue signifies 'strength'. There is no virtue at all without struggle; there is none without victory. Virtue does not consist merely in being just, but in being so by triumphing

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 67.

over one's passions, by ruling over one's own heart." ³⁸ Virtue conquers passions for duty in the struggle.

Rousseau claimed that "A person who knows how to govern his own heart, keep all his passions under control, over whom personal interest and sensual desires have no power, and who both in public and in private with no witness does only what is just and honest on every occasion, without regard for the secret wishes of his heart, he alone is a virtuous man."

How can a civil man who is concerned much about his self-interest sacrifice himself for the common good of the country? Rousseau proposed a legal foundation for moral obligation in the Social Contract, "Indeed, each individual can, as a man, have a private will contrary to or differing from the general will he has as a Citizen. His private interest can speak to him quite differently from the common interest...that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be constrained to do so by the entire body; which means only that he will be forced to be free."40 The law dictates citizens to be virtuous. However, since man is preoccupied by his own interests, the law cannot guarantee that man does not perform injustice acts covertly. Glaucon's challenge to moral obligation in Plato's Republic is not yet solved. Glaucon claimed that an unjust man, while doing the greatest injustice, will feign the greatest reputation for justice. The appearance of justice shields him from legal sanctions. He endeavors to deceive other people to believe that he is just without

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³⁸ Rousseau, "Letter to Franquières" in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 267.

³⁹ Rousseau, "Judge of Jean-Jacques," *The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, Vol 1, tran. Judith R. Bush, Christopher Kelly, and Roger D. Masters, ed. Roger D. Masters and Christopher Kelly, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1990), pp. 158.

⁴⁰ Rousseau, "Social Contract," pp. 141.

being just. 41 Rousseau agreed that "the worst of all abuses is to obey the laws in appearance only to break them safely in fact." Legal sanction is not sufficient to ensure moral obligation. Education of citizenship is not only about idea of justice or fear of punishment but love of duty and his fatherland. Rousseau turned the focus of the formation of virtuous citizen from the establishment of republican legal system to patriotic sentiment. Government, other than providing education and examples, should create a patriotic culture in society. "Love of fatherland is the most effective...every man is virtuous when his particular will conforms in all things to the general will, and we readily want [or will] what the people we love want [or will]."43 Education of virtuous citizenship consists in reason, making citizen to know the civic duties, compassion, helping him being repugnant to seeing his compatriots suffering, and love of fatherland. Patriotic virtue is a transformed amour-propre, which drives a citizen to yearn for the public honor.⁴⁴ Although compassion, or say the natural sentiment of humanity, is the source of justice by which we go out from ourselves, it is not strong enough to withhold the natural inclination to self-interest. "Pity is obscure and lively in savage man, developed but weak in civil man."45 As a civil man, who is able to distinguish himself and others, at the sight of a suffering man will think that it is you who suffer, I am safe. It will be weakened as it spreads further to other societies. Nonetheless, this can be complemented by the love towards spouse or family members.

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⁴¹ Plato, *Republic*, tran. G.M.A. Grube, revised by C.D.C. Reeve, Hackett, 1992, 361a.

⁴² Rousseau, "Political Economy," in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 14.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 15.

⁴⁴ Judith Shklar, *Men and Citizen*, *A Study of Rousseau's Social Theory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 66.

⁴⁵ Rousseau, "Second Discourse," pp. 153.

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Therefore this sentiment of pity to others is useful only to those who are living with us. 46 The civic virtue, a transformed amour propre, burgeons the strong love towards the compatriots who are united together by common interest and the fatherland which protects them from dangers and results in enhancing the strength to fulfill duty. "It is patriotism that produced the many immortal actions."47

Rousseau said that his commitment to be virtuous in the inspiration on the road to Vincennes was out of the noblest pride.⁴⁸ Like the Spartan woman mentioned in $\acute{E}mile$, she asked for news not about her sons but whether they won the war. The death of his son for Sparta is an honor of his family. His mother is proud of the sacrifice of his son for his fatherland. Rousseau said, "This is the female citizen."⁴⁹ A citizen faces the choice of either following his inclinations or fulfilling his duties in society. He, however, cannot keep lingering between them. Although the choice for duty is painful, it is made possible with the driven force of national pride.

In addition, citizen has to get to know the general will in order to conform his individual act to it. How to make sure that the will a citizen knows is the general will? There are only few people in society like a philosopher who is able to reason abstract idea of good and justice. Therefore, it is difficult for ordinary citizen to get to know the general will by abstract reasoning. Civil men take the risk of error of understanding of general will and the judgment of individual act. They may confuse their inclinations with general will.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.16.

⁴⁶ Rousseau, "Political Economy," pp. 15.

⁴⁸ Rousseau, "The Confessions and Correspondence, Including the Letters to Malesherbes," The Collected Writings of Rousseau, Vol 5, tran. Christopher Kelly, ed. Christopher Kelly, Roger D. Masters and Peter G. Stillman, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995), pp. 350.

⁴⁹ Rousseau, Émile, pp. 40.

How to avoid this danger and keep citizen on track to follow the general will? According to Rousseau, man does not start to learn justice from the principles of universal humanity and the social actions of all people. On the contrary, "we conceive of the general society in terms of our particular societies, the establishment of small Republics leads us to think of the large one, and we do not properly begin to become men until after having been Citizens." ⁵⁰

B The Patriotic Education of Citizen

Patriotism is the essential part of the education of citizenship. Patriotic virtue strengthens the national unity by subjecting particular will to general will and makes citizens willing to defend their fatherland against foreigners. Patriotic love is much more important for making citizen and building nation. "Loving their fatherland, they will serve it out of zeal and with all their heart. With this sentiment alone, legislation, even if it were bad, would make good Citizens; and only good Citizens ever make for the force and prosperity of the State." How to foster the patriotic virtues while people are corrupted by vanity and pride? At the end of the *First Discourse*, Rousseau exclaimed, "O Virtue! Sublime science of simple souls, are so many efforts and so much equipment really required to know you? Are not your principles engraved in all hearts, and is it not enough in order to learn your Laws to return into oneself and to listen to the voice of one's conscience in the silence of the

⁵⁰ Rousseau, "Geneva Manuscript," in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 158. Emphasis added. McIntyre also makes a similar claim.

⁵¹ Rousseau, "Considerations on the Government of Poland," in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 184.

passions? That is genuine Philosophy,..."⁵² Rousseau stated that virtue education has little to do with intellectual understanding of concept. The truth which is the goal of philosophy is found not in vigorous study but in seeing, feeling, experiencing nature and simple ways not hindered by complications. As stated above, if patriotic education can be learned only through abstract concepts, only few people are capable of learning it.

Thus State endeavors to form patriotic citizen by national education. National public education is the important mission of the government for nation building. It aims to ignite the fire of love of fatherland, love of the law and of freedom in the heart of citizens. It is worth noting that Rousseau's patriotic education is different from the Machiavellian extreme patriotism. Rousseau's patriotism is grounded on the state model founded on the general will. Thus love of fatherland is closely united with the love of the law and of freedom. National education directs the tastes and opinions of citizen by inclination, passion, and necessity. Unlike the education of man in Émile, education of citizen makes use of the desire for emulation of national heroes and the pride of national achievements by reading geography and history of his own country, the great deeds and life of the illustrious national heroes. The love of fatherland will "makes up his whole existence, he sees only his fatherland, he lives only for it; when he is alone, he is nothing; when he no longer has a fatherland, he no longer is, and if he is not dead, he is worse than dead."53 In The Considerations on the Government of Poland, Rousseau asserted that in order to nurture the patriotic spirit and culture, the Polish

⁵² Rousseau, "First Discourse," in *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 28.

⁵³ Rousseau, "Considerations on the Government of Poland," in *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 189.

government should embrace some principles. A foreigner, who does not possess the patriotic spirit, teaches national history and illustrious national heroes with no enthusiasm and heart. Thus no foreigners nor priest but Poles only can be teachers of national education. Besides, that left some children behind and lose the opportunity of study would sprout the social inequalities, which can be the source of social faction and unrest. Educational equality should be maintained. Children play together in public may help them aspire for the common goal. In addition, playing game in public accustoms them from early on to rule, to equality, to fraternity, to competitions, to living under the eyes of their fellow-citizens and to seeking public approbation.⁵⁴ In sum, learning the history of the country where he was born, maintaining educational equality, and the participation of communal life foster the patriotic spirit and national pride.

It is clear for Rousseau, patriotic citizenship is essential for the existence and the development of state. On the contrary, education of man weakens the unity of the state. The universal love of humanity encouraged by cosmopolitan citizenship will weaken the love of fatherland and the unity of the country. According to Rousseau, Christian, a typical example of cosmopolitan citizen, cannot be a patriotic citizen. Christians yearn for perfection in the eternal city in heaven rather than the city on earth. They do not have any passion for the country they are living. The temporal law of the state is a necessary evil for salvation, which they obey passively out of fear. The Christian spirit is contrary to the patriotic spirit. "How can you fail to see that only great passions do great things, and that whoever has no other passion than that for his Salvation will never do anything great in the temporal realm?" Rousseau replied to Usteri.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 189-193.

⁵⁵ Rousseau, "Letters to Usteri," in The Social Contract and Other Later Political

Christians claim that they strive for the universal fraternal love of neighbor according to the Gospel. However, Rousseau regarded it as an excuse of loving no one if you do not love your compatriot in front of you. Cosmopolites would have no preference to anyone in need, even their family members or compatriots. It would result in loving no one.⁵⁶

Furthermore, due to the promotion of happiness of people as the main task of government, Rousseau preferred Cato, the citizen, to Socrates, the philosopher. "The virtue of Socrates would make for his own happiness, the virtue of Cato would seek his happiness in that of all... for no one has ever made a people of wise men, but it is not impossible to make a people happy." 57

In sum, Citizens are forced to be free as before because he is an autonomous person in society. He conforms his individual will to the general will, which regards him as a part of the whole. That he obeys the law set according to general will is obeying his own will. This self-legislation becomes possible not only by the establishment of law but also by the transformed *amour propre*, patriotic virtue. What do we learn from Rousseau's proposals of education for the controversy of civic education in Hong Kong?

Writings, trans. Victor Gourevitch, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 265.

⁵⁶ Rousseau, "Geneva Manuscript," pp. 158; Émile, pp. 39.

⁵⁷ Rousseau, "Political Economy," pp.16.

III Patriotic Education Beyond Curriculum: Rousseauian Insights

Rousseau delineated two different models of education overcoming the shortcomings of *amour propre* and leading to freedom. Can educators adopt these two models at the same time in one curriculum? Are they compatible? Rousseau clearly mentioned that they are incompatible. Educators can only choose one. "Forced to combat nature or the social institutions, one must choose between making a man or a citizen, for one cannot make both at the same time." The consequence of the ambitious educator who wants both would get nothing.

"He who in the civil order wants to preserve the primacy of the sentiments of nature does not know what he wants. Always in contradiction with himself, always floating between his inclinations and his duties, he will never be either man or citizen. He will be good neither for himself nor for others. He will be one of these men of our days: a Frenchman, an Englishman, a bourgeois. He will be nothing." ⁵⁹

Nonetheless, Rousseau had mentioned that Émile, the student, has learned the rights and duties of a citizen as stated in *Social Contract*. Is Émile a virtuous citizen and a good man at the same time?⁶⁰ No, he is educated to be a free man like a Christian having no attachment to any country. It is no doubt that Émile is taught to

⁵⁸ Rousseau, Émile, pp. 39.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 40.

⁶⁰ Frederic Neuhouser, "Rousseau and the Conflict Between the Educations Of 'Man' And 'Citizen'," in *Institutions of Education: then and today* (Boston, Brill, 2010). He argues that the two notions of citizenship are compatible for Rousseau as Émile is educated to be a man and citizen.

live tranquilly under a government and the simulacra of laws. He owes the country he lives the morality of his action and the love of virtue. He is able to fulfill all his duties as a virtuous citizen and will be free under the law. It seems that Émile is a good man and a virtuous citizen at the same time. However, it is worth noting that Rousseau advised Émile to love his compatriots as a man. 61 Émile would not become friendly only to his compatriots but hostile to foreigners. The foundation of his love is not patriotism but universal sentiment of humanity. He can behave as a virtuous citizen but out of different motivation and principles. He loves his fatherland and compatriots without attaching it with fear of losing them. Émile is primarily a citizen of the world or men and a citizen of our country or fatherland secondarily. Émile is asked to live in a society to be an example of a free man to other citizens. "Your example will serve them better than all our books, and the good they see you do will touch them more than all our vain speeches."62 Émile, a good man living in a society, is useful for the education of citizen. Civil man will learn how to be a virtuous citizen but without forgetting his primary identity as man by Émile's examples.

Rousseau clearly stated that education of man and education of citizen are incompatible in public education.

"Patriotism and humanity... are incompatible virtues in their very thrust, especially so in an entire people. The Lawgiver who strives for them both will achieve neither: such a combination has never been seen; it will never be seen, because it is against

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⁶¹ Rousseau, Émile, pp. 473.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 474.

nature, and it is impossible to assign two objects to one and the same passion."⁶³

The education of man is suitable for domestic and the education of citizen is for public. They cannot be put into one education curriculum together as their orientations to the cure of the bondage in society are different. One is keeping the natural goodness and becoming independent from others. The other one is identifying an individual with the common self so as to become self-legislation. It does not imply that these two types of education cannot be implemented in the society together. They can be implemented in different aspects, one for domestic and other for public. Then as mentioned above, the good man is useful for the education of citizen.

If Rousseau agreed to the irresolvable tension between these two notions of citizenship, does it shed light to the conflict in civic education in Hong Kong?

Different scholars have tried to find a middle way out of the conflict. Constitutional patriotism, a concept Habermas made popularized, is an integration of universal morality and patriotism. Citizen is loyal to the values and principles of law and the procedures of liberal democratic constitution but not the pre-political values like race, religion and culture. The patriot loves the values embodied in the constitution of his country and so he would go beyond the love of the fatherland to the universal humanity. It is criticized by Müller that Constitutional Patriotism appears to be an universalist but is patriotic through and through. The origin of this idea came from

⁶³ Rousseau, "Letters Written From The Mountains" in *Letter to Beaumont, Letters Written From the Mountain, and Related Writings*, trans. Christopher Kelly and Judith R. Bush, ed. Christopher Kelly and Eve Grace, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001), pp. 149n.

West Germany, a half nation, with a sense of deeply compromised nationality on account of Nazi past. It is not application to other countries. Constitutional patriotism, in short, is a sort of particularism in universalist disguise.⁶⁴ Robert Audi brings out that the conflict looks irresolvable as two notions of citizenship go to extreme. A society can only adopt one notion of citizenship. It becomes an all or none situation. Audi claims that different areas in society that can adopt different notions. For instance, patriotic nationalism applies on area of defense and cosmopolitanism on economic and trade. 65 This eclectic approach is similar to the civic education curriculum in Hong Kong after 97. Thus far, Cosmopolitan citizenship and Patriotic citizenship as a normative concept cannot come together in one education curriculum. Nonetheless, can they be applied in different arena without conflict? Patriotism is generally regarded as irrational and its formation is sentimental. It is mainly concerned about the attachment to a particular country. Rather Cosmopolitan citizenship is rational, impartial and impersonal. Detachment rather than attachment to a community is valued. This understanding creates an insurmountable obstacle between them. Nevertheless, Rousseau's education of patriotic citizen and cosmopolitan citizen involves both rationality and sentiment. Both of their goals are freedom, even though their characteristics of freedom are different. The integration of rationality and sentiment and freedom as the final goal of human development are the main characteristics of Rousseau's theory of domestic and public education.

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⁶⁴ Müller, Jan-Werner, "On the Origins of Constitutional Patriotism," *Contemporary Political Theory* (2006, Vol.5), pp. 278–296.

Robert Audi, "Nationalism, Patriotism, and Cosmopolitanism in an Age of Globalization," *The Journal of Ethics* (2009, Vol. 13 No. 4), pp. 365-381.

Rousseau's patriotism is different from Machiavellian patriotism, which asks patriots to sacrifice themselves for the country for any reason. Rousseau's version is a democratic patriotism. Citizens are able to overcome their self-interest and love their fatherland because they are treated well equally. Each one of them is respected equally as a whole. It is worth reading the long quotation from Rousseau here.

"Do we want peoples to be virtuous? Let us then begin by making them love their fatherland: but how will they love it if the fatherland is nothing more to them than it is to foreigners, and grants them only what it cannot refuse to anyone? It would be much worse if they did not even enjoy civil security in it, and their goods, their life or their freedom were at the discretion of powerful men, without their being able or permitted to dare invoke the laws. Then, subject to the duties of the civil state without enjoying even the rights of the state of nature and without being able to use their force to defend themselves, they would therefore be in the worst condition in which free men can find themselves, and the word fatherland could only have odious or a ridiculous meaning for them." 66

Being treated well equally is very important for the formation of patriotic affection. No one would think that they are superior or inferior to others. The inequality among citizens would create negative emotions, which harm the unity and hinder the formation of love of fatherland. Other than the conceptual conflict between tow notions of citizenship, the failure of the civic education in 2012 is

⁶⁶ Rousseau, "Political Economy," pp. 17.

also due to a skeptic attitude of many Hong Kong people towards Chinese government. A study in 2003 shows that many teachers think that the patriotic education inclines towards totalitarian nationalism, which is common in the PRC. Government tended to adopt teaching strategies, which would suppress critical reflection of students. This kind of national education, usually accompanying intense commitment to particular beliefs and practice probably would be intolerant of other beliefs and lead to indoctrination. ⁶⁷ Although the study was done in 2003, this skeptic attitude still prevails today. Many Hong Kong people feel that they are not treated well equally. The value of Hong Kong people, in the eyes of China and Hong Kong government, depends upon their contribution to the development of China. Hong Kong people since 97 have been asked to sacrifice for the country but their return is not in proportion. Thus they are not proud of the achievement of the fatherland, China. Unlike some mainlanders who benefit from the economic and national development of China, Hong Kong people do not have a sense of honor to be a Chinese. For Rousseau, the will to sacrifice for the fatherland comes from the sense of honor that citizens acquire from society and the independence and freedom citizens enjoy.⁶⁸ In order to foster patriotic affection, HK government has to adjust her orientation of social policy from the position of one of the cities in China to maintain the autonomy of HK. In other words, as many communitarian scholars claim, the formation of national identity and love of fatherland and universal moral values starts from the local

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⁶⁷ Bottery, M. 2003, The end of citizenship? The nation state, threats to its legitimacy and citizenship education in the twenty-first century. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 33(1), 101–122. Quoted in Yan-wing Leung, Timothy Wai-wa Yuen, School Civic Education Since 1980s: A Brief Review of the Literature in Hong Kong, *Educational Research Journal* 《教育研究學報》, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2009, pp.273.

⁶⁸ Rousseau, "Discourse on the Sciences and Arts and Polemics," *The Collected Writings of Rousseau*, Vol. 2, trans. Christopher Kelly, Judith R. Bush, and Roger D. Masters, ed. Roger D. Masters and Christopher Kelly, (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992), pp. 154.

community in which one grew up and lives.

Besides, Rousseau's formation of patriotic virtue is a republican paradox, in which the good law and institution and the virtuous citizens are inter-dependent. Each one assumes the existence of other and they cannot come to existence at the same time. People and the state are in need of a Legislator who knows the general will.⁶⁹ He can use neither force nor reasoning but have recourse to an authority of a different order, which might be able to rally without violence and to persuade without convincing. 70 Legislator, on the one hand, establishes a democratic system through which citizens can conform to the general will and become autonomous. He, on the other hand, cultivates a social and cultural patriotic affection through daily social life. Citizen develops a will to sacrifice to the country out of pride in the culture. But this social spirit is thin and easily becomes a blind patriotism. It is important for Rousseau that Legislator has to establish a participatory democratic system that citizen they are the autonomous and are respected equally. The totalitarian political system in China is the main issue of the controversy of national education. Other than the imposition of totalitarian nationalism into the civic education curriculum. HK government, with reference to Rousseau's Legislator, has an urgent need to implement universal suffrage for the election of Chief Executive and the Legislative Council members.

In sum, freedom is the main concern of Rousseau. How can man become free in society in which *amour propre* is dominant? As an opponent to Enlightenment, Rousseau's education of patriotic citizen and cosmopolitan citizen involves both rationality and sentiment. The common goal of these types of education is freedom,

⁶⁹ Rousseau, "Social Contract," pp.68-69

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 71.

even though their paths to freedom are different. The development of democratic and legal system and the formation of patriotic affection in social life and culture are two hands of the Legislator that he can establish a society in which citizen can be free. The formation of patriotism beyond curriculum and the development of democratic system in Rousseau's political theory could be the next step to freedom in Hong Kong. The domestic education of man in \acute{E} mile may not be applicable in Hong Kong. However, it shows that cosmopolitan citizen is another example of freedom, which would help patriotic citizen go beyond their fatherland.

Although Rousseau did not solve the tension between the cosmopolitan citizenship and the patriotic citizenship, his thought of education of man and education of virtuous citizen shed lights on the controversy of civic education curriculum in Hong Kong.

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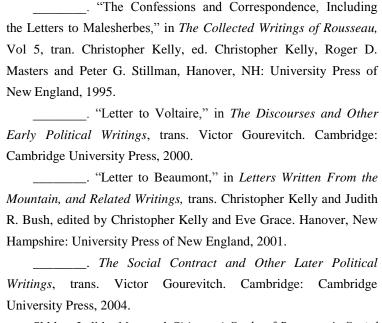
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[摘要] 2012 年的國民教育爭議在於兩個不同的公民概念。國際公民建基於如公義、人權和民主等普世價值上,而愛國公民則在於對個別國家及文化的感情。然則兩者是否必然互相排斥?愛國公民是否可以和國際公民相容?盧梭是人性尊嚴和人權的倡導者,他在不同著作中均有論及兩種公民概念。為盧梭,愛國主義是公民自由所必須的元素。他明白到人生而自由,但他在社會

到處被束縛。盧梭提出兩條途徑讓人在社會中重拾自由。他在〈愛 彌兒〉提出人的教育;在〈社會契約論〉和一些政治著作則論及 公民教育。在這論文,我首先會藉著愛彌兒的人的教育闡釋國際 公民的培養。Amour propre 是人失去自由的根源,但也是道德的 源頭。接著我會闡述公民教育,盧梭如何讓城市人將個人意志與 普遍意志相一致,以獲得倫理自由;以及愛國主義作為公民德行 的重要性。最後,會評論盧梭對這兩公民概念的理解,以及他對 香港國民教育爭議的啟發。雖然盧梭並沒有兩種公民概念在同一 課程體制內的理論衝突,但盧梭以自由為政治、倫理和教育的目 標,以此發展國際公民和愛國公民教育,尤具啟發性。兩者同時 包含理性和情感教育,免除對立。此外,課程外的愛國教育更具 啟發性。社會公共生活培養公民一體咸和榮譽咸,同時配合法治 和民主體制,讓公民體驗平等和自我立法的自由,從而衍生愛國 情感。這可能是香港國民教育的新一步。