

Steven Lemoine et Paul Jutteau

Note de lecture : Claude Nicolet, *L'idée républicaine (1789-1924). Essai d'histoire critique*, Paris, Gallimard, 1982.

Spécialiste de l'histoire de la Rome antique, C. Nicolet s'est également consacré à l'histoire contemporaine, notamment en raison de son propre engagement politique. Outre ses activités scientifiques, il a travaillé auprès de Pierre Mendès-France en 1956 et fondé la revue *Les cahiers de la République*. Après *L'idéologie républicaine* C. Nicolet a également effectué une étude comparative sur les citoyennetés française et romaine¹. C. Nicolet ne fait pas ici l'étude « de la République « réelle » mais tente de comprendre l'histoire de la République comme une idéologie, une opinion, une représentation ». Son approche se distingue néanmoins des études de l'idéologie par l'étude de la réception des textes ou bien de ce que révèlent les textes eux-mêmes sur le contexte d'écriture. Il entend analyser ces idées pour elles-mêmes « non seulement pour la valeur objective que l'histoire avait pu leur assigner, mais pour leur cohérence, leur portée, leurs limites subjectives, chez ceux qui les avaient inventées et professées. » (Nicolet, 1982 : 13). Le premier objet d'étude de C. Nicolet (chapitres I à VII) : « définir, dans leurs variations historiques, les mots et les idées qui constituent les doctrines républicaines » (Nicolet, 1982, 34). C'est à partir de cette analyse que se fonde l'étude « critique » de ces doctrines (chapitre VIII à XI). Il ne s'agit pas ici d'une critique sociale ou politique de ces doctrines, mais de voir dans la filiation kantienne « si et comment elle satisfait aux règles logiques de la pensée et de l'action ».

1°) « Histoire et formation » de la doctrine républicaine :

Chapitre 1 : Les origines lointaines. Le projet républicain est l'héritier de ce qu'il serait possible d'appeler la préhistoire des doctrines républicaines. Outre la référence à l'antiquité, l'auteur insiste particulièrement sur le rôle de la renaissance et de la réforme. Le cartésianisme, en tant que mouvement qui permet l'affirmation de la raison scientifique et du libre examen est décrit comme une étape nécessaire mais non suffisante dans l'émergence de la pensée républicaine. Bien que « Descartes [ne fût] pas républicain, mais on ne saurait être républicain sans Descartes ». Cependant, dans les écrits républicains « de façon surprenante, la référence à Descartes est fort peu répandue ». C. Nicolet note néanmoins que faisant ainsi de Descartes « Enfin c'est au lumières et plus particulièrement à Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau et Condorcet que l'essentiel du chapitre est consacré.

Chapitre 2 : Les origines immédiates : la Révolution française. Dans son « Histoire du parti Républicain »², Seignobos écrit d'emblée : « Le parti républicain est né de la révolution française ». Cependant, cette reconnaissance d'une filiation avec la révolution française est extrêmement imprécise car les libéraux et bonapartistes s'inscrivent également dans une continuité avec la révolution (Tocqueville, Benjamin Constant). En somme, au XIX^{ème}, l'on assiste à une instrumentalisation de la révolution pour éclairer l'idée républicaine. Néanmoins, l'idée républicaine est marquée par des transformations irréversibles que la révolution a revendiquées sans réserve : l'égalité juridique, l'affirmation de la souveraineté nationale (qui n'est remis en cause qu'avec la Charte de 1814 et Vichy), la déclaration des droits de l'homme de 1789 et le projet d'éducation et d'instruction publique.

Chapitre 3 : Les idéologues ou la III^e République sous le Directoire. C. Nicolet définit les idéologues comme un « groupe de savants et de philosophe français qui, entre 1789 et la Monarchie de Juillet, ont joué un rôle intellectuel et politique de premier plan » (Condillac, Cabanis, Volney, Destutt de Tracy, Daunou). Ceux-ci se revendiquent comme tels mais ne se réclament pas d'une seule et même école même s'ils concordent sur l'objectif qu'ils se sont assignés et qui consiste à organiser la politique à partir de la connaissance de l'homme. Bonaparte invente le terme en 1801 pour les discréditer³ et fait interdire leur journal la *Décade philosophique* en 1807. Les idéologues étaient pourtant des thermidoriens qui avaient favorablement accueilli le 18 Brumaire. En substance, ils invitent à élaborer une science globale de

1 C. Nicolet, *Citoyenneté française et citoyenneté romaine. Essai de mise en perspective*, in S. Bernstein, O. Rudelle, *Le modèle républicain*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris 1994.

2 In Cartel des Gauches, *La politique républicaine*, 1924

3 Ce sont des « rêveurs, phraseurs, métaphysiciens [...] bon à jeter à l'eau »

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