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拥抱自然 思考社会 回归常识 丰盈自我
影响人类的伟大思想

—— 企鹅人文经典 ——

社会契约论

The Social Contract

[法] 让-雅克·卢梭

伟大的思想家用简洁的文字，带给人类最伟大的思想启迪；
我们用简单的方法，走近这些卓尔不群的人物，
聆听他们振聋发聩的声音。

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中国出版集团公司
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社会契约论

The Social Contract

· 英汉对照 ·

[法] 让-雅克·卢梭 著

[英] 莫里斯·克兰斯敦 英译

高黎平 汉译

中国出版集团公司
中国对外翻译出版有限公司

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

社会契约论: 英汉对照/ (法) 卢梭 (Rousseau, J. J.) 著; (英) 克兰斯顿英译; 高黎平汉译. —北京: 中国对外翻译出版有限公司, 2011.12
(企鹅人文经典)

ISBN 978-7-5001-2872-4

I. ①社… II. ①卢…②克…③高… III. ①英语-汉语-对照读物
②政治哲学-法国-近代 IV. ①H319.4:D

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2011)第234721号

(著作权合同登记: 图字 01-2009-5531 号)

www.penguin.com.cn

Le Contrat social first published 1762

This translation published in Penguin Classics 1968

This edition published 2004

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Taken from the Penguin Classics edition of *The Social Contract*,

translated and edited by Maxwell Cranston

Set in Monotype Dante

Typeset by Rowland Phototypesetting Ltd, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk

出版发行 / 中国对外翻译出版有限公司

地 址 / 北京市西城区车公庄大街甲4号物华大厦6层

电 话 / (010) 68359376 68359303 68359719

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总 经 理 / 林国夫

出版策划 / 张高里

项目负责 / 徐 静

责任编辑 / 徐 静

封面设计 / 奇文堂·潘峰

排 版 / 竹页图文

印 刷 / 北京建泰印刷有限公司

经 销 / 新华书店北京发行所

规 格 / 630×920毫米 1/16

印 张 / 21

版 次 / 2012年3月第一版

印 次 / 2012年3月第一次

ISBN 978-7-5001-2872-4 定价: 25.00元



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中国对外翻译出版有限公司与企鹅图书有限公司联合出版

观 念

——《伟大的思想》代序

每隔一段时间，媒体就喜欢评选一次“影响世界的 X 个人”或者“改变历史的 X 项发明”。然而，在我看来，几乎所有人类史上最重大的变革，首先都是一种观念的变革。

我们今天之所以会关注气候的变暖与生物多样性的保存，是因为我们看待地球的方式变了，我们比以前更加意识到人在自然中的位置，也更加了解自然其实是一个动态的系统。放弃了人类可以主宰地球的世界观，这就意味着我们接受了一个观念的变化。同样地，我们不再相信男人一出生就该主宰女人，甚至也不再认为男女之别是不可动摇的本质区分，这也是观念的变化。如果说环保运动和女权运动有任何影响的话，那些影响一定就是从大脑开始的。也不要只看好事，20 世纪最惨绝人寰的浩劫最初也只不过是一些小小的观念，危险的观念。比如说一位德国人，他相信人类的进化必以“次等种族”的灭绝为代价……

这套丛书不叫“伟大的巨著”，是因为它们体积都不大，而且还有不少是抽取自某些名著的章节。

可它们却全是伟大的观念，例如达尔文的论天择，潘恩的

论常识，它们共同构成了人类的观念地图。从头看它们一遍，就是检视文明所走过的道路，从深处理解我们今天变成这个样子的原因。

也许你会发现其中有些陌生的名字，或者看起来没有那么“伟大”的篇章（譬如普鲁斯特追忆他的阅读时光），但你千万不要小看它们。因为真正重要、真正能够产生启蒙效果的观念往往具有跨界移动的能力，它会跨越时空，离开它原属的领域，在另一个世界产生意外的效果。就像马可·波罗在监狱里述说的异国图景，当时有谁料得到那些荒诞的故事会诱发出哥伦布的旅程呢？我也无法猜测，这套小书的读者里头会不会有下一个哥伦布，他将带着令人惊奇的观念航向自己的大海。

梁文道

《伟大的思想》中文版序

企鹅《伟大的思想》丛书于 2004 年开始出版。在英国，至今已付印 80 种，尚有 20 种计划出版。美国出版的丛书规模略小，德国的同类丛书规模更小一些。丛书销量已远远超过 200 万册，在全球很多人中间，尤其是学生当中，普及了哲学和政治学。中文版《伟大的思想》丛书的推出，迈出了新的一步，令人欢欣鼓舞。

推出这套丛书的目的是让读者再次与一些伟大的非小说类经典著作面对面地交流。太长时间以来，确定版本依据这样一个假设——读者在教室里学习这些著作，因此需要导读、详尽的注释、参考书目等。此类版本无疑非常有用，但我想，如果能够重建托马斯·潘恩《常识》或约翰·罗斯金《艺术与人生》初版时的环境，重新营造更具亲和力的氛围，那也是一件有意思的事。当时，读者除了原作者及其自身的理性思考外，没有其他参照。

这样做有一定的缺点：每个作者的话难免有难解或不可解之处，一些重要的背景知识会缺失。例如，读者对亨利·梭罗创作时的情况毫无头绪，也不了解该书得到的认可及其影响。不过这样做的优点也很明显。最突出的优点是，作者的初衷又一次变得重要起来——托马斯·潘恩的愤怒、查尔斯·达尔文的灵光、塞内加的隐逸。这些作家在那么多国家影响了那么多人的生活，其

影响不可估量，有的长达几个世纪，读他们书的乐趣罕有匹敌。没有亚当·斯密或阿图尔·叔本华，难以想象我们今天的世界。这些小书的创作年代已很久远，但其中的语言已彻底改变了我们的政治学、经济学、智力生活、社会规划和宗教信仰。

《伟大的思想》丛书一直求新求变。地区不同，收录的作家也不同。在中国或美国，一些作家更受欢迎。英国《伟大的思想》收录的一些作家在其他地方则默默无闻。称其为“伟大的思想”，我们亦慎之又慎。思想之伟大，在于其影响之深远，而不意味着这些思想是“好”的，实际上一些书可列入“坏思想”之列。从书中很多作家受到同一丛书其他作家的很大影响，例如，马塞尔·普鲁斯特承认受约翰·罗斯金影响很大，米歇尔·德·蒙田也承认深受塞内加影响，但其他有些作家彼此憎恨，如果发现他们被收入同一丛书，一定会气愤难平。不过，读者可自行决定这些思想是否合理。我们衷心希望，您能在阅读这些杰作中得到乐趣。

《伟大的思想》出版者

西蒙·温德尔

Introduction to the Chinese Editions of Great Ideas

Penguin's Great Ideas series began publication in 2004. In the UK we now have 80 copies in print with plans to publish a further 20. A somewhat smaller list is published in the USA and a related, even smaller series in Germany. The books have sold now well over two million copies and have popularized philosophy and politics for many people around the world—particularly students. The launch of a Chinese Great Ideas series is an extremely exciting new development.

The intention behind the series was to allow readers to be once more face to face with some of the great non-fiction classics. For too long the editions of these books were created on the assumption that you were studying them in the classroom and that the student needed an introduction, extensive notes, a bibliography and so on. While this sort of edition is of course extremely useful, I thought it would be interesting to recreate a more intimate feeling—to recreate the atmosphere in which, for example, Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* or John Ruskin's *On Art and Life* was first published—where the reader has no other guide than the original author and his or her own common sense.

This method has its severe disadvantages—there will inevitably be statements made by each author which are either hard or impossible to understand, some important context might be missing. For example the reader has no clue as to the conditions under which Henry Thoreau was writing his book and the

reader cannot be aware of the book's reception or influence. The advantages however are very clear—most importantly the original intentions of the author become once more important. The sense of anger in Thomas Paine, of intellectual excitement in Charles Darwin, of resignation in Seneca—few things can be more thrilling than to read writers who have had such immeasurable influence on so many lives, sometimes for centuries, in many different countries. Our world would not make sense without Adam Smith or Arthur Schopenhauer—our politics, economics, intellectual lives, social planning, religious beliefs have all been fundamentally changed by the words in these little books, first written down long ago.

The Great Ideas series continues to change and evolve. In different parts of the world different writers would be included. In China or in the United States there are some writers who are liked much more than others. In the UK there are writers in the Great Ideas series who are ignored elsewhere. We have also been very careful to call the series Great Ideas—these ideas are great because they have been so enormously influential, but this does not mean that they are Good Ideas—indeed some of the books would probably qualify as Bad Ideas. Many of the writers in the series have been massively influenced by others in the series—for example Marcel Proust owed so much to John Ruskin, Michel de Montaigne to Seneca. But others hated each other and would be distressed to find themselves together in the same series! But readers can decide the validity of these ideas for themselves. We very much hope that you enjoy these remarkable books.

Simon Winder
Publisher
Great Ideas



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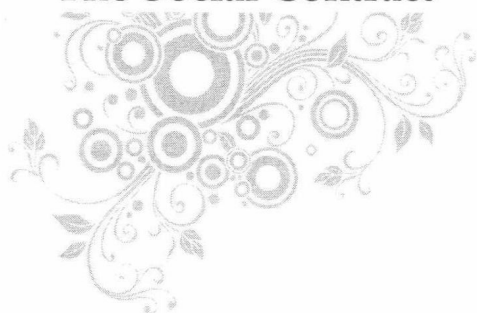


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社会契约论

The Social Contract



Book I

My purpose is to consider if, in political society, there can be any **legitimate**¹ and sure principle of government, taking men as they are and laws as they might be. In this **inquiry**² I shall try always to bring together what right permits with what interest **prescribes**³ so that justice and **utility**⁴ are in no way divided.

I start without seeking to prove the importance of my subject. I may be asked whether I am a prince or a **legislator**⁵ that I should be writing about politics. I answer no: and indeed that that is my reason for doing so. If I were a prince or a legislator I should not waste my time saying what ought to be done; I should do it or keep silent.

Born as I was the citizen of a free state and a member of its **sovereign**⁶ body, the very right to vote **imposes**⁷ on me the duty to instruct myself in public affairs, however little influence my voice may have in them. And whenever I **reflect**⁸ upon governments, I

第一卷

Notes

- 1 legitimate
[li'dʒɪtɪmɪt] *a.* 合法的, 正当的
- 2 inquiry
[ɪn'kwɪəri] *n.* 询问; 调查
- 3 prescribe
[pri'skraɪb] *v.* 规定, 指定
- 4 utility [ju'tɪlɪti]
n. 实用, 效用
- 5 legislator
['ledʒɪsleɪtə] *n.* 立法者, 立法官
- 6 sovereign ['sɒvrɪn]
a. 主权的, 独立自主的
- 7 impose [ɪm'pəʊz]
v. 加于, 把...强加于
- 8 reflect [rɪ'flekt] *v.* 仔细考虑, 深思

我写本文的意图是想思考, 从人的现实情况与法律的可能情况来看, 在政治社会中是否存在什么合法又明确的政权法则。为探究这一目的, 我必须始终努力将权利容许什么与利益规定什么结合起来, 以便使公正性与实用性毫无分歧。

一开始我并不试图证明主题的重要性。或许人们会问, 我是一位君主还是一名草拟政纲的立法者。我想回答是: 二者都不是。实际上, 这正是我要讨论政治的理由。我若是一位君主或是一名立法者, 就不应该在谈论本该做什么的问题上浪费时间, 而应该当好我的君主或立法者, 否则就该保持沉默。

既然我生来是一个自由国家的公民, 是主权国家的一员, 无论我的呼声对公共事务的影响多么微不足道, 我都拥有的选举权赋予我研究公共事务的责任。无论何时, 仔细想想各种

am happy to find that my studies always give me fresh reasons for admiring that of my own country.

CHAPTER I

The subject of Book I

Man was born free, and he is everywhere in **chains**¹. Those who think themselves the masters of others are indeed greater slaves than they. How did this transformation come about? I do not know. How can it be made legitimate? That question I believe I can answer.

If I were to consider only force and the effects of force, I should say: 'So long as a people is **constrained**² to obey, and obeys, it does well; but as soon as it can shake off the **yoke**³, and shakes it off, it does better; for since it **regains**⁴ its freedom by the same right as that which removed it, a people is either **justified**⁵ in taking back its freedom, or there is no **justifying**⁶ those who took it away.' But the social order is a **sacred**⁷ right which serves as a basis for all other rights. And as it is not a natural right, it must be one founded on **covenants**⁸. The problem is to determine what those covenants are. But before we pass on to that question, I must **substantiate**⁹ what I have so far said.

CHAPTER 2

The First Societies

THE oldest of all societies, and the only natural one, is that of the

Notes

- 1 chain [tʃeɪn] *n.*
链, 束缚
- 2 constrain
[kən'streɪn] *v.* 强迫
- 3 yoke [jəʊk]
n. 轭; 枷锁
- 4 regain [ri'geɪn]
v. 重新获得
- 5 justified
[dʒʌstɪfaɪd] *a.* 正当的, 有正当理由的
- 6 justifying
[dʒʌstɪfaɪɪŋ] *n.* 证明, 辩护
- 7 sacred ['seɪkrɪd]
a. 神圣的; 庄严的
- 8 covenant
['kʌvənənt] *n.* 契约, 盟约
- 9 substantiate
[səb'stæʃieɪt] *v.* 证实, 证明

政权, 我就会很高兴地发现, 我的研究总能给予我新奇的理由, 以此来赞美自己国家的政权。

第一章

第一卷的主题

人生来是自由的, 却无处不受枷锁的束缚。那些自认为可以主宰他人的人, 实际上更应该成为他人的奴隶。这种从主人到奴隶的角色转换是如何发生的呢? 我不得而知。我们又如何能够使这种转换合法化呢? 我相信这个问题我能够解答。

如果我只是考虑强权以及强权的种种后果, 我会说: “只要一个人被迫顺从他人, 并且顺从了, 那么这个人做得对; 但是, 一旦他能够挣脱枷锁, 并且挣脱了, 那么他做得更对; 既然一个人以与被剥夺自由一样的权利重新获得自由, 那么他恢复自由的理由就是正当的, 而剥夺其自由的理由就是不正当的。” 然而, 社会秩序是一种神圣的权利, 为其他所有权利奠定了基础。同时, 由于它不是一种自然而然的权利, 所以它必然建立在各种契约的基础上。问题是要确定那些契约都是什么。可是, 在切入这个问题之前, 我必须对迄今为止我所谈论的东西加以证实。

第二章

论原始社会

在所有社会中, 最古老的、唯一自然的社

family; yet children remain tied to their father by nature only so long as they need him for their *preservation*¹. As soon as this need ends, the natural *bond*² is *dissolved*³. Once the children are freed from the *obedience*⁴ they owe their father, and the father is freed from his responsibilities towards them, both parties equally regain their independence. If they continue to remain united, it is no longer nature, but their own choice, which unites them; and the family as such is kept in being only by agreement.

This common liberty is a consequence of man's nature. Man's first law is to watch over his own preservation; his first care he owes to himself; and as soon as he reaches the age of reason, he becomes the only judge of the best means to *preserve*⁵ himself; he becomes his own master.

The family may therefore perhaps be seen as the first model of political societies: the head of the state *bears*⁶ the image of the father, the people the image of his children, and all, being born free and equal, *surrender*⁷ their freedom only when they see advantage in doing so. The only difference is that in the family, a father's love for his children repays him for the care he *bestows*⁸ on them, while in the state, where the ruler can have no such feeling for his people, the pleasure of *commanding*⁹ must take the place of love.

Grotius denies that all human government is established for the benefit of the governed, and he *cites*¹⁰ the example of slavery. His characteristic method of reasoning is always to offer fact as a proof

Notes

- 1 preservation
[ˌprezə'veɪʃən]
n. 维持; 生存
- 2 bond [bɒnd] n.
结合; 关系
- 3 dissolve [dɪ'zɒlv]
v. (使) 分解
- 4 obedience
[əu'bi:diəns] n.
服从, 服从
- 5 preserve [prɪ'zə:v]
v. 保存, 保护
- 6 bear [beə] v. 带
有, 显示
- 7 surrender
[sə'rendə] v. 放
弃, 交出
- 8 bestow [bi'stau]
v. 给予
- 9 commanding
[kə'mɑ:ndɪŋ] n.
命令, 控制
- 10 cite [saɪt] v. 引用

会是家庭; 然而, 只要孩子们为了自身的生存需要父亲时, 他们就仍然本能地依赖于父亲。一旦没有了这种需要, 父子关系就此了结。一旦孩子从对父亲的顺从中解脱出来, 一旦父亲从对孩子的负担中解脱出来, 双方都一样重新获得独立。假如他们继续保持父子关系解除的状态, 那么, 这种情况就不再是一种自然的状态, 而是他们自己的选择, 这种选择解除了父子关系; 而家庭本身只是依照契约得以维持。

这种共有的自由是人性的一种产物。人类的首要法则是维护自身的生存; 人的首要关怀是对自己应有的关怀。而人一旦到了具有推理能力的年龄, 可以自行判断保存自我的最佳手段, 也就成了自己的主人。

因此, 家庭或许可以被视为政治社会的第一个模式: 国家领袖如果是父亲的影子的话, 那么人民就是孩子的影子, 而所有生来自由平等的人, 只有当他们在放弃自己的自由中看到好处时, 才会放弃其自由。唯一不同的是, 在家庭中, 父亲对孩子的爱从其给予他们的关心中得到回报, 而在统治者对其臣民没有如此感情的国家里, 统治者对发号施令的乐趣必然取代其对臣子臣民的爱。

格老秀斯否认, 一切人类政府都是为了被统治者的利益而建立的, 并且引用了奴隶制的例子。他别具一格的推理方法总是提供事实以