



世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书

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〔美〕 汉斯·摩根索 著    肯尼思·汤普森 修订

# 国家间政治：寻求权力与和平的斗争（简明版）

POLITICS AMONG NATIONS:

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND PEACE, BRIEF EDITION

Hans J. Morgenthau

*Revised by Kenneth W. Thompson*



北京大学出版社  
PEKING UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Hans J. Morgenthau, Kenneth W. Thompson

**Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, Brief Edition**

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BRIEF EDITION**

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# 《世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书》

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## 出版说明

引进和交流,是国际研究诸学科发展壮大所不可或缺的环节和纽带。没有引进和交流,学术就难以活跃,也不易创新。每一位从事世界政治与国际关系研究的学者、每一位学习世界政治与国际关系的学生,无不深感阅读外文原文文献的重要性,他们都深知,原文的报刊、教材和专著,是获取最新国际信息、最新理论论争、最新参考资料的必不可少的重要来源,而获得这样的原文文献的机会是不均等的,因此,他们极其渴望更为方便地直接接触到原文文献。而在目前不易直接在国内购买原版书籍的情况下,采取原版影印的方式引进国际上的优秀教材和专著是解决问题的一条捷径,如此就可以使国内普通读者方便地获得最有权威的原文读物,从而可以快速了解国外同行的教学和学术成果,为深入学习和研究、为开展有效的对外学术交流、也为国际关系诸学科在我国的发展打下更坚实的基础。

这套“世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书”,正是基于上述认识而组织出版的,并且得到了我国国际关系教学与科研领域最有权威的专家教授们的认可,他们分别来自于北京大学国际关系学院、复旦大学国际关系与公共事务学院、中国人民大学国际关系学院、外交学院、清华大学国际问题研究所、中国社会科学院世界经济与政治研究所、中共中央党校战略研究所等单位,作为本套丛书的学术顾问,他们愿意向我国该学科及相关领域的广大学者和学生共同推荐这套丛书。

本丛书第一批先行选入了一些经典文献选读性质的国外优秀教材,也包括美国大学中的一些知名国际关系学教员所编著的教材,内容主要在国际关系理论方面,也包括国际政治经济学和比较政治学方面的优秀教材。它们皆可称为原文中的精品,值得研读和收藏,不仅如此,由于它们本身在国外的大学课堂里都是应用较广的教材和读物,所以特别适合作为我国国际关系与世界政治专业大学教学中的参考读物,甚至可以直接作为以外文授课的课堂教材。在每本书的前面,我们都邀请国内比较权威的专家学者撰写了精彩的导论,以指导读者更好地阅读和使用这些文献。

根据读者的反映和我国建设中的国际关系学科的发展需要,我们决定在上述影印图书的基础上,开辟一个“学术精品系列”,以让我国国际关系专业的学者和学生有机会更方便地接触到那些堪称“精品中的精品”的学术书籍,比如摩根索的《国家间政治》、沃尔兹的《国际政治理论》和基欧汉的《权力与相互依赖》等等。这些作品大都已经有了中文译本,而且有的还不只一种中译本,它们的学术和学科地位是不言而喻的,在中国读者心目中也已有着持久深入的影响,正因如此,在这个新系列的每一种图书前面我们没有再烦请学术顾问们撰写导言。我们相信,如此有生命力的作品,当它们以新的面目出现在中国读者面前时,一定会引发新的阅读感受、新的理论遐思和新的战略决策思考。至少,



它们可以带给我们真正原汁原味的享受,让我们更加贴近当代的国际关系理论和国际关系理论家。

今后,我们会陆续推出更新、更好的原版教材和专著,希望广大读者提出宝贵意见和建议,尤其欢迎更多的专家学者向我们推荐适合引进的国外优秀教材和专著,以帮助我们完善这套丛书的出版,并最终形成一套完整的世界政治与国际关系及其相关学科适用的原文教学研究参考书系。

最后也要特别提醒读者,我们引进这套丛书,目的主要在于推动学术交流、促进学科发育、完善教学体系,而其著作者的出发点和指导思想、基本观点和结论等,则完全属于由读者加以认识、比较、讨论甚至批评的内容,均不代表北京大学出版社。

## About the Authors

**Hans J. Morgenthau** was born in Germany in 1904. Educated at the Universities of Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich, he taught and practiced law in Frankfurt, where he was acting President of the Labor Law Court. A year before Hitler came to power, Professor Morgenthau went to teach at the University of Geneva; he taught in Madrid before going to the United States in 1937. He taught at Brooklyn College and the University of Kansas City before his appointment in 1943 to the University of Chicago. He was also University Professor of Political Science at The New School for Social Research, Albert A. Michelson Distinguished Service Professor of Political Science and Modern History at the University of Chicago, and Leonard Davis Distinguished Professor of Political Science at City College of the City University of New York. He was also Visiting Professor at Columbia, Harvard, Northwestern, Yale, and the University of California. Professor Morgenthau served as a consultant to the Departments of State and Defense and was Director of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy at the University of Chicago, a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Associate of the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research, and a Senior Research Fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations. Among his many publications are *In Defense of the National Interest* (1951), *The Purpose of American Politics* (1960), *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (1962), *A New Foreign Policy for the United States* (1969), and *Science: Servant or Master?* (1972). Professor Morgenthau died in New York City on July 19, 1980.

**Kenneth W. Thompson** was born in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1921. He was educated at the University of Chicago, Augustana College, and St. Olaf College and taught at Northwestern University and the University of Chicago. He served as an infantry officer and military intelligence/counter intelligence officer in World War II. From 1955 to 1973, he held positions in the Rockefeller Foundation beginning as assistant director of the social sciences and concluding as vice president from 1961–1973. He directed a twelve donor agencies review



of higher education and development in Africa, Asia, and Latin America from 1973–1976. In 1975, he was appointed Commonwealth Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia. In 1979, he became Director of the White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia and White Burkett Miller Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs. He has held major lectureships such as the Riverside Memorial, Lilly, Stokes, Rockwell, Cecil, and Stuber Lectures. He was named Virginia Laureate in 1981 and received the Virginia Phi Beta Kappa Prize and the College Stores Prize for his Churchill book in 1984. Among his many publications are *Political Realism and the Crisis of World Politics* (1960), *American Diplomacy and Emergent Patterns* (1962), *The Moral Issue in Statecraft* (1966), *Foreign Assistance* (1972), *Understanding World Politics* (1975), *Ethics, Functionalism and Power* (1979), *Morality and Foreign Policy* (1980), *Masters of International Thought* (1980), *The President and the Public Philosophy* (1981), *Cold War Theories* (1981), and *Winston S. Churchill's World View* (1983). One of his most recent efforts was to edit and bring to publication posthumously Hans J. Morgenthau's *Essays on Lincoln's Faith and Politics* (1983).

# *Preface to the Brief Edition*

For over four decades, *Politics Among Nations* has been considered by many the premiere text in international politics. Now in its sixth edition its main themes, including national interest and power, are commonplace among practitioners of foreign policy. At the same time its value for a wider public is beginning to be felt.

The publication of *Politics* in paperback is inspired by at least four considerations. First, its use in the 1990s has been rendered more difficult by the mounting costs of higher education. While books constitute a relatively small part of educational expenses, the tripling of prices for hardback texts sometimes pushes student budgets to oppressive limits. Second, today's students have grown accustomed to paperbacks in every field from agronomy to zoology. It seems appropriate, therefore, that *Politics* in paperback should be available to citizens and students alike. Third, discussion of Professor Morgenthau's work has, if anything, intensified in the past twenty years. Derivative schools of thought such as neo-realism have made their appearance. Making his *magnum opus* accessible to a broad spectrum of the American public has unquestioned merit. In this way, critics and sympathizers will be able to read his work first-hand, not as filtered through other minds. Fourth, faculties at respected institutions who have large and diverse classes in international relations have called for an edited edition available in an inexpensive format. The past twenty years have witnessed publication programs through which the majority of popular texts in the social sciences have become available in paperback form.

I have followed three working principles in preparing this edition. First, I have preserved intact the first ten chapters of the sixth edition. Professor Morgenthau considered these chapters as containing many of the basic principles of his philosophy of international relations: a realist theory, politics as a struggle for power, foreign policies, nationalism, and national power. Second,

I have included substantial segments of those chapters that make application of the aforementioned principles. These chapters include the balance of power, morality, and international law. Taken together, they provide a discussion, rich in historical examples, of the limitations of national power. From this section and those that follow I have eliminated some of the more technical and complex material whenever it was discussed later in the text or was dealt with in a manner more appropriate for advanced graduate and professional seminars. Third, I have made selections from those chapters that are concentrated on contemporary problems and the three fundamental approaches to peace: limitation of national power as with disarmament, collective security, and international government; transformation with the world state and world community; and accommodation through diplomacy. With the majority of chapters in this section, I have felt justified in eliminating historical details not essential to the analysis and deleting chapters, such as judicial settlement, considered in earlier sections on international law. I would urge students willing and able to examine these issues in depth to have recourse to the full sixth edition.

For most students of international relations, *Politics* requires no introduction. It has become a staple intellectual diet for faculty and graduate students and for thousands of undergraduate students. The present edition should serve to broaden its audience even further. In a word, we would expect that *Politics* in paperback would reach new readers. The new format is designed to serve the needs of a new era in higher education and public affairs.

Two explanatory notes are indicated. Throughout the manuscript the male pronoun predominates, as was customary at the time the book was first published. As is true on such matters throughout the text, we have chosen not to change the original. We would hope that we might be understood as referring to men and women wherever appropriate in our use of the male pronoun. Second, we have actively undertaken to correct temporal usage as with such references as “fifty years ago,” referring to the turn of the century. If we should overlook such items at any point in the text, we ask the reader to remember that the author was writing at the midpoint of the twentieth century.

Kenneth W. Thompson

# *Preface to the Sixth Edition*

As a graduate student at the University of Chicago following World War II, I had the privilege of serving as Professor Morgenthau's research assistant. Later we joined in the preparation of a book of text and readings entitled *Principles and Problems of International Politics*. He was primarily responsible for my returning to the university in the early 1950s as a member of the Department of Political Science. When it was agreed I should edit a *festschrift* in his honor, we worked together in identifying former students, colleagues, and friends especially familiar with his writings. In later years when our professional responsibilities brought us together in New York, we had frequent contacts and long discussions. As a member of several advisory committees, he contributed significantly to the programs of the Rockefeller Foundation for which I worked. A few weeks before he died he presented a paper on the presidency and foreign policy at a Miller Center conference at the University of Virginia. On a personal as well as a professional level, our friendship and intellectual collaboration continued until his last days.

Our close association has made the preparation of a sixth edition of his classic work, *Politics Among Nations*, both simpler and more difficult. On the one hand, I have kept myself reasonably familiar with the evolution of his thought from the publication of *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* to the review after his death of certain unpublished essays. When Bertrand W. Lummus, Senior Editor of the College Department of Random House, invited me to prepare a new edition of *Politics*, I felt confident that I possessed the necessary knowledge for the task. On the other hand, upon undertaking the revision and reviewing Professor Morgenthau's last writings, I discovered important new developments in the final stages of his work of which I had not known. It would have been surprising if this had not been true, for he took as his guiding principle not the defense of an intellectual position but "the quest for truth."

In keeping with my discovery of the continuous unfolding of his thought, I have attempted in this edition to let Morgenthau speak for himself whenever possible. Thanks to the cooperation of his children, Susanna and Matthew, my assistant and I have had access to his papers on deposit at Alderman Library at the University of Virginia. Mr. Peter Gellman has been tireless in joining me in the search for further writings, whether published or unpublished, that touched on the most urgent problems confronting mankind in the late 1970s and 1980s. In his preface to the fifth edition, revised, Morgenthau wrote of that edition's continuing "in an organic and almost inevitable fashion the work of the preceding editions." Ever mindful of the fact that his great work has had an integrity throughout successive editions, I have undertaken to preserve it in ways that would have been impossible without the use of his own writings. I have also consulted his draft manuscripts, letters to editors, and professional correspondence.

At the same time, the fifth edition has had to be updated and revised to reflect changes that have occurred since Professor Morgenthau's death. Mr. Gellman and I have sought to substitute factual information and data wherever required while recognizing that even as we worked, the tides of history were making obsolete some of our evidence on topics like population, industrial production, decisions of the International Court of Justice, and actions by the United Nations. On subjects such as human rights, détente, and the nuclear problem, I have made substantial revisions—introducing wherever possible fragments of Morgenthau's own writings. Because his mind was so creative and subtle, no would-be literary executor can declare with certainty that Morgenthau would have formulated his views and presented them in precisely the context in which they are put forward here. I can only affirm that I have tried to be faithful to his philosophy and to his views on problems and policies as I understood them.

Kenneth W. Thompson

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