



世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书



# 美国外交政策：模式与过程

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY : PATTERN AND PROCESS

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北京大学出版社  
Peking University Press

# **American Foreign Policy**

Pattern and Process

**Sixth Edition**

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Wittkopf, Kegley, and Scott: **American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process.**

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ISBN: 0-534-60048-4

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### 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

美国外交政策:模式与过程/(美)维特科普夫,(美)凯格利等著. —影印本. —北京:北京大学出版社, 2004.1

(世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书)

ISBN 7-301-06786-0

I. 美… II. ①维… ②凯… III. 外交政策—研究—美国—英文 IV. D871.20

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2003) 第 110606 号

**书 名: 美国外交政策:模式与过程(American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process)**

**著作责任者:** [美] Eugene R. Wittkopf, Charles W. Kegley, Jr., James M. Scott 著

**责任编辑:** 耿协峰

**标准书号:** ISBN 7-301-06786-0/D·0808

**出版发行:** 北京大学出版社

**地 址:** 北京市海淀区中关村北京大学校内 100871

**网 址:** <http://cbs.pku.edu.cn>

**电 话:** 邮购部 62752015 发行部 62750672 编辑部 62753121

**电子信箱:** zpup@pup.pku.edu.cn

**排 版 者:** 兴盛达打字服务社

**印 刷 者:** 北京大学印刷厂

**经 销 者:** 新华书店

787 毫米×960 毫米 16 开本 40.625 印张 1380 千字

2004 年 1 月第 1 版 2004 年 1 月第 1 次印刷

**定 价:** 67.00 元

## 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几本经典文献选读性质的国外优秀教材,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。

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与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。

# 导 读

袁 明

第二次世界大战结束后,中国学者费孝通先生赴美国访问。后来他写下了这样一段文字:“大英帝国的扩展时代已经过去,成了年,有的是心平气和、冷眼看世的神气了。”但像美国这样“一个年轻的文化,配上无比的强力,毕竟不是件太可以放心的事。何况,若是拓荒的心理没有修改,他再度的扩张,是否是世界的幸福呢?……现在世界上已经没有 300 年前的北美了,没有文化的真空区了,若是按照 18、19 世纪的老方法去扩展的话,说不定会遇着很大的阻力,把人类在封建制度所解放出来的力量消磨在无谓的争斗之中。”事隔近 60 年之后,尤其是美国经历了“9·11”事件之后,再来看费老这一段话,不能不令人掩卷深思。

费老是一位人类学家。他在这里点出了一个题目,那就是美国和世界的关系。当然,宏观地看,这种关系很复杂,涉及政治、经济、军事、文化等诸多方面。但是,如集中来看一下美国为自己在世界上的定位和力图保持这一位置所进行的思考、所规定的原则、所采取的行动,我们就可以有一个聚焦点。这也就是美国的外交政策。

外交政策体现了国家意志。国家意志的形成和集结,是受其地理位置、历史传统、意识形态、政治制度、经济发展水平等多种因素影响的。此外,在对外关系上,国家意志还表达了一个国家身处世界环境中的“自我意识”。

在以上诸因素和“自我意识”等方面,美国都显示出明显的“美国特色”。在世界近现代史上,一个大国兴起,其“自我意识”都有一个发展和强化的过程。曾号称“日不落”帝国的英国曾经这样经历过;在第一次世界大战前推行“世界政策”,企图与英国争霸的德国也这样经历过。但是,美国在这一点上已远远超过了其他所有国家。这种美国式的“自我意识”,源于美国政治文化传统中根深蒂固的美国式理想、美国式价值观念、美国式信仰。“上帝的选民”、“自由平等的权利”等等是其中的核心。这给了美国人以绝对的优越感。从宗教的角度讲,他们要向全世界传播“上帝的福音”;用政治的语言表述,美国要“解救一切受奴役的人们”;以经济手段来推行美国式的市场理念,靠军事力量来达到美国的目的,总之,美国在做这一切时,内心的动力就是“舍我其谁”。因此,美国无论是共和党还是民主党执政,其外交政策背后的“自我意识”是完全一样的。

在具体的外交思想方面,美国确实有理想主义和现实主义的两种传统。但是,这种更带学理性的归纳只是帮助人们进一步了解美国外交的特点。在外交实践操作时,两者交织则是常态。值得注意的是,美国在其外交思想的发展中,非常重视发挥其战略人士、思想库以及学者的作用。也就是说,美国很会利用这方面的智力资源。他们之中有些人

直接参与外交实践;有些人则着重著书立说,向世界和美国公众传播美国外交理念;也有些人两者兼而为之,如基辛格、约瑟夫·奈等就是其中的代表。他们对西方政治思想传统及其理论可谓烂熟于心,对世界大势和国际风云变幻极其敏感,对美国在复杂的国际环境中的表现更是时时关切。

美国外交政策的决策、形成和贯彻过程,也是一个相当复杂的系统。总统及其各个行政部门、国会及其各有关委员会、各色利益集团、种种游说活动、传媒及公众舆论都介于其中。世界上大概没有另外一个国家在外交问题上会生出这么多的头绪。但是尽管头绪繁多,尽管有关具体外交行为的言论莫衷一是,但真正对外行动时,美国总会在世人面前展示出一种平衡。这一点确实是值得好好研究的。

与世界其他国家一样,美国公众的大多数人对外交事务并不真正感兴趣。然而,美国凭借着强大的财力和人力资源,将对美国外交思想与传统的宣传做到了最大化。这在第二次世界大战结束、美苏冷战开始后尤其如此。在追求这种最大化效应时,一些通俗易懂的普及性读物便应运而生。

《美国外交政策:模式与过程》(*American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*)就是这样一本教科书,它同时也是一本畅销书。自1976年首次出版以来,它被几次再版。我们现在看到的,是2003年新出的第六版。

这本书有以下一些特点。首先,它展示了一个“美国视角”。该书的三位作者都是长期在美国的大学中教授美国外交课程的学者,对研究美国外交的文献非常熟悉。可以说,这本书是这三位学者对汗牛充栋的有关美国外交文献研究的归纳。自然,“美国视角”和“美国情结”相连。在书的一开始作者们便提醒人们:“当21世纪晨曦微现时,美国正身处于深不可测的航道之中。”在随后的章节中作者们不断提醒美国人,要懂得美国外交的传统,要了解影响美国外交的种种因素,要看到发展中的国际环境对美国外交的挑战,尤其是全球化对美国外交的冲击。在新版前言中,作者们重点提出,本书力图回答的问题有:

- 美国领导者如何寻求力量与理想之间的平衡;
- 美国能否动用其巨大资源来为其目标服务;
- 美国日趋复杂的政治和社会利益阶层将如何影响外交;
- 美国总统将如何使用权力;美国国会将如何回应;
- 变动中的国内外环境将如何对美国外交产生影响,等等。

应当说,这本书对美国外交的介绍和论述还是比较全面的。正如作者们所说,它重点分析了对美国外交政策制定起综合影响的五个要素:全球环境、国内环境、政府结构、决策者的作用和个人因素。当然,从理论上说这些因素在每个国家的外交政策制定过程中都同样存在,但是这本书的分析的确反映出了“美国特色”。除了正文之外,书的每一章节后面都附有参考书目,介绍有关资料文献。这对读者来说的确有较大的参考价值。

本书的第三个主要特点是反映了时代特色。从宏观角度来看,它点出了全球化时代给美国外交提出的新课题;从微观上透视,它剖析了“9·11”事件给美国外交带来的巨大震动。这两个层次上的聚焦,实际上反映出当今国际政治中的一个特殊现象,即美国既是全球化这一大历史进程中的主要受益者,同时又是全球化浪潮冲击的主要目标。对世界上唯一的超级大国美国来说,全球化也是一把双刃剑。

在目前复杂多变的国际形势中,美国的举动的确有全局影响。因此,了解美国外交的走向十分重要。世界各国都在加大对这种了解的力度。也许,我们读完全书后,可以借用以下法国人类学者托德最近发表的名言来作进一步思考:

“目前最让人不安的是缺乏一个能够解释美国行为的理论模型。本来,按照第二次世界大战以来所形成的传统,美国的形象应该是温和、理性的,为什么这个‘孤独的超级大国’如今性子大变,上窜下跳,到处制造不和呢?是因为它的绝对强大呢,还是正好相反,因为它感到一个新生的世界正在脱离自己的控制?”



## Preface

**A**s the twenty-first century unfolds, the United States finds itself in uncharted waters. Dramatic changes in the global political and economic systems over the past decade have altered the playing field on which American foreign policy takes place. Although the United States emerged by the end of the twentieth century as the world's unchallenged preeminent power—a hegemon—another hallmark of the new century is the greater complexity American policy makers face at home and abroad as they seek to chart a new course for the new century. The global contest with the Soviet Union that dominated the last half of the twentieth century became the cornerstone of American foreign policy. Finding a replacement for its guiding principles has proven elusive.

As policy makers today seek to define a new policy posture, we are reminded of the choices the immediate post-World War II generation faced, and how those choices shaped half a century of American foreign policy. Then, Amer-

ica's rise to globalism and the onset of the Cold War triggered sweeping changes in the nation's world role, supplying purpose (anticommunism), stimulating policy (containment), and sustaining recurrent patterns of action (globalism, militarism, and interventionism). The contest between capitalism and communism also provided the rationale for a substantially expanded foreign policy bureaucracy designed to pursue America's new world role. And relations between the White House and Congress were shaped during this time to support a foreign policy consensus that encouraged presidential preeminence and congressional deference in foreign policymaking.

Today, the foreign policy landscape lacks familiar features, thus prompting the need once again to face critical choices. The twenty-first century poses new challenges and new opportunities, but the altered context also embraces new imperatives and imposes new constraints. Absent the twentieth century's guideposts, today's purposes, policies, and patterns of foreign policy



action have become the subjects of recurrent and deep-seated disagreements among American policy makers and within the larger community.

What path will the United States follow in this unfamiliar environment? Will it continue to embrace the internationalist path of the past or step instead toward isolationism? What interests, goals, and problems will emerge as challenges, prompting a determination of key priorities? How will American policy makers chart the country's foreign policy course in a domestic and global environment of competing and often conflicting interests? These simple questions lead to others:

- How and will American leaders balance the pursuit of power and the pursuit of principle?
- How and will the United States draw on its vast panoply of resources to achieve its preferences?
- How and will the increasingly complex voices and interests of the American polity and society affect its foreign policy?
- How and will the president exercise foreign policy leadership?
- How and will the Congress respond to the president?
- How and will the altered global environment affect the other institutions involved in the American foreign policy-making process?
- How and will the altered environment at home and abroad affect the requirements for leadership in the twenty-first century?

This, the sixth edition of *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*, addresses these and related questions. As in previous editions, we rely on a proven and resilient conceptual framework that frames the examination of the different sources of American foreign policy. This new edition continues to place the contemporary issues, debates, challenges, and opportunities in their historical context in order to assess the changes of today's world in the broader sweep of

the nation's enduring principles, values, and interests: peace and prosperity, stability and security, democracy and defense. Our conceptual framework allows us to utilize relevant theories effectively, and our placement of the contemporary debates in their historical context allows students both to see and to assess the forces underlying continuity and change in American foreign policy.

Those familiar with the book will note that we have retained the overall structure and thematic thrust of previous editions, which effectively harness the conceptual, theoretical, and historical components appropriate for the analysis of American foreign policy. Our analytical framework stresses five foreign policy sources that collectively influence decisions about foreign policy goals and the means chosen to realize them: the *external* (global) environment, the *societal* environment of the nation, the *governmental* setting in which policy making occurs, the *roles* occupied by policy makers, and the *individual* characteristics of foreign policy-making elites.

After establishing the analytical approach of the text (Part I) and considering the broad patterns of goals and policy instruments (Part II), we elaborate on these five sources in the nine chapters comprising Parts III through VII. Our final section and chapter (Part VIII) returns to the challenges of the new century and considers the direction and consequences of American choices and the sources and resources that will shape them. Here and elsewhere, we address in particular the challenge of transnational terrorism brought home to Americans with the September 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Those familiar with the book also will find much that is similar in the content and approach of this new edition. This should not hide the fact that it has been thoroughly updated and substantially revised to sharpen the historical and analytical content to reflect the foreign policy developments and recent scholarship on American foreign policy since publication of the last edition.

As we tackled the task of bringing our text into the new century, we made countless changes and revisions in each part. Among them, our readers will find the following:

- Part I introduces globalization as a key concept to which we return throughout the book. It also encourages readers to assess the contemporary debates about twenty-first century American foreign policy in terms of primacy, selective engagement, neo-isolationism, and cooperative security, and to locate the debates in the centuries-old discussion between liberalism/idealism and realism (Chapter 1). Additionally, the analytical framework around which we organize the book (Chapter 2) is presented more sharply and concisely, yet it retains its compelling logic.
- Part II has been substantially revised and updated. In Chapter 3, our discussion of goals now emphasizes *pragmatism* as well as power and principle. The concepts of internationalism and isolationism, realism and idealism, and power, principle, and pragmatism are designed to help students understand not only the post-World War II contest between East and West but also recent debates about the wisdom of promoting democracy and international values within the context of international relations theory and practice.

Chapter 4 focuses entirely on military power and intervention, taking special care to consider the debate over the role of military force in a contemporary environment challenged by issues like humanitarian intervention, the proliferation of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction, and arms control. Our discussion includes recent debates about when and how to use force.

Chapter 5 has been revised and reoriented to focus exclusively on all nonmilitary forms of interventionism. It provides both the historical development and contempo-

rary debates about covert action (now including a review of the challenges to and purposes of contemporary covert action), economic and military aid (now including consideration of the declining support for aid programs), sanctions (stressing the widespread tendency to employ sanctions rather than military force), and public diplomacy (including the challenges posed by the information age). Throughout each of the chapters in this part, we reflect on the utility and effectiveness of both old and new goals and instruments.

- In Part III, we survey the international political and economic environments in their historical and contemporary variants as a source of American foreign policy. In Chapter 6 we consider how the characteristics of the political system shape American foreign policy choices. Our discussion reflects explicitly on the current setting, in which the United States enjoys primacy but must contend with emergent power threats, globalization, and increasing transnationalism. We reflect more thoroughly in this edition on critical global demographic and environmental challenges that extend beyond traditional great power politics and also on the activities of nonstate actors. These discussions are linked to American foreign policy strategies, including unilateralism, neo-isolationism, bilateralism, and multilateralism.

In Chapter 7, we stress America's continuing centrality in the world political economy and the profound challenges and changes that globalization poses to its economic hegemony. Recent efforts to preserve and extend U.S. preponderance and the responses of others to them are examined. Our discussion concentrates on monetary and trade policy and employs the insights of hegemonic stability theory to help understand the system and American leadership in it.

- In Part IV, we assess the dynamics of the societal sources of American foreign policy. In Chapter 8 we address the nation's political culture and public opinion toward American foreign policy in an environment undergoing rapid political and demographic change. We update the impact of the changing face of the United States on the world around it, as well as the nature, role, and impact of public opinion in light of the changing views and perspectives of the American public about its twenty-first century world role. We also address the worrisome gap separating the foreign policy beliefs and preferences of foreign policy elites and other Americans.

In Chapter 9, we concentrate on the nature, role, and influence of interest groups. The analysis includes compelling new evidence about the changing nature of the politics of defense policy making that continues to reinforce the veracity of long-standing theories about the influence of interests on the still largest nonentitlement discretionary spending item in the multi-trillion dollar federal budget.

- In Part V we focus on the governmental sources of American foreign policy. We examine the president's role and cluster of factors that affect presidential leadership in Chapter 10, including the setting (Constitution, courts, and other factors) and the structures that presidents use to exercise policy leadership. Our discussion of the institutional presidency covers the Clinton presidency and the first years of the Bush presidency. It highlights varying uses, problems, and factors that condition the president's ability to use the National Security Council system to exercise foreign policy leadership. Our revised focus on "presidential leadership" instead of "presidential preeminence" allows us to better grapple with the factors that promote and constrain or limit the central role of the president in foreign policy.

Revisions of Chapter 11 update recent developments in the bureaucracy comprising

the foreign affairs government. The continuing pertinence of the Cold War assumptions on which the principles and programs of many of these organizations were based inform much of the discussion.

Chapter 12 deals with Congress. Substantially revised and reorganized, it now better reflects the role of Congress as a potential challenger to presidential leadership. Drawing on recent scholarship, it thoroughly explores the avenues of congressional influence—formal and informal, direct and indirect—to better assess the Congress's impact on foreign policy. We discuss treaty politics, war powers, and the power of the purse in this context and update the discussion to reflect the policy battles over these issues during the recent past. Our look into the twenty-first century context stresses the increasing ideological and partisan assertiveness of members of Congress.

- In Part VI we consider roles as sources of American foreign policy. Chapter 13 examines decision making with an emphasis on the impact of position on policy preferences and policy making. In this context, we assess rational actor and bureaucratic politics models. Our revised discussion of bureaucratic politics reflects recent scholarship and updates our discussion of the nature, sources, characteristics, and consequences of bureaucratic politics in light of the increasing complexity of an intensively interdependent world and the foreign policy involvement of more departments and agencies in executive branch policy making.
- In Part VII we focus on individual sources, stressing the characteristics of leaders. Chapter 14 includes consideration of the character, style, and personality of foreign policymakers, as well as the conditions in which their individual idiosyncracies matter most. Our revision updates our discussion of President Clinton's character and style and includes a new case study on George W. Bush. New sketches of other leaders of re-

cent years, including Madeleine Albright and Colin Powell, help us to explore the influence of personality, style, and personal background on foreign policy.

- In Part VIII we reflect on the future of American foreign policy and the prospects for a Second American Century. Our concluding thoughts make some tentative assessments of the administration of George W. Bush, using them to ponder what the new century might portend.

In addition to these substantive revisions, we have continued our determination to make the new edition accessible and conducive to effective teaching and learning. Our readers will find more organizational breaks and sections in each chapter designed to assist the student and help to structure readings and discussions. We have also continued our efforts to strengthen the readability of the text, while controlling its length. The book retains the glossary and textual highlights of glossary terms of the previous edition. To further its pedagogical value, we have added a list of key terms for each chapter. Tables, figures, and focus boxes have also been updated throughout to reflect recent developments. Finally, we remain committed to connecting our historical and contemporary discussions to broader themes, concepts, and theories. Doing so promotes greater critical and analytical thinking, better explanation and evaluation, and a more coherent consideration of the pattern and process of American foreign policy.

This overview captures just a few of the many changes, large and small, in this edition of *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process*. Our text now reflects a vision of the unfolding new century. But just as change and continuity describe the reality of contemporary American foreign policy, our book continues to be shaped by the many people who have contributed to it since its first edition in 1979 to the present. The contributions have come from our professional colleagues and critics, from “comment cards” sent to our publisher, ideas shared with our sales rep-

resentatives, student evaluations, and other means. All have shaped our efforts to provide superior scholarship and an effective teaching and learning tool.

Those who have made suggestions for this edition, including thirteen professional colleagues who reviewed the previous edition and made extensive comments and suggestions for this edition, deserve a twenty-first-century thanks. They are Daniel Caldwell, James E. Campbell, David H. Clark, Scott Crichlow, C. James Delaet, James A. Garand, Emily O. Goldman, Robert Harkavy, Robert A. Hart, Jr., Margaret G. Hermann, Richard K. Herrmann, Christopher M. Jones, Jason LeBlanc, Lawrence LeBlanc, James M. McCormick, John Owen, IV, A. Robert McMullen, Ole R. Holsti, Todd Parker, James F. Pasley, Thomas Preston, George Quester, Curtis Reithel, Priscilla L. Southwell, and Stephen Wrage. One reviewer of the previous revision chose to remain anonymous, perhaps because he thought his comments were biting. We found them constructive, something true of all of the reviews, for which we are appreciative.

We also wish to acknowledge the contributions of the many others whose ideas, insights, and suggestions have contributed to the success of this book since its inception. At the risk of overlooking someone—and certainly recognizing we are slighting the hundreds of students who have shared often complimentary but also often constructively critical comments about the book over the years—we thank: Morris Blachman, Paul Blackstock, Linda P. Brady, Leann Brown, Dan Caldwell, William A. Clark, Oliver E. Clubb, Alfred B. Clubok, Roger Coate, Ellen C. Collier, William D. Coplin, Gene Crofts, Alfonso J. Damico, Vincent Davis, Mark J. DeHaven, Joseph DiCroce, Dan Driesbach, Timothy Dunning, Beth Evatt, John Fairlamb, Robert W. Gregg, Joe D. Hagan, Lee Jane Hevener, Stephen Hibbard, James B. Holderman, James G. Holland, Robert Holley, Steven W. Hook, P. Terrence Hopmann, Muhammed Islam, Paul Kattenburg, Christopher Kautz, John Kegley, William Kreml, James A. Kuhlman, Dave Layman, Michael

Maggiotto, Pat McGowan, Raymond Moore, William Mould, Betsy Myett, Michael K. O'Leary, Christina Payne, Hazel Pridgen, Lucia Wren Rawls, Gregory A. Raymond, Barry Rich, James Roherty, Mac Rood, Robert Rood, James N. Rosenau, Loren Rudolf, Daniel Sabia, Lars Schoultz, Peter Sederberg, Ray Sexton, Chaitram Singh, Anne Sloan, Gordon Smith, Harvey Starr, William Stinchcombe, John Stolarek, Van Sturgeon, William Taylor, Robert Thompson, Victor A. Thompson, Mark Tompkins, Robert Trice, William Vocke, Brian Wallace, William Watts, Donald Weatherbee, Charles Wentworth, Bob Wislinski, Barbara J. Wittkopf, and Jonathan T. Wittkopf.

The professionals at our publisher also earn our thanks for their dedication to our efforts and for their friendship: Doug Bell, Emily Berleth, Thomas V. Broadbent, Glenn Cowley, Peter Dougherty, Marilea Fried, James Headley, Bertrand W. Lummus, Don Reisman, Anita

Samen, Rachel L. Siegel, Jean Smith, Richard Steins, Dolores Wolfe, and Bob Woodbury.

Colleagues, friends, neighbors—they are both the easiest and the hardest to thank. They are the social safety-net when things are not going well and the cheerleaders when they are. Without naming names, as some have moved elsewhere professionally and others have departed, we thank them all.

Our wives and children are the most important among the social safety-net/cheerleader circle. Critics, editors, and always faithful believers in what we are trying to accomplish, this book would not have been possible without their optimistic encouragement, tireless support, and endless patience.

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