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Meeting China Halfway
How to Defuse the Emerging US–China Rivalry

Lyle J. Goldstein

Though a US–China conflict is far from inevitable, major tensions are building in the Asia-Pacific region. These strains are the result of historical enmity, cultural divergence, and deep ideological estrangement, not to mention apprehensions fueled by geopolitical competition and the closely related “security dilemma.” Despite worrying signs of intensifying rivalry between Washington and Beijing, few observers have provided concrete paradigms to lead this troubled relationship away from disaster. Meeting China Halfway: How to Defuse the Emerging US-China Rivalry is dramatically different from any other book about US-China relations. Lyle J. Goldstein’s explicit focus in almost every chapter is on laying bare both US and Chinese perceptions of where their interests clash and proposing new paths to ease bilateral tensions through compromise. Each chapter contains a “cooperation spiral”—the opposite of an escalation spiral—to illustrate the policy proposals. Goldstein not only parses findings from the latest American scholarship but also breaks new ground by analyzing hundreds of Chinese-language sources, including military publications, never before evaluated by Western experts. One hundred policy proposals are made over the course of this book, not because these are the only solutions to arresting the alarming course toward conflict, but rather to inaugurate a genuine debate regarding cooperative policy solutions to the most vexing problems in US-China relations.

“Lyle Goldstein’s book on China delivers a bracing synthesis on the dangers the United States faces and the options it has in the face of China’s military rise. It will be required reading for Asia specialists.”

—Robert Kaplan, author of Asia’s Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific and chief geopolitical analyst for Stratfor

LYLE J. GOLDS TeIN is an associate professor in the Strategic Research Department at the US Naval War College (NWC). He was also the founding director of the NWC’s China Maritime Studies Institute. He is the coeditor of numerous volumes including China, the United States, and 21st Century Sea Power.
According to security elites, revolutions in information, transport, and weapons technologies have shrunk the world, leaving the United States and its allies more vulnerable than ever to violent threats like terrorism or cyberwar. As a result, they practice responses driven by fear: theories of falling dominoes, hysteria in place of sober debate, and an embrace of preemptive war to tame a chaotic world.

Patrick Porter challenges these ideas. In *The Global Village Myth*, he disputes globalism’s claims and the outcomes that so often waste blood and treasure in the pursuit of an unattainable “total” security. Porter reexamines the notion of the endangered global village by examining Al-Qaeda’s global guerilla movement, military tensions in the Taiwan Strait, and drones and cyberwar, two technologies often used by globalists to support their views. His critique exposes the folly of disastrous wars and the loss of civil liberties resulting from the globalist enterprise. Showing that technology expands rather than shrinks strategic space, Porter offers an alternative outlook to lead policymakers toward more sensible responses—and a wiser, more sustainable grand strategy.

“This fascinating and well-researched book demolishes the widespread belief that modern technology both exposes the United States to unprecedented dangers and enables it to control distant lands at little or no cost. With clear-eyed logic, Patrick Porter explains why distance, borders, and other key elements of geopolitics remain highly relevant in the era of drones, cyber-technology, and decentralized terror networks. His arguments are nuanced and clear, his criticisms of the conventional wisdom are compelling, and the implications for national security policy are profound.”

—Stephen Walt, Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Affairs, Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government

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US Foreign Policy and Defense Strategy
The Evolution of an Incidental Superpower

Derek S. Reveron, Nikolas K. Gvosdev, and Mackubin Thomas Owens

Safe from the battlefields of Europe and Asia, the United States led the post–World War II global economic recovery through international assistance and foreign direct investment. With an ardent decolonization agenda and a postwar legitimacy, the United States attempted to construct a world characterized by cooperation. When American optimism clashed with Soviet expansionism, the United States started on a path to global hegemony.

In US Foreign Policy and Defense Strategy, the authors analyze the strategic underpinnings of hegemony, assess the national security establishment that sustains dominance, consider the impact on civil–military relations, and explore the intertwining relationships between foreign policy, defense strategy, and commercial activities. Eschewing conventional analyses, the volume not only identifies drivers and continuities in foreign policy, but it also examines how the legacy of the last sixty-five years will influence future national security policy that will be characterized by US leadership in an increasingly competitive world.

“US Foreign Policy and Defense Strategy is a must-read for all policymakers and scholars who influence the debate about the American role in international affairs. Drawing on a wealth of expertise and sound analysis . . . this immensely important book helps modern audiences consider how the United States is likely to confront new challenges in the world.”

—William Martel, author of Victory in War: Foundations of Modern Strategy and associate professor of International Security Studies at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

DEREK S. REVERON is a professor of national security affairs and the EMC Informationist Chair at the US Naval War College. He is the author or editor of several books including Cyberspace and National Security: Threats, Opportunities, and Power in a Virtual World.

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MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS is the editor of Orbis, the quarterly journal of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, and former professor of national security affairs at the US Naval War College. He is the author of US Civil-Military Relations after 9/11: Renegotiating the Civil-Military Bargain.
In *Religion and the Struggle for European Union*, Brent F. Nelsen and James L. Guth delve into the powerful role of religion in shaping European attitudes on politics, political integration, and the national and continental identities of its leaders and citizens.

Nelsen and Guth contend that for centuries Catholicism promoted the universality of the Church and the essential unity of Christendom. Protestantism, by contrast, esteemed particularity and feared Catholic dominance. These differing visions of Europe have influenced the process of postwar integration in profound ways. Nelsen and Guth compare the Catholic view of Europe as a single cultural entity best governed as a unified polity against traditional Protestant estrangement from continental culture and its preference for pragmatic cooperation over the sacrifice of sovereignty. As the authors show, this deep cultural divide, rooted in the struggles of the Reformation, resists the ongoing secularization of the continent. Unless addressed, it threatens decades of hard-won gains in security and prosperity.

Farsighted and rich with data, *Religion and the Struggle for European Union* offers a pragmatic way forward in the EU’s attempts to solve its social, economic, and political crises.

> “[A] major contribution to the literature on religion and politics in Europe. . . . The authors display an impressive command of the relevant historical, cultural, and political factors.”

—Paul Christopher Manuel, Institute for Leadership Studies, Mount St. Mary’s University

**BRENT F. NELSEN** is a professor of political science at Furman University. He is the coeditor of *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of Integration* and editor of *Norway and the European Community*.

**JAMES L. GUTH** is a professor of political science at Furman University. He is the coeditor of *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics* with Corwin E. Smidt and Lyman A. Kellstedt.
The African Renaissance and the Afro-Arab Spring
A Season of Rebirth?
Charles Villa-Vicencio, Erik Doxtader, and Ebrahim Moosa, Editors
Foreword by former South African president Thabo Mbeki

The African Renaissance and the Afro-Arab Spring addresses the often unspoken connection between the powerful call for a political-cultural renaissance that emerged with the end of South African apartheid and the popular revolts of 2011 that dramatically remade the landscape in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia. Looking between southern and northern Africa, the transcontinental line from Cape to Cairo that for so long supported colonialism, its chapters explore the deep roots of these two decisive events and demonstrate how they are linked by shared opposition to legacies of political, economic, and cultural subjugation. As they work from African, Islamic, and Western perspectives, the book's contributors shed important light on a continent’s difficult history and undertake a critical conversation about whether and how the desire for radical change holds the possibility of a new beginning for Africa, a beginning that may well reshape the contours of global affairs.

“Anyone who wants to understand what is going on in Africa today needs to read this book. The birth of the African Renaissance and the Afro-Arab Spring has injected hope and produced its disappointments. The continent’s future is uncertain. I suggest, however, that future generations will look back to this time as a crucial turning point in African and global politics. This book plumbs the depths of Africa’s quest for rebirth, often against overwhelming forces of resistance—with tentacles reaching deep into the West, the Middle East, the Arabian Peninsula, and elsewhere.”
—Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Emeritus (Cape Town–South Africa)

CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO is a visiting professor in the Conflict Resolution Program at Georgetown University and senior research fellow at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town.
ERIK DOXTADER is a professor of rhetoric at the University of South Carolina and a senior research fellow at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town.
EBRAHIM MOOSA is a professor of Islamic Studies with appointments in the Department of History and the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame.
Congress and Civil-Military Relations
Colton C. Campbell and David P. Auerswald, Editors

While the president is the commander in chief, the US Congress plays a critical and underappreciated role in civil-military relations—the relationship between the armed forces and the civilian leadership that commands it. This unique book edited by Colton C. Campbell and David P. Auerswald will help readers better understand the role of Congress in military affairs and national and international security policy. Contributors include the most experienced scholars in the field as well as practitioners and innovative new voices, all delving into the ways Congress attempts to direct the military.

This book explores four tools in particular that play a key role in congressional action: the selection of military officers, delegation of authority to the military, oversight of the military branches, and the establishment of incentives—both positive and negative—to encourage appropriate military behavior. The contributors explore the obstacles and pressures faced by legislators including the necessity of balancing national concerns and local interests, partisan and intraparty differences, budgetary constraints, the military’s traditional resistance to change, and an ongoing lack of foreign policy consensus at the national level. Yet, despite the considerable barriers, Congress influences policy on everything from closing bases to drone warfare to acquisitions.

A groundbreaking study, Congress and Civil-Military Relations points the way forward in analyzing an overlooked yet fundamental government relationship.

“[A]n impressive collection of essays that gives timely and lively perspectives on the important topic of contemporary congressional and civil-military relations.”

—James Thurber, Director and Distinguished Professor, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University

Related Title
The National Security Enterprise Navigating the Labyrinth
Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, Editors
Foreword by Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, USAF (Ret.)
paperback, $32.95 x / £22.75

COLTON C. CAMPBELL is a professor of national security strategy at the National War College, National Defense University. His books include the coedited volume Congress and the Politics of National Security.

DAVID P. AUERSWALD is a professor of strategy and policy at the National War College. His books include the coauthored NATO in Afghanistan: Fighting Together, Fighting Alone.
At the end of the nineteenth century, the United States emerged as an economic colossus in command of a new empire. Yet for the next forty years the United States eschewed the kind of aggressive grand strategy that had marked other rising imperial powers in favor of a policy of moderation.

In *Power and Restraint*, Jeffrey W. Meiser explores why the United States—counter to widely accepted wisdom in international relations theory—chose the course it did. Using thirty-four carefully researched historical cases, Meiser asserts that domestic political institutions and culture played a decisive role in preventing the mobilization of resources necessary to implement an expansionist grand strategy. These factors included traditional congressional opposition to executive branch ambitions, voter resistance to European-style imperialism, and the personal antipathy to expansionism felt by presidents like Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. The web of resilient and redundant political restraints halted or limited expansionist ambitions and shaped the United States into a historical anomaly, a rising great power characterized by prudence and limited international ambitions.

“[A]n essential contribution to the evolving literature on the behavior of rising great powers. . . . Meiser deftly integrates explanatory logic that cuts across theoretical camps—power distribution at the international system level, domestic institutional structure, and normative orientations—to produce compelling conclusions on the behavior of the United States as it joined the ranks of the great powers in the early twentieth century.”

—Scott A. Silverstone, United States Military Academy at West Point

JEFFREY W. MEISER is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Portland and an adjunct professor at the College of International Security Affairs at the National Defense University.
Nuclear Authority
The IAEA and the Absolute Weapon

Robert L. Brown

Once dismissed as ineffectual, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has in the past twenty years emerged as a powerful international organization. Member states allow the IAEA to render judgment on matters vital to peace and security while nations around the globe comply with its rules and commands on proliferation, safety, and a range of other issues.

Robert L. Brown details the IAEA’s role in facilitating both control of nuclear weapons and the safe exploitation of nuclear power. As he shows, the IAEA has acquired a surprising amount of power as states, for political and technological reasons, turn to it to supply policy cooperation and to act as an agent for their security and safety. The agency’s success in gaining and holding authority rests in part on its ability to apply politically neutral expertise that produces beneficial policy outcomes. But Brown also delves into the puzzle of how an agency created by states to aid cooperation has acquired power over them.

Contents:

Preface
1. The Absolute Weapon
2. Theory of Authority
3. The Birth of the IAEA, 1945–1961
7. Conclusion
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ROBERT L. BROWN is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Temple University.
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**Hezbollah**  
The Global Footprint of Lebanon’s Party of God  
Matthew Levitt

This first paperback edition includes a new Afterword by the author that updates the book for Hezbollah’s role in the civil war in Syria, their ongoing shadow war with Israel, and the trial of operative Hossam Yaakoub for the failed terrorist plot in Cyprus.

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—Wall Street Journal, Bookshelf

**MATTHEW LEVITT** is a senior fellow and director of The Washington Institute for Near East Policy's Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence.

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**A New Georgetown Digital Short!**

**Crowdsourcing in the Public Sector**  
Daren C. Brabham

Daren C. Brabham has been at the forefront of the academic study of crowdsourcing. While crowdsourcing in the public sector holds much promise and is part of a larger movement toward more citizen participation in democratic government, also many challenges, especially legal and ethical issues, need to be addressed to successfully adapt it for use in the public sector. *Crowdsourcing in the Public Sector*, a new addition to the growing list of Georgetown Digital Shorts, offers both a scholarly introduction to crowdsourcing in the public sector and a practical “how-to” manual. This Digital Short includes extensive interviews with public and private sector managers who have used crowdsourcing. Brabham concludes with a list of the top ten best practices for public managers.

**DAREN C. BRABHAM** is an assistant professor of public relations and new media at the University of Southern California’s Annenberg School of Communications. He is the author of *Crowdsourcing* and the editor of the online journal *Case Studies in Strategic Communication*. 

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Beryl A. Radin, Series Editor  
March 2015
Although the history of organ transplant has its roots in ancient Christian mythology, it is only in the past fifty years that body parts from a dead person have successfully been procured and transplanted into a living person. After fourteen years, the three main issues that Robert Veatch first outlined in his seminal study *Transplantation Ethics* still remain: deciding when human beings are dead; deciding when it is ethical to procure organs; and deciding how to allocate organs, once procured.

However, much has changed. Enormous strides have been made in immunosuppression. Alternatives to the donation model are debated much more openly—living donors are used more widely and hand and face transplants have become more common, raising issues of personal identity. In this second edition of *Transplantation Ethics*, coauthored by Lainie Friedman Ross, transplant professionals and advocates will find a comprehensive update of this critical work on transplantation policies.

Praise for the first edition of *Transplantation Ethics*:

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ROBERT M. VEATCH is Professor of Medical Ethics at the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, Georgetown University. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Washington Regional Transplant Community as well as the Ethics Committee and the Vascular Composite Allografts Committee of the United Network for Organ Sharing. He has received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Society of Bioethics and Humanities, the Henry Knowles Beecher Award from the Hastings Center, and gave the Gifford Lectures at the University of Edinburgh. He is the author of fifty books including *The Basics of Bioethics* and *Case Studies in Biomedical Ethics*.

LAINIE F. ROSS is the Carolyn & Matthew Bucksbaum Professor of Clinical Medical Ethics at the University of Chicago; professor in the departments of Pediatrics, Medicine, Surgery and the College; associate director of the MacLean Center for Clinical Medical Ethics; and codirector of the Institute for Translational Medicine. She is a recipient of the Patricia Price Brown Prize in Biomedical Ethics from the Oklahoma Health Sciences University and a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship. She is the author of two books, *Children, Families and Health Care Decision-Making* and *Children in Medical Research: Access versus Protection*. 
Ethics
The Fundamental Questions of Our Lives

Wolfgang Huber
Brian McNeil, Translator

In the twenty-first century the basic questions of ethics are no longer the abstract terms of ethical theory but the concrete and burning issues related to the influence of life sciences, the impact of a globalized economy, and the consequences of present decisions for the future of humankind. *Ethics: The Fundamental Questions of Our Lives* analyzes twenty ethical issues that address education and culture, labor and economy, the environment and sustainability, democracy and cosmopolitanism, peace and war, and life and death. Each chapter describes a concrete example showing the relevance of the fundamental ethical question, then provides an explanation of how one can think through possible responses and reactions. Huber emphasizes the connections between personal, professional, and institutional ethics and demonstrates how human relationships lie at the center of our ethical lives. His aim is to articulate a theology of what he calls “responsible freedom” that transcends individualistic self-realization and includes communal obligations.

WOLFGANG HUBER is a German theologian and ethicist. He has taught as professor of systematic theology at the University of Heidelberg and visiting professor at Emory University, and served as bishop of the Evangelical Church in Germany. He retired in 2009. An intellectual of international renown, Dr. Huber is the author and editor of numerous books, including *Violence: The Unrelenting Assault on Human Dignity* and *Christian Belief*.

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Je me souviens
Histoire, culture, et littérature
du Québec francophone
Elizabeth Blood and J. Vincent H. Morrissette

Je me souviens invites post-intermediate students of French to improve their language skills while exploring the complex history and culture of Québec.

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“Using an interdisciplinary approach through a variety of texts and documents, Je me souviens provides an excellent overview of Québec from different perspectives. Well organized, thought-provoking, and enriched by a wealth of illustrations, this textbook is unique for its content and will appeal to students from various backgrounds.”

—Marie-Christine Weidmann Koop, professor of French, University of North Texas, and past president, American Association of Teachers of French

Elizabeth Blood is an associate professor of French at Salem State University and the author of Intrigue: langue, culture et mystère dans le monde francophone.

J. Vincent H. Morrissette teaches at Fairfield University and Sacred Heart University.
To Advanced Proficiency and Beyond
Theory and Methods for Developing Superior Second Language Ability
Tony Brown and Jennifer Bown, Editors

To Advanced Proficiency and Beyond addresses an important issue in second language acquisition—how to help learners progress from intermediate and advanced proficiency to superior and beyond. Due to the pressures of globalization, American society encounters an ever-increasing demand for speakers with superior language abilities. This volume makes available cutting-edge research on working memory and cognition and empirical studies of effective teaching to help boost students to advance to the superior level. In addition it can serve as a practical handbook for seasoned and pre-professional instructors alike. Bringing together the latest in second language acquisition theory, decades of empirical research, and practical classroom application makes for an unprecedented volume examining the achievement of superior-level foreign language proficiency.

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—Madeline Spring, Director, University of Hawaii Chinese Flagship Program and professor of Chinese, University of Hawaii at Manoa

TONY BROWN is an associate professor in the department of German and Russian at Brigham Young University. He has published articles in the Foreign Language Annals, Modern Language Journal, Russian Language Journal, and Language Policy.

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Subject Pronoun Expression in Spanish
A Cross-Dialectal Perspective

Ana M. Carvalho, Rafael Orozco, and Naomi Lapidus Shin, Editors

Much recent scholarship has sought to identify the linguistic and social factors that favor the expression or omission of subject pronouns in Spanish. This volume brings together leading experts on the topic of language variation in Spanish to provide a panoramic view of research trends, develop probabilistic models of grammar, and investigate the impact of language contact on pronoun expression.

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“[A] superb collection of studies that substantially increases our understanding, not only of variation in subject personal pronouns, but also of variable morphosyntactic processes generally. . . . Clearly relevant to all students and scholars who wish to understand the complexities of linguistic variation and dialect contact.”

—Robert Bayley, professor of Linguistics, University of California, Davis

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People in many African communities live within a series of concentric circles when it comes to language. In a small group, a speaker uses an often unwritten and endangered mother tongue that is rarely used in school. A national indigenous language—written, widespread, sometimes used in school—surrounds it. An international language like French or English, a vestige of colonialism, carries prestige, is used in higher education, and promises mobility—and yet it will not be well-known by its users.

The essays in *Languages in Africa* explore the layers of African multilingualism as they affect language policy and education. Through case studies ranging across the continent, the contributors consider multilingualism in the classroom as well as in domains ranging from music and film to politics and figurative language. The contributors report on the widespread devaluing and even death of indigenous languages. They also investigate how poor teacher training leads to language-related failures in education. At the same time, they demonstrate that education in a mother tongue can work, linguists can use their expertise to provoke changes in language policies, and linguistic creativity thrives in these multilingual communities.

**Elizabeth C. Zsiga** is a professor in the linguistics department at Georgetown University.

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The Community of Believers
Christian and Muslim Perspectives

Lucinda Mosher and David Marshall, Editors

The Community of Believers offers the proceedings of the 2013 Building Bridges seminar, a dialogue between leading Christian and Muslim scholars under the stewardship of Georgetown University.

These essays consider such themes as the Church as mystical body of Christ versus the Church as proclamation; the roots and uses of the term umma and its development over time; Christian desires for communion, experiences of division, and approaches to unity; the history of Muslim disunity; 20th-century Christian ecclesiology and its responses to a post-Christendom and post-Christian world; and the Arab Spring as a case study for contemplating accommodationism, conservatism, reformism, and fundamentalism as Muslim strategies to address the pressures of modernism. The volume also includes texts and commentaries used in the seminar’s discussions of each topic and a concluding essay summarizing the tone, content, and style of participant exchanges throughout the seminar.

Lucinda Mosher is faculty associate in interfaith studies and director of the Multi-faith Chaplaincy Program at the Hartford Seminary and assistant academic director of the Building Bridges Seminar.

David Marshall is associate professor of the practice of Christian-Muslim relations at Duke Divinity School and academic director of the Building Bridges seminar.

CONTRIBUTORS

Ahmet Alibašić • Gavin D’Costa • Brandon Gallaher • Lucy Gardner • Feras Hamza • Lucinda Mosher • Abdullah Saeed
In December 2010 an out-of-work Tunisian street vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, set himself on fire and precipitated the Arab Spring. Popular interpretations of Bouazizi’s self-immolation presented economic and political oppression by the Ben Ali regimes as the root causes of widespread social despair that triggered the Tunisian revolution. Yet as Julia Clancy-Smith points out, Tunisia’s long history of organized political activism and protest movements suggests a far more complicated set of processes. Proposing a conceptual framework of “coastalization” vs. “interiorization,” Clancy-Smith examines Tunisia’s last two centuries and demonstrates how geographical and environmental and social factors also lie behind that country’s modern political history. Within this framework Clancy-Smith explores how Tunisia’s coast became a Mediterranean playground for transnational elites, a mecca of tourism, while its interior agrarian regions suffered increasing neglect and marginalization. This distinction has had a profound impact on the fate of Tunisia and has manifested itself in divisive debates over politics, the state, and religion as well as women’s socio-legal status that have led to a series of mass civic actions culminating in revolution. Clancy-Smith proposes a fresh historical lens through which to view the relationship between spacial displacements, regionalization, and transnationalism.

**Julia Clancy-Smith** is professor of history at the University of Arizona. She is the coauthor of *The Modern Middle East and North Africa: A History in Documents* and author of *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration* and *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters.*
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Anna Newby and Georgia Pelletier, Editors
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Reem Bassiouney, Editor

Al-‘Arabiyya is the annual journal of the American Association of Teachers of Arabic and serves scholars in the United States and abroad. Al-‘Arabiyya includes scholarly articles and reviews that advance the study, research, and teaching of Arabic language, linguistics, literature, and pedagogy.

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