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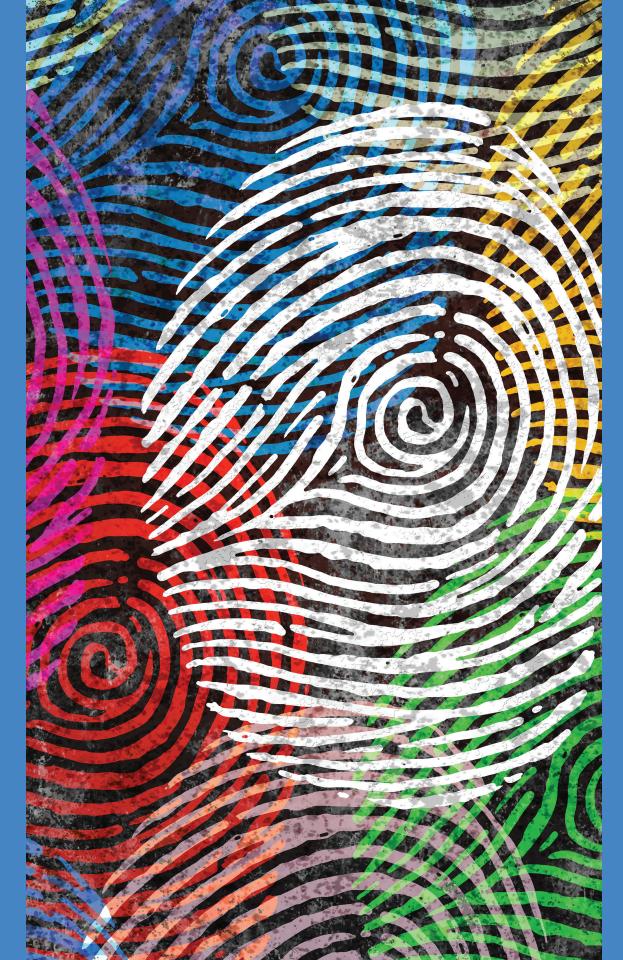
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Dear Colleagues,

It is hard to believe that, as I write, we are almost a year into a horrific shared experience which historians will look back on for centuries to come. As we remember those who have lost their lives and livelihoods to covid-19, we have also somehow found the resilience to begin to reckon with the systemic racism in our society and around the world. It's with that fragile seed of hope that I look forward to spring—hope not just for a return to normal, but for a better world in which we truly value public goods such as health, knowledge, and equality. We hope our publishing can be a contribution to the conversations which will shape this new world.

Voices of the Border: Testimonios of Migration, Deportation, and Asylum includes powerful personal accounts from migrants crossing the US–Mexico border, helping us to begin to understand their experiences. The End of Asylum describes the history of the US asylum system, how the Trump administration has worked to dismantle it, and how a future administration and Congress can rebuild it.

Two new titles in African American history give unheard stories their long-overdue places in American history. *Facing Georgetown's History: A Reader on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation* introduces readers to Georgetown University's involvement in slavery and recent efforts to confront its troubling past. *Between Freedom and Equality: The History of an African American Family in Washington, DC* tells the story of George Pointer—an enslaved individual who purchased his freedom in 1793—and six generations of his descendants as they lived and worked in our nation's capital.

Finally, *After the End of History* includes an important reflection on the current state of democracy in the words of Francis Fukuyama, one of the world's most insightful political scientists.

We hope these books will contribute to building a better future together.

With all best wishes,



Al Bertrand Director, Georgetown University Press



Fukuyama After the End of History

CONVERSATIONS WITH

Francis

"What a splendid piece of work and service rendered by Mathilde Fasting. *After the End of History* sets records straight, clarifies, challenges, and provokes."

—Jeffrey Gedmin, CEO and Editor in Chief, American Purpose, and former President, Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty After the End of History Conversations with Francis Fukuyama EDITED BY MATHILDE FASTING

With Francis Fukuyama

In his 1992 best-selling book *The End of History and the Last Man*, American political scientist Francis Fukuyama argued that the dominance of liberal democracy marked the end of humanity's political and ideological development. Thirty years later, with populism on the rise and the number of liberal democracies decreasing worldwide, Fukuyama revisits his classic thesis.

A series of in-depth interviews between Fukuyama and editor Mathilde Fasting, *After the End of History* offers a wide-ranging analysis of liberal democracy today. Drawing on Fukuyama's work on identity, biotechnology, and political order, the book provides essential insight into the rise of authoritarianism and the greatest threats faced by democracy in our present world.

Diving into topics like the surprise election of Donald Trump, the destruction of social and political norms, and the rise of China, Fukuyama deftly explains the plight of liberal democracy and explores how we might prevent its further decline. He also reflects on his life and career, the evolution of his thinking, and some of his most important books. Insightful and important, *After the End of History* grants unprecedented access to one of the greatest political minds of our time.

MATHILDE FASTING is a project manager and fellow at Civita, one of Norway's most influential think tanks, where she regularly hosts its weekly podcast. Her published works include *Freedom of Choice, The Citizen and the Community*, and *Torkel Aschehoug and Norwegian Historical Economic Thought: Reconsidering a Forgotten Norwegian Pioneer Economist.*

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA is the Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), the director of the Ford Dorsey Master's in International Policy, and the Mosbacher Director of FSI's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law at Stanford University. He has written widely on issues related to democratization and international political economy, including his seminal work *The End of History and the Last Man*. His most recent book is *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy*.

EXCERPTS FROM AFTER THE END OF HISTORY IN THE WORDS OF FRANCIS FUKUYAMA



On identity politics:

"The fundamental shift is the global axis of world politics moving from being defined by a Left and a Right by economic ideology. That image of Left and Right was largely the nature of politics in the twentieth century.... We are increasingly now in a world that is defined by an axis of identity."

On the political situation today:

"It's not as if these kinds of setbacks are new. Throughout the twentieth century, we were constantly having big setbacks to democracy, much bigger than we've experienced in the last decade.... We still have agency. This is not an inevitable trend, and authoritarian government is not inexorably on the rise. People can put a stop to it by going out in the streets and protesting and ultimately by voting."

Francis Fukuyama Photo: Djurdja Padejski

On human rights:

"Although we know where we came from in cultural

terms, we no longer have any clear agreement about the moral foundations on which our current values are based. We don't have a coherent cultural narrative about where our most fundamental values come from, and that's very problematic. The American founding fathers had this idea that rights were natural, that they come out of a certain understanding of human nature, but very few theorists today would endorse that view."

On leadership:

"It's much easier to play on people's fears, to stir up these kinds of emotions that are based on injustice that are felt by people that are searching for community and identity, and it's harder to find politicians that actually want to unify people in a democratic community that is diverse and respectful of other points of view."

On the downfall of liberal democracy:

"...[P]eace and prosperity will not ultimately be satisfying to many people who will continue to seek recognition and community. If they can't struggle for justice because they live in fundamentally just communities, they will struggle for injustice.... [N]either nationalism nor religion [will] disappear from world politics..."



Mathilde Fasting, Editor

\$24.95 T / £18.00 cloth 978-1-64712-086-3 \$24.95 n / £18.00 ebook 978-1-64712-087-0 MAY 224 pages / 6 x 9 POLITICS / POLITICAL SCIENCE World Rights

Can you tell us how the recent US approach to asylum has diverged from international refugee standards?

In passing the Refugee Act of 1980, Congress called on the executive branch to build a robust asylum adjudication system to protect refugees who arrived on their own in the United States, while ordering deportation for those who did not qualify under the law. Since then, both Republican and Democratic administrations did just that all the way up to 2017. Through regulations, decisions by the attorney general, and policies such as the "Remain in Mexico" plan, the Trump administration has destroyed the asylum system, making it nearly impossible for genuine asylum seekers to remain safely in the United States and violating both substantive and procedural international refugee law standards.

Can you name a few ways that the Trump administration's policy has endangered asylum?

The family separation policy was one of the Trump administration's most widely known-and widely criticized-efforts to deter asylum-seekers from finding protection in the United States. As of October 2020, more than five-hundred children remained separated from their parents. However, the Trump administration employed numerous strategies to undermine the asylum system: it ruled that victims of domestic violence could almost never win asylum, forced tens of thousands of asylum seekers from Central America to wait for months in dangerous border towns in Mexico before it would hear their claims, and enacted a regulation barring asylum for anyone who does not first seek it in Mexico or some other country of transit-and is denied-before applying in the United States. Most recently, the administration cited the pandemic to close the southwestern border to people other than American citizens and permanent residents, in violation of the Refugee Act of 1980.

What can Congress do to protect the US asylum system from a destructive executive branch?

Most urgently, Congress should pass a version of the Refugee Protection Act that has been sponsored by Senator Patrick Leahy and Representative Zoe Lofgren. This book recommends several ways in which that legislation could be strengthened to prevent a future administration from employing restrictions like those that were imposed during the Trump years. For example, Congress could reserve to itself, rather than delegating to the US attorney general, the right to create bars to asylum other than those in the Refugee Act.



ANDREW I. SCHOENHOLTZ is a professor from practice at the Georgetown University Law Center, where he is the codirector of the asylum clinic, the Center for Applied Legal Studies. He is also the director of the Human Rights Institute and the Certificate in Refugees and Humanitarian Emergencies. He is the former deputy director of the US Commission on Immigration Reform. *Photo credit Georgetown Law/Bill Petros*



JAYA RAMJI-NOGALES is the associate dean for academic affairs and I. Herman Stern Research Professor at Temple University's Beasley School of Law, where she teaches refugee law and policy and created, along with her students, the Temple Law Asylum Project.



PHILIP G. SCHRAG is the Delaney Family Professor of Public Interest Law at the Georgetown University Law Center, where he teaches professional responsibility as well as codirecting the asylum clinic. During the Carter administration he was the deputy general counsel of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. *Photo credit Georgetown Law/Bill Petros*

END

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ANDREW I. SCHOENHOLTZ JAYA RAMJI-NOGALES PHILIP G. SCHRAG

"Concise and comprehensive, *The End of Asylum* recounts the relentless, and largely successful, efforts of the Trump administration to stop refugees and asylum-seekers from receiving protection in the US. The Biden administration should take careful note of the authors' smart and practical proposals for restoring America's traditional welcome to those seeking safety from persecution."

—T. Alexander Aleinikoff, Former UN Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees and director, Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility, The New School

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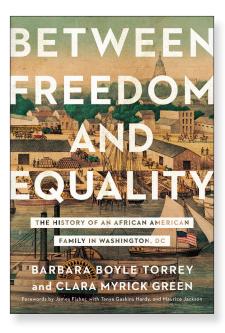
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Donald Trump's 2016 campaign featured his promise to build a border wall separating the US and Mexico. While he never built a physical wall, he did erect a legal one. Over the past three years, the Trump administration has put forth regulations, policies, and practices all designed to end opportunities for asylum seekers. Unless reversed, Trump's policies mark the end of asylum, turning the United States—once a global leader in refugee protection—into a country with an exceptionally restrictive asylum system.

In The End of Asylum, three experts in immigration law offer a comprehensive examination of the rise and demise of the US asylum system. Beginning with the Refugee Act of 1980, they describe how Congress adopted a definition of refugee based on the UN Refugee Convention and created equitable procedures for a uniform process. The authors then chart the evolution of this process, showing how Republican and Democratic administrations and Congresses tweaked the asylum system but maintained it as a means of protecting victims of persecution—until the Trump administration. By expanding his executive reach, twisting obscure provisions in the law, undermining past precedents, and creating additional obstacles for asylum seekers, Trump's policies have effectively ended asylum. The book concludes with a roadmap for a new administration and Congress to repair and reform the US asylum system.

This eye-opening work reveals the extent to which the Trump administration has undermined fundamental American ideals of freedom from persecution and shows us what we can do about it.



"Torrey and Green provide us with a macro history of Washington through the micro history of generations of descendants of George Pointer. And by doing so, they give us the history of a people, the African American people in Washington, DC. Nothing could be finer."

 Maurice Jackson, professor of history and African American Studies at Georgetown University, in his foreword to the book

\$29.95 T / £22.50 cloth 978-1-64712-081-8 **\$29.95 n / £22.50** ebook 978-1-64712-082-5

Royalties from the sale of the book will go to Historic Chevy Chase DC (HCCDC) (https://www.historicchevychasedc.org/)

JUNE 256 pages / 6.5 x 9.5/20 b&w photos, 6 b&w illustrations, 14 maps

WASHINGTON, DC / HISTORY World Rights Between Freedom and Equality The History of an African American Family in Washington, DC

BARBARA BOYLE TORREY AND CLARA MYRICK GREEN

Forewords by James Fisher, with Tanya Gaskins Hardy, and Maurice Jackson

Between Freedom and Equality follows the life of Capt. George Pointer and six generations of his descendants who lived and worked in Washington, DC. The story begins with an 1829 letter from Pointer which recounts his life's work for the Potomac Company. Inspired by Pointer's letter, which is housed at the National Archives, Barbara Boyle Torrey and Clara Myrick Green began researching this remarkable man who was a boat captain and supervisory engineer for the Potomac canal system. This thoughtfully reconstructed narrative provides unique and original insight across two centuries of Washington, DC, history as told through the lives of Pointer and his descendants.

The Pointer family faced many challenges—the fragility of freedom in a slaveholding society, racism, wars, floods, and epidemics—but their refuge was the small farm they purchased in the midnineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, though, the government used eminent domain to force the sale of the family farm in Chevy Chase and replaced it with an all-white school. *Between Freedom and Equality* grants Pointer and his descendants their long-overdue place in American history.

This book includes forewords by historian Maurice Jackson and by eighth-generation descendant James Fisher, who shares the complex emotions he felt when he learned about his ancestors.

BARBARA BOYLE TORREY is the former executive director of the Division of the Behavioral and Social Sciences at the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences. She has authored two local histories and edited three books.

CLARA MYRICK GREEN has written a local history on a Potomac River community and coauthored two historical articles on George Pointer.

MEET THE POINTER FAMILY

Mary Ann Plummer Harris

Granddaughter of Captain Pointer, Mary Ann was brought up by her grandparents after her mother's early death. She grew up along the Potomac River and learned how to pilot a canal boat as a child. Mary Ann and her husband bought two acres of rural property in the area now called Chevy Chase, DC, where they raised their children and grandchildren on their farm, Dry Meadows.

John and Joseph Harris

John and Joseph grew up on Dry Meadows and were the two oldest sons of Mary Ann Plummer Harris. During the Civil War they joined the First Regiment of US Colored Troops in the District of Columbia. After the war, John returned to his wife and son in Georgetown and worked as a laborer for the rest of his life. Joseph learned to read in the army and moved to New York City, where he worked as a Pullman porter. After his mother became a widow, he returned to the family farm and continued his work as a porter in Washington, DC.

Lewis, Lorenzo, and Mary Harris

When John and Joseph went off to war, they left behind their younger brothers and sister at home on the farm. On July 11, 1864, the Confederate cavalry attacked Washington from the north, and the Harris children were caught between two armies. The skirmish line of the battle went right through the Harris's farm. As the buildings around them were set on fire, the children and their parents fled into the city. When their older brothers returned, the younger children told them about their own battle against the Confederacy.

William Moten

Will Moten, the great great grandson of George Pointer, was born in 1886 and grew up at Dry Meadows. During the 1918 influenza pandemic he became a funeral director. For sixty years he was a prominent undertaker serving African Americans in Georgetown and Tenleytown.

The Pointer Descendants Today

After being in the family for decades, Dry Meadows was taken by the government through eminent domain so the city could build an all-white school and park. When eighth-generation descendant James Fisher discovered the farm once stood on what is now Lafayette Park in Chevy Chase, DC, he helped his family organize a reunion at the site to honor their ancestors. The Pointer family reunion, held on August 15, 2015, celebrated over 242 years of shared history.

The 1st Regiment of the United States Colored Troops of the District of Columbia standing in formation Photo by Mathew Brady. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division



TESTIMONIOS OF MIGRATION, DEPORTATION, AND ASYLUM

TRADE

VOICES OF THE BORDER



"The volume's insightful framing essays and *testimonios* contextualize the complex issue of migration, offer a powerful counternarrative to demonizing misconceptions, and—most significantly—center migrants' own voices."

> —Kristin E. Heyer, professor of theological ethics, Boston College

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Kino Border Initiative. JULY 272 pages / 6 x 9/19 b&w photos POLITICS / HUMAN RIGHTS

World Rights

Voices of the Border Testimonios of Migration, Deportation, and Asylum

TOBIN HANSEN AND MARÍA ENGRACIA ROBLES ROBLES, ME, EDITORS

Foreword by Sean Carroll, SJ

While politicians and commentators herald border crises and speculate about the lives of migrants, refugees, and deportees, immigrant's actual memories are rarely shared. *Voices of the Border* reproduces the stories migrants have told, offering a window onto both individual and shared experiences of crossing the US–Mexico border.

This collection emerged from interviews conducted by the Kino Border Initiative (KBI), a Jesuit organization that provides humanitarian assistance and advocates for migrants. Based in the twin border cities of Nogales, Arizona, and Nogales, Sonora, the editors and their colleagues documented migrants' *testimonios* to amplify their voices. These personal narratives of lived experiences, presented in the original Spanish with English translations, bring us closer to these individuals' strength, love, and courage in the face of hardship and injustice. Short introductions written by migrant advocates, humanitarian workers, religious leaders, and scholars provide additional context.

These powerful stories help readers better understand migrants' experiences, as well as the consequences of public policy for their community.

TOBIN HANSEN is an instructor of anthropology at the University of Oregon. His research examines migration and deportation, race, masculinities, care, borders, prisons, and gangs. He is a volunteer at the Kino Border Initiative.

MARÍA ENGRACIA ROBLES ROBLES is a Missionary Sister of the Eucharist and education coordinator at the Kino Border Initiative. She is the author of Las últimas serán las primeras: El discipulado de las mujeres en los Evangelios.

SEAN CARROLL, SJ, is the executive director of the Kino Border Initiative.

TESTIMONIO FROM VOICES OF THE BORDER

I've worked all my life to provide for my mom and for my daughter. I rented a little room for us to live in, and just recently I opened a little shop so we can keep ourselves fed. And that's why—and because I got death threats, because the Mara Salvatrucha demanded money from me and the threats were if I didn't pay—that's why I felt I had no choice but to leave my country. I left my mom in charge of my daughter. She's about to turn eleven.

I made the trip by taking out a loan to pay a coyote to take me with him. The loan was for four thousand dollars. That person just stole my money and left me stranded. I paid him four thousand dollars. Only on the way did I realize, the reality isn't like they tell you. He promised me he would take me all the way to the US and even get me a job. It was all a lie.

He left me in Agua Prieta. From there I didn't know what to do. Throughout the trip, he was the one that guided us, he was the one that bought the bus tickets. I ran into some people who asked me if I had anyone to help me. They told me which bus to get on to get to Nogales. So, I arrived at the bus terminal here. I walked out and couldn't figure out where to go next. I found a lady who said she'd help me. She said she'd look for someone to get me through. She took me to stay at her house, but I heard her making phone calls to sell me to be with men. Before that, she had told me if I left, she would find me. When there was a little free moment, I left and went back to the bus station. I found another lady there and she pointed me in the direction of the comedor. She told me they might be able to help me there with a meal and clothes. That's how I ended up at the comedor of the Kino Border Initiative.

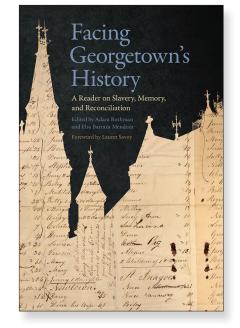
I'm staying at the shelter. My plan is still to go to the US, even though I don't have anyone there who can help me.

-Yésica, originally from Guatemala, sharing her story from the KBI shelter in Nogales, Mexico

People pray for protection and find solace in the earth, Indigenous heritage, Christ's protection, and one another. Wenceslao Hernández Hernández



8 | SPRING 2021



"Members of the descendant communities, of Georgetown University (from administration to students), and of the Society of Jesus are still working to define a path forward, together. *Facing Georgetown's History* is an essential piece of that path, offering elemental respect and accountability in truth-telling."

> -Lauret Savoy, author of Trace: Memory, History, Race, and the American Landscape, from her foreword to the book

Facing Georgetown's History A Reader on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation ADAM ROTHMAN AND ELSA BARRAZA MENDOZA, EDITORS

Foreword by Lauret Savoy

Georgetown University's early history, closely tied to that of the Society of Jesus in Maryland, is a microcosm of the history of American slavery: the entrenchment of chattel slavery in the tobacco economy of the Chesapeake in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the contradictions of liberty and slavery at the founding of the United States; the rise of the domestic slave trade to the cotton and sugar kingdoms of the Deep South in the nineteenth century; the political conflict over slavery and its overthrow amid civil war; and slavery's persistent legacies of racism and inequality.

These essays, articles, and documents introduce readers to the history of Georgetown's involvement in slavery and recent efforts to confront this troubling past.

Important primary sources drawn from the university's and the Maryland Jesuits' archives document Georgetown's tangled history with slavery, down to the sizes of shoes distributed to enslaved people on the Jesuit plantations that subsidized the school. The volume also includes scholarship on Jesuit slaveholding in Maryland and at Georgetown, news coverage of the university's relationship with slavery, and reflections from descendants of the people owned and sold by the Maryland Jesuits.

ADAM ROTHMAN is a professor in Georgetown University's Department of History. He is the author of *Beyond Freedom's Reach: A Kidnapping in the Twilight of Slavery*, which was named the Humanities Book of the Year by the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities and received the American Civil War Museum's book award. He served on Georgetown's Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation from 2015–16 and is currently the principal curator of the Georgetown Slavery Archive.

ELSA BARRAZA MENDOZA is a PhD candidate in history at Georgetown University and the assistant curator of the Georgetown Slavery Archive. She is currently writing her dissertation on the history of slavery on Georgetown's campus.

INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITORS

How was Georgetown's history brought to light, and what work still needs to be done to raise awareness and recognize the university's past?

Georgetown's slaveholding history was not hidden. It has been the subject of articles, books, and innovative online projects such as the Jesuit Plantation Project, an initiative by the school's American Studies Program. However, student research and activism was crucial to bringing this history to the forefront on our campus in recent years. Georgetown's Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation launched a process of institutional reckoning in 2015 that has brought national media attention. The work of research, learning, and repair is ongoing and sometimes contentious. This book traces that effort and contributes to it.

In 1838 the Maryland Jesuits who helped subsidize what is now Georgetown University sold 272 enslaved persons—now known as the GU272—using proceeds from the sale to save the school from financial distress. What do we know about these people, and how can we learn more about their stories?

Drawing from records in Georgetown's archives, we have learned a great deal about the people who were owned and sold by the Maryland Jesuits, as well as those who worked at Georgetown. Their names and family ties have come to light. Births, baptisms, marriages, deaths; the work they did; the tragedies of sale and forced migration; their deep faith and aspirations for freedom. Much of the original documentation of this history is accessible at the Georgetown Slavery Archive website. Researchers have also been finding new ways to tell their stories, including podcasts and videos made by students in collaboration with descendants of the GU272.

How can universities studying slavery—and Georgetown University in particular—serve as a model to examine our nation's history, engage in thoughtful dialogue, and, ultimately, create change?

THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD.

Ranaway from Georgetown College, on laturday night the 29th inst a Negro Man amed ISAAC, about 23 years old gu te black complexion, about 5 leet 8 inches high ; had on when he went away a short coat of drab cloth, pastaloons of the same kind, fur hat & great cost made of thick drab coating and bound with ferretting-he carried with him a pair of blue cloth trowsers, wo Russie linen shirts, an old hat and other articles of clothing not recollected, it is probable he may change his clothing-he has learned to read tolerably well, and it is likely he may have procured a written pass. It is supposed that he is gone to Pennsylvania; he was raised at Mrs. Johnson's near Bryantown, Charles County. The above reward will be paid it secured in any Jail more than 50 miles from this District, and reasonable expences paid if brought home, or twenty dollars if a shorter distance, by the subscriber Clerk of Georgetown Sollege, Destrict of Columbia. JOHN MCELROY.

February 1-dim

A runaway slave advertisement for Isaac, who had run away from Georgetown College, was published in the *Daily National Intelligencer* on February 1, 1814. John McElroy, who posted the ad, was a Jesuit priest and Clerk of Georgetown. Maryland State Archives, "Runaway ad for Isaac, 1814," Georgetown Slavery Archive

Universities are supposed to produce new knowledge in pursuit of truth through rigorous research, reflection, deliberation, and compelling narrative. That knowledge can enable people to see the world in new ways and inspire them to devise new remedies for the problems that plague us. Though painful, unearthing the history of slavery at Georgetown and elsewhere might broaden our historical and moral imagination and provide a deeper understanding of the patterns of racism, inequality, and injustice today.

TRADE

\$29.95 n/£22.50 ebook 978-1-64712-097-9 JUNE 320 pages / 6 x 9/10 b&w photos HISTORY / AFRICAN-AMERICAN HISTORY World Rights

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Georgetown's Second Founder

HISTORY

FR. GIOVANNI GRASSI'S NEWS ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA



"In his remarkably perceptive account of virtually every important aspect of the young United States, Giovanni Grassi anticipates de Tocqueville by two decades.... The book is a great read."

–John W. O'Malley, SJ, university professor, Georgetown University

Georgetown's Second Founder

Fr. Giovanni Grassi's News on the Present Condition of the Republic of the United States of North America

ANTONIO GRASSI

Translated and Introduced by Roberto Severino Foreword by Robert Emmett Curran

Father Giovanni Antonio Grassi was the ninth president of Georgetown University and pioneered its transition into a modern institution, earning him the moniker Georgetown's Second Founder. Originally published in Italian in 1818 and translated here into English for the first time, this book records his rich observations of life in the young republic and the Catholic experience within it.

When Grassi assumed his post as president in 1811, he found the university, known then as Georgetown College, to be in a "miserable state." He immediately set out to enlarge and improve the institution, opening the school to non-Catholics, adding to the library's holdings, and winning authority from Congress to confer degrees. Upon his return to Italy, Grassi published *News on the Present Condition of the Republic of the United States of North America*, which introduced Italians to the great American experiment in self-governance and offered perspectives on the social reality for Catholics.

A fascinating work for historians of Catholicism and of the Jesuits in particular, this book reveals the pivotal role Italian educators and priests played in the shaping of the new nation's greatest minds.

FATHER GIOVANNI ANTONIO GRASSI was born in Schilpario, in the region of Lombardy, Italy, in 1775. He studied in the seminary of Bergamo and joined the Jesuits as a novice in 1799. In 1810 he traveled to the United States, where he met John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore. Grassi served as president of Georgetown University from 1811 to 1817. He returned to Italy in 1817, where he died in Rome in 1849.

ROBERTO SEVERINO is a professor emeritus of Italian at Georgetown University.

ROBERT EMMETT CURRAN is a professor emeritus of history at Georgetown University and the author of the three-volume series *A History of Georgetown University* (Georgetown University Press, 2010).

Diplomacy and the Future of World Order

CHESTER A. CROCKER, FEN OSLER HAMPSON, AND PAMELA AALL, EDITORS

Foreword by Ambassador William J. Burns

Diplomacy in pursuit of peace and security faces severe challenges not seen in decades. The reemergence of strong states, discord in the UN Security Council, destabilizing transnational nonstate actors, closing space for civil society within states, and the weakening of the international liberal order all present new obstacles to diplomacy.

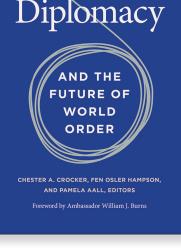
In *Diplomacy and the Future of World Order*, an international group of experts confronts these challenges to peace and conflict diplomacy—defined as the effort to manage others' conflicts, cope with great power competition, and deal with threats to the state system itself. In doing so, they consider three potential scenarios for world order where key states decide to go it alone, return to a liberal order, or collaborate on a case-by-case basis to address common threats and problems.

These three scenarios are then evaluated through the prism of regional perspectives from around the world and for their potential ramifications for major security threats including peacekeeping, nuclear nonproliferation, cyber competition, and terrorism. Editors Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall conclude the volume by identifying emerging types of diplomacy that may form the foundation for global peacemaking and conflict management in an uncertain future.

CHESTER A. CROCKER is the James R. Schlesinger Professor of the Practice of Strategic Studies at the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He previously served as the assistant secretary for the US Department of State's Bureau of African Affairs.

FEN OSLER HAMPSON is a Chancellor's Professor and professor of international affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University and president of the World Refugee and Migration Council.

PAMELA AALL is a senior advisor for conflict prevention and management at the United States Institute of Peace.



"A very important book on how the United States should cope with a very different world. Essential for conflict resolution courses."

—Roy Licklider, adjunct senior research scholar at the Saltzman Institute for War and Peace Studies and adjunct professor of political science, Columbia University

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China's Strategic Arsenal Worldview, Doctrine, and Systems JAMES M. SMITH AND PAUL J. BOLT, EDITORS

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PAUL J. BOLT is a professor and the head of the Department of Political Science at the US Air Force Academy. He has published on Chinese foreign relations and defense issues, and coauthored *China, Russia, and Twenty-First Century Global Geopolitics*.

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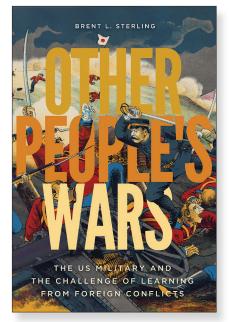
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BRENT L. STERLING is an adjunct professor at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He is the author of *Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbors? What History Teaches Us about Strategic Barriers and International Security* (Georgetown University Press, 2009). He has spent the past thirty years as a defense analyst, including positions at the Central Intelligence Agency and consulting firms that support the US Department of Defense.



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BRAD WILLIAMS is an associate professor in the Department of Asian and International Studies at the City University of Hong Kong. He has studied, taught, and conducted research in Australia, Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Myanmar, Taiwan, and the United States. He is the author of *Resolving the Russo-Japanese Territorial Dispute: Hokkaido-Sakhalin Relations* and has also coedited and translated a number of volumes, including *Japan in Decline: Fact or Fiction*?

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DANIEL K. FINN is the William E. and Virginia Clemens Professor of Economics and the Liberal Arts in the Department of Economics and professor of theology, both at St. John's University and the College of Saint Benedict. His books include *Consumer Ethics in a Global Economy: How Buying Here Causes Injustice There* (Georgetown University Press, 2019), *Empirical Foundations of the Common Good: What Theology Can Learn from Social Science*, and *Distant Markets, Distant Harms: Economic Complicity and Christian Ethics*.





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Pope Francis and the Transformation of Health Care Ethics

Since its first edition in 1948, the US Conference of Catholic Bishops' *Ethical and Religious Directives for Catholic Health Care Services* (*ERD*) has guided Catholic institutions in the provision of health care that reflects both the healing ministry of Jesus and the Church's understanding of human dignity. However, while the papacy of Pope Francis and the clerical sex-abuse scandal both profoundly impacted the Catholic Church, the latest edition of the *ERD* does not address or reflect these transformations.

Now for the first time, Todd A. Salzman and Michael G. Lawler present an extended critical commentary on the 2018 *ERD*. They argue that it is problematic in a number of ways. First, the revised *ERD* continues to prioritize a rule-based over a personalist-based ethical method, with an emphasis on absolute norms that proscribe specific medical acts. Further, it does not take into account Pope Francis's transforming ecclesiological, methodological, and anthropological visions. Finally, the revised *ERD* provides no evidence that the bishops grasp how the clerical sex-abuse scandal and its cover-up have fundamentally undermined episcopal authority and credibility.

Salzman and Lawler propose new ways forward for US Catholic health care ethics that prioritize human dignity as their guiding principle. Pope Francis's emphasis on the virtues of mercy and care should move the *ERD* forward from a focus on absolute norms in medical ethics to a focus on virtues and principles to guide both patients and health care professionals.

TODD A. SALZMAN is the Amelia and Emil Graff Professor of Catholic Theology at Creighton University. He is the author or coauthor of ten books, including *The Church in the Modern World* and *What Are They Saying about Roman Catholic Ethical Method*?

MICHAEL G. LAWLER is a professor emeritus of Catholic theology at Creighton University. He is the author of twenty-five books, including the award winning *The Sexual Person* and, most recently, *Introduction to Catholic Theological Ethics*. The Aesthetics of Solidarity Our Lady of Guadalupe and American Democracy NICHOLE M. FLORES

Latine Catholics have used Our Lady of Guadalupe as a symbol in democratic campaigns ranging from the Chicano and United Farm Workers' movements to contemporary calls for just immigration reform. In diverse ways, these groups have used Guadalupe's symbol and narrative to critique society's basic structures—including law, policy, and institutions—while seeking to inspire broader participation and representation among marginalized peoples in US democracy.

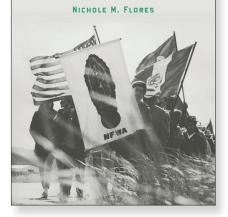
Yet, from the outside, Guadalupe's symbol is illegible within a liberal political framework that seeks to protect society's basic structures from religious encroachment by relegating religious speech, practices, and symbols to the background.

The Aesthetics of Solidarity argues for the capacity of Our Lady of Guadalupe—and similar religious symbols-to make democratic claims. Author Nichole M. Flores exposes the limitations of political liberalism's aesthetic responses to religious difference, turning instead to Latine theological aesthetics and Catholic social thought to build a framework for interpreting religious symbols in our contemporary pluralistic and participatory democratic life. By offering a lived theology of Chicanx Catholics in Denver, Colorado, and their use of Guadalupe in the pursuit of justice in response to their neighborhood's gentrification, this book provides an important framework for a community of interpretation where members stand in solidarity to respond to justice claims made from diverse religious and cultural communities.

NICHOLE M. FLORES is an assistant professor in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Virginia. She is the author of several scholarly articles and is a contributing writer for *America* magazine. She was the recipient of the 2015 Catherine Mowry LaCugna Award for the best academic essay in Catholic theology from the Catholic Theological Society of America.

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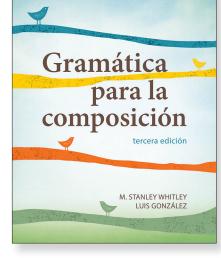
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M. STANLEY WHITLEY is a professor emeritus of Spanish and linguistics at Wake Forest University. He is the author of *Spanish/ English Contrasts: A Course in Spanish Linguistics*, Second Edition (Georgetown University Press, 2002), coauthor of *Teaching Spanish Grammar with Pictures: How to Use William Bull's "Visual Grammar of Spanish"* (Georgetown University Press, 2010), and coauthor of *Pronouncing English: A Stress-Based Approach with CD-ROM* (Georgetown University Press, 2004).

LUIS GONZÁLEZ is an associate professor of Spanish at Wake Forest University. He is the author of *Cómo entender y cómo enseñar por y para* and *Four Dichotomies in Spanish: Adjective Position, Adjectival Clauses, Ser/Estar, and Preterite/Imperfect* (forthcoming).

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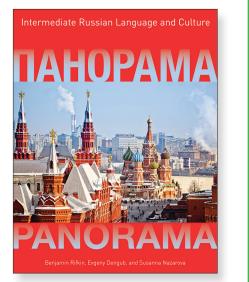
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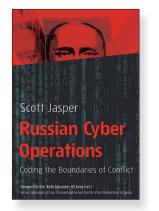


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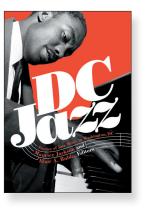
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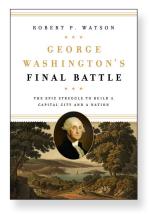
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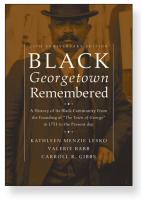


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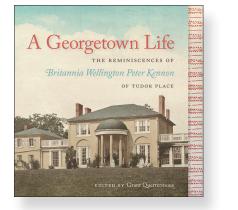
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