Over 150 years ago Francis Galton made a bet that diffusion of practices persists since ‘it’ is never one thing. Varieties emerge and thrive autochthonously. Doing so explains its global reach. We have to break with Galton and appreciate how indigenous neoliberalism’s periphery that ‘sucks it up’ with various national edits to the script. Viewing neoliberal thought as a western core diffusing to a global periphery leaves us with an intellectually vibrant understanding.

Critics of neoliberalism have long treated it as a homogeneous and limited, clustering around famous intellectuals like Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek. In the most innovative work, the cast of characters remains surprisingly limited. Even long seen as a laboratory of neoliberalism, the new literature followed a story of diffusion as ideas migrated outward from the Global South. Even on the world. With the notable exception of Augusto Pinochet’s Chile, many others. Seeing neoliberalism from beyond the industrial core helps us understand what made radical capitalism attractive to diverse populations and how often disruptive policy ideas “went local.”

Market Civilizations: Neoliberal East and South is an indispensable ideological map at a time when the near futures is an early member of the Mont Pelerin Society from India, who has another MPS president and founder of Marroquín University, an underground institution.

Market Civilizations redresses this absence by introducing a range of lesser-known cases around the world. It allows for closer study of the relationship between ideas, interests, and-downs of neoliberal ideas, adaptations, and applications in a wide range of lesser-known cases around the world. A brilliant must-read collection.

In a series of illuminating essays, a stellar group of contributors offer groundbreaking insights into the ins-and-outs as well as the ups-and-downs of neoliberal ideas, adaptations, and applications in a wide range of lesser-known cases around the world. They explore the evolution of the neoliberal intellectual movement around the Mont Pelerin Society has allowed for closer study of the relationship between ideas, interests, and-downs of neoliberal ideas, adaptations, and applications in a wide range of lesser-known cases around the world. They explore the evolution of the neoliberal intellectual movement around the Mont Pelerin Society and many others. Seeing neoliberalism from beyond the industrial core helps us understand what made radical capitalism attractive to diverse populations and how often disruptive policy ideas “went local.”

From a common point to other sites is far more likely to succeed than variations emerging and thriving autochthonously. They explain its global reach. We have to break with Galton and appreciate how indigenous neoliberalism’s periphery that ‘sucks it up’ with various national edits to the script. Viewing neoliberal thought as a western core diffusing to a global periphery leaves us with an intellectually vibrant understanding.

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Founded in 1985, Zone Books is an independent nonprofit publisher in the humanities and social sciences, with a special focus on interdisciplinary projects. Zone publishes original works by international scholars of philosophy, history, art history, cultural and sound studies, as well as political and social theory that have changed conversations across disciplines. Zone titles are edited by Jonathan Crary, Michel Feher, Hal Foster, and Ramona Naddaff, and designed by Julie Fry, based on an original concept by Bruce Mau.

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In clear and compelling prose, Melinda Cooper’s *Counterrevolution* investigates the key moments and actors in the neoliberal turn in public finance—a trauma response to the “almost revolution” of the late 1960s and early 1970s, which she reads as a counter-revolutionary project. The book focuses on the role of public choice theory and supply-side economics in driving this counterrevolution and orchestrating the distribution of extravagance and austerity. Neoliberal public finance has not only deepened the divide between rich and poor, it has also reshaped the organizational form of capitalism itself. Identifying a counterfactual history of unrealized potentialities, Cooper invites us to rethink the concept of revolution and raises the question: is another politics of extravagance possible?

“Melinda Cooper brilliantly recasts the fierce intellectual battles which neoliberals waged against forgotten and half-perceived alternatives. Her book is a must read for anyone interested in the intellectual and economic history of our present day as well as for those fighting over the economic paradigm of the future.” —Isabella M. Weber, author of *How China Escaped Shock Therapy*

**MELINDA COOPER** is Professor in the School of Sociology at the Australian National University. She is the author of *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism*. 
Forest fires, droughts, and rising sea levels beg a nagging question: have we lost our capacity to act on the future? Liliana Doganova’s book sheds new light on this urgent query. It argues that our relationship to the future has been trapped in the gears of a device called discounting. While its incidence remains little known, discounting has long been entrenched in market and policy practices, shaping the ways firms and governments look to the future and make decisions accordingly. Building on original empirical research, Doganova takes us to some of the sites and moments in which discounting took shape and gained momentum: valuation of European forests in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; economic theories devised in the early 1900s; debates over business strategies in the postwar era; investor-state disputes over the nationalization of natural resources; and drug development in the biopharmaceutical industry today. Weaving these threads together, the book pleads for an understanding of discounting as a political technology, and of the future as a contested domain.

“An extremely well-researched and superbly presented book on one of the most influential calculation tools used in the economy and politics alike…Doganova’s interpretation of discounting as a political technology makes the book a vital contribution to political economy.” — Jens Beckert, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies

LILIANA DOGANOVA is Associate Professor at the Centre de sociologie de l’innovation, Mines Paris, PSL University. She is the author of Valoriser la science and the coauthor of Capitalization: A Cultural Guide.
BIOLOGICAL MOTION: 
A HISTORY OF LIFE
by Janina Wellmann

A captivating exploration of the changing definitions of life in biology

Biological Motion studies the foundational relationship between motion and life. To answer the question, “What is Life?,” prize-winning historian of science Janina Wellmann engages in a transdisciplinary investigation of motion as the most profound definition of living existence. For decades, information and structure have dominated the historiography of the life sciences with its prevailing focus on DNA structure and function. Now more than ever, motion is a crucial theme of basic biological research. Tracing motion from Aristotle’s animal soul to molecular motors, and from medical soft robotics to mathematical analysis, Wellmann locates biological motion at the intersection of knowledge domains and scientific and cultural practices. She offers signposts to mark the sites where researchers, technologies, ideas, and practices opened up new paths in the constitution of the phenomenon of motion. An ambitious rethinking of the life sciences, Biological Motion uncovers the secret life of movement and offers a new account of what it means to be alive.

“Motion has been the mark of life ever since scientific observation began. In this visually striking and beautifully written book, Wellmann retells the history of biology by tracking vital motions from Aristotle to right now. In the process, she educates the eye to see the kind of motion we call life in ever new ways.” —Lorraine Daston

JANINA WELLMANN is a Researcher at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin and the author of The Form of Becoming: Embryology and the Epistemology of Rhythm, 1760–1830.
Tricks of the Light brings together essays by critic and art historian Jonathan Crary, internationally known for his groundbreaking and widely admired studies of modern Western visual culture. This collection features a compelling selection of Crary’s responses to modern and contemporary art and to the transformations of twentieth-century media systems and urban/technological environments. These wide-ranging and provocative texts explore the work of Allan Kaprow, Eleanor Antin, Ed Ruscha, John Berger, Bridget Riley, J. G. Ballard, Rem Koolhaas, Gretchen Bender, Dennis Oppenheim, Paul Virilio, Robert Irwin, and Uta Barth. There are also reflections on filmmakers Fritz Lang, Stanley Kubrick, Jean-Luc Godard, David Cronenberg, and others. Crary examines how their films disclose the consequential “techniques of the observer” that have been deployed throughout the twentieth century as instruments for the management of attention and for the fabrication of social realities. The book is enhanced by several expansive essays on the unstable status of television through history, assessing its many-sided role in the reshaping of subjectivity, temporality, and the operation of power. Crary’s writing here is grounded in the acuteness of his engagement with perceptual artifacts of many kinds and in his nuanced reading of historical processes and their cultural reverberations.

“Jonathan Crary’s unique project as a historian of modernity describes anew an epoch of unrelenting, dissolute flows—of data, of finance capital, of electronic images—as if he were both its visionary poet and fiercest critic.” —George Baker, University of California, Los Angeles

JONATHAN CRARY is Meyer Schapiro Professor of Modern Art and Theory at Columbia University. His books include Techniques of the Observer,Suspensions of Perception, 24/7, and Scorched Earth.
In this brilliant contribution to contemporary media studies, acclaimed theorist Francesco Casetti advances a provocative hypothesis: instead of being prostheses that expand or extend our perceptions, modern screen-based media are in fact apparatuses that shelter and protect us from exposure to the world. Rather than bringing us closer to external reality, dominant forms of visual media function as barriers or enclosures that defend against the apparent threats and dangers that seem increasingly to surround us. Working with an original historical overview that begins with the Phantasmagoria of the late eighteenth century, then the shared interior spaces of the movie theater in the early to mid-twentieth century, and finally the solitary digital milieus of the present, Casetti traces the outlines of the protective “bubbles” that disconnect us from our immediate surroundings. In a dialectical exercise, and through a vivid range of cultural artifacts, Screening Fears examines the emergence of modern protective media and the way they changed our forms of mediation with the world in which we live.

“Screening Fears arrives at the end of the cinema century… it helps us to imagine our place in the proposed multiverse of the future.” —Jane M. Gaines, Columbia University

FRANCESCO CASETTI is the Sterling Professor of Humanities and Film and Media Studies at Yale University. Among his books are Inside the Gaze; Theories of Cinema, 1945–1995; Eye of the Century: Film, Experience, Modernity; and The Lumière Galaxy: Seven Key Words for the Cinema to Come.
America and Asia mingled in the geographical and cultural imagination of Europe for well over a century after 1492. Through an array of texts, maps, objects, and images produced between 1492 and 1700, this compelling and revelatory study immerses the reader in a vision of a world where Mexico really was India, North America was an extension of China, and South America was marked by a variety of biblical and Asian sites. It asks, further: What does it mean that the Amerasian worldview predominated at a time when Europe itself was coming into cultural self-definition? This book shows how it was possible to inhabit a world where America and Asia were connected either imaginatively when viewed from afar, or in reality when traveling through the newly encountered lands. Elizabeth Horodowich and Alexander Nagel pose a dynamic model of the world and of Europe’s place in it that was eclipsed by the rise of Eurocentric colonialist narratives in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To rediscover this history is an essential part of coming to terms with the emergent polyfocal global reality of our own time.

“Seldom does a work of history force us to revisit an entire universe of evidence as if we had never seen it before. This splendid work of scholarship will remain indispensable reading.” —Nicolás Wey Gómez, California Institute of Technology

ELIZABETH HORODOWICH is Professor of History at New Mexico State University and author of Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice and The Venetian Discovery of America: Geographic Imagination and Print Culture in the Age of Encounters.

ALEXANDER NAGEL is Professor at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; author of The Controversy of Renaissance Art and Michelangelo and the Reform of Art; and coauthor of Anachronic Renaissance.
Why did short narrative forms like the novella, fable, and fairytale suddenly emerge around 1800 as genres symptomatic of literature’s role in life and society? In order to explain their rapid ascent to such importance, Florian Fuchs identifies an essential role of literature, a role traditionally performed within classical civic discourse of storytelling, by looking at new or updated forms of this civic practice in modernity. Fuchs’s focus in this ground-breaking book is on the fate of topical speech, on what is exchanged between participants in argument or conversation as opposed to rhetorical speech, which emanates from and ensures political authority. He shows how after the decline of the *Ars topica* in the eighteenth century, various forms of literary speech took up the role of topical speech that Aristotle had originally identified. Thus, his book outlines a genealogy of various literary short forms—from fable, fairytale, and novella to twenty-first century video storytelling—that attempted on both “high” and “low” levels of culture to exercise again the social function of topical speech. Some of the specific texts analyzed include the novellas of Theodor Storm and the novella-like lettre de cachet, proverbial fictions of Gustave Flaubert and Gottfried Keller, the fairytale as rediscovered by Vladimir Propp and Walter Benjamin, the epiphanies of James Joyce, and the video narratives of Hito Steyerl.

“Civic Storytelling is a timely intervention in our age of debates about fact and fiction. Elegantly interweaving theoretical and historical reflections with close readings of a wide array of texts, Fuchs offers fresh insights on small forms.” — Eva Geulen, Leibniz Centre for Literary and Cultural Research in Berlin

FLORIAN FUCHS is a scholar of literary epistemology and media studies. He is a post-doctoral researcher at Freie Universität Berlin and the coeditor of *History, Metaphors, Fables: A Hans Blumenberg Reader*.
What is meaning? How does it arise? Where is it found in the world? In recent years, philosophers and scientists have answered these questions in different ways. Some see meaning as a uniquely human achievement; others extend it to trees, microbes, and even to the bonding of DNA and RNA molecules. In this groundbreaking book, Gary Tomlinson defines a middle path. Combining emergent thinking about evolution, new research on animal behaviors, and theories of information and signs, Tomlinson tracks meaning far out into the animal world. At the same time, he discerns limits to its scope and identifies innumerable life forms, including many animals and all other organisms, that make no meanings at all. *The Machines of Evolution and the Scope of Meaning* offers a revaluation of both meaning and meaninglessness, uncovering a foundational difference in animal solutions to the hard problem of life.

“It is rare to find a work so far reaching and fun-to-read, so synthetic and provocative, so careful in its concepts and creative in its pronouncements. Readers will be entranced by Tomlinson’s novel distinction between meaning and information.” —Paul Kockelman, Yale University

GARY TOMLINSON is Sterling Professor of Music and Humanities at Yale University and the author of books on music, culture, and evolution including *A Million Years of Music: The Emergence of Human Modernity.*
Francisco de Goya and the Art of Critique probes the relationship between the enormous, extraordinary, and sometimes baffling body of Goya’s work and the interconnected issues of modernity, Enlightenment, and critique. Taking exception to conventional views that rely mainly on Goya’s darkest images to establish his relevance for modernity, Cascardi argues that the entirety of Goya’s work is engaged in a thoroughgoing critique of the modern social and historical worlds, of which it nonetheless remains an integral part. The book reckons with the apparent gulf assumed to divide The Disasters of War and the so-called “Black Paintings” from Goya’s scenes of bourgeois life or from the well-mannered portraits of aristocrats, military men, and intellectuals. It shows how these apparent contradictions offer us a gateway into Goya’s critical practice vis-à-vis a European modernity typically associated with the Enlightenment values dominant in France, England, and Germany. In Francisco de Goya and the Art of Critique, Cascardi shows how Goya was consistently engaged in a critical response to—and not just a representation of—the many different factors that are often invoked to explain his work, including history, politics, popular culture, religion, and the history of art itself.

“In this deeply reflective and thorough study, Cascardi blows the lid off standard accounts of Goya’s extraordinary art, demonstrating that both the ‘painter of light’ and the ‘painter of darkness’ theses fall way short of the artist’s immersion in the culture of his time.” —Peter de Bolla, University of Cambridge

ANTHONY J. CASCARDI is the Sidney and Margaret Ancker Distinguished Professor at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of numerous books including The Consequences of Enlightenment and Cervantes, Literature, and the Discourse of Politics.
Memorials are commonly studied as part of the commemorative infrastructure of modern society. Just as often, they are understood as sites of political contestation, where people battle over the meaning of events. But most of the time, they are neither. Instead, they take their rest as ordinary objects, part of the street furniture of urban life. This book explores memorials and their relationship to the pulses of daily life, their meaning within this quotidian context, and their place within the development of modern cities. Through close historical readings of memorials, both well-known and obscure, from the French Revolution to the recent destruction of Confederate monuments, two distinct strands of scholarship are thus brought together: the study of the everyday and memory studies. The Everyday Life of Memorials examines how memorials end up where they are, grow invisible, fight with traffic, get moved, are assembled into memorial zones, and are drawn anew into commemorations and political maelstroms that their original sponsors never could have imagined. Finally, exploring how people behave at memorials and what memorials ask of people reveals just how strange the commemorative infrastructure of modernity is.

“A startling meditation on the ways monuments defy the everyday and succumb to it. This book will change how we think about monuments—whether they stupefy, enrage, or move us.” — Kirk Savage, University of Pittsburgh

ANDREW M. SHANKEN is Professor of Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of, most recently, Into the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World’s Fair.
Many are the losses suffered and lives lost during the recent COVID-19 pandemic. Since 2020, writers around the globe have penned essays and books that make sense of this medical and public health catastrophe. But few have addressed a pressing question that precedes and is the foundation of their writings: How does the very act of narrating the pandemic offer strategies to confront and contend with the pandemic’s present dangers? What narratives have been offered during past plague and pandemic times to ease suffering and loss and protect individuals and communities from a life lived under the most precarious of conditions? In this book, philosopher and literary and cultural critic Samuel Weber returns to past narratives of plagues and pandemics to reproduce the myriad ways individual and collective, historical and actual, intentional and unintentional forces converge to reveal how cultures and societies deal with their vulnerability and mortality. Here the “preexisting conditions” — a phrase taken from the American healthcare industry — and singular conditions of these very cultures converge and collide.

“One of the most original, compelling, and intellectually rigorous books ever written on the plagues of history. Written in Weber’s usually adept and challenging way, Preexisting Conditions reminds us why his is a singular voice in the best sense of the term.”

— Brad Evans, University of Bath

SAMUEL WEBER is Avalon Foundation Professor of the Humanities at Northwestern University and director of its Paris Program in Critical Theory. He is the author of twelve books, including, most recently, Singularity.
Cheerfulness: A Literary and Cultural History tells a new story about the cultural imagination of the West. Hampton shows how cheerfulness—a momentary uptick in emotional energy, a temporary lightening of spirit—functions as a theme in the work of major artists from Shakespeare to Louis Armstrong. The book studies both the philosophical construal of cheerfulness—as a theme in Protestant theology, a focus of medical writings, a topic in Enlightenment psychology, and a category of modern aesthetics—as well as its role as a structuring element in stories and poems. Hampton moves lightly across the work of such crucial figures as Montaigne, Hume, Austen, Emerson, Dickens, and Nietzsche, to trace a new history of the emotional life of European and American culture. In a conclusion on cheerfulness in pandemic days, Hampton stresses the importance of lightness of mind under the pressure of catastrophe. The book offers an original argument on a topic never before systematically studied. New light is cast on the history of literature, on the intersections of culture and psychology, and on the history of emotions.

“This is a great book for our time: a moment when our own sense of good cheer has been challenged by political and social upheaval, threats to public health, and cracks in the melting pot of modern society that have raised questions about long-standing liberal values and ideals. A brilliant wide-ranging, lucidly written book.” —Seth Lerer, University of California at San Diego

TIMOTHY HAMPTON is Aldo Scaglione and Marie M. Burns Distinguished Professor of Comparative Literature and French and Director of the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities at the University of California at Berkeley. He is the author, most recently, of Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe and Bob Dylan: How the Songs Work.
Reckoning with the epochal nature of the turn that capitalism has taken in the last three decades, the *Near Futures* series seeks to assemble a set of books that will illuminate its manifold implications—with regard to the production of value and values, the missions or disorientations of social and political institutions, the yearnings, reasoning, and conduct expected of individuals. The purpose of this project is not to forgo the near future but to find ways of reclaiming it. It is an effort to take stock of what neoliberal reforms and the dictates of finance have wrought, as well as to chart some of the conflicts and forms of activism elicited by the advent of our brave new world.
Where does free market ideology come from? Recent work on the neoliberal intellectual movement around the Mont Pelerin Society has allowed for closer study of the relationship between ideas, interests, and institutions. Yet even as this literature brought neoliberalism down to earth, it tended to reproduce a European and American perspective on the world. With the notable exception of Augusto Pinochet’s Chile, long seen as a laboratory of neoliberalism, the new literature followed a story of diffusion as ideas migrated from the center to the periphery. The vast literature on neoliberalism remains dominated by histories of ideas beginning in the Global North and diffusing outward. Even in the most innovative work, the cast of characters remains surprisingly limited, clustering around famous intellectuals like Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek.

*Market Civilizations* redresses this glaring absence by introducing a range of characters and voices active in the transnational neoliberal movement from the Global South and Eastern Europe. Seeing neoliberalism from beyond the industrial core helps us understand what made radical capitalism attractive to diverse populations and how their often disruptive policy ideas “went local.”


QUINN SLOBODIAN is Marion Butler MacLean Associate Professor of the History of Ideas at Wellesley College.

DIETER PLEHWE is senior fellow at the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB) and private lecturer of Political Science at University of Kassel.
In this book, Melinda Cooper challenges the idea that neoliberalism privileges atomized individualism over familial solidarities, and contractual freedom over inherited status. Delving into the history of the American poor laws, she shows how the liberal ethos of personal responsibility was always undergirded by a wider imperative of family responsibility and how this investment in kinship obligations recurrently facilitated the working relationship between free-market liberals and social conservatives.

Neoliberalism, she argues, must be understood as an effort to revive and extend the poor law tradition in the contemporary idiom of household debt. In a series of case studies ranging from Clinton’s welfare reform to the AIDS epidemic, and from same-sex marriage to the student loan crisis, Cooper explores the key policy contributions made by neoliberal economists and legal theorists. Only by restoring the question of family to its central place in the neoliberal project, she argues, can we make sense of the defining political alliance of our times, that between free-market economics and social conservatism.

“In this intellectual tour de force that combines rigorous empirical evidence with breathtaking theoretical finesse, Melinda Cooper argues that neoliberal economics breeds multiple forms of fundamentalism as well as structural inequalities that hit the most intimate aspects of our existence…. An absolute must read.” —Rosi Braidotti, author of The Posthuman

MELINDA COOPER is Professor in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University.
As financial markets expand and continue to refashion the world in their own image, the wealth of capitalist societies no longer presents itself as it did to Karl Marx in the nineteenth century, as a “monstrous collection of commodities.” Instead, it appears as an equally monstrous collection of financial securities, and the critique of political economy must proceed accordingly. But what would it mean to write Capital in the twenty-first century? Are we really to believe that risk, rather than labor, is now regarded as the true fount of economic value? Likewise, can it truly be the case that the credit relation—at least in the global North—has replaced the wage relation as the key site of exploitation and political struggle?

Through a series of creative substitutions, Ascher’s Portfolio Society extends Marx’s critical project in bold and unexpected ways. In this work, Ascher demystifies crucial dimensions of contemporary finance and considers the predicaments of societies whose own future is now shaped by volatile financial markets. In the end, we may find that much has changed and much has not; relations of domination still endure, and mystifications do abound; but the devil is in the details, and that is where Ascher would have us dwell. At once a critique of modern finance and of the societies under its spell, Portfolio Society succeeds in revealing the potential limits of Capital, while reveling still in its limitless potential.

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IVAN ASCHER is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
Neoliberal rationality—ubiquitous today in statecraft and the workplace, in jurisprudence, education, and culture—remakes everything and everyone in the image of *homo oeconomicus*. What happens when this rationality transposes the constituent elements of democracy into an economic register? In vivid detail, Wendy Brown explains how democracy itself is imperiled.

The demos disintegrates into bits of human capital; concerns with justice cede to the mandates of growth rates, credit ratings, and investment climates; liberty submits to the imperative of human capital appreciation; equality dissolves into market competition; and popular sovereignty grows incoherent. Liberal democratic practices may not survive these transformations. Radical democratic dreams may not either.

In an original and compelling theoretical argument, Brown explains how and why neoliberal reason undoes the political form and political imaginary it falsely promises to secure and reinvigorate. Through meticulous analyses of neoliberalized law, political practices, governance, and education, she charts the new common sense. *Undoing the Demos* makes clear that, far from being the lodestar of the twenty-first century, a future for democracy depends upon it becoming an object of struggle and rethinking.

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WENDY BROWN is an American political theorist. She is the UPS Foundation Professor in the School of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. She is the author most recently of *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism* and *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. 
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