

# ZONE BOOKS

## **INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS GUIDE | 2023**



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## TRICKS OF THE LIGHT: ESSAYS ON ART AND SPECTACLE

by Jonathan Crary

#### Essays on media systems and contemporary art by a leading theorist of visual culture

Art History | Media Theory 256 pp. | 92 b&w + 8 color illus. Fall 2023

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 Op-penheim, 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 is the historian-philosopher of our spectacle-lives." — Artforum

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.



AMERASIA by Elizabeth Horodowich and Alexander Nagel

A connected world as imagined by early modern European artists, mapmakers, and writers, where Asia and the Americas were on a continuum

History | Art 456 pp. | 175 b&w + 14 color illus. Fall 2023

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.



## SCREENING FEARS: ON PROTECTIVE MEDIA

by Francesco Casetti

A historical and theoretical investigation of the unexpected ways screen-based media protect and excite viewers' fears and anxieties of the world

Film & Media Theory | Cultural Studies 272 pp. | 10 illus. Fall 2023 Rights sold: French

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 percep-tions, 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.



## THE MACHINES OF EVOLUTION AND THE SCOPE OF MEANING

by Gary Tomlinson

## A groundbreaking account of the origin and place of meaning in the earthly biosphere

History of Science | Biology | Philosophy 328 pp. | 12 illus. Spring 2023

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 emer-gent 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 reval-uation 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.* 



### CIVIC STORYTELLING: THE RISE OF SHORT FORMS AND THE AGENCY OF LITERATURE by Florian Fuchs

A deep history of storytelling as a civic agency, recalibrating literature's political role for the twen-ty-first century

Comp Lit | Cultural & Media Studies | Philosophy 320 pp. | 7 illus. Spring 2023

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 groundbreaking 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 vari-ous 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 postdoctoral researcher at Freie Universität Berlin and the coeditor of *History, Metaphors, Fables: A Hans Blumenberg Reader.* 



## FRANCISCO DE GOYA AND THE ART OF CRITIQUE

by Anthony J. Cascardi

An unprecedented study of Goya's comprehensive elaboration of the critical function of the work of art

Art History 352 pp. | 137 color illus. Fall 2022

*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.* 



#### THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF MEMORIALS

by Andrew M. Shanken

A timely study, erudite and exciting, about the ordinary—and oftentimes unseen lives of memorials

Politics | Media Studies | Environments 432 pp. | 140 b&w + 8 color illus. Published in 2022

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*.



## PREEXISTING CONDITIONS: RECOUNTING THE PLAGUE

by Samuel Weber

A stunning philosophical and literary account of canonical plague tales

Philosophy 224 pp. Published in 2022

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

by Timothy Hampton

#### A timely story of a forgotten emotion

Cultural Studies | Literary History 272 pp. Published in 2022

*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*.



## MARKET CIVILIZATIONS: NEOLIBERALS EAST AND SOUTH

by Quinn Slobodian and Dieter Plehwe

A NEAR FUTURES TITLE

The first comprehensive study of neoliberalism's proselytizers in Eastern Europe and the Global South

Political Science | Philosophy 368 pp. Published in 2022

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."

## "A study of 'global knowledge' at its best, and a model for emulation. A brilliant must-read collection." — Inderjeet Parmar, University of London

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.



## ALIEN LISTENING: VOYAGER'S GOLDEN RECORD AND MUSIC FROM EARTH

by Daniel K. L. Chua and Alexander Rehding

An examination of NASA's Golden Record that offers new perspectives and theories on how music can be analyzed, listened to, and thought about — by aliens and humans alike

Music & Sound Studies 272 pp. | 51 illus. Published in 2021

In 1977 NASA shot a mixtape into outer space. The Golden Record aboard the Voyager spacecraft contained world music and sounds of Earth to represent humanity to any extraterrestrial civilizations. To date, the Golden Record is the only human-made object to have left the solar system. *Alien Listening* asks the big questions that the Golden Record raises: Can music live up to its reputation as the universal language in communications with the unknown? How do we fit all of human culture into a time capsule that will barrel through space for tens of thousands of years? And last but not least: Do aliens have ears?

The stakes could hardly be greater. Around the extreme scenario of the Golden Record, Chua and Rehding develop a thought-provoking, philosophically heterodox, and often humorous Intergalactic Music Theory of Everything, a string theory of communication, an object-oriented ontology of sound, and a Penelopean model woven together from strands of music and media theory. The significance of this exomusicology, like that of the Golden Record, ultimately takes us back to Earth and its denizens. By confronting the vast temporal and spatial distances the Golden Record traverses, the authors take listeners out of their comfort zone and offer new perspectives in which music can be analyzed, listened to, and thought about – by aliens and humans alike.

## "This book made me laugh out loud, and then reflect on my own place in the galaxy." — Nina Eidsheim, University of California at Los Angeles

DANIEL K. L. CHUA is Mr. and Mrs. Hung Hing-Ying Professor in the Arts and Chair Professor of Music at the University of Hong Kong.

ALEXANDER REHDING is Fanny Peabody Professor of Music at Harvard University.



### FLASHBACK, ECLIPSE: THE POLITICAL IMAGINARY OF ITALIAN ART IN THE 1960S by Romy Golan

From a leading art historian, a provocative exploration of the intersection of art, politics, and history in 1960s Italy

Art History 312 pp. | 8 color + 136 b&w illus. Published in 2021 Rights sold: Italian

*Flashback, Eclipse* is a groundbreaking study of 1960s Italian art and its troubled but also resourceful relation to the history and politics of the first part of the twentieth century and the aftermath of World War II. Most analyses have treated the 1960s in Italy as the decade of "presentism" par excellence, a political decade but one liberated from history. Romy Golan, however, makes the counterargument that 1960s Italian artists did not forget Italian and European history but rather reimagined it in oblique form. Her book identifies and explores this imaginary through two forms of nonlinear and decidedly nonpresentist forms of temporality – the flashback and the eclipse. In view of the photographic and filmic nature of these two concepts, the book's analysis is largely mediated by black-and-white images culled from art, design, and architecture magazines, photo books, film stills, and exhibition documentation. The book begins in Turin with Michelangelo Pistoletto's Mirror Paintings; moves on to *Campo urbano*, a one-day event in the city of Como; and ends with the *Vitalità del Negativo* exhibition in Rome.

"This masterful book reveals the richness and complexity of a polycentric, dispersed, even anarchic art scene that no institution was powerful enough to unify, label, and export." — Patricia Falguières, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

ROMY GOLAN is Professor of Art History at The Graduate Center, City University of New York. She is the author of *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France Between the Wars* and *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe* 1927–1957.



## ABSENTEES: ON VARIOUSLY MISSING PERSONS

by Daniel Heller-Roazen

An intellectually adventurous account of the role of nonpersons that explores their depiction in literature and challenges how they are defined in philosophy, law, and anthropology

Philosophy 320 pp. | 2 Illus. Published in 2021 Rights sold: Italian, French

In thirteen interlocking chapters, Absentees explores the role of the missing in human communities, asking an urgent question: How does a person become a nonperson, whether by disappearance, disenfranchisement, or civil, social, or biological death? Only somebody can become a "nobody," but, as Daniel Heller-Roazen shows, the ways of being a nonperson are as diverse and complex as they are mysterious and unpredictable. Heller-Roazen treats the variously missing persons of the subtitle in three parts: Vanishings, Lessenings, and Survivals. In each section and with multiple transhistorical and transcultural examples, he challenges the categories that define nonpersons in philosophy, ethics, law, and anthropology. Exclusion, infamy, and stigma; mortuary beliefs and customs; children's games and state censuses; ghosts and "dead souls" illustrate the lives of those lacking or denied full personhood. In the archives of fiction, Heller-Roazen uncovers figurations of the missing – from Helen of Argos in Troy or Egypt to Hawthorne's Wakefield, Swift's Captain Gulliver, Kafka's undead hunter Gracchus, and Chamisso's long-lived shadowless Peter Schlemihl. Readers of The Enemy of All and No One's Ways will find a continuation of those books' intense intellectual adventures, with unexpected questions and arguments arising every step of the way. In a unique voice, Heller-Roazen's thought and writing capture the intricacies of the all-too-human absent and absented.

"With Absentees, Heller-Roazen has produced yet another tour de force of eloquence and erudition. Absentees is essential reading for anyone interested in the legal or literary treatment of personhood in all its forms, whether dead, missing, diminished, or presumptively whole." — Bernadette Meyler, Stanford University

DANIEL HELLER-ROAZEN is the Arthur W. Marks '19 Professor of Comparative Literature and the Council of Humanities at Princeton University.



#### EDITED BY WENDY BROWN AND MICHEL FEHER

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.



### FAMILY VALUES: BETWEEN NEOLIBERALISM AND THE NEW SOCIAL CONSERVATISM by Melinda Cooper

A NEAR FUTURES TITLE

"A masterful new study of capitalism and the American right, *Family Values* reveals how their close conceptual and practical collaboration helped to build the foundations of the contemporary social world." *— Jacobin* 

Political Science and Public Policy 448 pp. Published in 2017 Rights sold: Spanish

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.



## PORTFOLIO SOCIETY: ON THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PREDICTION

by Ivan Ascher

A NEAR FUTURES TITLE

"A fascinating and original contribution to the social theory of finance. Essential reading for all scholars interested in the financial economy and the relations of capital it embodies." — Caitlin Zaloom, author of *Out of the Pits* 

Political Philosophy 192 pp. Published in 2016 Rights sold: Turkish

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 nine-teenth 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?

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