

# **THE QUESTION OF TACTICS IN AN AGE OF AUTHORITARIAN NEOLIBERALISM**

**2<sup>nd</sup> Biennial Conference  
of the  
Caucus for a New Political Science**

**February 24 – February 26, 2019**



**Isla Grand Beach Resort  
South Padre Island, Texas**

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Neoliberals and neoliberalism purport to extend “freedom” to individuals on a global scale, but in practice this freedom extends primarily to transnational corporations and the billionaire class. As business and wealth are deregulated and set free to plunder the planet, ordinary citizens, workers, women, and minority groups are increasingly subject to overt state violence, multiple forms of surveillance, and direct forms of expropriation, such as declining real wages, regressive taxation, eviction, foreclosure, detention, and incarceration. The intensification of surveillance, exploitation, and repression by ostensibly democratic regimes, the increasingly authoritarian rhetoric and actions of world leaders (e.g., Trump, Erdogan, Duda, Duterte, Rajoy), and the rise of right-wing populism raise political, organizational, and ideological questions that seem to elude traditional forms of electoral politics. Consequently, in an age of neoliberal authoritarianism, the question of tactics is again at the forefront of progressive and left political debate.

# **CAUCUS FOR A NEW POLITICAL SCIENCE**

## **Preliminary Conference Program**

February 24-26, 2019

Isla Grand Beach Resort

South Padre Island, Texas

### **GENERAL SCHEDULE**

Sunday, February 24, 2019: 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.: Registration  
Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor

Sunday, February 24, 2019: 2:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.: Panels  
Royal and Majestic Rooms (all on 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Sunday, February 24, 2019: 4:45 p.m. to 5:45p.m.: Outdoor Reception (Cash Bar)  
Hammerhead Deck, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor (facing Gulf of Mexico)

Sunday, February 24, 2019: 6:00p.m.: Dinner & Keynote Speaker  
Sabal & Paradise Rooms (2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Monday, February 25, 2019: 8:00a.m. to 9:00a.m.:  
Pre-Meeting Break: Danish, fruit, coffee, and tea (Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Monday, February 25, 2019: 8:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Registration  
Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor

Monday, February 25, 2019: 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 a.m.: Panels  
Sabal, Paradise, Royal, and Majestic Rooms (all on 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Monday, February 25, 2019: 10:00 am -- Coffee (Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Monday, February 25, 2019: 3:00 to 3:30pm – Afternoon Break: Cookies, soft drinks, coffee, tea  
(Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Monday, February 25, 2019: 5:00 – 6:30 p.m.: Outdoor Reception (Host Bar)  
Hammerhead Deck, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor (facing Gulf of Mexico)  
Sponsored by: Taylor & Francis/*New Political Science* and  
UTRGV Department of Political Science

**NOTICE:** The Majestic Room is the only room with PPT capability.

Tuesday, February 26, 2019: 8:00a.m. to 9:00a.m: Build Your Own Taco Bar  
(Breakfast Tacos, coffee, tea)

Tuesday, February 26, 2019: 8:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.: Registration (Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Tuesday, February 26, 2019: 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.: Panels  
Sabal, Paradise, Royal, and Majestic Rooms (all on 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Tuesday, February 26, 2019: 10:00 am – Mid-morning (breakfast muffins, coffee, tea) (Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

Tuesday, February 26, 2019: 2:00 p.m. – coffee break (Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)

**NOTICE:** The Majestic Room is the only room with PPT capability.

# PANELS

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 2019: 2:30-4:30pm**

**Panel S1: Breakin' the Law! Breakin' the Law! (Majestic Room)**

Chair/Discussant: William Niemi, Western State College of Colorado

“Between Parliamentarism and Armed Insurrection: Marxist Political Theory and the Doctrine of the Long Civil War”

Clyde Barrow, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Political Science Pedagogy: Critical, Radical and Utopian”

William W. Sokoloff, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Marcuse’s Wager: Liberating Tolerance and Political Struggle in the Era of Trump”

Bradley Macdonald, Colorado State University

**Panel S2: Money, Parties, Politics (Royal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Andrew Smith, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Campaign Finance, Party Competition, & Class Conflict

Paul D. Jorgenson, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Trump and Authoritarian Neoliberalism: A Critical Theory, Political Economy Approach”

Joseph G. Peschek, Hamline University

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2019: 4:45-5:45pm**

Outdoor Reception (Cash Bar) Hammerhead Deck, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor (facing Gulf of Mexico)

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2019: 6:00pm (Sabal-Paradise Rooms, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)**

Dinner & Keynote Speaker

“Absolute Capitalism:  
The Neoliberal Project and the Marxian-Polanyian-Foucaultian Critique  
Where Do We Go From Here?”



JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER  
Professor of Sociology  
University of Oregon

John Bellamy Foster is editor of *Monthly Review* and a professor of sociology at the University of Oregon. Professor Foster received his PhD from York University. He has written widely on political economy and has established a reputation as a major environmental sociologist. His reinterpretation of Marx on ecology introduced the concept of “metabolic rift” and was widely influential. This work led to his receiving the Distinguished Contribution Award of the American Sociological Association’s Environment and Technology section. His book *Marx’s Ecology* received the best book of the year award from the ASA’s Section on Marxist Sociology. More recently, as the editor of *Monthly Review*, Foster has returned to his earlier work on the political economy of capitalism, but with a renewed focus on the role of U.S. foreign policy following September 2001. His 2006 book *Naked Imperialism*, along with frequent editorials in the pages of *Monthly Review*, attempted to account for the growing U.S. military role in the world and the shift toward a more visible, aggressive global projection of US power. Foster has also worked to expand Paul Sweezy’s and Paul Baran’s theory of monopoly capital in light of the current financially led phase of monopoly-finance capitalism. His most recent books include *Trump in the White House* (2017), *The Age of Monopoly Capital* (2017), *Marx and the Earth* (2016), and *Theory of Monopoly Capitalism: An Elaboration of Marxian Political Economy* (2014), among many others.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2019: 9:00-11:00am**

**Panel M1: Radical Ecological Subjectivity (Royal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Andy Scerri, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University

“Resisting the Capitalist Production of Subjectivity and Re-Imaging the Ecological Subject”  
Chelsea DeCarlo, Colorado State University, Fort Collins

“Radical Re-Production? Challenging Global Neoliberalism and the ‘Freedom’ of Consumption”  
Sarah Surak, Salisbury University

**Panel M2: Neoliberalism and Class Politics (Paradise Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Robert Kirsch, Arizona State University

“Labor and Environmentalism in Germany”  
Judson Abraham, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University

“What’s the Story, Morning Glory? Using the Narrative Policy Framework to Analyze Organized Labor’s Failure in Tennessee.”  
Robert Velez, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

**Panel M3: Borders and (In)vulnerability (Majestic Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Sylvia Gonzalez-Gorman

“Securitization of Immigration and Privatization of Immigration Control in Texas and California: Impacts on Undocumented Migrants’ Rights.”  
Mathilde Bourgeon, University of Quebec at Montreal

“The Illusion of a Border Wall Deterrence: Border Walls and Circumvention Strategies”  
Elisabeth Vallet, University of Quebec at Montreal

“Caged Women: Migration, Mobility and Access to Health Services in Texas and Arizona”  
Andreanne Bissonnette, University of Quebec at Montreal

**Panel M4: The Future of Green Politics (Sabal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Owen Temby, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Adaptation is Not Enough: Climate Change and Global Capitalism”  
John Barkdull, Texas Tech University

“International Energy Politics and the Global Warming Crisis”  
George A. Gonzalez, University of Miami

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2019: 11:15am-1:15pm**

**Roundtable: The State of *New Political Science: A Journal of Politics & Culture* and its Future  
(Majestic Room)**

Nancy S. Love, Chair, Caucus for a New Political Science  
Appalachian State University

Jocelyn M. Boryczka, Editor, *New Political Science*  
Fairfield University

Sarah Surak, Book Review Editor, *New Political Science*  
Salisbury University

Courtenay Daum, Associate Editor, *New Political Science*  
Colorado State University



## **MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2019: 2:30-4:40pm**

### **Panel M5: Street Level Radical Politics (Royal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Alexandre Couture Gagnon, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Beyond the Society and Spectacle: Concepts, Organization and Tactics of the Situationist International”  
James Calder, Independent Scholar and Charles Umland, Independent Scholar

“The Streets Will Always Be Ours: The Long Catalan Winter of Discontent.”  
Monica Clua-Losada, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

### **Panel M6: Donald Trump and the Mass Media (Majestic Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Sarah Perez, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Trump, Sanders, the Mass Media and the 2016 Populist Moment”  
Daniel Chomsky, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Popular Culture and Trump Politics”  
George Gonzalez, University of Miami

### **Panel M7: Class, Race, and Immigration (Paradise Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Andreeanne Bissonnette, University of Quebec at Montreal

“State of the Immigrant/ Labor Union: Unions and State Immigrant Policy in NYS”  
Jackie Vimo, New School for Social Research

“How Intersectionality Travels: Class, Religion, Sexuality, and Immigration Status in the American South”  
Jennifer Leigh Disney and Michael Lipscomb, Winthrop University

“Revolution and Spirit”  
Cynthia Paccacerqua, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2019: 4:40-5:45pm**

**Art Installation: “Aesthetics and Politics”**

**(Foyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor)**

Thomas Murray, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley  
Donna Sweigart, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 2019: 5:00 – 6:30 p.m.: OUTDOOR  
RECEPTION** (Host Bar) Hammerhead Deck, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor (facing Gulf of Mexico)

Event Sponsored by: Taylor & Francis/*New Political Science*  
and  
UTRGV Department of Political Science



The University of Texas  
Rio Grande Valley



**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 2019: 9:00-11:00am**

**Panel T1: The Poverty of Contemporary Public Discourse (Royal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Daniel Chomsky, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Political Judgments in the Age of Trump”

Edwin Daniel Jacob, Arkansas State University

“Authoritarian Neoliberal Tactics in the Trump Administration”

Michelle Keck, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Revolutionary Accounting? Methods and Limits in Critical Financial Strategy”

Mindy Peden, John Carroll University

**Panel T2: Historical Origins of Donald Trump (Paradise Room)**

Chair/Discussant: George Gonzalez, University of Miami

“Forget Populism?”

Andy Scerri, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University

“The Social Crises, Political Conflicts, and Cultural Contradictions of Nixonland: Tracing the Emergent ‘Crisis Constitution’ in the US since 1969”

Timothy W. Luke, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University

**Panel T3: The Intersectionality of LGBTQ Politics (Sabal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Courtenay Daum, Colorado State University

“The Great American Rights Bake Off: Resisting Competing Rights Claims”

C. Chelsea Ebin, Rollins College, and J. Ricky Price, Hobart and William Smith Colleges

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 2019: 11:15am-1:15pm**

**Panel T4: The Neoliberal Suppression of Race & Class Politics (Royal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Edwin Jacob, Arkansas State University

“Taking a Knee: Liberal Democracy, Radical Imaginaries, and the NFL Player Protest”  
Courtenay W. Daum, Colorado State University

“Where Did Class Politics Go? The Rise of the Radical Right in the Neoliberal Era”  
Regina Goodnow, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse and Yekaterina Oziashvili, Sarah Lawrence College

“Promises Unkept and Opportunities Missed: A History of Demands for Black Reparations”  
Kelsey Lizotte, Rutgers University

**Panel T6: Cooperatives as Subversion (Majestic Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Sarah Surak, Salisbury University

“Claiming Ideologylessness As a Tactic in the Age of Neoliberal Authoritarianism”  
Mark J. Kaswan, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley  
Tamara Longoria, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Consumer Cooperatives: Self-Managed Alternatives in the Neoliberal Crisis”  
Robert González and Alejandra Ariaza Diaz, Universidad Autónoma de Hidalgo-Mexico

**Panel T7: The Politics of Life as Capital (Paradise Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Mindy Peden, John Carroll University

“Respiratory Capital, The Outsides of Neoliberal Order”  
Garnet Kindervater, Dartmouth College

“Click ‘Yes’ to Agree: Genetic Privacy Complications in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”  
Ashleigh Breske, Hollins University

“Fossil-Fueling Extinction”  
Jennifer Lawrence, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 2019: 11:15am-1:15pm (continued)**

**Panel T8: American Democracy, American Dysfunction – John Dewey in Contemporary Context (Sabal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Douglas Kellner, University of California, Los Angeles

“Democratic Dysfunction in American Political life”

Cary Fraser, Appalachian State University

“The Art of the Deal, The Arts of Democracy: Donald Trump, John Dewey, and Democracy”

Nancy Love, Appalachian State University

“Gross Dysfunction, Guided Democracy: “The Public and its Problems in America”

Timothy W. Luke, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 2019: 2:30-4:40pm**

**Panel T9: Author-Critic Meets Author-Critic (Royal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Bradley J. Macdonald, Colorado State University

*Confrontational Citizenship: Reflections on Hatred, Rage, Revolution, and Revolt*  
William W. Sokoloff, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

*Militant Acts: The Role of Investigations in Radical Political Struggles*  
Marcelo Hoffman, Independent Scholar

**Panel T10: Doomsday Consumerism (Paradise Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Timothy Luke, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University

“You Can’t Handicraft the Apocalypse: The Invidious Consequences of ‘Opting Out’”  
Robert Kirsch, Arizona State University

“Fear and Hope at the End(ings) of Capitalism  
Nicholas Kiersey, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley and Adam Fishwick, De Montfort University

**Panel T11: Neoliberalism: From Disempowerment to Solidarity (Sabal Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Edwin Daniel Jacob, Arkansas State University

“Neoliberalism and the Disempowerment of The Citizen”  
Rudy Leal McCormack, Colorado State University

“The Welfare State, Labor Market Policies and the Reserve Army of the Unemployed”  
Laryssa Mykyta and Daniel Chomsky, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

**Panel T12: Contesting Patriarchal Domination (Majestic Room)**

Chair/Discussant: Monica Clua-Losada, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

“Personalizing Sex: The Politics of Public Toilets in the United States and Tanzania”  
Jocelyn M. Boryczka, Fairfield University

“Bodies in the Streets: Precarity, Performativity and the Pussy Hats”  
Sabina A. Dirienzo, Fairfield University

“Migration, Border Crossing and Women: Female Migrant Sexualities Between Objectification and Empowerment”  
Adreanne Bissonnette and Elisabeth Vallet, University of Quebec at Montreal