

BISA US Foreign Policy Working Group Annual Conference 2023

Age of Antagonism: US Foreign Policy in an Era of Strategic Rivalry and Great Power Competition

Conference Programme

Date: 14-15 September 2023
Location: Queen Mary University London, Mile End Campus, Bancroft Building, Room 1.02.06.

Day 1: Thursday, 14 September

08:30-09:45 Registration (Bancroft, Ground Floor Foyer)
09:45 Welcome (Bancroft, Room 1.02.06.)
10:00-11:30 Panel I 'US Strategy and its Challenges' (Chair: Adam Quinn, Discussant: Vitor Ramon Fernandes)

Papers: **Liberal Order and the Realist Counterpoint: divergence of 'ideological self-view' in the contest over US grand strategy**, Adam Quinn (University of Birmingham); **"As large of a lead as possible": the US-China tech war in "emerging and foundational technologies"**, Maria Ryan (University of Nottingham) & Stephen Burman (University of Sussex); **Can China Reassure the US? Survey Evidence from US Foreign Policy Elites and the Public on the Belt and Road Initiative**, Robert Ralston (University of Birmingham) & Alex Yu-Ting Lin (University of Notre Dame, not presenting); **Remote Warfare from the Global War on Terror to Great Power Competition: Change or Continuity in Technological Practices?**, Tom F.A. Watts (Royal Holloway).

11:45-13:15 Panel II 'US Foreign Policy, National Security & Domestic Politics' (Chair/Discussant: Trevor McCrisken)

Papers: **The impact of the Capitol riots on US political debate: A critical constructivist analysis of the 'event' and its impact**, Jack Holland (University of Leeds) & Ryan O'Connor (Birmingham City University); **Taking the Public Back Out? Considering Salience in the Study of Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy in Experimental Research**, Johnny Hall (University of Surrey); **Tip-Toeing (Back) to the Water's Edge: Seeking A Fragile Consensus in National Security Strategy**, Uma Muthia (Monash University/University of Warwick) & Emma Hall (University of Warwick); **US Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy Change and Feedback Loops**, Edward Ashbee (Copenhagen Business School) and Steven Hurst (Manchester Metropolitan University); **Beyond the Blob: Why the United States Struggles to "Do Less" in the Middle East**, Andrew Payne (University of Oxford).

13:15-14:15 Lunchbreak (Bancroft 1.01.1)

14:15-15:45 Panel III 'US Foreign Policy and National Security in Historical Perspective' (Chair/Discussant: Edward Ashbee)

Papers: **For better, or for worse? The U.S. NATO Debate after the Cold War**, Vårin Alme (Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)); **Conditional Democracy Promotion and US-Imposed Regime Change**, Payam Ghalehdar (Hertie School, Berlin); **Rebuilding Status: US Military Doctrine in the Late Cold War**, Tom Furse (City University of London); **Civil-military friction and U.S. foreign policy failure: U.S. troop withdrawal from South Korea, 1977-1979**, Juhong Park (University of Bath).

16:00-17:30 Panel IV 'The Interplay of Values, Identity and Culture in US Foreign Policy'
(Chair/Discussant: Rubrick Biegou)

Papers: **The other 'competition of values': Divisions in US Indo-Pacific foreign policy during the Trump administration**, Alin Barbantan (University College London, Institute of the Americas); **Rhetorical Reassurance or Rupture? The Changing Face of American Exceptionalism in the Post-Insurrection United States**, Emma Hall (University of Warwick); **Cultural Politics in the Age of Global Competition**, Zeynep Elif Koc (Atılım University/ Middle East Technical University); **US Human Rights Policy towards the Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia: The Obama, Trump and Biden Administrations**, Simon Payaslian (Boston University).

17:30-18:00 Break

18:00-19:30 Conference Keynote by Jarrod Hayes (University of Massachusetts Lowell) with Q&A.
Location: Bancroft Building, David Sizer Lecture Theatre.
The keynote is open to the public.

20:00 Conference Dinner at *The Morgan Arms*
Location: 43 Morgan Street, E3 5AA

Day 2: Friday, 15 September

09:30-11:00 Panel V 'The Strategic Role of the United States in the Indo-Pacific' Chair/Discussant:
Matthew A. Hill

Papers: **Power, Perception and Permissiveness: The Unusual Origins of the US's Belated China Strategy to Uphold the Power Balance in the Asia-Pacific**, Michiel Foulon (ETH Zurich); **US Securitization of Chinese Technology: The Cases of Huawei and TikTok**, Eugenio Lilli (University College Dublin) & Zeno Leoni (King's College); **Washington and Tragicomedy: Emplotting the 'Chinese threat'**, Anthony Teitler (Karlshochschule International University); **The Republic of Korea-US Alliance at a Crossroads: Seoul's Defence Dilemma in the age of ICBM**, Wooyun Jo (Loughborough University); **Social Cohesion, Anxiety and US-PRC Interactions**, Giuseppe Paparella (College of William & Mary).

11:15-12:45 Panel VI 'Roundtable: Elections and US Foreign Policy'

Chair: Mariana Vieira (Chatham House), Discussants: Hilde Restad (Oslo New University College), Georg Löfflmann (Queen Mary, University of London), Peter Finn (Kingston University), Andrew Payne (University of Oxford/City, University of London).

12:45-13:30 Lunchbreak (Bancroft 1.01.1)

13:30-15:00 Panel VII 'The Role of Technology and Strategic Power in US National Security'
Chair/Discussant: Georg Löfflmann.

Papers: **The Biological Weapons Taboo and US Foreign Policy**, Michelle Bentley (Royal Holloway); **Actively pursuing a world without nuclear weapons – But not just yet! Disarmament within US Strategic Culture**, Valentina Cassar (University of Malta); **'I'm not a hero; I just watch over the guys who are': heroism, warrior culture, and tension in drone operator identities**, Bibi Imre-Millei (Lund University); **After Legitimation: From Remote Warfare to Forever War in US Security Strategy**, Rubrick Biegou (University of Kent).

15:15-16:45 Panel VIII 'Strategic Retreat? The United States in the Middle East and Africa'
Chair/Discussant: Andrew Payne

Papers: **U.S. Middle East Foreign Policy Challenges amid Russia's Invasion of Ukraine**, Vitor Ramon Fernandes (Universidade Lusíada de Lisboa); **U.S.-Saudi Relations and the Power Transition in the Middle East**, Chin-Kuei Tsui (National Chung Hsing University); **(Re)securing the imagined West: Framing Self and Other(s) in British and American newspaper coverage of the 2018 American withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal**, Uma Muthia (Monash University/University of Warwick); **Locally Owned Democracy Promotion: Barack Obama and the US Mission in Libya**, Matthew Alan Hill (Liverpool John Moores University); **Wagner in Africa: Examining the Biden Administration's Strategy**, Barbara Franchi (Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès).

17:00-18:30 Panel IX 'US Foreign Policy and National Security in Historical Perspective II'
Chair/Discussant: Georg Löfflmann

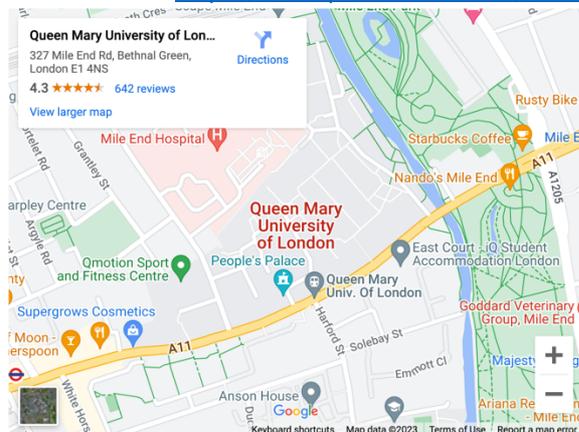
Papers: **A Brief History of Joe Biden's Relations with Vladimir Putin**, Lori Maguire (University of Reims); **US – Brazil Defence Cooperation Agreements: Hemispheric Security and Political Leadership**, Juan Velez (University of Kent); **Secrecy and the Politics of Selective Discourses: The US Government's Intervention in Guatemala**, Luca Trenta (Swansea University), **Alternatives to Alliance: The Model Treaty and the League of Nations**, Vårin Alme (Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)).

18:30 End of Conference

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Where we are: <https://www.qmul.ac.uk/about/howtofindus/mileend/>



Queen Mary University of London
Mile End Road
London
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Mile End campus map: <https://www.qmul.ac.uk/media/qmul/docs/about/Updated-Mile-End-campus-Sep-22.pdf> (The Bancroft Building is no. 31 on the map)

Travel information: The nearest stations on the London Underground are Mile End on Hammersmith and City, District and Central lines; and Stepney Green on the Hammersmith and City and District lines.

Conference dinner venue: *The Morgan Arms*, 43 Morgan St, Bow, London, E3 5AA (+44 208 980 6389): <https://www.morganarmsbow.com/find-us> (10 min. walk from conference venue).

Tips for accommodation:

<https://www.qmul.ac.uk/residences/alternative/hotels/>

<https://www.qmul.ac.uk/residences/alternative/shortstay/>

Acknowledgements: The conference is supported by the British International Studies Association (BISA), Queen Mary University of London and the School of Politics and International Relations (SPIR), the U.S. Embassy London, and the British Association for American Studies (BAAS).

Keynote Speaker: Jarrod Hayes is Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of Massachusetts Lowell. His work focuses on the role of social orders in shaping international security and environmental practice; this has allowed him to investigate a wide range of issues, from US relations with India and China, to the role of security discourses in climate change policy, and the relationship between theory and practice. His research has appeared in: *European Journal of International Relations*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *German Studies Review*, *Global Environmental Politics*, *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and *Security Studies*. In 2023, Cambridge University Press published his first monograph, *Constructing National Security: US Relations with India and China*.

Contact: For any questions you can contact the conference organiser, Georg Löffmann under g.loeffmann@qmul.ac.uk or +44 782 460 2392