

60

PAST
PRESENT
FUTURE

WAR STUDIES

*Celebrating six decades of research and
teaching excellence in the study of war*

1961–2021

The Department of War Studies is one of the only academic departments in the world focused on understanding the complex realm of conflict, security, and international politics through inter-disciplinary teaching, research and engagement.

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Edited by Lizzie Ellen, with thanks to Sanjana Balu, Lawrence Freedman, Jan Gocken, Michael Goodman, James Gow, Mark Gwilt, Rachel Kerr, Ayesha Khan, Matthew Moran and Julia Pearce. The History of the Department of War Studies draws on *Captain Professor: The Memoirs of Sir Michael Howard* by Sir Michael Howard, and *Military Historian: My Part in the Birth and Development of War Studies 1966–2016*, by Brian Bond.

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Forewords

The Department of War Studies is unique, not only in terms of its academic contribution, but in its nature and *esprit de corps*.

For a collection of academics and students who study conflict, it is one of the friendliest places to work in and be part of. War Studies leaves an indelible mark in your life; it is no surprise that so many of our students continue their studies with us, or that staff remain in the Department for their entire careers.

I vividly remember my own first experience of War Studies 17 years ago, when I interviewed for a Lectureship in Intelligence Studies. I was in the final year of my PhD, it was my first job presentation and interview, and I was like a rabbit caught in the proverbial headlights. I arrived at the ramshackle old Norfolk Building, where the Department

was then housed, in the pouring rain and was asked to wait in a small, windowless room. The night before I had spent hours practising my presentation and printing – in colour, a novel thing – onto overhead projector acetate paper.

Upon my call I walked into a packed conference room and proceeded to speak.

My attention was immediately drawn to someone wearing sandals and a colourful mackintosh despite being inside, with a long beard. He smiled warmly, I relaxed, and felt immediately at home.

Unknown to me at the time, that figure, Barrie Paskins, was a legend of the Department and I fondly remember our lunches and conversations after I was

“One of our great strengths is the way we continue to reinvent ourselves.”



appointed. Since then I have grown up in War Studies and like so many staff and students, feel a strange pull, a sense of patriotic allegiance to a Department that is more than just a place of work.

The Department of War Studies is something of an oddity to the mainstream world of higher education; whilst it is focussed on a single subject matter, its approaches to studying this are multi-faceted and interdisciplinary. Even since I joined the Department it has grown significantly, both physically and intellectually. One of our great strengths is the way we continue to reinvent ourselves and the study of conflict, growing from a small community of historians into the largest concentration of security-related experts in Europe, if not the world.

Not content to rest on our laurels, we have ambitious plans to move into new areas over the coming years, including energy and environmental security, and grow our expertise on Africa and Latin America.

Just as important as our academic endeavours is the environment for our

staff and students. We have put in a considerable effort over the last few years to ensure not only that our educational offering is world class, but so too are the experiences of everyone associated with the Department.

I can think of no higher academic accolade than to be Head of the Department of War Studies. To walk in the footsteps of so many illustrious forebears really is an honour and a privilege. As we celebrate our 60th anniversary, with the world at such an unprecedented stage of chaos and uncertainty, we are perfectly placed to reflect on the past, understand the present, and try to anticipate the future.

Professor Michael S Goodman

Head of the Department of War Studies



Almost as soon as I became Head of the Department of War Studies in April 1982, I was made aware that the Department's name was something of a provocation. Donald Cameron Watt, Professor of International History at the LSE and a member of the University of London's Board of War Studies, gave me a friendly warning that my plans for giving the Department a greater prominence would result in student radicals occupying the Strand.

Elsewhere in the University there were moves afoot to establish a Department of Peace Studies as a sort of countervailing force. I spoke to one of the instigators of this move, pointing out that many of the items he wanted in his curriculum were already in ours. I suggested that it was possible to study war without promoting it – one wouldn't accuse researchers of tropical diseases of being complicit in their spread. The prevalence of war might be regrettable, but it was shaping the modern world, and so deserved proper attention. To no avail. The name, he told me, was far too 'macho'. At which point, I'm afraid, I started to laugh.

The issue never went away. There was a fine Department of Peace Studies at Bradford, with whom relations were cordial. Its curriculum was different but there was a significant overlap. To me the name had a practical advantage. Whilst other departments that covered our field went in for euphemisms to avoid the dreaded implication of war-mongering, our candour made us distinctive.

The moment the Cold War ended in the early 90s, the question was back with a vengeance. I lost count of the number of people who came to me with what they were sure was an original joke about the need to change the name to 'Peace Studies'. I had a little speech about

the fact that war was what we studied – moments of conflict and violence rather than harmony and tranquillity – and that we were not after any more to study because sadly there was a backlog.

Then the wars came – the 1991 Gulf War followed by the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. I no longer needed my speech. The value of academic teaching and research in this area was now self-evident.

The Department's offer expanded dramatically with its staff and student numbers, addressing all the issues raised by war, including the ways to prevent its outbreak and mitigate its impact.

Now, as we reflect back on our 60th anniversary and our legacy as the first Department of War Studies, numerous departments have been established bearing the same name of war studies, made up of individuals content to identify it as their field of study. By its example the Department has remained resolute in demonstrating the importance of studying this most difficult and distressing of topics, with scholarship and academic integrity.

Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman

*Emeritus Professor of War Studies,
King's College London*

“ I suggested that it was possible to study war without promoting it. ”

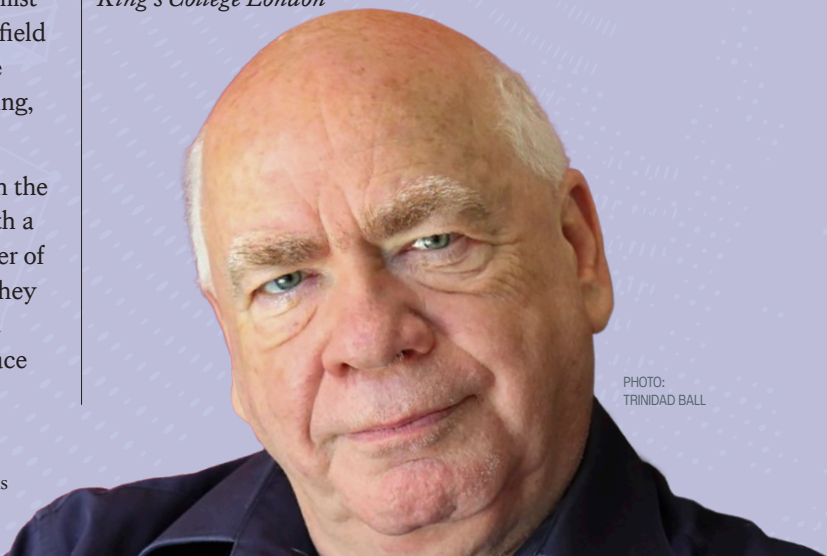


PHOTO:
TRINIDAD BALL

The Department of War Studies is a hub of the very best research in conflict and international affairs. It is an intellectual space for talented academics grappling with the most salient questions of our time. It is also so much more than that. It is a unique experience, a family of bright and curious students of international relations, war and conflict, history, philosophy and everything in between. This diversity is what makes War Studies so special.

The Department's 60th anniversary comes at a tumultuous time. The pandemic has posed unprecedented social disruption and challenges in all walks of life, and the past two years have been far from easy for the War Studies community. Fortunately, we've all remained strong despite the challenges, and this has proven how much our staff and students are able to pull together to overcome problems, including navigating online learning, maintaining a social life and planning for career development. It has been remarkable to witness the unwavering strength of our community of students.

The Department has also taken the initiative to strengthen its inclusivity. New undergraduates beginning their studies remotely from home, have been steadily integrated into the community through novel initiatives. Student societies have become more active in planning virtual events accessible to our diverse and global student body. Whether it is a virtual quiz or an academic talk, we see students tuning in remotely from every continent, exploring new ways of both

learning and socialising. Indeed, the pandemic has encouraged us to develop new kinds of activities and provided the opportunity to reach a wider audience – War Studies is expanding.

The War Studies Society is committed to strengthening this sense of community further and we are looking forward to celebrating the Department's 60th anniversary. In the coming academic year, we seek to unite the staff and students with a number of events touching both the social aspects of university life as well as broadening the understanding and knowledge of our diverse field of study. As the primary bridge between staff and students, our mission is to deepen the connections between the individuals in this special Department, to make intellectual affinities and powerful life-long friendships that withstand the ever-changing international environment.

War Studies is a community, a family. It's home. We look forward to another 60 years.

Caroline Kamper and Matti Spara
*Co-Presidents, War Studies Society
Committee 2021/22*

“The Department's 60th anniversary comes at a tumultuous time.”



The History of the Department of War Studies

The Department of War Studies (DWS), based at King's College London, is the world's leading academic institution for the study of war. Its success owes much to its founder, Sir Michael Howard, one of Britain's most eminent and celebrated historians.

For Howard the study of war required moving beyond the confines of traditional military history, with its focus on campaigns and battles, to a consideration of its political, economic, and social contexts. While never neglecting the operational aspects of war, he sought to understand the reasons why armed conflict emerged, and to assess its wider impact. He focused on *'the problem which is of central concern to all mankind in the 20th Century – under what circumstances can armed force be used, in the only way in which it can be legitimate to use it, to ensure a lasting and stable peace?'*¹

This required an interdisciplinary approach: *'I was advised'*, Howard later recalled, *'to enlist the co-operation of lawyers, scientists, theologians, economists, and sociologists, in order to create an overall pattern of War Studies.'*² This holistic approach – stressing the wider context and the need to be interdisciplinary – has shaped DWS since its creation. The focus of its research and teaching remains shaped by the challenges posed by warfare as states and other actors seek to secure their interests and ensure their survival. And as the character of warfare



◀ Sir Michael Howard.

PHOTO: LIDDELL HART CENTRE FOR MILITARY ARCHIVES

▶ Strand entrance, London.

PHOTO: KING'S COLLEGE LONDON/COLLEGE ARCHIVES

has changed, so too the scale, makeup, and focus of DWS has adapted and evolved.

Genesis

King's has a long, if intermittent, tradition of education in military affairs. In 1848 King's established the Department for Military Science (DMS), which trained and educated officer cadets for the British Army. The Reverend Richard W Jelf, then Principal of King's, created a curriculum that included the study of the Bible, history, languages, mathematics and philosophy, alongside classes that concentrated on grounds more familiar to the soldier: the surveillance of battlefields, the construction of fortifications, military strategy and tactics.

¹ Michael Howard, Harmon Memorial Lecture in Military History, US Air Force Academy: 'Strategy and Policy in Twentieth Century Warfare', 1967. Available at: <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/roundtable-remembering-sir-michael-howard-1922-2019/#essay6>

² Michael Howard, 'Making history: the discipline in perspective.' Interview with the Institute of Historical Research, 2008. Available at: https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/interviews/Howard_Michael.html





However, in 1859, DMS was closed and studies linked to war fell dormant for over three decades. In 1893 John Knox Laughton was appointed as Professor of Modern History. Laughton, who had been a civilian instructor in the Royal Navy before coming to King's, persuaded the Navy to permit limited access to its archives and co-founded the Navy Records Society. Two years before Laughton died, military studies reemerged in 1913–14 as a course for the general BA and BSc programmes.

In 1927 the University of London with British government backing decided to follow the University of Oxford's example and create a chair of 'Military Studies' which found its home at King's. It offered the chair to writer, military correspondent and academic, (retired) Major General Sir Frederick Maurice – an appointment with some irony, as his grandfather had been fired from the Chair of Theology at

King's in 1853, for heretical thoughts on divine punishment (and Maurice himself, had been forced to resign from the army in 1918 for expressing equally heretical views concerning the Prime Minister's statements about the Western Front in a letter published in the press).

He only stayed for a few years, but the Military Studies Department (MSD) continued running courses for the Territorial Army. In 1943 the MSD was renamed the 'Department of War Studies', which existed briefly until its abolition in 1948. Evidently this was not the end of War Studies: the subject would return and, under Michael Howard's leadership, a quite different kind of department with the same name would be born in the 1960s.

Howard joined King's as an Assistant Lecturer in History in 1947. He then wrote, with John Sparrow, a history of the Coldstream Guards, the regiment with which he had served with distinction in

▲ 1944, World War 2. Churchill tank of the Coldstream Guards.
PHOTO: NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM

the Second World War – a book he saw as his ‘graceful farewell to arms’, rather than the preface to War Studies that it turned out to be.³

In the early 1950s a group of senior figures in the University of London, including Sir Charles Webster, Lionel Robbins, and Sir Keith Hancock, all eminent scholars who had been involved in the British war effort and writing its history, decided that military studies should be revived in the University and its quality enhanced to become both truly academic and to reflect the full scope of war, embracing economics, society, law and ethics, and so on. The LSE had the context and a prime and obvious candidate for the post; but King’s had precedent and a ‘prescriptive right’ first claim on a new appointment of this sort, and a ‘plausible’ and willing candidate in Howard. So, the start of War Studies as we know it was an accident of intra-university politics, with Howard becoming Lecturer in War Studies in 1953.⁴

With that appointment, Howard, who had been told by Webster to write a ‘proper book’, had to start reading about war and was given a sabbatical ‘to learn my new trade.’⁵ Learn he did. Howard reflected:

‘The history of war, I came to realise, was more than the operational history of armed forces, it was the study of entire societies. Only by studying their cultures could one come to understand what it was that they fought about and why they fought in the way that they did.’⁶

The way in which different armies fought, Howard believed, had a reciprocal impact on the structures of those societies that sustained, supplied and configured them.

‘I had to learn not only to think about war in a different way... but also to think about history in a different way.’⁷

“The way in which different armies fought, Howard believed, had a reciprocal impact on the structures of those societies that sustained, supplied and configured them.”

Howard demonstrated the potential of his approach with his ‘proper book’, a landmark account of the Franco-Prussian War.⁸ After his appointment he was still a member of the Department of History, where he was expected to teach the full range of subjects. It was only once the Head of History retired in 1961 and Howard was promoted to Reader that he would get his own department. Four years later Howard was conferred with the Chair in War Studies.

By this time Howard had already been in effect running his own department, representing the Board of War Studies in the University of London, and working with and, fostering clusters of ‘war and society’ students, including later luminaries such as Brian Bond and Peter Simkins within History. This *de facto* ‘war studies’ programme was the basis for the MA in War Studies agreed in 1962 under the University of London Board. The events of 1961–2 – Howard’s promotion and his liberation to create an MA programme and a department, as well as his defining lecture on the ‘Uses and Abuses of Military History’ – are why we are celebrating the 60th anniversary today.

Until the 1990s, the MA was the mainstay of the Department. Each year approximately 20–30 students enrolled on the course, with classes discussing topics that spanned military sociology,

³ Michael Howard, *Captain Professor: A Life in War and Peace*, London: Continuum, 2006 p.141

⁴ Howard, *Captain Professor* p.141

⁵ Howard, *Captain Professor* p.145

⁶ Michael Howard, Harmon Memorial Lecture in Military History, US Air Force Academy: ‘Strategy and Policy in Twentieth Century Warfare’, 1967. Available at: <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/roundtable-remembering-sir-michael-howard-1922-2019/#essay6>

⁷ Ibid See also Howard, *Captain Professor*

⁸ Michael Howard, *The Franco-Prussian War: the German Invasion of France, 1870–71*, (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1961).

the economics of war, and nuclear deterrence amongst others. Students were also encouraged to take classes on subjects such as civil-military relations, at the LSE, as well as those that focused on the roles that law, morality and ethics play in armed conflict, at King's Law and Theology Departments.

Early cohorts of the MA War Studies included future historians such as Geoffrey Till and John Gooch. Wolf Mendl, who had joined King's from Cambridge to work on a PhD on French nuclear weapons policy in 1962, was the first lecturer appointed to support Howard when the new Department of War Studies finally opened in 1965. A year later, Brian Bond was appointed to join them. Mendl would later become Head of Department and Bond Professor of Military History in 1986.

Other notable figures to have passed through the offices and teaching rooms of DWS – located in the early years at 154 The Strand – were leading American strategic theorists and political scientists, such as Thomas Schelling, Richard Rosencrance and Morton Halperin. Peter Paret, the distinguished historian of culture and ideas in war, was Howard's student for his dissertation. The two went on to translate together Carl von Clausewitz's *On War*, the most popular English version of the renowned text.

Consolidation

In 1964, the creation of the Centre for Military Archives (CMA) at King's enabled DWS's quick transformation into a leading centre of research. The CMA's early acquisitions were substantially augmented by the huge personal papers collection of Captain Sir Basil Liddell Hart (a mentor of Howard's), after whom the CMA would be renamed in the 1970s. Today the Centre holds the

personal and semi-personal papers of over 800 senior British defence personnel, including General Sir William Robertson, Field Marshal Lord Ismay and Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke, as well as the former personal library of Liddell Hart himself. For academics and practitioners alike, the location of such important papers at King's made the University – and by extension DWS – an attraction for those with both an interest and a stake in the challenges of contemporary warfare.

Howard was succeeded as Professor of War Studies by Laurence Martin, who joined the Department from the University of Wales. Howard considered Martin to be an expert university politician with the requisite skills to secure the position of DWS. Martin recruited the diplomatic historian Michael Dockrill and also Barrie Paskins, who specialised in the ethics of war. These appointments confirmed DWS's interdisciplinary character. The Ministry of Defence's Defence Fellowship Scheme, formally established in the early 1970s gave serving officers a postgraduate education at DWS, designed to supplement and contextualise the technical and operational competencies of their roles.

In 1982, Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman, a former doctoral student of Howard's at Oxford, was appointed to the Chair of War Studies and Head of Department. Under Freedman's leadership, War Studies became a mainstream academic subject and DWS was transformed into one of the biggest departments at King's.

“Under Freedman's leadership, War Studies became a mainstream academic subject and DWS was transformed into one of the biggest departments at King's.”



Now celebrated around the world as an historian of strategy and described as ‘a doyen of British strategic studies’, Freedman was, at the time of his appointment, both young at 33 and relatively inexperienced. Freedman’s work on nuclear policy at the Royal Institute of International Affairs brought him to the attention of the Principle of King’s, Sir Neil Cameron who was also a former Chief of Defence Staff. Cameron wanted DWS to inform the public debate on nuclear weapons, continuing a mission established by Michael Howard. This was a time of great interest in the issue, with growing East-West tension, the resurgence of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the British government’s decision to purchase the Trident nuclear missile system from the United States and host American cruise missiles. Freedman’s nuclear expertise thus made him the ideal candidate.

Expansion

As Head of Department, Freedman identified three areas in which he wished DWS to expand. First, it needed to increase student numbers if it was to have resources to invest. Second, it needed to build on an established relationship with the Royal Naval College Greenwich, to enhance King’s role in the provision of military education. Third, it should become a major contributor to policy debates in government and in the wider community. This required adapting to the economic and political developments that were transforming international relations.

Indeed, domestic reforms, a few years later, initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev, as leader of the Soviet Union, signalled a fundamental change in the strategic context of the Cold War – the area in which most, if not all, of DWS’s intellectual firepower was focused.

▲ Somerset House
off the Strand in
London.

There was a need to look at developments in other parts of the world, and in particular the Middle East. In 1990 the policy relevant work of DWS was reinforced by the formation of the Centre for Defence Studies, under the direction of Professor Michael Clarke, with the benefit of an initial grant from the Ministry of Defence.

During the 1990s DWS began to grow in both staff and students. The 1991 Gulf War and the series of conflicts in the former Yugoslavia drew attention to the Department's developing expertise on the rapidly changing strategic environment. Most importantly, when the government removed the cap on student numbers, DWS took the opportunity to introduce an undergraduate degree – the BA in War Studies. The extra staff required for undergraduate teaching enabled an expansion at postgraduate level, including taking on extra research students.

Many new academic staff were recruited, a number having done degrees at DWS, including maritime historian Andrew Lambert, Cold War historian Saki Dockrill, who formed a powerful

“The MAs reflected the ever-changing security environment, including security and development, terrorism and political violence, science and security, intelligence, and grand strategy.”

partnership with her husband Michael, Jan Willem Honig, and Michael Rainsborough, the historian of strategic thought, who would go on to become Head of Department in 2016. Christopher Dandeker joined DWS to teach military sociology when Wolf Mendl retired in 1990 and was crucial in developing the new undergraduate programme. Dandeker took over from Freedman as Head of Department in 1996.

During the 1990s, the Department took responsibility to teach MAs at the RAF Staff College at Bracknell, a development helped by Brian Holden

▼ View of
Somerset House
from The Strand,
London.



Reid's secondment to Camberley and, then, Bracknell as Resident Historian. Later in the decade the College was awarded a contract to provide academic support to the new Joint Services Command and Staff College (JSCSC) at Shrivenham, formed through a merge of the separate staff colleges, as well as a separate contract to provide educational support and a discrete MA at the Royal College of Defence Studies. The JSCSC cooperation required forming a whole new Defence Studies Department (DSD). Although this was an independent department, relations with DWS were inevitably close, and today they sit together under the School of Security Studies.

The reputation of DWS increased student demand. Its academic offer also expanded, with new MA programmes, starting in 1997 with the International Peace and Security MA pioneered with the Law School by Professor James Gow, to meet changing global conditions and new research initiatives. The MAs reflected the ever-changing security environment, including security and development, terrorism and political violence, science and security, intelligence, and grand strategy.

In 2003 a major new strand of International Relations was added, when Mervyn Frost and Vivienne Jabri transferred to King's from the University of Kent. Four years later Frost became Head of Department, taking over from Brian Holden Reid, who had succeeded Christopher Dandeker when Dandeker moved on to be the Head of the School of Social Sciences and Public Policy. Bringing us up to the present, Frost was succeeded by Professor Theo Farrell, then Professor Michael Rainsborough and the current Head of Department, Professor Michael Goodman, took up his tenure in 2019.

War Studies today

Today, the Department of War Studies is one of the largest departments at King's College London. When Lawrence Freedman became Head in 1982, DWS had one departmental secretary and no word processors; it had a small group of postgraduate students, five teaching staff (one part-time), and one degree programme. Today, DWS boasts over 100 full-time academic staff (to say nothing of over 60 faculty in the sibling DSD) over 40 professional service members of staff and around 1,500 undergraduate and postgraduate students. It offers four courses at undergraduate level and fourteen MA programmes. Its teaching and research staff work with practitioners in government and the armed forces around the world to advise on policy and contribute to public debate on issues that concern security, defence, and conflict.

While there has been huge growth in DWS's size and scope, its academic rigour, inter-disciplinary approach and commitment to vital policy issues remain perfectly intact, as does its mission to be 'in the service of society' by ensuring that, as Michael Howard put it, public discussion of war should be well-informed, rather than not informed at all. DWS's vision, creativity and service carries us forward into a promising future, built on an exciting present and a rich past.

“ While there has been huge growth in DWS's size and scope, its academic rigour, inter-disciplinary approach and commitment to vital policy issues remain perfectly intact. ”

EARLY DAYS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF WAR STUDIES

When I joined the Department as Lecturer of War Studies in September 1966, we were housed in somewhat Dickensian conditions at 154 Strand. Michael Howard had a room on the first floor, while Wolf Mendl and I lived on the second floor with a good view of the Strand. We were few and far between as staff members, we relied on the secretary, June Walker, from the Department of History, whilst Bryan Ranft helped with naval topics, our students were permitted to attend lectures at the LSE on top of studying with us. There were only 11 students in my first year, yet of almost as many nationalities – War Studies was international from the outset. It was a cosy, family environment, until more staff joined and a move to the new Strand Building brought a radical change.

Without any direct guidance, Michael nevertheless ensured that the courses were oriented to a broad ‘war and society’ approach. One or two foreign students were surprised by the academic approach of the Department, and that it wasn’t concerned with the nuts and bolts of how to win wars. Others struggled with Clausewitz’s *On War*, and had to come to terms with the fact it was a core element of the course.

There were three standard exam papers and one extended essay of the candidate’s choice. To secure an overall distinction, students had to secure first class marks in all four aspects of the exam. This was necessarily very difficult, but at least



▲ The library in 154 Strand. PHOTO: KING’S COLLEGE LONDON/COLLEGE ARCHIVES

two serving officers succeeded in the early years, including the late Tony Trythall, who became head of the Army Educational Corps; and Air Commodore – eventually Air Vice Marshal – Tony Mason. As a student, Mason even accompanied me on a visit to Basil Liddell Hart’s house to discuss his essay on Liddell Hart’s theory of the ‘indirect approach’.

In addition to the main focus on the MA course, Michael had paved the way for us to offer undergraduate courses included in the University of London’s History syllabus. I inherited Michael’s ‘Franco-Prussian War’ as a two-paper special subject, later changing the option to ‘Gallipoli’ and, finally, to ‘From Munich to the Fall of France’. Michael had also introduced an undergraduate survey course covering military history from the mid-17th century to the Second World War. The late Dr Ian Roy and I taught this course for about 30 years, which was not only valuable in itself, but also attracted several students to take graduate subjects in War Studies afterwards.

Michael had several PhD candidates under his supervision when I joined the Department and left several, notably John Gooch, for me to take through their final stages, when he left for Oxford in 1968. I soon acquired MPhil/PhD candidates of my own and seldom had fewer than 12 at any time. Some fell by the wayside, or transferred to colleagues, such as the late Michael Dockrill, but I am proud that more than 50 achieved their PhDs and every one who reached the final stage of presenting a thesis graduated successfully.

These were necessarily hectic years in the Department, with the subjects we taught ceaselessly evolving and the great care, taken by Wolf Mendl and myself, to obtain a steady flow of well-equipped candidates from, in principle, all countries of the free world. In retrospect and making due allowance for one’s own comparative youth and inexperience, these were exciting and fulfilling years, helping to create the new subject of ‘War Studies’ with minimal interference. Michael had already fought – and won – those battles for us in the years between 1953 and 1963 when he was awarded a chair and the invitation to create a new department.

Brian Bond

*Emeritus Professor of Military History,
King’s College London*

“There were only 11 students in my first year, yet of almost as many nationalities – War Studies was international from the outset.”

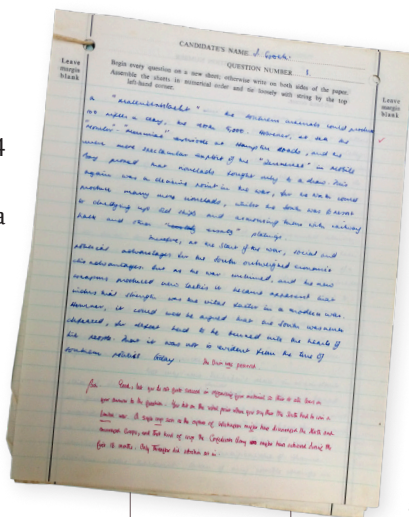
John Gooch *BA History (Proto-War Studies) 1966, PhD War Studies 1969*

Historian and Professor Emeritus at the University of Leeds

One day, early in October 1963, I opened a door at 154 Strand, climbed a rickety set of stairs, and took my seat in a small, book-lined back room along with a dozen or so others. War Studies, not yet a free-standing undergraduate degree, was at that time an option in the BA History Honours programme and we were there to study ‘War and Military Organisation in the West, 1815-1918’.

Exactly on the hour, a door at the front of the room opened and a be-gowned figure swept in, set a folder of notes down on the lectern, and started to talk. The lecturer was of course Michael Howard. The hour that followed was one of the most electrifying experiences of my life. Somehow his lecture managed at one and the same time to be packed with information, easy to follow, and over almost as soon as it had started. I can still remember walking out into the Strand with only one thought in my mind: to get to the library and read up on what I had just heard – and then read a lot more.

The other memory that holds a central place in my mind’s eye is what happened after our exams. In other courses they were posted up on notice boards. Not in Michael’s. We were all invited to his flat in South Kensington for tea, and handed our results to the accompaniment



▲ John Gooch's exam script with Michael Howard's comments.

PHOTO: JOHN GOOCH

of strawberries and cream! Our papers, bearing comments in his small, disciplined hand, were given back to us, so that we could see where and how to improve. I still have mine. It is a reminder, among many other things, of how civilised learning under Michael's wing was back then.

For the next three years I sat at Michael's feet, dazzled by his style and entirely won over to his angle on the past. I was learning by example how to marry the analysis of force, power and politics through the prism of strategy.

My training in war studies took me to the Universities of Lancaster and then Leeds, to the United States Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island as the first Secretary of the Navy Senior Research Fellow, and to Yale University, where I kept the Robert Lovett chair warm for a semester before Michael arrived from Oxford to take it on.

War Studies as taught in the early 1960s was primarily historical. Its content and range have widened considerably since then, which as Michael would surely have said (and probably did) is just as it should be. War Studies started life in the Cold War. 60 years on the world has grown no safer. We need it now just as much as we needed it then.

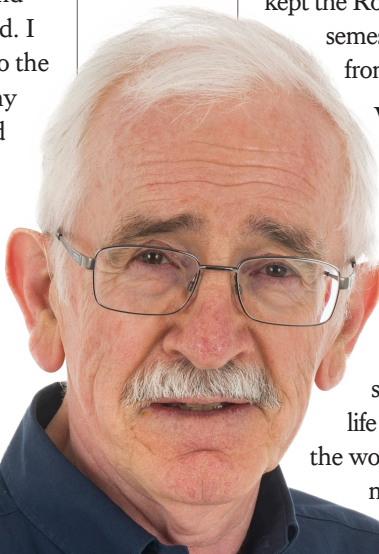


PHOTO: PHOTOGENIX

Angela Saini *MA Science & Security, 2008*

Science Journalist and Author

I studied for my part-time Masters in the Department of War Studies while working full-time at the BBC. The two weren't easy to juggle, but seminars were the highlights of my week, a chance for me to dive into something intellectually different from my day job as a local news reporter. One day I'd be covering crime, the next day I'd be writing an essay on biological weapons.

I had studied engineering as an undergraduate, so the interdisciplinary nature of the Science & Security course was a revelation, opening up my horizons to science and technology from a completely different perspective – through a feminist lens, for instance, or from the point of view of another global power. That became vital later when I wrote my books, *Inferior: How Science Got Women Wrong*, and

Superior: The Return of Race Science, which explore prejudice in our understanding of human difference.

I'm deeply indebted to Wyn

Bowen, Susan Martin and Anatol Lieven, and I'm still close friends with one of my classmates in the second year, Cynthia Park.

Today as a science journalist and author I often fall back on the skills and knowledge I acquired in those two years in the Department, particularly in helping me understand the role of relative power in shaping human interactions. I'm working on a new book, looking at the origins of patriarchy, and those lessons could not be more relevant.



▲ Angela with her friend Cynthia at King's.

“I often fall back on the skills and knowledge I acquired in those two years in the Department.”



Pjer Šimunović *MA War Studies 1997*

Croatian Ambassador to the USA

Living in Croatia during the momentous events of the late 1980s and 1990s, including the collapse of Communism, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and the war of Croatian independence, I keenly felt the omnipresence of war in human affairs – how this supremely violent, varied and organised collective use of force was capable of shaking, shattering, shaping, annihilating individuals, societies, states and worlds, ancient and modern.

This led me to pursue a career in international and security affairs journalism, joining the BBC World Service in London in the 1990s. From the old World Service headquarters in Bush House on the Strand, it was the shortest of walks across the street to King's and its Department of War Studies – where I enrolled on the MA War Studies. I couldn't have found a finer institution to look for deeper answers, and pose deeper

“I couldn't have found a finer institution to look for deeper answers.”



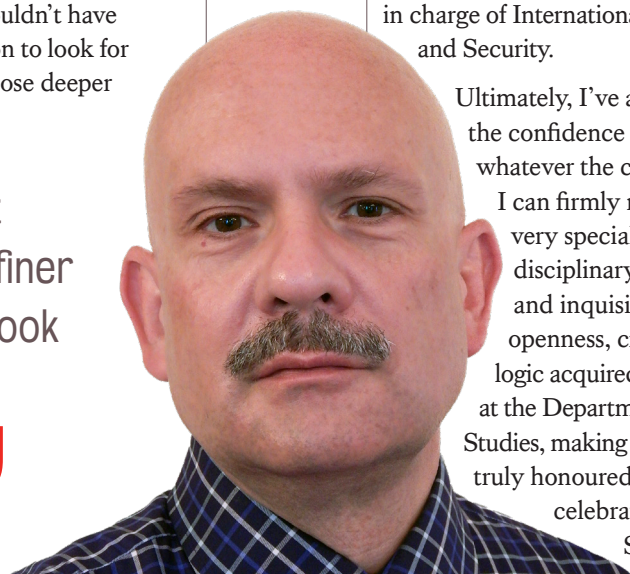
▲ Pjer sharing a very special moment of graduation with his wife Ružica.
PHOTO: ŠIMUNOVIĆ FAMILY ALBUM

questions to make some sense of it all, hidden in the thick fog of Clausewitz's theories on war.

It was a profoundly formative experience, in terms of understanding how to approach war and security in all their complex facets and layers, how to structure and develop ideas and arguments. The knowledge and skills I gained were absolutely fundamental and indispensable in providing me with the right instruments of thought to conduct various high-level positions in the Croatian Government, in the fields of national security, defence and diplomacy. Before assuming my current posting as Croatia's Ambassador to the United States, I was Director of the Office of the National Security Council, Ambassador to Israel, Defence State Secretary for Defence Policy, National Coordinator for NATO and Assistant Foreign Minister in charge of International Organisations and Security.

Ultimately, I've always had the confidence and pride, that whatever the circumstances,

I can firmly rely on the very special, interdisciplinary knowledge and inquisitiveness, openness, creativity, and logic acquired and honed at the Department of War Studies, making me now truly honoured to join the celebration of War Studies at 60.



'Funmi Olonisakin *MA War Studies 1990, PhD War Studies 1996*

Vice President & Vice Principal (International), King's College London

Some of my favourite memories of War Studies include simulation seminars on topics such as the Cuban Missile Crisis by Dr Phil Sabin, visiting the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe at NATO, healthy debates and boisterous camaraderie among my classmates on the margins of War Studies events, and the student induction weekends at Cumberland Lodge.

From all these came genuine and time-tested friendships that have underlined my entire time at King's. Being a beneficiary of world-class academics was the icing on the cake, and to this day makes King's a great place to study.

A major skill I learnt from my degrees, which is currently seeing me through life, is the ability to be deferential without being obsequious in debates. I also learnt the skill of weighing up and appreciating the consequences of all options, before taking action. These skills served me well during my work at the United Nations.

After graduation, I took up two post-doctoral fellowships, first at the University of Pretoria at a very important moment in the post-apartheid history of South Africa – a life-changing experience for me, the second at King's. This then led to working at the United



▲ 'Funmi (4th from left, front row) and the MA War Studies Class 1988 Visiting NATO and SHAPE.

Nations in New York 1999–2003 in the Office of the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. The MA War Studies stood me apart from other young scholars. My

background understanding of real-world issues around violent conflict gave me a rare form of expertise.

I then returned to King's in 2003, taking on numerous roles including establishing the African Leadership Centre in 2010 as a collaboration between King's and the University of Nairobi, and serving as Vice-Dean International in the Faculty of Social Science & Public Policy. In 2017 I became Vice President & Vice Principal (International), the role I am currently serving in.

The world has changed significantly since I was a student in War Studies in the late 1980s to mid-1990s,

as things considered hitherto unthinkable are now daily occurrences. In a world that is constantly evolving, studying how societies can manage changes that underline acrimonious intergroup relations is bound to be a worthwhile intellectual engagement. Obtaining a degree in War Studies continues to be a rare form of expertise.



Neil Summerton *PhD War Studies 1966*

Former Civil Servant, Non-executive Director, and Charity Trustee

I came to War Studies as a field of study somewhat by accident. I arrived at King's to study history in 1960. Among the first tasks was to choose an optional and special subject out of five, including one with Michael Howard on military history and the Franco-Prussian War. I was dubious, having been told at school that military history was not 'real history', which was perhaps true of the military history of earlier generations. I chatted it through with Howard, who suggested I try it provisionally. It did not take long to recognise what a distinguished teacher I had fallen in with, and my studies led rather effortlessly to a PhD in the new Department in 1963.

My abiding memory of the Department in 1963 was that it was small and intimate, with no more than eight to ten graduate students. It was housed in 154 Strand, which were ancient shop

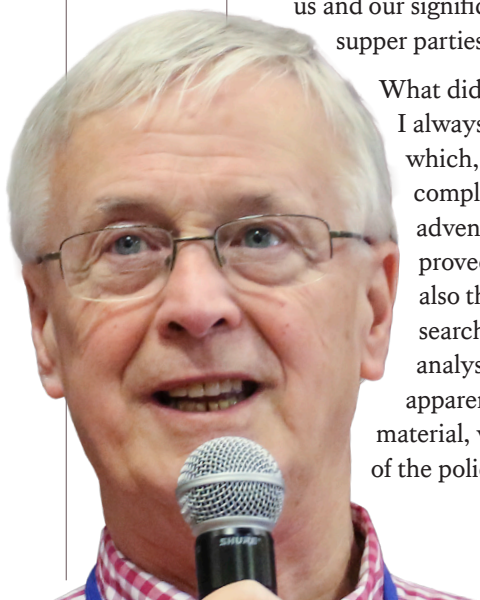


▲ Neil during the 1960s.

premises, from the time when there was living accommodation above the business. It was rickety, with uneven floors, and equipped with bookcases, tables and chairs, and certainly with the dust and odour of the humanities!

Apart from at seminars at the Institute of Historical Research, I saw little of Michael Howard (the only staff member until 1965). He had his hands full, setting up a new department, writing an official history, and serving as Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University, among other things. My goal at a monthly one-hour supervision with him was to keep him awake during my soporific accounts of the little treasures which I had unearthed in the Public Record Office. A wise aphorism that I learned from him was that 'there are some historical facts which deserve only decent re-interment!' But he did regularly invite us and our significant others to supper parties at his flat.

“It was rickety, with uneven floors, and equipped with bookcases, tables and chairs, and certainly with the dust and odour of the humanities!”



What did I learn? I always jest, 'to type!', which, with the completely unforeseen advent of IT, has proved a boon. But also the ability to search out, order, and analyse mounds of apparently incoherent material, which is the lot of the policymaker.

Karen Allen *MA in International Relations & Contemporary War, 2018*

Former BBC Foreign Correspondent, ISS Consultant and Founder of Karen Allen International

I chose to undertake an MA in Contemporary War mid-career to supplement my work as a foreign correspondent. The course was incredibly stimulating and I found the practical applications of international relations (IR) theory really engaging and relevant. I particularly enjoyed international humanitarian law, insurgency and counter insurgency, intelligence and some of the modules which focused on emerging technology and conflict, as these were most relevant to my work.

I am now using the MA as I take a slight gear change in my career, working as a consult on international policy issues affecting Africa amongst other regions and trying to communicate them in an accessible, practical and accurate way. I feel strongly that the MA has enhanced my analytical skills as well as my writing and has opened many doors to other institutions, such as the Harvard Kennedy School of Governance and the Wilson Center in Washington DC.

The MA exposes students to some of the most brilliant minds in the field of IR and conflict studies, and

the Department of War Studies is acknowledged world-wide as a centre of excellence. I had the benefit of practical field experience before I embarked on the course, but the MA has provided the context and the intellectual underpinning to understand better the stories behind the news.

“The MA exposes students to some of the most brilliant minds in the field of IR and conflict studies, and the Department of War Studies is acknowledged world-wide as a centre of excellence!”



Raffi Gregorian *MA War Studies 1989*

Director and Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General at the United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism

In October 2004, while Head of the State Department's Bosnia Office, I was asked to brief a senior official on an opportunity for us to help High Representative Paddy Ashdown lead an effort to link Bosnia's two ethnic armies. The official looked at me suggestively and asked, 'Who do you know who understands Bosnia, is an expert at military affairs, knows NATO, gets along with Brits, and that Ashdown trusts?' I rolled my eyes the way people do to show they are thinking. 'I mean you,' he said.

That Bosnia gig turned out to be the most gratifying professional experience of my life, and it was all down to my experience with War Studies at King's. I had evolved as an MA student from having papers mysteriously marked with runes like 'A/B+B+' and helpful comments like 'perfectly adequate' and 'this paper is the sort of antiquarian military history one doesn't see much anymore', to having articles published in peer-reviewed journals and presenting them at academic conferences.

By taking what I'd learned about the evolution of the British Indian Army during my time at King's and fashioning it into a politically and practically compelling concept for Bosnia's defence needs, I was able to convince Bosnia's leaders to go further than expected and create



▲ Then Lieutenant Commander Gregorian, USNR, during his service in Kosovo 2004.

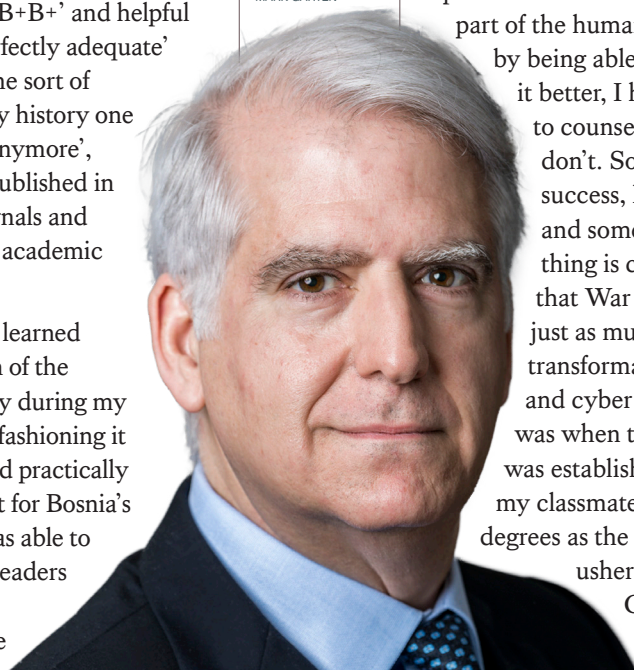
PHOTO:
UNITED NATIONS/
MARK GARTEN

a single, multiethnic army, organised in line with the country's NATO aspirations. The new Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina are today the most trusted state institution in the country, which is now in NATO's Membership Action Plan.

I now direct the UN's counterterrorism office, taking part in high-level interagency meetings, much as I did when I was in the US State Department attending meetings led by the National Security Council on everything from military interventions and drone strikes to the Ebola response.

Having since seen in person what war does to people, and the costs of going to war for the wrong reasons, my fascination with it is now infused with a special kind of loathing. War is, sadly, part of the human condition. But

by being able to understand it better, I have been able to counsel those who don't. Sometimes with success, like in Bosnia, and sometimes not. One thing is clear, and that is that War Studies is needed just as much in the age of transformative technology and cyber conflict as it was when the Department was established, or when my classmates and I got our degrees as the Berlin Wall fell, ushering in the post-Cold War era.



Geoff Till *MA War Studies 1968, PhD War Studies 1976*

Chair in Naval History and Strategy at the US Naval War College

My time at King's did not get off to a great start. During my first degree in History, wanting to be a journalist I ended up being the News Editor of *Sennet* the University of London newspaper. It was pretty demanding and I didn't have much time for the Tudors and Stuarts, so I got flung out after failing my resits in 1965.

After a term and a bit in the wilderness of the General Studies Department, I was invited back for reasons I have never quite fathomed, this time devoting myself to my books. In the third year, my special subject choice was between Anglo-Saxon Monasticism or Military History. In the end I went for the latter and did the Franco-Prussian War with the superlative Michael Howard. Odd how such casual decisions (it was a close one) can determine one's destiny.

I was totally hooked and after a year doing a PGCE (I enrolled just in case I flunked the exams again) I did the MA in Michael Howard's last year at King's. There were about a dozen of us assorted souls, meeting in a few tiny rooms over the Thomas Cook shop on the Strand, taught by Michael, Wolf Mendl and Brian Bond. It was wonderful, completely new, varied and entrancing stuff. I began to shift over to the dark side out of history and into nuclear deterrence theory and crisis management.

In those days, the University of London offered a PhD one could do from distance and

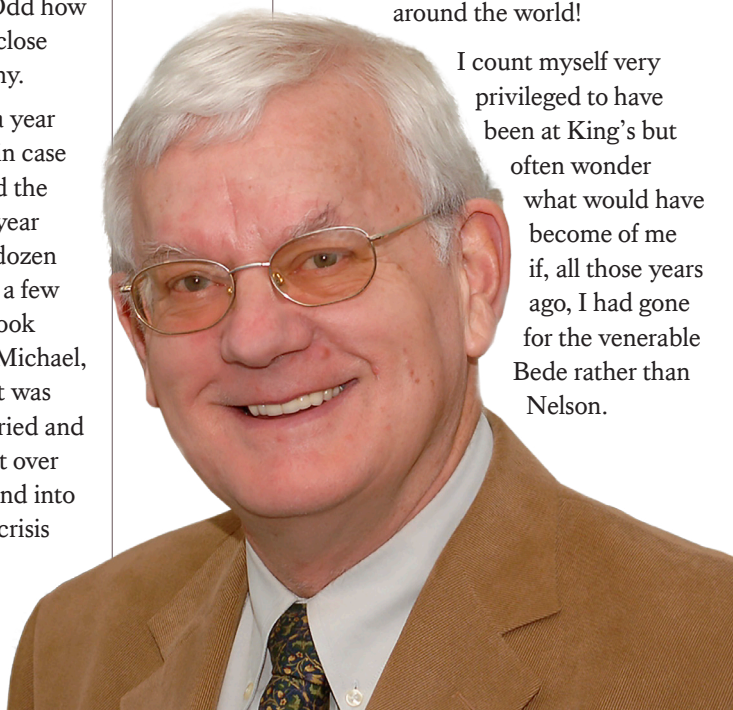
since I had taken a job at the Britannia Royal Naval college in Dartmouth I opted for that. They worked us hard at Dartmouth, and so it took me until 1976 to hammer out a PhD on naval aviation.

“It was wonderful, completely new, varied and entrancing stuff.”

I'm still smitten by naval history and maritime strategy, and still in the no-man's-land between proper history and strategic studies. After decades as an academic working for the Royal Navy, I took a position out in Singapore and now, incredibly, have a chair in Naval History

and Strategy at the US Naval War College. Some of my students have *retired* as Chiefs of Navy here and around the world!

I count myself very privileged to have been at King's but often wonder what would have become of me if, all those years ago, I had gone for the venerable Bede rather than Nelson.



Inara Khan *BA War Studies 2010, MA International Peace & Security 2012*

Head of Delivery for Innovation, NHSX

I still count the friends I made during my time in the Department of War Studies as some of my best friends – one of them even named her daughter Inara! Everyone who did War Studies had a natural curiosity coupled with an appreciation of the slightly absurd – we were a tightly knit and slightly off-kilter bunch, students and academics alike! I remember Ruth Deyermund sharing a story when we were learning about the Falklands War, about a student referring to the Battle of Goose Green as the Battle of Golders Green in an exam, and the whole class roared with laughter.

The Department gave me the confidence to be myself – something I've taken with me throughout my life. Academics and fellow students taught me to be proud of what I found fascinating and to be confident in and celebrate my knowledge and skills. It truly has shaped me in my outlook and subsequent career path, and I credit so much of who I am today to my years in War Studies.

I learnt how to write and crucially how to formulate arguments logically and with passion – a skill that

“The Department gave me the confidence to be myself.”



▲ Inara Khan and Diane Mergui at graduation.

helped me land one of my first roles working for the BBC, and subsequently *The Guardian*.

In my current role as Head of Innovation Delivery at NHSX, the body responsible for the digital

transformation of the NHS, I oversee a portfolio of seven national programmes, keeping a strategic focus on the big national priorities whilst supporting my team to make tactical decisions about delivery. The skills I use are firmly grounded in those I acquired in War Studies, for example, researching far and wide and then weaving together new and innovative arguments helps me prepare briefings today for Ministers and senior leaders.

I am a passionate public servant, and this in part stems from War Studies.

I wrote my MA dissertation on the impact of restorative justice in the former Yugoslavia; and the desire to make life fairer for people has stuck with me ever since. War Studies taught me that people are at the heart of everything, and they are what keeps life interesting. Learning and laughing with leading academics was one of the best things about the Department!



Zac Stenning *BA War Studies 1994*

Head Military Strategy within the Strategy Unit of the UK Ministry of Defence

In September 1991 I was lucky enough to be one of around 20 fresh faced 18 and 19 year olds on the first ever BA War Studies course. It was a formative experience, we all bonded incredibly closely, forging lifelong friendships.

As I look back, I realise how fortunate we were to be amongst such an amazing collective of insight, experience and wisdom, where we were educated by titans of military history and international relations. Our activities outside of study included a memorable football match that made the national press: King's War Studies versus Bradford Peace Studies in February 1992. Rightfully, Peace won.

My BA taught me the power of analysis and importance of understanding context, something I've always considered when confronting conflict. It emphasised the importance of history as wisdom for the future and the need for effective strategy to deal with challenges: easy to state, much harder to define, create and deliver. It shaped my understanding of conflict resolution and the enduring need to bring parties together to resolve differences: "To politics we must return", has remained with me since my time at King's.

My military career has taken me all around the world; the Balkans, Africa, Iraq and Afghanistan, culminating in my role today as Head Military Strategy within the Strategy Unit of the UK Ministry of Defence. I have worked alongside exceptional men and women from the UK Armed Forces and other national militaries and diplomatic



▲ Brigadier Zac Stenning (middle).
PHOTO: CREDIT
DETAILS TO GO HERE

services. I have been humbled to witness exceptional work by colleagues from the UN and conflict-focused charities supporting vital peace-keeping missions.

I strongly believe that we have a duty to examine and educate society on the causal factors of violence and war, so we can better understand how to resolve and prevent it. From experience, a lack of understanding of the causes, nature and impacts of conflict have led to debatable decisions at the strategic level. An education in War Studies delivers a new generation of leaders and thinkers who recognise the vital importance of conflict resolution through understanding and political negotiation. I am humbled and honoured to have studied at War Studies, which remains a worldwide benchmark of academic excellence in this key field.

“We have a duty to examine and educate society on the causal factors of violence and war.”

Sukanya Walhekar *BA International Relations 2020*

Political Officer at the British Embassy in Washington

From the various talks and workshops, to taking my favourite class on Anglo-American foreign policy with Flavia Gasbarri to cheering on some of my best friends playing in the Tolstoy Cup, I'm truly happy with the choice I made to study in the Department of War Studies. There would rarely be a week without at least one event being put on and the regular socials kept us well integrated between the degree programmes. We were a really strong cohort of diverse and talented students, many of whom are still my closest friends today.

Studying International Relations at King's gave me the strong research and writing skills to be able to compose clear and concise reports on complex topics, and the ability to quickly identify and synthesise key information from multiple reliable sources, all very important skills when working in government. Additionally, I've learnt how to effectively integrate networking and diversifying experiences into every aspect of my life. The oratory and interpersonal skills I developed helped me land internships and post-grad jobs, including on the Biden presidential campaign amongst others.

I now work as a Political Officer at the British Embassy in Washington DC, part of the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO). My work

primarily involves reporting on US political developments to the FCDO in London and other embassies in the diplomatic network. I also help prepare briefings for the Ambassador, assist

with planning for ministerial visits and administer the Honours system of OBE and MBE awards across the US diplomatic network of consulates.

With the rise of technological warfare, the aftermath of Brexit, the changing international order and living through a pandemic, there's hardly been a more salient time to study world

affairs, security and conflict. Through internships and living in Washington DC, I've come across countless people who have either studied, done a semester/year abroad, or pursued their masters or PhD within War Studies. There's six War Studies alums in the Embassy alone!

War Studies holds a very prestigious name within the government, defence and consulting sectors in DC and beyond. It can be difficult to get hired abroad after having done your degree elsewhere but I have no doubt that the prestige of the Department helped me get to where I am today.

“There's hardly been a more salient time to study world affairs, security and conflict.”



World-leading research that tackles global challenges

The Department of War Studies is internationally renowned for its agenda-setting research on all aspects of conflict, politics, and international relations.

Our interdisciplinary community of academics are leaders in their fields, including international relations, law, politics, technology and the arts. They bring together a diverse range of perspectives, from historical to sociological, and from philosophical to scientific.

Working closely with governments, international bodies such as NATO and the EU, INGOs, security practitioners, artists and cultural commentators, and conflict-affected communities, our research develops new empirical



knowledge, advances theoretical understanding and debate, and employs innovative methodological approaches to address vital policy issues. Our work is academically rigorous and relevant, and our academics play an important role in shaping policy in the UK and beyond.

▲ Submarine against the evening sky.

PHOTO: IURII/SHUTTERSTOCK

► (Main image) Telescope in New Mexico, United States.

PHOTO: DONALD GIANNATTI/UNSPLASH

Our research culture is dynamic and progressive, with scholars striving to move beyond Eurocentric and Western viewpoints, to better incorporate postcolonial, feminist and other perspectives in our approach to deciphering global issues. This leaves us well equipped to challenge traditional assumptions about governance, security and conflict in intellectually creative ways.

Our varied research base seeks to understand and respond to some of the biggest questions facing global societies. We learn from the past so that we are better able to analyse the present, and engage with the challenges of tomorrow.

“We learn from the past so that we are better able to analyse the present, and engage with the challenges of tomorrow.”

Our research:

- ◆ Explores the origins of violence from community level through to national and international conflict, as well as how to prevent it and find peaceful resolutions;
- ◆ Examines how arts-based and creative approaches to post-conflict reconciliation offers an alternative approach to peacebuilding and transitional justice;
- ◆ Analyses ways governments detect, construct and respond to perceived threats to their citizens and their geopolitical interests, from domestic and transnational terrorism, to digital espionage and attacks, to pandemics and disinformation;
- ◆ Improves risk communication, and public and practitioner behaviours and decision-making in responses to low-likelihood, high-impact threats such as chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear accidents or attacks.

**FURTHER
INFO**

Please visit our
research page to
find out more:
[kcl.ac.uk/
warstudies/
research](https://kcl.ac.uk/warstudies/research)



▲ Reconciliations exhibition, hosted by the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, June 2018. PHOTO: CERI MARGERISON

Art & Reconciliation: Evaluating peacebuilding in the Western Balkans

Professor James Gow, Professor Rachel Kerr, Dr Tiffany Fairey, Dr Henry Redwood and colleagues at the LSE and University of the Arts London conducted a series of Art & Reconciliation projects that have had an extensive and transformative impact on both United Nations and regional peacebuilding policy and practice in the Western Balkans. This region has been devastated by war and genocide, which left over 100,000 dead and over two million refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina alone.

Art & Reconciliation (A&R) investigated the potential of arts-based approaches to post-war reconciliation. Working in collaboration with artists, curators and peacebuilders the project led to seven major exhibitions in three countries internationally, as well as over 40 smaller exhibitions, shows and activities in 20 places. With over 10,000 visitors, these exhibitions allowed individuals and communities to engage

with and benefit from research outcomes. Key outcomes of the projects include new knowledge and understanding of the role of the Arts in post-war reconciliation and the creation of a new framework that introduced four principles for successful evaluation of reconciliation and visual arts practice activities.

A&R research led to a revolutionised mission and enhanced future for key cultural and peacebuilding organisations in Bosnia, and enabled new evaluatory practices for arts-based peace-building initiatives, donors and practitioners. The research helped to shift attitudes towards the use of arts-based practice in reconciliation while increasing and enhancing skills and opportunities for key stakeholders in the region.

FURTHER INFO

www.artreconciliation.org

Countering terrorism: Researching jihadist use of social media

Professor Peter Neumann, Dr Shiraz Maher, Dr Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens and colleagues at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), in the Department of War Studies, have carried out pioneering research on Western jihadists' use of the internet. This has been crucial in informing public and political discourse, as well as shaping public policy on how to counter the presence of jihadist groups online, the importance of online radicalisation, and the potential for counter-narratives.

More importantly, it has allowed the world's leading online platforms, such as Google, YouTube and Facebook, to ensure that they do not promote banned organisations such as Islamic State, and has resulted in the identification, arrest and detainment of leading jihadist recruiters in Australia, India and the United States.

The Syrian conflict has been the most socially mediated conflict in history, meaning that both terrorist movements and individual actors have been able to exploit mainstream social media

platforms to disseminate propaganda, win new recruits, spread disinformation, and build a so-called 'virtual Caliphate'.

By gathering and archiving significant amounts of freely available online material, researchers with already long-established expertise on jihadist ideology and online extremism, were able to make important contributions to understanding how jihadist organisations have used the internet to radicalise and recruit individuals.

This research led to the development of a new methodology for measuring 'sources of importance and influence' within foreign fighter networks. It also demonstrated that the role of online interactions could easily be overestimated and showed that IS' presence on the internet was driven and sustained by unaffiliated grassroots supporters rather than the organisation itself. As a result of widespread and high-level engagement, including extensive media coverage and personal briefings for policymakers, this research has had extensive impact on policy and practice.



▲ The shrine of Zakr al-Deen in Sinjar, Iraq, is sacred to the Shia and was destroyed by the Islamic State. PHOTO: LEVI MEIR GLANCY/UNSPLASH

Embedding knowledge and building capacity in UK Intelligence Tradecraft

Professor Mike Goodman, Head of the Department of War Studies, has conducted research which has directly informed and influenced practice throughout all levels of the UK government and intelligence community.

The last 15 years have brought significant change to UK intelligence, following the Butler Report in 2014, which blamed flawed intelligence analysis for costly operational failures in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. As the Official Historian at the Cabinet Office appointed by the Prime Minister, and thanks to his subsequent efforts to foster academic-to-government knowledge exchange and outreach, Professor Goodman transformed how academic expertise is engaged with and used by the intelligence community, demonstrating how research can bring to light new perspectives and challenge analysts' assumptions.



▲ Headquarters of the British Secret Intelligence Service, commonly known as MI6, London. PHOTO: SVETLANA TURCHENICK/SHUTTERSTOCK

This has resulted in key changes to practice: analysts have been brought into closer dialogue with academics and become better equipped to interpret the positive and negative lessons from intelligence history. It has also improved the effectiveness of their interpretative and technical skills, helping to increase the professionalisation of their tradecraft nationally and internationally. Goodman's research has also served to document the emergence of intelligence studies as a distinct discipline.

Incorporating behavioural science into policy making, planning and response for emergencies

Professor Brooke Rogers OBE and Dr Julia Pearce have conducted research demonstrating that the public are largely resilient to extreme events such as terrorism, pandemics and flooding etc, and highlighted the role of effective communications before, during and after extreme events.

Emergency policies and plans are often based on inaccurate assumptions about public responses to extreme events, which can lead to situations where public behaviours overwhelm emergency response systems. Professor Rogers and Dr Pearce, have worked with industry, emergency response, local, national, and international government organisations, to enhance their ability to influence public responses to extreme events; address concerns about causing public panic when communicating; and reframe the representation of the public in emergency response processes.

Their research has spanned seven collaborative projects designed to test and advance theories



▲ Participants in Exercise Arden which tested public responses to a chemical incident. PHOTO: MATT BELL

of risk perception, communication and behaviour, and to understand and inform public psychological and behavioural responses to extreme events. This has had a significant impact on policymaking, planning and response for emergencies. Specifically, it has changed the ways that public responses are incorporated in UK national risk assessments, repositioned behavioural science at the heart of emergency response policy and informed security-focused communication with the public and industry.

Shifting UK stabilisation policy to support fragile and conflict-affected countries

Dr Christine Cheng has conducted research into war-to-peace transitions, highlighting the critical role played by ex-combatant networks and the importance of ‘elite bargains’ – political deals between groups with significant power to make decisions and implement policies that affects wider populations.

Recent civil wars across the Middle East, North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa have devastated the lives of many people, with millions displaced and over 600,000 having died on the battlefield since 2010. According to the World Bank, every civil war in Africa that has begun since 2003 has been the resumption of a previous civil war. The question of why some ceasefires and peace agreements hold, while others do not, has been an enduring puzzle in the study of war termination. A core goal of UK foreign policy is to stabilise and support these fragile and conflict-affected countries. The cross-Whitehall unit tasked with this responsibility is the Stabilisation Unit.

“Every civil war in Africa that has begun since 2003 has been the resumption of a previous civil war.”

Dr Cheng’s research has helped to change UK conflict stabilisation policy from ‘liberal peacebuilding’, an aspirational approach rooted in democratisation and free markets, to ‘elite bargains’, a pragmatic approach that recognises the distribution of power on the ground. It has influenced country-specific stabilisation policy, analysis and operations, and consolidated the UK government’s position as a global thought leader on conflict and stabilisation. This work has been highly influential and has been both championed at UK government ministerial levels and embedded into the Stabilisation Unit practice and policy.



▲ A Burundian soldier serving with the African Union Mission in Somalia walks past women queuing for medication, Mogadishu. PHOTO: AU-UN IST PHOTO/STUART PRICE



▲ Four rockets are directed upwards into the sky. PHOTO: GERASIMOV_FOTO_174/SHUTTERSTOCK

Strengthening global nuclear security

Professor Wyn Bowen, Professor Christopher Hobbs, Professor Matthew Moran, Dr Hassan Elbahtimy and colleagues at the Centre for Science and Security Studies (CSSS) in the Department of War Studies have supported government and industry initiatives to reduce the risks associated with nuclear weapons, sensitive nuclear materials and civil nuclear facilities.

Because of its potential for devastating humanitarian and environmental harm, an act of nuclear terrorism or the intentional or accidental use of nuclear weapons by a state, have long been regarded as among the greatest threats to global security.

To date few studies have examined the practicalities of nuclear disarmament and how future arms control treaties, aimed at reducing nuclear weapons stockpiles to low numbers, might be verified. Similarly, limited research has been conducted on the performance of nuclear security systems.

In an effort to bridge these gaps, CSSS researchers have developed new tools and

frameworks to advance understanding of nuclear security, informing the work of international organisations, governments and industry. Working closely with relevant practitioner communities in more than 20 countries, CSSS has directly shaped policy and informed best practice. The researchers conducted innovative empirical research, and engaged with practitioners through surveys, interviews and highly-realistic simulations.

This research has strengthened nuclear security globally, by enhancing security culture at nuclear facilities, improving the detection of smuggled nuclear materials and supporting the development of practical steps towards verified nuclear disarmament.

“To date few studies have examined the practicalities of nuclear disarmament.”

Statecraft, ‘Realpolitik’ and Global Britain

Professor John Bew has provided the intellectual resources for new policies and informed politicians across the political spectrum on several defining issues of statecraft.

Appointed as Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s Foreign Policy Adviser in 2019, Professor Bew’s research has fed directly into government policy on Brexit and Anglo–Irish relations, and on the future direction of foreign policy more generally via his work on the recent Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy. His research on the mechanics and ideology of statecraft were written as a form of ‘applied history’, where historical knowledge is used to reflect on contemporary political challenges, questioning historical views and using these new histories to inform present-day politics.

Through this approach, Professor Bew has provided politicians across the political spectrum with unique historical expertise on several key issues of statecraft. His work on ‘realpolitik’

has led to a greater focus on balancing ideals and interests in the crafting of Britain’s foreign policy. His expertise in UK–Irish relations helped to broker an agreement for the October 2019 Withdrawal Agreement and restore devolved government to Northern Ireland in January 2020. Furthermore, his arguments about ‘progressive patriotism’ demonstrated in his biography of Clement Attlee, have played a crucial role in the recognition, amongst some senior party officials, of the need for and the resource to undertake a reorientation of the Labour Party.

“Professor Bew has provided politicians across the political spectrum with unique historical expertise on several key issues of statecraft.”



▲ The Ministry of Defence building in Whitehall, London.

What War Studies means to me – students share their thoughts

“War Studies has essentially become a second family for me. Having started as an undergraduate in 2015 in the Department, I then pursued a Masters in National Security Studies and am currently conducting a PhD. I have effectively become part of the furniture.

The life-long friends I have made along the way combined with the warmth of the staff have gifted me with the confidence to put forward my opinions and ideas, backed by taught knowledge, in scenarios where I would never have dreamed of speaking up in the past. It is thanks to the faculty that I even felt I was

‘good enough’ to apply for a PhD.

Suffice to say, if it was not for the community, I likely would not be who I am today.”

William Reynolds

PhD War Studies



“For me War Studies is the study of conflict in the past, present and future. It not only looks at the causes, conduct and experience of conflict, but also ways in which conflicts could have been/could be stopped.

War Studies is a simultaneously broad and narrow subject, as it allows you to gain a broader understanding of the field, while looking into more detail of specific areas that may interest you.

There are many specific elements covered, such as diplomacy and foreign policy, international law, history, technological and scientific studies, and more

theoretical ones as well as many more. I think the multidisciplinary approach is part of what makes War Studies such a great subject.”

Daisy Cooil

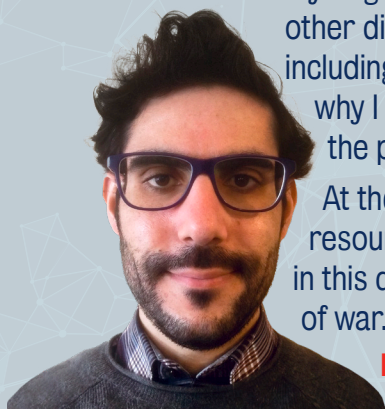
BA War Studies



“War Studies is like a big family to me. I was studying remotely in my first year, but the Department made me feel involved. Moreover, the visions and the topics we cover matches a lot of my own beliefs and how I view the world. War Studies is a part of my identity.”

Min Young Lee

BA History & International Relations



“As an International Law researcher, the study of war or armed conflict from a normative standpoint is crucial to me; but I also try to go beyond the often simplistic legal view and venture into other disciplines to provide a more complete picture of war, including history, defence studies, philosophy and ethics. That is why I believe the just war theory offers a chance to understand the phenomenon of war in a much more comprehensive way.

At the Department of War Studies I have found many resources, and encountered many kindred spirits, to aid me in this quest to better understand the ultimate human business of war.”

Francisco Lobo

PhD War Studies



“War Studies challenges what I think I know about the world, pushes me to expand my horizons, surprises me with depths of knowledge at every turn of my studies, and equips me to go into the world with an informed, open perspective.”

Gabrielle Heal

BA International Relations

“In joining the Department as a postgraduate research student in 2020, I see that we all have different ideas about what war and conflict are, and is reflected in our unique approaches to study. This makes us a

vibrant and innovative research community where no matter what your research area and interests, you feel like you belong.”

Laura Zuber

MPhil/PhD War Studies



“War Studies can truly expand one’s understanding of various critical international affairs. All in all, it shows you that global peace, order and justice are things that cannot be taken for granted, nor do they come without a heavy price that each generation must be willing to pay.”

Mohammad Alaudah

MA International Conflict Studies





WAR STUDIES

Futures Scholarship Programme

To mark the 60th anniversary of the Department of War Studies and set a path for the future, we are launching the War Studies Futures Scholarship Programme in 2022. The Programme will support our commitment to admitting students with the greatest potential, regardless of background.

Help us to support students with the greatest potential

We know that financial support is crucial to ensuring the best outcomes for students from low-income families. Studying in London is expensive, and the level of debt young people must take on to study with us can be intimidating, especially for those

who are the first in their families to attend university. Without the government grant scheme, which was removed in 2016, this debt burden falls disproportionately on low-income students who often need to undertake paid employment alongside their studies, preventing them from fully

“Our ambition is to provide scholarships for six students from low-income, widening participation backgrounds each year for the next 10 years, so 60 overall, to celebrate our 60th anniversary.”

participating in the university experience and everything King's has to offer.

Through the **War Studies Futures Scholarship Programme**, our ambition is to provide scholarships for six students from low-income, widening participation backgrounds each year for the next 10 years, so 60 overall, to celebrate our 60th anniversary. Successful students will receive the scholarship of £12,000 to help with the cost of living in London and to contribute to their annual tuition fees.

Creating a vibrant future by nurturing diverse talent

Our scholarships will encourage more students from widening participation backgrounds to study with us. In addition to financial support, the programme will also include a comprehensive package of academic and pastoral support to ensure successful transition to university for scholarship recipients and help them to reach their full potential. Students will also benefit from access to mentoring opportunities, networking events and a global alumni network.

Equipping our students with the skills and knowledge they gain by studying a BA in War Studies with us, will in turn empower them to make meaningful contributions to society through careers in government, international organisations, the charity sector, media, and security and private sectors, amongst others. This helps further our mission to be in service to society by providing to employers high-calibre graduates from a diverse range of backgrounds with fresh approaches to global challenges.

The War Studies Futures Scholarship Programme will:

- ♦ Create a structured pathway for young people, who otherwise might have thought university was not an option

for them, to get into War Studies and pursue related careers.

- ♦ Meaningfully widen participation in War Studies over a 10-year period, by supporting and mentoring 60 outstanding young people from diverse backgrounds, from their penultimate year at secondary school, and throughout the three years of our BA War Studies undergraduate degree.
- ♦ Celebrate our 60-year history through acts of service to society.
- ♦ Affirm an existing departmental ethos that celebrates intellectual diversity as the marker of excellence in War Studies.

(Continues over page)

▼ Students on campus at King's College London.





How your gift will help a student

The Department has invested in developing an enhanced package of pastoral and academic support for all our students, with an additional programme tailored for students from widening participation backgrounds, including ongoing mentoring and peer support. With your support, we can also alleviate the financial strain of going to university for these students. All donations to the programme will go directly to the students to support their studies.

Highlighting our commitment to improving accessibility to War Studies at King's, the Faculty of Social Science & Public Policy at King's College London has committed to match-funding at a rate of 25% of all donations. This will enable us to add a £3000 contribution towards tuition fees for each student on the War Studies Futures Scholarship Programme, in addition to their £12,000 award.

Our fundraising target is £720,000, which would enable us to support the War Studies Futures Scholarship Programme for the next 10 years. Your gift of any amount will help us to continue to offer a first-class education to students from all backgrounds, on an equitable basis, with all the opportunities that it brings.

- ♦ A gift of £1000 with a Faculty matched contribution at 25% would contribute £1250 toward a scholarship for one student.
- ♦ A gift of £4000 with a Faculty matched contribution at 25% would provide £5000 to support one student for one whole year of study.
- ♦ A gift of £12,000 with a Faculty matched contribution at 25% would mean £15,000 to support one student for all three years of their degree.

Together, we can change the lives of the next generation of War Studies students, now and for years to come. Thank you!

“Together, we can change the lives of the next generation of War Studies students, now and for years to come.”

HOW MY SCHOLARSHIP TRANSFORMED MY LIFE

“My testimony is only one of many which reveal the importance of receiving the life-changing and transformative opportunity that a scholarship provides. The funding I received not only magnified my absolute love for history and the study of war but it also propelled me to follow my dreams in a way I would have never imagined possible.

It urged me to follow my heart without financial struggles, freeing me to fully integrate myself in the Department and deepen my passions for my degree. In short, it brought me to life, inflaming my interests in the importance of supporting victims of war, cementing my decision to follow my dreams to fight the injustices many face during and after conflicts, finding ways to use my skills to make their voices heard.

None of this could have been achieved without the dedication and absolute kindness of my donors. Living with

financial struggles had previously prevented me from even gaining access to key textbooks even if they were as little as £10, or visiting institutions such as the British Library or any free public lectures at King's or UCL due to the expense of travel being beyond my weekly means.

The impact that such a momentous opportunity has had on me, aside from supporting my academic success, cannot easily be conveyed. This kind of support not only frees a bright and capable student constrained by financial difficulties to follow their passions, but it transforms their life and that of their family's forever. For me personally, winning this scholarship also acted as a symbol connecting me to my beloved mother and the love for education she fostered within me.

Donating to a scholarship scheme transforms a student's life deeply and on so many levels.”

“The funding that I have received through my bursary made a hugely positive impact on my experience at university and my studies. I had been concerned that having to work alongside university would undermine my capacity to study to the best of my ability. Having the extra funding has enabled me to dedicate more of my time and energy to my degree and go above and beyond what I'd hoped to achieve.

Additionally, I was able to purchase better equipment to support my remote studies during the pandemic, which greatly helped my productivity during this challenging period as I could work

in relative comfort from home with a good computer that was more reliable than my old software.

Coming from a low-income household, the difference between myself and my peers sometimes feels quite stark as they have had access to so many more opportunities than I ever did, thanks to their background. Bursaries are a way of bridging that gap and helping students like me feel like they have more in common with their peers. This has helped a lot with my mental health, knowing that I can now access more opportunities that would have been out-of-bounds previously for financial reasons.”



FURTHER INFO

If you would like to find out more about the scheme as well as information about making a gift please contact warstudiesfutures@kcl.ac.uk

Future of war: Predictions for the next 60 years

ACADEMICS

Cyber security: The next 60 years

In 2081, cyber security will not exist. Even today separating ‘cyber security’ from other forms of security can be illogical or impractical: it is the security of everything. Human, economic or national security involves securing digital data and networks, assuring the integrity and functionality of critical infrastructures, and facilitating the societal endeavours dependent upon those processes and systems. In 2081, ‘cyber’ will not be new and exciting. Every aspect of security will have a digital aspect or dependency, so cyber security will just be ‘security’.

More than that, everything – if current trends continue – will have a computational foundation. This need not be digital silicon, but will include quantum, biological, and other forms of ‘post-digital’ information processing. The entire planet and its hybridised denizens will be computable, mutable and hackable. Unless we overcome the current inability to design and deploy truly secure information systems,

we will create a global informational risk landscape of unprecedented vulnerability and fragility. This will be exploited by those with access to computation (wealthy states, corporates, techno-elites) and used to subjugate those excluded from its control (the global majority), with some fighting for justice across the hyperconnected socioeconomic formations of the late 21st century. Cyber conflict will be endemic.

As with the radical violence of the climate catastrophe, technology alone will not save us from a dark future. But people just might. Education will help us peer through the fog of junk data and competing untruths. In 2081, War Studies will still be training students to be citizens of a complex world, able to identify, understand and address the thorniest of problems. Whatever we call it then, ‘cyber security’ will need their skills and ingenuity more than ever.



Dr Tim Stevens

*Senior Lecturer in Global Security and
Head of the King's Cyber Security
Research Group*

“Education will help us peer through the fog of junk data and competing untruths.”

Intelligence studies: The next 60 years

Predicting the trajectory of one of the youngest disciplines within the War Studies family is no easy feat. Even more so when its course has always been determined by unpredictable international events and access to heavily guarded sources.

In the coming decades, intelligence scholars will continue to study the different ways state and non-state actors use intelligence to gain advantage in politics, warfare, and business. They will interrogate how new technologies transform intelligence collection and analytical methods; how governments, terrorists or hackers utilise increasingly available cyber capabilities to strike their adversaries where it hurts the most.

At the same time, their eyes will remain on the spies – the officers, the analysts, their leaders, and the bureaucracies that tie them all together. We will, however, see intelligence scholars adopt a more critical lens when assessing how culture and hiring practices impact the effectiveness and contribution of these fast-growing organisations.

Finally, as more documents from outside the Anglosphere become available, from the future we will

be able to look back at the past, undertaking the vital reassessment of what we think we know about international history. Working in multilingual teams, intelligence historians will piece together a more holistic picture of how secret intelligence contributed to decision-making throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, what motivated world leaders to resort to covert foreign policies, and when intelligence really made a difference.

This task is already underway. Thanks to millions of formerly top secret documents now made available to researchers in Prague, Berlin or Bucharest, we have reassessed what we thought about the Eastern Bloc's relationship with Cold War terrorism. We found that the mammoth communist security services were all but well-oiled bureaucracies, and realised how arduous it was to run high-level agents in the Houses of Parliament.

There is more to come as official documents and private papers from countries such as France, Lebanon and China become increasingly available. Sit back and enjoy the ride.



Dr Daniela Richterova

Senior Lecturer in Intelligence Studies, Department of War Studies

“Working in multilingual teams, intelligence historians will piece together a more holistic picture of how secret intelligence contributed to decision-making throughout the 20th and 21st centuries.”

Warfare and armed conflict: The next 60 years

What will war mean in future? Although the deployment of lethal force has been a defining feature of war throughout history, the meaning of war has changed through many historical periods. War making in pre-colonial tribal systems in Africa meant something different to what it meant in the city state system of Renaissance Italy, which again was different to what it meant for participants in the concert of Europe in the 19th century, and what it came to mean in the World Wars of the 20th century. Can we anticipate how it will be understood in the future?

Until recently in the practice of sovereign states, as embodied in the UN system, only self-defence was accepted as a justification for going to war. State actors understand that going to war for other reasons would be interpreted by other states as wrongful. In large measure, the participant states in this global practice eschew war. There are few full-scale, state-against-state, wars involving campaigns, strategies, victories and defeats.

A new practice of war with an international dimension is emerging and is likely to persist for the foreseeable future. At present there are at least 20 ongoing wars *within* states, mostly in Africa. These are internal *asymmetric* wars between state military apparatuses and non-state armed groups, and are often labelled as 'anti-terrorist' wars.

These often have an international dimension, with domestic military forces aided by great powers such as the USA, France and the UK who provide weapons, training and/or support by special forces. The USA currently has a military presence in 29 African states. It is not plausible to interpret this great power military engagement in weak states as self-defence against a credible military threat to national security.

How are we to understand such 'anti-terrorist' war? Whilst the commonly offered interpretation is that its 'a global war on terror', who are the 'terrorists'? Do they pose a threat to the sovereignty of the great powers? They do not wear uniforms or self-identify as 'terrorists'. Quite the



▲ Drone launching from an aircraft carrier. PHOTO: DIGITAL STORM/SHUTTERSTOCK

contrary, they claim that the governments they oppose are guilty of using 'terrorist' means against them and that they are therefore waging just wars. This distinctive new practice is quite different from conventional war, where what mattered was military victory and securing a peace treaty.

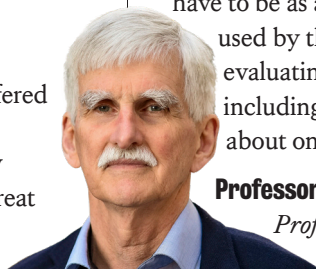
Commonly both sides use terrorist means, they end up killing innocent people and inflicting considerable collateral damage. In order to avoid the ethical opprobrium arising from their acts and the loss of political influence that follows, they do what they can to conduct these wars in secret, or to provoke their opponents to commit worse atrocities. 'Victory' involves securing the ethical high-ground and the political support that follows – the strategic communication is as important as military prowess.

Although conventional wars may occur in future with armies, navies, and air forces seeking military victory, asymmetric wars will be far more common. Future scholars in War Studies will

have to be as adept in analysing the weaponry used by the warring parties as they are in evaluating the strategic communications, including ethical claims the parties make about one another's wrongful use of force.

Professor Mervyn Frost

*Professor of International Relations,
Department of War Studies*





▲ Satellite orbiting the Earth. PHOTO: NASA/UNSPLASH

Space power: The next 60 years

60 years ago, in 1961, the Soviet Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human being to travel in space. In 2021, the sky is filling with mega-constellations of satellites, spacecraft from China, the US as well as smaller countries like the United Arab Emirates are reaching Mars, and the first commercial space passenger flights are being launched. This rate of technological transformation and the potential future for space power and space as a defence domain makes predictions up to 2081 both challenging and potentially doom-laden. If we envisage habitation on the moon by the middle of this century, then it seems likely that humans will be living on Mars in 60 years' time.

In defence terms that means, at the more parochial level, the UK's Royal Space Force (RSF) will not be solely earth-based but have RSF stations on the moon and on Mars. Of course, this assumes that the British monarchy survives the next 60 years, but that prediction is out of the remit of the

Department of War Studies! At a geo-strategic level, will space be fully weaponised and is there the possibility that World War III in space may have already taken place? Perhaps a major crisis short of a world war will have spurred Earth's nation states to work together to develop space norms in a way that we saw with earth-bound defence domains after the Second World War.

The Freeman Air and Space Institute is committed to developing space thinkers of the future. The PhD students now just at the start of their academic careers will, in 2081, be the esteemed senior generation of space professors, overseeing themselves a Space Studies revolution in education, as a fully formed and long-

established academic inter-disciplinary arena of study. Their contribution to the field will be vital to keeping space (and Earth) safe and hopefully conflict-free.

Dr Sophy Antrobus

Research Associate in the Freeman Air and Space Institute School of Security Studies



International Law: The next 60 years

After the adoption of the UN Charter, war is considered an antithesis to international legality. Still, many areas of International Law are affected by the reality of war or armed conflict such as the prohibition on use of force, the application of international humanitarian law and the respect and protection of human rights law.

Yet, during the last two decades, many leaders appear to frame emerging threats to international peace and security as a war-related activity. The war on terror, the war against climate degradation and lately the war against the Covid pandemic, trigger intense debates about the transformative nature of the war invocation upon our legal framework of norms and practice, while dealing with emergencies, that transcend the post-World War II toolkit of dispute settlement and crisis management. Will crises of the future see a further move away from the UN Charter's legal frameworks or can we rein back in these emerging challenges to the conservation of International Law?

With the war on terror 20 years ago we witnessed massive challenges to well established norms of the liberal international legal order, such as the absolute prohibition of torture and the existing legal framework on the prohibition of use of force. Some scholars even predicted the death of the UN Charter.

Most recently, some political leaders have declared war again, but this time with a virus that has paralysed the entire globe. This language is indicative of the overall polemic mind-set of certain leaders combined with the instrumental *carte blanche* it appears to facilitate for the authorities. Human rights experts have raised the alarm of a dangerous trend of consolidating authoritarianism in the name of a public health emergency, with official and de facto states of emergency, accompanied by derogations from human rights treaties. Some countries have applied counter terrorism technology to track potential covid cases in order to curb the spread, while many states appear keen to adopt various surveillance tools in the war against the pandemic.



▲ Covid-19 patient in Central Java, Indonesia. PHOTO: MUFID MAJNUN/UNSPLASH

As we look forward to the next 60 years, we must acknowledge that words do matter. They reflect their own symbolism, they convey strong messages and they carry emancipatory power that can trigger changes in the legal arena. Words are not innocent and the future of international law towards the language of war appears to be very challenging.

States, international institutions and international lawyers must address these new challenges and shed light on the possibilities and limits of the existing legal framework, providing convincing alternatives that promote the fundamental premises of the international rule of law. Reiterating adherence to well established normative legal arrangements while acknowledging the fluidity raised by new technologies, climate change and human mobility will be vital for a cautious and responsible response to the transformation of global governance. In this regard relevant actors should raise their voice against abuses and violations of

legal norms in the name of exceptional circumstances and thus operate as a wall of wisdom, moderation and moral power in times of crisis when leaders claim that 'we are at war'.



Dr Maria Varaki

*Lecturer in International Law,
Department of War Studies*

STUDENT PREDICTIONS FOR THE NEXT 60 YEARS

“I believe that state failure and fragility will continue to be relevant in the next 60 years, as the West appears to move from forever wars in the Middle East to great power competition. However, it is precisely the weaknesses of states like Iraq due to ethnic divisions, governance shortcomings, etc, that great powers will seek to exploit against their competitors. To think that the West (or its rivals for that matter) are immune to such fault lines would be a naive form of hubris.”

At the Department of War Studies these aspects are studied in-depth and should continue to be an important part of the course. Focus on case studies like Iraq 2003, are an essential part in our formation as professionals, and I believe future generations should be offered that knowledge too.”

BA International Relations student

“Wars may be fought without anyone ever seeing their enemy. There might be no collateral damage, no military or civilian casualties, no prisoners. Wars may be won or lost entirely remotely or virtually in cyberspace. Under such circumstances, how do you explain to a nation’s population that they either won and lost a war and now need to pay the appropriate costs?”

Simon Goldsmith

MA Strategic Communications

“One aspect of the future of war and conflict that will be important in the next 60 years is gender dynamics in relation to war and conflict. As some societies achieve higher levels of structural gender equality, and others transcend the archetypal vision of women as passive and docile, using them as a key actor in warfare, women’s critical role in determining the dynamics of war and conflict will become more significant to understand.”

As women increasingly involve themselves in advancing the message of key terrorist organisations, how can their active role inform counter-terrorism strategies in ways that challenge pre-existing notions of primary targets? Additionally, how can acknowledging women’s role in terrorism inform us on how existing counter-terrorism strategies impact women through their secondary and tertiary effects?”

Carys Hosking

BA International Relations

“Artificial intelligence, when powerful enough, will have the ability to take over mankind. How will we – as liberal democracies – adapt our human-centric constitutions, their laws, provisions and terms, to the diversification of complex intelligence, thought and emotion away from a previously human monopoly?”

The United States’ Constitution famously praises the words, ‘we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal’. What happens when humankind as a whole – rather than individuals – becomes the subject of potential oppression by a higher intelligence? How will our legal concepts of equality, equity, and humanity evolve in the wake of this development? So many questions, yet so few answers.”

BA International Relations student

“The only prediction I can confidently make is that 60 years is too long for a prediction cycle. War, conflict and peace-keeping will change and adapt to multiple problems in this period including, but not limited to, control of natural resources, health and wealth inequality between nations, and the impact of increased social media and internet surveillance on crafting narratives for these issues.”

Libby Ingleby

BA War Studies & History



WAR STUDIES

EVENTS

Key dates for your diary

All start at 6.30pm

How should we assess the War on Terror twenty years after 9/11?

22 September 2021 (online)

War Studies at 60 launch with Professor Sir Lawrence Freedman in conversation with Professor 'Funmi Olonisakin

6 October 2021

Why does art matter in war?

10 November 2021

How are emerging technologies (re)shaping the security landscape?

19 January 2022

How do we navigate order and disorder on the international stage?

16 February 2022

How do we respond to growing threats to global health security?

9 March 2022

What does history teach us about the future of warfare?

11 May 2022

War Studies at 60 Research Conference

8–9 June 2022 all day