



Enemy Encounters

Online Conference 19th-21st July 2021

Hosted by the IWM Institute for the Public Understanding of War and Conflict and the Cardiff University AHRC funded project 'Strange Meetings: Enemy Encounters 1800-2020' (@EnemyEncounters), this event seeks to explore views of enmity and allegiance in modern warfare. The conference focuses on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries but also incorporates papers relating to the nineteenth century which look forward to that era. We are interested in a broad, interdisciplinary range of approaches to experiences and representations of the enemy, with a particular focus on how the 'other' side is presented in museums, in first person writings, journalism, literature, art, performance, film and photography.

Organised by: Professor Holly Furneaux and Dr Matilda Greig, Cardiff University

All times are in British Summer Time (GMT+1).

Monday 19th July

10.45-11.00 Opening Remarks and Welcome from IWM

Holly Furneaux and Matilda Greig (Cardiff University)

James Taylor (IWM)

11.00-12.10 Panel 1 – Libya: Enmity and Allegiance in a Decade of Conflict

Chairs: David Cotterrell and Iris Veysey (IWM)

Asma Khalifa (Research Fellow, German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA), and Co-Founder, Khalifer Ihler Institute)

Inga Kristina Trauthig (Research Fellow, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), King's College, London)

Dr Karin von Hippel (Director-General of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI))

IWM is joined by Asma Khalifa, Inga Kristina Trauthig and Dr Karin von Hippel for a discussion exploring conditions of enmity and allegiance in Libya. In 2011, a public uprising against Muammar Gaddafi began, leading to a NATO intervention and, ultimately, the removal of the Gaddafi government. Since then, the situation in Libya evolved into a complex, fluid and rapidly shifting conflict with a multitude

of local, national and international interests at play. What does enmity in Libya mean today, and how have conceptions of enmity and allegiance shaped the events of the last ten years?

This event forms part of a wider project led by David Cotterrell and Iris Veysey (Curator, Contemporary Conflict), which aims to explore the changing nature of Britain's involvement in, and conceptualisation of, the conflict in Libya, and to gather material which relates to this question. This is conceived as an exploratory, mutual enquiry which brings together artist and museum practice and will contribute to IWM's permanent collections.

12.10-13.10 Lunch

13.10-14.10 Keynote – Christine Sylvester (University of Connecticut), ‘Memorializing the enemy three ways: Australia, Japan, and the USA’

Chair: Holly Furneaux (Cardiff University)

Dr. Christine Sylvester is Professor of Political Science at University of Connecticut and is affiliated with the School of Global Studies at The University of Gothenburg Sweden. A native of Connecticut, she also holds Australian citizenship and has worked extensively outside the United States, including at the Australian National University (Canberra), The Institute of Social Studies (The Hague, Netherlands), and Lancaster University (UK). She was awarded the Swedish Research Council's Kerstin Hesselgren Professorship for Sweden for 2010-2011. Other awards include a Leverhulme fellowship at the School of Oriental and African Studies at The University of London; the Susan Northcutt Award of the International Studies Association (ISA); Eminent Scholar of the Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section of the ISA; and the inaugural Ann Tickner Award of the ISA. She was also named one of *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations*, Martin Griffiths, Steven Roach, M. Scott Solomon, eds. (Routledge, 2008). Her most recent research and writings are on war as experience, and art/museums and international relations. She is the editor of the Routledge book series: *War, Politics, Experience*. In 2014 Lund University awarded her an honorary doctorate in the social sciences, and in 2016 she was selected as a faculty fellow of the University of Connecticut Humanities Institute. Her latest book is *Curating and Re-Curating the American Wars in Vietnam and Iraq* (OUP, 2019).

14.10-14.30 Break

14.30-15.40 Panel 2 – Medical Neutrality and ‘Enemy’ Bodies

Chair: Tobias Kelly (University of Edinburgh)

Alison Fell (University of Leeds), ‘Nursing the Enemy in the First World War’

This paper will explore the ethical dilemmas posed by the experience of nursing enemy or prisoner-of-war patients during the First World War. It will ask how trained and volunteer nurses from both the Allied and Central Powers evoked the experience of nursing such patients in their diaries, letters and memoirs. With reference to a broad range of examples, it will show how these writings reveal contradictory attitudes. Some nurses emphasized their role as ‘neutrals’, underscoring the importance of impartiality in their medical work in line with the transnational humanitarianism embodied in the symbol of the Red Cross. Others reproduced nationalist and xenophobic stereotypes and presented the nursing of enemy patients as incompatible with their patriotic duty and therefore as less deserving – or, in a few cases, as undeserving – of their care. But nationalist or ethnic stereotypes were usually challenged or at least nuanced by nurses who spent weeks or months looking after POW patients.

Even if their political attitudes to the war varied, many nurses wrote of the transformation of their patients from enemies into individual young and vulnerable men with whom they empathized. In rarer cases, this led to friendships that survived the war, or to an understanding of them as sons and husbands of 'enemy' women to whom they owed a duty of care.

Alison Fell is Professor of French Cultural History at the University of Leeds. She has published widely on women's experiences in, and responses to, the First World War, including her monograph *Women as Veterans in Britain and France after the First World War* (CUP, 2018), and edited collection *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* (Routledge, 2013). From 2018-20 she was PI of the AHRC project *Tracing the Belgian Refugees*, which is one of the projects featured in the 2020-21 Imperial War Museum exhibition *Forced to Flee*. She is currently completing a book for a new CUP Elements series on Modern Warfare entitled *Warrior Women: The Cultural Politics of Armed Women*.

Frances Houghton (University of Manchester), "All in the Same Boat"? Emotional Medical Encounters with Enemy Bodies in the Royal Navy, 1939-1945'

Environmental dangers posed by a hostile maritime environment were often popularly construed as transcending boundaries of national and military allegiance in the Second World War at sea. Many British sailors spoke of experiencing some fellow feeling for their German counterparts as they battled shared hazards of wind and wave. This paper explores the British medical encounter with enemy bodies during the war at sea, asking how far the emotive construct of a 'cruel sea' shaped naval medics' emotional responses to the captured and wounded bodies of German sailors that were brought into their domain. Examining the written and oral personal testimonies of wartime ships doctors in the Royal Navy, this paper establishes that, despite the fact that enemy prisoners of war and casualties inhabited the same medicalised spaces as British seamen in naval warships, they were far from emotionally regarded as 'all in the same boat'. In so doing, it unearths different attitudes towards medical neutrality at sea and understanding of the laws of war.

Frances Houghton is a Simon Research Fellow at the University of Manchester, where she is currently working on a project about medical care and masculine culture in the Royal Navy during the Second World War. Her recent monograph *The Veterans' Tale: British Military Memoirs of the Second World War* (Cambridge University Press, 2019) won the Society for Army Historical Research's Templer Prize for 'Best First Book' in 2020.

Laure Humbert (University of Manchester), 'Wounds, Enemy Encounters and Intimate Care in the international Hadfield-Spears hospital, 1941-1945'

This paper explores intimate bodily enemy encounters within the international Hadfield Spears hospital, which followed the French External Resistance through the Middle East, Africa and Europe. Directed by Mary Spears, an American philanthropist married to a British officer, this international hospital was an highly unusual medical setting, in which the 'most chauvinistic' of French surgeons worked in close proximity with British Conscientious Objectors, colonial orderlies from French Equatorial Africa and Cameroon with British high-society ladies and nurses. It thus offers a fascinating case study to interrogate how emotional responses and feelings towards the 'enemy', whether this 'enemy' was Italian, German or French, was shaped by gender, nationality, class, pacifist convictions and religion. This paper pays particular attention to the mental struggles that some members of the hospital faced when the enemy was French. In Daraa (Syria), for instance, what was difficult for Mary Spears was neither the sound and danger of the repetitive air attacks, not the smell of blood, gangrene and fly-infected schoolrooms, but preparing the 'bodies of Frenchmen shot by other Frenchmen for the operating table'. I feel again', she wrote, 'not the physical suffering of the men's mangled bodies – that I was used to, it was an old story – but the festering pain of their minds'. Despite important differences in attitudes towards the 'enemy' body amongst the various groups of the hospital, this paper argues that there are little written traces, either in the archives or in the life-writings of the

hospital staff, of mistreatments of wounded 'enemy' bodies and violation of this part of the Geneva convention of 1864 and its successive versions (1906, 1929).

Laure Humbert is Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Manchester. Her recent monograph examines the everyday encounters between French officials, members of new international organizations, relief workers, defeated Germans and Displaced Persons, who remained in the territory of the French occupation zone in the aftermath of the Second World War. (*Reinventing French Aid: The Politics of Humanitarian Relief in French-Occupied Germany, 1945-1952*, Cambridge University Press, 2021). She was recently awarded an AHRC early career research grant for a collaborative project entitled 'Colonial and Transnational Intimacies: Medical Humanitarianism in the French external Resistance' (colonialandtransnationalintimacies.com).

Raphaële Balu (University of Manchester), 'An impossible medical neutrality? Resistance caregivers facing enemy encounters in WW2 France'

Whenever it came to enemy encounters, the position of resistance caregivers during World War Two was shaped by the exceptional circumstances of *irregular* war. Whereas regular armies were supposed to be bound by the laws of war and thus enforce medical neutrality, caregivers and wounded fighters of the internal resistance were not covered by this protection. This strongly affected their practices as well as their representations of the enemy. Not only were they considered as outlaws as soon as they cared clandestinely for resisters wounded by arms or explosives, but also the extreme violence of German and French repression did not spare them even when they had not taken up arms. Attacks of clandestine hospitals, massacres of wounded resistance fighters and their medical helpers were indeed common: there were no sanctuary spaces for them. Such conditions challenged resistance caregivers' ethics in many ways. How could they respect their Hippocratic oath when they were chased as outlaws by repression forces? How could they maintain medical neutrality when denied by the enemy? How did this condition alter their ethical convictions? This paper intends to explore the choices faced by caregivers of the resistance and to show how this experience interfered with their emotional response to the enemy.

Raphaële Balu is a Research Fellow at the University of Manchester. She is interested in the history of the French Resistance during World War Two, in its cooperation with British and American services, and in the theories and realities of irregular war. She was awarded the prize for the best PhD in Military History by the French Ministry of Defence and is currently working on a monograph adaptation of this work ("Maquis de France, France libre et Alliés (1943-1945): retrouver la coopération", Perrin, forthcoming). Her interest in the daily life and war experiences of men and women sent behind enemy lines led her to investigate medical care within the resistance.

15.40-16.00 Break

16.00-17.10 Panel 3 – Counterinsurgency and the Limits of the Laws of War

Chair: Suzanne Bardgett (IWM)

Matilda Greig (Cardiff University), 'Guerrilla encounters in nineteenth-century Spain and the international laws of war'

The irregular fighters who sprung up across Spain in its guerrilla war against Napoleon in the early nineteenth century made a strong impression on international audiences. Stories of exciting, terrifying and shocking encounters with Spanish guerrillas abounded in European novels, memoirs, and plays, where stereotypes of duplicity, barbarity and wildness played out against a background of high Romanticism. Many of the rhetorical strategies used to 'other' these early versions of modern insurgents would be familiar to scholars of colonial wars, with racial profiling used to dehumanise and

demonise this form of warfare. This paper therefore explores how the representations of Spanish guerrillas in British and French texts interacted with developing ideas about warfare in the course of the long nineteenth century: first in terms of international law-making, which firmly excluded this type of warfare; and second in terms of popular cultural depictions, which made the ‘semi-civilised’ European partisan a potentially terrifying, but also admirable and sympathetic figure.

Dr Matilda Greig is a Research Associate at Cardiff University, working with Professor Holly Furneaux on the AHRC fellowship project ‘Strange Meetings: Enemy Encounters, 1800-2020’. She completed her PhD in 2018 at the European University Institute in Florence, and has previously held teaching and research posts at Sciences Po Reims and University College Dublin. Her first book, *Dead Men Telling Tales: Napoleonic War Veterans and the Military Memoir Industry*, was published by Oxford University Press in June 2021.

Philip W. Travis (State College of Florida), ‘Dehumanizing the Enemy: The United States and Nicaragua 1927-1933’

Beginning in 1927 Nicaragua descended into a civil war. Political factions struggled for control over the rugged Central American country. Nicaragua was a place with a long history of US involvement in its politics and economics and under pressure from the United States a government was installed bringing an end to the conflict. However, one faction remained and pledged to fight for self-determination, the Sandinistas. The Sandinistas leader was the revolutionary Augusto César Sandino, and he led an insurgency against the government and its American ally.

Over the next several years the United States sent thousands of Marines to Nicaragua. It applied advanced technological forms of warfare against an elusive enemy in a rugged landscape. While Sandino was an intellectual, an anti-imperialist and supported by individuals from around the world the United States and its Nicaraguan ally dehumanized the revolutionaries. The Sandinistas were characterized as “Bandits”, little more than criminals. This characterization of the enemy justified a war policy by the United States and its Nicaraguan partner that carried little regard for human rights, a fact captured by the mafia-like assassination of Sandino under a flag of truce in 1934.

This paper is based on research from the National Archives in Washington D.C. as is grounded in firsthand accounts and battlefield reports. This rarely remembered US intervention represents the way counterinsurgency operations often involve a dehumanizing of the enemy and application of indiscriminate use of force that sow the seeds of distrust and unrest in the future.

Philip W. Travis holds a PhD from Washington State University and is an Associate Professor of History at State College of Florida, Sarasota-Manatee. Travis’ publications include the 2017 monograph *Reagan’s War on Terrorism in Nicaragua: The Outlaw State* along with several peer reviewed journal articles and chapters related to US interventionism in Central America, terrorism, and counterinsurgency.

Maria Creech (Cardiff University/IWM), “Children Made to Carry Bombs”: Staging the ‘Emergency’ in Malaya (1948-60’

In this paper, I explore the photographic staging of the enemy encounter in British press reporting during the British counter-insurgency campaign in Malaya, referred to as the Malayan ‘Emergency’ (1948-1960). During this period of anti-colonial struggle, British authorities in Malaya imposed a climate of surveillance and strict information censorship, where rumours about their enemy’s activities gained high currency. I investigate how British military actors engaged in jungle and plantation warfare in Malaya mobilised photographic technologies in order to assert territorial control, see themselves as colonial powers and visualise an ‘invisible’ enemy. Drawing from illustrated and tabloid newspaper coverage from the period, I explore how anecdotal ideas about communist insurgents in Malaya were enacted through film and re-configured as ‘proof’ in the hands of the British press in ways that would ultimately appeal to the ‘hearts and minds’ of their readerships.

Maria Creech is in the first year of an AHRC-funded collaborative doctoral PhD studentship with Imperial War Museums and the department of Journalism, Media & Culture at Cardiff University. Her work focuses

on the production and circulation of annotated photographs generated as part of British and Dutch colonial counter-insurgency campaigns conducted in Southeast Asia during the postwar period (1945-60). She is also co-founder of the Network for Developing Photographic Research (NDPR), which provides a platform for PGRs & ECRs working in any area related to photography.

Niels Boender (University of Warwick/IWM), 'Swearing at the forest: Colonial encounters with the Mau Mau, 1952-1960'

Studies of Britain's colonial counterinsurgency against the Mau Mau in Kenya have emphasised the huge gulf between insurgents and colonial officials. Described as animalistic savages, drugged psychopaths engaging in bestial violence, colonial discourse dehumanised the guerrillas who operated in the forests of Central Kenya. Scholarship on the detention camps, the so-called Pipeline designed to 'rehabilitate' the Mau Mau, in turn has emphasised the shocking institutionalisation of violence and brutality. However, that violence was not solely a product of distance. In fact, the forests, the Emergency Villages and the detention camps were also sites of cross-cultural engagement that intersected with deeper ideological forces at work during the Emergency.

Colonial administration was first and foremost personal. Racial hierarchy was not just an omnipresent social force, but a practice re-enacted daily. Individual administrators commanded Home Guard units, committed people to detention and actively fostered the elevation of a new loyalist class. While advocating the wholesale reconstruction of the Gikuyu tribe, they were especially concerned with the intimate lives of those they governed and official policy was made on the basis of personal relationships. In their interactions, colonial officials, Mau Mau fighters, as well as Gikuyu loyalists and civilians were participating in alternative projects of future-making that regularly clashed, but also had enduring legacies for the future shape of Kenya's political culture.

Niels Boender is a first-year PhD Student at the University of Warwick, working with the Imperial War Museum on a AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Project. His project concerns the legacies of the Mau Mau Uprising in colonial Kenya, investigating the interactions between colonial counterinsurgency and post-colonial politics. The study hopes to investigate, using previously hidden archives and oral histories with Kenyan survivors, the dynamics of reconciliation and vengeance in the wake of the anti-colonial uprising.

Tuesday 20th July

10.45-12.15 Roundtable 1 – Prisoners of War, Nation-Making and National Ideals

Speaking Chair: Emma Butcher (Edge Hill University)

Emma Butcher (Edge Hill University), “Falling into Enemy Hands”: A German POW’s Story of Navigating “Enemyhood”

The memoirs of Walter Hintz are unpublished memoirs of a German soldier who settled in Britain after the Second World War. Originally stationed on the German warship, Scharnhorst, then at a Radar station at Cap-Blanc-Nez during the German occupation of France, he was eventually captured and incarcerated at Comrie Prisoner of War camp in Scotland. During this time he met his future wife and, after the war, started the official transformation from German to British citizen.

Walter is just one of 25,000 German prisoners who resettled in the UK. This paper uses his memoirs to consider his experience of navigating the enemy in relation to the French and British soldiers that he encountered through operations and his capture, and the ‘Nazi thugs’ that were interred within his camp. It then moves on to discuss the experience of him and his ever-growing family as they navigate

perceptions of 'the outsider' in post-war British society, attempting to overturn his status as 'enemy', as his children grow up in the shadow of a German name.

Walter is my grandfather, and his story is one of many that encapsulates the experiences of German POW revisiting their nationalities, identities and ethics through enemy encounters. Using interviews, testimonies, and other life-writing in addition to my family history, this paper will build a picture that professionally and personally allows me to tell the stories and broader histories of enemies who are 'just like us'.

Dr Emma Butcher is a Lecturer in Nineteenth-Century Literature at King's College, London, specialising in war and childhood. Her forthcoming book, *Children in the Age of Modern War 1789-1979* (OUP) explores children as both soldiers and witnesses through global wars of empire. In 2017, she was selected as a BBC New Generation Thinker and in 2021 as an AHRC Engaging with Government participant, and has since worked with numerous media and policy platforms. Emma is a quarter German, and this paper is a personal tribute to her Grandad, Walter.

Anne Schwan (Edinburgh Napier University), 'Mixed National Allegiances?: Cross-Cultural Encounters, Patriotism and Identity in First World War Internment Camp Newspapers'

This paper considers the role of First World War internment camp newspapers, with a particular focus on *Stobsiade*, the paper produced by German civilian and military internees at Stobs camp in the Scottish Borders. Internment camp papers served as a tool for communication within the camp and with the outside world. Despite the constraints of censorship they offer a fascinating, often moving insight into war-time captivity and the internees' self-perception. Providing a rich account of camp activities, these texts are valuable source texts in the cultural histories of emotion and the everyday; they offer a glimpse into the lived experiences of a marginalised and often stigmatised group.

Challenging the idea that such papers were merely vehicles for reaffirming the prisoners' national identity and heroic models of masculinity, I argue for a more nuanced understanding. I suggest that *Stobsiade* in fact fulfilled a paradoxical function, reasserting the internees' connection to their home nation while on the other hand gesturing towards more complex identities and national alignments. For example, divergent perspectives emerge among civilian internees – who had built lives and families in Britain, prior to their internment as 'enemy aliens' – and those Germans captured while fighting for their home country. By giving some examples of the poetry printed in the newspaper, and *Stobsiade*'s reports on cross-cultural encounters with local civilians and soldiers, I will show how the publication both promoted patriotic sentiments as well as challenging narrowly nationalistic frames of reference.

Anne Schwan is Professor in English at Edinburgh Napier University. Her research focuses on representations of crime and imprisonment, including war-time internment camps. Publications include *Convict Voices: Women, Class, and Writing about Prison in Nineteenth-Century England* (University of New Hampshire Press 2014), and a chapter on gender, irony and humour in internment camp newspaper *Stobsiade* in *Prison Writing and the Literary World* (ed. Michelle Kelly and Claire Westall, Routledge 2021). In 2018-19, she was Co-I on an Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) grant for impact and engagement to raise public awareness of First World War internment camps.

Daniel Hutchinson (Belmont Abbey College), 'German POWs, Camp Newspapers, and Wartime Perceptions of the United States during World War II'

During World War II the American military imprisoned over 385,000 German prisoners of war (POWs) in hundreds of camps across the United States. Yet imprisonment did not result in isolation. POWs frequently departed the barbed-wire boundaries of their camps, albeit under armed guard, to labor on neighboring farms and factories. This labor allowed for numerous interactions between POWs and American soldiers and civilians. How did POWs perceive their captors and the land of their captivity?

Historians have largely examined this complex question by using records produced by U.S. military agencies and postwar oral histories of former POWs. Yet another distinctive source, camp newspapers, provides contemporary and detailed insights into this issue. German prisoners published an estimated 153 individual camp newspapers during the war. In publishing these works POW editors navigated U.S. military censorship and the demands of their fellow prisoners. Yet editors nonetheless enjoyed sufficient latitude to offer frank explorations of their captivity and their American captors.

This paper proposal explores German POW newspapers as a distinctive means of documenting enemy encounters during World War II. Evidence will include POW observations on American gender dynamics, race relations, and critiques of American popular culture. The paper will also analyze how these publications were used by the U.S. military to undermine National Socialism by promoting the United States as the ideal democratic society. The presentation will assess POW newspapers as a historical source that provides both a “bottom-up” and “top-down” perspective on German encounters with wartime America.

Daniel Hutchinson is an Associate Professor of History at Belmont Abbey College, where he serves as department chair and director of the digital humanities program. Hutchinson's research explores the experience of German prisoners of war in the United States during World War II.

Tim Grady (University of Chester), ‘Dying with the Enemy: Prisoners of War Deaths during the First World War’

During the First World War, many soldiers and civilians died on enemy territory, sometimes in combat, but more often as prisoners of war. Death however it came meant that the funerals, graves and final resting place of these men was on enemy territory, far from home. This paper considers the case of the 2,700 Germans who died in Britain and some 6,300 British who suffered the same fate on German soil. Its starting point is the multiple ways that the enemy died at home. Some servicemen lost their lives in direct combat, drowning on sinking ships or downed planes, while other soldiers succumbed to illness or disease in internment camps.

Regardless of the cause, as this paper argues, deaths at home had the effect of rehumanising the enemy. No longer were the Germans or British a distant, faceless adversary; in death their human vulnerability was fully exposed. First, there were often civilian witnesses to the moment of death, whether this occurred in local hospitals, in factories or on farms where prisoners worked. Second, prisoner funerals tended to be public affairs. In provincial towns across Britain and Germany, impressive corteges accompanied the dead to local cemeteries. Finally, prisoners were often able to place their own markers over the grave, forever connecting the “enemy” dead to those at home.

Tim Grady is Professor of History at the University of Chester. He has written extensively on the history of Britain, Germany and the First World War. His most recent book – *A Deadly Legacy: German Jews and the Great War* – was published by Yale University Press in 2017. His current research takes as its starting point the thousands of “enemy” dead buried in both Britain and Germany. The project utilises this history of shared loss as a means to reassess twentieth century British-German relations.

Alison Starr (University of Queensland), ‘Towards reconciliation: commemorative practices when enemies are buried together’

Of the numerous military casualties of the Asia Pacific War, Japanese war dead that died in extraterritorial locations have remained in a single official location: the Cowra Japanese War Cemetery. Initially comprised of the graves of casualties from a mass prisoner of war escape attempt in 1944, the war cemetery was later expanded to accommodate the remains of Japanese civilian internees and war dead relocated from around Australia.

The Japanese war dead have remained despite Japanese government repatriation activities since the 1950s. In 1964, the cemetery was expanded with the reinterment of all military, prisoner, and civilian internee Japanese wartime remains from around Australia. The cemetery, alongside the Cowra

Australian war cemetery, has since become the site of pilgrimage for Japanese nationals to remember their war dead, and a setting for transcultural mourning and commemoration between former warring nations.

This paper examines this war cemetery as a neutral space for collective mourning, and its evolution from tension over shared spatial occupation when the memory of conflict and loss was still raw, to a landscape of shared cultural memories (Ashplant et al 2001). Considering former enemies interred in collocated spaces, the paper investigates war cemeteries as performative spaces hosting acts of reconciliation and engaging in memorial diplomacy (Graves 2015). In thinking about the tangibility of place as focus for grieving (Winter 1995:79), it also looks at the politics of pilgrimage on enemy territory, and the collective reinterments along national lines in the post-war period.

Alison Starr works in the public sector as a built heritage specialist, and her doctoral thesis is focussed on war memory and post-war reconciliation practices undertaken at war cemeteries of the Asia Pacific War.

12.15-13.15 Lunch

13.15-14.25 Panel 4 – Orientalism, Colonial Encounters, and Ideas of ‘Civilisation’

Chair: Helen Mavin (IWM)

Steven J. Burke (Sheffield Hallam University), ‘British Public Discourse on West African Allies and Enemies before and during the first Anglo-Asante War, c. 1816-1831’

On 21st January 1824, Colonel Sir Charles MacCarthy, Governor of Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, was killed in action against the Asante army at the Battle of Nsamankow. Despite his fatal rashness in engaging while heavily outnumbered, responses in the British press concentrated on established reputations of the Asante enemy as brutal, barbaric and cruel. Discourses on the absence of civilisation among the region’s people underpinned these depictions. Correspondence on the Gold Coast and Asante was extracted and repeated across British metropolitan and provincial newspapers regularly in the years of diplomacy and crisis that led to MacCarthy’s fateful confrontation, ensuring agendas concerning imperial ambition in the region were disseminated in public discourse before and during war with Asante.

This paper will discuss the development and dissemination of that public discourse, from initial correspondence in the press, through several published diplomatic accounts, to the ongoing coverage of the war with Asante. In doing so it will examine how news was received, distributed and reprinted through British media networks in the post-Napoleonic period, and will highlight the emergence of a dominant characterisation of Asante as an enemy of British interests in the region over earlier optimistic attitudes of opportunism and expansion inland from the Gold Coast between 1816 and 1823. The depiction of the Asante as a serious but uncivilised military threat to British interests, constructed in this way through exchanges between officials, correspondents, and publications by 1831, was to have lasting consequences for British ambition and colonial expansion in the region.

Dr Steven J Burke is an Associate Lecturer in History at Sheffield Hallam University. His PhD thesis, submitted in January 2021, is entitled *An Encultured Imperialism: British Travel Writing from the post-Napoleonic Atlantic Periphery*. His research explores the construction and enculturation of British National-Imperial identities through travel and proto-colonial writings, examining themes including landscape and environment, race and difference, and imperial imaginaries. More broadly, his interests include the cultural and intellectual construction of identity and worldview through interactions with other places, people, environments and cultures.

Tom Menger (University of Cologne), 'Encountering the enemy in colonial wars: British, German and Dutch cases, c. 1900'

This paper investigates the specificities of the enemy encounter in *fin-de-siècle* colonial warfare, focussing on British, German and Dutch examples from Africa and Asia. Drawing on my broader research on colonial war and violence and mainly using contemporary manuals of colonial warfare as sources, I am especially interested in how the racial difference inscribed into conceptions of colonial war in this age conditioned such encounters. First, I pay attention to the strongly performative character of colonial warfare. Colonial soldiers generally understood their conduct of war as performing their supposed racial, civilisational as well as masculine superiority. This had important implications for the (in)equality of the encounter with the enemy, and for when and to what extent leniency or fellow feeling could be shown. Secondly, I discuss the ways the colonial enemy had often been preconceived in specific, highly denigrating modes. I not only explore these representations but also how they generally imposed far-reaching limits on the possibilities of fraternisation. Finally, I touch upon the elasticity as well as the paradoxes of speaking about 'the enemy' in colonial war. As will be shown, 'the enemy' could regularly come to include civilians, even women and children. At same time however, general codes of military and masculine honour which postulated women and children as particularly worthy of protection continued to be powerful even in the thinking of colonial soldiers.

Tom Menger is a doctoral fellow at the University of Cologne. He just completed his PhD titled "The Colonial Way of War: Extreme violence in knowledge and practice of colonial warfare in the British, German and Dutch colonial empires, c. 1890-1914." Starting August, 2021, he will be a postdoctoral research fellow at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich.

Lily Tekseng (University of Cambridge), 'Friends and Enemies in the Second World War in the Borderland Indian North-East'

In the documentary made by the American Office of War information and narrated by Ronald Reagan, *The Stilwell Road* (1945), the Allied campaign in North-East India is described as "one of the greatest victories of World War II", which was made possible by the combined efforts of "Scots, English, Irish, Welsh, Australians, New Zealanders, Indians, Gurkhas, Burmese, Africans, Chinese and Americans, and how they fought and planned side by side for a common objective, the achievement of total victory." Strikingly however, instead of echoing this "story of humiliating defeat, of flaming courage, a hard-won victory", the most commonly used local names for the war refer to the "enemy". Called *Japan Rüwho* by the Nagas and *Japan Lan* by the Manipuris—the two host and participant communities to the Battle of Imphal (March-July 1944) and the Battle of Kohima (April-June 1944)—the terms translate as "the Japanese War".

But the notion of the "enemy" was already a shape-shifting signifier for a geographical region that even today straddles five national boundaries. As the United States-led Allied forces poured into the region, the enemy was no longer the various "savage" tribes or the other "recalcitrant" natives who were unwilling to conform to the demands of the British empire's final phase of expansion in the subcontinent, but the advancing Japanese Imperial army in collaboration with the anti-colonial Indian National Army. This paper will explore the different notions of the "enemy" generated in the encounter between the old, new and resurgent empires, and the ways in which the native populations engaged, even constructed, these notions. It will also look at how different ideologies of race and familiarity were deployed to reach out across enemy lines and in the process, create new alliances as well as suspicions.

Lily Tekseng is a Rowan Williams PhD Candidate at the Faculty of English, University of Cambridge, working on the collective and post-memories of the Second World War in the borderland region of North-East India. Her areas of interest include cultural productions, race and indigeneity in North-East India, South Asian literature, and borderland studies. She has previously taught at the University of Delhi and written occasionally on contemporary art, politics and culture.

Jared Ahmad (University of Sheffield), ‘Picturing the “hordes of hated barbarians” – Self-Orientalism, Strategic Self-Othering and Nostalgia in Islamic State Propaganda Imagery’

This paper develops an innovative approach for the study of Islamic State propaganda images. Drawing together postcolonial scholarship on orientalism and strategic essentialism, alongside more recent work on visual political communication and propaganda, the paper considers the way Islamic State propagandists have sought to mobilise civilizational discourses surrounding the East”, Islam and terrorism as a key aspect of its communications strategy. More provocatively, it argues that the Islamic State have directly appropriated and weaponised the Orientalist image in order to, first, strike fear into the hearts and minds of its enemies and, second, portray the Caliphate as “a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes” for potential recruits (Said 1978: 1).

Focusing on images produced and circulated across the Islamic State’s vast propaganda apparatus (2014-2018), the paper aims to develop two analytical concepts, labelled here as “*strategic self-Othering*” and “*strategic nostalgia*”, that help better explain the way the Islamic State uses images in its information operations. Here, audiences (both enemies and supporters alike) are presented with images depicting the Islamic State as a resurgent, rapidly expanding, and regressive threat to the Occident, alongside a series of more timeless, naturalistic images of the Caliphate that hark back to an idealised, unspoilt, pre-colonial era. In doing so, the paper makes two original contributions to knowledge: it first provides deeper *empirical* insight into to the growing academic literature on Islamic State propaganda by identifying and analysing a previously unexplored visual strategy; and second offers a *conceptual* contribution by developing an innovative framework for the study of enemy propaganda images.

Jared Ahmad is a lecturer in Journalism, Politics and Communication at the University of Sheffield. His research focuses on the shifting discourses and (self)representations of “Islamic” terrorism and the way such portrayals are shaped by the dynamics of the contemporary media landscape. His work has been published in *Critical Studies on Terrorism and Media, War and Conflict*, and he is the author of *The BBC, the War on Terror and the Discursive Construction of Terrorism: Representing ‘Al-Qaeda’* (Palgrave 2018). Jared is currently working on a new book entitled *Imagining the Caliphate: Analysing Public, Political and Popular Representations of the Islamic State*.

14.25-14.45 Break

14.45-15.55 Panel 5 – Prisoners of War, Creativity and Representation

Chair: Iris Rachamimov (Tel Aviv University)

Jeffrey S. Reznick (U.S. National Library of Medicine), ‘Capturing Enemy Captivity during the Great War: Creative Encounters of the Artist and Poet Rudolf Sauter’

This presentation will adopt the conference theme to frame how “enemy aliens” perceived themselves during wartime internment, as opposed to how their captors perceived them. Fitting with the extensive historiography on wartime internment, including the recent work of Matthew Stibbe and Oliver Wilkinson, the focus of this presentation will be the experience of Rudolf H. Sauter (1895-1977), the German-born artist, poet, and cultural observer who was interned as an enemy alien in the Alexandra Palace and Frith Camp, Surrey. Sauter met his fate as an “enemy alien” due to his German birth and lack of naturalized British citizenship despite his parents raising him in their very English manner. Drawing primarily on Sauter’s paintings of the dismal scenes and monotonous routines of daily life in captivity, this presentation will reveal how he conceived and transformed stark and utilitarian spaces into ad hoc studios, creatively capturing his experiences and using that process as a means to endure his confinement, sustain hope for freedom, and look forward to post-war life.

This presentation is based on the presenter's forthcoming book, *War and Peace in the Worlds of Rudolf H. Sauter: A Cultural History of a Creative Life* (Anthem Press, October 2021), the first to examine Sauter's life critically—from his early years as a German immigrant in Britain to his wartime internment to the postwar development of his intriguing body of artistic and literary work which addressed the subjects of war, love, memory, travel, and existential concerns of modern times.

Jeffrey S. Reznick, PhD, is a historian on the federal staff of the US National Library of Medicine (NLM) of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) where he serves as Chief of the NLM History of Medicine Division. He is author of two books published by Manchester University Press in its Cultural History of Modern War series, and the forthcoming *War and Peace in the Worlds of Rudolf H. Sauter: A Cultural History of a Creative Life* (Anthem Press) upon which his presentation at this conference is based.

Natalya Surzhikova and Iaroslav Golubinov (Institute of History and Archaeology, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), 'Shorthand and photo camera: the illustrated diary of Rupert Ulrich, civil POW in Russia during the First World War'

In 1914, when the First World War began, Russian authorities declared that all German and Austro-Hungarian subjects in Russia had to be interned to the deepest lands of the Russian Empire (Ural, Siberia and the Far East). We have a few pieces of evidence of civil POW life. So every source of such kind is important for analyzing practices of civil POWs surviving in wartime Russia 1914-1918. Enemies (Russians and Germans) watched each other far from frontline brutality, dealing and cooperating in various forms.

Young Austrian Rupert Ulrich was arrested and sent from Baltic port Liepāja (Libau) to Ural. In 1914–1918 he lived under police surveillance in Vologda and village Baikalovskoe in the Irbit district of the Perm region. Ulrich meticulously described by shorthand in the diary (it was preserved by his daughter and never published) his way and living and interactions with other Germans, Austrians, and Russian towns and village dwellers. He added diary by dozens of photos creating a unique combination of documents and pictures. Ulrich's diary highlights fascinating details of POW life: conflicts with Russian police and officials, relationship inside the POW community (from cordial unity to severe quarrels), everyday life struggle for food and money, interactions with Russian city dwellers and peasants (also from warm welcomes to scrambles). Ulrich kept vivid description of the Revolution 1917 in the Russian territories far from capitals. His revolution was more peaceful but also overturning event which changed POWs community as well as peasant and city societies.

Natalia Surzhikova is a doctor of historical sciences and Deputy Director of the Institute of the History and Archeology Institute of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Yekaterinburg, Russia). She is a specialist in the history of Russia of the first half of the 20th century. The main topics of her publications are everyday life during the Great War and Revolution of 1917, the history of captivity and refugee, forced labour and mobilization economics, ego-documents and self-descriptive practices. At present, Dr Surzhikova is the head of the research project "Ego-documents: inter-source dialogues about Russia of the first half of the 20th century in the historical and literary context", supported by the Russian Science Foundation (no. 19-18-00221).

Iaroslav Golubinov has a candidate degree in history and holds a position of senior researcher at the History and Archeology Institute of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Yekaterinburg, Russia). Now Dr Golubinov takes part in research project no. 19-18-00221, "Ego-documents: inter-source dialogues about Russia of the first half of the 20th century in the historical and literary context", funded by the RSF. Iaroslav Golubinov is an author of many reviewed publications (in Russian, French, British journals) and chapters in collections. Also, he searched and collected ego-documents, edited and annotated their publications.

H. Alexander Rich (Polk Museum of Art/Florida Southern), 'The Enemy Within: Mid-20th Century Wartime Photography & the Collective Dehumanization of War'

Artists throughout time — and especially those beginning in the Romantic period in the 19th century — have forced viewers to reckon with the horrors wrought upon humans by other humans in times of war. The inexplicable acts and actions of humans taken upon other humans has formed a through-line of history, but it is not truly until the advent of photography that the simultaneous *dehumanization* and *humanization* of the ostensible enemy — seeing them as real humans with lived lives — comes fully to the fore. Importantly, the consequences of warfare extend far beyond the battlefields or frontlines themselves. Defining who one's enemies are is a dangerous game, one that can pose deeply moralizing questions and bear actions later revisited with great remorse.

This paper will take Dorothea Lange's powerful World War II photograph of a Japanese- American family being hauled off to an internment camp, aptly (and ironically) titled *The Enemy* (1942), as a jumping off point for consideration of how mid-20th century photography humanized apparent enemies both close to home and on far off continents. The paper will also explore how the publication of such photographs, during both the World War II and Vietnam eras, proved game-changing moments for popular re-consideration of the justness of war and for re-definitions of who the enemy really is.

The double entendre of Lange's title is especially important in this examination. Overtly, the enemy of the title is to be placed in quotation marks, suggesting Lange's criticism of American detention of other Americans — only here of Japanese descent — who are apparently enemies within the country. At the same time, from a more metaphorical standpoint, this same title refers to the need to peer deep within ourselves and our own often-later-regretted wartime behaviors to find who is truly the *enemy within*.

H Alexander Rich, Ph.D., is Executive Director and Chief Curator of the Polk Museum of Art and Chair of the Department of Art History and Museum Studies at Florida Southern College. At Florida Southern, he is also Associate Professor and holds the George and Dorothy Forsythe Endowed Chair in Art History and Museum Studies. Dr. Rich is a specialist in Modern and Contemporary art history and earned his Ph.D. in Art History from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and his A.B. from Dartmouth College. A native of New York City, Dr. Rich is the curator of far-ranging exhibitions, including *Masters of Spain: Goya and Picasso, Renoir: Les Études, Chagall: Stories into Dreams*, and *Toulouse-Lautrec and the Belle Époque*. Before moving to Florida, he worked in curatorial and education capacities at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Whitney Museum, and the Brooklyn Museum.

Georgia Vesma (Manchester University), “The Enemy Lets me Take His Picture”: Life, Catherine Leroy and the North Vietnamese Army, 1968

Catherine Leroy was 20 years old in 1966 when she arrived in Vietnam from Paris on a one-way ticket, determined to become a photographer. Two years later her colour photographs illustrated a cover story for *Life* magazine after she was 'captured' and released by the North Vietnamese Army (NVA.) For Leroy, this 'enemy encounter' was a paradigm shift in her perceptions of the NVA: 'since I had been in Vietnam, the only North Vietnamese I had seen were wounded, dying or dead... They were somehow less frightening than the enemy with no face, the only one I had known before.' Her 'captors' posed for her camera, resulting in stilted, performative photographs far from the objective expectations of photojournalism.

Leroy identified closely with American armed forces in Vietnam — while she was critical of the war, she saw American marines as her 'brothers', habitually dressed in fatigues and jungle boots, and slept in foxholes while on assignment. This paper considers how gender shaped her representations of 'the enemy', producing the performative masculinity of the NVA in opposition to her own.

This paper will use Leroy's published and unpublished photographs, her text and Letters to the Editor written by *Life's* readership to explore the impact of this 'enemy encounter.' It will examine how Leroy

and her 'captors' co-produced photographs that gave *Life's* audience a new perspective on 'the enemy', focusing on the 'face' of the enemy as the site of identification.

Georgia Vesma is in the final year of an AHRC-funded PhD in History at the University of Manchester. Her project, "Developing the Picture", looks at how women's photography produced gendered meanings about the Vietnam War, its combatants, victims and observers.

15.55-16.15 Break

16.15-17.25 Panel 6 – Contested and Shifting Allegiances

Chair: Donna Orwin (University of Toronto)

Catherine V. Bateson (Durham University), "He said he was an Irishman also": Irish American Union and Confederate Encounter Stories in the American Civil War'

One September 1864 night, a young 28th Massachusetts soldier of the Union Army Irish Brigade "had a little chat" with a Confederate soldier across an entrenchment during the siege of Petersburg, Virginia, in the final months of the American Civil War. The Confederate, like Crowley, "said he was an Irishman". After engaging in a mutual enquiry about when they "left the old land" of Ireland, the Confederate began to discuss the forthcoming presidential election and possible peace. According to him, "we will all have a chance of trying our mettle for the old sod" after fighting in America ended. Crowley stated how he likewise hoped that "day is not far distant", and that he "would rather spill my blood in that cause than in the present one".

Crowley's encounter with his fellow-Irish brethren in enemy Confederate ranks is one of several moments depicted in soldiers' letters, songs and cultural productions during and after the American Civil War amongst the Irish-American diaspora. They revel much about the fellow-feeling and patriotic admiration the diaspora's sons had towards each other while on opposite sites, while also often pointing to a post-war moment of reconciliation where they would unite and fight again – together – in a battle for Ireland's independence (eventually achieved sixty years later). This short paper will look at the way encounter stories between Confederate and Union Irish were articulated and what they reveal about desires for common purpose connected to a larger fight for Irish nationalism in the middle of another nation's brutal civil conflict.

Dr. Catherine Bateson is a tutor and lecturer of American History at Durham University, where she teaches slavery, Native American and Civil War history. She has previously taught at Edinburgh, Gloucestershire, Wolverhampton and Sussex. She gained her AHRC-funded PhD from the University of Edinburgh (2018), where she worked on the culture and sentiments of Irish American Civil War songs and music, and is currently producing a manuscript on this topic. Catherine is Associate Editor of the *Irish in the American Civil War* website, former Vice-Chair of the Scottish Association for the Study of America, and co-founder for the War Through Other Stuff Society. You can follow her on Twitter @catbateson.

Devlin M. Scofield (Northwest Missouri State University), 'Imperial Soldiers with Tricolour Hearts: France and the Reconciliation of German Alsatian Soldiers during the First World War'

Renewed hostilities against Germany in 1914 provided France an opportunity to restore the "lost provinces" of Alsace and Lorraine. Alsatians mobilized in Imperial armies emerged as key figures in the struggle for mastery of the Franco-German borderland. Republican popular and official discourse portrayed these soldiers as "Frenchmen in field-grey," forcibly conscripted to fight for Germany despite their tricolor hearts. This paper will argue that French officials viewed Alsatians in the German ranks as patriots anxious to be liberated rather than enemy combatants. It will focus on the establishment of special camps in France to which all Alsatian and Lorrainer deserters and prisoners

taken by the *Triple Entente* on the various European fronts were funneled. At these sites, the borderland soldiers enjoyed many exceptional privileges including better living conditions, pay, and freedom of movement. Republican authorities utilized the camps to begin the pedagogical process of transforming the Imperial soldiers into French citizens and for military recruitment. Conversely, French officials directed significant rancor at Alsatians who refused to accept the *malgré-nous* (against our will) narrative, whom they perceived to be acting against their “true” national nature. Ultimately, each Alsatian who crossed to allied lines or chose to remain in a privileged camp became another shell in France’s symbolic arsenal that Alsace had never ceased to be French since 1871 and should be so again in the future.

Devlin Scofield is an Assistant Professor of History at Northwest Missouri State University. He completed his PhD at Michigan State University in 2015. His current project, *The Vanquished among Victors: Veterans and National Belonging in Alsace, 1871–1953*, examines Germany and France’s treatment of former enemy soldiers in the Alsatian borderland. The Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies, the Central European History Society, and the German Historical Institute have generously supported his research. He has presented at a combined fourteen international and national conferences and published chapters in edited volumes with Manchester University Press, Berghahn Books, and Routledge Press.

Stefan Aguirre Quiroga (Independent Researcher), ‘Trusting Your Enemy: American Encounters with the Kit Carson Scouts During the Vietnam War, 1966–1973’

In the fall of 1966, the Kit Carson Scout Program was born. Initially pioneered by the United States Marine Corps, the program authorized the use of South and North Vietnamese defectors (*Hoi Chanh*) from the People’s Army Liberation Force (PLAF) and the People’s Army of Vietnam (PAVN) as auxiliaries employed directly by the United States to work alongside American soldiers in South Vietnam. The Kit Carson Scouts, as these Vietnamese combatants were commonly known as, were treated as American soldiers and were provided with American uniforms, weapons, rations, and medical care, in addition to generous wages. In exchange, the scouts served as interpreters, guides, and combatants in order to assist American soldiers to find the enemy and protect them from enemy ambushes and traps. The status of the Kit Carson Scouts as former enemies caused tension between the scouts and their American colleagues who found it difficult to trust soldiers that in some cases had tried to kill them only weeks before. While some Americans never learned to trust the scouts they worked with, other Americans experienced first-hand the life-saving capabilities of the scouts. The close cooperation between the soldiers reshaped American preconceptions of their former enemies and the resulting camaraderie gave American soldiers a window into which they could not only humanize soldiers who they might once have fought in battle, but also get an insight into the greater South and North Vietnamese world that the scouts came from.

Stefan Aguirre Quiroga is a historian based in Borås, Sweden. His research focuses on the presence and experiences of marginalized groups as combatants in nineteenth- and twentieth-century military history. As part of his research, he has spent years researching the life and agency of the Kit Carson Scouts during the Vietnam War. His most recent article, *Phan Chot’s Choice: Agency and Motivation among the Kit Carson Scouts during the Vietnam War, 1966–1973*, explores the reasons why South and North Vietnamese defectors volunteered to be employed by the United States to fight against their former comrades.

Lee Arnott (Birkbeck, University of London/IWM), ‘The Crucible of Masculinity: the British Army in Northern Ireland, 1969 to 1975’

In August 1969, the British Army were deployed to the streets of Belfast. Labelled a peacekeeping force, it was optimistically believed their mission would be short-lived. However, it would be nearly thirty years before troops were finally withdrawn from the province and by that stage, over 300,000 soldiers had performed tours of duty there.

It was a conflict where the usual boundaries of warfare were often impossibly blurred. In the full glare of global scrutiny, the Army found itself involved in a new type of conflict. Hearts and minds operations such as camping trips or running local discos challenged accepted and traditional notions of soldiering. Soldiers found themselves in streets that 'looked like *Coronation Street*', domestic settings that were familiar and yet rendered strange by performing ops in them. Soldiers' own religious backgrounds would collide with mission briefs.

Experience in dealing with colonial insurgencies in territories such as Aden, Cyprus, Kenya and Malaya would prove useless. Soldiers found themselves facing existential crises over the potential shooting and killing of 'enemies' who not only looked like themselves, but sounded like them and lived in houses like their own. But when events of Northern Ireland are considered in the light of masculinities research, the commonalities which arise on all sides of the conflict obscure enemy lines further. This was a blood and protracted conflict in which enmity was confused and allegiances were often compromised.

Lee Arnott is due to submit his PhD at the end of this year at Birkbeck College. Its focus is on masculinities in the British Army, through the lens of those considered usually outside the realms of masculinity, namely gay male soldiers and female and trans-female soldiers. Using the conflict in Northern Ireland as a narrative backdrop, it explores the contingency and performativity of gender. He has presented at the University of Westminster as part of LGTB history month and has collaborated with audible.com on a forthcoming series which looks at queer history.

17.25-17.40 Break

17.40 -18.30 In conversation with Harry Parker

Anatomy of a Soldier: Navigating Allegiance and Enmity in Contemporary Insurgency

Chair: Holly Furneaux (Cardiff University)

Harry Parker was educated at Falmouth College of Art, University College London and Royal Drawing School. He joined the British Army when he was 23 and served in Iraq in 2007 and Afghanistan in 2009 as a Captain. He worked in the Foreign Office before writing his debut novel *Anatomy of a Soldier* (Faber, 2016). He is the Creative Director of the Chelsea History Festival and teaches at the Royal Drawing School.

Wednesday 21st July

10.45-12.15 Roundtable 2 – Global Sexual Encounters in War, Captivity, and Occupation

Chair: Vikki Hawkins (IWM)

Lisa Todd (University of New Brunswick), 'The Soldiers Interfere with Our Women: Sexual Violence in German-Occupied Namibia, 1904-1908'

Lisa Todd's 'The Soldiers Interfere with Our Women: Sexual Violence in German- Occupied Namibia, 1904-1908,' uses military records, missionary reports, Herero oral histories, and a careful reading of the infamous 1918 *Report on the Natives of South- West Africa and their Treatment by Germany*, to illustrate the widespread rape and sexual coercion perpetrated by German soldiers on women and girls in battle zones, occupied territories, and in concentration camps. Todd shows how the exigencies

of colonial warfare, when coupled with the anti-Black racism of settler colonialism, resulted in a military structure that believed their enemies to be outside the laws of war.

Lisa Todd is Associate Professor of History and Department Chair at the University of New Brunswick (Canada). She holds a PhD from the University of Toronto, an MA from Royal Holloway College, University of London, and a BA from the University of New Brunswick. She published *Sexual Treason in Germany during the First World War* with Palgrave-Macmillan in 2017 and her current SSHRC-funded project is entitled, “Racial Citizenship: Miscegenation, Scientific Authority, and the Creation of Intimate ‘Others’ in Modern Germany, 1880-1950.” Todd is also co-editing (with Cindy Brown), “A Cultural History of War in the Modern Age, 1920-2000,” and “European Racism: A History in Documents” (with Gary Waite).

Allison Bennett (Memorial University of Newfoundland), ‘Souvenirs from Wartime Egypt: Lieutenant Percy Deane’s Love Letters’

During the First World War, Australian servicemen were cautioned to avoid sexual encounters with women in brothel areas when they arrived in “Oriental” Egypt. Such warnings often went unheeded. Allison Bennett’s ‘Souvenirs from Wartime Egypt: Lieutenant Percy Deane’s Love Letters,’ uses first-person writings to consider the racialized differences between Deane’s relationships with an Egyptian woman in Cairo and a French woman in Port Said, both in the context of imperial military occupations. Bennett’s findings are from her doctoral research on British and Anzac servicemen’s sexual encounters in First World War Macedonia and the Middle East.

Allison Bennett is a PhD Candidate in the Department of History at Memorial University of Newfoundland (Canada). She also holds MA, BEd, and BA (Hons.) degrees from Memorial. Her doctoral thesis, entitled “Undressing British and Anzac Servicemen: Masculinity, racism, and venereal disease in Macedonia and the Middle East” examines servicemen’s sexual encounters with local women in wartime Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Macedonia through intersections of gender, sexuality, racism, medicine, and imperialism.

Jordyn Bailey (University of New Brunswick), ‘Like the Boys from Town, But More Polite: Encounters Between Canadian Women and German POWs’

In 1940s Canada, the confluence of racial and sexual hierarchies operated differently. Jordyn Bailey’s paper, ‘Like the Boys from Town, But More Polite: Encounters Between Canadian Women and German POWs,’ examines public reactions to the 35, 000 German military personnel imprisoned in Canadian prisoner of war camps. Bailey illustrates how wartime ideals of “whiteness” and sexualized masculinity led many civilians to treat the prisoners, even those engaged in illegal sexual relationships with Canadian women, with hospitality and affection, despite the men’s status as “Nazi enemies.”

Jordyn Bailey is a PhD Candidate at the University of New Brunswick (Canada). She received her BA and MA from Western University in London, Ontario. Her MA thesis, “Arrival of the Fittest: German POWs in Ontario during the Second World War” examines platonic and intimate relations between Canadian women and German soldiers, sailors, and aviators. Her SSHRC-funded doctoral dissertation, entitled “Intimate Exercises: Sex, Espionage, and the East German STASI, 1968-1989,” examines the relationship between women and the Staatssicherheit, or STASI, in the German Democratic Republic.

Alan Malpass (Bishop Grosseteste University), ‘Courting controversy: love, marriage and relationships with German prisoners of war in 1940s Britain’

‘I am shocked, disgusted, and embittered that Englishmen are allowed to marry German girls and bring them home, while court cases are brought against English girls for being friendly with German prisoners of war’. This letter, published in the *Daily Mirror* on 5 June 1947, criticised the inequality of current regulations and attitudes regarding marriages to the recent enemy. ‘As always there is one law for men and another for women’. Signed ‘Ex-Service Girl’, the Aldershot correspondent made her outrage and resentfulness clear. While fraternisation regulations governing contact between British

servicemen and civilians in occupied Germany had been rescinded after they proved unworkable, those governing the British public and the hundreds of thousands of German POWs captive in camps across the country remained in force. This paper examines the debate over the lifting of the marriage ban in post-war Britain, and attitudes expressed towards relationships between British women and German POWs. The subject of fraternisation between British women and Axis POWs has predominantly been examined through the lens of wartime 'sexual patriotism'. Focusing on news coverage of the relationships with German POWs of three women – Doris Blake, Monica Cann, and Olive Reynolds – this paper resituates the relationships and marriages with POWs immediately after the Second World War within the context of discussions and debates of love and marriage in mid-twentieth century Britain.

Alan Malpass is a lecturer in Military History at Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln. His first book, British Character and the Treatment of German Prisoners of War, 1939-48 was published in 2020. Alan is currently researching the history of civilian internment and military captivity in the British Raj during the Second World war and the representation of prisoners of war in video games.

Samantha Haddad (New York University), "Judge, Jury, (Victim), and Executioner": Women, Fraternization, and Community Policing During the Early Troubles'

During the Northern Irish Troubles, Catholic women's fraternization with British soldiers, the Nationalist community's perceived "enemy" of the conflict, was a "crime" tried and sentenced in the public sphere. The republican community's tarring, feathering, and hair cropping of young Nationalist women sought to make examples of these community "traitors" by publicly shaming, humiliating, and defeminizing them on the streets of Catholic enclaves.

Despite the research done on gender based violence during the Troubles, remarkably little scholarship exists on women's role in perpetuating these violent acts on their own sex. During the particularly violent early years of the Troubles, with women trying to prove themselves as active combatants in the reemerging Irish Republican Army (IRA), women often played a central role in punishing other women for this perceived sexual and communal betrayal.

Through a close reading of newspaper coverage coupled with Butler's theoretical framework of power and gender performance, this paper seeks to not only shed light on women's roles as perpetrators of gender based violence in policing fraternization with British soldiers, but to document the shifting boundaries of gender, violence, and loyalty in Northern Ireland while complicating the idea of "the enemy" in a conflict demarcated along national and sectarian lines.

Samantha Haddad graduated from Mount Holyoke College in 2019 with a degree in History and Art history and in 2021 she obtained her master's in Irish and Irish American history from New York University. Her research interests center on the intersections between Irish republicanism, gender, and sexuality with forthcoming published work on republican women prisoners' material culture and self-imaging during the Northern Irish prison crisis.

12.15-13.15 Lunch

13.15-14.25 Panel 7 – Deploying Emotion: Grief, Empathy and Their Limits

Chair: Catherine Baker (University of Hull)

Mia Martin Hobbs (University of Melbourne/Deakin University), "The Good Guys and the Bad Guys": Race, Gender, and the Limits of Empathy in the US Reconstruction of Iraq'

The US military deployed the most diverse soldier-force in its history to Iraq in 2003, touting cultural competence as a strategic strength in counterinsurgency operations. Yet a central factor in the failed

reconstruction of Iraq was the US failure to listen to Iraqis about what was needed to rebuild their country.

Drawing on interview transcripts with women and minorities in the United States Institute for Peace Oral History “Iraq Experience” Project, I explore tensions between empathy and ideology in the US reconstruction of Iraq. Following Laleh Khalili’s call to look at the “seam of the encounter” in counterinsurgency contexts, I focus on described moments of interaction between the US military and the occupied Iraqi population (Khalili, 2011). Interviewees drew on identity-based skills and sensitivities to relate to Iraqi frustrations with the US occupation, yet often reduced the occupied population into ‘the good guys and the bad guys’ based on their level of cooperation with the US occupation. These interviews indicate a refusal among soldiers to “see” how the US mission in Iraq itself sustains the terror/security threat in Iraq, demonstrating the limits of empathy in militarized contexts.

Dr Mia Martin Hobbs is an oral historian of war and conflict. Her research interests include the Vietnam War, the War on Terror, memory, trauma, gender, peace and security. Her doctoral project was a transnational oral history with Vietnam veterans who returned to Viêt Nam after the War. Her book, *Return to Vietnam: An Oral History of American and Australian Veterans’ Journeys*, is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press in 2021. Mia is current undertaking a second transnational oral history project with women and minorities who served in the British, American, and Australian armed forces in the so-called War on Terror.

Gina Vale (King’s College London), “You are no longer cubs, you are now lions”: Examining the Constructed Masculinities of Islamic State’s Child Executioners and their Victims’

Under its ‘Cubs of the Caliphate’ programme, the Islamic State (IS) terrorist group recruited and mobilised large numbers of teen and pre-teen boys into its ranks. The group’s publications showcase the commitment and skills of its young militants, with footage focused on training in weapons handling and hand-to-hand combat. Marketed as a potent weapon against IS’ enemies, a sub-set of videos foregrounds the role of children in the ultra-violent executions of hostages. This paper presents analysis of a new dataset of 23 official IS propaganda videos released between 1 January 2015 and 31 January 2019, in which 80 boys conducted (n = 51) and assisted in (n = 29) on-camera executions on behalf of the group in Iraq and Syria. Data presented includes the setting and method of killing, the boy’s country of origin and age, and the nationality and alleged crime of the victim. Highly staged, these violent displays communicate and constitute the status of the young IS ‘Cub’ and the adult male hostage as symbols of their respective societies, values, and masculine ideals. This author examines the juxtaposition of the two figures and their constructed position in IS’ masculine hierarchy, and reflects on how the group has subverted and weaponised childhood against its enemies.

Dr Gina Vale is a Senior Research Fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) at King’s College London and an Associate Fellow at M&C Saatchi World Services, specialising in gender-sensitive analysis of terrorism and extremist violence. Her doctoral research examined the impact of Islamic State’s governance and state-building activities on local Sunni Muslim and Yazidi women in Iraq and Syria. She has academic and professional experience in Europe, the Middle East, and Sub-Saharan Africa, and has conducted extensive fieldwork in Northern Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan. Gina studies and consults on issues such as women and minors’ (de)radicalisation; female- and minor-focused propaganda; and the roles of female and underage extremists and combatants. Her research has been published by *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, *CTC Sentinel*, and *Conflict, Security & Development*, among others. She holds a PhD in War Studies and an MA in Terrorism, Security, and Society from King’s College London, and a BA (Hons) in Asian and Middle Eastern Studies from the University of Cambridge.

Christine Strandmose Toft (University of Southern Denmark), 'We Shot Kids: Cinematic and Literary Representations of the Enemy in the War on Terror'

In American and European cinematic and literary representations of the war on terror, kids, in particular dead kids, play a central part. When killed by Western soldiers, they serve to explain why the soldiers return from war, traumatized – this is the case in Goolsby's *I'd Walk with My Friends if I Could Find Them* (2015) and Haggis's *In the Valley of Elah* (2007). While still alive, they are used to frame the enemy as barbaric and the war as a humanitarian fight between good and evil – as in Eastwood's *American Sniper* (2014) and Lindholm's *Krigen* (A War, 2015). The widespread use of kids in contemporary war fiction is the topic of this paper which explores how it affects our understanding of the enemy as well as the war.

In the first part of the presentation, I will introduce to the different ways in which kids are featured in the works. In the second part, I will briefly consider why kids suddenly play such a prominent role in the representation of war. And in the last part, I introduce to some questions to which this frequent use of kids give rise: What are the consequences of reducing the victims of war to kids? Does it help us better grasp the consequences of war? How does the use of kids affect our understanding of the war? Do the kids make us realize the local population's grievability (Butler), thereby providing us with an argument against war, or do they rather, as they are used to frame the enemy, construct an argument for the wars?

Christine Strandmose Toft is a PhD student at the Department for the Study of Culture, University of Southern Denmark. She works with the aesthetic representation of late modern warfare, in particular the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. She has been a visiting scholar at Oxford University and New York University, and holds an MA in Comparative Literature from the Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen.

Olivia Flint (University of Southampton), 'Grieving The Hollywood Other in Peter Berg's *The Kingdom* (USA, Germany, UAE, 2007)'

In his speech to the Islamic Society in Baltimore on 3rd February 2016, President Obama stated, "many only hear about Muslims and Islam... in distorted media portrayals in TV or film, all of which gives this hugely distorted perspective." In her work *Frames of War*, Judith Butler offers a way in to the emotional and empathic mechanics of this distorted perspective by asking us to consider when and how bodies are made visible and which are deemed 'grievable' or 'ungrievable'; in short, which lives are valuable.

Through a case study of *The Kingdom* (dir. Peter Berg, USA, Germany, United Arab Emirates, 2007), my paper will examine the extent to which Hollywood offers a distorted view of the world and propagates stereotypical views of the "other", as well as suggesting who is grievable and who is not. Hollywood has advanced the concept of American exceptionalism by representing American characters as having greater value than other characters. This is explored through the representational strategies incorporated by Peter Berg in *The Kingdom*.

Berg's narrative focuses on FBI agents working with the Saudi police to investigate two incidents of terrorism targeting Americans in Saudi Arabia. I will consider how the film interacts with international relations debates, themselves operating on questions of which lives are valuable, and I will argue that, in making both American and Saudi bodies precarious and grievable, Berg disrupts the traditional, stereotypical portrayals of grievable and ungrievable characters.

Olivia Flint is in the third year of a part-time PhD in Film Studies at the University of Southampton. She has previously attained an MSc in International Relations from Royal Holloway, University of London, and an MA in Film Studies from the University of Sussex. Combining these disciplines, her doctoral research explores Hollywood's representation of American national identity, trauma and the other in relation to recent U.S. foreign policy. Olivia's analysis focuses on nine films released between 2007 and 2018 by four

directors, Peter Berg, Kathryn Bigelow, Clint Eastwood and Paul Greengrass, including *Lone Survivor*, *The Hurt Locker*, *American Sniper* and *Green Zone*.

14.25-14.45 Break

14.45-15.55 Panel 8 – Reconciliation and Recovery: Veterans, Politics and Poetics

Chair: Holly Furneaux (Cardiff University)

Julia Ribeiro S C Thomaz (Université Paris Nanterre/EHESS), “Yoors truly German”: a micro-history of enemy encounters through poetry during the 1917 retreat’

In 1917, when the Germans retreated to the Hindenburg line and British troops advanced, a different kind of “strange meeting” took place: an indirect one, mediated by the objects left behind by the enemy, whether intentionally or not.

Materials deliberately left for the enemy to find often conveyed messages, and this paper aims to study a 13-verse poem, written in rhyming English and left behind by German soldiers as they retreated from Metz-en-Couture (Somme). Inscribed on a cupboard door currently in the *Historial de la Grande Guerre*’s permanent collection, this poem references the German invasion of Belgium and the British repression of the 1916 Easter Rising, as well as allied colonialism in general and the use of colonial troops.

Stemming from close reading and using a micro-historical approach, looking at both object and text, we will argue that Germans reclaim the narrative of their own otherness and create a *jeu de miroirs*, not only questioning but also flipping enemy alterity. At the intersection between the topics of the enemy in life writing, material traces, and emotional responses to the enemy, this paper also aims to expand from the case study to consider the role poetic prosody plays as a mediator of otherness in enmity relations.

Julia Ribeiro S C Thomaz is a doctoral student at Université Paris Nanterre/École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, working on French poetry of the First World War. Her focus is on corpus building, creating a theoretical framework for both literary and historical approaches, and literary analysis using interpretive anthropology. She is a co-founder of the ECR network Une Plus Grande Guerre and a collaborator of the digital humanities project Poésie Grande Guerre. She is a recipient of the Prix d’Étude des Mondes Contemporains, supported by La Contemporaine – Bibliothèque, Archives, Musée.

Anna Branach-Kallas (Nicolaus Copernicus University), ‘Dehumanization, Camaraderie, and Mystical Love: Enemy Encounters in Stephen Daisley’s *Traitor*’

The paper offers an analysis of the representations of enemy encounters in *Traitor*, a World War One novel published to critical acclaim by New Zealand novelist Stephen Daisley in 2010. Central to Daisley’s novel is the encounter between a young New Zealander and a Turkish soldier at Gallipoli. The two men, both seriously injured, are drawn to each other in a field hospital; Mahmoud teaches David about Islamic mysticism and the Sufi devotional practices. They attempt to run away, but are captured, separated, and the New Zealander is court-martialled for treason. The friendship or love relationship that develops between David and Mahmoud, radically alters the former’s life. Loyalty to the British empire loses its meaning when the protagonist is severely punished for his most profound spiritual beliefs and treated by the army as a traitor and an enemy himself. I argue that Daisley represents the spiritual dimension of the transcultural encounter in the contact zone as the most significant aspect of the war for his protagonist, who eventually condemns war violence. Moreover, I approach Daisley’s representation of the relationship between the two protagonists as an important intervention in the Gallipoli commemorative discourse. I show how the enemy encounters in *Traitor*

echo the idealized images of solidarity between enemies (sometimes referred to as “Anzakery”) that have dominated the cultural memory of the Gallipoli campaign in the recent years. Synchronously, however, I argue that the role of Islamic mysticism in the novel challenges this cliche of wartime camaraderie between the ANZACS and the Ottomans. As a result, *Traitor* reframes our understanding of the enemy by simultaneously addressing our current concerns with the war on terror and the populist critique of Islam.

Anna Branach-Kallas is Associate Professor at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland. Her research interests include the representation of trauma and war, postcolonialism, corporeality, health humanities and comparative studies. She is the author of over eighty book chapters and articles, and has published several books, including, most recently, *Comparing Grief in French, British and Canadian Great War Fiction (1917-2014)* (Brill-Rodopi, 2018), co-authored with Piotr Sadkowski. She is currently head of the Institute of Literary Studies at Nicolaus Copernicus University and is working on her new project “Critical Mourning, Entangled Legacies of Violence, and Postcolonial Discontent in Selected 21st Century First World War Novels in English and French”.

David Jackson (Exeter University), ‘Bald Men Sharing a Comb: Understanding war veteran subjectivity through the documentary play *Minefield*’

In 1985 three years after the ending of the Falklands war (Guerra de las Malvinas) the Argentine writer Jorges Luis Borges said in an interview he thought “The Falklands thing was a fight between two bald men over a comb.” (Clarín, 1983). For those who fought in that war it was much more than that. So what happens 34 years later when you meet the ‘enemy’ and share that comb? In this paper I will explore such an experience when three Argentine veterans, two former Royal Marines and a Ghurkha soldier explore the legacy of the conflict through a contemporary theatre production called *Minefield/Campo Minado*. This critically acclaimed production brings together veterans from opposing sides of the Falklands-Malvinas War to represent their experiences for international audiences. The production is a complex representation of the experiences of former enemies, who do not speak each other’s languages, across a stage. It plays with that audience, through juxtapositions of time, place and scale, to present a fractured and provocative account of war that transcends simplistic accounts of national heroes pitted against belligerent enemy others who can subsequently reconcile at war’s ‘end’. I argue that foregrounding veteran experience through creative practice brings new and evocative understandings of remembrance, reconciliation, enmity and the embodied experience of war and that *Minefield/Campo Minado* has made a significant contribution to understanding the experience, aftermath and legacy of the war.

David Jackson David is a former Royal Marine and during this time he served in Northern Ireland and the Falklands war. After a medical discharge from the Royal Marines in 1995 he trained as a counsellor and life coach. In 1996 he was diagnosed with PTSD from his experiences of war.

David is an expert in the social and cultural aspects of war veterans and families living within society and the process of transition. He is a passionate advocate of using collaborative research to give voice to the unheard narratives of war veterans and families and he continues to challenge current representations of war veterans and the objectification of war veterans within research. Currently David is working on Stories in Transition Project at the University of Exeter and works therapeutically with veterans and families. He is also a performer in the documentary play *Minefield/Campo Minado* which is currently entering its third year of shows. In his spare time he enjoys competing in triathlons, writing and playing the guitar.

Victoria Williamson (King’s College London), ‘The impact of moral injury in UK Armed Forces’

Moral injury is the profound psychological distress that can arise following actions, or the lack of them, which violate one’s moral or ethical code. Potentially morally injurious events (PMIEs) can include acts of omission, commission or betrayal by trusted others. Experiences of moral injury are not limited by occupation and PMIEs have been found to be associated with poor mental health outcomes in US military personnel. However, whether the UK Armed Forces (AF) are similarly affected is less clear.

Aim: To examine UK AF veterans' experiences of moral injury, the impact of moral injury on veteran mental health outcomes, and the views of clinicians in providing psychological treatment in cases of moral injury.

Method: Assessments of PMIE exposure and measures of common mental disorders were administered using a questionnaire to 204 UK AF veterans. 30 UK AF veterans and 15 clinicians completed qualitative interviews.

Results: Veteran experiences of PMIEs were found to lead to deep feelings of shame, guilt or disgust, with morally injurious experiences significantly associated with adverse mental health outcomes. Several difficulties in providing care to patients following moral injury were described. A number of risk and protective factors for experiencing distress following a PMIE were found, including a lack of support from chain of command and feeling psychologically unprepared for the event.

Conclusions: The results provide some of the first evidence that experiences of moral injury are associated with adverse mental health outcomes in UK AF veterans. These findings have been used to inform guidelines to support NHS Frontline Staff who may be vulnerable to experiences of moral injury as a result of their work during the pandemic. This research highlights the continued need to examine effective pathways for prevention and intervention for those who have experienced a morally injurious event.

Dr Victoria Williamson is a research fellow at King's College London and the University of Oxford. She completed her PhD at the University of Bath in 2016 which examined parental responses following child experiences trauma. At King's College London, Victoria's research focuses on psychological adjustment after traumatic events, including combat trauma, human trafficking and moral injury. At the University of Oxford, her research aims to identify effective approaches to screen for child anxiety difficulties in schools and deliver an accessible parent-led intervention to support child adjustment.

15.55-16.15 Break

16.15-17.15 “The Brotherhood of Man”? Monuments to Fraternisation - Work in Progress on the Enemy Encounters Project – Holly Furneaux (Cardiff University)

Chair: Matilda Greig (Cardiff University)

17.15-17.30 Closing remarks and collective reflection

Holly Furneaux and Matilda Greig (Cardiff University)

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