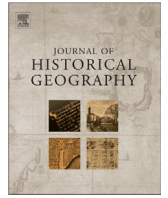




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Feature: European Geographers and World War II

Continental European geographers and World War II

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Abstract

This special issue considers the lives and work of Continental European Geographers during World War II. There is a range of work on the complicity of American and British geographers in this global conflict, but barely any consideration of geographers in mainland Europe. The six essays collected here provide detailed biographical and regionally specific case studies of the entanglements between geography and war in France, Germany, Denmark, Hungary, Romania and The Soviet Union between 1939 and 1945. This introduction delineates this important gap in the literature on the liaison between geography, geographers and World War II, and flags a number of ways in which it might be conceptualised and contextualised.

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I still find myself wondering whether there is not always some deep similarity between the way war organizes space and movement and the way contemporary society organizes them: that is, if the military landscape and military society are not both in essence intensified versions of the peacetime landscape, intensified and vitalized by one overriding purpose, which, of necessity, brings about a closer relationship between man [sic] and environment and between men.¹

So wrote the American landscape writer John Brinckerhoff Jackson, reflecting on his military service as an intelligence officer with the 9th Infantry Division of the United States (US) Army in Europe and North Africa in World War II, and particularly on his time in the Hürtgen Forest in 1944, fighting in the largest and longest land battle the US Army had ever waged.

Jackson titled his reminiscences 'Landscape as seen by the military'. He began with the observation that the environment was not an 'empty stage' on which war unfolded, but was the medium through which it was conducted. While in the midst of battle at Hürtgen, Jackson initially imagined the European landscapes of war and peace as similarly 'orderly and intelligent', 'regimented' by

innumerable 'insignia of rank'. But after the fighting was over, he realised that such similitude was an 'illusion'. He recognised that the 'clear-cut boundaries' and 'well-established units' in the wartime landscape were in reality 'blurred', and that the 'boundaries and demarcations' that existed within the peacetime landscape had after the battle 'ceased to mean anything'.²

Jackson thought his initial confusion was a result of the American military's own contradictory impulses. While it visualised relationships between people and environment as harmonious and stable, its ultimate aim was to destroy that very harmony. The American military believed on the one hand that Western Europe's long-lived cultural landscape possessed an 'intensified and vitalized' graspable order. But on the other hand in pursuing war it also believed that order should be brutally undone. In Jackson's example: 'the various headquarters and command posts [that] we had so carefully marked on [our map's] acetate overlay proved to be nothing more than heaps of rain-soaked ruins littered with mimographed orders that no one had bothered to obey or even read'.³

Jackson's experience of combat shaped him also as a landscape scholar. Even in the sound and fury of battle in Hürtgen Forest he thought about the geography classes he took with Derwent

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E-mail addresses: dwc3@st-andrews.ac.uk, tbarnes@geog.ubc.ca.¹ J.B. Jackson, *Landscape as seen by the military*, in his: *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, New Haven and London, 1984, 131–138; 135.² Jackson, *Landscape* (note 1), 135; 136.³ Jackson, *Landscape* (note 1), 136–137; 136.

Whittlesey at Harvard. He remembered, too, the influence of a chance encounter (he called it a 'revelation'): the months he spent in the ample library of a Norman chateau where he was billeted in 1944. There he found and read works by Paul Vidal de la Blache and other French (and German) geographers that influenced how he subsequently 'read landscapes'.⁴ Jackson's 'revelations' exemplified what the French *Annales* scholar Marc Bloch described, in his own wartime journal, as the 'alteration of spatial values' and disorienting 'rhythm of the times' that war brought to the lives and outlooks of scholars and intellectuals.⁵

While few, if any, universities and academic careers were left untouched by the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1939, different disciplines and individual practitioners experienced war on various kinds of footings. For Jackson it was as a recorder and interpreter of information for military intelligence. Again his earlier geographical classes with Whittlesey were invaluable. Military intelligence in the field, Jackson wrote, 'was almost totally dependent on the ordinance map for its information about the terrain'.⁶ Geographical representation in the form of the map was central both on the battlefield and in the war office.

Geographers' wars and war's geographies

Jackson's reflections on his wartime experience point to many of the issues pursued in this special issue. Like Jackson, the authors here are also concerned with the intimate, complex and often fraught wartime intertwining of a life (a biography and specific personal circumstances) with geographical ideas and knowledges (both as disciplinary concepts, practices and conventions, and wider geographical perceptions and discourses). Also like Jackson, the authors think it important to locate World War II within geography's disciplinary history rather than treating it as a disorienting exception (that is, if it is mentioned at all). One of the recent motivations for writing critical and contextual histories of geography and geographical knowledge is to overhaul narrow (internalist) and whiggish accounts of disciplinary change and growth. Those accounts too often shuffle the messy complexities and contingencies of society and history, and indeed of war, out of their narratives. In contrast, one of the aims of this special issue is to recoup precisely such messiness, treating it as central rather than peripheral to geography's history.

This special issue comes at a particular moment in the discipline's engagement with questions of war, violence and conflict. Over the last fifteen years or so there has been a dramatic growth of interest within (and also outside) the discipline in geographies of war. In part it follows from Jackson's general lament: about spatial order cherished and destroyed, and landscapes and lives broken.⁷

An enormous and eclectic literature now pursues the questions Jackson raised: how war organises space, how geography shapes war, and how geographies of war change. Derek Gregory, for instance, notes that geographical knowledge and spatial technologies have long had a pivotal place in 'the resort to war', 'the conduct of war', 'the representation of war', and 'the memorialization of war'.⁸ Accordingly, critical concern with contemporary conflict should not preclude interest in past wars, or in using knowledge of them to understand the present.

Public and scholarly interest in the historical and philosophical justification of warfare was most recently piqued by the West's justification for the invasion of Iraq and toppling of Saddam Hussein in the wake of '9/11', and the wider 'war on terror'.⁹ There is now a broad fascination with how war targets people and territory (histories and techniques of bombing, military occupation, prisoner detention). And through the rapid digitisation of information, and (in some parts of the world) the democratization of public access to historical knowledge (in formerly communist East Europe and the Soviet Union, for example), there is much newly available knowledge from the hitherto closed archives of war – of lies and secrets; of evil, cruelty and mendacity in human conduct; of erstwhile scrambling and subversion of accepted understandings; of retrospective codification of triumph and defeat; and of images and documents of loss and destruction.

Critical energies in the discipline of geography are currently focused largely on contemporary 'warscapes' and 'sites of violence', and the geographical imaginaries and spatial practices (of demonising, targeting, bombing, insurgency, counter-insurgency and revolt) in what Gregory and others see as an 'everywhere war'.¹⁰ This literature is concerned primarily with Yves Lacoste's maxim (written in the aftermath of the Vietnam War), that '*La géographie, ça sert d'abord à faire la guerre*' [geography serves firstly to wage war].¹¹ Less interest, though, has been shown in the other major theme in Jackson's story (and in Lacoste's too): the witting or unwitting role that geographers have played in war.¹² The current literature primarily discloses the geographies and spaces in and through which war is expedited rather than the connivance of the discipline of geography in the wartime practices deployed in those geographies and spaces (although there are important exceptions).¹³

In providing an account of geography's disciplinary connivance during World War II the papers in this special issue are of course not opposed to wider critical histories. They are concerned rather with the relations and tensions between the two approaches as ways of seeing. Some of the papers (outlined below) lean more towards biography, either of individuals (especially the papers by

⁴ Jackson, Landscape (note 1), 137.

⁵ M. Bloch, *Strange Defeat: A Statement of Evidence Written in 1940*, New York, 1968, 37.

⁶ Jackson, Landscape (note 1), 136.

⁷ See recently, K. Lowe, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II*, New York, 2012.

⁸ D. Gregory, War, in: D. Gregory, R. Johnston, G. Pratt, M. Watts, S. Whatmore (Eds), *The Dictionary of Human Geography* 5th Edition, Oxford, 2009, 804.

⁹ See, for example, M. Sahlins, *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa*, Chicago, 2004; G. Chamayou, *Théorie du Drone*, Paris, 2013.

¹⁰ D. Gregory, The everywhere war, *The Geographical Journal* 177 (2011) 238–250; And see, for example, D. Cowen and E. Gilbert (Eds), *War, Citizenship, Territory*, London and New York, 2008; C. Flint (Ed), *The Geography of War and Peace*, Oxford, 2005; W. Giles and J. Hyndman (Eds), *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, Berkeley, 2004; D. Gregory, War and peace, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (2010) 154–86; D. Gregory and A. Pred (Eds), *Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror and Political Violence*, London and New York, 2007; A. Kobayashi (Ed), Geographies of peace and armed conflict, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* special issue 99 (2009); B. Korf, M. Engeler and T. Hagmann, The geography of warscape, *Third World Quarterly* 31 (2010) 385–99; S. Kirsch and C. Flint (Eds), *Reconstructing Conflict: Integrating War and Post-War Geographies*, Farnham, 2011; E. Mendieta, War the school of space: the space of war and the war for space, *Ethics, Place and Environment* 9 (2006) 207–29; C. Philo, Security of geography/geography of security, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37 (2012) 1–7.

¹¹ Y. Lacoste, *La géographie, ça sert d'abord à faire la guerre*, Paris, 1976; and see G. Bowd and D. Clayton, Geographical warfare in the tropics: Yves Lacoste and the Vietnam War, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103 (2013) 627–646.

¹² When Lacoste wrote about geography serving firstly to wage war he had in mind, as a primary example, the way the fastidious maps of the dyke system of the Tonkin delta of North Vietnam produced in the 1930s by the French geographer Pierre Gourou – works of scholarship – had been used by United States Air Force strategists and pilots to bomb the region. Lacoste's point was that geographical knowledge, however 'objective' or 'innocent,' always had the potential to be co-opted and used for martial ends. On this story, see Bowd and Clayton, Geographical warfare (note 11).

¹³ See J. Crampton, S. Roberts and A. Poorhuis, The new political economy of geographical intelligence, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104 (2014) 196–214.

Barnes and Abrahamsson, and Heffernan) or of the collective membership of the discipline (Clout). Others lean more towards geographers' involvement in wartime environments in which geographical ideas hold important sway (especially the papers by Bowd and Clayton, Larsen, and Oldfield and Shaw). All the papers explore the relationship between disciplinary histories and wider critical histories of wartime geographies and spaces. In different ways, they construe the question of geographers' wars and war's geographies as relational and open-ended.

Continental Europe

The focus of this special issue is World War II and continental Europe. This global conflict enrolled large numbers of geographers. Some enlisted as ordinary soldiers, like Jackson, and were posted overseas; others were recruited into intelligence activities by the state and the military, like Sándor Rádo and discussed in Heffernan's paper; or yet others helped to promote state wartime propaganda like Karl Haushofer in Barnes and Abrahamsson's paper, or Gudmund Hatt in Larsen's paper.¹⁴

To date, critical assessments of how geography and geographers were involved in the World War II have focused largely on American and British experiences. William Balchin, for instance, noted in connection with the United Kingdom (UK): 'surveyors gravitated towards survey and map-making, climatologists appeared in the meteorological services, explorers took on an active role in special operations, political geographers contributed to Dominion, Colonial and Foreign Office activities and economic geographers [worked on]... economic warfare'.¹⁵ A range of work has also considered

American geographers' involvement in the US Office of Strategic Services in Washington D.C., and the influence of this conjuncture on post-war visions of the discipline.¹⁶ One of those involved, Kirk Stone, thought that 'World War II was the best thing that happened to geography since the birth of Strabo'.¹⁷

Probing analyses have been undertaken of American and British wartime military mapping, terrain evaluation, spatial logistics and geographical model-making; the environmental history of World War II, the geography of battlefield sites, and the nature of war in different domains (the desert, the boreal forest); geographers' involvement in the production of army and navy handbooks; and air force maps that created 'kill-chains... [that] extended from the identification of targets to their destruction'.¹⁸ More recently there has been interest in 'Nazi spatial theory', which has become a *cause célèbre* (and *danse macabre*) for critical histories of the discipline. Barnes and Abrahamsson's paper brings an argument about 'moral complicities' to that history, one in which Lacoste's maxim was played out with direct and maximum (deadly) force.¹⁹ There is much less research, however, on the biographies and wartime experiences of geographers born, living or working in continental Europe. This is in spite of a number of reflections on the fate of geography in wartime Europe that appeared immediately after the war, including in France and Germany.²⁰ For the most part such reflections have been ignored, as have been the lives of geographers who lived through the war, as have been the larger entanglements between geography and war within continental Europe, which was the chief target and domain of fighting.²¹

Substantively the six essays in this special issue furnish a rich and eclectic exploration of geographers' lives and the life of

¹⁴ See, for example, E.A. Ackerman, Geographic training, wartime research, and immediate professional objectives, *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 35 (1945) 121–143; W. Balchin, United Kingdom geographers in the Second World War: a report, *The Geographical Journal* 153 (1987) 159–180; H.C. Darby, Academic geography in Britain: 1918–1946, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 8 (1983) 14–26; B. Farmer, British geographers overseas 1933–1983, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 8 (1983) 70–79; B. Fergusson, Upper Burma 1943–44, *The Geographical Journal* CVII (1946) 1–10; C. Harris, Geographers in the U.S. Government in Washington, DC, during World War II, *Professional Geographer* 49 (1997) 245–256; K. Stone, Geography's wartime service, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (1979) 89–96; E. Taylor, Geography in war and peace, *Geographical Review* 38 (1948) 132–141; L. Wilson, Some observations on wartime geography in England, *Geographical Review* 36 (1946) 597–612.

¹⁵ Balchin, United Kingdom geographers (note 14), 162.

¹⁶ T. Barnes, Geographical intelligence: American geographers and research and analysis in the Office of Strategic Services 1941–1945, *Journal of Historical Geography* 32 (2006) 149–68; T. Barnes and J. Crampton, Mapping intelligence: American geographers and the Office of Strategic Services and GHQ/SCAP (Tokyo), in: Kirsch, Flint (Eds), *Reconstructing Conflict* (note 10), 227–251; T. Barnes and M. Farish, Between regions: science, militarism, and American geography from World War to Cold War, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96 (2006) 807–826; G. Chalou (Ed), *The Secret War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II*, Washington, 1991; M. Rössler, Geographers and social scientists in the Office for Strategic Services (OSS) 1941–1945, *Netherlands Geographical Studies* (2006) 75–85.

¹⁷ Stone, Geography's wartime service (note 14), 89.

¹⁸ The quote is from: D. Gregory, 'Doors into nowhere': dead cities and the natural history of destruction, in: P. Meusberger, M. Heffernan, E. Wunder (Eds), *Cultural Memories*, Heidelberg, 2011, 266; Also see, L. Appleton, Scale and the wartime *Saturday Evening Post*: a geographical strategy of nation building, *Cybergeo* 217 (2002) <http://cybergeo.revues.org/2154>; J. Clatworthy and E. Rose, Terrain evaluation for Allied military operations in Europe and the Far East during World War II, *Quarterly Journal of Engineering Geology & Hydrogeology* 41 (2008) 237–256; H. Clout and C. Gosme, The naval intelligence handbooks: a monument in geographical writing, *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (2003) 153–73; M. Farish, Archiving areas: the ethnographic board and the Second World War, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95 (2005) 663–679; D. Fedman and C. Karacas, A cartographic fade to black: mapping the destruction of urban Japan during World War II, *Journal of Historical Geography* 38 (2012) 306–328; D. Fedman and C. Karacas, The optics of urban ruination: toward an archaeological approach to the photography of the Japan air raids, *Journal of Urban History* 40 (2014) 1–26; D. Gregory, The natures of war, *Antipode* (2015) in press, <https://geographicalimaginings.files.wordpress.com/2012/07/gregory-the-natures-of-war-november-2014.pdf>; I. Forsyth, Designs on the desert: camouflage, deception and the militarization of space, *Cultural Geographies* 21 (2014) 247–265; J. Hamblin, Environmental dimensions of World War II, in: T. Zeilered (Ed), *A Companion to World War II*, Malden, 2013, 698–716; K. Hewitt, Place annihilation: area bombing and the fate of urban places, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73 (1983) 257–284; A. Maddrell, The 'map girls': British women geographers' war work, shifting gender boundaries and reflections on the history of geography, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33 (2008) 127–148; D. Passmore, D. Tunwell and S. Harrison, Landscapes of logistics: the archaeology and geography of WWII German military supply depots in Central Normandy, north-west France, *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 8 (2013) 165–192; A. Pearson, Allied military model making during World War II, *Cartography and Geographic Information Science* 29 (2002) 227–241; C. Pearson, *Scarred Landscape: War and Nature in Vichy France*, New York, 2008; H. Reed, The development of the terrain model in the war, *The Geographical Review* 36 (1946) 632–33; M. Rössler, Geographers and social scientists (note 16).

¹⁹ T. Barnes and C. Minca, Nazi spatial theory: the dark geographies of Carl Schmitt and Walter Christaller, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103 (2013) 669–687; See also D. Atkinson, Geopolitical imaginings in modern Italy, in: K. Dodds, D. Atkinson (Eds), *Geopolitical Traditions. A Century of Geopolitical Thought*, London, 2000, 93–117; M. Antonsich, Geopolitica: the 'geographical and imperial consciousness' of Fascist Italy, *Geopolitics* 14 (2009) 256–277; M. Bassin, Race contra space: the conflict between German *Geopolitik* and National Socialism, *Political Geography Quarterly* 6 (1987) 115–34; I. Diekmann, P. Krüger and J. Schoeps (Eds), *Geopolitik: Grenzgänge im Zeitgeist*, 2 vols., Potsdam, 2000; H. Heske, Political geographers of the past III. German geographical research in the Nazi period: a content analysis of the major geography journals, 1925–1945, *Political Geography Quarterly* 5 (1986) 267–81; K. Takeuchi, The Japanese imperial tradition, western imperial and modern Japanese geography, in: A. Godlewski, N. Smith, *Geography and Empire*, Oxford, 1994, 188–206.

²⁰ In addition to the American and British reflections cited above, also see J. Gottman, French geography in wartime, *Geographical Review* 36 (1946) 80–91; A. Perpillou, Geography and geographical studies in France during the war and the occupation, *The Geographical Journal* 107 (1946) 50–57; T.R. Smith and L.D. Black, German geography: war work and present status, *Geographical Review* 36 (1946) 398–408; C. Troll, Geographic science in Germany during the period 1933–1945: a critique and justification, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 39 (1949) 99–137.

²¹ See H. de Blij, *Wartime Encounter with Geography*, Amsterdam, 2000.

geography as they unfolded in different parts of continental Europe between 1939 and 1945. They demonstrate that geographical ideas and practices were bound up with wider forces and demands. Collectively, the papers provide a clear sense of geographers' involvement in and response to war. As Jackson intimated, geographers contributed to war in multiple ways: by understanding spatial order; by providing a foundation for conceiving and solving military questions; and by grasping the territorial roots of enmity and conflict in ethnic and national rivalries. Disciplines like geography were potent vehicles for allowing people, and not least their practitioners, to dampen the uncertainty and dread of living and working in a time of war; to impose some order and direction on a world that appeared chaotic and rudderless.

Varieties of wartime experience

The various continental European geographers featured in this special issue experienced World War II in different ways in different theatres and phases of the conflict, and through different kinds of activities. Their lives and work were shaped by various forms and degrees of complicity in the destructive and deadly upheavals of conflict. That included for some nonparticipation and enforced silence; for others deportation and extermination; for yet others clandestine and open resistance to invasion and occupation; and for yet others still, military service and warmongering with geographical knowledge. The paucity of research on both this range of experience and this moment in geography's disciplinary history is further freighted by the upheaval and dislocation wrought by war: papers, records, diaries and correspondence were lost, seized and destroyed; and personal relationships and disciplinary trajectories became stretched and strained by competing and sometimes contradictory loyalties and constraints. The discipline's routine activities and networks (fieldwork, student instruction, publication, conference and learned society activities, and international exchanges) were curtailed, or struggled on under a veil of censorship.²² Some universities closed their doors. Privation and subterfuge became watchwords of academic life across all of continental Europe. At the same time, and as in the US and UK, World War II presented new opportunities for geographers to wield influence by placing their expertise at the service of the state and wartime planners.

That, on close inspection, individual lives appear not only troubled but also contradictory is indicative of the thoroughgoing dissonance that war brings to human affairs. While geographers' wartime lives and work were shaped by powerful collective—national and ideological— influences and pressures, the biographical threads in the essays that follow are not easily placed in a unitary analytical frame. Rather, they afford glimpses of how individual circumstances were bound up with wider historical forces. As with other recent studies of the fate of academic fields in World War II, the diverse experiences, practices and texts considered here point to both cultural introversion and the porousness of disciplinary and institutional boundaries. Some scholars (and not just geographers) rallied around specific national (often defensive and sometimes racist) causes. Others generated comparative (and sometimes more cosmopolitan) bodies of knowledge that reflected the European and global scale of the conflict.²³ War diverted geographers from

their 'normal' teaching and research activities and promoted particular kinds of geographical knowledge, skills and techniques to the status of 'useful knowledge'.²⁴

In the first paper of the issue Hugh Clout knits together biographical and autobiographical fragments to reconstruct the activities of the larger community of French academic geographers from 1939 to 1945 as they variously tried to escape the country, worked for the resistance, languished in prison, or most usually continued to carry out their academic duties either in occupied France or in the 'free zone' (at least until November, 1942, when it was occupied too). The second paper by Henrik Larsen both critically examines the wartime activities of the Professor of Human Geography at Copenhagen University, Gudmund Hatt, and assesses the post-war charge of 'dishonourable national conduct' laid against him by a special tribunal set up to examine acts of collaboration between Danish civil servants and the Nazis. The third paper by Denis Shaw and Jonathan Oldfield is concerned with the wartime work of two rival Soviet geographers, Lev Berg and Andrei Grigor'ev, arguing that it is impossible to understand their contributions without taking into account the Russian Revolution, and particularly Stalin's later 'Great Turn', and its consequent effect on politics, philosophy and the academy in the Soviet Union. The fourth paper by Gavin Bowd and Dan Clayton focuses on the French geographer, Emmanuel de Martonne, son-in-law of Vidal, who played a prominent role (as advisor to Clemenceau) in shaping the state of Greater Romania at the 1919 Versailles Peace Conference. They explore how de Martonne's concern with the geo-political significance of Romania's Carpathian mountains was mobilised by Romanian intellectuals, and during the war to contest Hungarian and Soviet occupation. The fifth paper by Trevor Barnes and Christian Abrahamsson is about the shifting relationships, at once geographical, intellectual, political and familial, between the German geographers, father and son, Karl and Albrecht Haushofer, who in different ways drew up and carried out the Nazi policies of geopolitics. Barnes and Abrahamsson's concern is with the tangled web of moral complicity in which both men were caught, producing increasingly anguished and laboured moral struggles. The final paper by Mike Heffernan is less concerned with a single country than with the actions of a peripatetic geographer, journalist and spy, Alexander (Sándor) Rádo, who variously moved between Eastern and Western Europe and the Middle East, and illustrates the complex conjunctions between wars, geography, biography and shifting personal identities that traversed Allied-Axis (British, Hungarian and Soviet) lines.

Each of the papers is about a geographer or set of geographers trapped in the maelstrom of World War II, sometimes willingly other times less so. While there is no single thesis that connects all six papers, it is possible to identify two central themes that emerge from and link them.

Moral geographies

Each paper shows that war is both an abstract and corporeal undertaking. Violence and killing are perpetrated both at a distance (say, as maps and spatial schemes) and at close quarters. Furthermore, all the geographers discussed here felt morally impelled to think about and to justify their actions and representations. As the

²² See H. Clout, Popularising geography in France's second city: the rôle of the *Société de Géographie de Lyon*, 1873–1968, *Cybergeo* 449 (2009) <http://cybergeo.revues.org/22214>.

²³ See for example, C. Benfey and K. Remmler (Eds), *Artists, Intellectuals and World War II: The Pontigny Encounters at Mount Holyoke College, 1942–1944*, Amherst, 2006; G. Gray, D. Munro and C. Winter (Eds), *Scholars at War: Australasian Social Scientists, 1939–1945*, Canberra, 2012.

²⁴ E. Baring, *The Young Derrida and French Philosophy, 1945–1968*, Cambridge, 2011; J.-P. Chevalier, Éducation géographique et révolution nationale: la géographie scolaire au temps de Vichy, *Histoire de l'Éducation* 113 (2007) 69–101; O. Dumoulin, La Langue d'Ésope: les revues historiques entre science et engagement, *La Revue des Revues* 24 (1997) 45–71.

different cases of de Martonne, Hatt, the Haushofers and Rado (in particular) suggest, some of those moral justifications were blunt and assured, whereas others were morally equivocal and burdensome. Tropes of right, might and justice sat alongside (and often uneasily with) those of pride, vanity and existential doubt. Furthermore, the range of motivations and emotions bound up with these tropes ranged from patriotism and partisanship (as evinced by the French and Soviet geographers), to national revenge and a quest for cultural and ethnic purity (the case of Hungarian and Romanian geographers and geopoliticians), to personal tragedy, guilt and trauma (most acutely in the case of the Haushofers), and to machinations of deception and suspicion (the cases of Hatt and Rado). In different ways, the six papers show that moral geographies fired by war both congealed and dissolved boundaries between 'theoretical' and 'practical', 'pure' and 'applied', and 'academic' and 'popular' geography.

This returns us to our point about disciplinary histories. The critical and contextual approach of each of the papers to geography in wartime undoes any representation of the discipline's evolution as rarefied, self-contained and progressive. What emerges instead is its 'worldly' qualities. Geographical research on bygone wars and conflicts, like that on empire, provides salient reminders that the discipline of geography has neither left the past behind nor is immune from its legacies.

'Major' and 'minor' historical geographies

World War II begs important questions not just about the purpose of studying the historical geography of the discipline's relations with war, but also about the position(s) from which such relations are viewed. The importance of looking beyond American and British experience formed our initial motivation for this special issue. But in the process of compiling it another significant – and twofold – locational issue came into view: the dominance of, and need to supplement, German and Soviet narratives and agendas in the historiography of wartime continental Europe; and the recognition that geographers' wartime actions and experiences cannot be fully understood unless they are placed in longer (inter-war and post-war) histories and wider (national and inter-state) geographies. Both points are made effectively by Holly Case with reference to the bitter wartime conflict between Hungary and Romania over Transylvania. She argues that the wartime histories of these and other European countries (Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Denmark, The Netherlands, Italy, Greece) should not be seen as a 'sub-set' of German and Soviet influences, or as falling into a neat division between Allied and Axis loyalties.²⁵ Since 1989, and the eclipse of the Soviet Union, scholars and thinkers from central and eastern Europe have asserted the importance and uniqueness of their nations' histories in the making of Europe and the idea of Europe. Their revisionist narratives are no less selective and partisan than the American, British, German and Soviet narratives they recast. However, Case notes that out of this recent realignment of 'major' and 'minor' histories of World War II has come a keener awareness of how images of Europe and the meaning of war were 'shaped by localized preoccupations with territorial sovereignty'

stretching back to the Versailles Treaty and before, and to thoroughgoing and deep-rooted 'anxiety about minorities and boundaries.'²⁶ The papers on Hatt, de Martonne and Rado, particularly, are threaded in part around this question of major and minor histories, and this line of inquiry could be stretched to other nations and other geographers.

These papers are all also concerned to discuss how the longer past and its associated variegated local geographies entered into the wartime concerns of the geographers considered here. The longer past remains crucially present. That is why all of the papers start not with the beginning of the World War II, but years, if not decades, before. 1919 was a critical date with the Versailles Treaty redrawing Europe's boundaries, but so was 1918, the year World War I ended, and so was 1917, the year of the Russian Revolution and the year the United States entered World War I. These are events of 'major' histories, but there are also many other dates germane to 'minor' histories. The same point applies in telling the *geographical* lives of geographers. This effort must include the full range of relevant geographies, major and minor.

There is a final linked issue, the effect of the geographical life of the geographer on their geographical knowledges and practices. Before World War II, geography's traditional interests and concerns were with regional identity, state territoriality, cultural landscapes, mapping, classifying and bounding. Were these interests discarded or side-lined by the war? The six papers suggest that to know what kind of geography survived or thrived in wartime, and what did not, we need to understand the geographies of geographers' lives. The geographical practices and knowledges that flourished (or withered) depended upon the maze of inter-state, country, regional and place-based interactions and tensions bearing on the geographers themselves. The papers show the effects of minor historical geographies, albeit often fashioned at the interstices of major geographies, but which are no less relevant and important for that.

Conclusion

It may be argued that geography was made for war. Matt Farish writes that geography is 'primarily a military idea and tool, a strategic form of knowledge about the world'.²⁷ Consequently, to wage war is to practice geography. It is part and parcel of the very project of war. Given this disciplinary and operational congruence, it is surprising that there have not been more studies of geography within war settings, illustrating what the discipline and its wider set of practices and understandings was made to do. This special issue seeks to provide just such an illustration. It is not only about geography as an academic discipline. It is also about the people who practice it, geographers. It is they who are trained, educated and disciplined in geographical ideas and practices that at crucial wartime moments can be deployed as tools of strategic knowledge, sometimes by them and sometimes by others, sometimes knowingly and sometimes not. Accordingly, the papers collected here relate and analyse both the impact of that training, studying and disciplining (in short, that knowing) on the World War II, and how the travails and exigencies of war and its geography shaped geographers' wartime lives.

²⁵ H. Case, *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea During World War II*, CA, 2009, 20; also see, for example, B. Adam, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism*, Lanham, MD, 2004; T. Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, New York, 2010; J. Stefanowicz, *Polska w Europie na przełomie wieków*, Warsaw, 1994.

²⁶ Case, *Between States* (note 25), 22.

²⁷ M. Farish, *The Contours of America's Cold War*, Minneapolis, 2010, xviii.