

major role in determining the course of this civilization. Yet it is not entirely necessary to couch this observation in the form of an assumption, since it has been repeated so often by historians, geographers and sociologists familiar with the Mexican scene. Cases in point are the views of Smith, Schurz and James, mentioned at the outset. The corn toponyms indicated in this note are suggestive of the range, but far from exhaustive on the subject.

GEOPOLITICS AS HAUSHOFER TAUGHT IT*

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This summary is based on some of Professor Haushofer's articles written in German, on my own lecture notes and in a few places it is supported by my memory. English language writings, such as Spykman, Weigert and Walsh have been used only for verification. My remarks—as the title indicates—do not necessarily show my own views, since as a former student of Haushofer I am somehow a follower of geopolitics. (I assume that you are familiar with the basic concepts of geopolitics such as space organism, heartland, core area, pivot area, rimland, etc.)

Karl Haushofer, general and professor in Munich, Germany, taught geopolitics as the science of *space* as it influences all human activities, SPACE spelled in capital letters. To him all historic development is mankind's struggle for space. All research, therefore, ought to begin with space, the least changed and least changeable factor affecting man. While history forgets the stage of the actor, geopolitics repairs this by putting the stage into the foreground.

Organized occupation of land—and of sea—space, nomadic and sedentary, is much older than history assumes and is based on anthropological instincts. It is the restless versus the settled type and Haushofer is convinced that even in our urbanized society this instinct is still strongest in forming personalities and cultures. What we know about the Nile delta and Mesopotamia, about the Hwang Ho and the Punjab, about the plateaus of Central America

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is only the more recent stage of renewed rise preceded by older rising and declining space occupance.

All civilization then—as Haushofer explains—is based on space concepts. Hellenism results from the Aegean Sea and Islam from the desert, and in our modern society Anglo Saxon (United States and Britain) occupance is ocean born while U.S.S.R. occupance is steppe born. Haushofer speaks as early as the 1930's of the two *space giants* (United States-Britain = ocean and U.S.S.R. = steppe), while river settlements, highland nations, etc. are space midgets on their way out in the airage.

Rim empires such as the Roman around the Mediterranean Sea (“a space exaggeration by nationalism”), the Turkish around the Black Sea, the Baltic empires and even the British rule of the Indian Ocean have no space basis and therefore cannot last. “Fleets cannot hold a hinterland.” The British realized this when they moved their Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi. Each state's development depends then on its good or bad, on its smaller or larger share (space) in the geos. The constant redistribution of these shares is the very essence of history.

Space always conquers the conquering man. Russia became Asian and France became African, even Christianity became a Central European rather than a Near East religion. Haushofer stresses one exception to this rule, Caesar mediterraneanized the Nordic Gallia. The United States had to expand from coast to coast in accordance with the ocean-island concept, while Germany expanded according to the central plains idea. Haushofer applies the same space laws also to more detailed events. Napoleon was defeated by the Russian space factors, steppe and climate. Already east of the Oder, the French soldier found himself in a strange land, hostile climate, etc. Modern applications of this would be the struggle of United States divisions against climate and terrain in North Korea and Ridgeway's decision that we do not need to extend our “real estate” holdings. Haushofer, in a personal conversation with me shortly after VE Day, put Hitler's Stalingrad campaign into the same category, “complete disregard of space factors,” and I might add that here is a lesson to the men responsible for military training in our country. In case of an attack on us, obviously the Soviets would call the space and the time. They seem to be students of geopolitics in following the principle of their absolute advantage, training their troops in snow and ice and in winter offensives. (It should be noted that our most Northern area is the equivalent to the U.S.S.R.'s Southern boundary!)

BLOOD AND SOIL

In the Germanic slogan "blood and soil" the Munich professor underlines the *and*. To him again this is the coordination of man (blood) and space (soil). Space conquest is limited by blood. The Germanic conquerors of Rome, Spain and Africa overstepped their space limits and disappeared. Haushofer, however, never said what the space limit of the modern Germans was. The white man's occupancy of North America, he explains, was *within* space limits. Since the native Indians of our area never did reach the coordination stage of space and man, this was a virgin area and therefore open to occupancy. South American conquest on the other hand had to be a compromise with already coordinated native states, hence Mestizo America.

A well coordinated space organism can never be destroyed, and Haushofer, who enjoyed Japanese admiration and hospitality for many years, names fondly Japan as the best example for it. Least coordinated organisms, geopolitical misfits, to him are the Near East and India. Already in the 1930's he speaks of the necessity of a partition of Palestine and of Kashmir, Hyderabad and the Bombay area as trouble spots of India. It goes without saying that to him, the German general, the Polish corridor was a geopolitical outrage and in a seminar I attended he predicted many times that in the corridor area a new war would break out.

Karl Haushofer always was fascinated by the *Pan* ideas, to him they are the greatest coordinations of man and space, new dynamic geopolitics. *Pan America* under United States leadership is, he admitted, nearest to realization. *Pan Europe* is the least likely space organism. While *Pan Monsoonia*, with a stable core in Japan and with an unstable core in India, to him, is the greatest possible coordination of man and space.

CORES AND HOTSPOTS

Best coordinates are the *cores* and poorest coordinations are the *hotspots* of the geos. Haushofer names a whole ring of cores; foremost Japan, next England, but also a North American core between St. Lawrence and the Gulf, which, as he declared 15 years ago, is slowly moving westward. Space importance can change according to changing transportation, etc. Istanbul changed from a core to a rim area, while Berlin advanced from a rim to a core area. Washington, D.C., Canberra, Rio, etc. are artificial and therefore non-functioning cores. A state reaches from core to rim and the state

boundaries are like a skin holding the space-man organism together. Boundary regions are within the skins and are therefore part of the organism. They are front areas, and very often need "blood transfusion" from the hinterland for the maintenance of "defense blood pressure." The problem of habitability of boundary lands is a problem of space limits, and marginal boundaries are usually lost if an attack comes. (Our present concern over Alaska ought to be an excellent example for applied geopolitics.) Subdivisions within a state organism should be organic also. Again Haushofer feels that the United States, especially in drawing boundaries for the western states, is ahead of Germany, whose boundaries of southern states (of Napoleonic days) are geopolitically unsound. This by the way is being remedied by the government of West Germany.

To Haushofer, a world status quo involving a world pacifism is neither possible nor desirable. Geopolitics is the science of a dynamic, constantly changing world. At present, he says, there are too many overcrowded areas versus politically occupied, but actually empty spaces. That means leaving starving people next to "filled barns." "Only the white man is a pacifist." This, of course, is the often repeated German slogan of "people without living space" and of the "have against the have not nations."

INFLUENCE OF HAUSHOFER GEOPOLITICS

Haushofer, integrating the teaching of Ratzel, Penck, Kjellén and Mackinder, probably did develop a geopolitics which was adaptable to German military planning and especially to Hitler's conquests. He started out as a German general and his relations to the one time second ranking Nazi leader, Rudolf Hess (his Rudi), are well known. His German friends and students made more use of the "Herr General" than of the "Herr Professor." Yet his teachings must have a strong appeal to military men beyond Germany. All Japanese planning before and for World War II (including the attack on Pearl Harbor) shows Haushofer's influence. The present map of Europe, especially of the Russian-Polish-German space, is exactly the map of Haushofer's pivot area and even the English dilemma between a United Europe, and her overseas responsibilities fits into Haushofer's thesis. NATO, the United States position in the Pacific, China as an ally of Russia, to all this Haushofer could have said with a great deal of justifica-

tion, "I told you so." His geopolitics is application of space laws to political decision. It remains to be seen how his prediction of a Prussian-Russian partnership in space materializes. (He is convinced, however, that German culture could never be subdued by Eastern culture, even in a partnership.) It seems to me that even in Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History* many similarities with Haushofer can be found. This of course could also mean that a geopolitical interpretation of world events is closer to the European than to the American mind.

Yet can we in the United States with our tremendous world responsibilities afford to disregard this "science of space" of the man from Munich?

GEOGRAPHICAL PUBLICATIONS

Abridged Elementary School Atlas, H91, by L. Philip Denoyer, Denoyer-Geppert Company, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago 40, Ill., 1952. xxiv pages with 16 maps. 60 cents.

One reads in the preface of this work that "It is the purpose of this abridged elementary school atlas to present a few maps that will be helpful to teachers and pupils in elementary and secondary schools. . . ." The value is to be found in the use of this volume with current textbooks in the Social Studies which do not have adequate maps showing location of places discussed.

A valuable aid to many users, especially those without preparation in geography and map reading, is the discussion entitled "Reading the Map." This introductory material, written in very simple style and presenting nineteen illustrative figures, covers such topics as "Colors, Relief or Elevation, Scale, Latitude and Longitude, Direction, Symbols Used on Maps, Map Projections."

Another aid to the person lacking the proper foundation is the "Short Study of Each Map." This is a discussion of the geographic relationships which may be deduced from a knowledge of the map together with pertinent questions relating to the map.

Twelve of the maps, constituting the majority of those given, are physical-political. Six of these cover North America and the United States by sections, the other six treating other continents and major countries. Two maps give the population density of the World and United States. One is a political map of the Pacific Ocean and one is a World Commercial.

The format, 9 x 11 inches, renders this a convenient book on the student's desk. Another commendable feature is the excellent execution of the maps, including color, accuracy, lack of crowding of detail, explanatory legend and legible type.

This atlas should be useful for those wanting a simple but well-constructed reference. It is probably most useful for those children beginning the study of geography or the social studies.

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