

ticularly those primates whose social life reveals the greatest similarities with that of man. The importance of this assertion should be obvious; since the defense of territory against attack is an instinctive pattern frequently observed in the animal world, it is hard to believe that human warfare is not somehow related to man's animal drives. It may be unfair to compare the American intervention in Vietnam with the behavior of rat colonies or monkey bands, who, if their leaders are particularly energetic or aggressive, will attempt to expand their territory at the expense of other groups of the same species. But the persistence of aggression between human societies calls into question the belief that, unlike animals, men have no natural impulse leading to conflict and thus fight each other only when their bodily needs are frustrated.

All territorial animals, including man, naturally fight to repel attacks on their home grounds. While the Administration seems to believe that bombing the North Vietnamese will convince them that it is "reasonable" to negotiate, our faith that reason can control human behavior is contradicted by scientific evidence, not to mention history. That is why Ardrey, whose "sympathies lay frankly on the side" of our intervention in South Vietnam, adds at once that escalation is "doomed to failure": even if "you may seem to win" (a "probable outcome if you are the world's greatest power and your adversary has been chosen as the smallest and poorest contestant in sight"), in the long run "out of the charred old ruin will emerge the unforgetting phoenix"—the territorial bond of men who defend their society against alien intruders—"and you must begin all over again."

**A**LTHOUGH our Secretary of State may think that nations can be "taught" that aggression does not pay, Ardrey shows (as did Lorenz and other ethologists) that aggressive impulses are naturally an integral part of human behavior and cannot be abolished by moralistic exhortation, threat, or economic development. It is possible, however, to prevent aggression within the species from having lethal effects; just as many other animals have developed "displacement activities" or ritualized behavior that directs the aggressive urge into harmless actions, men can substitute nonviolent rivalries for military ones.

Specialists may quibble about one or another of Ardrey's interpretations. Theoretically, much still needs to be done before we can even pretend to satisfy the ancient injunction to "know thyself." But *The Territorial Imperative* is a good place to start, and hopefully it will be widely read, especially in Washington, D.C.

## Progress East of the Berlin Wall

***The Muted Revolution: East Germany's Challenge to Russia and the West*, by Welles Hangen (Knopf, 231 pp. \$5.95), maintains that nationalism is a stronger force than Communism in the German Democratic Republic. Henry C. Wolfe, whose books include "The German Octopus: Hitler's Bid for World Power," recently returned from his annual visit to Germany.**

By HENRY C. WOLFE

**D**URING his June visit to Moscow President de Gaulle was urged to recognize the German Democratic Republic. "East Germany," the French President reminded his Soviet hosts, "is only an artificial creation of yours." He spoke the truth; yet, as Welles Hangen notes, the DDR "has already survived longer than the Weimar Republic or Hitler's 'thousand-year' Reich." It continues to be a source of friction between East and West, its West Berlin enclave a potential scene of crisis.

The DDR is little understood by the world at large. Its supporters portray it as a haven of democracy, justice, and peace, a progressive state that will soon overtake the Federal Republic in economic competition. East Germany's enemies picture it as a combination prison and poorhouse, governed by Soviet stooges and ex-Nazis.

In *The Muted Revolution* Mr. Hangen, former Bonn bureau chief of the National Broadcasting Company, has written the most illuminating report on East Germany yet to appear in English. He modestly calls his book a "collection of vignettes of East German life . . . and sketches of Bonn and Berlin." Throughout, he draws sharp profiles of leaders. West Germans will hardly like what he writes about the state they term "The Zone." Nor will the Soviets find it any more to their taste.

Mr. Hangen looks on this little-known country between the Elbe and the Oder as one of the "most important in Europe and indeed in the world." The reviewer goes along with that opinion. Conceivably, it could prove the locale of a confrontation between East and West, or it could lead to a "Rapallo" between Bonn and Moscow. The author quotes a writer who describes the German Democratic Republic as "a white Tibet in the heart of a wide-open world."

One wonders whether Moscow understands its East German satellite—the "new Prussia"—any better than the West does. Despite the propaganda warfare between the DDR and West Germany, and occasional deadly gunfire across their border, they may eventually surprise both East and West. Mr. Hangen notes that "German Communism is becoming cautiously German." If the two German states "are around after another generation," he conjectures,



"I'm a rat-race dropout."

"they may find they have more in common with each other than either has with its present allies." Such a postulate, of course, assumes that Ulbricht, the current DDR boss—the Communist "apparatchik par excellence"—will be followed by nationalists who call themselves Communists.

Strange to report, trade between the two Berlins has expanded; since 1949 West Germany has concluded more than 150 separate agreements with a state whose legal existence it continues to deny. The two fire departments in Berlin "exchange information and occasionally join in fighting a blaze near the Wall," and the police departments have cooperated against criminals. If all this seems paradoxical, remember that, when the Nazis were attacking the Weimar Republic, Ulbricht, a Communist deputy in the Reichstag, "continued to vilify the Social Democrats as the 'main enemy' until Hitler seized power."

The Kremlin keeps on milking East Germany. Last December Erich Apel, "a Communist who put East Germany's own interests above those of the Soviet Union," committed suicide rather than accept the extortionate terms Moscow demanded—and got—in a new trade agreement. The Russians have some twenty-two divisions stationed in the

DDR and, militarily, the Ulbricht régime is completely dependent on them. Nevertheless, judging from the increasing nationalism in the DDR and the rising influence of younger leaders, "the fate of Germany will henceforth be decided not only in Moscow, Washington, London, Paris, and Bonn, but in East Berlin as well." Today, the author concludes after observing the evolutionary trends in the two states, both parts of Germany are in flux.

East Germany's economic gains are all the more striking in view of Soviet profiteering and the DDR's scarcity of raw materials. To illustrate its outstanding industrial progress, the author points out that in per capita chemical output East Germany boasts it is second only to the United States. It is also "a leading producer of machine tools, optical goods, office equipment, railway cars, and ceramics." Its Leipzig Trade Fair draws visitors from many countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany. Most anti-Communist East Germans, Mr. Hangen explains, take a kind of Teutonic pride in the industrial achievements of their state.

Americans may not realize that the three Allied sectors of Berlin "cover more ground than Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and San Francisco combined."

Together, these sectors now constitute one of Europe's most flourishing tourist centers. The "body politic called 'Berlin' may be severed and sundered, even mangled and mutilated, but it has survived and begun slowly growing back together."

The DDR is part of Eastern Europe, an area now "subject to more severe nationalist chills and fevers than at any time since the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire." The "muted revolution" in the Soviet Zone of Germany is but one symptom of coming change in a strategically significant region whose direction baffles East and West.



**Battle of Britain, 1917-18:** Most laymen, including this one, have believed that the first great air attack on a giant city took place between July and December 1940, in what Winston Churchill named the Battle of Britain. But most laymen, including this one, were dead wrong. In 1917 and 1918 a daredevil squadron of German pilots flew almost 500 sorties by day and by night against the greater London area, with such deadly effect that almost 1,000 Britons were killed and nearly 2,000 injured under a rain of 111,935 kilograms of *Luft-streitkräfte* bombs. (This takes in the Zeppelin raids, which were far more spectacular but were drops in the bloody bucket of casualties, destruction, and, above all, damage to civilian morale in Great Britain.)

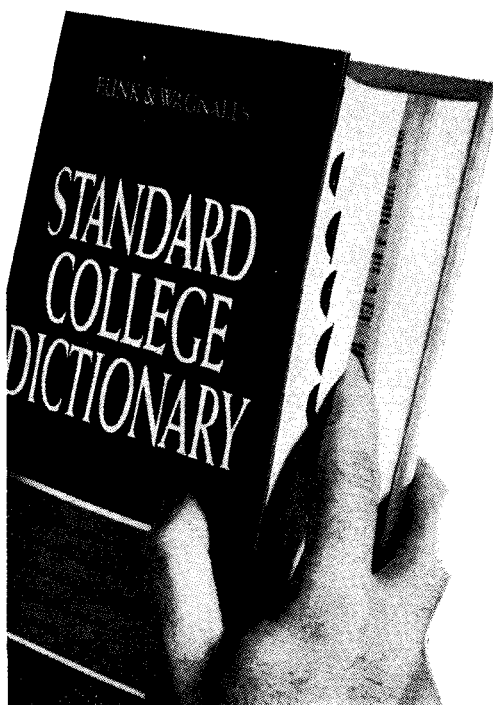
Major Raymond H. Fredette flew more than thirty combat missions with the 8th Air Force in World War II. His incisive description of the epoch-making fire raids and bombardment on London during the last two years of World War I is a revelation. Moreover, *The Sky on Fire* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, \$6.50) is punctuated with seven sections of photographs, a few of them rare German air pictures taken from the Kaiser's planes as they bombed London by daylight.

These incredible flights in primitive open aircraft were made at freezing, thin-air altitudes by intrepid German flyers, sometimes strapped to turrets, wings, and engines, whose accuracy with 2,000-pound bombs was less impressive than their courage. They flew mostly Gothas or Giants, while the British defenders sent up Sopwith Camels and a few Handley Pages. All together there were fifty-one raids by airships or Zeppelins and fifty-two by airplanes; the casualties averaged just under fifty Britons per attack.

*The Sky on Fire* is indispensable to any serious student of the Great War. The reader can only be grateful to Major Fredette, whose book, as Hanson W. Baldwin points out in his foreword, "fills a gap in history."

—RICHARD L. TOBIN.

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