

real revolutions of 1848 signified the decline of the ideal of fraternity and the advent of the ideal of equality. Nationalists became less glamorous than socialists as the vanguard shifted from thinking of political revolutions to dreaming of social transfigurations. Billington is as true to the complexities of the growth of socialism as to those of nationalism. He finds nothing inevitable in the triumph of the Marxist version of socialism over that of Proudhon, whom he clearly favors. He also knows that a number of factors, especially the organizational triumphs of German Social Democracy and the violent activism of Russian revolutionaries, had to combine to enable Lenin, "the master builder," to triumph in 1917 and therewith to produce "the first major break in the basic unity of

European civilization since Luther." No summary can do justice to so vast a canvas as Billington has painted. Yet the virtues of this book do not depend solely on the author's assiduity in telling the story. Perhaps more important is the perspective he employs. In his focus on revolutionaries, he is dealing with men and women who are all too frequently the objects of left-wing hagiography or right-wing hysteria. It has been nearly a century since Marx died, for example, and we still do not possess an adequate understanding of the man and the "ism" he spawned. By steadfastly reserving his commitment to the spirit of rational inquiry, Billington helps us greatly in overcoming the partisanship that has beclouded our attempts to comprehend the revolutionary past. His book will be impossible to ignore with impunity. □

of China have become commonplace, such tidings from the academy, which surely finds them unpalatable, have been rare indeed. However unpleasant Rood's thesis may be, it offers the only satisfactory explanation of otherwise inexplicable Soviet activities. No less an authority than the Department of Defense's *United States Military Posture for FY 1980* admits that the Soviets' military capacity seems "far out of proportion to any rational calculation of their defense needs." The CIA's director of strategic research recently testified that the Soviet Union's military spending last year was about 50 percent greater than U.S. spending. When one considers that the Soviet economy (in rubles) is only 40 percent the size of the U.S. economy, the levels of Soviet military spending are staggering. Even more alarming are reports that the Soviets are on the verge of technological breakthroughs in ballistic missile defenses, primarily in the area of beam weapons. Recent reports also indicate that the Soviets have resumed testing of radar in an ABM mode, in clear violation of the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty. Soviet superiority in manpower, as well as in conventional and strategic weapons, continues to grow.

Rood provides a stark analysis of the erosion of the U.S. strategic position in recent years. Directing his attention to Cuba, the Mediterranean, and Europe, he argues that each

successive crisis in these theaters "has reduced the freedom of action of the West to wage effective war, while increasing the Soviet capacity to do so."

According to conventional wisdom, the United States "won" the Cuban Missile Crisis, averting war by forcing the Soviets to remove nuclear

**KINGDOMS OF THE BLIND**  
Harold W. Rood / Carolina Academic Press / \$14.95

Terry O'Rourke

*Kingdoms of the Blind* has a disturbing theme: the dangerous inclination of democratic peoples to dismiss the possibility of war. Professor Rood argues that the foreign policies and defensive strategies of the West are all too often based on the conviction that the constitutional rule of law which restricts the exercise of power and the application of force *within* a democracy also extends to activities *outside* its borders. This of course ignores the fact that the precepts of democracy and constitutional government are seldom found to work within the international community; totalitarian regimes—convinced of both the ubiquity of politics and the undeniable truth of their ideologies—have no reason to exercise restraint in compelling the weak to conform to these "truths." Simply put, democratic principles are not universally applicable. In its myopia, however, the West prefers to abandon prudence and caution for what Rood terms "optimistic inaction, adroit rhetoric, and strategic carelessness."

Rood's study deals with the West's  
*Terry O'Rourke practices law in Southern California.*

two major confrontations this century with totalitarian states: World War II and the U.S.-Soviet rivalry. The story of the West's tragic appeasement of Hitler is too well known to require discussion here. Of greater import is Rood's contention that U.S. policies toward the Soviets should not ignore the lessons taught by the folly of appeasement, not because history repeats itself, but because the imprudent behavior of democracies seems repetitious.

And the paramount lesson is that foreign and defense policy must be grounded in a realistic acceptance of the possibility of war. In Rood's words: "Military policy cannot be based on sentiments for peace however lofty those sentiments may seem. Military policy must fit the requirements for successful strategy and successful strategy does not derive from the notion that war is impossible."

Professor Rood believes that the Soviet Union is preparing for war, and that a successful United States policy must be based upon recognition of this reality. Although similar warnings from the People's Republic

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weapons from Cuba, thereby opening all manner of opportunities for détente and arms control agreements. Rood contends, however, that in resolving the crisis, the United States in effect recognized Cuba's status as a Soviet protectorate by providing assurances against an invasion of the island.

These assurances were supposedly matched by Soviet promises to keep

offensive weapons and Russian bases off the island. Beginning in 1969, however, with the visit of a naval squadron equipped with missiles capable of delivering a nuclear war-head 450 miles, the Soviet Union has expanded its military presence in Cuba. By 1970 Soviet Komar-class missile boats were reported operating off Key Biscayne, Florida, and equipment specifically associated

with Soviet Yankee-class nuclear missile submarines was being installed on the south coast of Cuba. By 1978 it was reported in London that the Soviets were constructing nuclear submarine pens at Cienfuegos, and had shipped strategic missiles to the island. By 1978 the Soviets also had more than 20 TU-95B long-range bombers stationed at Cuban bases, and had introduced MiG-23s, capable

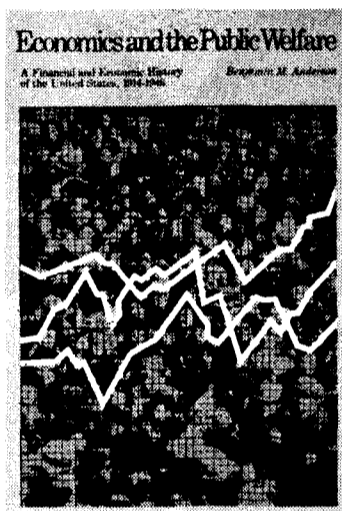
of delivering nuclear weapons, to the island. Step by probing step, and without meaningful opposition from the United States, the Soviets have broken the commitments made in 1962; as of today the Monroe Doctrine, in effect, has been abrogated. And Castro, secure with the United States' assurances against invasion and the presence of some 12,000 of his Soviet compatriots, feels free to dispatch the core of his army abroad.

Professor Rood asserts that the Cuban situation illustrates the U.S. reluctance to consider war a possibility; hence, the consequent U.S. neglect of strategy. Cuba's location provides it with control of sea routes to the Panama Canal, and passage through the Florida Straits, the Windward Passage, the Yucatan Channel, and the old Bahama Channel. As early as 1762, the British capture of Havana cut communications between old and new Spain. Now, in the event of a European war, Soviet air and naval forces operating from Cuba could disrupt all troop and supply shipments to Europe. To eliminate this threat the United States would have to divert virtually all of the land, naval, and air forces now intended to reinforce NATO. As Rood notes, the very essence of strategy is "to force one's enemy to defend that which he has no choice but to defend in areas away from the principal theater of war, while one's own forces concentrate to achieve a decision in that theater of war where the outcome of battle will decide the outcome of war." In view of long-term strategic gains, it is the Soviets who have emerged as the clear winners of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The strategic situation in the Mediterranean, and its consequences in the event of war in Europe, is equally bleak. It is commonly accepted that Yugoslavia is a nonaligned nation, and since the late 1940s the West has supported Yugoslavian independence. Western apprehensions are warranted. As the *Christian Science Monitor* reported in 1976: "If the Soviets seized Yugoslavia they would control the Dalmation Coast with excellent warm water ports for their Mediterranean squadron and ample bases for their air arms. . . . The Southern flank of NATO would be exposed. All of Western Europe would be shaken and endangered."

A dramatic shift in Yugoslav-Soviet relations occurred in 1973 during the Yom Kippur War when Yugoslav land bases, ports, and air bases were made available to the Soviets to support resupply of the Egyptians. This was not an isolated incident. As

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By Benjamin M. Anderson

"In the direct handling of economic life, governments are usually clumsy and ineffective. In economic life their main business should be that of a traffic cop, not that of a driver, and above all not that of a back-seat driver," says the author of this insightful history. The wisdom of his viewpoint is confirmed by Dr. Anderson's careful account of American financial and economic events beginning before World War I and ending with the Bretton Woods Conference after World War II.

Benjamin M. Anderson taught economics at Columbia, Harvard, and the University of California. He was an economist for the Chase Manhattan Bank and for many years edited the *Chase Economic Bulletin*. Hardcover \$10.00, Paperback \$4.50

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late as 1977 "non-aligned" Yugoslavia, along with North Korea and Czechoslovakia, was still acting as a freight-handler for Soviet arms shipments to the Mideast. Other signs of a Belgrade-Moscow rapprochement include construction of airfields for use by Soviet military transports, and establishment of a Soviet coastal battery at Rogoznica and a command center at Valjevo. As of 1978, Yugoslavia was servicing Soviet submarines, the first instance of a non-Warsaw Pact country overhauling Soviet warships. This new and warm relationship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union—not yet comprehended in the West—can only raise doubts about how "nonaligned" Yugoslavia would remain in a future European war.

Worse still, the Soviet presence in the Mediterranean now extends beyond Yugoslavia to Libya, which has been receiving massive shipments of Soviet arms, including tanks, MiG-23s, MiG-25s, TU-22 bombers, Fox-trot submarines, and Osa-II class missile patrol boats. Barely ten years ago, British and U.S. warships could use the harbors at Benghazi, Tripoli, and Tobruk, and their aircraft could stage in and out of Libyan air bases. Today, only Soviet warships and aircraft enjoy access to these facilities.

The strategic relationship of North Africa and the Mediterranean to the defense of Western Europe became evident during World War II, when the Allies' success in regaining these areas exposed all of Southern Europe to Allied operations. But as Rood notes, "What the Axis had to expend in men, ships, and aircraft, to seize in the Mediterranean during World War II, [has] fallen to the Soviet Union or its hirelings virtually unnoticed and through default. Should war come to Europe, Soviet resources need not be expended to secure the Mediterranean but can be invested elsewhere to secure even greater strategic advantage."

Soviet strategic gains have not been limited solely to the periphery of Europe; dramatic shifts have also taken place in the Central European theater. Rood's discussion of the strategic implications of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia raises justifiable concerns. In contrast to previous Soviet interventions, 1968 marked the first time that a Warsaw Pact army—with Soviet ground and air elements, East German motorized and armored divisions, Polish and Hungarian troops, and elements of the Bulgarian army—acted to safeguard purely Soviet

interests. Since then, five Soviet divisions, including two armored divisions, have remained in Czechoslovakia. As the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe admitted at the time, "The military balance in Central Europe has been significantly altered to the disadvantage of the West. Soviet troops are much further west than at any time in recent years." The general's concern with

the West's military weakness was not widely shared. James Reston, for example, comfortably observed that while the "men in the Kremlin can bully and betray an ally . . . this squalid business in Prague is not a sign of Soviet strength but a dramatic confession of moral and political weakness."

Views like Reston's are a necessary counterpart to the West's persistent

optimism that war is not possible; it remains to be demonstrated just how the West has benefitted strategically from such demonstrations of Soviet "weakness." Meanwhile, as the West faces ever increasing Soviet capabilities and the erosion of its own strategic position, the Carter Administration—when not temporarily disconcerted by Soviet armored brigades in Cuba or invasions of Afghanistan

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—takes comfort in détente and SALT, oblivious to the Soviet view that détente is merely a reflection of the West's weakness ("a result of the great shift of balance of world power in favor of socialism"), or that SALT symbolizes the West's formal admission that the Soviets have won the arms race.

As unpopular as it may be, Professor Rood's solution to the West's

plight is the obvious one: The United States must augment and expand its military forces as if in preparation for a real war, so that its capabilities in each key theater—the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, and Europe—will match and deter the Soviets' strength in these regions.

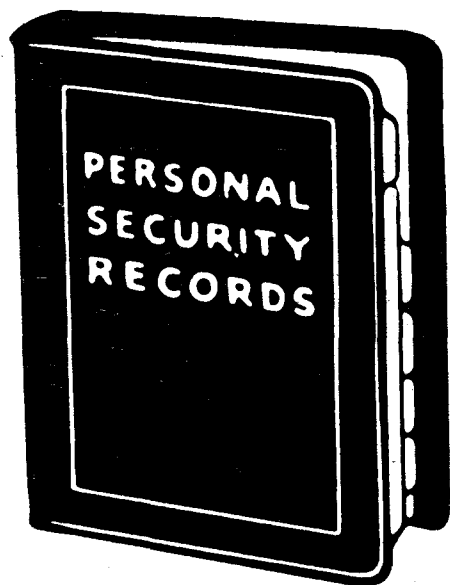
It is only fitting that *Kingdoms of the Blind* inaugurates the Winston S. Churchill Association's series, "Studies in Statesmanship," for it was Churchill who, in 1946, warned

that: "From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as

strength and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness." □

CORRESPONDENCE OF F. SCOTT FITZGERALD  
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This new volume of Scott Fitzgerald's correspondence is intended to supplement the three volumes of letters that have appeared so far. In fact, what we have here are the leavings from those previous siftings—to wit, the Andrew Turnbull selection, *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (1963), far and away the most important; the selection from Fitzgerald's correspondence with Max Perkins, *Dear Scott / Dear Max* (1971); and the correspondence between Fitzgerald and his agent, Harold Ober, *As Ever, Scott Fitz*—(1972). None of the letters in those three volumes has been reprinted here.

Although this new collection should have a wider appeal than the collections restricted to author and editor and author and agent, I wonder if the letters won't detract more from Fitzgerald's reputation than they add to it. While they do not bring into question the fact that Fitzgerald at his best was very good indeed, they certainly do play havoc with the romantic notion that Fitzgerald was somehow not to blame for the mess he made of his life, that he was simply a victim of the economic depression of the thirties and the concomitant change in literary values. One may argue, of course, that Fitzgerald was unfortunate in having achieved an easy success (with *This Side of Paradise*) at so early an age, a success which enabled him to contract a disastrous marriage to Zelda Sayre. But then one must also remember that his marriage, horrible though it must have been, provided him with his main source of subject matter.

The most interesting—and painful—of these letters are those to and from Zelda, particularly those written after Zelda's first breakdown in 1930. In a long letter from 1930 (which may

*William H. Nolte is C. Wallace Martin Professor of English at the University of South Carolina.*

not have been sent), for example, Scott lists his grievances, bitterly recalling the injuries inflicted and sustained:

You were gone now—I scarcely remember you that summer. You were simply one of all the people who disliked me or were indifferent to me. I didn't like to think of you—You didn't need me and it was easier to talk to or rather at Madame Bellois and keep full of wine. . . . You were going crazy and calling it genius—I was going to ruin and calling it anything that came to hand. . . . Toward the end nothing much mattered. The nearest I ever came to leaving you was when you told me that I was a fairy in the Rue Palatine but now whatever you said aroused a sort of detached pity for you. . . . I wish the Beautiful and Damned had been a maturely written book because it was all true. We ruined ourselves—I have never honestly thought that we ruined each other.

The accusation that Scott had homosexual tendencies obviously stung, although it is easy to see how Zelda might have arrived at such an improbable conclusion. In that same year Zelda wrote Scott a long (about 3000 words) letter from Prangins Clinic in Switzerland in which she enumerates the ugly details of their first ten years together, years in which their jealousy of one another drove them apart even as it bound them together in mutual loathing. Something had to break, of course, and it did. Eventually, Scott lost interest in Zelda except as a ward for whom he felt responsible, and Zelda spent her remaining years in mental institutions.

Incidentally, Zelda's letters written after the initial rupture have a touching poignancy, as when she wrote: "My mind stumbles about the shadows of your room and thinks of nothing at all except that you were there a week ago." Or this: "I want to go to fabulous places where there is absolutely no conception of the ultimate convergence of everything." At times she reminds me of Emily Dickinson: "The weather does its eccentricities, and now its cold, and