

Museum of the Church of Santa Croce—Mud still covers the floors of this storchouse of priceless four-teenth-century frescoes. Its Cimabue crucifix suffered irreparable damage from the devastating flood.

FLORENCE: AFTER THE FLOOD

By VICTOR and ELIZABETH VELEN

FLORENCE, ITALY. THE WATERS of the Arno that rose so swiftly and silently during the night of November 3 and 4 cut deeply into not only the narrow streets of the historic center of Florence, but also into the life and soul of this city. For Florence is above all a city of small artisans and shopkeepers, of jewelers, leather workers, weavers, wool carders, woodworkers, and their little shops, an estimated 6,000 of which have been ruined. As no meaningful value can be placed on the Cimabue crucifix in the Museum of Santa Croce, which for twelve hours was largely submerged in

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brackish, oily water and is destroyed beyond repair—70 per cent of its color gone—no estimate in dollars and cents can be placed on the disappearance of this city's ancient tradition of artisanship, which had been gradually restored in the years since World War II and which now must be revived by a generation twenty years older.

The new has suffered with the old, the growing prosperity of the last few years along with the invaluable medieval and Renaissance Palatina and Magliabechian codices, stamped with the seal of the Medicis, which had formed the treasured core of the tragically hit Biblioteca Nazionale, the National Library of Florence. The gravity of the losses in every field cannot yet be appraised definitively. Officials of the commune

and directors of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, guardians of the city's art treasures, say the work of reconstruction and restoration will take years.

But there is another side to the tale of the Florence flood. As the work of salvage continues, the miracle of the Ponte Vecchio, whose medieval structure withstood the full force of the current, has its counterpart in the remarkable spirit of the Florentines—the spirit of the Renaissance 500 years dormant. With the general breakdown of authority and the total strangulation of the city's facilities at the height of the emergency, the people fell back on their own resources with courage, calm, and patience.

From early morning until night on Friday, November 4, while the water rose steadily in the district of Santa Croce in which we live—to reach a height of more than twenty feet-and each building became an island cut off from its neighbors and the city, the people waited. There was no sound but the sound of rain, of water creeping into the stone crevices of the ancient palazzi, of the rush of the river in the streets around. There were no sirens, no boats, no church bells; the bell of Giotto's Campanile was silent, the bell of the Palazzo Vecchio (Signoria) struck only the time. The phones were dead; gas, electricity, and water had been shut off.

Then, as we ate by candlelight with fifty-four others stranded on the top floor of a fourteenth-century palazzo, out of the blackness all around, the soul of the city began to stir. People shouted messages from house to house, bocca a bocca, in relay to the Palazzo Vecchio, where a squad of police was also pinned down by water. "Dite al Palazzo Vecchio," a voice would call and other voices repeat. . . "Tell the Palazzo Vecchio that the house on the corner of the Via dei Pepi and the Via dell' Agnolo is collapsing. No one is inside." And the answer came back the same way, "The Palazzo Vecchio has received your message. Pazienzal" This only means of communication continued throughout the night, plunging us back into the Middle Ages, when the alarm must have been given in this fashion during the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

The next morning in bright sunshine men, women, and children clambered out on the gently sloping, cantilevered, tiled roofs, bracing themselves with brooms and clinging for support to TV antennas. Ladders reached from roof to roof at right angles and split levels in the crazy quilt that is the roof of Florence itself, and bread and water passed from hand to hand to the accompaniment of the encouraging shouts of onlookers-"Bravissimo, coraggio, Carlo!" -and the scolding of wives-"Attenzione, Alberto, you'll break your head!"

When the water receded, leaving waist-high mud, the people emerged into the streets ahead of the authorities, forced their way into their shops, and began, with the aid of brooms, shovels. rakes, and their bare hands, the slow, painful work of salvage. Out of interiors blackened with naptha-which had been stored for the winter in cellars and, once liberated, ran through the streets with water and silt in a dark, ugly stream-they dug out, piece by piece, leather purses and wallets, woolens and lace, broken and twisted furniture. At a silver factory in the Piazza Santa Croce a woman stood knee deep in mud for two days, reaching down with elbowlength white gloves to extract tiny pieces of silver and mosaic jewelry. Along the terribly battered stretch of the Lungarno Acciaioli shopowners were washing

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The painstaking work of restoration-A Basilian monk of the Institute for Restoration determines what can-and should-be restored, the first stage in reclaiming thousands of priceless treasures.





A delicate art—(Left) Tiny pieces of manuscript are placed on a slide for examination under a microscope. (Right) Parchment is treated by a special process.

An eighteenth-century engraving saved—So serious was the damage and so difficult is the restoration that the work may go on for many years.



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Thought for the New Year

▶ INCE 1945 there have been at least six wars, each of which has carried within it the potentiality of far wider conflict. A war in Vietnam has already cost hundreds of thousands of lives and is becoming larger with each passing month. The United Nations has not been effective in preventing or stopping this conflict because it involves a major nation. The United Nations was not designed to have authority over major nations or to enact or enforce or interpret world law. With all its weaknesses, the U.N. is still the world's best hope for peace, but it cannot make this world less precarious or fragile than it is unless it can transcend the differences of its major members and define a standard binding on all.

If the world is looking for a New Year's resolution for 1967 that is completely relevant, why not resolve to develop the United Nations into an organization with the balanced powers of world law? More specifically, why not federalize the U.N.?

Everything else has been tried and has failed. Security through nuclear monopoly has been tried. It failed. Security through alliances such as NATO and SEATO has been tried. It failed. Security through balance of power has been tried. It failed.

Why not a United Nations raised to the level of a world federation with authority to eliminate the existing world anarchy and provide a basis for rational relationships among nations? If men have to be governed, the same is even more true of nations. No crime committed by an individual begins to compare with the crimes of nations.

What are the principles of world federalism? How would a federalized United Nations differ from what it is now?

WORLD federalism is a way of systematically applying the lessons of history and of human intelligence to the most persistent problem on earth. That problem is the prevention of explosive international tensions. That problem becomes particularly acute at a time when destructive force is the cheapest and most plentiful commodity known to man.

World federalism is a way of extending the fundamental ideas of the men who designed the United States, and adapting them to the problems of today's disorganized world—a world that lacks any basic structure or vehicle for meeting the needs of the people who inhabit the world community,

World federalism is a way of using the basic principles of government to define the obligations of nations in the world arena, and to provide workable means to effect compliance.

World federalism is a way of putting common sense into sovereignty. It does this by making essential distinctions. Sovereignty that takes the form of jurisdiction over a nation's institutions, ideas, and culture is a legitimate exercise of sovereignty. Sovereignty that takes the form of unilateral actions or decisions in the world community, affecting or endangering other peoples, is an illegitimate manifestation of sovereignty.

World federalism makes it possible to tell the difference between the two. It protects legitimate sovereignty and makes it more meaningful. It outlaws illegitimate sovereignty and acts against it. The separation of powers between the world authority and the individual national units; the provision of effective safeguards against the unilateral use of national power, operating through statutory authority and due process of law—this is what world federalism is all about.

THERE are some things that world federalism is not.

World federalism is not a super-government. Its authority is limited to common dangers and common needs. It is not an ideology. It doesn't attempt to tell individuals what to do or what to believe. It tells their nations how they must behave in their dealings with one another. It deprives nations of the means for letting loose a world holocaust. It provides the safeguards and common security that alone can make disarmament effective and possible.

World federalism is not an arbitration procedure. It has its prime effects long before interaction among nations reaches the stage at which it requires resolution. So long as nations arbitrarily and unilaterally pursue their national interests outside their countries, disputes and conflicts are inevitable. The way to avoid such disputes is to enact laws that clearly define the limits of a nation's freedom of movement and decision outside its own boundaries.

International disputes that call for resolution suggest situations in which two or more nations have conflicting interpretations of what is due them or what is right. Such arguments have not been the main cause of war in the past. Far more frequent and far more serious are the wars that have occurred because nations have been aggressive or criminal or have attempted to subvert or cheat their neighbors. In such cases, what is required is not so much a mechanism for the "resolution of disputes' as a world authority that can apply the machinery of law for dealing with violations when they occur, or, better still, for keeping the violations from occurring in the first place.

Finally, then, world federalism is workable world law. It derives its authority not just through a legislative structure but through the gravitational shift which places justice among nations rather than the absolute sovereignty of nations at its functional and philosophical center.

World federalism, if it comes into being, will represent the end of man's political adolescence. The way in which it is operated will be the test of his maturity.

-N.C.