

cred to the lords of the corporations, could be made to appear as little more than an ingenious job of profit-rigging. The First World War became nothing but a "bloody grab for profits." In fact, with the devastating aid of the pragmatism of William James and John Dewey and the theories of Sigmund Freud, all accepted values came to be debunked as mere cover-ups for particular greeds.

But when the idol-smashing was over, the liberals found themselves in an ironic plight. As a pioneer debunker, J. Allen Smith, expressed it: "The real trouble with us reformers is that we made reform a crusade against standards. Well, we smashed them all and now neither we nor anybody else have anything left."

This threat of moral nothingness cuts deeply indeed. It has been one of the gravest weaknesses in liberal thinking on the problems of war and peace. One illustration is Professor Goldman's own superficial dismissal of the League of Nations as an attempt to revive the liberalism of Grover Cleveland on a global scale. This view misinterprets not only what Wilson was striving for, but the very nature of the task of preserving peace.

How clever it seems to argue that the internationalism represented by the League of Nations was a method through which the nations on top organized to stay on top! But the same argument could be made against any policing body. The Second World War showed that the lack of an enforced international order could be more costly in lives and freedoms than almost any effective League would have entailed. The existence of law is no guarantee of justice, but can you have justice without cops?

As long as there was an established order to shelter them, the liberal reformers could indulge in the pursuit of happiness through discrediting all the established gods. But the essential problems of our times—essential in the stark sense that it is the problem of survival—is plainly one of building a new social order, with the emphasis on "order." That requires not only economic bricks but moral cement. An indignant conscience may be all one needs for tearing down. The construction of a new disciplining structure requires moral faith.

"Rendezvous with Destiny" is a history and, as such, does not try to pierce the future. But like all good histories it is rich in the raw materials for thinking through the questions liberals face today in this world which yearns for the stability of a new conservatism, even while it still fears the abuses of the old conservative order.

New Tricks & an Old Pioneer

SIDNEY HILLMAN: *Statesman of Labor*. By Matthew Josephson, New York: Doubleday & Co. 701 pp. \$5.

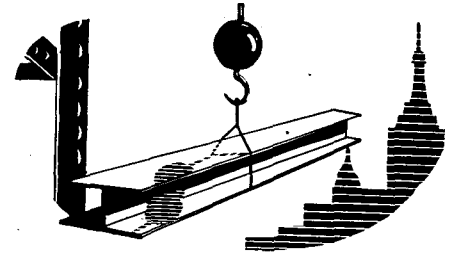
By FOSTER RHEA DULLES

IN quite a different vein from that in which he once wrote of industrial "robber barons" and scheming "politicos" of the latter part of the nineteenth century, Matthew Josephson presents in this latest of his many books a full-length portrait of a twentieth-century labor leader drawn with unconcealed sympathy and admiration. The Sidney Hillman that emerges from these crowded pages fully justifies Mr. Josephson's subtitle, "Statesman of Labor."

Hillman was a man, as his biographer clearly shows, of unusual stature and breadth of view. He was at once highly realistic in his approach to the immediate problems of unionism, wages and hours, and imbued with an idealistic vision of the world toward which all workers should aim—a world in which poverty and insecurity would be banished. His methods in pursuing both present and future objectives were in every case those of moderation and hard common sense, whether dealing with employers, rival unionists, or the Government. There were none who really knew him and his work to question his dedication to labor and his integrity.

This is not to say that Hillman was not personally ambitious, a very shrewd and sometimes opportunistic politician, and a tough fighter when the chips were down. Mr. Josephson, however, offers constant evidence that he kept his sights high and refused to compromise with principle. If his primary concern was his own union membership, and then the interests of organized labor as a whole, he sought always to promote a broader role for the workers in our modern industrial society not alone for their own sake, but as a development vitally important in strengthening American democracy.

The career of this Lithuanian-born immigrant is a new kind of American success story. Hillman neither held high political office nor achieved great riches, but he attained a position where he exercised an influence on American economic and political history dwarfing that of most politicians and captains of industry. The phrase used in attacking him during the 1944 election—President Roosevelt's word on the Vice-Presidential nomination: "Clear it with Sidney"—was in fact a sound measure of this great influence. For organized labor was in a



position to impose a veto on the Vice-Presidential nomination, and Hillman was its responsible spokesman. What might be described as the alliance between Roosevelt and Hillman was for their mutual political advantage.

Mr. Josephson has told the story of Sidney Hillman with meticulous detail: his boyhood in Lithuania, early experiences as an apprentice cutter in the men's garment industry, valiant efforts to organize his fellow workers in both sweatshops and factories, effective leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, important part in the formation of the CIO, promotion of labor political activity in support of the New Deal, contribution to such legislation as the NIRA and Fair Labor Standards Act, and Governmental activities with the National Defense Advisory Committee and the Office of Production Management.

Apart from the accounts of the sometimes bloody struggles of the garment workers in Chicago and New York to win recognition of their union and a decent standard of living (which have an inherent dramatic interest which Mr. Josephson develops skilfully), the highlights of this study are those chapters dealing with the upsurge of labor during the early days of the New Deal, the part played by Hillman in the strange story of John L. Lewis's resignation from the CIO, the former's role as confidential labor adviser to President Roosevelt, and the complicated maneuvering at the Democratic convention in 1944. Mr. Josephson is here at his best, and his sources have enabled him to shed new light on these phases of labor history. His book is, indeed, a good deal more than biography. Hillman played so important a role in the developments of the 1930's and 1940's that this comprehensive and authoritative record of his life is also a very interesting account of the rise of organized labor as a new focus of power in present-day America.

Foster Rhea Dulles is professor of history at the Ohio State University. His writings include "Labor in America: A History."

The Black Hand Reaches Out

MAFIA. By Ed Reid. New York: Random House. 238 pp. \$3.

By MALCOLM JOHNSON

REPORTER Ed Reid, whose exposé of the corrupt police-book-maker alliance in New York won a Pulitzer Prize for the *Brooklyn Eagle* in 1950, here spins a fantastic and fearful tale of a super-world government of criminals known as the Mafia, a secret society originating in Sicily and which now supposedly controls all organized crime throughout the world. This empire of crime, as the headline writers like to call it, enforces its rule by systematic murder and terrorism and has such vast wealth and power that it is represented in all formal government levels.

It is a far-fetched, lurid theory, and controversial even as a theory, rejected by many law enforcement agencies. The menace of organized crime to good government is terrifyingly real, but it is at least debatable that all organized crime can be attributed to any one organization, whether it is called the Mafia, or anything else. Consequently, conservative official crime investigators often express the opinion that the Mafia is largely mythical, although they agree that the term is used loosely to describe syndicated crime, which is real enough.

Mr. Reid concedes this skepticism on the part of law enforcement officials, but bravely adds that top crime reporters "know more about the Mafia and its threat to America than any law enforcement group in the country." That's a big order, and I doubt it, but Reid evidently subscribes wholeheartedly to the idea of this monstrous, all-powerful secret criminal society dominated by gangsters of Italian origin, and with its crime capital, as he puts it, still in Sicily. He attributes virtually every gang murder in the last fifty years to the so-called Mafia members in one way or another, and says that Mafia representatives were behind most of the U.S. Government scandals of the last few years.

Reid gives gory, documented details on a long list of murders and attributes them all to the Mafia. He obviously cannot prove Mafia responsibility, any more than the police have, but appears to accept it on belief, or

faith, and he makes many other sweeping, sensational statements in the same way. Thus the book is long on sensation and necessarily short on documentation for the over-all premise.

The author says that the Mafia, whose members take a secret, blood oath, enforces a code of silence. He writes: "The Mafia and its worldwide criminal organization live and die by this code. Under it has grown up and flourished a super-government of crime that is more powerful than any formally constituted government on earth, because it is immortal. A treasury of billions is at the disposal of members of the inner council of the Mafia, men who have come up through the ranks of crime. The high priests of the Mafia are, without exception, Sicilian or of Sicilian origin. Every continent on earth has a governing board of Mafia members who rule all organized criminals, listen to their arguments and dispense justice, which may take the form of a grant of money or a sentence of death. The power of the Mafia is not entirely in its wealth but in its ability to kill anyone, anywhere, at any time.

"The ability of the Mafia to push the button marked 'vendetta' and kill a man anywhere on earth has been demonstrated in this country many times."

After attempting to trace the origin of the Mafia to medieval Sicily, Reid lists eighty-three names as represent-

ing the "Phi Beta Kappa," the top members of the Mafia in the United States. The list is headed by Vito Genovese, a criminal now living in luxury in New Jersey, and includes such now familiar figures as Frank Costello, Joe Adonis, and other luminaries of the Kefauver Senate Crime Investigating Committee hearings. Reid identifies Genovese, who has miraculously escaped murder conviction, as the absolute boss of the Mafia in this country, whereas the more publicized Costello does not even make the grade as a member of the "Grand Council," which Genovese supposedly heads.

Perhaps the most startling and certainly the best documented part of this book is the detailed disclosure of Genovese's activity as a trusted aide in the Allied Military Government in Italy during the latter part of the war, while he was a fugitive from the United States on a murder indictment.

Testimony appended to the book shows that Genovese was warmly recommended as a sterling character by American officers in the AMG and that he received these recommendations, in writing, while he was conducting huge black market operations in American supplies.

Moreover, the testimony shows that the AMG was strangely reluctant to release Genovese for return to the United States to face trial for murder. In fact, the return of this criminal was delayed in Italy until after the last key witness against him on the murder charge had died mysteriously in



—Acme.

Charles (Lucky) Luciano on his way to Sing Sing—"behind . . . Government scandals (?)"

Malcolm Johnson is a staff member of the International News Service and author of "Crime on the Water Front."