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## *The New Deal Disemboweled*

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEW DEAL, by Benjamin Stolberg & Warren Jay Vinton. \$1. 5½ x 7½; 85 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

OF ALL the books which have been written about the New Deal this is clearly the most profound and the most brilliant. Its onslaught upon the policies of the Brain Trust, which in essence are "nothing but a well-intentioned synthesis of errors," is devastating. But the book is more than a withering critique of the colossal fraud now being perpetrated over the land by the Roosevelt administration. It is a terrific polemic against the present social order, and against all the college-bred ignoramuses and seminary-trained cowards who are trying to make pie out of what is and always was mud. Messrs. Stolberg and Vinton have composed, in the space of what is little more than a pamphlet, an analysis of American and world capitalism and of its sycophants and placemen, which for sheer power of invective and trenchancy of argument marks a new advance in the polemic literature of the United States.

The basic trouble with Mr. Roosevelt is that he "has the kind of open mind which accepts with equal hospitality the most contradictory views and the most irreconcilable facts." He wants to bring peace and plenty to the common people, and he also wants to keep the profit system intact. He does not see that "under capitalism, not man but property is free and equal," that "the vital concern of Big Industry is to

prevent an abundance of goods from flooding the market," and that "depression is the necessary consequence of capitalist prosperity." In other words, we cannot have both the profit system and a decent communal life. No real New Deal is possible "unless at every moment and at every move the arrogance of Big Ownership is deflated, its morale beaten down, its economic power defied, and its social control implacably resisted. . . . Big Business has to be 'distributed' if the rest of us are to make a living." There is no other way out. The battle going on in capitalist society all over the world is an open one, for all to see. It is between Big Ownership and the rest of us. It is the class struggle, and he who denies it denies his mind. No enduring comradeship between the infinitesimal minority of owners and the vast and silent majority of workers, manual or professional, is possible. The dreadful futility of social work, now patent even to social workers, has proven that for all time. But apparently Mr. Roosevelt, that boy scout with the chorus girl grin, has not learned the lesson. Say Messrs. Stolberg and Vinton:

The New Deal is merely the capture of government by "scientific" social work. It is merely a remodeling of the White House into a new Hull House. And the Brain Trusters are nothing but settlement workers who want the big bad bankers and the good little workers to play together in peace.

No such peace, to repeat, is possible. "Monopoly capitalism in its straining for profits undermines our economic life. It is inexorably driven to make anti-social decisions." It is forever robbing the pub-

lic of the just rewards of its industry. This has always been so, even in the Coolidge Golden Age. In 1929 the top 400,000 reporting income taxes had increased their revenue by from 76% to 234%, while the workers, over the entire period of 1923-1929, "increased their real earnings by only 4.9%."

Precisely what has the New Deal done to remedy this condition? "The N.R.A. still is, not a whit less than it was under the explosive régime of General Johnson, primarily a scarcity-mongering machine. Its whole purpose is the regulation of competitive greed, not the creation of more goods for consumption." And in regulating competitive greed, it has done very nicely by Big Ownership and nothing at all by the common man, whom President Roosevelt professes to admire so much. "In 1933, the first year of the New Deal, income taxpayers with less than \$10,000 per year saw their revenues *decrease* 5% in comparison with 1932. But the top 8,000, who had incomes of over \$50,000" *increased* their takings by from 10% to 46%. Mr. Roosevelt has undertaken many public projects, all of them, with the exception of the T.V.A., basically useless, but he did not have the foresight to pay for these projects out of inheritance taxes and increased taxation of the upper income brackets, both common practices in England, which is surely not a Socialist government. Mr. Roosevelt has paid for these projects by borrowing. So that "when the balance sheet of the New Deal is written up in 1937 the nation will find itself saddled with a public debt of 35 to 40 billion dollars—a first lien of Big Ownership on our descendants, if they are fools enough to stand for it."

The New Deal has really done nothing which a room-full of insane people or a violent natural force could not have done

at least equally well. "There is nothing the New Deal has so far done that could not have been done better by an earthquake. A first-rate earthquake, from coast to coast, could have reestablished scarcity much more effectively, and put all the survivors to work for the greater glory of Big Business—with far more speed and far less noise than the New Deal."

I have here only sketched the vast richness in this excellent book. I have no space to go into the authors' penetrating analysis of the rôle of the middle class, that sociological donkey, in contemporary economic life, and of the way in which the A.F. of L. has hoodwinked and swindled the American workers. Nor have I the space to describe in detail their disemboweling of all the Roosevelt panaceas, from the A.A.A. to the P.W.A. As a polemic, as invective, and as logic, "The Economic Consequences of the New Deal" clearly supersedes all that has so far been written about the Roosevelt hooey. Were society run by the power of thought, and not by the manipulations of charlatans, aided and abetted by the inertia of the masses, the present book would force the gang of idealistic fools in Washington out of the saddle at the next election.

CHARLES ANGOFF

### *A Good Book on Music*

THE VICTOR BOOK OF THE SYMPHONY, by Charles O'Connell. \$3.50. 6% x 9¼; 530 pp. New York: *Simon & Schuster*.

THE American people, as all students in the field know, are extremely illiterate in music. A nation of about 130,000,000 population, we have seldom been able to support a single opera house or symphony orchestra. The financial strait in which all musical organizations in the United States now find themselves is only an aggravated