in the 1930s to agitate for better, social conditions. The Jews have since made it into society, and the Negroes are right behind them breathing down their necks, resulting in a "Jewish-Negro confrontation." There is now an ad hoc alliance between Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York and other cities, and between Negroes and Mexicans in the south-western States. But for the present, the Negroes are more highly motivated, whereas the Spanish speaking peoples have more modest aims—they just want to make a better living than where they came from. The Negroes are going to make it—and we may then witness a "Negro-Spanish confrontation," as the latter start getting more ambitious.

Many Negroes see the current situation as a racial issue, black versus white. They have pressed for "black studies" in schools and universities on a scale that no other ethnic minority has had. They seek an identification with Africa and often refer to themselves as "Afro-Americans." They affect what they think are African styles of clothes and manners, but their view of Africans is romantic and unrealistic. While they are sharply conscious of Rhodesia and South Africa, they almost never speak of Nigeria and Biafra, as that collides with the dream of all black people as "Soul Brothers."

Many Black Americans think that poverty is their private possession, whereas there are more poor whites than blacks throughout the country (although it is true that there is a higher incidence of poverty among Negroes) but, because the whites are less visible, many of them in rural areas, and because they are "wasps" (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) nobody pays any attention to them. After all, wasps make up the "white power structure"!

The current crisis is basically an economic one, not a racial one, and it is time that both black and white saw it in that perspective. Negroes will make it—some will make it—into high society, and the basic problem of poverty will remain untouched. Puerto Ricans will start clamouring for some of the emoluments. And, since there do not seem to be enough emoluments to go around, many blacks, whites and Puerto Ricans will remain without.

Negroes are right to protest against discrimination because of skin colour; they are wrong to make skin colour the focus of their revolution. It is to be hoped that blacks will make use of their newly-felt power to rise above this superficial consideration. If blacks and whites can be persuaded to sit down together to discuss and solve their economic problems, then some good will have come out of all this ferment.

## Seeds of Treason

PAULINE DAY

IT MIGHT seem to be stretching a point to absurdity to suggest that the espionage work of Kim Philby and his co-spies, Burgess and Maclean, could possibly have anything to do with the economic and social problems arising from the mal-distribution of wealth in society—and yet this is so.

A recently published book\* lays bare the sorry state of the British security services during the period of Philby's activity, and there are times when one is stupified at the apparent disregard by those who are supposed to watch over our interests, of the men in their midst whose personal conduct alone should have aroused concern for our reputation, even if their treachery remained undetected. Their behaviour, however, seemed to evoke no more than a tolerant reprimand in diplomatic circles.

But it is in the origins of their conversion to Communism that this book reveals its most interesting side. Philby, Burgess and Maclean all belonged to a protected strata of society. Good family background, public school, Cambridge, the right clubs, the right friends, all were their prerogative. How was it that these men able as they were to earn a good living in Britain and

enjoy the privileges of the social group to which they belonged, were attracted and remained faithful to a philosophy dedicated to destroying such privileges? For these men seem to have been not merely spies for cash gain; they were so convinced by Communist theories that they believed their sordid occupation of long term treason was justified.

The answer lies, I think, in the formative undergraduate days. They were all at Cambridge during the early 1930s; they witnessed the suffering of the depression years and were obviously appalled that the rulers of the society to which they belonged could offer no solution to the poverty and distress of the working classes.

At about this time, a young man recently returned from a stay in Braunschweig prison (he had participated in a demonstration the Nazi-controlled police believed to be Communist inspired), started a Communist cell at Cambridge which operated through the university Socialist Club. Many of the young intellectuals joined its ranks, and Keynes, a leading figure at Cambridge at the time, was saddened to see so many of the young men, like the three who later became spies, attracted away from the Apostles (an elite society drawn from King's and Trinity which hitherto

<sup>\*</sup>Philby, the Spy Who Betrayed a Generation, by Bruce Page, David Leitch and Phillip Knightley, Penguin Books 7s. 6d.

had recruited the cream of the intellectuals) to swell the ranks of the Cambridge Communists.

An Apostle at the time of the depression wrote of the real sense of shock-above all, to those brought up more or less in the Establishment-as it became clear that nothing effective was to be done either about unemployment or the rapid breakdown of peace (the early rumblings of World War II were beginning to be heard): "It left me, for example, permanently an anarchist, at any rate in the sense that I never expected to find much decency or honesty in any government. And I can easily imagine that for men like Philby, Burgess and Maclean, the same disgust could lead on to more active 'treachery' as you evidently want to call it. It may deserve the name, but a good part of the blame lies with the Establishment, of which they were so much a part that their disgust with it was intensely personal . . . any government or state or society which fails to win for itself some measure of the generosity and loyalty natural to youth is in for grave trouble."

Is this not just what is happening today? We hear constantly of student unrest and reaction against the rules of our society. The dangers are not only that sloppy recruitment in the secret services may result in the employment of another Philby, but that the energy of today's youth, disillusioned with the economic palliatives propounded by both Left and Right will be harnessed by Communists to so work

## U.S. URBAN COMMISSION REPORT

FOLLOWING OUR COMMENTS on U.S. urban problems with particular reference to the Douglas Commission, in our March issue, a further report has now been released by the Commission relating to land costs. Entitled, "U.S. Land Prices-Direction and Dynamics," the report was prepared by Mrs. Grace Milgram, Assistant Director for Research of the Columbia University Institute of Urban Environment.

"In the course of transformation of land from rural to urban use," the report states, "enormous values are created which encourage speculative activities that reinforce the tendency toward higher prices. Higher prices, in turn, have an adverse effect on the possibility of producing low-cost housing, and the speculative holdings may create inefficient and otherwise undesirable land-use patterns." (p. 7.) Mrs. Milgram found developing land to be increasing in price from 10 to 15 per cent annually.

Raw land cost was singled out as the biggest factor in the rising cost of post-war housing. In the decade ending in 1966, the study shows that site costs rose from 14.2 per cent to 18.2 per cent of the total cost against us that our whole democracy could be destroyed.

We know that intelligent taxation could burst the dam of land monopoly that holds back the best use of our resources; that freedom of trade could multiply our productive effort; and that the abolition of legalised privilege and monopoly in all its forms would provide the opportunity for every man to better his lot and still keep his liberty. The application of these fundamental reforms would set free the troubled consciences of our youth, who know that something is wrong but have not the experience to see that Communism is not the answer.

If our leaders refuse to learn from the past and fail to make radical changes in economic policies which can be seen by the young to work, then, as the Apostle says, "any society which fails to win for itself some measure of the generosity and loyalty natural to youth is in for grave trouble."

## DEAD END

ET not young souls be smothered out before They do quaint deeds and fully flaunt their pride. It is the world's one crime its babes grow dull, Its poor are oxlike, limp and leaden-eyed. Not that they starve, but starve so dreamlessly, Not that they sow, but that they seldom reap, Not that they serve, but have no gods to serve, Not that they die, but that they die like sheep.

Vachel Lindsay, The Congo

of Federal Housing Administration insured singlefamily homes. (p. 56.)

Mrs. Milgram emphasises the almost primitive state of statistics available for analyzing land value changes and she urges much more research along the lines her study sketches out. To better control land prices, she points to three possible approaches: (1) manipulation of property taxes, income taxes and capital gains taxes to siphon off rising values of land in the path of development, (2) land-use controls to permit more intensive use of residential sites, and (3) creation of metropolitan area land reserves—with state or Federal help if necessary-from which sites could be sold or leased on terms suitable for the housing of lowincome families. (p. 8).

Mr. Douglas said the Commission has now "closed shop." Since completion of its essential mission last December, its Acting Director, Walter Rybeck, continued the publication of timely research reports, with co-operation from the Housing and Urban Development graphics and printing staffs. Several reports in addition to the sixteen now released are still at the printer. All these plus the five-volume Hearings and the Commission's major report, Building the American City, are available at the Government Printing Office.