

entertainment. "Nevertheless the American people have by and large been faithful to the obligation placed on them . . . and religious freedom has been preserved. Under this system of the separation of church and state . . . religious freedom has achieved in the United States a high estate unequalled anywhere else in the world: History has justified the great experiment and has proved the proposition on which it was based, that complete separation of Church and State is best for church and best for state, and secures freedom for both."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Pfeffer offers much of value and interest for those interested in the detailed workings of American institutions. He presents in an outstanding manner the Jeffersonian viewpoint on liberty; he has an excellent historical treatment of the development of the separation principle in the various States; his analysis of the renewal of this conflict as is evidenced in the Supreme Court's decisions in the *Everson*,<sup>5</sup> *McCullum*,<sup>6</sup> and *Zorach*<sup>7</sup> cases is particularly noteworthy; and his presentation of the specific beliefs of the various religious sects and denominations as they bore on the whole problem of church-state relations is an achievement.

Mr. Pfeffer ranges in time from antiquity to the contemporary and in space from one corner of the globe to the other. And he offers a thorough and exhaustive documentation for each and every suggestion made in the main body of his text. Unfortunately, however, one gets the impression that there are times when "the gentleman offereth too much" in pursuance of certain of his pet notions. Yet this reviewer would like to go on record as voicing his own appreciation for the author's lucid restatement of what is an undeniable and sustaining tenet of American democracy.

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RENEWING OUR CITIES. By Miles L. Colean. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1953. Pp. x, 181. \$2.50.

CITY planners and other students of urban problems long have searched for remedies for the ills of slums and blight that infect our cities. For almost two decades redevelopment has been advocated as an effective panacea. The redevelopment process involves a local public agency's purchasing slum land, replanning the area, demolishing the existing structures, and selling the land to private enterprise for rebuilding in accord with modern standards. Until recently, redevelopment was not economically feasible, primarily because of the

4. P. 605.

5. *Everson v. Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1 (1947).

6. *Illinois ex rel. McCollum v. Board of Education*, 333 U.S. 203 (1948).

7. *Zorach v. Clauson*, 343 U.S. 306 (1952).

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excessive cost of blighted properties. In 1949 Congress passed legislation providing capital grants and loans to finance local redevelopment programs. Under the Federal Housing Act of 1949, the Government will pay two-thirds of the difference between the cost of slum properties and the price the land cleared of substandard improvements will bring in the open market.<sup>1</sup> The other one-third must be paid by the local government in cash or in the form of public improvements.

Some experts hailed the advent of the federal slum clearance program as the turning point in modern urban development. They thought it promised to halt the decay of our cities and to revive our declining central areas. It was widely assumed that insurance companies, banks, and other financial institutions looking for dependable investments would rush in to take advantage of the public subsidies, and widespread city rebuilding gradually would take place. This assumption proved wrong. Today, four years after the passage of the Act, there are many local redevelopment programs and proposals, but very little actually has been accomplished or promises to be accomplished soon. The chief obstacle has been the difficulty of attracting private investment.

In *Renewing Our Cities*, Miles L. Colean takes a sharp, analytical look at the problems of slums and blight. He recognizes the fact that deterioration is merely a symptom of the basic problem: how are we to drain off the artificial property values created by permitting uncontrolled urban development in the past? He cites some convincing reasons why redevelopment has not yet accomplished what was hoped for, and he suggests the limits within which redevelopment ultimately can provide a solution. Finally, he proposes a specific program for the restoration of American cities to vital health.

At the outset, Colean clearly defines what he means by "the renewal problem." The problem occurs when the condition or location of a property is such that there is insufficient economic demand to justify the outlay which would be necessary to put it to productive use. This situation is contrasted with "the slum problem," which occurs where the condition or location of a property is such as to create substandard living conditions (or sanitary conditions and unsightliness in the case of commercial or industrial lands). Sometimes the renewal problem and the slum problem coincide. The author directs his attention primarily to the renewal problem in this concise, meaty little volume.

According to Colean's analysis, there is relatively little interest in investing in renewal of our cities for a wide variety of reasons. Because blight generally extends over entire districts, the resulting undesirable environment deters improvement of individual properties. Traffic congestion has caused decentralization of retail business and industry as well as residential development. Artificial political barriers between the central city and the suburbs hamper rational planning, government administration, and operation of public facilities and services. The central city must bear the cost of providing services for a vast non-taxpaying daytime population which sleeps in the suburbs.

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1. 63 STAT. 416 (1949), 52 U.S.C. § 1453 (Supp. 1952).

Because of widely dispersed ownerships, it is difficult to assemble sufficiently large tracts of land for building projects which conform with modern space standards. Property values in blighted areas have become inflated as a result of over-zoning for commercial use. Laxness in the enforcement of building maintenance and sanitation laws also has artificially raised slum land prices. In many communities there are social pressures which stand in the way of the changes that would result from redevelopment. A prime example is racial discrimination in housing, preventing minority groups from moving out of the ghettos they now occupy. The continuing shortage of low-cost housing, particularly rental housing, is another deterrent to renewal of outworn residential areas. Oftentimes real estate investment in outlying areas is more attractive than in the central city because of less stringent building laws.

The procedures prescribed by federal and state redevelopment laws to protect the public interest are complicated and time consuming. Even if he is willing to grapple with the red tape and wait out the resulting delays, many a potential investor in redevelopment is unwilling to subject himself to the public criticism and ill will such projects often generate. Because of the heavy incidence of real property taxes, the threat of rent controls and the increasing costs of operation and maintenance, investment in a new real estate development generally is less advantageous than other types of investments. Consequently, equity financing is not readily available. In many instances local governments have been unable to raise sufficient funds to pay for their share of the cost of redevelopment under the Federal Housing Act formula.

In his penultimate chapter, Colean summarizes what is being done on various fronts to combat urban deterioration and to pave the way for renewal. He cites housing law enforcement programs, abatement of air and water pollution, improved community facilities and services, street and highway construction, provision of off-street parking facilities, modernization of mass transit, city and metropolitan area-wide planning programs, revision of zoning regulations, functional reorganization of local governmental agencies on a metropolitan basis, and specific area redevelopment programs. But, in spite of all these efforts, it is clear that relatively little progress is being made. The author points out that the renewal of our cities cannot be accomplished until we find effective ways to reduce the cost of deteriorated urban properties and to increase the prices investors are willing to pay for them. To accomplish these objectives, Colean prescribes an ambitious program:

1. Legal safety, sanitation, and occupancy standards should be vigorously enforced.
2. Land should be zoned more realistically.
3. Tax delinquency should not be tolerated.
4. The basis for awarding damages in condemnation suits should be modified to exclude value resulting from illegal use of property.

5. Municipal land acquisition should be centralized in a single agency.
6. Federal tax laws should be amended to put owners of income-producing properties in a more advantageous position.
7. The local tax structure should be modified to impose a lighter burden on real estate and to distribute the cost of municipal services more equitably over the entire metropolitan area.
8. Planning to achieve a rational land use pattern and an effective traffic circulation system should be undertaken on a metropolitan area-wide basis.
9. Uniform building legislation should be adopted throughout the metropolitan area.
10. Land should be made available for redevelopment on a lease basis with an option to purchase.

Despite the broad perspective of these proposals and the fact that they constitute a realistic approach to the problem, if they were put into effect they would carry us only a short step toward the author's goal. Mightier means must be found to deflate the balloon of urban land prices. For almost a century we have countenanced the crowding of more and more people into our cities. The greater the concentration of population, the higher real estate values have soared. And the higher prices in turn have fostered greater overcrowding. Unfortunately, the way out of the vicious cycle is not as easy as Colean's prescription may suggest.

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VOTING AND THE HANDLING OF DISPUTES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. By Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1950. Pp. 189. \$2.00.

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. By H. Field Haviland, Jr. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1951. Pp. 190. \$2.75.

THE significance of international organization as it exists today—its effects and potentialities—in substantial measure turns upon the work of the two primary organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly and the Security Council. These two monographs in the Carnegie Endowment's series of United Nations Studies are revealing in their analyses of the records of accomplishment and lack of accomplishment of these organs.

Professor Jiménez de Aréchaga's approach is keenly legal. He examines the theory and practice of the veto, the processes of submission of a dispute or a situation to the Security Council, the Council's exercise of its powers of in-

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