

kind of sacrifice can be even greater than that necessary to make material sacrifices. We do not agree to surrender our Maginot Lines easily, even if they are already outflanked and we are offered more effective guarantees of security.

The benefits of making the effort would accrue to each group involved in the situation. Each would have to give up some of its present defenses only in return for better guarantees.³⁵ Each would share in the advantages of developing better cities. In particular, building trades employees would obtain year-round job security and assurance of full employment in the industry. Building contractors would obtain long-term commitments and freedom from technological restrictions. Residents of the central city and of the suburbs who might wish to move to the city in the future would obtain better housing at more reasonable cost.³⁶ The cities would benefit from better environments. The Congress would obtain more benefits for the tax dollar spent on housing programs and the credit for a far-seeing approach to a difficult problem. Each of these advantages *could* flow from such a program *if* the necessary effort and determination were forthcoming.

To obtain the maximum benefits from such an effort, the widest community participation and efforts to bring together all of the interests at stake would be necessary.³⁷ With a greatly expanded program of construction, for example, it should be possible to employ central city residents previously not in the building

industry without threatening the job opportunities or job security of any of its present employees.³⁸ It should be possible to permit each area to participate in planning changes to take place within it. The legitimate needs of no group affected would have to be ignored.

Conclusion

Perhaps one of the groups which could benefit most from such a program would be residents of suburbs. The outward pressure of persons seeking to leave the central city would tend to be overcome over a sufficient period of time if conditions in the cities were made attractive. The suburbs would thus be permitted to retain their suburban character, which would otherwise be lost. And it should not be forgotten that blight anywhere—like hatred, fear and despair—is not confined by boundary lines and will spread to us wherever we are unless its causes are overcome.

An effort to overcome these causes must of course include concern with such problems as both fairness and effectiveness in law enforcement, better education, and expanding opportunity for all citizens in every field of life regardless of background. It must also include a concentrated attack on the twin needs of decent housing for the cities at reasonable rents and job security in the building industry. These tasks are vital not for ourselves alone, but also for the future of the children of all of us and as an example to the entire world of the energy of a free society.

[The End]

³⁵ Compare Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*, part II, 1963.

³⁶ See footnote 28.

³⁷ Compare Givens, "Deliberative Processes of the Committee on Labor and Social Security Legislation," 21 *Record of NYCBA* 482 (1966).

³⁸ This would help to alleviate such problems as those outlined in Gould, "Employ-

ment Security, Seniority and Race: The Role of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," 13 *Howard Law Journal* 1, Winter 1967. See also Roberts, "Johnson to Call Parley on Slums," *New York Times*, June 4, 1967, Sec. 1, p. 42; Johnson, "March Planned to 'Build, Baby,'" *New York Times*, June 4, 1967, p. 43.