

May 9, 1969

Honorable Richard B. Austin
United States District Judge
United States Courthouse
219 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois

Re: Gautreaux v. CHA, 66 C 1459

Dear Judge Austin:

I enclose herewith two copies of a proposed judgment order, copies of which are also being delivered to CHA. We hope that shortly following the conference scheduled to be held in your chambers at 2:00 P.M. on May 16, 1969, it will be possible to have an order entered along the lines suggested by the enclosed proposed order.

A few comments will be appropriate:

1. We apologize for the complexity of the order but have found it impossible to deal otherwise with a complex subject. (As respects brevity the order compares favorably with many school desegregation decrees.)

2. The order provides for a three-to-one ratio for site locations. We do not suggest this ratio as a "compromise" between the four-to-one ratio we originally proposed and the two-to-one ratio you said you were considering, but because of two other considerations.

First, we strongly believe that the class represented by the plaintiffs is entitled to a more rapid enlargement of public housing opportunities in white neighborhoods than would be

provided under a two-to-one ratio. This is especially true at the outset because approximately 1300 dwelling units are now under construction in non-white neighborhoods whereas it will undoubtedly be some time before new dwelling units are in fact made available in white neighborhoods. (Incidentally, we have provided that these 1300 units need be matched only once and not three times before the ratio begins to operate, thus giving CHA additional flexibility. See subsections A and B of Article III.)

Second, after consultation with knowledgeable persons whose judgment we respect, we believe that prompt and wide dispersal of public housing in conformity with the other provisions of the order is absolutely essential if public housing is not to continue to be a negative factor in the shaping of the racial pattern of the City over the critical next decade.

3. We have become persuaded, after consultation with others and a careful review of our preliminary thinking, that our suggestion (in the outline previously submitted to you) that future public housing projects might contain as many as 100 dwelling units placed this number too high. One hundred non-elderly dwelling units are likely to house almost 500 persons, 300 or more of whom may be school-age children. We have been advised that the impact of such a concentration in a single location of low-income people (many or most of whom will be black) upon a neighborhood in general, and its schools in particular, will almost certainly be seriously adverse. If the objective is stable, racially and economically integrated neighborhoods, then low-income people must be dispersed throughout the white neighborhoods and schools of the City, not packed into low-income pockets.

Two additional considerations strongly suggest a lowering of the figure. First, the problem of maintaining integrated projects with the attendant complexities of a complicated tenant assignment system, is substantially reduced. If individual projects are small enough and widely enough scattered throughout the white neighborhoods of the City, integration is basically achieved through site selection rather than tenant assignment. Second, community acceptability of small, scattered projects is likely to be considerably greater than with respect to large projects. Thus, a restriction on the size of the projects, which

at first glance might appear to limit the total number of dwelling units which may be provided, may in fact turn out to be a means of providing a larger total number of units.

For these several reasons the enclosed order provides (Article IV-A) that individual public housing projects shall contain no more than 24 units. The order also contemplates, of course, that larger projects which are specifically designed and planned to assure the carrying out of the desegregation purposes of the order could be specifically approved by the Court.

4. The 15% limitation in Article IV-B is similarly designed to insure against an over concentration of public housing in a single neighborhood. We have been advised that such a percentage would almost certainly translate into a much higher percentage (30% or more) of the school-age children in the neighborhood, and that for this reason the 15% figure proposed in the order is the maximum desirable.

5. For the interim period until 1970 census tract figures are available, we have used Board of Education elementary school attendance area figures in classifying census tracts in the City of Chicago (Exhibit A to the Order). We will bring to the May 16 conference a map which visually shows the result of this classification.

* * * *

I enclose for your information and consideration notes of a recent report given by Mr. Anthony Downs, Vice President of Real Estate Research Corporation. Mr. Downs is a noted authority on urban problems. His report illustrates the difficulty of the problem confronting the Court and the necessity, if truly adequate relief is to be afforded the class represented by the plaintiffs, of focusing on the provision of public housing throughout Cook County. Subsection E of Article III of the enclosed order contemplates this, although it can obviously deal

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with the problem only in a limited way within the framework of this suit. Fuller consideration of the problem will be possible when, following the entry of the order in this case, we turn our attention to the companion case against the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Very truly yours,

Alexander Polikoff

ALP:eo

Encs.

cc: James T. Otis
Kathryn Kula
Jack B. Schmetterer
Frank Fisher
Robert L. Tucker

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS, EASTERN DIVISION

DOROTHY GAUTREAUX, ODELL JONES,)
DOREATHA R. CRENCRAW, EVA RODGERS,)
JAMES RODGERS, ROBERT M. FAIRFAX)
and JIMMIE JONES,)
)
Plaintiffs,)
) Civil Action
v.) No. 66 C 1459
)
THE CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY, a)
corporation, and C. E. HUMPHREY,)
Executive Director,)
)
Defendants.)

JUDGMENT ORDER

This matter coming on to be heard pursuant to this Court's Memorandum Opinion of February 10, 1969, and Orders entered on such date denying defendants' motions for summary judgment, denying plaintiffs' motion for summary judgment as to Count II of the Complaint, and granting plaintiffs' motion for summary judgment as to Count I of the Complaint, and

The Court having conferred with counsel for the parties and having determined that the several provisions of this judgment order are necessary to prohibit the future use and to remedy the past effects of the defendant Chicago Housing Authority's unconstitutional site selection and tenant assignment procedures, to the end that plaintiffs and the class of persons represented by them, Negro tenants of and applicants for public housing in Chicago, shall have the full equitable relief to which they are entitled,

It is hereby ordered:

- I. For purposes of this judgment order,
 - A. "CHA" shall mean the defendant, Chicago Housing Authority.

- B. "Dwelling Unit" shall mean an apartment or single family residence which is to be initially made available to and occupied by a low-income, non-elderly family, subsequent to the date hereof, directly or indirectly by or through CHA, whether in a structure owned in whole or in part by CHA (whether or not newly constructed) or to be otherwise made available for occupancy by or through CHA to such a family. "Dwelling Units" include "Leased Dwelling Units" as hereinafter defined.
- C. "Leased Dwelling Unit" shall mean a Dwelling Unit in a structure leased or partially leased by CHA from any person, firm or corporation.
- D. "Non-White Area" shall mean that part of the County of Cook in the State of Illinois which lies either within census tracts of the United States Bureau of the Census having 30% or more non-white population, or within a distance of one mile from any point on the outer perimeter of any such census tract. "White Area" shall mean the remaining part of the County of Cook in the State of Illinois. The terms "non-white" and "white" shall have the meaning given to such terms by the United States Bureau of the Census.

For purposes of this subsection D, results of the 1970 and each subsequent census taken by the United States Bureau of the Census shall presumptively determine the non-white population of census tracts until results of a subsequent such census are officially published; provided, that any party may, on motion, offer evidence as to the non-white population of any census tract for the purpose of rebutting such presumption; and provided further, that Dwelling Units located or proposed to be located in any census tract subsequent to official publication of the results of the last previous such census shall be taken into account in determining the population of such census tract, and for such purpose it shall be assumed that such Dwelling Units will be occupied by non-whites at the rate of two persons per bedroom.

For the period from the date hereof until the official publication of such 1970 census results, the

census tracts in the City of Chicago listed on Exhibit A, attached hereto, shall be presumed to have 30% or more non-white population; and, subject to evidence offered on motion by either party, the non-white population of census tracts in the County of Cook outside of the City of Chicago shall be presumed to be as stated in the 1960 census of the United States Bureau of the Census.

- E. "Public Housing Project" shall mean any thirteen or more Dwelling Units which are located (1) in the same structure, (2) on the same lot or parcel of real estate, or (3) on two or more lots or parcels of real estate which are contiguous to one another, or are separated only by streets, alleys, bodies of water, railroad tracks or the like.

II. Following the date of this judgment order CHA shall not authorize, approve or implement any plan for Dwelling Units, nor shall CHA seek any approval or request or accept any assistance from any government agency with respect thereto (including without limitation approval of the acquisition of any interest in real estate), unless such plan affirmatively requires that,

- A. All Dwelling Units provided for in such plan shall be located in conformity with the provisions of Article III hereof; and
- B. The activities to be performed in order to render such Dwelling Units available for occupancy (whether construction, purchase, rehabilitation, leasing or otherwise) shall take place at such times as will result in the location of such Dwelling Units in conformity with the provisions of Article III hereof.

III. Following the date of this judgment order CHA shall provide Dwelling Units as follows, and not otherwise:

- A. The 1330 Dwelling Units provided for by pending CHA projects Ill. 2-27, 2-32, 2-33, 2-51, 2-64, 2-69 and 2-74 may be made available for occupancy without restriction imposed by this order.
- B. No Dwelling Units, other than Leased Dwelling Units and said 1330 Dwelling Units referred to in subsection A of this Article III, shall be made available for occupancy by CHA until 1330 Dwelling Units, other than Leased Dwelling Units, have been located in the White Area of the City of Chicago and have been made available for occupancy and been occupied.

- C. Subject to the provisions of subsection E of this Article III, at least 75% of the Dwelling Units, other than Leased Dwelling Units, initially made available for occupancy during the period from the date of occupancy of the last of the 1330 Dwelling Units provided pursuant to subsection B of this Article III to the end of each calendar quarter thereafter, shall be located in areas which at the time of such initial occupancy are in the White Area of the City of Chicago.
- D. Subject to the provisions of subsection E of this Article III, no Leased Dwelling Unit shall be made available for occupancy in the Non-White Area of the City of Chicago (in addition to Leased Dwelling Units in such Area which are already occupied) unless, immediately following such occupancy, at least 75% of the Leased Dwelling Units then occupied are located in the White Area of the City of Chicago; provided, that such number of Leased Dwelling Units located in the White Area of the City of Chicago may be less than such 75% to the extent Dwelling Units other than Leased Dwelling Units have been occupied, or are under construction which is continuing, in the White Area of the City of Chicago in excess of the 75% minimum requirement of subsection C of Article III hereof.
- E. Not more than 33-1/3% of the Dwelling Units required by subsection C of this Article III to be located in the White Area of the City of Chicago, and not more than 33-1/3% of the Leased Dwelling Units required by subsection D of this Article III to be located in the White Area of the City of Chicago, may, at the option of CHA, be planned for and located in the White Area of the County of Cook in the State of Illinois, outside of the City of Chicago, provided that the same are made available for occupancy by CHA to, and are occupied by, residents of the City of Chicago who have applied for housing to CHA, and provided further that all such Dwelling Units comply with the provisions of Article IV of this order.

- IV. Following the date of this judgment order CHA shall not concentrate large numbers of Dwelling Units in or near a

single location. Without limiting the foregoing, unless part of a development specifically designed to assist in achieving the purposes hereof as to which the Court by order shall have given its approval,

- A. No Public Housing Project shall contain more than 24 Dwelling Units;
 - B. No Dwelling Units shall be located in any census tract if, following such location, the aggregate number of apartments and single family residences theretofore made available to low-income, non-elderly families, directly or indirectly by or through CHA, in such census tract would constitute more than 15% of the total number of apartments and single family residences in such census tract; and
 - C. No Dwelling Units shall be provided above the third story in any structure, except Leased Dwelling Units in a structure in which the number of Dwelling Units aggregates no more than 20% of the total number of apartments in such structure.
- V. Within 30 days following the date of this judgment order CHA shall file with the Court and serve upon counsel for the plaintiffs a tenant assignment plan. Such plan shall include, but need not be limited to, provisions having the following purpose and effect:
- A. CHA's tenant assignment policy, adopted by CHA Board Resolution No. 68-CHA-232, a copy of which is attached hereto as Exhibit B, shall be modified to include all Leased Dwelling Units as a single "location" for the purposes thereof and such policy, as so modified, shall be applicable in all instances not otherwise provided for in such tenant assignment plan.
 - B. New registrations on CHA's list of persons desiring housing (the "waiting list") shall be temporarily ended; a determination shall be made promptly as to which registrants remain eligible for and still desire public housing; intensive publicity shall then be employed in such manner as effectively to inform low-income families throughout the City of Chicago,

including present CHA tenants, that substantial numbers of Dwelling Units will be made available in the White Area of the City of Chicago pursuant to the provisions of this judgment order; and thereafter the "waiting list" shall be reopened to new registrants, including present CHA tenants who wish to apply for Dwelling Units in the White Area.

- C. Not more than 50% of the Dwelling Units in all Public Housing Projects shall be made available as to initial occupancy to eligible neighborhood residents, the remaining Dwelling Units as to initial occupancy, and all Dwelling Units following initial occupancy, to be made available for occupancy in accordance with subsection A of this Article V.
- D. Vacancies in CHA's Trumbull, Lathrop, Lawndale and Bridgeport projects shall be filled in accordance with subsection A of this Article V, except that such tenant assignment plan may contain provisions designed to assure that such projects do not become racially segregated.
- E. Suitably detailed information shall be regularly filed with the Court and served upon counsel for the plaintiffs showing CHA's compliance with the provisions of this Article V and such tenant assignment plan.

Following the filing and service of such tenant assignment plan the Court will enter such further order as it deems appropriate.

- VI. Following the date of this judgment order CHA shall file with the Court and serve upon counsel for the plaintiffs, the United States Attorney, and the Regional Administrator of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the following:

- A. A statement of the following information respecting each proposal of a location for one or more Dwelling Units, and respecting each modification or supplement thereof, such statement to be filed and served not less than 20 days before any such proposal, and before any such modification or supplement, is first submitted to the Board of Commissioners of CHA, or to any other

government agency or official, for consideration or action:

- (1) the legal description;
- (2) the street address;
- (3) the acreage;
- (4) the area location (whether within the Non-White or White Area);
- (5) the census tract number;
- (6) the white and non-white population of such census tract;
- (7) the aggregate number of apartments and single family residences in such census tract;
- (8) the aggregate number of apartments and single family residences theretofore made available to low-income, non-elderly families directly or indirectly by or through CHA in such census tract;
- (9) the total number of Dwelling Units proposed to be provided at such location;
- (10) the number of structures, and the number of Dwelling Units in each, in which such Dwelling Units are proposed to be provided; and
- (11) such additional data as will show that such proposed Dwelling Units will be made available for occupancy in conformity with the provisions of Articles III and IV hereof.

- B. A statement with respect to each location included in a statement filed and served pursuant to subsection A of this Article VI, and covering the period up to initial occupancy of all Dwelling Units at such location, describing (1) any official action proposed to be taken with respect thereto by CHA, such statement to be filed and served not less than 20 days before such action is proposed to be taken, and (2) any action of which CHA has knowledge taken with respect thereto by any other government agency or official, such statement to be filed and served not later than the third business day following CHA's acquisition of such knowledge.
- C. Statements covering the periods from the date hereof until September 30, 1969, and from the date hereof

until the end of each calendar quarter thereafter, containing such data as will show that (1) all plans for Dwelling Units during the period covered by such statements have been in conformity with the provisions of Article II hereof, and (2) all Dwelling Units provided during the period covered by such statements have been in conformity with the provisions of Articles III and IV hereof, such statements to be filed and served not later than fifteen days after the end of each calendar quarter beginning with the calendar quarter ended September 30, 1969.

- D. A copy of each written application by CHA to any government agency or official for any form of assistance, participation, approval or other action respecting Dwelling Units to be provided at any location, covering the period up to initial occupancy of such Dwelling Units, including without limitation requests to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for "program reservations," such copies to be filed and served not later than the date upon which such applications are made; and
- E. A copy of each written response to the applications referred to in subsection D of this Article VI, and a copy of any agreements entered into and notice of any government action taken pursuant to such applications, such copies and notices to be filed and served not later than the third business day after which such responses are received, such agreements are entered into, or CHA is advised of such action, as the case may be.

VII. CHA shall affirmatively administer its public housing system in every respect (whether or not covered by specific provision of this judgment order) to the end of disestablishing the segregated public housing system which has resulted from CHA's unconstitutional site selection and tenant assignment procedures. Without limiting the foregoing,

- A. CHA shall use its best efforts to increase the supply of Dwelling Units as rapidly as possible in conformity with the provisions of this judgment order and shall take all steps necessary to that end, including making applications for allocations of federal funds and

carrying out all necessary planning and development;
and

B. CHA is hereby permanently enjoined from discriminating on the basis of race in the conduct or operation of its public housing system.

VIII. This order shall be binding upon CHA, its officers, agents, servants, employees, and attorneys, and upon those persons, including the members of the City Council of the City of Chicago, in active concert or participation with them who receive actual notice of this order by personal service or otherwise.

IX. Jurisdiction of this cause is retained.

X. The costs of this action shall be taxed against CHA.

Enter:

Judge, United States District Court

DATED: May ___, 1969

CENSUS TRACT NUMBERS

114 through 116	460 through 467	664
120 through 137	468	666 through 667
280 through 282	469-Z	675 through 678
340 through 347	470	681-Z through 683-Z
348-Z	487	685 through 686
349-Z	519-Z	687-Z
350 through 352	520 through 521	688
353-Z	524	690 through 691
354 through 355	527-Z	695
357 through 362	532-Z	697
363-Z	534-Z	711
364 through 373	539-Z	717-Z
375-Z through 378-Z	541 through 553	719-Z
379 through 383	554-Z	720-Z
384-Z	556 through 562	723
389-Z	564-Z	803 through 805
390-Z	567-Z	852
391 through 392	569-Z	855
395	574 through 610	858 through 859
399-Z	613-Z	861 through 862
401-Z	614 through 619	867-Z
403	620-Z	868 through 895
410-Z	621-Z	897-Z
412 through 420	623 through 641	898 through 900
428 through 429	642-A	903
431-Z	642-B	905 through 911
432	643 through 650	912-A through 912-D
434-Z	652	922
440 through 441	653-Z	923-A
442-Z	655	923-B
444 through 449	656-Z	924 through 927
450-A	657	932
450-B	658-Z	934 through 935
451 through 457	659 through 662	

CHICAGO'S HOUSING PROBLEMS

Mr. Anthony Downs, Vice President and Treasurer of the Real Estate Research Corporation gave the following report:

- I. Our current housing problems are closely related to the present market condition of the housing market in the Chicago area - which is a condition of relative housing shortage.
 - a. Demand for housing has been stimulated by continuing prosperity in the form of rising incomes, low unemployment, and high-level business activity.
 - b. Restrictions in new additions to supply during the tight-money period of 1966 and 1967 produced a shortage condition with a market backlog throughout the nation, and this has also occurred in Chicago.

1. Housing shortages mean an upward pressure on rents, occupancy and prices - and all three have been rising rather sharply in the last year, with rents in many cases up to 10 - 15% and even more.
2. Vacancies are extremely scarce and rents rising - so the poorest people are naturally put in the worst situation - since those with more money can bid more for housing than the poor.
 - a. Some now literally have no place to sleep - especially welfare cases with many children, since no 4-bedroom or more units can be rented at the welfare ceiling rent of \$115 per month.

II. This brings us to a consideration of the housing problems facing the city - which are concentrated within the City itself, for reasons which will become clear as I present these problems.

a. The first thing to realize about housing problems is that they concern far more than just buildings - housing consists of three elements - buildings, the people in them and their behavior, and the surrounding environment - so the "housing problem" is inextricably wound up with other things like incomes, family stability, crime, race, and the quality of the city services.

1. To give you one example, vandalism is the key problem in low-income areas, and it influences housing because vacant units become gutted and vandalized very rapidly - we even had the actions of vandals as a step on our flow chart showing the processing of substandard buildings.
2. So - just building new buildings does not solve all housing problems, and that is why the Model Cities Program is trying to co-ordinate new construction with a host of other programs by public and private agencies.

b. The second thing to realize is that the fundamental housing problem is caused by poverty - thousands of families or individuals are just too poor to pay rents or prices necessary to occupy a decent unit without spending a huge fraction of their incomes on it - and many cannot do it at all.

1. New housing is so expensive that it takes a family income of \$8600 per year to rent a new apartment without spending over 25% of income on it - and over half of the U.S. households have lower incomes than this - close to 30% of all U.S. households cannot really afford even decent older housing.

a. Moreover, the poverty of this household is not primarily caused by the lack of employment - in U.S. metropolitan areas together, only one out of seven poor people are poor because of unemployment

1) Over 40% of those who are poor can never support themselves because they are old, or children, or disabled, or mothers taking care of children.

2) Another one-third are in families with employed male heads whose incomes are just too low to permit them to pay decent amounts for housing.

b. Yet a majority of people in even the lowest income groups live in decent units - only 26% were in sub-standard in the lowest income groups in 1966 - because they pay huge fractions of their income for rent - 77% pay over 35% of their income for rent.

2. The extent of poor housing in 1960 is shown by the fact that 31% of all negro households lived in deteriorated or dilapidated units or sound units without plumbing or hot water, while 12% of all white households live in such units.

a. These percentages have undoubtedly declined since 1960, but there are still thousands of Chicagoans living in rotten housing - most of them very poor, and many black.

e. The third thing to realize about housing is that since poverty is the key cause, the housing problem cannot be solved without major public subsidies - and the only subsidy program that can really reach the lowest-income groups, who have the worst housing - is the public housing program.

1. The idea that private enterprise will solve the housing problem without major public investment is pure hot air, told to get votes.

a. Private enterprise can and should be involved, both in construction and in finance, but it cannot get involved unless subsidies make up the margin between what poor people can afford to pay, and what it takes to make a profit in building housing or making loans.

2. The only subsidy programs available are all federal programs - but most of these, including all in the New Housing Act of 1968 - are for families with incomes above the "poverty line" of \$3,400 in 1968.

a. This includes below-market-interest-rate programs, new home ownership programs and all FHA loans.

b. Only public housing gets rents down low enough to where the poor can afford them - such as welfare families - and that includes public housing leasing programs which involve existing apartments, as well as construction of new public housing.

3. The ineffectiveness of just private enterprise alone is indicated by the fate of code-enforcement programs, which require landlords to repair their illegal buildings with their own money - but they must then rent to the same tenants who cannot pay any more.

a. This drives landlords broke, so they either abandon their buildings altogether, or allow them to remain vacant - in which case they are vandalized and demolished eventually, so that reduces the supply

of housing for the poor and causes rents in the rest of the supply to go up.

- b. Code enforcement cannot work unless we build lots of new public housing first to give the displaced people somewhere to go.
- d. Thus public housing is the key potential instrument for curing the worst housing problems - but it has a terrible image in Chicago, because it has been primarily a high rise program and almost entirely for either negroes or old whites.
 - 1. White neighborhoods - and even black middle class areas do not want public housing built in them, since they have the image of huge all negro. high rise buildings swamping the area - so we cannot find sites for new construction except for the elderly, whom no-one objects to.
 - 2. Until we change this image by using small projects, on scattered sites, or mixed in with other programs through leasing or putting some units in 221-d-3, we cannot make progress in helping the people who need it most.
 - 3. This means that more people who are leaders in our city must understand the need for more public housing, and must realize that it can be developed in many forms that are far better than the massive row of high-rises down State Street.
 - a. But until you people in this room change your present attitude toward public housing, and persuade others to do so, and are willing to take at least a few poor people, whether black or white, into your own areas - not get swamped - but take some - and into your own schools, then "solving the housing problem" in Chicago is not going to get done.

4. Moreover, this means that we have to spend lots more money on public housing than we are now - or than Congress has recently appropriated.

a. We are not against housing subsidies - almost everyone in this room gets a housing subsidy because he deducts his interest or property taxes from his federal taxable income, and for many, that is a bigger subsidy than the family living in public housing gets - we are just against subsidies for the poor who need them, rather than the wealthy who don't.

b. Chicago now has about 35,000 public housing units - or about 3% of the total housing inventory in the city - but has always had a huge waiting list, since probably over 10% or perhaps 13% of the city's population is poor.

e. Another key problem is lack of available and suitable vacant land, and the distance of such land as is available from potential sources of new employment. This means that real solution to Chicago's housing problem must involve building new housing for low-income households in the suburbs on vacant lands.

1. Clearance and rebuilding in the city takes too long - the average is 6-9 year - if we really want to do anything on a large enough scale to dent the problem.

2. But suburban resistance is even greater to public housing or all subsidized housing than city resistance - so, again more leadership and understanding and changes in attitude are required.

III. In conclusion, may I say that the housing problem is typical of most of the critical urban problems of today, in the sense that its solution requires a willingness by the relatively affluent, or even modestly well-off, majority to pay some of their hard-earned incomes to the poorest people to help them out.

1. Until we can get the majority to vote to tax themselves, or use future rises in federal income taxes, to help the minority, we cannot make any real significant progress in up-grading education, stopping crime, or solving the housing problem.
2. There are no cheap and easy solutions - either we pay the costs of making equality of opportunity true instead of a lie, or we have to live with ourselves and take the consequences, whatever they may be, ...or own, our children, our God and the world. The choice is up to us. Thank you.