

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection:	Donated Historical Materials
Collection/Office of Origin:	Frieden, Lex, Collection
Series:	Related Materials
Subseries:	Speeches

OA/ID Number:	52090
Folder ID Number:	52090-006

Folder Title:
[Justin Dart Speeches] [1992]

Stack:

Row:

Section:

Shelf:

Position:



THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

1331 F STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-1107
(202) 376-6200 VOICE (202) 376-6205 TDD (202) 376-6219 FAX

CHAIRMAN
JUSTIN DART

tokprint

Remarks by Justin Dart, Chairman, the United States President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities, IBM Conference on Full Participation in a Modern Society, September 15, 1992, Tokyo, Japan.

Toward Equality and Empowerment

It is a profound happiness to be in Japan, my home for 12 years, the place where I first became active in the disability rights movement, perhaps the most responsible nation in the world in terms of utilizing its resources to produce lives of quality for its people. I love Japan.

On behalf of President George Bush I congratulate Tetsuo Takeda, Noriko Negishi, IBM Japan and all who worked to create this magnificent gathering to promote human rights.

It is a special honor to be in the presence of His Imperial Highness, Prince Tomohito of Mikasa. The Prince has been a good friend of people with disabilities for many decades.

I congratulate Hirokuni Dazai, Yoshisuke Kasai, Kaoru Ujie, Kaniji Itayama, Ichiro Maruyama, Yoko Kojima, Taeko Kamiyama, Kozo Kubo and all who have laid the foundation for the emancipation of people with disabilities.

I congratulate Senator Eita Yashiro, Masahiro Muratani, Hideo Kondo, Yukiko Nakanishi, Keiko Higuchi and all who have pioneered the rights of people with disabilities.

I congratulate Ryo Misawa, Shoji Nakanishi, Osamu Takahashi, Kiyomi and Hiroe Ichita, Etsuko Kuroda and all who lead us into the age of equality and empowerment.

I congratulate each one of you who has taken your valuable time today to do the business of humanity.

A Call to Revolution

Colleagues, now is the time for us of the international disability community join hands in revolution. Let us unite all of our people and all of our passion in world wide revolution for the equality of people with disabilities, and the empowerment of all people.

I call on Japan, I call on every nation to mandate by law and implement the full equality of people with disabilities - now.

I call on Japan, I call on every nation to invest all of its human and economic capital directly in the empowerment of all of its people to produce lives of quality - now.

DIGNITY. EQUALITY. INDEPENDENCE THROUGH EMPLOYMENT

44-2345

I call on each one of you to lead the long hard revolution from paternalism to empowerment. An age of science and democracy will operate in no other way.

Progress and Prejudice

Thanks to you there are five decades of solid evidence proving absolutely that people with every type of disability can be productive contributors as workers and as leaders in every area of human endeavor. But your progressive programs have not been implemented on a society wide basis.

The hard reality is this. Society in every nation is still infected by the ancient assumption that people with disabilities are not fully human, and therefore are not fully eligible for the opportunities which are available to other people as a matter of right. Under the best circumstances we are subject to attitudes and systems of paternalism which crush our rights, our spirit and our productivity. In too many nations we are denied the basic necessities of an existence which could be called human.

Many years ago it became clear to American disability rights advocates that we who have disabilities would never have more than token funding for rehabilitation, token access to the community, token jobs, token participation in society until our nation made us equal by law.

ADA: A Landmark Declaration; A Promise to be Kept

We struggled for a decade to achieve the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA).

ADA is a landmark in the evolution of human being. It is the first declaration by any nation of the unconditional legal right of people with disabilities to be equal in every public aspect of society.

At long last, people with disabilities are declared members of the human race.

ADA is a promise to be kept. The spirit, the legal requirements, the fact of equality must be implemented in every mind, in every heart, in every community in the world.

But colleagues, equal opportunity is only the beginning.

The Problem. The Solution.

Unless we who have disabilities are satisfied with equal opportunity to be dependent, to be poor, to perish, we are going to have to join our non-disabled fellow citizens in facing another hard reality.

The problems of humanity in 1992 are not the problems of rational people pursuing rational solutions.

2

We humans are in an abrupt, traumatic transition from millennia of primitive paternalism and simple choices, to an age of science and democracy that demands total individual responsibility for complex decisions in a universe of explosive change. Intoxicated by our success, terrorized by our responsibilities, we are suffering all the classic symptoms of escapist, self-indulgent adolescence.

We have allowed our basic institutions and infrastructure to become obsolete. We have abdicated our government responsibility to a few.

We have squandered too much of our abundance on outdated paternalistic systems and conspicuous consumption.

We have perpetuated traditional violence, and expanded dispute into an epidemic social disease.

And so there are substantial problems with unemployment, poverty, debt, ill health, and violence in industrial nations able to produce an overflowing abundance of the components of quality living.

In the developing nations 14.5 million children die every year for lack of the basic necessities of life.

Out of control economic, social, demographic and ecological problems spill over national borders and threaten to overwhelm civilization as we know it.

All humans feel an increasing frustration and insecurity, an increasing hunger for the values that give beauty to being.

As always, we who have disabilities suffer first and we suffer most. In many countries nobody even bothers to calculate our poverty or our deaths.

For all of our recent successes, we humans are failing to utilize the magnificent potential of science and democracy to create the culture of our dreams, and that failure is a barbarism so glaring that it blinds the eyes of conscience.

The Problem

Our most serious social and economic problems - in both industrial and developing nations - result directly from our failure to fulfill the most profound responsibility of individual and society - to invest all available resources in the empowerment of each human being to produce and to live the good life.

The Solution

Solutions for people with disabilities and for all people are going to require a revolutionary



refocusing of the fundamental definitions and processes of our culture, to establish as their clearly identified central thrust a concept of empowerment, a policy of empowerment and a science of empowerment.

Empowerment is when we understand that having a disability is a normal characteristic of human being, that people with disabilities have the same rights and responsibilities as other people, that disability policy must be integrated into public policy. Because disability is not "them or us," disability is just us - all of us.

Empowerment is when we as individuals with and without disabilities reject stereotyped roles of helplessness, spectatorism and dependency and act to fulfill our inalienable right and our inalienable responsibility to govern ourselves, to govern our nation, and to invest all of our energies, abilities and resources in producing lives of quality for ourselves and for our fellow humans.

Empowerment does what communism tried and failed to do. It builds the just, the productive, the life quality society by systematically providing the dynamic power of science and equal opportunity, free enterprise democracy to individuals.

Colleagues, the promise of science and democracy will not be kept until we understand that the responsible leaders are all of us, that "the disabled" can be any of us - and that the productivity and quality of life of the single mother in the ghetto, the person with mental illness, mental retardation, blindness or deafness is just as important to our pocket books and to our happiness as the productivity of the president of the Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bank and the manager of the Yomiuri Giants.

From concept to action. Two goals for advocacy.

I. A Comprehensive Human Rights Law

First. Human rights. Japan and every nation must enact and implement a highly visible, enforceable legal mandate that gives all people with disabilities equal access to full participation in every aspect of culture.

There must be no exemption for any social process from the requirement of full equality. There must be no exclusion of any person with a physical or mental disability.

There must be no exceptions to the absolute requirement for good faith efforts to provide immediate equality by whatever means are affordably available.

There must be no exceptions to the absolute requirement that all new systems and all new facilities must be 100% accessible.

There must be no compromise on the principle of equality at any time or at any place.

Of course, provision must be made for a rational, cost effective transition to a just society. Business, government and citizens should be given time, information and other assistance to modify facilities and systems in ways that do not impose undue hardship.

ADA provides a model for responsible change that is adaptable to any nation, industrial or undeveloped. It specifically states that no business or public entity will be required to spend one single penny that it can't afford to spend, or to hire one single individual who is not the best qualified person available for the job.

And yet ADA is an effective mandate for full equality, because it demands all the equal opportunity that society can realistically give now, and sets out a definitive transition to a fully accessible society in the future.

II. A Comprehensive Policy of Empowerment

Every nation must adopt a comprehensive, long range policy of aggressive action to empower all of its citizens with and without disabilities to be maximally productive in terms of quality of life. Empowerment must be the first priority of government, the private sector and individuals.

Make no mistake about it. I am not talking about the same old empty political bottles with new labels.

I speak of a massive revision of the dialogue of our culture. Families, schools, businesses, governments, the public media must stop pandering to obsolete enterprise, paternalistic stereotypes and escapist self-indulgence. We must communicate the information and the values of empowerment.

I speak of a massive reallocation of public and private resources from conspicuous consumption and paternalistic power to systematic investment in the very successful experiments in free enterprise, equal opportunity empowerment that have been developed in areas such as business, labor, technology, sports, space travel, and independence oriented disability services.

I speak of a continuum of lifelong social and community services for all people, restructured to foster empowerment rather than dependency. Education, economic aid, transportation, housing, communication and quality, affordable insurance, legal and health services for empowerment. Rehabilitation, independent living, transition, supported employment, and personal assistance services for empowerment.

I speak of employment where flexible job descriptions, hours and places of work are normal, where accessible technology, personal assistance and job coaching are integrated components of the system - and where a passionate science of empowerment replaces the traditional religion of bureaucracy and its priesthood of privilege.

I speak of an accessible, state of the art system of telecommunications that will make every

home, farm, hotel room, office and residential institution into a university, a place of work, a shopping mall and a center to access services.

I speak of new communities, new cities without cars, pollution, ghettos and high taxes, cities where total civilizations - work, shopping, social services, recreation - are affordably accessible to every home within five or ten minutes by walking or underground shuttle.

Questions

Our agenda is ambitious. There will be questions, objections.

Is equality and empowerment for people with disabilities too expensive? Should equality be approached gradually, in parts? Is it inappropriate for some nations, because they are highly developed, because they are undeveloped, or because their cultures are somehow unique? Is equality inappropriate for Japan?

There is no such thing as partial equality. There is no such thing as a culture where inequality is appropriate.

Apartheid is intolerable to africans, it is intolerable to the world, it is intolerable to people with disabilities in Japan.

Equality now!

Is equality is bad for business? Is empowerment unaffordable in this time of budget deficits and recession? On the contrary, we can't afford not to empower.

President Bush has estimated the cost of excluding 2/3 of Americans with disabilities from the productive mainstream to be about \$200 billion dollars cash annually and going up every year. The cost in other nations is equally punitive.

And obsolete disability policy is only one example of the exorbitant cost of projecting primitive infrastructure and paternalism into an era of science powered complexity.

Our irresponsible status quo is the cause of our economic problems.

It is irrational, it is immoral, to continue for one more minute policies which impose crushing burdens of debt and poverty on our children and which threaten the very foundations of democratic civilization.

Empowerment now!

Universal empowerment is possible, it is practical. The money, the expertise, the technology are available now.

6

What is lacking is courage, maturity and self-discipline. What is required is dynamic, principled, unifying leadership to make empowerment the central focus of dialogue and action.

Leadership by the United Nations and governments at all levels; leadership by business and labor, the public media, religion and civic organizations.

Leadership by families and individual citizens.

Above all, there must be transcending leadership by a united disability community. By each one of us.

Nobody is going to give us empowerment. If we do not empower ourselves, we will remain dependent and poor, and Japan and the world will be disabled.

We must develop massive computer linked coalitions, nationally and in every community that unite people with blindness, deafness, mental retardation, and mental illness, with physical and all disabilities. We must include parents, service providers and all who love justice, but we who have disabilities must control policy. We must shout the message of empowerment in our homes, our neighborhoods, through the public media and in the streets.

We must train thousands of new leaders for an empowerment society. We must learn to raise our own funds, and to operate our advocacy from computers and copy machines in our bedrooms if necessary.

We must establish more independent living centers operated and totally controlled by people with disabilities. These centers must provide militant advocacy for rights and empowerment, and services which enable other people with disabilities to be advocates, and to be independent.

I congratulate the pioneer advocacy organizations represented here today. Lead us on to greater unity, and to more aggressive action.

We must form strong partnerships for empowerment with other minorities, business, labor and government in every community.

We must unite with our oppressed colleagues in every nation to create a worldwide revolution for the establishment of strong civil rights laws and empowerment policies. I propose a regular exchange of computer, telephone and mail communication, and an expanded exchange of leadership internships.

We must become fully active in Disabled Peoples' International, Rehabilitation International and other disability focus international groups, to support those organizations, and to ensure that they are authentic voices for rights and empowerment.

All of us must become more effective politicians. Individually and as a united movement we must be aggressive participants in all campaigns and all parties, not only as voters, but as contributors, leaders and office holders.

Get into politics as is your life depended on it, because it does!

We must become far more effective communicators, through the public media, and media which we create ourselves. Because no matter how well we enforce civil rights laws, we will not be truly equal until we communicate the message of our equality into the consciousness of the more than 120 million Japanese, and five billion humans who will never read any law, but whose thoughts and actions will define our humanity every hour of every day.

We must transcend the fashionable, impotent cliches of officialdom and of the popular media and learn to use the ultimate communicative weapon - the human fusion of love and truth.

We must speak directly to the heart and conscience of the world with the simple truth, the naked, passionate rationality, the principled action and overwhelming love for humanity that has powered every significant revolution in history.

We must go forward together with the spirit of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, with militant firmness in the principles of equality and empowerment, with determination to struggle for a hundred years if that is what it takes to win.

Our movement does not yet have a Gandhi or a Martin Luther king, but each one of us can be a truly powerful leader for empowerment every day in every place -- in our homes, schools, offices, churches and clubs.

We must unite in one voice that will thunder to every heart and mind in the world:

Equality now!

Empowerment now!

Responsibility

Colleagues, the magnitude of the personal responsibility that destiny presents to each one of us today, is almost beyond comprehension. The fall of the Soviet Empire, the increasingly apparent limitations of unfocused free enterprise, the obvious potential of technology, has created an atmosphere of receptivity to change, an opportunity for progress that is unprecedented in all history.

We humans have the all resources, and therefore total responsibility, to move into an age of science powered democracy characterized by a quality of life that will exceed the imagination of utopian fiction.

But the political, the economic, the demographic, the ecological clocks are racing forward. Time is running out on our ability to achieve the revolution of empowerment without an intervening age of chaos.

Japan leads the world in empowerment. Japan and USA are the most influential nations on earth. If we lead, if we in this room lead, the world will follow. If we do not, demagogues will rush in, and the suffering of future generations will be beyond words and beyond tears.

We must unite. We must act. We must win.

And I believe we will win - because I believe in you.

You are the great pioneers at the greatest of all frontiers - the enlargement of human being. You are the real beauty of the human universe. My association with you is the most profound happiness in my life.

Colleagues, I love you. I am with you all the way.

Together, we have overcome. Together, we shall overcome.

Equality now! Empowerment now!



THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

1331 F STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-1107
(202) 376-6200 VOICE (202) 376-6205 TDD (202) 376-6219 FAX

CHAIRMAN
JUSTIN DART

amstdm.o30

Remarks by Justin Dart, Chairman of the United States President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities, Gehandicaptenraad Conference on Human Rights, Nijkerk, Netherlands, October 30, 1992

ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT BUSH I CONGRATULATE GEHANDICAPTENRAAD, AND ALL WHO HAVE WORKED TO CREATE THIS DIALOGUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

I CONGRATULATE EACH ONE OF YOU WHO HAS TAKEN YOUR VALUABLE TIME TO DO THE BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACY.

I AM HONORED TO BE HERE TODAY WITH DISTINGUISHED CONTRIBUTORS TO THE CAUSE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT LIKE PROF. C. BARTELS AND PROF. P H KOOLJMAN.

IT HAS BEEN A SPECIAL PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO KNOW AND WORK WITH PAULINE VERSTEEGH, A BRILLIANT PERSON, AND A GREAT ADVOCATE FOR EQUALITY AND EMPOWERMENT.

LET ME TELL YOU WHY I AM HERE.

I BECAME A WHEEL CHAIR USER IN 1948. DURING THE 1960s I WAS A BUSINESSMAN IN JAPAN. I WAS INVOLVED WITH THE EMPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES. IT WAS GOOD BUSINESS. IT WAS VERY GOOD PR. AND SO IN 1966 I DECIDED TO GO TO SOUTH VIETNAM TO PREPARE A REPORT ON THE CONDITION OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES THERE FOR PRESENTATION TO THE WORLD CONGRESS OF REHABILITATION INTERNATIONAL.

DURING THE TWO WEEKS I WAS IN THE SAIGON AREA I SAW MANY TERRIBLE THINGS. I HAD EXPECTED THIS, BECAUSE AFTER ALL THERE WAS A SAVAGE WAR IN PROGRESS.

ONE DAY I VISITED A PLACE WITH AN INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION AS AN INSTITUTION FOR POLIO CHILDREN. THERE WAS A LARGE SHED WITH A TIN ROOF.

THERE WERE ABOUT FIFTY CHILDREN AGED PERHAPS THREE TO TEN, WEARING WHITE LOIN CLOTHS. THEY HAD BLOATED BELLIES, BULGING EYES AND MATCHSTICK ARMS AND LEGS. THEY LAY COVERED WITH FLIES ON THE HOT CONCRETE FLOOR IN A SWAMP OF THEIR OWN URINE AND FECES. THEY WERE STARVING TO DEATH.

ONE LITTLE GIRL, REACHED OUT AND TOOK MY HAND. SHE LOOKED INTO MY EYES. I FELT A LOVE, A SERENITY, A PASSION TO LIVE THAT WAS THUNDEROUS IN ITS SILENCE, PROFOUNDLY BEAUTIFUL IN ITS TRANSCENDENCE OVER HORROR.

THAT DYING LITTLE GIRL WAS LOOKING FOR GOD. WHAT SHE FOUND WAS A COUNTERFEIT SAINT.

THAT SCENE IS BURNED FOREVER INTO MY SOUL. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY LIFE I UNDERSTOOD THE REALITY OF EVIL AND THAT I WAS PART OF THAT EVIL.

I RETURNED TO MY HOTEL AND I GOT DRUNK AND I GOT SICK AND I KNEW THAT I COULD NOT LIVE WITH MYSELF IF I DID NOT TRY TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE ATROCITY THAT I HAD WITNESSED, AND OTHER ATROCITIES THAT I HAD MANAGED TO SEGREGATE FROM MY CONSCIENCE. I DETERMINED TO DEVOTE THE REST OF MY LIFE TO OUR STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE.

I SOON LEARNED THAT WHAT I HAD SEEN IN SAIGON WAS ONLY A TINY ICE BERG TIP OF INDESCRIBABLE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL OPPRESSION INFLICTED ON PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES EVERY MINUTE OF EVERY DAY IN EVERY NATION AND COMMUNITY OF THE WORLD - IN 1966 AND TODAY.

SOMETIMES THIS OPPRESSION IS SUBTLE, DISGUISED IN THE SUPERFICIAL PRETENSIONS OF ELITE, PATERNALISTIC CULTURE; SOMETIMES IT IS NAKED BARBARISM WHICH EQUALS THE BLATANT INHUMANITY OF AUSCHWITZ AND DACHAU; IT IS ALWAYS AN EXPERIENCE WHICH CRUSHES THE HUMAN SPIRIT.

EACH ONE OF YOU HAS YOUR OWN EXPERIENCE WITH THIS DEVASTATING OPPRESSION, YOUR OWN REASON FOR BEING HERE TODAY.

I THINK OF THE PEOPLE IMPRISONED IN THE INSTITUTIONS AND BACK ROOMS OF BALTIMORE, MOSCOW, AND BEIJING. I THINK OF THE PEOPLE SLEEPING AND BEGGING AND DYING IN THE STREETS OF WASHINGTON, BOMBAY AND RIO DE JANEIRO.

THE HARD REALITY IS THIS. SOCIETY IN USA, SOCIETY IN NETHERLANDS, SOCIETY IN EVERY NATION IS STILL INFECTED BY THE ANCIENT ASSUMPTION THAT PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES ARE NOT FULLY HUMAN, AND THEREFORE ARE NOT FULLY ELIGIBLE FOR THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH ARE AVAILABLE TO OTHER PEOPLE AS A MATTER OF RIGHT.

MANY YEARS AGO IT BECAME CLEAR TO AMERICAN DISABILITY RIGHTS ADVOCATES THAT WE WHO HAVE DISABILITIES WOULD NEVER HAVE MORE THAN TOKEN FUNDING FOR ESSENTIAL SERVICES, TOKEN ACCESS TO THE COMMUNITY, TOKEN JOBS, TOKEN PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY UNTIL OUR NATION MADE US EQUAL BY LAW.

WE STRUGGLED FOR A DECADE TO ACHIEVE THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT OF 1990 (ADA).

ADA IS A LANDMARK IN THE EVOLUTION OF HUMAN BEING. IT IS THE FIRST DECLARATION BY ANY NATION OF THE UNCONDITIONAL LEGAL RIGHT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES TO BE EQUAL IN EVERY PUBLIC ASPECT OF SOCIETY.

AT LONG LAST, PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES ARE DECLARED TO BE MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RACE, WITH THE LEGAL RIGHT TO HAVE JOBS, TO GO WHERE OTHER HUMANS GO, TO DO WHAT OTHER HUMANS DO.

BUT ADA IS NOT EQUALITY. ADA IS NOT JOBS, IT IS NOT ACCESS. ADA IS A PROMISE TO BE KEPT - A PROMISE TO THE PEOPLE OF USA - A PROMISE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. THE SPIRIT, THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS, THE FACT OF EQUALITY MUST BE IMPLEMENTED IN EVERY MIND, IN EVERY HEART, IN EVERY COMMUNITY IN THE WORLD.

YOU IN NETHERLANDS AND EUROPE HAVE THE POWER, AND THEREFORE THE RESPONSIBILITY, TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN KEEPING THAT PROMISE.

YOU HAVE A SOLID CORE OF STRONG DISABILITY RIGHTS LEADERS - PAULINE VEERSTEEGH, PIETER SUTORIUS, MARCEL SOENTPIET, LIES V D LOO, JOSEFIEN BOERMA, MARRY VAN DONGEN, ALINE SAERS, BAS TRAFFERS, AB VRIETHOFF, MARJAN DE NEEVE, ERIK VAN UDEN, DR. F. KISTENKAS AND SO MANY OTHERS.

YOUR PROGRESSIVE PROGRAMS IN EMPLOYMENT, INDEPENDENT LIVING, HEALTH AND OTHER AREAS HAVE EARNED THE RESPECT OF THE WORLD. YOUR AGGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP NOW CAN TRANSLATE THE PROMISE OF ADA INTO AN IRREVERSIBLE MOMENTUM FOR EQUALITY IN EVERY NATION.

COLLEAGUES, BEING TAKEN CARE OF, WELFARE, PATERNALISM IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR EQUALITY. THE RECIPIENT OF PATERNALISTIC SERVICES IS ALWAYS THE SLAVE OF THE PROVIDER.

THE TIME HAS COME TO SAY NO MORE TO THE EMPTY PROMISES AND TOKEN HUMANITY OF PATERNALISTIC AUTHORITY.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR US OF THE INTERNATIONAL DISABILITY COMMUNITY JOIN HANDS IN REVOLUTION. LET US UNITE ALL OF OUR PEOPLE AND ALL OF OUR PASSION IN WORLD WIDE REVOLUTION FOR THE EQUALITY OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES, AND THE EMPOWERMENT OF ALL PEOPLE. AN AGE OF SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY WILL OPERATE IN NO OTHER WAY.

I PROPOSE THREE PRIORITIES FOR ACTION.

FIRST, I JOIN WITH YOU IN CALLING ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NETHERLANDS TO SPECIFICALLY INCLUDE EQUAL RIGHTS FOR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES AND OLDER PEOPLE IN THE BILL WHICH CLARIFIES ARTICLE ONE OF THE DUTCH CONSTITUTION.

SECOND: I JOIN WITH YOU IN CALLING ON THE NETHERLANDS AND EVERY NATION TO ENACT AND IMPLEMENT A HIGHLY VISIBLE, ENFORCEABLE LEGAL MANDATE THAT GIVES ALL PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES EQUAL ACCESS TO FULL PARTICIPATION IN EVERY ASPECT OF CULTURE.

THERE MUST BE NO EXEMPTION FOR ANY SOCIAL PROCESS FROM THE REQUIREMENT OF FULL EQUALITY. THERE MUST BE NO EXCLUSION OF ANY PERSON WITH A PHYSICAL OR MENTAL DISABILITY.

THERE MUST BE NO EXCEPTION TO THE ABSOLUTE REQUIREMENT THAT ALL NEW FACILITIES AND SYSTEMS BE 100% ACCESSIBLE.

~~THERE MUST BE NO COMPROMISE WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AT ANY TIME OR AT ANY PLACE.~~

ADA PROVIDES A MODEL FOR RESPONSIBLE CHANGE THAT IS ADAPTABLE TO ANY NATION, INDUSTRIAL OR UNDEVELOPED. IT SPECIFICALLY STATES THAT NO BUSINESS OR PUBLIC ENTITY WILL BE REQUIRED TO SPEND ONE SINGLE PENNY THAT IT CAN'T AFFORD TO SPEND, OR TO HIRE ONE SINGLE INDIVIDUAL WHO IS NOT THE BEST QUALIFIED PERSON AVAILABLE FOR THE JOB.

AND YET ADA IS AN EFFECTIVE MANDATE FOR FULL EQUALITY, BECAUSE IT DEMANDS ALL THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY THAT SOCIETY CAN REALISTICALLY GIVE NOW, AND SETS OUT A DEFINITIVE TRANSITION TO A FULLY ACCESSIBLE SOCIETY IN THE FUTURE.

THIRD. OUR MOST SERIOUS SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS - IN BOTH INDUSTRIAL AND DEVELOPING NATIONS - FOR PEOPLE WITH AND WITHOUT DISABILITIES - RESULT DIRECTLY FROM OUR FAILURE TO FULFILL THE MOST PROFOUND RESPONSIBILITY OF INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY - OUR FAILURE TO INVEST ALL AVAILABLE RESOURCES IN THE EMPOWERMENT OF EACH HUMAN BEING TO PRODUCE AND TO LIVE THE GOOD LIFE.

I CALL ON NETHERLANDS, I CALL ON EVERY NATION TO ADOPT A COMPREHENSIVE LONG RANGE POLICY OF AGGRESSIVE ACTION TO EMPOWER ALL OF ITS CITIZENS WITH AND WITHOUT DISABILITIES TO BE MAXIMALLY PRODUCTIVE IN TERMS OF QUALITY OF LIFE. EMPOWERMENT MUST BE THE FIRST PRIORITY OF GOVERNMENT, THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND INDIVIDUALS.

EMPOWERMENT IS WHEN WE UNDERSTAND THAT HAVING A DISABILITY IS A NORMAL CHARACTERISTIC OF HUMAN BEING, THAT PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS OTHER PEOPLE, THAT DISABILITY POLICY MUST BE INTEGRATED INTO PUBLIC POLICY. BECAUSE DISABILITY IS NOT "THEM OR US," DISABILITY IS JUST US - ALL OF US.

EMPOWERMENT IS WHEN WE AS INDIVIDUALS WITH AND WITHOUT DISABILITIES REJECT STEREOTYPED ROLES OF HELPLESSNESS, SPECTATORISM AND DEPENDENCY AND ACT TO FULFILL OUR INALIENABLE RIGHT AND OUR INALIENABLE RESPONSIBILITY TO GOVERN OURSELVES, TO GOVERN OUR NATION, AND TO INVEST ALL OF OUR ENERGIES, ABILITIES AND RESOURCES IN PRODUCING LIVES OF QUALITY FOR OURSELVES AND FOR OUR FELLOW HUMANS.

COLLEAGUES, THE PROMISE OF SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY WILL NOT BE KEPT UNTIL WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE RESPONSIBLE LEADERS ARE ALL OF US, THAT "THE DISABLED" CAN BE ANY OF US - AND THAT THE PRODUCTIVITY AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE SINGLE MOTHER IN THE GHETTO, THE PERSON WITH MENTAL ILLNESS, MENTAL RETARDATION, BLINDNESS OR DEAFNESS IS JUST AS IMPORTANT TO OUR POCKET BOOKS AND TO OUR HAPPINESS AS THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE STAR OF WORLD CUP SOCCER.

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT. I AM NOT TALKING ABOUT SIMPLY PUTTING A NEW LABEL ON THE SAME OLD EMPTY POLITICAL BOTTLES.

I SPEAK OF A MASSIVE REVISION OF THE DIALOGUE OF OUR CULTURE. FAMILIES, SCHOOLS, BUSINESSES, GOVERNMENTS, THE PUBLIC MEDIA MUST STOP PANDERING TO OBSOLETE ENTERPRISE, PATERNALISTIC STEREOTYPES AND ESCAPIST SELF-INDULGENCE. WE MUST COMMUNICATE THE INFORMATION AND THE VALUES OF EMPOWERMENT.

I SPEAK OF A MASSIVE REALLOCATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESOURCES FROM CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION AND PATERNALISTIC POWER TO SYSTEMATIC INVESTMENT IN THE VERY SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENTS IN FREE ENTERPRISE, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPOWERMENT THAT HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED IN AREAS SUCH AS BUSINESS, LABOR, TECHNOLOGY, SPORTS, SPACE TRAVEL, AND INDEPENDENCE ORIENTED DISABILITY SERVICES.

I SPEAK OF A CONTINUUM OF LIFELONG SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES FOR ALL PEOPLE, RESTRUCTURED TO FOSTER EMPOWERMENT RATHER THAN DEPENDENCY. EDUCATION, ECONOMIC AID, TRANSPORTATION, HOUSING, COMMUNICATION AND QUALITY, AFFORDABLE INSURANCE, LEGAL AND HEALTH SERVICES FOR EMPOWERMENT. REHABILITATION, INDEPENDENT LIVING, TRANSITION, SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT, AND PERSONAL ASSISTANCE SERVICES FOR EMPOWERMENT.

I SPEAK OF EMPLOYMENT WHERE FLEXIBLE JOB DESCRIPTIONS, HOURS AND PLACES OF WORK ARE NORMAL, WHERE ACCESSIBLE TECHNOLOGY, PERSONAL ASSISTANCE AND JOB COACHING ARE INTEGRATED COMPONENTS OF THE SYSTEM - AND WHERE A PASSIONATE SCIENCE OF EMPOWERMENT REPLACES THE TRADITIONAL RELIGION OF BUREAUCRACY AND ITS PRIESTHOOD OF PRIVILEGE.

I SPEAK OF AN ACCESSIBLE, STATE OF THE ART SYSTEM OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS THAT WILL MAKE EVERY HOME, FARM, HOTEL ROOM, OFFICE AND RESIDENTIAL INSTITUTION INTO A UNIVERSITY, A PLACE OF WORK, A SHOPPING MALL AND A CENTER TO ACCESS SERVICES.

I SPEAK OF NEW COMMUNITIES, NEW CITIES WITHOUT CARS, POLLUTION, GHETTOS AND HIGH TAXES, CITIES WHERE TOTAL CIVILIZATIONS - WORK, SHOPPING, SOCIAL SERVICES, RECREATION -ARE AFFORDABLY ACCESSIBLE TO EVERY HOME WITHIN FIVE OR TEN MINUTES BY WALKING OR UNDERGROUND SHUTTLE.

OUR AGENDA IS AMBITIOUS. THERE WILL BE QUESTIONS, OBJECTIONS.

IS EQUALITY AND EMPOWERMENT FOR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES TOO EXPENSIVE? SHOULD EQUALITY BE APPROACHED GRADUALLY, IN PARTS? IS IT INAPPROPRIATE FOR SOME NATIONS, BECAUSE THEY ARE HIGHLY DEVELOPED, BECAUSE THEY ARE UNDEVELOPED, OR BECAUSE THEIR CULTURES ARE SOMEHOW UNIQUE? IS EQUALITY INAPPROPRIATE FOR NETHERLANDS?

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS PARTIAL EQUALITY. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A CULTURE WHERE INEQUALITY IS APPROPRIATE.

— APARTHEID IS INTOLERABLE TO AFRICANS, IT IS INTOLERABLE TO THE WORLD, IT IS INTOLERABLE TO PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN NETHERLANDS.

EQUALITY NOW!

IS EQUALITY IS BAD FOR BUSINESS? IS EMPOWERMENT UNAFFORDABLE IN THIS TIME OF BUDGET DEFICITS AND RECESSION? ON THE CONTRARY, WE CAN'T AFFORD NOT TO EMPOWER.

OUR OBSOLETE, PATERNALISTIC STATUS QUO IS THE CAUSE OF OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS ESTIMATED THE COST OF EXCLUDING 2/3 OF AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES FROM THE PRODUCTIVE MAINSTREAM TO BE ABOUT \$200 BILLION DOLLARS CASH ANNUALLY AND GOING UP EVERY YEAR. THE COST IN OTHER NATIONS IS EQUALLY PUNITIVE.

AND OBSOLETE DISABILITY POLICY IS ONLY ONE EXAMPLE OF THE EXORBITANT COST OF PROJECTING PRIMITIVE INFRASTRUCTURE AND PATERNALISM INTO AN ERA OF SCIENCE POWERED COMPLEXITY.

IT IS IRRATIONAL, IT IS IMMORAL, TO CONTINUE FOR ONE MORE MINUTE POLICIES WHICH IMPOSE CRUSHING BURDENS OF DEBT AND POVERTY ON OUR CHILDREN AND WHICH THREATEN THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC CIVILIZATION.

EMPOWERMENT NOW!

UNIVERSAL EMPOWERMENT IS POSSIBLE, IT IS PRACTICAL. THE MONEY, THE EXPERTISE, THE TECHNOLOGY ARE AVAILABLE NOW.

WHAT IS LACKING IS COURAGE, MATURITY AND SELF-DISCIPLINE. WHAT IS REQUIRED IS DYNAMIC, PRINCIPLED, UNIFYING LEADERSHIP TO MAKE EMPOWERMENT THE CENTRAL FOCUS OF DIALOGUE AND ACTION.

LEADERSHIP BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND GOVERNMENTS AT ALL LEVELS; LEADERSHIP BY BUSINESS AND LABOR, THE PUBLIC MEDIA, RELIGION AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS.

LEADERSHIP BY FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS.

ABOVE ALL, THERE MUST BE TRANSCENDING LEADERSHIP BY A UNITED DISABILITY COMMUNITY. BY EACH ONE OF US.

NOBODY IS GOING TO GIVE US EQUALITY. IF WE DO NOT EMPOWER OURSELVES, WE WILL REMAIN DEPENDENT AND POOR, AND NETHERLANDS AND THE WORLD WILL BE DISABLED.

WE MUST DEVELOP MASSIVE COMPUTER LINKED COALITIONS, INTERNATIONALLY, NATIONALLY AND IN EVERY COMMUNITY THAT UNITE PEOPLE WITH BLINDNESS, DEAFNESS, MENTAL RETARDATION, AND MENTAL ILLNESS, WITH PHYSICAL AND ALL DISABILITIES.

WE MUST INCLUDE PARENTS, SERVICE PROVIDERS AND ALL WHO LOVE JUSTICE, BUT WE WHO HAVE DISABILITIES MUST CONTROL POLICY. WE MUST EXPAND OUR MOVEMENT ONE THOUSAND FOLD. WE MUST SHOUT THE MESSAGE OF EMPOWERMENT IN OUR HOMES, OUR NEIGHBORHOODS, THROUGH THE PUBLIC MEDIA AND IN THE STREETS.

GET INTO POLITICS AS IF YOUR LIFE DEPENDED ON IT, BECAUSE IT DOES!

WE MUST FORM STRONG PARTNERSHIPS FOR EMPOWERMENT WITH OTHER MINORITIES, BUSINESS, LABOR AND GOVERNMENT IN EVERY COMMUNITY. WE MUST UNITE WITH OUR OPPRESSED COLLEAGUES IN EVERY NATION TO CREATE A WORLDWIDE REVOLUTION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STRONG CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS AND EMPOWERMENT POLICIES. I PROPOSE A REGULAR EXCHANGE OF COMPUTER, TELEPHONE AND MAIL COMMUNICATION, AND AN EXPANDED EXCHANGE OF LEADERSHIP INTERNSHIPS.

WE MUST BECOME FULLY ACTIVE IN DISABLED PEOPLES' INTERNATIONAL, REHABILITATION INTERNATIONAL AND OTHER DISABILITY FOCUS INTERNATIONAL GROUPS, TO SUPPORT THOSE ORGANIZATIONS, AND TO ENSURE THAT THEY ARE AUTHENTIC VOICES FOR RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT.

WE MUST BECOME FAR MORE EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATORS. WE MUST TRANSCEND THE FASHIONABLE, IMPOTENT CLICHES OF OFFICIALDOM AND OF THE POPULAR MEDIA AND LEARN TO USE THE ULTIMATE COMMUNICATIVE WEAPON - THE HUMAN FUSION OF LOVE AND TRUTH.

WE MUST SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE HEART AND CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD WITH THE SIMPLE TRUTH, THE NAKED, PASSIONATE RATIONALITY, THE PRINCIPLED ACTION AND OVERWHELMING LOVE FOR HUMANITY THAT HAS POWERED EVERY SIGNIFICANT REVOLUTION IN HISTORY.

WE MUST GO FORWARD TOGETHER WITH THE SPIRIT OF GANDHI AND MARTIN LUTHER KING, WITH MILITANT FIRMNESS IN THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND EMPOWERMENT, WITH DETERMINATION TO STRUGGLE FOR A HUNDRED YEARS IF THAT IS WHAT IT TAKES TO WIN.

OUR MOVEMENT DOES NOT YET HAVE A GANDHI OR A MARTIN LUTHER KING, BUT EACH ONE OF US CAN BE A TRULY POWERFUL LEADER FOR EMPOWERMENT EVERY DAY IN EVERY PLACE -- IN OUR HOMES, SCHOOLS, OFFICES, CHURCHES AND CLUBS. TOGETHER, WE CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

WE MUST UNITE IN ONE VOICE THAT WILL THUNDER TO EVERY HEART AND MIND IN THE WORLD:

WE ARE HUMAN BEINGS.

EQUALITY NOW!

EMPOWERMENT NOW!

FINALLY, I SPEAK DIRECTLY TO YOU WHO DO NOT HAVE DISABILITIES. TO THE MEMBERS OF GOVERNMENT, OF BUSINESS, TO EVERY CITIZEN OF NETHERLANDS AND EUROPE. EACH ONE OF US HAS A VERY PERSONAL REASON TO SUPPORT THE EQUALITY AND EMPOWERMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES.

DISABILITY HAS BECOME PREDICTABLE AND NORMAL IN OUR SOCIETY. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT BY THE YEAR 2,000 ONE IN FIVE HUMANS WILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT DISABILITY.

IF THERE IS NO PERSON WITH A DISABILITY IN YOUR FAMILY NOW, SOONER OR LATER THERE WILL BE. AND THAT WILL NOT NECESSARILY BE A TRAGEDY FOR YOUR FAMILY. IT WILL MOST OFTEN MEAN THAT A PERSON YOU LOVE VERY MUCH HAS SURVIVED A PREVIOUSLY FATAL ILLNESS TO BE WITH YOU FOR MANY POTENTIALLY PRODUCTIVE AND HAPPY YEARS.

THAT PERSON WILL BE YOUR WIFE, YOUR HUSBAND, YOUR MOTHER, YOUR FATHER, YOUR DAUGHTER, YOUR SON - YOU. YOU ARE GOING TO WANT THAT MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY TO BE RECOGNIZED AS A FIRST CLASS HUMAN BEING.

I THINK OF MY BELOVED FOSTER DAUGHTER WITH MULTIPLE DISABILITIES, WHO WAS RAPED AND PROSTITUTED AND DRIVEN TO ATTEMPTED SUICIDE IN AN INSTITUTION IN THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.

I THINK OF MY DAUGHTER BETSY, WHOSE HUSBAND LEFT HER TWO DAYS AFTER SHE WAS DIAGNOSED AS HAVING MS. I THINK OF MY BROTHER PETER, A SMALL BUSINESSMAN, WHO THREE YEARS AGO WAS FACED WITH USING A WHEEL CHAIR LIKE MINE, AND THE MASSIVE DISCRIMINATION. HE SAID, "I WOULD RATHER BE DEAD THAN DEPENDENT." - AND HE CHOSE TO BE DEAD.

I APPEAL TO YOU FROM MY HEART. I APPEAL TO YOU IN THE NAME OF WHATEVER GOD YOU MAY WORSHIP, WHATEVER PRINCIPLE YOU MAY BELIEVE. I APPEAL TO YOU IN THE NAME OF THE SACRED VALUE THAT IS LIFE. I APPEAL TO YOU IN THE NAME OF YOUR CHILDREN, YOUR GRANDCHILDREN, AND ALL THE CHILDREN YET UNBORN IN EVERY NATION.

RECOGNIZE PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES AS EQUAL HUMAN BEINGS. SPECIFICALLY, IN YOUR CONSTITUTION, BY ENACTING A HUMAN RIGHTS LAW COVERING PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES.

IT DOESN'T COST A SINGLE GUILDER TO WRITE THE SIMPLE WORDS. PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN NETHERLANDS ARE FULLY EQUAL HUMAN BEINGS.

IT IS NOT PAINFUL TO SAY THE WORDS. PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS.

WHAT KIND OF TWISTED MORALITY, WHAT KIND OF TWISTED LOGIC, WHAT KIND OF TWISTED POLITICS COULD ARGUE AGAINST SAYING - PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS.

COLLEAGUES, THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY THAT DESTINY PRESENTS TO EACH ONE OF US TODAY, IS ALMOST BEYOND COMPREHENSION. THE FALL OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE, THE INCREASINGLY APPARENT LIMITATIONS OF UNFOCUSED FREE ENTERPRISE, THE OBVIOUS POTENTIAL OF TECHNOLOGY, HAS CREATED AN ATMOSPHERE OF RECEPTIVITY TO CHANGE, AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS THAT IS UNPRECEDENTED IN ALL HISTORY.

WE HUMANS HAVE THE ALL RESOURCES, AND THEREFORE TOTAL RESPONSIBILITY, TO MOVE INTO AN AGE OF SCIENCE POWERED DEMOCRACY CHARACTERIZED BY A QUALITY OF LIFE THAT WILL EXCEED THE IMAGINATION OF UTOPIAN FICTION.

BUT THE POLITICAL, THE ECONOMIC, THE DEMOGRAPHIC, THE ECOLOGICAL CLOCKS ARE RACING FORWARD. TIME IS RUNNING OUT ON OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE THE REVOLUTION OF EMPOWERMENT WITHOUT AN INTERVENING AGE OF CHAOS.

WE MUST UNITE. WE MUST ACT. WE MUST WIN.

AND I BELIEVE WE WILL WIN - BECAUSE I BELIEVE IN YOU.

YOU ARE THE GREAT PIONEERS AT THE GREATEST OF ALL FRONTIERS - THE ENLARGEMENT OF HUMAN BEING. YOU ARE THE REAL BEAUTY OF THE HUMAN UNIVERSE. MY ASSOCIATION WITH YOU IS THE MOST PROFOUND HAPPINESS IN MY LIFE.

COLLEAGUES, I LOVE YOU. I AM WITH YOU ALL THE WAY.

TOGETHER, WE HAVE OVERCOME. TOGETHER, WE SHALL OVERCOME.

WE ARE HUMAN BEINGS. EQUALITY NOW! EMPOWERMENT NOW!