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Americans with Disabilities Act Signing 7/26/90 [OA 8326] [2]

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Where was George?

by Evan J. Kemp, Jr.

Vice President George Bush and I have been good friends since 1983. In 1987, he was instrumental in my successful appointment and Senate confirmation as a Commissioner at the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Yet it is not our friendship that compels my support for the Vice President in this election year, but rather his leadership role in advocating the rights of individuals with disabilities.

I was disabled long before I was able to vote. I was an advocate for the rights of people with physical and mental disabilities long before I was either a Republican or a Democrat. When I decide whom I am going to vote for, I am an advocate first and a member of a political party second. What I look for in any candidate, especially one running for President of the United States, is what he or she is doing to accelerate the integration of disabled people into society and to hasten the day that disabled people are given control over their own lives. Thus I believe that when we decide whom to vote for on November 8, 1988, we should ask ourselves, "Where was George?" and "Where was Michael?" on key disability issues.

In 1981 when the current Administration came to power, one of its express purposes was to eliminate the regulations promulgated under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. As a result, disabled people and the parents of disabled children united forces and became a formidable Civil Rights movement against this deregulatory attempt. The Vice President, as Chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, was in charge of the review of these regulations. Instead of relying on preconceptions, he sought the views of disabled individuals across the country and concluded that the 504 regulations should be preserved. Consequently, on March 21, 1983, in a letter to disability leaders



around the United States, he announced the decision to retain these regulations in full force, recognizing that,

Especially important were the personal views and experience of those most directly affected by these regulations. The comments of handicapped individuals, as well as their families, provided an invaluable insight into the impact of the 504 guidelines.

The Vice President's efforts represented the first time that a national political leader directly sought the advice of disabled people and our families on an issue of critical importance to us. Before the Vice President took this initiative, political leaders had dealt not with us, but with the people who want to take care of us. However, those who try to take care of us want to keep us dependent, segregated, and subject to their control, while we disabled people want to be integrated into society and to have control over our own lives. We want the

same Civil Rights that everyone else enjoys. By listening to disabled individuals express these views, George Bush learned the difference between the two groups and chose to support us instead of our would-be "keepers."

Since that time the Vice President has consistently sought to promote the Civil Rights of individuals with disabilities. Certainly everyone recalls the controversy over appointing a deaf President at Gallaudet University—it was the most covered media event in the history of the disability rights movement. Where was George? Where was Michael? George was in the trenches. Michael was silent.

On March 1, five days before the televised demonstrations began at Gallaudet, the Vice President called upon Gallaudet's Board of Trustees to name a deaf President. In a letter to the Search Committee, he urged,

In the last two decades our society has undergone a quiet revolution. The

BBD

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Congress, the Courts and the Administration have strongly supported the right of people with disabilities to hold positions of trust and leadership. Our government has enacted numerous laws to ensure that disabled people are ensured equality of opportunity.

Accordingly, as an entity funded by the Federal government, Gallaudet has a responsibility to set an example and thus to appoint a President who is not only highly qualified, but who is also deaf. I hope that the Trustees will keep Gallaudet's critical leadership position in mind when they make their decision.

On the crucial issue of appointing a deaf president to administer Gallaudet, we know where George was. He was on the barricades and he was involved. Where was Michael? He ducked the issue.

Similarly, the Vice President led the call for a broad Civil Rights bill for disabled individuals while Michael Dukakis remained uncommitted. On March 31 this year, Vice President Bush vowed,

I pledge that my Administration will do away with "Hire the Handicapped Week" and replace it with Federal legislation that gives people with disabilities the same protection in private employment that is now enjoyed by women and minorities.

One month later, the "Americans with Disabilities Act of 1988" (ADA) was introduced into Congress. If enacted, this bill would give disabled people the same Civil Rights protection in employment, public accommodation, transportation, and housing that is now enjoyed by women, blacks, and other minorities. For disabled people, it is the most important legislation that has ever been submitted to Congress.

How have George and Michael responded to this legislation? The Vice President announced his wholehearted support for the ADA at a White House ceremony attended by almost 100 people, the great majority of whom were disabled. He also issued a press release, declaring,

Disabled people do not have the same Civil Rights protection as women and minorities. However, an enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act of

1988—legislation developed by the National Council on The Handicapped or similar legislation—would remedy this situation.

In contrast, Michael Dukakis only issued a feeble press release, which stated,

I support the principles and objectives represented by the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1988. I applaud the efforts of the disability community in working for the objectives of this bill.

Mr. Dukakis did not hold a press conference nor did he meet with disabled people. In fact, it appears that he rushed out his press release in an attempt to keep up with the Vice President's support of the ADA. Dukakis's release was "coincidentally" issued at the same time that the Vice President was entertaining almost 100 disabled people at the White House and sharing his vision of an America that includes disabled people.

The Vice President's endorsement of the ADA is clearly stronger and more sincere than Michael Dukakis'. George Bush endorsed the ADA in person in front of disabled people and the parents of disabled people. Michael Dukakis announced his support, in principle, of our Civil Rights and limited his efforts to paper alone. Apparently, Mr. Dukakis has chosen the viewpoint of those who wish to take care of us rather than those who support our goals of integration and independence.

In sum, I am not voting for the Vice President because he is a close friend or because he helped me become a Commissioner at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or even because I know he will be a good President. I am voting for the Vice President because, when the important issues on disability rights come up, we all know "where George will be"—he will be listening to us and he will be on our side.

Evan J. Kemp, Jr. is a Commissioner on the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and formerly executive director of Ralph Nader's Disability Rights Center.

Rehab doesn't take my ambitions seriously.

JOBS

66% of people with disabilities are unemployed.

On CETA I didn't make enough to pay for an attendant.

Many people think I'm stupid because I'm deaf.

My son missed passing the state merit typing test by two strokes of the keys. I know he could do the job.

It is hard to get in the GA Tech computer program. Their standards leave a lot of people out.



Schools get defensive when I try to bring in someone to help them learn about my child's disability.

SCHOOL

I had a head injury. I'm a graduate student at UGA. It takes me more time to fill out tests.

Many kids with Tourettes are inappropriately disciplined because of their disability.

I'm frustrated still being at home at age 24. I want to live with friends. We could help each other and share expenses.

I have had to crawl on the floor to get into the bathroom... hoping no one would see me. I didn't have a choice.

No housing is available in Clayton County. I don't want a group home. I want my own place.

GA isn't answering the cry of people who need a place to live.

HOME



My son has always lived at home. His future looks grim. What will happen to him when I am no longer on the scene? I'm no spring chicken.

Leslie has lived every day of her life in the community. She deserves to continue to live in the community. I want her to have a choice about where she lives. She shouldn't have to go to an institution.

Accept me as a person...for what I can do. I'm not just a number.

ATTITUDES

Society is making people second class citizens. They blame people for things they can't control.



Frequently the police pick me up thinking I'm drunk. It takes a lot of time to explain that I had a head injury. I carry a card from my doctor, but that isn't enough. They need to be educated.

We were told that our son would never be happy and we should send him to an institution.

The elevator at the Marta Station is often out of whack.

Architectural barriers take away dignity.

ACCESSIBILITY

My apartment had a fire. I was stuck upstairs for a week without electricity.

Many public schools in low income areas aren't accessible.

Many people don't want to hear about mental illness. They must hear.



My role as an activist may not help me, but it might help others after me.

ADVOCACY

You don't have to be in a group to advocate. Do it on your job and in your community.

The 1980 Census was embarrassing. They really aren't counting disabled people. They are saying that disabled people don't count.

Let's come together. Let's have a big rally.

EXAMPLES OF WHAT WAS SAID

Tommy called Rehab about college. They denied him because he would need an attendant. I condemn Rehab and society for not giving Tommy a chance.

Denise was considered a basket case when she lived in the institution. She is disproving everything that was said about her. She is working at GA State and has been for 2 1/2 yrs. We must believe in people.

Home health comes 5 days per week for one hour a day. On Saturdays and Sundays no one comes. Just getting 5 hours of assistance gives you the explanation of why I'm so small. There is no one to feed me.

PERSONAL ASSISTANCE

To have a place of my own I would need some personal assistance.

The Mayor's Task Force is working.



It cost \$18,000 to modify my van. It sat in New Jersey for a year before they modified it. It needs maintenance but I can't afford it.

Don't squander the money. We have contributed to the taxes.

SERVICES

People aren't falling through the cracks... they are falling in the gaps. Many people with mental illness are on the streets.

Training centers shouldn't be a dead end. My son has gone for 20 years. They need to train people. They go in the door so that one day they can go out the door.

The home health attendants make \$6-\$7 per visit. The agency charges \$45. Give me the money to control.

I've been married six years and I love my husband very much. We are having to think about getting divorced so I can keep my medical assistance.

I get \$343/month. My rent is \$90/mo. I pay \$83 Child Support. That doesn't leave much to live on.

MONEY

The money I get now is not enough.

EQUIPMENT

It is difficult for me to make my needs known. I need a system to help me talk.

The technology that exists is not getting to the people. There are many things that can help a blind person.



My wheelchair was down for 6 months and Medicaid didn't want to buy me a new one.

SPEAK AND BE HEARD

Georgia Council on Developmental Disabilities
878 Peachtree St. N.E. Suite 620 Atlanta, GA 30309

Volume #10

Gainesville, Georgia

August 31, 1989

RAMP ADDED AT FIRST BAPTIST

The final Public Forum in a series of ten which were sponsored by the Georgia Council on Developmental Disabilities was held in Gainesville on August 31, 1989. The event was held at the First Baptist Church from 6:30-11:00 p.m. A ramp was added to facilitate access to the Fellowship Hall. Approximately sixty people attended and twenty-four people testified.

Susan Cowan, the Local Coordinator, did an excellent job of organizing the event. There was representation from many counties in North Georgia.

There were several dignitaries who made an appearance at the Forum. State Senator Nathan Deal and State Representative Wyc Orr stopped by. Ed Stander from Public Works attended along with his wife, Martha. State Representative Jerry Jackson was unable to attend but sent a letter. County Commissioner J.B. Jones also participated.

Mary Suggs, Chairperson of the Georgia Council on Developmental Disabilities, welcomed everyone and gave a brief description of the Council's activities.

The testimony will be summarized and included in a report which will be Georgia's response to Public Law 100-146. This report will be given to the Governor, the General Assembly, and Congress.

THANK YOU

First Baptist Church Ann Lewis Bob Herrin
Cathy Drerup Jeanette Senart Harrison Fraser
Susan Parker Donald Parks Mavis Clark
Linda Lawson Bonnie Kilgore Jesse Lovell
Martha Simmons Ashley Doosen Toni Couch
The Gleaners Sunday School Group

UPCOMING EVENTS

September 22, 1989 Legislative Planning Conference
Atlanta, Cathy Bruce, (404) 656-2952

September 23-28th Disability Rights Protests, Organized by ADAPT, Atlanta,
Kate Gainer, (404) 656-2952

October 5-6, 1989 Different Gifts...One Community,
Atlanta, Rev. Bill Gaventa, (404) 621-0849

October 7, 1989 Housing Now Demonstrations, Washington, D.C.
(202) 347-2405

October 23, 1989 Banquet with Candidates for Governor,
Atlanta, Eleanor Smith, (404) 378-7455

October 23-24, 1989 Leading Edge Policies and People
with Disabilities: Shaping the Future, Atlanta, Pat
Puckett, (404) 292-6501

November 1-3, 1989 Touch the Future, Atlanta, Joy
Kniskern, (404) 894-6744

December 5-7, 1989 Regional Independent Living
Conference, Tamara Bibb, (404) 331-2352

March 29-30, 1990 We Are Not Alone? Strengthening
Families Through Community Partnerships, Athens,
Barbara Wilhite, (404) 894-5790 TTY 894-2031

FACILITATORS

Dottie Adams Mark Johnson Pat Puckett

EARLY INTERVENTION

Callie is 6. She is doing well in school because of her earlier involvement with Challenge Child.

Oconee Co. doesn't offer preschool services. My child deserves it.



Early intervention is cost effective.

The school needs teachers who are trained in Learning Disabilities...not just an Interrelated Certificate.

School is a glorified slitter service with a little therapy thrown in.

I want a home for my son in our own community. Then we could visit. I don't want to be parenting the rest of my life.

Drop all labels.

Why sink a ton of money into fighting instead of providing him a good education?

Rehab said my only options for jobs were computers or a vending stand because I'm blind. Neither of those options appealed to me.

The school isn't wheelchair accessible.

The lift bus only runs in the city and we live in the county.



The questions we are asked border on ridiculous.

His day program says we aren't eligible for transportation because we own a car. They won't take into consideration the physical demands of lifting him in and out of the car.

We have gotten some respite care through the Family Support Program. It has given my husband and I a chance to have time together. We rekindled a friendship with another couple from 23 years ago.



SERVICES

We need to re-train DHR. Numbers aren't what we are looking at. It is people!

I knew who to go to and it took me a month to get services for my child.

RECREATION

No one calls my son. He needs someone to have fun with.

Medicaid is paying \$500/month to an agency for 12-13 baths. If that money could be combined with ours, I could hire considerable help.

PERSONAL ASSISTANCE

I need assistance so I can live on my own.



We made a commitment to have our son live at home. It is impossible to go forever like we are. We are in our 60's. He will need a place to live. He wouldn't last in an institution.

HOME

Nursing homes aren't suitable options.

Georgia doesn't take in medicaid money for housing. They are missing the boat.

The money people receive from SSI is not enough to live on. Georgia is one of 8 states that doesn't supplement SSI.

My parents got a lift van. The bank still owns it. They might have hurt their backs if they had kept lifting me in and out of the car.

I have a lift van, but I need a driver to take me places.

RESPIRE CARE

It is a major challenge for my wife to go to the store. She can't carry both boys. She needs respite care.

Our son has to have eyes on attention 24 hours/day. It is just the 2 of us to provide it.

They don't make people stay at their battle stations for extended times due to the stress. They need to recognize our stress.



We were told we could get benefits if we sold our house and car and took a lower paying job.



MONEY

They are making money from misery.

Piggly Wiggly has come up with electronic shopping carts.

Handi-Access has helped get a ramp at the Courthouse and handicap parking spaces.

There needs to be a hot line about where to find resources.



When I was hospitalized because of my mental illness, no one informed me what was wrong.

I want my family to have a nice home, good food, and nice clothes just like anyone else.



We need to come out and speak for ourselves.

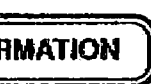
It is difficult trying to stay on medicaid.

Everything is so expensive. My son's wheelchair cost \$2500.



ACCESSIBILITY

My family wants to build a house that is accessible, especially the bathroom and the doorways. We need a low interest loan.



INFORMATION

We want to know what's available. It was like we were the first ones trying to keep our child at home.

INSURANCE

You need insurance when you need it.

Someone asked me so I got involved. My eyes have been opened.

Being President of Handi-Access has given me courage that I can speak up.

My son is interested in the world.

DISCOVERING GIFTS

My son is a joyous human being. The fact that he is totally dependent just tells what he can't do.

He needs a slower paced job. His job as a dishwasher lasted one day.

JOBS

Ricky likes authority figures. He would like a job where he could wear a uniform.

ADVOCACY

Why don't legislators stay and hear the whole story? We accept their responses too readily.

My son is just as much a part of the family as I am.

As a blind person, I don't have the right to privacy when I'm voting.

INSERT A

Now that we have this ADA bill, zookeepers in XXXXXXXX will never again shut the gates to XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX, a boy with Downs Syndrome, who wanted only to visit his favorite animals. \\

XXXXXXXXXXXXX, a XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX teen in a wheelchair, will be able to use public buses to visit his friends by himself.\\

Employers in XXXXXXXXXX can no longer refuse to hire XXXXXXXXXXXX, a bright young woman with epilepsy, citing their fear of her having a seizure. \\

And Lisa XXXXXXXXX, a xxx-year-old with Cerebral Palsy, will finally be admitted to movie theaters in her hometown of XXXXXXXXX to see the cartoons she loves. \\

Lisa -- you might not have been able to enter your theaters before, but I tell you now with love -- you are always welcome to enter the White House. \\

INSERT B:

I want to share with you an example that really moved me, of how it is the little children who are already leading the way. Across the nation, some 10,000 youngsters with disabilities are part of Little League's Challenger Division. Their teams play just like others, but -- this is the most extraordinary part -- they are helped by volunteer buddies from conventional Little League teams, who push wheelchairs around the bases; help field grounders; give encouragement; and look after their new friends' safety. \\

Let these children be our guide and inspiration. ///

guarantee



The President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities

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Dignity, Equality, Independence Through Employment

488 7684

presrep.s89

To: Members of the PCEPD Executive and Standing Committees, Chairpersons and Executive Directors of State Committees and PCEPD Advisers and Staff

From: Justin Dart JD

Date: June 27, 1990

Subject: PCEPD Report to the President

Attached is the 1989 Report by PCEPD to President Bush "From Paternalism to Productivity: Whatever it Takes."

I would like to express my deep appreciation to all of you who provided guidance and helped to edit, reproduce and distribute the document. Looking forward to next year's report, I will be grateful to have your suggestions in regard to the refinement and enlargement of concepts, and particularly the inclusion of suggestions for specific actions designed to achieve the goals we set out.

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EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20507

*Canada - human rights charter - David Baker - E.O. - Ad. Re. C. for Harv
Toronto, Canada.
416*

First

TELECOPIER TRANSMITTAL SHEETDATE: 7-9-90 TIME: 12:15 pmNUMBER OF PAGES + COVER SHEET 5

TO : Ted Garmey

OFFICE : Office of Research

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REMARKS : _____

FROM : Chris Bell

OFFICE : OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

PHONE NUMBER : 663-4001

FAX NUMBER : 663-4000

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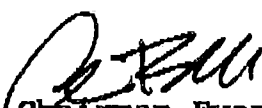


OFFICE OF
THE CHAIRMAN

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20507

July 8, 1990

TO : Ted Garney
Office of Research
The White House

FROM : Christopher G. Bell 
Attorney-Advisor to Chairman Evan Kemp

SUBJECT : Material for the President's statement upon signing
the ADA.

Chairman Kemp asked me to FAX you a citation and summary of Berkowitz study's conclusion that the FY 1986 disability expenditures for the private and public sectors totalled \$169.4 billion. In addition, the Chairman would like you to review an article he wrote in Mainstream magazine calling on people with disabilities to vote for George Bush in the 1988 election. Chairman Kemp believes that the article conveys the President's attitude on disability issues: a commitment to mainstreaming disabled people into all aspects of society with full control over their own lives together with a commitment to listen to disabled people and their families, not the service providers. He believes that the President's statement will be well-received by the disability community if these are its guiding themes.

If I can be of further assistance, please call me at 663-4001.

July 8, 1990

Here's the Berkowitz citation. Two things to note. First, the study was done under a grant from the NIDRR so perhaps we could cite it to NIDRR, although the grant was to the Virginia Dep't of Rehabilitative Services. Secondly, the estimate of \$169.4 billion only includes persons aged 18 to 64. This would exclude many of the elderly disabled, as well as children. Arguably, therefore, the total cost for the entire population of persons with disabilities would be much higher although I have no idea how to estimate that.

The study's conclusion on the cost of disability expenditures in 1986 can be summarized as follows:

One study estimated that 1986 private and public disability expenditures (transfer payments, medical care, and direct service) totaled \$169.4 billion for persons aged 18 to 64. This figure represents approximately 4% of the Gross National Product.

Berkowitz, Monroe, et. al., Enhanced Understanding of the Economics of Disability, Virginia Department of Rehabilitative Services, 1988, II-29 to II-31.



The President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities

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Chairman

Dignity, Equality, Independence Through Employment

June 21, 1990

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

In accordance with Executive Order 12640 the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities presents its report to you on the progress and problems of maximizing employment opportunities of people with disabilities, and its recommendations for your consideration.

Enclosed is "From Paternalism to Productivity; Whatever it Takes." This contains a brief overview of progress and problems, and an outline of recommendations for a national policy on disability employment.

This is our report for 1989. I apologize for submitting it late. I have not yet completed my first year as Chairman. I thought it important to give significant personal attention to researching and writing the first recommendations for a comprehensive national disability employment policy which we have presented in recent years. These recommendations are the result of consultation over a period of years with representatives of the Administration and the Congress, and of government, business, veterans, labor and the disability and service provider communities in every state.

The dedicated staffs and volunteers of the President's Committee and its colleague state committees have made significant contributions to the document.

We will be grateful to receive the guidance of your staff as we refine and develop our 1990 report to you, and as we plan our programs for the coming decade. We look forward to cooperating fully with your Administration to implement whatever national disability employment policy you choose to adopt.

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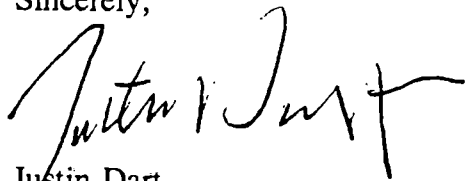
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The Director of the Office
of Personnel Management
The Director of the United States
Information Agency
The Postmaster General

All of us associated with the President's Committee appreciate and applaud your unprecedented leadership "to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream." We are proud to be part of your Administration team.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Justin Dart". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial "J" and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Justin Dart



The President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities

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Dignity. Equality. Independence Through Employment

FROM PATERNALISM TO PRODUCTIVITY; "WHATEVER IT TAKES"

The Report of the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities to the President of the United States

June 21, 1990

"I'm going to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream....They're not going to be left out any more." President George Bush

"The Department of Labor estimates that \$300 billion is lost annually due to the exclusion of disabled people from the workplace." Press release from the office of Vice President George Bush, August 10, 1988

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The Secretary of Education
The Secretary of Veterans Affairs
The Chairman of the Equal Employment
Opportunity Commission

The Administrator of General Services
The Director of the Office
of Personnel Management
The Director of the United States
Information Agency
The Postmaster General

FROM PATERNALISM TO PRODUCTIVITY: "WHATEVER IT TAKES"

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This is a report to the President from the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities on the progress and problems of maximizing employment opportunities for people with disabilities, and its recommendations for his consideration.

Thanks to dynamic pioneers in the fields of medicine, rehabilitation, advocacy, government, education and business, the last century has seen remarkable progress toward understanding disability, and enabling people with disabilities to participate in the productive mainstream of society.

Although the seventies and eighties have been decades of historic achievement, this achievement has largely taken the form of pioneer initiatives that demonstrate the potential for solutions, as opposed to solving the problems of disability on a society-wide basis.

While the numbers and diversity of types of persons with disabilities employed have increased during the last two decades, the actual percentage of the rapidly increasing disability population in the workforce has decreased from about 41% in 1970, to about 33% in 1988. Forty-three million Americans with disabilities remain this nation's most isolated, unemployed, impoverished and welfare dependent minority.

President Bush has raised solutions for the problems of disability to the highest priority in our history, and has pledged to do "whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream."

What will it take? It will take strong Presidential and Congressional leadership to create and to involve government, the private sector and all citizens in the implementation of A NATIONAL POLICY ON DISABILITY, with emphasis on PRODUCTIVITY, and specifically on EMPLOYMENT.

This policy must focus on areas such as: CIVIL RIGHTS, EDUCATION, TELECOMMUNICATIONS, EMPOWERMENT, INCENTIVES TO BE PRODUCTIVE, MEASUREMENTS, A CONTINUUM OF PRODUCTIVITY ORIENTED SERVICES, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TO CREATE AN ACCESSIBLE, PRODUCTIVE ENVIRONMENT, PREVENTION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS.

The purpose of this report is to call for the development of this needed policy and to begin a discussion on its purpose and scope.

COST: Our obsolete approach to disability costs America an estimated \$300 billion per year, and going up. A productivity oriented disability policy will not require new disability-related government entities. It will not require major public and private subsidies, or increased taxes. Most of the large monetary expenditures involved, for example for telecommunications and accessible communities, will be made by private enterprise as serious investments with enormous profit potential. While some expenditure of public funds will be necessary, most of such expenditure can be covered by reallocating resources from programs that foster dependency to programs that encourage productivity. The role of the federal government will be largely in the areas of planning, providing information, coordination and reallocation.

Enabling people with disabilities to be taxpayers instead of tax users will provide dramatic, immediate and long term economic and life quality profit to government, to business and to every American.

FROM PATERNALISM TO PRODUCTIVITY; "WHATEVER IT TAKES"

In accordance with Executive Order 12640, the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities presents its report to the President on the progress and problems of maximizing employment opportunities for people with disabilities, and its recommendations for his consideration.

PROGRESS AND PROMISE

Thanks to dynamic pioneers in the fields of medicine, rehabilitation, advocacy, government, education and business, the last century has seen remarkable progress toward understanding disability, and in both the number and types of Americans with disabilities participating in the productive mainstream of society. During the last two decades, there have been a series of dramatic breakthroughs. Previously fragmented disability community groups began to come together in a rapidly maturing advocacy movement. There were strong, articulate individual and organizational voices for a new approach to disability policy, emphasizing a shift from paternalistic maintenance to civil rights and investments in independence and productivity. The communications media presented the early beginnings of a more realistic perception of disability. Seeds were planted that, if properly nurtured, could grow into a truly sophisticated public consciousness of the problems and potential of people with disabilities.

Federal, state and local legislation was passed extending partial civil and educational rights protection to people with disabilities, eliminating some Social Security system disincentives to employment, and expanding programs to provide educational, vocational rehabilitation, independent living, technological and other independence and productivity-oriented services. Pioneering projects in areas such as rehabilitation, special education, independent living, community access, housing, transportation, communications, supported employment, employment placement, group living and technology clearly demonstrated the potential to integrate millions of previously dependent Americans with severe disabilities into the productive mainstream of society.

UNPRECEDENTED PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

The election of George Bush as President in 1988 added a new dimension to the potential for an effective national effort to solve the problems that people with disabilities face. In almost every major televised speech as candidate and as President he has spoken out forcefully in support of the right of people with disabilities to participate in the mainstream. He has endorsed the Americans with Disabilities Act, a world-first mandate for comprehensive civil rights protection for people with disabilities. He and other leaders of his administration have held personal meetings with representatives of the disability community to ask their guidance in the development of policy. He has appointed an unprecedented number of leaders of the disability community to positions of important public responsibility. He has assembled an administration team which includes a significant number of individuals who have demonstrated sensitivity to the rights and productive independence of people with disabilities.

President Bush has raised participation in the mainstream by people with disabilities to the highest priority in our history.

THE PROBLEMS

Although the seventies and eighties have been decades of historic progress, this progress has largely taken the form of pioneer initiatives that demonstrate the potential for solutions, as opposed to solving the problems of disability on a society-wide basis.

DECLINING PARTICIPATION IN THE WORKFORCE

While the numbers and types of persons with disabilities employed have increased during the last two decades, the actual percentage of the disability population in the workforce has decreased from about 41% in 1970, to about 33% in 1988. In 1980, people with disabilities who worked earned 88% of the average salary for all workers; in 1987 they earned only 84%. Many other employment related statistics indicate similar downward movement.

Several factors have contributed to these negative trends in a time of dramatic progress and promise.

GROWTH OF DISABILITY POPULATION, CHANGES IN THE NATURE OF WORK

Advances in medicine have contributed to a rapid growth in the disability population; millions survive previously fatal illness and trauma to live many years with very significant, often severe disabilities. At the same time there have been changes in the nature of work. The rise of technology has resulted in a lower proportion of certain types of unskilled production jobs that people with disabilities have often filled. Forecasters tell us that these trends will continue and become more pronounced.

PATERNALISM, DISCRIMINATION

Throughout most of recorded history, people with apparent significant disabilities have been regarded as sub-humans, perhaps recipients of just punishment by a deity. Sometimes they were killed. Most often they were relegated to beggar-outcast status or simply left to die. During recent centuries prosperous nations like America have moved increasingly toward attitudes and policies of benevolent paternalism. Individuals with severe disabilities came to be seen as unfortunates rendered half-human by tragic circumstances, who should be cared for, when expedient, through public and private subsistence welfare. Most were – many still are – kept out of sight and mind in institutions and back rooms. Well intentioned recent legislation attempting to provide certain rights and productivity oriented services to people with disabilities is too often understood and implemented in the context of these obsolete attitudes.

There is overwhelming evidence that a massive residue of traditional negative perceptions – and the discriminatory, paternalistic practices and environmental barriers which spring from

them – severely limit the participation of people with disabilities in every activity of American society necessary to secure and advance in employment. Efforts to place people with disabilities in jobs are particularly impaired by the very serious psychological effects of the paternalistic-dependency relationship, which debilitates both employer and prospective employee.

DISINCENTIVES

Because they are rooted in paternalistic philosophy, many public benefit programs are structured in such a way that they become barriers to productivity.

In spite of the very real progress gained through recent legislation to modify social security laws, people with disabilities are still subjected to devastating regulatory and bureaucratic disincentives to employment on the federal, state and local levels. In order to receive social security and many other disability and poverty-related benefits they must prove that they are not capable of employment. In the process of gaining all of the necessary federal, state and local benefits and services necessary to live and to prepare for employment, they must endure voluminous paperwork, many interviews and usually long delays. If they struggle through months or years of bureaucratic and discriminatory barriers to become employed, they face eventual total loss of their SSDI cash payments and incur substantial premiums for Medicare benefits that may make it impractical for them to continue working. If they marry persons who have jobs or financial assets, they stand to lose part or all of their benefits. Often the entry level salaries they are offered are less than the total benefits they receive if not working. And once they establish that they can work, it can become more difficult to regain benefits if they lose their jobs. Even though certain disincentives have now been eliminated through legislation, most people with disabilities are not informed of such changes, and past experiences with the system make them afraid to seek employment. We have managed to make it unattractive and often unprofitable to work.

SERVICES AND BENEFITS: PIONEER VOICES OF INDEPENDENCE IN AN UNMAPPED WILDERNESS OF PATERNALISM

Pioneers in the fields of rehabilitation medicine, vocational rehabilitation, education and independent living have recorded outstanding success to enable Americans with disabilities to survive and to become productive. However these excellent services still command only a small percentage of public and private support for solutions to the problems of disability. Most such support still goes to traditional benefit and paternalistic service programs focused more on maintenance than on productive independence. Taken as a whole, services exist as a formidable maze of fragmented public and private entities. There is no central coordination or reliable source of comprehensive information, even among federal programs. Many of the personnel who deal directly with clients and the public are unable to provide adequate information even about the programs of their own agencies. There is no uniformity of services from locality to locality. Many programs serve only specific disabilities in specific communities. Some use methodology and technology that has been obsolete for years. Allocation of funding is not based on any systematic comparison of the merits of programs.

Almost all productivity oriented programs are significantly underfunded. Many are able to offer services only to a symbolic few. Some vital services simply do not exist in many areas. Confronted by the almost hopeless task of understanding and accessing inadequate, fragmented services, people with disabilities, their families and advocates too often become frustrated to the point of acquiescence in dependency on welfare.

THE POOREST MINORITY

Severely limited by discrimination, disincentives, paternalism, inadequate services and environmental barriers, 43 million Americans with disabilities form this nation's most isolated, unemployed, impoverished and dependent minority. By most measurements they are losing ground relative to the average.

THE ECONOMIC COST OF OBSOLETE APPROACHES

The cost of maintaining people with disabilities unemployed and dependent is staggering and increasing at an alarming rate. By FY 1986 total disability-related expenditures in the public and private sector was estimated at \$169.4 billion. In FY 1984 the federal expenditure alone on disability benefits and programs exceeded \$60 billion, of which about 90% was spent on maintenance oriented programs, as opposed to programs designed to promote independence and productivity.

Although these figures seem very high, they do not include many costs of disability for which no records are kept. A distinguished national authority on the economics of disability recently declined to make an informed estimate of the probable true cost to the nation of disability. He commented that such estimate would be so high that it would cause the less well informed among his colleague economists to doubt his professional credibility. Using a labor department rule of thumb, President Bush has estimated that excluding 2/3 of Americans with disabilities from the workforce costs our nation about \$300 billion every year in direct payments and lost taxes and productivity. If demographers are correct in their predictions of rapid growth for our disability population, and if we continue our present obsolete policies, the costs of disability will soon become a crushing economic burden to the nation.

THE HUMAN COST

The human cost of discrimination and paternalism, and the resulting dependency, cannot be expressed in numbers or words. Millions of people with disabilities are isolated in institutions and in their homes. Millions exist in abject poverty. Thousands are among the homeless.

The psychological and physical effects of constant rejection and isolation, and forced dependency, are devastating. Many persons with disabilities have taken their own lives. Many more have tried. Many have descended into despondency and self-neglect, succumbing years before their time to preventable secondary disabilities. Most will privately

admit that they have at least thought about suicide.

A California woman, a mother, a TV director before becoming disabled, speaks for unseen millions:

"We can go just so long constantly reaching dead ends. I'm broke, degraded and angry. Have attempted suicide three times. I know hundreds. Most of us tried. But which way and where can we go? What and who can we be? If I were understood....I would have something to live for."

A Colorado man, a graduate engineer and an ex-Air Force jet pilot, put it more simply. When faced with becoming a wheel chair user he said, "I would rather be dead than dependent." Four days later he was dead.

Dependency is a cancer that has destroyed individuals, families, nations and great empires. It is economically disastrous. It is a narcotic that impairs the ability to think and act with responsibility. It corrupts both master and slave.

The present situation of people with disabilities in America is morally and economically unacceptable. The success of pioneering and experimental programs to enable people with almost all disabilities to participate in the mainstream has clearly demonstrated a potential for society-wide solutions. A present potential to improve the quality of human life carries a corresponding responsibility to act.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOLUTIONS

Public policy must always be created and executed with the understanding that government-alone cannot solve the problems of society. Problems will be solved through the daily thoughts and actions of the people who are the society, or they will not be solved at all. People with disabilities, like all people, have a primary responsibility to make every possible effort to solve their own problems. Final responsibility for solutions to the problems of disability lies with every citizen, every family, every community, and every commercial and public service entity in the nation.

However, this reality is no excuse for government to pass a burdensome responsibility to an anonymous public.

RESPONSIBILITY – THE LEADERS OF GOVERNMENT

The President and the members of his Administration and of Congress are absolutely responsible for providing leadership that results in solutions by the citizens.

President Bush is the first chief of state in our history to fully accept this responsibility in the area of disability. He has pledged "to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream." And he has given top priority to employment as the key that

unlocks the door to the mainstream.

RESPONSIBILITY – GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Disability is a common characteristic of people in every geographic location and of every age group and social, economic, and ethnic class. There is a very real probability that any presently non-disabled person will either develop a significant disability, or become responsible for a family member with a disability. It is therefore counterproductive to assign responsibility for disability solutions to one or a few government agencies. This would be inefficient, expensive, and would perpetuate stereotypical perceptions that people with disabilities are so different from other people that their integration into the mainstream is impractical. The results of having a special agency to serve native Americans are well known. All agencies of federal, state and local government must accept the responsibility and develop the ability to deal with disability as a normal characteristic of the population they serve. When this occurs, the role of the President's Committee and similar agencies should be reassessed.

RESPONSIBILITY – THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

Our committee represents the President. Our task is to assist the President in doing "whatever it takes" to enable people with disabilities, including veterans and older Americans, to achieve their full potential for employment in the mainstream of society. We are mandated to make recommendations to him for the development of disability-related employment policies, and then to promote the coordinated implementation of those policies by government, the disability community, employers, service providers, unions, educators, the public media and all who impact the supportive environment necessary for full employment.

Our preliminary recommendations follow. They are respectfully submitted for the purpose of discussion and guidance. We are developing more detailed material.

WHATEVER IT TAKES: FIRST PRIORITY, THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL POLICY ON DISABILITY

Authorities in the field of disability have for many years agreed that the right and responsibility of Americans with disabilities to achieve their personal potential can never be fulfilled until this nation adopts and acts on a comprehensive, coordinated policy on disability. In order to be maximally effective, such policy must be fully integrated into all aspects of overall national policy.

The attainment of this goal will require continued vigorous, visible leadership by the President. He must preside over the creation of a dynamic policy on disability. He must inspire the coordinated involvement of government, the disability community, the private sector and all citizens to do "whatever it takes" to implement that policy.

The President should continue and increase his public advocacy for the full participation of

people with disabilities in the mainstream of society. His regular inclusion of such advocacy in major TV addresses has been enormously effective. Vice President Quayle and Attorney General Thornburgh have been similarly effective. Other administration leaders could provide similar leadership.

Twenty words by the President on national TV are more effective than twenty million expensive brochures.

The Domestic Policy Council should create and set in motion a plan to develop a national disability policy. A high level member of the administration should be designated to spearhead the initiative. A mechanism should be created whereby credible representatives of the disability, employer, service provider, labor, education, media, and other communities are systematically included in the process. The group should include authentic representatives of major disability constituencies and of government entities with responsibility to create and/or implement disability policy.

WHATEVER IT TAKES: AN AGENDA FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

Numerous authorities have presented recommendations for the components of a comprehensive national disability policy. Although there are differences of terms, categories and areas of emphasis, there is a strong consensus in regard to philosophy and substance. This consensus is summarized in the following skeletal agenda for a national disability employment policy. We include employment related aspects of initiatives in all areas of comprehensive policy. The experience of the last several decades has made it abundantly clear that people with disabilities will never approach full employment until barriers to employment are eliminated from all aspects of life.

CENTRAL THRUST: FROM PATERNALISM TO PRODUCTIVITY

A comprehensive national policy on disability will require a major reallocation of resources and efforts from traditional maintenance programs that foster dependency to programs that empower people with disabilities to fulfill their right and their responsibility to be fully productive and contributing participants in the mainstream of society. In order to be maximally effective, disability policy must be an integral part of a larger policy to promote the productivity of the nation as a whole.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The first order of business is the enactment and implementation of the Americans with Disabilities Act. The President and leaders of the administration and of Congress should provide continued and increased visible public leadership for the immediate passage of ADA.

ADA will not only provide essential legal protections for basic rights, it will be a landmark commandment of fundamental human morality. It will proclaim to all Americans and to the world that people with disabilities are fully human, and henceforth are to be included as equal

participants in the mainstream of human society. It is the indispensable foundation for the development of the public attitudes and practices necessary to the accomplishment of every item on our agenda for full employment.

We must enact ADA promptly, and without modifications that would legalize current discrimination and perpetuate unemployment. We must vigorously implement all existing legislation supporting the rights of people with disabilities: including sections 504 and 503 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Air Transportation Act, the Civil Rights Restoration Act, the Fair Housing Act Amendments and ADA when it becomes law.

We must also learn the hard lesson of history that legal rights and remedies alone cannot completely solve the problems of isolation, unemployment, underemployment and poverty caused by discrimination and paternalism.

In order to solve these problems we must significantly expand the concept and process of implementing employment and related rights. All parties must come to understand that we are not dealing simply with a right to equal opportunity to have a job, but rather a right and a responsibility to be maximally productive in the interest of self, employer and society. Society – government, rights advocates, employers, employees and all citizens – must accept full responsibility to make the rights process more than partially kept promises and adversarial procedures. We must join together to create educational, work and community environments in which all victims of the massive residue of discrimination and paternalism can and do empower themselves as fully productive participants in the mainstream.

Upon passage of ADA, there should be a well planned, well publicized signing ceremony. This event should be the occasion not only for a celebration of the enactment of a world-first human rights mandate, but perhaps even more importantly, for launching the conceptual-outline of a national policy for productivity. A brief TV statement to the nation would be ideal. The President could point out that ADA is not an instant solution for the problems of disability, but a necessary foundation for long range solutions to problems that are deeply rooted in thousands of years of culture. He could point out that civil rights are not a guarantee of the good life, but an equal opportunity to participate in producing the good life for oneself and for all. He could point out that government alone cannot implement ADA, but that this is a responsibility of all Americans. He could challenge the disability community, government, the private sector and all citizens to join together with him to fulfill the promise of ADA. And he could present a simple outline of a policy for action. Invitees to the event could include not only representatives of Congress, the administration and the disability community, but also of business, labor, education, technology, media management, and other appropriate fields.

Such an event would help to heal the wounds of controversy about the provisions of ADA. It would focus attention immediately on the responsibility of citizens to take united, productive action, as opposed to succumbing to the temptation to bask in the euphoria of victory, and wait for the government to produce the promised utopia.

COST: The Americans with Disabilities Act and other disability rights legislation involves virtually no cost to government other than administration. The legislation requires no abrupt or burdensome expenditures by the private sector. It provides for a gradual transition to an opportunity society, requiring that only new facilities be fully accessible. It further specifies that no undue economic or other hardship be imposed on affected entities.

The economic and life-quality profit from eliminating barriers to employment will be immediate and will increase constantly for decades. Government and all taxpayers will benefit.

ADA is good for all Americans.

EDUCATION

Obsolete and erroneous perceptions are the fundamental problem. Education is the fundamental solution.

The President and members of his Administration and Congress must join with leaders of the disability community to motivate all educational media to understand and to communicate the facts about disability and productivity.

We must educate America that disability is a normal characteristic of the human condition, and that people with disabilities have the same rights and obligations as other people.

We must educate America that all people, including people with disabilities, have an inalienable right and an inalienable responsibility to be fully productive, and that our nation and every citizen has a primary responsibility for the creation of a society in which full life-quality productivity will occur.

We must educate America that investments by citizens in the rights, empowerment and productivity of people with disabilities will continue to be among the most profitable investments our people have ever made.

We must encourage all educational institutions to educate not only people with disabilities, but all Americans to understand disability and to deal with it effectively when it occurs. All public and private school systems should cover disability issues in all curricula at all levels, including pre-school, primary and secondary school, university and post graduate, adult, vocational and continuing programs. This is necessary because any person can become disabled, and optimal solutions will require informed action by every member of society. Greatly increased emphasis must be given to educating all children and adults with disabilities to overcome the devastating effects of dependency and to develop the attitudes, habits and skills of productivity which will enable them to become fully competitive and contributing participants in the mainstream of society.

We must encourage the public media to use the full force of its awesome power to

communicate the truth about disability, and the moral and economic necessity of enabling people with disabilities to become fully productive citizens of the first class.

We must convince the national and local leaders of government, business, labor and community service to promote the productive independence of people with disabilities as a first priority.

We must encourage employers to utilize their very effective \$30 billion per annum educational systems to enable people with disabilities to be productive employees.

COST: No new educational entities are proposed. There will be a modest cost to public and private school systems and to employers to train existing personnel, to create appropriate curricula, and for administration. Some of this cost would be borne by the federal government, most by state and local government and the private sector. This initiative is in complete harmony with the President's correct assertion that most problems of society can be productively solved only through preventive education, rather than through services to compensate for damage already done.

This will be particularly true of the problems and costs of disability, which could probably be reduced by well over half through effective education.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

A top priority for immediate action is the establishment of an integrated computer–television–telephone–fax network connecting every residential, commercial, government, public service and other significant facility in the nation on a 24 hour, 365 day a year basis. There is probably no other initiative that would be as immediately profitable in terms of reducing disability–related costs and increasing employment opportunities.

Any location – the regular office work station, the residential living room and bedroom, the airport, the school, the hotel room – would become the instant locus for national and international communication, education, human services, research, marketing, contracting, processing and, of course entertainment.

This communications system, properly developed, will constitute a revolution in the efficiency and productivity of human culture. If care is taken to incorporate existing disability–related technology, it will implement virtually universal participation in the educational, creative and productive mainstream of society. Persons with severe physical, mental and sensory impairments will be able to correctly accomplish in a few minutes, in their living rooms, tasks that Einstein or Da Vinci could not have accomplished in a year. Many disabilities will simply cease to be factors in significant aspects of social process.

COST: Establishing a nationwide telecommunications system will require a major investment. But this is an investment that will produce immediate and long range profit, and it is an investment that private enterprise is anxious to make. The role of government will

be principally in the areas of coordination and regulation.

EMPOWERMENT

Neither rights, nor productivity, nor quality of life can be handed down by paternalistic authority. People with disabilities must be empowered as decision makers in all of the processes of society that affect their lives.

We are proud that President Bush, the President's Committee and many other employers in the public and private sector have set examples by the employment of an unprecedented number of people with disabilities in positions of significant responsibility.

However, unemployment statistics and evidence of problems in the workplace indicate that the destructive residue of thousands of years of prejudice and paternalism will not be overcome simply by providing a right to have a job, or even a job.

The President's Committee should assist the Administration and its agencies in the development of programs to make empowerment work. Traditional procedures and attitudes should be examined and, when necessary, refined. There should be enough flexibility of process to maximize the productivity of individuals. People with disabilities should be enabled to make and to take responsibility for the decisions which are appropriate to their positions, and assisted to become competitively productive. There should be ongoing efforts to enable people with and without disabilities to accept full responsibility to overcome attitudinal gaps, and to work together in productive harmony.

We of the Administration must provide leadership examples of successful empowerment in all areas of activity and at all levels of responsibility.

We must communicate the concept and methods of empowerment to the nation.

We must encourage government at all levels, business, public and private service and education entities, and the public media to consciously promote empowerment, within their own organizations, and in their communities.

We must give special emphasis to the empowerment of people with disabilities in their families, and in the administration of all services impacting their lives.

Most importantly, we must encourage and enable people with disabilities to act aggressively to empower themselves as fully competitive participants in the mainstream of political, economic and social life.

COST: In some instances there would be minimal costs for special accommodations and training. Profit will be immediate as the empowerment of individuals with disabilities in visible decision making positions influences the increased independence and employment of their colleagues.

INCENTIVES TO BE PRODUCTIVE

Government must act decisively to eliminate the bureaucratic and regulatory disincentives to employment which now exist at every level of government and service provision. We must approach benefit and service programs as a whole system. We must rethink and modify federal, state and local programs to ensure that the system as a whole creates incentives to productivity rather than dependency. We must greatly simplify the system, and the access to it. This process will require carefully crafted legislation, regulations and programs to train personnel and to provide information to citizens.

COST: Modifying service and benefit programs will involve significant transitional cost. However appropriate reallocation of resources from programs that foster dependency to those that motivate productivity, will very soon result in savings in the tens of billions of dollars annually.

MEASUREMENTS

One of the world's largest and most productive corporations has for years told its managers; "If you want results, measure performance."

Society is deeply influenced by the measurements of its performance which it chooses to report publicly on a regular basis. Disability-related statistics in areas such as employment, income, occupation, education, welfare, population, housing, sports, recreation, politics, and opinion on public issues should be reported regularly by government, the private sector and the public media. There should be increased and systematic public recognition for outstanding contributions to the achievement of our disability policy goals.

COST: There would be moderate costs to government and the private sector in the area of administration. These costs would be more than offset by improvements in the productivity of programs which always occur when results are publicized.

SERVICES

Government must join with the private sector to build on the good foundation laid by our great pioneer service providers to establish a continuum of integrated, independence and productivity oriented services that will enable all people with disabilities to achieve their productive potential. This continuum must include not only economic, independent living, vocational, technological and community support, but also comprehensive, quality, affordable insurance and health care.

Public and private vocational rehabilitation and independent living programs must be expanded, refined, and strengthened in terms of training and incentives for professional personnel. This process should include increased preparation of providers, people with disabilities and their families and representatives to communicate effectively and to take full responsibility for consensus decisions which enhance the productivity and quality of life of

individual and of society. There should be greatly increased coordination of services with educational and communications systems, employers and social benefit and medical programs. Special attention must be given to overcoming the effects of paternalism on people with disabilities, families, service providers and employers. Additional emphasis should be placed on areas such as transition, independent living, group living, supported employment, personal care assistance, sign language interpretation, and services to enable older Americans to achieve their full potential for lives of productivity and quality.

The establishment of a comprehensive system of communication and coordination is a first priority. Well trained personnel in all significant programs should be able to utilize a state of the art computer network to provide every citizen in every community with expert, single point of entry counseling in regard to accessing any service or information resource in the nation which might offer opportunities for improved productivity and quality of life. There is no reason why people with disabilities should not have the quality of service and the opportunity to make choices which has for years been provided to clients of airlines and stockbrokers.

COST: Reliable studies have estimated that every dollar spent on vocational rehabilitation returns about 1,000% profit to society. Other, newer productivity oriented programs, as they are refined and expanded, will also prove to be profitable. The computerized coordination of services and service information, and the reallocation of resources from paternalistic to productivity oriented programs, will actually reduce the cost of services in the long run, while increasing the percentage of profit.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT: CREATING THE PRODUCTIVE SOCIETY

Devastating and rapidly escalating environmental, social and economic problems make it abundantly clear that we cannot rationally operate an increasingly complex technological society through systems and communities based on 18th and 19th century models. The administration should establish a NASA priority initiative to mobilize the immense power of American free enterprise and of the scientific method to develop new types of systems and community access that will enable all 21st century Americans to be fully productive. Appropriate utilization of present technological and human resources in well planned accessible communities would virtually eliminate many of the most frustrating and expensive problems of disabled and older citizens, and would increase the lifequality productivity of all citizens enormously.

Developing the productive society will require vigorous, visible leadership by the President, and influential members of his administration and of the Congress. President Kennedy inspired us to landmark achievements in space travel. President Bush can inspire us to landmark achievements in the outer space of human productivity and quality of life.

COST: This will be a long range project involving gradual investments over a period of decades. Cost to government in any given year would be modest, involving principally planning, promotion and coordination, and possibly seed money grants to facilitate planning.

Almost all of the costs should be borne by private sector entities, which would reap pioneer profits. With appropriate promotion and coordination, existing public and private research in non-disability areas could be made relevant to disability, and already existing disability-related research programs could be more effectively focussed in priority areas. The very process of developing accessible communities would result in increased employment, prosperity and productivity.

PREVENTION

Government must provide leadership to marshal coordinated top priority public and private sector efforts to prevent primary and secondary disability. This will require research, regulation and most of all, the development of education that will motivate consistent self-discipline. An effective initiative of this nature will eliminate a very large proportion of the massive human and economic costs of disability.

Areas of focus include: substance abuse: smoking, alcohol, drugs; home, community, industrial and driving safety – seat belts, air bags, helmets; preventive medicine and personal hygiene, including adequate pre-natal care; nutrition-diet; and education to prevent secondary disabilities.

COST: If currently existing educational media and service and research entities are utilized, costs would be modest – to train existing personnel and to create appropriate programs. Most such costs could be carried by state and local government and the private sector. The public media and community service organizations could be particularly effective. There is no area where dollars invested will produce a higher percentage of profit in the long run.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

In this increasingly crowded, complex and interdependent world, when decisions made in one country frequently impact employment in another, it is essential that we join with the peoples of every nation in cooperative efforts to achieve universal productivity.

The President's Committee, the National Council on Disability, OSERS and other significant disability-related federal agencies, and all federal agencies with responsibilities at the international level, should develop productive communicative relationships with disability-related entities in appropriate foreign nations and international bodies.

COST: There would be moderate increased costs for smaller disability-related agencies that do not now maintain international relationships. For the larger agencies with established international involvement, costs would be minimal.

AN AMBITIOUS AGENDA. UNAFFORDABLE? UTOPIAN?

We have presented the outline of a truly ambitious agenda. A first reaction of many will be that it is unaffordably expensive and impossibly utopian.

Unaffordable? It is the obsolete status quo that is unaffordable, and that is causing the expenditure of totally unnecessary and rapidly escalating hundreds of billions of dollars annually. It is the perpetuation of paternalism that escalates the national debt, and breaks the budgets of states, communities and families. Our agenda for productivity calls for no new disability-related government entities. It will not require major public and private subsidies, or increased taxes. Most of the large monetary expenditures involved, for example for telecommunications and accessible communities, will be made by private enterprise as serious investments with enormous profit potential. While some public expenditure will be necessary, the role of government will be largely in the areas of information, coordination and reallocation.

Enabling people with disabilities to be fully productive will provide dramatic, immediate and long term economic and lifequality profit to government, to business and to every American. Creating a productive, opportunity society will initiate one of history's most profoundly positive and long-lasting economic booms.

Utopian? Our agenda – including the creation of accessible communities – is no more utopian and no less necessary to a productive modern nation than the inclusion of women, Blacks and Hispanics in the mainstream of the workforce, or the establishment of supermarkets, shopping malls, and transcontinental rail, electrical, telephone and airline systems. It is no more utopian than the rehabilitation of Japan and Germany from the destruction of World War II to become the world's most competitively productive nations.

A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY: NATIONAL LEADERSHIP REQUIRED

Overcoming traditional barriers to the productivity of people with disabilities will not require major increases in government spending, but it will require profound changes in attitudes, systems and environments, and significant reallocations of resources. It will require inspired, politically astute and courageous leadership at the national and local level – and correct timing.

The time is now. We have an historic window of opportunity.

President Bush and many members of his administration and the Congress have already demonstrated the potential to provide the requisite leadership.

The President has begun to focus the attention of the nation on the problems and potential of disability. In the process of addressing ADA, members of the administration, Congress, the business community, the public media and the general public have begun to develop a new consciousness of the necessity to enable people with disabilities to become fully productive.

At the same time economists and demographers tell us that we are moving into a period of increasing labor shortages, when American business will be forced to find new sources of potential employees in order to maintain competitive, profitable positions in domestic and

world markets. And there is a dynamic new political climate in the nation and in the world, a climate in which revolutionary change toward democratic productivity has become not only acceptable but the order of the day.

COMPLETING THE REVOLUTION OF FREE ENTERPRISE DEMOCRACY

Like the generation of Washington and Jefferson, we have the rare opportunity, and therefore the responsibility, to initiate a fundamental improvement in the nature and quality of human culture. Our task is to complete the revolution of free enterprise democracy by implementing the inalienable right and the inalienable responsibility of all people to be fully productive.

Our revolution will not be easily or quickly accomplished. Like the revolution of '76, it will only be accomplished through inspirational national leadership and the total involvement of volunteer citizen patriots. Like our founding fathers, we will not live to see the final victory. But we can begin to lay the essential foundation of a democratic edifice in which generations of the future – in America and in every nation – will produce a life of quality that transcends the wildest imagination of utopian fiction.

Let us get on with the job of doing "Whatever it takes" to empower Americans with disabilities as productive members of the mainstream. If the barriers to independence and productivity can come down for non-disabled people in Communist Europe, surely they can come down for people with disabilities in democratic USA.

The President's Committee on
Employment of People With Disabilities

Justin W. Dart, Chairman
907 6th Street, S.W., Suite 516C, Washington, D.C. 20024
202-488-7684 VOICE, 202-484-1370 TDD, 202-863-0010 FAX
Residential Office

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

If a problem occurs, please notify office of Justin Dart at (202) 488-7684.

DATE: 7/17/90

TO: TED GARMER

LOCATION: THE WHITE HOUSE

FAX NUMBER DIALED: 456-6218

FROM: JUSTIN DART

Total number of pages, including this page 3

Additional Comments or messages: _____



**The President's Committee on
Employment of People With Disabilities**

Suite 636
1111 20th Street, N.W.
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202-653-5044 VOICE

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Chairman

Dignity, Equality, Independence Through Employment

July 17, 1990

Dear Mr. Gurnea -

*Enclosed is a bulletin on
the ADA victory that we are
sending to the disability advocacy
network in every state
and city in the nation. It
might be useful in preparing
the President's signing ceremony
remarks.*

Justin Dart

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The Secretary of Veterans Affairs
The Chairman of the Equal Employment

The Administrator of General Services
The Director of the Office
of Personnel Management
The Director of the United States
Information Agency

TASK FORCE ON THE RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT OF AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES

Justin Dart, Chairperson, 907 6th Street, S.W., Suite 516C, Washington, D.C., 20024
(202)488-7684 Voice (202)484-1370 TDD (202)863-0010 Fax

JULY 12-13, 1990, VICTORY ADA!

ada:ep6,j28

HOUSE 377-28, SENATE 91-6

On July 11 the Senate defeated the discriminatory Chapman amendment 61-39 and passed the substitute, non-discriminatory Hatch amendment, 99-1. On the morning of July 12 the conference committee resolved the controversy over how the members of the Senate would be covered by ADA, and approved the act as modified by the Hatch amendment. That evening the House defeated a motion to send ADA back to the conference committee 224-180, and passed ADA 377-28. On the morning of July 13 the Senate voted the final passage of ADA 91-6. President Bush said he was "delighted" that the bill had been approved and would sign it.

PATRIOTS, YOU HAVE MADE HISTORY!

Congratulations to each one of you who has worked and sacrificed over the years to pave the way for the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

You are the true patriots of the 20th century. Thanks to you, America will once again pass the torch of liberty and productivity to the world.

The Americans with Disabilities Act is the world's first declaration of equality for people with disabilities by any major nation.

It opens the doors of opportunity for millions of isolated, dependent Americans to become employees, taxpayers and citizens of the first class. It will prepare the way for the emancipation and productive independence of more than half a billion of the world's most oppressed people.

ACTION

Celebrate! Communicate! Let the word go out from us, and through the public media that, in the words of a Washington Post editorial, "A new era of fairness and opportunity will begin" in "A more just country."

Thank the patriots who supported ADA. Your fellow advocates. Friends of ADA in local and state government and the private sector. The members of Congress from your state who voted for a strong ADA. PRESIDENT BUSH, ATTORNEY GENERAL THORNBURGH, HHS SECRETARY SULLIVAN, EEOC CHAIRMAN EVAN KEMP, BOYDEN GRAY and BILL ROPER. Our friends in the Congress who led the fight for justice: Senators HARKIN, KENNEDY, HATCH, DURENBERGER, SIMON, JEFFORDS, McCAIN, and DOLE; Representatives HOYER, OWENS, MINETA, FISH, BARTLETT, BROOKS, ANDERSON, DINGELL and HAWKINS; former Senator WEICKER, former Representative COELHO, BOB SILVERSTEIN, MELISSA SCHULMAN, BOB TATE and many others.

Our movement has too many ADA heroes to mention in one short report. Among them are LEX FRIEDEN, SANDY PARRINO and their NCD colleagues who authored the original ADA, WADE BLANK and the members of ADAPT, who went to jail many times for our rights, PAUL MARCHAND, LIZ SAVAGE and the Consortium of Citizens with Disabilities; MARCA BRISTO, MICHAEL WINTER and the NCIL network; and the incomparable PAT WRIGHT and her negotiating team. With your backing, Pat engaged and defeated the nation's most powerful and well financed defenders of the status quo.

THE FUTURE - UNITE! ACT!

While we rejoice in the passage of ADA by the Congress, we must not assume that equality will occur automatically.

We do well to recall that most initially successful revolutions have been frustrated by disunity and apathy.

We must unite in action to ensure that ADA is implemented through appropriate regulations.

We must unite in action to provide ongoing, 365 day-a-year advocacy in every community of this nation to ensure that ADA is enforced.

We must unite in action to build on the firm foundation of ADA an edifice of democracy in which consciousness and environment enable all people with disabilities to be fully equal and fully productive in real life.

Yoshiko and I will be with you all the way!

Together, we have overcome! Together, we shall overcome!

A More Just Country

PEOPLE BORN after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act probably look back with amazement to the time when, in the South, schools and hospitals were segregated by law, the races were separated on buses and trains and even the water fountains were designated black or white. The country went through great turmoil before those practices were changed. But eventually and after much resistance and struggle, society was transformed. The country became more just.

On Friday, the Senate completed action on a bill to ensure the rights of the disabled, and it promises to have some of the same kind of impact. The measure extends the protections of the 1964 law to 43 million Americans with physical or mental impairments. It will prohibit discrimination in employment based on disability. It will require places of public accommodation, like restaurants, hotels, theaters and stores, to be accessible to disabled patrons and will man-

date the gradual replacement of buses and railroad cars with equipment that can accommodate the handicapped. It will make telephone services available for the deaf and speech-impaired, nationwide.

During the extensive debate on this bill there has been much discussion of the cost of implementing it. There is a key distinction to be made here. Before, all the costs of discrimination were borne by the disabled. Now they will be phased in gradually and spread widely to taxpayers and the consumers of goods and services. With no great strain, we suspect, those costs will be absorbed and accepted.

When the president signs this bill, as he has promised to do, millions who will directly benefit by its provisions will have cause for celebration. So will their fellow citizens; a new era of fairness and opportunity will begin.



The President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities

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Chairman

Dignity, Equality, Independence Through Employment

To: Ted Garmey

garmey.j16

From: Justin Dart
Chairman

Date: July 16, 1990

Subject: Your request for information on my involvement with the development of ADA, and for suggestions of other persons who might be mentioned by the President at the signing ceremony.

JUSTIN DART, JR. Chairman, President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities. President Bush has called him "truly one of the fathers of ADA." (May 2, 1990 address to more than 4,000 disability community leaders in Washington). Five gubernatorial, one Congressional and five Presidential appointments (Reagan and Bush administrations) in the area of disability policy. One of first to propose full civil rights coverage for people with disabilities in the early 80's. Has visited every state at least three times taking testimony about discrimination, and promoting ADA. As Vice-Chair of the National Council on Disability, drafted and edited the 1983 National Policy on People with Disabilities, which first recommended comprehensive civil rights coverage for disabled people, and also was instrumental in the development of the original version of and final versions of ADA. For the last 27 months served as chair of the Congressional Task Force that has researched ADA issues - personally presided over at least one public forum in every state. Has testified numerous times on ADA at Congressional hearings. Has participated in several ADA meetings with the President, the Attorney General and White House staff, and has visited the office of every member of Congress about ADA at least once.

Co-Chaired Reagan-Bush disability constituency campaign in 1984; member of Executive Committee Bush-Quayle disability constituency campaign 1988. Long time Republican Eagle.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

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The Secretary of Education
The Secretary of Veterans Affairs

The Administrator of General Services
The Director of the Office
of Personnel Management
The Director of the United States

LEX FRIEDEN, quadriplegic, Director of prestigious TIRR Foundation in Houston. As Executive Director of the National Council on Disability during much of the Reagan administration, he was the coordinating editor of the original version of ADA that was introduced in Congress in 1988. Has been instrumental in the development of and advocacy for the final version of ADA. One of the great pioneers of the movement to promote the self-reliance and independence of people with disabilities. One of world's leading authorities on independence oriented rehabilitation. Vice President Rehabilitation International.

Member Bush-Quayle Executive Committee for 1988 disability campaign.

EEOC CHAIRMAN EVAN KEMP. One of the nation's leading authorities on disability rights law. Personal friend of the President for many years. Instrumental in gaining the President's endorsement of ADA, and in facilitating participation by the White House in the drafting of the final version of the Act.

Co-Chair, Bush-Quayle 1988 Executive Committee for disability campaign.

SANDRA PARRINO (parent of a disabled children), Chairperson of the National Council on Disability since 1983. Presided over the Council during the development of ADA. Strong advocate for the introduction in Congress of the original version of ADA in 1988.

Member Executive Committee Bush-Quayle 1988 disability campaign.

PATRISHA WRIGHT, Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund. Chief ADA negotiator for the disability community throughout the entire legislative process. Negotiated the final wording of the Act with both the White House and Congress. Possibly not a supporter of the President, but has promoted bipartisan support for ADA. Very prominent in disability community.

BOB SILVERSTEIN, Staff Director of the Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy. Wrote final version of ADA, and worked almost full time for two years to secure bipartisan support for passage of the Act. Highly respected in disability community.

Former Representative TONY COELHO, original sponsor of ADA in the House. Has Epilepsy. Even after resigning from the Congress last year has worked tirelessly for passage of ADA. A Democrat, but very positive in his expressions about President, and in his efforts to promote a bipartisan ADA. Extremely popular with the disability community.

The mention of Wright, Silverstein and Coelho would give bipartisan balance to the President's remarks, and would be extremely popular with the representatives of major disability constituency organizations that influence large numbers of voters.

Deadly drama. China's disaffected students are contemplating a tragic tactic to draw attention to the repression their government continues to practice. When the Asian Games, the Pacific Rim version of the Olympics, open in Beijing this September, some students say they will resort to self-immolation, following the 1986 example of their South Korean counterparts who doused their clothing with gasoline and threw themselves, burning, out of classroom windows as part of their successful protest against then-President Chun Doo Hwan. Self-immolation also was used effectively in the 1970s, when Buddhist monks helped to undermine U.S.-backed regimes in Saigon by setting themselves on fire in front of American TV cameras.

Salvage operation. Republican strategists are urging the White House to dispatch Vice President Dan Quayle to quell a rebellion of conservative House Republicans against President Bush over breaking his no-new-taxes pledge. The strategists, who include Kenneth Duberstein, former chief of staff at the Reagan White House, argue that Quayle, popular among GOP hard-liners, might be able to persuade House conservatives to stay in the fold, or at least soothe their anger. White House officials are considering the idea. In any case, stalled congressional budget summiteers will likely wind up back at the White House this week for yet another presidential pep talk. The discussions bogged down last week as congressional Republicans, stung by tougher-than-expected criticism from constituents on possible tax hikes, ruled out any personal-income-tax boost as part of a deficit-reduction package. Prospects for the GOP capital-gains-tax cut have also fallen since the two proposals have been linked as part of a deal.

15 ways to help the Soviets. A provocative new idea in Washington is direct Western assistance to the restive and increasingly independent-minded republics of the Soviet Union, rather than to the central government in Moscow. Channeling credits and expertise that way would bypass the military, which routinely skims off whatever Moscow has, as well as the huge Moscow bureaucracy, which is infamous for producing delays and foul-ups. The controversial aspect of the proposal is that the simple act of Westerners sitting down to negotiate projects with the 15 "Soviet Socialist Republics" would encourage further disintegration of the union and weaken Mikhail Gorbachev's

Human-torch protests by Chinese students

Quayle to quell GOP tax revolt

White House flap over disability-bill signing

presidential authority. Those who endorse direct aid include émigré academics who left the Soviet Union in the 1980s.

Tough on Korea. After Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher confronted South Korean officials last month about their encouraging Korean retailers to remove U.S.-made luxury products such as top-of-the-line refrigerators from their stores, the Koreans countered that those



Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher
Poised to break Korean lockout of U.S. goods

goods were still being sold in their country. They claimed that they are victims of "hype" by the American news media, which "cooked up" the story of Japanese-style protectionism spreading in the Orient. Mosbacher told the Koreans that he would dispatch his top aide, Wayne Berman, "to do some window-shopping" in Seoul. Four days later, Berman went and found U.S.-made luxury items—but only in back rooms and only after insisting

that the manager search for them. What has prompted the Korean government to launch a buy-home-made-products campaign is the 30 percent decline of the U.S. trade deficit with Korea in 1989. It is still a whopping \$6.2 billion annually but is expected to decline an additional \$2 billion by the end of this year. The reason: Newly affluent Koreans prefer made-in-USA labels to all others. Mosbacher is now warning the Korean government that it must stop its anti-import campaign, and also describe the usually amiable Texas as "deadly serious."

South Lawn irony. Advocates for the disabled are dismayed by White House plans for the ceremony to sign the long awaited bill banning discrimination against disabled people that was passed by Congress last week. The advocates have been pushing for a big gathering on the South Lawn with President Bush, a champion of the bill. But White House planners want a smaller ceremony inside in the East Room because they fear many disabled people might faint in the hot sun, making it necessary to keep a fleet of ambulances on hand. The disabled claim that, ironically, the White House reaction is an example of the stereotypical view of disabled people as being frail and vulnerable—exactly the view the anti-bias bill is supposed to challenge. Some disability groups threaten to hold their own "people's signing" outside the White House gates.

Green wave, red ink? Even though two environmental how-to-do-it books—50 Simple Things You Can Do to Save the Earth and a companion volume, 50 Simple Things Kids Can Do to Save the Earth—have been on the best-seller lists for most of the year, insiders think the publishing industry may be overdoing the green wave. The concern is that publishers will have a difficult time selling all the environmental books on their upcoming lists. One major publisher, Henry Holt, plans to bring out no fewer than six environmental titles this coming year including such offbeat ones as Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia and A Fly Fisherman's Blue Ridge. Among other variations on environmental themes are Little Brown's Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization and Random House's anthology of feminist environmental writing called Sisters of the Earth. One literary agent predicts: "Publishers will take a bath the way they took a bath with computer books five years ago."

Edited by Charles Fenyevesi

ADA Update: 7/5/90

Beth,

-King Jordan is the current President of **Gallaudet University**.

-Evan Kemp gave me the names of Jordan, Skinner, and Miller: he said that they were important. I wouldn't worry too much about the size of the list. Some of the people will not be able to make it and they will be cut from the acknowledgements. POTUS can also scrap people from the list if he wants. But I'm told that he is extremely concerned with acknowledgements, and the rule of thumb on these things is generally to include anybody and everybody. In other words, why take a chance.

-Federal spending on disabled for FY '89:

-State spending on disabled for FY '89:

-Robert Davila, Asst. Secretary of Education.

-Enclosed is the Globe article, along with a couple of other articles that might interest you. Please take note of the **Challenger Baseball League**: could there be anything more symbolic of 'mainstreaming' than disabled children being able to play Little League Baseball.

AN ACT OF EMPOWERMENT

Disabilities bill marks watershed in rights movement

By Kevin Cullen
GLOBE STAFF

A few months ago, a grass-roots advocacy group called the Massachusetts Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities held a fundraiser at the Sheraton Boston. John Winske, the coalition's 23-year-old director, remembers watching as nearly every major political figure in the state mingled in the roomful of 500 people, most of them disabled.

"There was Frank Bellotti, working the room like crazy," Winske recalled. "That's when it hit me. Here's this person who wants to be governor, asking people with disabilities for their votes. It was a coming of age."

People with disabilities have become a force to be reckoned with not just in Massachusetts but across the United States.

The empowerment of the country's estimated 43 million disabled people is a national phenomenon, and the Americans with Disabilities Act is the crowning achievement of the disability rights movement.

The law, which Congress is expected to pass this month, will extend to people with physical and mental

disabilities — including those with AIDS as well as alcoholics and drug abusers who have undergone treatment — the same protections against discrimination in jobs and access to public transportation and housing afforded to women and minorities under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Factories, retail stores, theaters, restaurants and offices will be forced to revamp their premises to accommodate disabled people. Businesses with more than 15 employees that discriminate or do not make such accommodations within two to four years can be sued unless they can show "undue hardship."

The law is testimony that the disability rights movement, in three decades, has become, like the folks who crowded into the Sheraton ballroom, a political force.

Historically, people with disabilities in the United States have been segregated, put in institutions or special schools. Helping disabled people was usually a paternalistic, charitable endeavor.

But as disabled people and their advocates pushed for integration into mainstream society, disabled people have increasingly been speaking for themselves.

Pulling together a movement was no easy task.

DISABLED, Page 19

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■ DISABLED

Continued from Page 1

"It's one of the most difficult constituencies to mobilize," says Fred Fay, a longtime organizer and a founder of the Boston Center for Independent Living. "Getting blind people and deaf people to communicate alone is a real challenge."

"What makes us different," explained Fay, paralyzed in 1961 in a trapeze fall, "is that disabilities cut across all political spectrums and socioeconomic categories. Because the whole range of disabilities affects so many people, if you add in the families, the majority of Americans are affected."

The University of Illinois, which in the early 1960s was one of only two mainstream colleges that was accessible to people with a variety of disabilities, became a hotbed of activism. An instructor there, Tim Nugent, is credited with radicalizing a generation of activists and organizers, many of whom later settled in and around Berkeley, Calif., which in the late 1960s became the mecca for several progressive movements.

"I think the real beginning of the movement as a movement was the birth of the independent living centers in the mid-'70s, first in Berkeley, then Boston," said Winske. "It was disabled people saying they wanted to control their own destinies."

Those centers help disabled people get out of schools and institutions and be mainstreamed into society.

The disability rights movement grew up alongside the antiwar movement, and the Vietnam war provided the disability rights movement with an impetus and some of its most committed members.

"You had a lot of disabled vets, young articulate people who were angry and who didn't expect to spend the next 50 years in their house until they died," said Charles Sabatier, who became paraplegic when shot during the Tet offensive.

While activism was becoming part of the culture, advances in medicine and technology meant that people with disabilities could live normal lifespans and avail themselves of equipment, such as computers for the speech- and hearing-impaired, that could put them into the mainstream.

But the tributaries to that mainstream were blocked by prejudice and by a power structure that felt either not responsible for or uncomfortable with disabled people.

Judy Heumann, a longtime activist and director of the World Institute on Disabilities in Oakland, believes that many people are uncomfortable around those with disabilities because they are reminded of their vulnerability.

Segregation cited

But she and others believe that segregation of the disabled prevented society from seeing "that there were many more similarities than differences between disabled and nondisabled people."

While there had always been charitable organizations that helped provide services for those with disabilities, many activists began to see that their ultimate goal was civil rights.

Activists and organizers say the black civil rights movement of the 1960s served as a model and inspiration for them. But unlike the civil rights movement, whose leadership was dominated by Martin Luther King Jr. and, following his death, a handful of others, the disability rights movement has pushed forward without any preeminent leaders.

"I guess you could say it's a movement without a leader. It just carries its own weight," said Sabatier, who headed the city's Commission for Persons with Disabilities from 1985 to 1988 and is now attending law school in San Diego.

But it is a movement that in 1968 helped win congressional passage of a law that ordered the removal of architectural barriers in federal buildings. It is a movement that won for disabled children the right to be educated in public schools.

And it is a movement that in 1973, de-

spite two vetoes by President Nixon, won congressional approval of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, barring discrimination against disabled people by any group or institution receiving federal money.

The impotence of that 1973 law, however, was an important test for the movement. The law was made unenforceable by the federal government's failure to provide the needed regulations.

Heumann remembers that five years of pressure, culminating with a 28-day sit-in at the office of the secretary of health, education and welfare, Joseph Califano, and sit-ins at HEW offices nationwide were required to get the regulations.

"Valuable lesson" learned

"That was such a valuable lesson," she said. "It showed that laws on their own are nothing."

The sit-ins also showed disabled people that personal commitment could make a difference.

Charlie Sabatier remembers the day in March 1982 when he decided to make such a commitment.

'Our success spawned spinoff groups that targeted housing access and health care.'

MARK JOHNSON

Sabatier, then the assistant director of the Massachusetts Office on Handicapped Affairs, was sitting on a Delta Airlines flight at Logan Airport, bound for a US Conference of Mayors where he was to speak on the need for city services for disabled people. A stewardess informed him he would have to sit on a blanket. While the airline claimed it was necessary in case of an emergency so a paraplegic could be quickly evacuated, many paraplegics viewed the practice as degrading and believed it was evidence of a prejudice that they could not control their bladders.

"I had gone along with that policy before, but something made me say I wasn't going

"It made me think of how many times Rosa Parks went to the back of the bus. One day, she just said no. So did I."

Sabatier's refusal led to a series of embarrassments for the authorities, beginning with his arrest by the State Police. Then, appearing for his arraignment, Sabatier sat in his wheelchair at the foot of the steps to East Boston District Court, a building inaccessible to those in wheelchairs.

When Judge Robert Stanziani suggested that court officers carry him into the building, Sabatier told the judge he could be arraigned right there on the sidewalk.

"It is unreasonable," he told the judge, "to have to be carried in and out of public buildings."

Within three weeks, charges against Sabatier were dropped, as was Delta's policy of forcing paraplegics to sit on blankets.

There were dozens of similar acts of conscience and protest across the nation. But some groups for the disabled, long accustomed to fending for themselves in a society that treated them as different, sometimes failed to see the bigger picture.

In the mid-1970s, for example, groups representing blind people lobbied against the curb cuts desired by wheelchair users. Eventually a compromise was worked out and curbs were given a texture that blind people using a cane could detect or painted so that guide dogs could see them.

Movement matures

Mary Lou Breslin, director of the Berkeley-based Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, says the movement has matured over the last 15 years.

"The differences between the groups have diminished as they began to recognize that the issues each faces stem from historic stereotypes and prejudice," said Breslin, a University of Illinois student who became a stalwart in the movement. "Whatever your disability, the attitude of the nondisabled people around you is what holds you back. As we've become more aware that those prejudices and stereotypes transcend the disabilities themselves, the differences have begun to blur."

As the movement matured, it took a three-track approach: lobbying in the legislative halls, litigating in the courts and agitating on the streets.

"It's been a slow process of educating decision makers, particularly those in Congress, to show that the issues facing the disabled are just like those facing minorities."

said Richard Howard, director of the Disability Law Center in Boston.

Founded in 1978, the law center, like others nationwide, has orchestrated legal challenges to knock down both literal and figurative barriers. In Massachusetts, the center helped with cases that ended forced medication and segregated education of children with disabilities.

"We've had to go through a lot of the same processes, people using demonstrations and lawsuits, the same old political tactics," said Howard. "A part of it is simply an exercise in federalism. State laws were used as models to show Congress."

When Pat Wright, who is legally blind, arrived in Washington a decade ago, she was one of only two disabled lobbyists on Capitol Hill. Today there are dozens, who along with Wright, chief lobbyist for the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, assembled an impressive array of bipartisan support in Congress. In May, the Americans with Disabilities Act passed the House 403-20.

Many congressional supporters have friends and family members with disabilities or, like former Rep. Tony Coelho, an epileptic who was the chief House sponsor, have disabilities themselves. The wife of Democratic Rep. Steny Hoyer of Maryland, who took over for Coelho as chief House sponsor, has epilepsy. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and Democratic Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa have been key sponsors; Kennedy's son lost a leg to cancer, while Harkin's brother suffered a permanent hearing loss as a child.

Costs a concern

But if politicians were quick to join the fold, much less accommodating was the business community, which has expressed concern about the costs involved.

If business could not be persuaded into seeing its civic responsibility, a more radical arm of the movement believed businesses could be embarrassed into embracing such a view.

Wade Blank, a Presbyterian minister, and Mark Johnson, who is disabled and uses a wheelchair, were the driving forces behind a Denver-based group called Americans Disabled for Accessible Public Transit, or ADAPT. Using traditional nonviolent civil disobedience, ADAPT became the movement's premier street force.

become the core of ADAPT prevented ci buses in Denver from moving for two days. Their protest was over the lack of hydraulic lifts to make the buses accessible to wheelchair users. In 1982, after other demonstrations, the transit authority gave in.

"Our success spawned spinoff groups that targeted housing access and health care," said Johnson, who has been arrested 20 times.

On the eve of passage of the most sweeping civil rights law in 26 years, few activists believe they have found a panacea.

"We still have 65 percent unemployed and 70 percent of households headed by someone with a disability are living below poverty," said Winske.

Some activists worry that passage of the new law will lull many in the movement into a false sense of security.

"All ADA does is recognize that there is a group of people who have historically been oppressed and discriminated against," says Johnson. "It's up to a disabled person to tell the variety store owner to put up a ramp. And if he says no, say I'll be back with some of my friends and an attorney."

Pride Day scheduled

There is a growing sense of pride with the impending passage of the law. The first Disability Pride Day is scheduled to be held Oct. 6 in Boston.

"Disability culture is just starting to develop," said Amy Hasbrouck, publications director at the Boston Center for Independent Living. "People are just starting to feel good about themselves. Just as it took women's music and literature time to develop out of the women's movement, so, too, will you see a disability culture develop."

There are still many battles to be waged. People with disabilities still cannot join the military service. Wheelchair users still do not have the right to access any polling booth.

Locally, activists say the availability of the Ride, the state's transit system for the disabled, is too limited, that the Green Line is still inaccessible to wheelchair users and the commuter rail has accessibility problems.

Nationally, activists say they will turn their attention to lobbying for increased personal care so that those with the most severe disabilities can get into the mainstream.

"That's where the movement is going," said Mary Johnson, editor of *The Disability Rag*, a 5,000-circulation semimonthly journal considered the primary publication of the movement. "If you don't have any way to control your getting out of bed, you don't have control over your future."

Tomorrow, the founders of ADAPT will meet in Denver to chart a new course. Leaders of the group say they will probably decide to turn up the heat on the nursing home industry, to agitate for more personal care and technological assistance for disabled people.

Said Mark Johnson, echoing the words of an entire movement, "We aren't stopping now."

Gaynell Coburn

Gaynell Coburn of Baltimore, Maryland is a 29 year old multiple disabled person due to an automobile accident at the age of 17. Gaynell suffered a head injury and is a paraplegic. Additionally, she has emotional problems from being an abused child.

Gaynell had to relearn all of the skills we take for granted, such as talking, reading and writing. Doctors indicated that she would never recover to live a normal life. Gaynell has survived against the odds. She has earned a college degree and is a self-taught musician, who sings and plays the drums.

Today, Gaynell has her own band, Dessert Flower, is a percussionist in Steve Wonder's band and the Bill Cosby Show. She finds time to conduct motivational seminars at various schools across the country.

Gaynell is a former Miss Wheelchair Maryland and Miss Wheelchair America.

Equal Employment Opportunity Council
Evan Kemp 663-4001

708 S 36.6
Dept. of Ed.

Evan Kemp probably knows more about this area than just about anybody else. Kemp began to suffer from Kugelberg-Welander disease when he was twelve years old, and has since lived his life in a wheelchair. Became involved in disability-rights after he graduated near the top of his class at the University of Virginia Law School; Kemp applied for 34 positions following his graduation and received 34 letters of rejection. He is a co-owner of Invacare, the largest wheelchair manufacturing company in the nation. Kemp has worked in Federal government for 16 years, but only got to know Bush in 1983 when he was chosen as one of two disabled Americans to negotiate with the President's Deregulation Task Force in 1983, then headed by the Vice-President. He remembers a letter the V.P. sent to him, in which Bush talked about visiting with disabled men and women. Take it from me, he says, it was the first time somebody at that level was doing that sort of thing. Kemp went on to write speeches for the Vice-President on disability issues, worked as a liaison for the Bush/Quayle campaign with disability groups, and was appointed as head of the EEOC by President Bush.

Kemp is a seemingly endless resource on the subject of disabilities, but here are a few of the things he had to say:

-15% is the accepted figure for percentage of Americans suffering from disabilities. (43 million Americans is the figure used in the ADA Bill.)

-2/3 of those with disabilities are unemployed.

-Of the 1/3 that are working, a black disabled woman makes 12 cents to the dollar earned by a white healthy male. The comparable figure for a white disabled man is 52 cents.

-ADA is a Bill for all Americans: 22% of Blacks suffer from a disability, 18% of hispanics.

-there is a universality of disabilities: anybody can become a member of this group.

*-six other countries have said that they will introduce this Bill (verbatim) in their governments, including Sweden, Japan, and the U.S.S.R. The U.S. is setting the international standard on this issue.

-Disabled Americans represent the one special interest group who want to lose their status as a special interest group.

-D.A.'s are the poorest special interest group in the nation.

-The President has a son, Neil, who suffers from dyslexia. And yet Neil Bush holds undergraduate and graduate degrees and was the only child of the President to graduate from college in the required four years. (joke possibility)

United Nations (Intl. Year of Disabled Persons-1981)
212 963-0353

Sen. Bob Dole

224-3135

(Dole played an instrumental role in the foundation of N.H.S.C. Dole was severely wounded during his service in the 10th Mountain Brigade during WWII, and represents perhaps the most well known case of a disabled American overcoming their disability to enter the "mainstream" and achieve great things. See "Unlimited Partners."

Osborne Day (Friend of POTUS, and I believe former member of Council on Disability: 466-6789):

Feels strongly that the ADA is not just a compassion issue, but an economic issue. Traditionally, the Democrats have handled the disability issue by throwing money at the problem. The emphasis of this bill and the President's program is on rehabilitation and employment. ("mainstreaming") Over two million disabled Americans were sufficiently convinced by this policy to switch over their votes to Bush in '88, and O.D. feels the approach will continue to sell well into the 90's.

Day feels that it is important for the President not only to speak to the disabled community, but also to the business community, whose cooperation will be necessary if the ADA is to be a success. Day feels that the following message should be emphasized to the business community: while the ADA will carry a price tag, it will ultimately bring money into the economy. There are 37 million disabled Americans, and tapping onto their talents and potency as a workforce will bring strength to small and large businesses alike, and will provide a boon to the economy through tax revenues from new workers who were formerly welfare recipients.

Boyden Gray, Counsel to the President

Referred to by Justin Dart as the "bridge between the disabled community and the President. Evan Kemp once asked his friend B.G. if his interest in disability stemmed from having a sister and two cousins who were disabled. He said no. Instead, he referred to his childhood. Gray grew up in a large North Carolina family. His mother died when Gray was eleven, and Gray was sent off to boarding school in Massachusetts. He recalls the experience of being the sole Southerner in a New England school, and what it was like to feel like an outsider. Consequently, he has since empathized with "outsider" position occupied by most disabled Americans.

ADA

Issues Report A: Quotations

ADA
Issues Report B: Statistics
(Call U.N.)

ADA

Issues Report C: Stories

1. Athletics
2. Professionals
3. Politics
 - a. Dole

ADA

Issues Report D: Language

...We salute these American heroes. But we want to create an America in which our disabled citizens don't have to be heroes...

...with this ADA Bill we as a nation move ever closer to realizing the vision of our forefathers when they wrote that 'all men are created equal...'

...until we begin to incorporate our entire population into the mainstream, utilizing the talents of all our citizens, we as a nation will remain disabled...

Presidential Remarks:
Signing Ceremony, A.D.A. Bill

Date: Tentative

Here are:

① A summary of comments
by three of our best
sources.

② What I've found out
re. Bender Page.

③ An up to date Ack's lab.

Books:

Twice a Champion.

By Tony Linberry.

Detours: Biographies of Physically Disabled Achievers.

By Charles Abernathy, 1988.

Comeback: Six Remarkable People Who Triumphed over Disability.

By Frank Bowe, 1981.

No Excuses Accepted.

By Robert Gilbert, and Nancy Barcus, 1988.

One Step at a Time.

By Bob Wieland.

Presidential Remarks:
Signing Ceremony, A.D.A. Bill

Date: Tentative

ADA Sources:

American Foundation for the Blind:

800 232-5463

212 620-2159 (Library)

Paralyzed Veterans of America:
Phil Rabin 872-1300

National Council on Disability:

Ethel Briggs 267-3846

Materials sent; meeting with Ms. Briggs on 6/27.

*people active in
disabilities*

National Institute on Disabilities: |
732-1134
(Research center: good for statistics)

Presidential Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities:
Jay Rocklin 653-5010
Justin Dart (friend of POTUS):

Justin Dart was member of the National Council on Disability in 1985 during the time that the ADA Bill was originally developed. He is a true veteran of these issues, and will continue to be an excellent source for our research.

He wants to stress to us the credit which must be given to this President for his leading role in the development of the ADA. It is the first time in the history of the United States, he says, that a President has assumed the **leading** role in a major civil rights initiative. (Lincoln and LBJ were to a certain extent dragged into their place in history.) Ironically, the drafters of "Toward Independence" were prepared to meet with President Reagan to present him with their proposals one day in 1985. This was the day that the Shuttle exploded. The President canceled all of his appointments, and the members of the Council met with the Vice-President in his place. Ever since, GWB has been **the** leader on this issue.

Secondly, Dart re-emphasizes the magnitude of the Bill. It is for these people, he says, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the '64 Civil Rights Bill all in one. He calls the signing of the Bill a "world" event, setting the international standard on this issue. Groups from China, Japan, Europe, and just today the U.S.S.R., have visited the country, and told us that their countries are looking to the ADA as a torchlight for their own peoples.

Finally, Dart would like to see the President use the speech to "challenge" the national community to work together on this front, and create a truly "free enterprise" "mainstreamed" society. The President should make it clear that the ADA will set the stage, introduce a vision, but that it is still up to the people to carry through on this vision.

Dart has been very helpful on acknowledgements. He points out that they are intensely important on this speech. An updated list appears on the following page.

ADA Acknowledgements:

People who have played a major role in the progress of the ADA Bill, and those who are otherwise connected to the President and/or the cause of Americans with disabilities.

Sen. Dole
Sen. Harkin
Sen. Hatch
Sen. Kennedy
Sen. Simon
Sen. McCain
Sen. Durenberger
Congressman Hoyer
Congressman Bartlett
Congressman Owen
Congressman Fish
Former Senator Weicker
Former Congressman Coelho (victim of epilepsy, and friend of POTUS)
Sandra Parrino and her dedicated staff at the National Council on Disability
Justin Dart
Boyden Gray
Sec. Sullivan
Atty. General and Mrs. Thornburgh
Surgeon General Novello
Jay Rocklin (Ex. Director of the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities)
Evan Kemp
Neil Carney
Allen Clark
Robert Davnilia
Michael Deland
John Farley
Gordon Mansfield

Presidential Commission on Physical Fitness
Arnold Schwarzenegger 272-3421

National Handicapped Sports Commission

Bobbi Avancena 301 217-9736

Kirk Bauer 301 652-7505

(Materials sent: this org. will provide very inspirational stories.)

ADA Update: July 3, 1990

1. Bob Simon suggests the following:

...it's great to see so many members of the Congress out there today, particularly those who played such an instrumental role in making the ADA a reality. (Senators Dole, Harkin, Hatch, Kennedy, Simon, McCain, Durenberger, and especially former Senator Weicker. Congressmen Hoyer, Bartlett, Owen, Fish, and my friend former Congressman Coelho.)

POTUS will understand the list in parens. Bob says that POTUS prefers last names only.

2. Jay Rocklin is not disabled.

3. Lex Frieden is disabled, is a friend of POTUS, is from Texas, and is a big gun on ADA.

4. I suggest you refer to "...my Attorney General Dick Thornburgh and his wife Ginie..." FYI: Thornburgh lost his first wife in a car accident, and his son was brain damaged in the same accident. His second wife has been active in an organization for the parents of disabled children.

5. FDR is not a good choice for the speech: it turns out that he lived a life of denial. He never allowed photographs to be taken of him in his wheelchair, nor did he write about his condition. However, he was the President, and a brief reference might be in order anyway.

6. Three more important acknowledgements: King Jordan, President of Gallaudet College; Oral Miller, American Council of the Blind; and Secretary of Transportation Samuel Skinner. All three have been involved with the ADA.

7. Talked with Evan Kemp: he feels strongly that the seven administration officials be mentioned by the President. He is sure that the others will have no objections, and that some might even feel insulted if they were not mentioned. As he put it: we have reached the point now where we are no longer ashamed by our disabilities; we do not hide from our disabilities, nor do we promote them. These disabilities are a reality which we deal with.

8. No Stevie Wonder song yet but I'll keep trying.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON DISABILITY POLICY
Senator Tom Harkin, Chairman

To: ~~LEA~~ TED GARMY

From: KATY BEH

Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy
Senate Harkin Office Building 113
FAX: (202) 224-7431

Pages to Follow: 4

Note: LISA CARL'S TESTIMONY

Please call if you have any questions or an error occurs in transmission. Thank you. Phone: (202) 224-6265, TDD: (202) 224-3457.

United States Senate

Committee on Labor and Human Resources

Subcommittee on the Handicapped

Hearing on the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1989

Statement of Lisa Carl

Statement of Vickie Franke

May 10, 1988

On May, 23, 1988 I decided to go to a movie.

The movie was "Three Men and a Baby".

The movie theater was around the corner from my house.

I waited in line and when my turn came I tried to pay my dollar.

But the owner of the theater would not take my dollar.

She said I could not go in.

I asked her, "WHY?"

She said, "You just can't."

"Why?" I asked her again.

She said, "Do you hear me?"

"Yes, I hear you", I said. "I just want to know why".

She would not say, she said, "Would you move out of the way"?

I left. I felt embarrassed. I went home. I was not crying outside but I was crying inside.

I just wanted to be able to watch the movie like everyone else.

STATEMENT OF VICKIE FRANKE

When Lisa got home, I asked her why she was not at the movie. She told me what she just told you. I called the woman who owned the theater up to ask her why she had excluded Lisa from the theater. She replied, "Because I don't want her in here."

I was very upset when I heard this. I asked her again, "Why?"

"Because I can't understand what she wants."

I said, " You have only one movie showing, the admission is only one dollar--so, one should be able to surmise, when handed a dollar from someone in line, that they probably want to watch the movie."

She replied, " She can't even open the goddamned door."

"That's not entirely true, I said, " It may take her some time, but she can do it. And, many people are willing to open the door for her."

She said, "They shouldn't have to open the door."

I then asked her, "Is there a reason, has there been an incident that we can talk about--or resolve?"

Her reply was, "I don't want her in here, and I don't have to let her in!!!"

I said, "It feels like you're discriminating against her based on her disability."

She said, "I don't give a good goddamn what it sounds like." And she hung up on me.

My name is Lisa Carl. I am including this written statement with this one I am orally presenting to you because my speech is made slow by C.P. and I only have a short time to speak, but I have a lot of things that I want you to know. I would like you to know a little bit about me.

I am 20 years old. My birthday was last Friday.

I am intelligent, interesting, active and happy,. My friends tell me that I am pretty, since they are my friends, I can't say they are lying. I'd like to tell you about what I can do. I can ride horses, go to school, hang out at the beach, go shopping, take a bus, feed and dress myself, carry on an intelligent conversation and I like to go to the movies.

The reason I can do so many things is because when I was growing up my mother told me every day, "Lisa, you can do anything that you want". I believed her then and I believe her now. What I can do is a longer list than what I can't do. What I can't do is: anything that requires a lot of physical coordination. For example, I am not qualified to be a professional basketball player. That is because I have cerebral palsy. The only thing that is "wrong" with me is that I have physical limitations on what I can do.

I have all the same hopes, dreams and wishes of any young woman: to lead a productive life, get married, have children, be respected in my community and to shop until I drop.

Now you have heard and read about my story. When I tried to go to the Bijou Theater in Tacoma, Washington - I tried to pay a dollar and get in but the owner would not let me. She would not let me come in because of what I am. A person with Cerebral Palsy. I was sad for me - but more sad for her because she could not see ME, only my C.P.

Then I got home (on my own) and told my Mom what happened (on my own). My mom called the theater owner. She would not talk to my mom either, except to say that she did not want me in her theater, and she did not have to let me in.

Later, a lot of people got together with me and my Mom and we picketed the theater to let everyone know what an unfair person this woman was. Now, let me tell you the really said thing. All I wanted to do was - go see a movie. Not get special treatment. Just be like everyone else, because inside I am like everyone else, if only people would care enough to take the time to look.

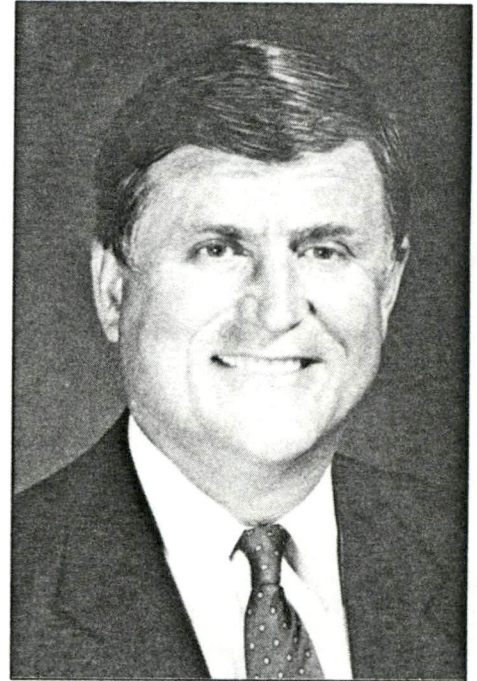
I hope my story helps to educate people about the tragedy of prejudice. I ask you to use the means within your power to pass the Americans with Disabilities Act so we can fight discrimination. I look forward to the day when we all look past things like physical limitations, handicaps, mental limitations and skin color and see each other as God would have us - with respect, concern and love.



THE HONORABLE ALLEN B. CLARK, JR.
Assistant Secretary
for Veterans Liaison and Program Coordination

Allen B. Clark, Jr. was confirmed by the Senate on October 6, 1989, following his nomination by President Bush to be Assistant Secretary for Veterans Liaison and Program Coordination in the Department of Veterans Affairs.

Mr. Clark is the principal VA executive responsible for maintaining effective working relationships with the veterans service organizations. In addition, he is responsible for managing the Department's intergovernmental activities and the agency's consumer affairs program. He oversees the evaluations of a number of ongoing VA programs to measure their effectiveness and degree of coordination with overall VA policy. He also supervises a number of special issues programs for the department, including oversight of all VA advisory committees and liaison with the Veterans Day National Committee.



A community and business leader, he has served in a number of civic organizations including a term as President of the Young Executives Group of the Dallas Council on World Affairs; Special Gifts Division Chairman for the Dallas American Heart Association; Chairman of the Leadership Dallas Alumni Group, and Vice Chairman of the Vietnam Veterans Leadership Program in Austin, Texas.

Mr. Clark served as an Army Green Beret officer in Vietnam, and was severely wounded in combat at Dak To in 1967, resulting in the amputation of both legs. His awards and decorations include the Silver Star, the Purple Heart and the Combat Infantryman's Badge. He is a longstanding member of several veterans organizations, including The American GI Forum, The American Legion, AMVETS, Disabled American Veterans, Military Order of the Purple Heart, The Retired Officers Association, Special Forces Association, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Vietnam Veterans of America.

A 1963 graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., Mr. Clark also holds a Master of Business Administration (1970) from Southern Methodist University.

Born June 20, 1942, in McAllen, Texas, he is married to the former Jacklyn McAdams, a real estate broker in Austin, Texas. They have two daughters, Elizabeth and Christi.

January, 1990

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