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Clay Agnes Clementi
Tony Coelho Kathy Coffin

# FROM ADA TO EMPOWERMENT

The Report of the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities

Sherry Campanelli Jack Marilyn Campbell Dennis Madelene Capelle Dan Nell Carney Lisa Carl Terrence Carroll Wayne Judi Chamberlain Barry Chapman John Chappell CitronAllen Clark Julie Larry Clott Ginger Clubine

Diane Coleman

Cook Tim Cook David Cooney Bob Cooper Kater Cornwell Larry Correu George Covington Fred Cowell Barbara Crozier David Cunningham Maria Cuprill Steve Currier Christine Dahlberg Phyllis Dalton Ellen Daly Susan Daniels Sam Dardick Justin Dart Yoshiko Dart Robert Davila Randy Davis Curt Decker Gene Defabio Frank DeGeorge John Dehmer James DeJong Eddie del Rosario Alice Demichelis Robert Demichelis Geor-ge Dempsey Patty Dempsey Linda DeReyna Margaret Dignoti Bob Dillard John Dingell Alan Dinsmore Yayoi Disanto Mark Disler Eliot Dober Phyllis Doering Libby Doggett Elizabeth Dole Robert Dole Gregg Donaldson James Dooley Mary Doremus Rochelle Dornatt Janet Dorsey Gregory Dougan Richard Douglas John Doyle Sy Dubow Jack Duncan Jerry Dunlap David Dunn John Dunne David Durenberger Joseph Dusenbury Paul Dziedzic Nan Ellen East Don Edwards Gary Edwards Susan Edwards Cherri Eitel Holli Elder John Ellison Charles Estes Joe Fallin Andrea Farbman Darrell Farland Frederick Fay Chai Feldblum Donald Fennell Sharon Fields Denise Figueroa Patricio Figueroa Eunice Fiorito Hamilton Fish Mary Lynn Fletcher Nancy Flinn Laurie Flynn Cynthia Folcarelli John Foley Lockhart Follin-Mace Patricia Fore Karen Franklin Ken Franklin Colleen Fraser Duane French Lex & Joyce Frieden Caren Friedman Del Frost Roxy Funchess Bob Funk Carol Gaccetta Thomas Gaines John Galiette Hugh Gallagher Don Galloway Donald Galvin Don Gann Keith Gann Jack Gannon John Gannon Sharon Gardner Jim Gashel Judy Gentile Laurie Gerken Michael Gibson George Gilmer Joan Gipple Marilyn Golden Penny Gorbach Lisa Gorove Reggie Govan Tsuneko Gozu Vito Grasso William Graves Boyden Gray Vincent Gray Deborah Greenspan Eric Griffin James Griffith Peter Griswold Phyllis Guff Steve Gunderson Mary Lou Haines Sedonie Halbert Harry Hall Monica Hall Susan Hammerman Ron Hanson Tom Harkin Vicki Harris Neil Hartigan Tari Hartman Naomi Harward Jerry Hassell Orrin Hatch James Havel Scott Haynes Katheryne Hazem Paul Hearne Betty Hedgeman Chester Helms Scott Hemple Henry Henscheid Deborah Herr Judy Heumann Nancy Hildebrand Peggy Himsl Paul Hippolitus Josephine Holzer Ron Honberg Eileen Horndt Steny Hoyer Clare Huff Yvonne Husic Gene Hysjulien Margo Imdieke David Ingle Chris Isengard Stuart Ishimaru Michael Iskowitz Dana Jackson Jesse Jackson Suellen Jackson-Boner Abraham Jaffe Stephen Janick Tobias Jean Trudy Jeffers James Jeffords Jan Jenkins Michael Jenkins Kenneth Jernigan Angel Jimenez Jerry Johnsen Isaac Johnson Kathleen Johnson Larry Johnson Larry Johnson Mark Johnson Mary Johnson Randy Johnson Sharon Stewart Johnson Steve Johnson Chryss Jones Cyndi Jones Darrell Jones Erica Jones Ken Jones Shannon Jones Steve Jones Tony Jones I. King Jordan Sharon Julius Bob Kafka June Kailes Deborah Kaplan Jeffrey

Kaufmann Cynthia & Jennifer Keelan Evan Kemp Jack Kemp John Kemp Ted Kennedy Ted Kennedy. 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Sanchez Dale Sattler Liz Savage Marilyn Saviola Leonard Sawisch Bill Scarborough Cynthia Schloss Zebe Schmitt Dennis Schmitz Joyce Schneider Fred Schroeder Paul Schroeder Melissa Schulman Bill Scott Morris Selby Dennis Seymour Ilene Shane Joseph Shapiro Siqi Shapiro Judy Shaw Steve Shaw Timothy Shaw Patti Sheets Ralph Shelman Richard Sheppard Tom Sheridan Susan Sherman Maggie Shreve Lucy Shumaker Linda Shute Robert Silverstein Paul Simon Bobby Simpson Karen Sinnreich Roger Slagle David Sloane Gary Smith Harry Smith Kristine Smith Mark Smith Patricia Smith Paul Smith Steve Smith Zana Smith Dennis Smur Harold Snider Jay Snyder Jerry Snyder Judith Sokolow Tony Sokolowski Ben Soukup Ken South Joil Southwell Wilda Spalding Peg Spencer William Spencer Marilyn Spivack Mark Stallman Max & Colleen Starkloff Jerry Starkweather John Stengle Hardy Stone Mary Straughn Naoko Suito Louis Sullivan Nancy Sullivan Suzanne Sullivan Lori Summers Pat Sunseri Sue Suter Ross Sweat Marnie Sweet Dick Switzer Roland Sykes John Szufnarowski Bill Tainter Hisako Takei Susan Tannenbaum Brook & Jill Tarbel Connie Tarr Bob Tate Shelley Teed-Wargo Chris Templeton John TenPas Rick Tessendore Stephanie Thomas Dick Thornburgh Ginny Thornburgh Perry Tillman Jamil Toubbeh Alan Toy Diane Treacy Steven Tremblay Suzann Tucker James Tuscher David Twiggs Douglas Usiak Michael Vader James Van Den Eykel Ray Vaughn Richard Verville Lee Viets Evelyn Villines Ann Vinup Doug Vollmer James Wagner Judy Wagner Kent Waldrep Huey Walker Sylvia Walker Hewlette Wasson Harlan Watson Joan Watson Paul Wehman Lowell Weicker Fred Weiner Jim Weisman Jane West Maureen West Pat Westbrook Donald Westergard Peg Westfall Ed White Glen White Bob Wiederspahn Harold Wilke Bob Williams Bob Williams David Williams Kathy Williams Keith Williams John Winske Michael Winter Jayn Wittenmyer John Wodatch Michelle Wood Janet Wright Patrisha Wright Duncan Wyeth Paul Wysocki Ken Yal Charles Young Tony Young Wes Young Miyuki Yuen Ray Zanella Phyllis Zlotnick Irving Zola

"The ADA can be the foundation for a new era of equality for people with disabilities, but only if we inform all Americans with disabilities of their new rights. More important, we must help them to assume the rights bearing attitude that will ensure that the provisions of the ADA will become a reality in every community across the nation." Phil Calkins

#### ADA INFORMATION NUMBERS

Architectural Transportation Barriers Compliance Board: 800/USA-ABLE(Voice/TDD), Department of Justice: 202/514-0301(Voice), 202/514-0381, 0383(TDD), Department of Transportation: 202/366-9305(Voice), 202/755-7687(TDD), Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, Inc.: 202/986-0375(Voice/TDD), Equal Employment Opportunity Commission: 202/663-4900(Voice), 800/USA-EEOC(Voice), 800/800-3302(TDD), 202/296-6312 ext. 13(Voice, DC only), 202/663-4494(TDD, DC only), Federal Communications Commission: 202/634-1837(Voice), 202/634-1855(TDD), Job Accommodation Network: 800/JAN-7234(Voice/TDD), 800/JAN-4698(Voice/TDD), W. VA only), INFO(Computer Bulletin Board), National Association of the Deaf: 301/587-1788(Voice), 301/588-9551(TDD), National Association of Protection and Advocacy Systems, Inc.: 202/408-9514(Voice), 202/408-9521(TDD), National Center for Law and the Deaf: 202/651-5373(Voice/TDD), National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research: 202/732-1139(Voice), 202/732-5316(TDD), President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities: 202/653-5044(Voice), 202/653-5050(TDD), Project Action: 202/659-2229(Voice), 202/835-7393(TDD), Rehabilitation Services Administration: 202/732-1331(Voice), 202/732-4538(TDD)

"ADA expanded the outer boundaries which limit human potential. Where once there was only a narrow, cramped space in which people with disabilities could fulfill their dreams and make a difference with their lives, now there is a vast expanse of evolving possibilities stretching out into the future." Mary Jane Owen

"The Americans with Disabilities Act sets the groundwork; but we, the people, have to create the action. The laws on the books are only as good as the will of the people to enforce them. We, people with mental illness, must use the ADA as a tool for organizing. There is no substitute for a strongly organized movement for the civil rights of all individuals." Joseph A. Rogers

# FROM ADA TO EMPOWERMENT

The Report of the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities

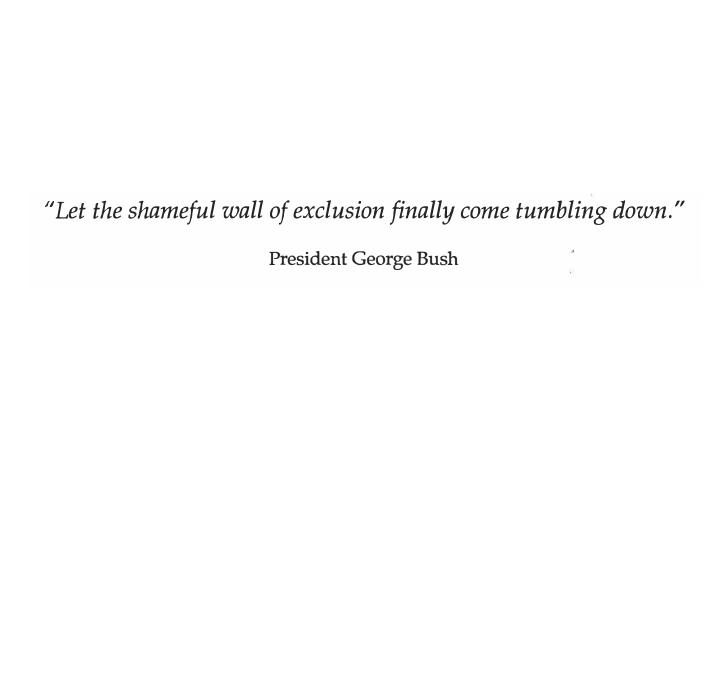
October 12, 1990

Appointed by Congressman Major R. Owens, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Select Education.

Operated by citizen volunteers with no public funding.

This report was printed through the support of the Paralyzed Veterans of America and Brook and Jill Tarbel.

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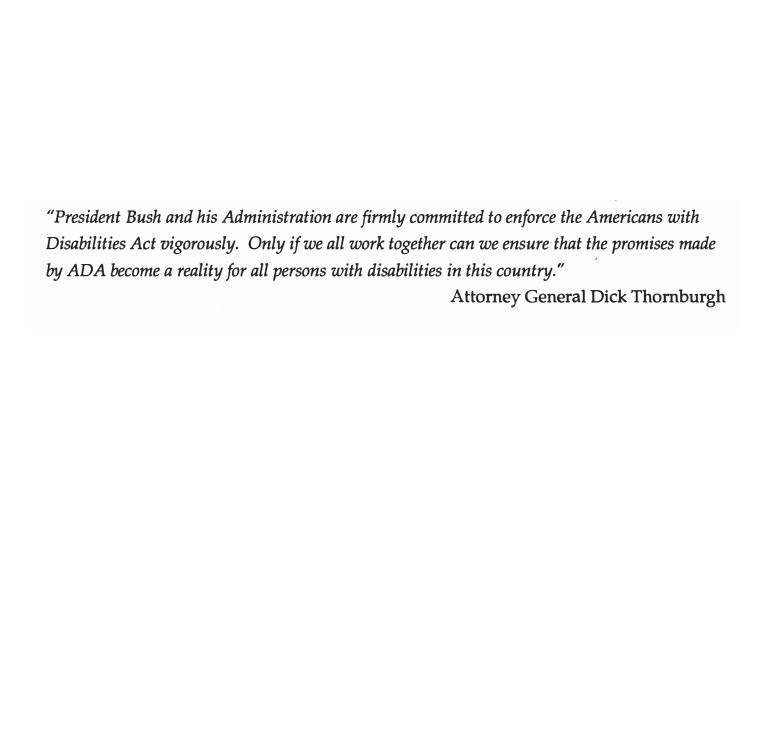
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work.

Cover: The Task Force received no public funding. Listed on the front and back covers of the report are the names of a few of the thousands of patriotic citizens in every state and territory who contributed their time, abilities and resources to make the process of democratic empowerment



### INTRODUCTION

September 19, 1990

#### To the Reader:

When the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 was signed into law on July 26, 1990 by President Bush, I saw many in the crowd of over 2,000 on the White House lawn weep with joy. As recently as two years ago, to many disabled people and disability rights advocates who had been slugging it out in the legislative trenches for years, passage of comprehensive civil rights protections for 43 million Americans with disabilities seemed but a distant, perhaps utopian, dream. When the original version of the ADA was introduced on April 29, 1988, most Americans, both in and out of government, were not fully aware of the need for comprehensive civil rights coverage for people with disabilities.

I believed at that time that in order for a worthy version of the ADA to pass the Congress, there was a need for far better understanding of this problem by the Congress, the Executive branch, and by all segments of the public. Towards that end, I established in May, 1988 the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities. I asked Justin Dart, the noted disability rights advocate, to chair it. The Task Force's charge was:

"To gather and to present, to the U.S. Congress, the Executive Branch, the private sector, state and local government and the public, evidence on the extent and nature of discrimination on the basis of disability in the United States, and to present findings and conclusions on the basis of such evidence, which include recommendations for action to its various audiences."

Justin Dart took the ball and ran with it. He began by appointing an extraordinarily distinguished group of individuals representative of the disability community as a whole. Justin

chaired a total of 63 Task Force public forums involving people with disabilities, advocates, service providers, and government officials in all 50 States, the District of Columbia, and the territories. In all, more than 7,000 individuals attended these forums. Awareness of the problem of discrimination on the basis of disability and of the legislation Congress was considering to outlaw it, the ADA, was, I believe, greatly enhanced as a result of these forums and the other activities of the Task Force.

The fact that the Task Force operated with no federal money and was able to benefit from the voluntary contributions of time, money, and services from hundreds of individuals and organizations, is in part a testament to the fact that the ADA was a bill whose time had come. But it was also a testament to the magnificent commitment of the countless individuals who helped make the Task Force such a success, and their faith in the democratic process expressed in all of those efforts. Their actions reflected a belief that only with broad based public awareness of and support for the ADA would the bill become law and could the capacity to effectively implement such a law exist. In an age in which polls show the public increasingly alienated from our political system, I am particularly pleased that the activities of Justin and the Task Force reached out to many people across the land who had had no previous involvement in the political process. I believe that the contributions of these individuals will serve to invigorate and improve the quality of our public life.

Those who assume that this report will simply reiterate the basic conclusion justifying the passage of ADA are mistaken. Rather, it contains a number of recommendations which, if implemented, promise to put in place critically necessary supplemental measures. These measures will help make the goal of ADA—full participation in American life—a reality for the thousands of disabled Americans who need

### INTRODUCTION

more than a well-implemented ADA to live full lives. It is my hope that all of you who read it will find it as rewarding an exercise as I did, and that, inspired by thousands whose efforts made the ADA a reality, you will in your own way carry the torch of progress forward.

With freedom and democracy movements all over the world achieving stunning breakthroughs heretofore believed by many to be impossible, we in the United States have declared through the passage of ADA that we will cede world leadership in this human rights crusade to no other nation. Even as I write these words, the number of other nations giving serious consideration to passing legislation similar to the ADA is already in the double digits.

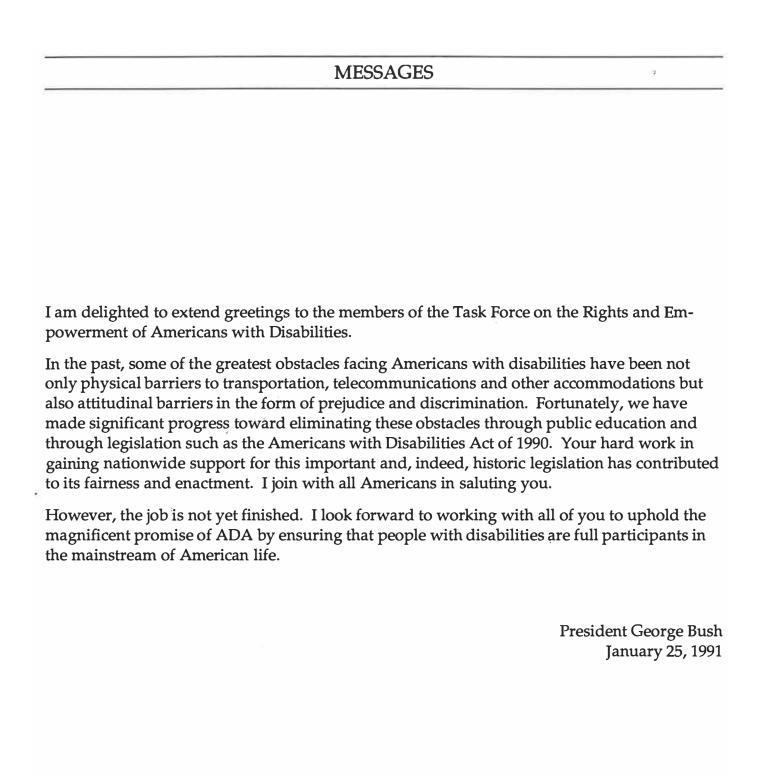
With your continued passionate and enlightened efforts in the years ahead, I am confident that we

will help to ensure that the words of the Declaration of Independence affirming the inalienable rights of all people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness will ring with enhanced meaning for 43 million Americans with disabilities.

Congratulations to Justin Dart, Co-chair Elizabeth Boggs and to all of the Task Force members and volunteers whose contributions were so instrumental in the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Sincerely yours,

MAJOR R. OWENS, Chairperson House Subcommittee on Select Education



### **MESSAGES**

Congratulations on the final report of the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities. I would like to commend the members of the Task Force who gave so generously of their time and whose contributions will have a lasting affect on Americans with disabilities. And, of course, the thousands of volunteers across the nation are further evidence of the tremendous groundswell of public support which led to the adoption of the Americans with Disabilities Act. Without their efforts, this project, which was completed without public or private funding, would not have been possible.

The final report of the Task Force will be an invaluable tool to the Congress, the Administration and to the people of the United States as we work together to improve the lives of Americans with disabilities and to make the dream of equality a reality for 43 million Americans with disabilities. The 63 public forums in every state of the nation, the District of Columbia, Guam and Puerto Rico held by the Task Force provided essential information. This information and the interim reports you provided to the Congress were essential to our successful efforts to gain passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990. As the lead House cosponsor of the ADA, I know that the passage of this long overdue certification of the equal rights of people with disabilities would not have been possible without your efforts.

Representative Steny H. Hoyer

The Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities filled an important need in reaching out across the country to seek input to assist Congress during consideration of the ADA. This remarkable endeavor involved countless volunteers nationwide, and was an important component in the process of developing and finalizing the legislation.

The ADA is landmark legislation opening opportunities for millions of disabled people who have important contributions to make to our country. I commend the Task Force for the completion of its mission, particularly of note with no expenditure of Federal funds.

Thank you for your work.

Representative Steve Bartlett

Since 1988, the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities has been busy collecting volumes of information and sponsoring numerous public forums to assist Congress with the consideration of disability legislation. The 38-member task force, which was appointed by Congressman Major R. Owens, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Select Education, was composed of representatives from every major segment of the disability community. These distinguished committee members and the hundreds of citizen volunteers, who have donated their time and performed their duties without financial assistance or official fanfare, played a critical role in the enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA).

The ADA, which is intended to prevent discrimination in every sector of American society, provides the disability community with a critical mandate to pursue a broad and comprehensive framework of civil rights for all Americans. For years, people with disabilities have been denied the opportunity to become productive, contributing members of society. Discrimination is not only morally wrong, but also denies our nation an eligible pool of human resources. As a vigorous voice during the ADA debate, the Task Force helped provide the leadership necessary to overcome the antiquated attitudinal barriers that prevent entry into the mainstream for millions of American citizens.

Unfortunately, discrimination against people with disabilities will not be completely eradicated. Passage of ADA does not mean that our job is complete. For this reason, the disability community must continue to work together. The Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities provides the disability community with an administrative structure to share ideas and formulate legislative recommendations. 1990 was a historic year, and I am

### **MESSAGES**

confident that this report will contribute to a successful decade for national disability policy.

Senator Robert J. Dole

Congratulations on the completion of the final report of the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities. With your effective leadership, the Task Force was integral in the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

I especially want to thank the Task Force and the hundreds of citizens throughout the nation who gave unselfishly of their time, abilities and money for bringing the message to the country that discrimination against our brothers and sisters with disabilities is wrong, and will no longer be tolerated. This is truly an amazing feat, given the fact that the Task Force was able to complete the assignment with no public funding or private grants.

Again, congratulations on the final report. I salute you and all the members of the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities. "Equal Justice Under the Law" now rings true for all Americans.

Senator Tom Harkin Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy

Congratulations to the members of the Task Force for their report and to Congressman Major Owens for his leadership. The exhaustive work of the Task Force represents volunteerism at its best and hopefully will serve as a model for others. While I may not agree with every single recommendation, the report will play a key role in the development of future congressional proposals and administrative action, as we work to build on this past year's legislative success.

Senator Orrin G. Hatch



# **Foreward**

Once again we have witnessed the power of an idea whose time has come!

The time of the coming of an idea is largely determined by the concurrence of diverse forces and circumstances. A sufficient number of people must be committed to an ideal that can have real, here-and-now manifestations. As it was with the Declaration of Independence, so also with ADA, the proclamation of ideals preceded by some time the enactment of implementing legislation.

The story of how the Americans with Disabilities Act came to be signed into law on July 26, 1990 cannot be told in a few pages, and probably will never be told fully, given the breadth of participation behind it. But in contemporary retrospect we can delineate several important factors that set the course long before the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities came on the scene.

#### THE STAGE IS SET:

Of the precursor developments, four emerge as critical.

The changing role of the federal government: As recently as 1960 the flow of federal financial assistance to states and through states to other entities was quite limited in volume; what was in place in the fifties had few strings attached beyond those directly related to the administration of the specific program, as, for example, in the Childrens' Bureau's "crippled children's program" or in the vocational rehabilitation program. In 1965 the Great Society arrived, with Medicaid, Medicare, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and significant expansion in federal support for social services. With these enlarged entitlements Congress became bolder in setting broader conditions of participation. Thus in 1973 with the enactment of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, those who chose to become direct and indirect recipients of federal funding found themselves obligated not only to eschew discrimination against people with disabilities but to act affirmatively toward their employment and access to public accommodations and services. It was an offer most could not refuse. Implementa-

- tion paved the way for ADA by providing the testing ground without which more broadly applicable mandates would have been very difficult to sell.
- 2. Changing demographics: Well into the seventies many policy makers still viewed disability primarily as a form of premature aging justifying early retirement with pension rights. Important as disability among the elderly may be, it is only part of the picture, yet somehow planners did not see the oncoming wave of young members of the post World War II baby boom who had survived with disabilities. Even those who may have looked at statistical trends did not foresee that young adults — those disabled in childhood or in their twenties, the Viet Nam veterans, the children who increasingly survived with Spina Bifida or Down Syndrome or rubella syndrome, or retrolental fibroplasia, or autism, or a residual paralysis from polio, the young men and women and those in mid-career who sustained spinal cord or head injury — would not accept the life style deemed appropriate to those whose disabilities originated quite differently in later life. It is from this generation that the "independent living movement" has emerged and with it a significant number of highly visible, highly articulate leaders who have become a potent political force. Behind them stand rank on rank of family members spouses, parents, siblings, even children — also now more outspoken and proud.
- 3. The civil rights models: The rallying cry for ADA was based on equal justice and equal protection, using the paradigm of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Not only was the Civil Rights Act the organizing principle for ADA itself, but the strategies for achieving enactment proceeded along similar lines. A decade of disability-related litigation based on Constitutional issues began in the late sixties, setting precedents in respect to lack of access, inferior services, discrimination in employment, and use of institutional segregation, especially for people with mental disabilities. As the scene moved from the courts to Congress the comparability of the two agendas was further underlined by the active support of ADA by well known leaders in the Civil Rights movement, including, of course, Congressman Major Owens.

### RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT — A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW

4. The emergence of a broadened sense of community among people with disabilities, their friends, families, advocates and service providers: The last 25 years have seen a burgeoning of new organizations representing various segments of the potential constituency for ADA. These groups represent a range of ideologies, turfs, missions, tactics, and even visions; many were categorical; some attempted to bring together individuals with specific common needs, such as access to public transportation. During the early part of the last quarter century, there were many organizational and personal rivalries, while inexperienced leaders learned their trade on the job. Some groups did not survive. Despite the taste of empowerment through unified action enjoyed by those who planned and participated in the sit-ins in San Francisco and Washington to protest the delays in getting out the "504" regulations, the cacophony was still evident at the 1977 White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals. As the seventies turned the corner into the eighties, however, a change began to be evident. Like the thirteen original colonies, more major constituencies began to recognize that pecking order was less important than coalition building, and that identity and autonomy need not be threatened by recognizing common interests and giving mutual support.

#### THE CURTAIN GOES UP:

Beginning in 1983 the National Council on Disability became for a time the focal point of this new cohesion. Under the leadership of its chairpersons, Joe Dusenbury and Sandra Parrino, its vice chair, Justin Dart, and its executive directors, John Doyle and Lex Frieden, it adopted "a cross disability approach." Its National Policy for Persons with Disabilities set forth a goal that society should facilitate for individuals, "maximum life potential, self-reliance, independence, productivity, and equitable mainstream social participation in the most productive and least restrictive environment." These concepts were incorporated, somewhat more succinctly, in the 1984 amendments to the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act. In the winter of 1986, the Council issued a major report entitled Toward Independence. It highlighted ten major objectives, the first being the

enactment of comprehensive legislation establishing civil rights for people with disabilities that would provide for them the same kind and degree of protections already afforded to members of minority groups and to women. Detailed specifications for the legislation were included in the Appendix to the Council report. ADA is that legislation.

As Attorney Robert Burgdorf and his collaborators were translating these specifications into legislative language in the winter of 1988 an extraordinary event took place in the nation's capital, an event that undoubtedly provided great impetus for ADA. The students of Gallaudet University rejected the hearing president selected for the University by its trustees and insisted on the selection of a president from among the community of qualified deaf people. Their dramatic and effective protest, well covered by the world media, as well as by the Washington press, projected I. King Jordan, a deafened veteran and Gallaudet faculty member, not only into the presidency but into a prominent role as advocate for all people with disabilities and for ADA.

The first formal ADA bills were introduced into both houses of Congress as the Bush-Dukakis election campaign was getting up steam in the spring of 1988. Concurrently, Congressman Major Owens moved to create the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities with Justin Dart as chair. Although both Presidential candidates endorsed the bills "in principle," Bush paid more attention to the issue during the campaign; the Harris Poll detected a distinct shift in the voting intentions of people with disabilities in his direction.

#### THE SECOND ACT:

As President, Bush gave practical expression to his public statements by appointing an unprecedented number of men and women with disabilities to policy making positions in various agencies — Evan Kemp, Gordon Mansfield, Robert Davila, Nell Carney, Justin Dart. After some months of apparent ambivalence in the early part of 1989, the President designated Boyden Gray to be ADA point man in the White House and Attorney General Thornburgh to coordinate the development of consistent, tenable, affirmative positions within the executive branch. A period

# RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT — A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW

of intense three way negotiations ensued among the principal actors in the Senate, the Administration, and the disability community.

The resulting Senate bill, passed in the fall of 1989, provided the bony structure for what eventually became P.L 101-336, but there was still a long way to go through the maze of committees and subcommittees that held partial jurisdiction in the House. In a remarkable demonstration of bipartisan support for the bill, dozens of potentially weakening amendments

For the first time in history a truly broadbased coalition led by people with all kinds of disabilities, working shoulder to shoulder with their families and friends, has hung together until the moment of victory. Thus have we experienced empowerment as never before.

were resisted in committee or on the floor by Congressmen who became folk heroes in the disability rights movement. The excitement culminated dramatically with passage in the House on May 22, 1990. This day marked another historic first, the first time a plenary session had been interpreted in sign language live and on television.

To provide the necessary evidence of popular support to bring this about, an intricate, multilevel, nation-wide network had been established in conjunction with the pre-existing Consortium for Citizens with Disabilities, chaired by Paul Marchand. Through this network, disability rights advocates in every state were kept informed of developments and in close, two-way communication, by phone, fax and mail, with the Washington-based live actors who worked on a day-to-day basis to promote the passage of the bill over a period of more than two years. Eventually, by every medium of communication including personal visits from constituents, the message of "grass roots support" was carried to the Hill.

Some of the Task Force members were geographically positioned to participate in the demanding day-to-day activity. These on-site members, led by Patrisha Wright, of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, along with the members of the Rights Task Force of the Consortium for Citizens with Disabilities, were joined by other local volunteers, including an ad hoc team of skillful civil rights attorneys, as well as by staff on many Washington-based voluntary organizations representing people with disabilities, their families, and providers.

From time to time they were reinforced by partisans who came to Washington from a distance and remained for periods ranging from a few days to a few months. In the spring of 1989 a "march" down Pennsylvania Avenue in the rain culminated in a candlelight vigil outside the White House. In February, 1990 a full page ad in the Washington Post, sponsored by over 8,000 advocates, from every state, called for "ADA, yes; legalized discrimination, No!" In March, many people with disabilities and their friends came to town for a major demonstration on the Capitol steps that received wide coverage in the national media.

#### THE FINALE:

Popular participation was the fact as well as the spirit of the signing of ADA on the White House lawn on July 26, 1990. Three thousand people attended, representing the many thousands more who actively contributed in thousands of ways to the final formulation, legislative history and enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act. One, Justin Dart, played a unique and crucial role. Between 1982 and 1989 he and his wife, Yoshiko, criss-crossed the country, visiting advocates and potential advocates in every state, carrying a single message of united action for justice and equal access to the American dream.

The disability community rallied as never before. It was held together by two principles, repeatedly enunciated by Justin Dart, Patrisha Wright, Paul Marchand, Lex Frieden, and others, representing the irreducible position in any of the dozens of negotiations around large and small points during the two years of legislative process.

# RIGHTS AND EMPOWERMENT — A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW

# These principles are:

- 1. There will be no long term legitimation of unequal status for people with disabilities;
- No subgroup of people with any type of physical or mental disability, or perceived disability, no matter how politically impotent or how stigmatized, will be sacrificed.

The message was and is "inclusion," power through unity, empowerment through participation.

The cross-disability approach was exemplified by appointments to the Task Force. Its membership was drawn from nationally recognized leaders. Every major group of constituencies was represented. Two members died of AIDS before the bill was passed. Since members were geographically dispersed, meetings were held in Washington with participation

of distant members by teleconference. Each member represented a link to thousands of other individuals. The Task Force stood as the visible symbol of an invisible but growing force.

For the first time in history a truly broad-based coalition led by people with all kinds of disabilities, working shoulder to shoulder with their families and friends, has hung together until the moment of victory.

Thus have we experienced empowerment as never before.

Elizabeth M. Boggs, Co-chair Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities October, 1990

<sup>&</sup>quot;...I am inspired to see this movement going to the world. There are going to be people whose names or disabilities you will never know who will live in a fairer, better world because of what you have done." Senator Edward Kennedy

The Americans with Disabilities Act is a landmark victory for human justice. But we are still far from the promised land of equality and empowerment in every day life. We will do well to recall that most initially successful revolutions have been frustrated by apathy and disunity.

Our task now is to complete the revolution of free enterprise democracy by implementing the inalienable right and the inalienable responsibility of all people to fulfill their personal potential to be equal and productive participants in the mainstream of society. Our revolution will not be easily or quickly accomplished. Like the revolution of '76, it will progress only through inspirational national leadership and the total involvement of united citizen patriots. Like our founding fathers, we will not live to see the final victory. But we can 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 citizens with disabilities as full participants in the American dream.

Justin Dart Chairperson Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

THE TASK FORCE was created by Congressman Major R. Owens to assist the Congress in its consideration of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), May, 1988-July, 1990. It was operated by citizen volunteers, with no public funding or private grants.

The Task Force congratulates the Congress, the President, the disability community and all who have supported ADA on the enactment of the world's first comprehensive civil rights law for people with disabilities by any nation.

#### **ACTIVITIES AND FINDINGS**

Task Force Chairperson Justin Dart conducted 63 public forums in 50 states, the District of Columbia, Guam and Puerto Rico, and participated in other gatherings with a total attendance of more than 30,000 persons with disabilities and their advocates. Task Force members and volunteers helped to organize and participated in numerous Congressional hearings and other ADA related events throughout the nation involving additional thousands of individuals.

There is overwhelming evidence that massive, society-wide discrimination and paternalism has condemned 43 million Americans with disabilities to

"The ADA is the law of the land. Citizens with disabilities now possess real rights that were mere dreams just months ago. Rights protections, however, are rarely automatically or easily implemented. We must remain as diligent in ADA's enforcement as we were in its passage. We must not only look to government and business to fully implement ADA. We must also mobilize an empowered constituency, the disability movement, to move aggressively forward to assure that ADA's promise becomes reality." Paul Marchand

be this nation's most isolated, unemployed, impoverished and welfare dependent minority. President Bush has estimated the annual economic cost to the

"The passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act signals a national policy that dependency, charity and welfare for peòple with disabilities are vestiges of the past. The emphasis now is on empowering people with disabilities with self-sufficiency, independence and the ability to make their own choices." Evan Kemp

nation of excluding citizens with disabilities from the mainstream to be almost \$200 billion in direct public and private payments — \$300 billion when lost taxes and productivity are included. The devastating human cost would be impossible to express in numbers or words.

The Task Force sent eleven interim reports to Congress consistently recommending the passage of ADA in a form that would provide equal civil rights protection to people with disabilities. The Chairperson and the members participated in hundreds of meetings with members and staff of the Congress and of the executive branch, including the President, the Vice President, the Attorney General and the Secretaries of Housing and Urban Development, Labor and Transportation. They also met many times with significant representatives of groups opposed to ADA. Over 5,000 specific examples of discrimination were presented to the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy.

# RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

 The President and the executive branch should provide strong leadership to implement ADA through the creation of effective regulations which are completed on the dates required by the Act. This process should involve the full partici-

# **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

- pation of representatives of the disability community and all other affected entities.
- The President, the executive branch, the Congress, the disability community and all citizens should take decisive, ongoing action to ensure the vigorous enforcement of ADA and all other disability rights and services established by judicial action, legislation and regulations.
- The President, the executive branch, the Congress, the disability community and all citizens should act to strengthen legal, advocacy and information and referral services for people with disabilities, their families, service providers and advocates. There should be ongoing outreach instruction in regard to available rights and services, and how to advocate for and obtain them. Immediate decisive action should be taken to provide technical assistance to people with disabilities, service providers, employers, operators of facilities and the public in regard to the rights and responsibilities conferred by ADA and similar legislation.
- Disability constituency and allied organizations should make an aggressive, unified effort to advocate for appropriate ADA regulations, to celebrate and communicate the message of ADA, and to monitor the implementation of ADA and all disability rights and services on the national, state and local levels on an ongoing basis.
- The Congress should pass and the President should sign a civil rights law that eliminates the

- negative effect on minority rights of recent Supreme Court decisions, and that provides people with disabilities with effective remedies that are equal to those provided to other protected classes.
- The President and leaders of all significant government entities should designate appropriately qualified executives to coordinate the administration of disability policy and to maintain positive, productive relationships with the disability and other affected communities.
- The executive branch and the Congress should provide vigorous leadership to create and implement a national policy on disability designed to keep the President's eloquent pledge "to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream."

"...More remains to be done before persons with disabilities have true equality of opportunity in our society, and we have to remain vigilant to make sure our new won rights are respected. The disabled community is a force to be reckoned with in Washington — let's not lose the momentum we have worked so long and hard to achieve!" Tony Coelho

# From ADA to Empowerment

The Report of the Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities

#### THE TASK FORCE

The Task Force on the Rights and Empowerment of Americans with Disabilities was established on May 2, 1988, by Congressman Major R. Owens, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Select Education. Composed of 36 distinguished representatives of every major segment of the disability community, the Task Force was mandated to collect information and to make recommendations which would assist Congress as it considered the historic Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), and other legislation designed to implement the rights of America's 43 million citizens with disabilities.

#### **ACTIVITIES**

The Task Force held fourteen meetings in Washington, D.C., with telephone participation from across the nation. With the cooperation of Congressional staff, Task Force members and literally hundreds of local and national volunteers with and without disabilities, Chairperson Justin Dart conducted 63 public forums in 50 states, the District of Columbia, Guam and Puerto Rico. These forums were attended by more than 7,000 persons with disabilities, their families, advocates and service providers. He also made Task Force presentations to a large number of other meetings attended by more than 25,000 persons. Task Force members participated in the organization and conduct of numerous Congressional hearings on disability-based discrimination attended by several thousand persons. The chairperson and the members participated in hundreds of meetings with members and staff of the Congress and of the executive branch, including the President, the Vice President, the Attorney General and the Secretaries of Housing and Urban Development, Labor and Transportation. They also met many times with significant representatives of groups opposed to ADA.

The Task Force collected several thousand documents and tapes submitted by citizens and organizations outlining discrimination and other barriers which limit people with disabilities, proposals to eliminate those barriers and communications calling for civil rights legislation. Over 5,000 specific examples of discrimination were presented to the House Committee on Education and Labor and the Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy.

The Task Force sent eleven interim reports and recommendations to the members of Congress, and 37 reports and other communications to disability community leaders throughout the nation. Mailings have totaled approximately 20,000 pieces.

The Task Force wishes to acknowledge the magnificent support it has received from the Congress, particularly Task Force founder Chairman Major Owens, Representative Bartlett and the other members of the House Subcommittee on Select Education, and Maria Cuprill, Bob Tate, Pat Morrissey and Pat Laird of the Subcommittee staff; Chairman Tom Harkin, Senators Hatch, Simon, Durenberger and the other members of the Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy, and Bob Silverstein and Katy Beh of the Subcommittee staff; Representatives Hoyer, Michel, Mineta, Anderson, Brooks, Dingell, Fish, Edwards and Gunderson, and former Representative Coelho and their staffs; Senators Kennedy, Dole, Jeffords, and McCain and former Senator Weicker. and their staffs. The Task Force also recognizes the outstanding contributions of all the Congressional sponsors of the Civil Rights Restoration Act, the Fair Housing Act Amendments of 1988, the Technologyrelated Assistance for Individuals with Disabilities Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1990.

The Task Force also acknowledges the support and cooperation of the executive branch: President George Bush; Vice President Dan Quayle; Attorney General Richard Thornburgh; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp; Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole; Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan; Secretary of Transportation Sam Skinner; Governor John Sununu; Counsel to the President Boyden Gray, EEOC Chairman Evan Kemp, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights John Dunne; Center for Disease Control Director William Roper; Assistant

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Gordon Mansfield; Assistant Secretary of Education for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services Robert Davila; Rehabilitation Services Administration Commissioner Nell Carney; John Wodatch of the Department of Justice; and White House staffers Roger Porter, Charles Kolb, Hans Kuttner, Ken Yale, David Sloane, Marianne McGettigan, Lee Liberman, Bobbie Kilberg, Shiree Sanchez, David Beckwith, George Covington and others.

The Task Force received no public funding or private grants. Particular recognition is due Task Force members, subcommittee liaisons, volunteer staff and the literally thousands of patriotic citizens and organizations in every state and territory who have contributed their services, resources and money to make the democratic system work.

#### **FINDINGS**

Disability has become a major factor in the lives of all the members of our society. Presently there are an estimated 43 million Americans with disabilities. This figure is increasing rapidly as modern medical science enables more and more people to survive previously fatal birth defects, injuries and illnesses and to live many potentially productive and happy years with significant disabilities. These disabilities result from numerous physical, sensory and mental conditions, including the normal process of aging and impairments of vision, speech, hearing, learning, intellectual function and mobility. Although not all chronic illness is disabling, much disability is a consequence of diseases of the circulatory, respiratory, urinary, neurological, skeletal, muscular, glandular, dermatological, and digestive systems. Arthritis, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, diabetes, mental illness, cancer, traumatic brain injury, multiple sclerosis, muscular dystrophy, AIDS, autism, allergies, and many other disorders cause disability in varying degrees. Some researchers estimate that the proportion of our population with disabilities, now more than 15%, will double within the next 30-50 years. It is highly probable that any person born in 1990 will experience at least temporary disability during his or her lifetime. Disability has become a predictable part of the normal life cycle for a large and increasing proportion of human beings.

This dramatic increase in life span represents an historic enlargement of the human potential. However, our culture has not yet modified its policies and practices to permit that potential to be realized, or even to meet the basic life support requirements created by the new characteristics of its members. Major problems have developed.

America has recorded great progress in the area of disability during the past few decades. However, the great majority of the members of our society are still infected by the ancient assumption that people with disabilities are less than fully human and therefore are not fully eligible for the opportunities, services

"Now the task ahead is making ADA work in all communities and neighborhoods. I am challenging America to increase the acceptance, dignity and participation of persons with disabilities." Jim Brady

and support systems which are available to other people as a matter of right. The result is massive, society-wide discrimination and paternalism.

Millions of our citizens with disabilities suffer unconscionable infringement of their human rights. They are often deprived of essential life support services. They are subjected to de facto guardianship, detention, and confiscation of property without due process of law. They are prevented by paternalistic systems from participation in the decisions that control their lives. They are even sometimes denied the right to raise their own children. They suffer frequent humiliation and rejection, as well as physical and psychological deprivation and abuse. They are consistently excluded from significant opportunities for social participation, including access to public and private facilities, education, employment, housing, transportation, communications and recreation. The percentage of our rapidly expanding population of individuals with disabilities in the work force has actually declined during the last twenty years from 41% to about 33%.

Blocked by discriminatory and paternalistic practices from fulfilling their productive potential, 43 million Americans with disabilities form this nation's most impoverished and largest minority. They receive the least education. They have the lowest incomes and

"The story of America is the story of growing opportunity. Throughout our history, our most positive theme — our beacon to the world — has been the levelling of barriers when they hold back individual energy and talent....The ADA belongs to this noble line." Dr. Louis Sullivan, Secretary of Health and Human Services

among the highest rates of unemployment, unsuitable housing, hopelessness, suicide and preventable illness and death.

With even a small fraction of the opportunities normally available to others, people with all types of disabilities have proven absolutely that they can be productive participants in the mainstream of society. Pioneer public and private sector medical, educational, rehabilitation, employment, independent living, transportation, communication, residential, cultural, recreational and barrier removal programs designed to enable people with disabilities to fulfill their potential as citizens have been effective and profitable. However, in spite of the valiant efforts of the Congress and of many dedicated Americans, these promising programs have been seriously constrained by discriminatory and paternalistic practices and inaccessible environments. Traditional attitudes have resulted in widespread laxity in the implementation of existing disability rights and services legislation, and in the virtual absence of a comprehensive, integrated national policy to deal with the massive problems and magnificent potential of people with disabilities. The abilities of the great majority of Americans with disabilities are still being severely suppressed.

#### DOCUMENTATION AND TESTIMONY

In addition to the testimony of several hundred witnesses at 63 public forums and several Congressional hearings, the Task Force collected over 5,000 documents and tapes submitted by citizens and organizations outlining discrimination and other barriers which limit people with disabilities, proposals to eliminate those barriers, and communications calling for civil rights protection.

Communications reporting discrimination fell into the following categories: general (35%); public accommodations and architectural barriers (22%); employment (20%); transportation (10%); housing (9%); communications (5%). The general discrimination category mostly included people who felt they had been discriminated against in all aspects of their lives. In addition, about 2,000 letters were received which supported the Americans with Disabilities Act. There was one letter in opposition. Of the several thousand persons attending Task Force forums, not one expressed opposition to ADA.

These written and verbal statements to the Task Force, many quite moving, reflect the severe difficulties that affect the lives of people with disabilities. There were very few requests for maintenance welfare benefits. The vast majority of requests were for rights and services that would enable people to become active and productive participants in the mainstream of society. A strong work ethic was expressed.

A California woman with a head injury wrote:

"I had been a CPA, and was a producer and director for CNN and PBS in London up until accident, June 1987. Now nothing. My children are hurt, frustrated and confused. What will happen to their mother that was successful, intelligent, happy, loving, giving? I've been floundering and searching long enough. 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 do we go? Where can we live? What and who can we be? If I were understood, cared for, educated for a new life and career, I would have something to live for."

- On December 28, 1988, in Tacoma, Washington, two-year-old Dylan Day and his grandfather Hollis Day were found shot to death, an apparent murder-suicide. According to the child's mother, her father had been "very, very concerned about my child's condition." Dylan had "a mild form of cerebral palsy, and was considered to be developmentally disabled." Mr. Day, a retired company president, could not bear the thought that his daughter and grandson would have to face the devastating lifetime of discrimination and deprivation that he foresaw for them.
- A 56-year-old father of three in Alabama, a former army captain with a graduate degree in business and education, was diagnosed with depression and anxiety at age 31. When this became known his 16-year army, reserve and national guard career was terminated with no benefits. Although successful in business, he was fired three times when it was determined that he had a mental illness. He has lost his family and all his possessions.
- A young man with mental retardation was employed by the California Conservation Corps as a laborer. He was harassed by his superior for being slow, and ridiculed in front of the entire work component for his disability. Unable to bear this severe psychological abuse, he quit.
- On June 16, 1989 in Denver Colorado, six wheelchair users entered a restaurant to eat lunch. They were told by the manager that they took up too much space, and unless they could get out of their wheelchairs and sit in regular seats they would have to take their food out, or eat elsewhere. When they declined to leave, the police were called. They were arrested and taken to jail. The arresting officer explained to them that if they had been asked to leave because they were black, the law would protect them, but that there was no law protecting persons with disabilities in this situation. One of the individuals protested that he was black. The officer responded, "You were not asked to leave because you are black, but because you are disabled."
- A deaf woman in constant severe pain from terminal cancer was admitted to one of the

- nation's most prestigious hospitals for major surgery. Unable to communicate because there were no interpreter services, she was denied timely treatment, and forced to undergo unnecessarily painful and often inappropriate treatment without consultation or explanation. Her inability to hear seemed to anger hospital personnel; she was often treated with hostility, and her most elementary needs were consistently neglected.
- A woman in California who is blind wrote to the Task Force: "I am a trained news reporter and

"With the enactment of the ADA, the greatest nation on earth removed the major barriers preventing 43 million of its citizens from participating in society as fully contributing, independent, dignified members. As soon as this historic law is implemented through regulations these citizens will be empowered to contribute to society fully and exercise appropriate influence over their own destinies." Oral O. Miller

have been applying for jobs at radio stations throughout the country. I have been repeatedly told that I am the most qualified candidate, but since there has never been a blind reporter before, they cannot hire me. I would like the chance to succeed or fail — based on my ability as a reporter rather than my lack of vision."

 A 38-year-old wife and mother with mobility and visual impairments as a result of a criminal assault, earned a graduate degree at the University of Chicago to fully qualify herself in a new career. In spite of this outstanding qualification, she is unable to be employed because she is unable to travel from her home in the suburbs to the offices of her potential employers. She cannot use the regular Chicago area public transit system

because it is not accessible, and she is denied the use of the paratransit system because she is not a wheelchair user.

- Michael Shawn was fired as choreographer of a Broadway musical production when he was diagnosed as having AIDS related complex.
- In August of 1987 a North Carolina man was fired because it was rumored that he had AIDS.
- A service provider to hearing impaired people in Illinois testified: "We have clients who are admitted to hospitals, undergo surgery, and are released without the benefit of a sign language

"...we say no to ignorance, no to prejudice.

We say yes to dignity and respect for disabled people; yes to empowerment; and yes to judging people on abilities, not disabilities."

Senator Tom Harkin

interpreter to receive information critical to their health. We have clients who have been arrested and held in jail over night without ever knowing their rights nor what they are being held for. We have clients whose children have been taken away from them and told to get parent information, but have no place to go because the services are not accessible. What chance do they ever have to get their children back?"

• An Austin, Texas man with cerebral palsy and mental retardation had been confined to the Austin State School for many years. Through his consistently effective participation in the local disability rights advocacy group he was chosen to live in a transitional independent living facility, where he was fully successful. After the one year limit for participation, he moved to his own apartment in the community, where he managed his affairs with competence, and applied for numerous jobs for which the Texas Employment Commission considered him to be qualified. After several months of rejections by prospective employers, he could no longer afford to maintain himself in the community, and was forced to return to the state institution at a far higher cost to the public than eliminating the discriminatory barriers to his productive participation in the community.

- A Dubuque, Iowa man with mental illness was employed as a city bus driver. Although certified by his doctors as fully fit to work, he was pressured over a period of months by his superior to resign. He was harassed in personal and company meetings, through contacts to his union, and in visits to his private home. He was ridiculed for the nature of his disability. This abuse resulted in the deterioration of his condition. After a period of hospitalization, his employment was terminated for missing too much work. Employees experiencing similar periods of hospitalization for other illnesses had not been terminated.
- On May 23, 1988, Lisa Carl, a wheelchair user
  with cerebral palsy, was refused admission to an
  accessible theater in Tacoma, Washington. An
  advocate who called the theater owner on Lisa's
  behalf was told, "I don't want her in here and I
  don't have to let her in."
- On January 24, 1988 in Boulder, Colorado, a graduate engineer and a former air force jet pilot, who had struggled for two decades to overcome the effects of both polio and severe head injury, was told that he would finally have to use a wheelchair. Faced with the necessity to be identified with this public invitation to discrimination, he said, "I would rather be dead." Four days later he was found dead.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Disability has become an increasingly common characteristic of normal human experience. Most people with disabilities have the potential to become productive participants in the mainstream of society. Virtually all people with disabilities have the potential to become more self-reliant, and to contribute to the productivity and quality of life of those around them. However, this vast human potential is being

severely suppressed by traditional discrimination, resulting in unconscionable injustice to individuals, and unaffordable economic and moral burdens for the nation.

Americans with disabilities will never be able to fulfill their potential to become contributing, productive citizens of the first class until this nation takes decisive action to eliminate discriminatory practices and the false assumptions on which those practices are

"Under the ADA, transportation facilities, vehicles, and services must be provided with the needs of all Americans in mind. This will require a significant investment of time and money, but it is an investment long overdue." Samuel K. Skinner, Secretary of Transportation

based. The hard experience of other minorities demonstrates that this can only be done on the foundation of a firm, enforceable statement of law protecting equal opportunity in all aspects of life.

The Americans with Disabilities Act is such a law. It establishes "a clear and comprehensive prohibition of discrimination on the basis of disability." Taken in combination with previously existing disability rights law it provides a sound legal framework for the practical implementation, with responsible urgency, of the fundamental right of all people with disabilities to participate fully and equally in the mainstream of society. It extends to people with disabilities the same protection of their rights that is already enjoyed by the members of all other minorities.

Most importantly, ADA is a landmark commandment of fundamental human morality. It proclaims to all Americans and to the world that disability is a common characteristic among normal human beings; that people with disabilities are fully human; that paternalistic, discriminatory, segregationist attitudes are no longer acceptable; and that henceforth people with disabilities must be included as equal participants in society, and accorded the same dignity and the same opportunities as other Americans.

ADA is the indispensable foundation for the development of the public attitudes and practices necessary to the accomplishment of every legitimate goal of people with disabilities.

The Americans with Disabilities Act was passed by the U.S. House of Representatives 377-28 and by the Senate 91-6. When he signed the ADA on July 26, 1990, President Bush described it as "the world's first comprehensive declaration of equality for people with disabilities," ensuring that they "are given the basic guarantees for which they have worked so long and so hard. Independence, freedom of choice, control of their lives, the opportunity to blend fully and equally into the rich mosaic of the American mainstream." ADA enjoys the enthusiastic, virtually unanimous support of the disability community and the majority of public media entities. A July 27th Washington Post editorial stated that "A new era of fairness and opportunity will begin" in "A more just country." Leaders of major nations throughout the world have indicated an intention to develop similar laws.

While we rejoice in the enactment of ADA, we do well to recall 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 rights. All parties must come to understand that civil rights cannot be enforced by government alone, but only through vigorous, ongoing vigilance and advocacy by all citizens, with particular leadership by those whose rights have been infringed.

All parties must come to understand that we are not dealing simply with a right to equal opportunity to have a particular job or access to particular facilities and services, but rather a right and a responsibility to be maximally productive and maximally independent in the interest of self and society. Society — government, rights advocates, employers, administrators of

facilities 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 productive participants in the mainstream of society, and in the public and private sector, family and personal decisions which control their lives. We must join together to create environments in which people with and without disabilities work, play and live together in productive, mutually beneficial harmony.

Civil rights are not a guarantee of the good life, but an equal opportunity and responsibility to participate in producing the good life for oneself and for all. Government alone cannot implement ADA; this is a responsibility of all Americans.

# RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

- The President and the executive branch should provide strong leadership to implement ADA through the creation of effective regulations. These regulations should be completed and put into force by the dates required by the Act. This process should involve the full participation of representatives of the disability community and all other affected entities. Congress should provide appropriate oversight guidance.
- The President, the executive branch, the Congress, the disability community and all who love the American dream should take decisive, ongoing action to ensure the vigorous enforcement of ADA and all other disability rights and services established by judicial action, legislation and regulations.
- Disability constituency and allied organizations should make an aggressive, unified effort to advocate for appropriate ADA regulations, to celebrate and communicate the message of ADA, and to monitor the implementation of ADA and all disability rights and services on the national, state and local levels on an ongoing basis.

• The President, the executive branch, the Congress, the disability community and all citizens should act to strengthen legal, advocacy, information and referral services for people with disabilities, their families, service providers and advocates. There should be ongoing outreach instruction in regard to available rights and services, and how to advocate for and obtain them. Immediate decisive action should be taken to provide creative and substantive technical assistance to

"The next step is regulations. ADA is just a piece of paper without regulations. Then we must create a national corps of barrier busters, including business. The ADA is only going to be as good as the people in the community who carry it out." Pat Wright

- people with disabilities, service providers, employers, operators of facilities and the public in regard to the rights and responsibilities conferred by ADA and similar legislation.
- The Congress should pass and the President should sign a civil rights law that eliminates the negative effect on minority rights of recent Supreme Court decisions, and that provides to people with disabilities effective remedies that are equal to those provided to other protected classes.
- The President and leaders of all significant government entities should designate appropriately qualified senior officials to coordinate the administration of disability policy and to maintain positive, productive relationships with the disability and other affected communities.

# THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL POLICY ON DISABILITY

On July 26 more than three thousand disabled and non-disabled advocates for justice gathered on the South Lawn of the White House to witness the

signing of ADA by the President; many more thousands had participated personally in some way to secure its passage. Citizens with disabilities are claiming their American heritage.

Historically, ADA is the world's first declaration of the equality of people with disabilities by any major nation. Like the Declaration of 1776, it will positively impact the lives of millions of Americans, and hundreds of millions of persons with disabilities throughout the world for generations to come. ADA is also similar to the Declaration of '76 in that it is not a solution, but a foundation on which solutions must be constructed.

A turning point has been reached. New paradigms are needed. New ways of thinking must be adopted, not only by employers and providers of certain public accommodations and services, but by people with disabilities, their families and service providers, government and all citizens. We must agree on policies that are fair and reasonable, and that will contribute optimally to the productivity and the quality of life of individuals and of the nation. We must unite in action to implement those policies.

The President and the executive branch and the Congress should provide vigorous leadership to create and implement a national policy on disability. This process should be given the highest priority and visibility, commensurate with the President's pledge "to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream." It should involve not only disability-related federal agencies, but also representatives of the disability community and of all major public and private sector entities that impact the lives of people with disabilities. To be effective, a new policy must transcend our traditional fragmented, reactive approach to the problems of disability. It must involve comprehensive short- and longrange plans and decisive action to create a total national environment in which people with disabilities can and do empower themselves to achieve their full potential for productivity and quality of life in the mainstream of society.

In recent years numerous authorities have presented recommendations for the components of a comprehensive national disability policy. Some form of most of these recommendations has been made directly to the Task Force. Although there are differences in terms, categories and areas of emphasis, there is a strong consensus in regard to philosophy and substance.

There is virtually complete agreement that an effective national policy on disability will require a major reallocation of resources and efforts from paternalism to productivity. Productivity, in this context, must be defined not only in terms of traditional, salaried, full-time employment, but as all forms of non-exploitive activity which are productive of the life quality of the individual and the society. We must reallocate public and private resources from practices that foster isolation and dependency to practices that empower people with disabilities to fulfill their right and their responsibility to be fully productive and participating citizens. 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.

"Ultimately, the full impact of ADA will be realized only after the majority of people with disabilities gain access to certain basic services like attendant care, readers, interpreters, transportation, housing assistance, affordable health care, and medical and vocational rehabilitation." Lex Frieden

There is general agreement that an effective national policy on disability must focus on the following areas:

#### **CIVIL RIGHTS**

There must be a vigorous ongoing effort by government and the disability community to refine, expand and enforce the civil rights of people with disabilities.

#### **EMPOWERMENT**

Government at all levels and all private sector entities should act aggressively to employ and otherwise involve people with disabilities in roles of significant

responsibility. Congress, the executive branch and major commercial enterprises must set an example for the nation.

"To reinforce the goals of the ADA and to move disability policy forward into the next century, it is critical to maintain a united and solid partnership between the disability and business communities as well as the public and private sectors. Working together, we can ensure that every American citizen will be provided the access and opportunity to be a part of all that society offers. More importantly, by increasing public awareness through education, we can break down the attitudinal barriers that prevent full participation in the American mainstream."

Senator Robert Dole

#### **EDUCATION**

All public and private educational media, including the public communications systems, must be utilized to enable children, youth and adults with and without disabilities to replace the perceptions and practices of prejudice and paternalism with the perceptions and practices of democracy and productivity.

#### **TELECOMMUNICATIONS**

Existing resources can and should be used to create a national telecommunications system, accessible to people with disabilities, that will make every living room, hotel room and office into a workplace, a university, a center for international research and a shopping mall.

#### **INCENTIVES TO BE PRODUCTIVE**

Disincentives to employment and other forms of productivity by people with disabilities suffuse every level of public and private enterprise. These disincentives must be eliminated, and replaced by incentives to be fully productive.

#### **MEASUREMENTS**

Disability-related statistics in areas such as population, employment, income, welfare, housing, transportation, sports, recreation, politics and opinion on public issues should be gathered and regularly reported by government, the private sector and the public media.

#### SERVICES THAT EMPOWER

Government must join with the private sector to establish a continuum of affordable, universally available, computer-connected programs designed to liberate all people with disabilities from inappropriate institutionalization and dependency, and empower them to achieve their full potential for productive participation in the mainstream. These programs must include economic, vocational, transitional, independent living, counseling, advocacy, legal, technological, personal assistance, residential, transportation, communication and community support.

### **INSURANCE AND HEALTH SERVICES**

Government must join with the private sector to establish comprehensive, quality insurance coverage and health services which meet the true needs of all people and are affordably available.

# RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FOR TOTAL ACCESS

Government should provide leadership to launch a NASA priority national initiative to utilize the full power of the free enterprise system and modern science to plan and create not simply accessible transportation, housing, communication, and public accommodations, but completely new communities, which are accessible as a whole.

#### **PREVENTION**

Government should provide leadership to marshal coordinated, top priority, public and private sector research, educational and regulatory efforts to prevent primary and secondary disability.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

All public and private sector entities with responsibilities in the area of disability should develop productive working relationships with disability-related entities in appropriate foreign nations and international bodies.

#### **COST**

The Task Force has presented the outline of a truly ambitious agenda. A first reaction of many will be that it is unaffordably expensive.

Unaffordable? President Bush has estimated the annual economic cost to the nation of excluding people with disabilities from the mainstream to be almost \$200 billion in direct public and private

"...when you add together federal, state, local and private funds, it costs almost \$200 billion annually to support Americans with disabilities — in effect to keep them dependent."

President George Bush

payments. When non-recorded expenditures and lost taxes and productivity are included, this cost is about \$300 billion. The devastating human cost would be impossible to express in numbers or words.

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 prejudice and paternalism that escalates the national debt, and breaks the budgets of states, communities and families.

The Americans with Disabilities Act and other disability rights legislation involves virtually no cost to government other than administration. The legisla-

"ADA will empower people to control their own lives. It will result in a cost savings to the Federal Government. As we empower people to be independent, to control their own lives, to gain their own employment, their own income, their own housing, their own transportation, taxpayers will save substantial sums for the alternatives."

Rep. Steve Bartlett

tion 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.

Documented experience indicates that the great majority of accommodations required to provide equal access to people with disabilities are relatively inexpensive. One recent study found that slightly more than half of all accommodations made at the workplace for people with disabilities involved no cash cost. About 30% of the remaining accommodations cost from \$1 to \$500.

The Task Force agenda for creating environments in which people with disabilities can realize their full potential will require very significant reallocations of resources from paternalism to productivity, and some new expenditures. But these expenditures will be only a small fraction of the cost of maintaining the obsolete status quo. Many 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. The role of government will be largely in the areas of information, coordination and reallocation.

There is documented, conclusive evidence that investments in the equality, empowerment and productive independence of people with disabilities of the type recommended by the Task Force can be profitable for government, the private sector and all citizens, economically and in terms of quality of life.

ADA and the full enfranchisement of disabled citizens will be good for America, and will provide an example that will positively impact the lives of all the earth's people for generations to come.

"...ADA can be the catalyst for a closer relationship between small business and the disabled. As the traditional American work force shrinks, small business will be scrambling to attract and retain skilled, loyal workers. The good will that can be generated by business sensitive to the special needs of the disabled will result in the employment of loyal, dedicated workers, strengthening the competitive position of small firms."

John Sloan, Jr., President, the National Federation of Independent Business

# A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY — LEADERSHIP AND UNITY REQUIRED NOW

Overcoming traditional barriers to the equality and productivity of people with disabilities will not require long-term net increases in government spending, but it will require profound changes in attitudes, systems and environments, and significant reallocations of resources. It will require courageous action at the national and local level by greatly increased numbers of public officials and private citizens willing to make the sacrifices of authentic leadership. It will require politically astute advocacy

by a greatly expanded, more effectively organized and unified disability community.

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

President Bush, certain members of his administration, and many leaders of the Congress have already demonstrated a willingness to give unprecedented high priority to disability issues.

"I'm going to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream," President Bush was quoted as saying.

In the process of addressing ADA, the President and many members of his administration, the Congress, the business community, the public media and the general public have begun to develop a new consciousness of the moral and economic necessity of enabling people with disabilities to exercise full citizenship. People with disabilities and their advocates have become more effective participants in the democratic process, and have achieved a new sense of their power and responsibility.

"The time has come. Congress has sent a clear message across this country — individuals with disabilities, no less than other Americans, are entitled to an equal opportunity to participate in the American dream. That dream can now become a reality."

Senator Orrin Hatch

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

individual rights and democratic productivity has become not only acceptable but the order of the day.

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.

# COMPLETING THE REVOLUTION OF FREE ENTERPRISE DEMOCRACY

Finally, we will do well to recall that most initially successful revolutions have been frustrated by apathy and disunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act is a landmark victory for human justice. But we are still far from the promised land of equality and empowerment in every day life.

Our task now is to complete the revolution of free enterprise democracy by implementing the inalienable right and the inalienable responsibility of all people to fulfill their personal potential to be fully equal, fully productive participants in the mainstream of society.

Our revolution will not be easily or quickly accomplished. Like the revolution of '76, it will progress only through inspirational national leadership and the total involvement of united citizen patriots. Like our founding fathers, we will not live to see the final

victory. But we can 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.

"If we believe that ADA is the power and we are the recipients of its strength, rather than we are the power and ADA is a tool for us to use, I fear we may still have a long way to go." Bob Kafka

Let us get on with the job of doing "whatever it takes" to empower citizens with disabilities as full participants in the American dream. 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.

"Let the shameful wall of exclusion finally come tumbling down."

"We all rejoiced on July 26, 1990 when President Bush signed the ADA. But without someone to help a quadriplegic get out of bed in the morning, without the reader services which will enable the blind person to compete in employment, without the needed interpreter services which will enable a deaf individual to access the community, the promises of ADA are hollow. ADA has opened the door of opportunity. Now we must empower people with disabilities to pass through that door, and into the mainstream." Sandra Parrino

# THE PEOPLE WHO GAVE SUBSTANCE TO THE TASK FORCE

The Task Force received no public funding or private grants. Particular recognition is due Task Force members, staff and volunteer staff, Congressional staff, and the literally thousands of individuals and organizations in every state and territory who contributed their services, resources and money to make the democratic system work. On both the national and state levels there were hundreds of thousands of dollars of in-kind contributions: thousands of hours of valuable personal time donated; thousands of communications printed and mailed; thousands of telephone calls made; thousands of air, bus and auto trips taken; meeting rooms and audio-visual equipment provided; luncheons, receptions, press conferences sponsored. Following is a partial listing of the patriotic citizens and organizations who made these contributions:

#### THE MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCE

Chairperson: Justin Dart - Chairman, The President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities. Formerly member and Vice Chairperson of the National Council on Disability, and Commissioner of the Rehabilitation Services Administration. Was instrumental in the creation of ADA and in the coordination of nationwide ADA advocacy.

Co-chairperson: Elizabeth M. Boggs, Ph.D. - Co-founder and member of the Government Affairs Committee of the Association for Retarded Citizens. Pioneer of the American disability rights movement. Author of the United Nations Declaration of Rights for Persons With Mental Retardation and co-author of numerous state and federal laws related to disability. Former member of the National Council on Disability. A leading advocate for ADA and contributor to ADA strategy.

Coordinator: Lex Frieden - Director of the Texas Institute for Rehabilitation Research Foundation. Vice President, Rehabilitation International. Pioneer of the independent living movement. Coordinating editor and a principal author of TOWARD INDEPENDENCE, ON THE THRESHOLD OF INDEPENDENCE and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1988. Formerly Director of the National Council on Disability, and of the Independent Living Research Utilization of the Texas

Institute of Rehabilitation Research. Leading contributor to ADA advocacy and strategy.

Elmer Bartels - Commissioner of the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission. Strong supporter of the civil rights and empowerment of people with disabilities, and of independent living.

The Rev. Wade Blank - Director and co-founder of the Atlantis Community and of American Disabled for Accessible Public Transit. Pioneer of the independent living and disability rights movements in America. During the 1980s organized nationwide civil disobedience demonstrations for equal access to public transportation and for ADA.

**David Bodenstein** - Advocate for people with AIDS and for ADA. Deceased.

Frank Bowe, Ph.D. - Professor of Rehabilitation
Counseling at the Department of Special Education and
Rehabilitation at Hofstra University. Internationally
known author on independence and productivityoriented disability policy, and disability rights advocacy.
Pioneer of the American Disability rights movement.
Formerly Chairperson of the National Commission on
the Education of the Deaf, Commissioner of the Rehabilitation Services Administration for Region II, and
Director of the American Coalition of Citizens with
Disabilities.

Marca Bristo - Founder and President of Access Living. Representing and former President of the National Council of Independent Living. Pioneer of the independent living movement. Leading advocate for independent living and for ADA.

Dale Brown - Employment Advisor of the President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities. Legislative Liaison of National Network of Learning Disabled Adults. A leading advocate for the rights of people with learning disabilities.

Philip B. Calkins, Ph.D. - Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission. Founder and Director of Disabled But Able to Vote, Former Director of Public Affairs, the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities and Coordinator of Disability Constituency Relations for the Democratic National Committee. Veteran advocate for disability rights, participated in the coordination of ADA advocacy.

**David Capozzi** - Disability rights attorney. Vice President for Project Action of National Easter Seal Society. Former National Advocacy Director of Paralyzed Veterans of America. Authority on transportation

rights, active advocate for ADA.

**Julie Clay, MPH** - Project Manager of the Prevention of Secondary Disability. Representing Native Americans with Disabilities. Active advocate for ADA in Montana and Washington, D.C.

Susan Daniels, Ph.D. - Associate Commissioner, the Administration for Developmental Disabilities, Department of Health and Human Services, formerly, Associate Commissioner for Developmental Programs, Rehabilitation Services Administration, U.S. Department of Education.

James DeJong - Director of Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities in Illinois. Member of the Board and representing the National Rehabilitation Association. Formerly President of the National Association of Independent Living, Deputy Director of the Illinois Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, and of Access Living. A leading coordinator of ADA advocacy in the middle

Eliot Dober - Vice President of and representing the National Association of Protection and Advocacy. Longtime advocate for the rights of persons with severe disabilities.

**Charles Estes** - Executive Director, National Association of the Deaf. Formerly Coordinator, Services to the Deaf and Hearing Impaired in Oklahoma.

Don Galloway - Manager of Special and Demonstrated Programs for the Department of Housing and Community Development. Vice President of the National Association for Minority Citizens. Formerly Director of the Peace Corps in Jamaica, and delegate from the United States to the Japan-USA Conference of People with Disabilities and the World Congress of Disabled People's International.

**Keith Gann** - Editor of Persons With AIDS, representing people with AIDS. Deceased.

**James Havel** - Formerly Deputy Director of the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill. Advocate for the rights of persons with mental illness and ADA.

I. King Jordan, Ph.D. - First Deaf President of Gallaudet University, internationally recognized proponent of the rights and empowerment of people with disabilities and of ADA.

Gordon Mansfield - Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Disability rights attorney. Formerly Legislative Director, Paralyzed Veterans of America, resigned from the Task Force when he accepted his present position in 1989. Longtime advocate for civil rights protection for people with disabilities.

Paul Marchand - Director of Governmental Affairs, Association for Retarded Citizens. Chairperson of the Consortium for Citizens with Disabilities, the nation's largest coalition of disability advocacy organizations. Leading Washington lobbyist for independence-oriented services, the civil rights of people with disabilities, and ADA. Instrumental in coordinating ADA advocacy strategy and negotiations.

Connie Martinez - Council Member of California State Council on Developmental Disabilities. Representing people with mental retardation, Co-founder of Capitol People First of Sacramento. A nationally prominent advocate for the rights of people with mental retardation

**Celane McWhorter** - Director of Government Relations, The Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps. Strong advocate for the productive independence of persons with severe disabilities.

Oral Miller - Executive Director of American Council of the Blind. A leading advocate for the rights of persons with blindness on the national and international levels.

**Gary Olsen** - Formerly Director of the National Association of the Deaf. A strong advocate for the rights of persons with hearing impairments.

Mary Jane Owen - Director of Disability Focus, Inc. Prominent author on disability rights. Representing the Grey Panthers and elderly persons with disabilities. Active advocate for ADA.

**Sandra S. Parrino** - Chairperson of National Council on Disability. Instrumental in the creation and promotion of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Ed Roberts - President of the World Institute on Disability. "Father of independent living," Co-founder of the Berkeley Center for Independent Living and early pioneer of the American disability rights movement. Formerly Director of Rehabilitation Services for the State of California.

Joseph Rogers - President of National Mental Health Consumer Self Help Clearing House. Former President of National Mental Health Consumer Association, representing persons with mental illness. A pioneer and national leader of the movement for the rights of consumers of mental health services.

Liz Savage - Disability rights attorney. Assistant Director of Governmental Affairs, Epilepsy Foundation of America, leading advocate of federal disability rights legislation. Represented the Consortium for Citizens with Disabilities as coordinator of nationwide ADA

advocacy.

William A. Spencer, M.D. - Founder and President Emeritus, the Texas Institute for Rehabilitation and Research, world famous pioneer of modern medical rehabilitation emphasizing the productive independence of people with disabilities.

Marilyn Price Spivack - Founder and Executive Director, National Head Injury Foundation, Inc. The principal pioneer of the movement to advocate the rights of and services for people with head injuries.

**Ann Vinup** - Chairperson of Legislative Services Committee, Association for Children and Adults With Learning Disabilities. Strong advocate for ADA.

Sylvia Walker, Ed.D. - Director of Center for Study of Handicapped Children and Youth at Howard University, one of the nation's leading advocates for and authorities on the rights of minority persons with disabilities.

Michael Winter - President of the National Council of Independent Living. Executive Director of Berkeley Center for Independent Living. Alameda-Contra Costa County Transit District Director. Active advocate for disability rights in USA and Japan.

Patrisha Wright - Director of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, Inc., Chairperson of the Civil Rights Task Force of the Consortium for Citizens with Disabilities. Member of the Board of Directors of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. A pioneer of the disability rights movement who has been instrumental in the creation, passage and implementation of most modern disability rights legislation. Chief of the negotiating team representing Americans with disabilities throughout the ADA legislative process.

**Tony Young** - Chairperson of the Board, Fairfax Opportunities Unlimited. Director of Social Security Demonstration Project, National Association of Rehabilitation Facilities.

#### **VOLUNTEER STAFF**

**Douglas Burleigh, Ph.D.** - State Representative, Rehabilitation Services Administration, Kansas City. Secretary of the Task Force.

Yoshiko Dart - Chief of Staff for the Task Force, instrumental in financing and administering all Task Force activities. Active advocate for ADA.

**Tsuneko Gozu** - Assisted with Task Force administration, December, 1988-present.

**Eileen Raab** - Analyzed and summarized several thousand documents collected by the Task Force.

**Gwyneth Rochlin, R.N.** - Instrumental in arranging more than 60 Task Force meetings and forums in over 40 states, 1988-90. Active advocate for ADA.

**Hisako Takei** - Assisted with computer systems and administration during the entire life of the Task Force.

#### **STAFF**

Marcia Lee Nelson, R.N. - Instrumental in setting up computer and office systems for the Task Force, June 1988-June 1989. Volunteer editor June 1989-present.

**Kate Reilly** - Created Task Force Awards. Created layout and supervised printing of final report.

Marnie Sweet - Served March-December, 1988, helped to organize meetings and public forums.

# LIAISONS WITH THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION

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**Bob Tate** - Legislative Analyst

Pat Laird - Legislative Analyst

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Katy Beh - Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy Carolyn Boos - Senate Subcommittee on Disability

Policy

Mark Buse - Office of Senator John McCain

Mark Disler - Office of Senator Orrin Hatch

**Rochelle Dornatt** - Office of former Congressman Tony Coelho

**Cynthia Folcarelli** - Office of former Congressman Tony Coelho

**Reggie Govan** - Counsel, House Education and Labor Committee

**Phyllis Guff** - House Subcommittee on Surface Transportation

Katheryne Hazem - House Committee on Judiciary Stuart Ishimaru - House Subcommittee on Civil and

Michael Iskowitz - Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources

Constitutional Rights

Randy Johnson - House Committee on Education and Labor

David Leach - House Committee on Energy and

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Cynthia Meadow - House Judiciary Committee

Patricia Morrissey, PhD. - House Committee on Education and Labor

**Terry Muilenburg** - Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy

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Alan Roth - House Committee on Energy and Com-

**Gerard Salemme** - Subcommittee on Telecomm and Finance

**Melissa Schulman** - Office of Congressman Steny Hoyer

**Robert Silverstein** - Director, Senate Subcommittee on Disability Policy, Author of and chief Senate negotiator for the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1989.

**Roger Slagle** - House Subcommittee on Surface Transportation

**Suzanne Sullivan -** Office of Congressman Norman Mineta

Judy Wagner - Office of Senator Paul Simon

Maureen West - Office of Senator Robert Dole

#### **SPECIAL ADVISERS**

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**Robert Brabham, Ph.D.** - Director, National Rehabilitation Association

**Robert Burgdorf** - Professor of Law, D.C. School of Law, principal author of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1988

J. Benedict Centifanti - National Mental Health Consumer Association

**John Chappell** - Deputy Commissioner, Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, leading advocate for ADA

**Tim Cook** - Director, the National Disability Action Center

**David Cunningham** - American Association of Retired Persons

**Curt Decker** - Director, National Association of Protection and Advocacy

Janet Dorsey - Deputy Post Master, U.S. Senate Joseph Dusenbury - Commissioner, Vocational Rehabilitation Department of South Carolina

Chai Feldblum - Attorney, American Civil Liberties Union

Nancy Flinn - Media Consultant

Karen Franklin - United Cerebral Palsy Associations

**Bob Funk** - Chief of Staff to the Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

**Jack Gannon, Ph.D.** - Executive Director, Alumni Relations and Advancement, Gallaudet University

Jim Gashel - National Federation of the Blind

Eric Griffin - National Council of Independent Living

Ron Honberg - National Alliance of Mental Illness

Paul Hearne - President, the Dole Foundation

Judy Heumann - Director, World Institute on Disability

Kathleen Roy Johnson - National Council on Disability

**Erica Jones** - Acting Director of Public Affairs, the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities

**Bob Kafka** - Community Organizer for ADAPT of Texas

**Evan Kemp** - Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

Mark Lewis - National Organization on Disability

**Ruth Hall Lusher** - Architectural Transportation Barriers Compliance Board

Bonnie Milstein - Attorney, Mental Health Law Project

**Sharon Mistler** - Director, The Endependence Center of Northern Virginia

**Howard Moses** - Special Assistant to the Commissioner of the Rehabilitation Services Administration

**Ralph Neas** - Director, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, leading strategist of ADA advocacy and negotiation

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**Virginia Thornburgh** - National Organization on Disability

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Fred Weiner - National Association of the Deaf Bob Williams - United Cerebral Palsy Associations

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AT&T

Association for Retarded Citizens of the U.S.

Geoffrey Baynard

Consortium for Citizens with Disabilities

Admiral David Cooney, Goodwill Industries of America Council of State Administrators of Vocational Rehabilitation

John Doyle, National Association of Rehabilitation Facilities

Gallaudet University

Disabled American Veterans

The Endependence Center of Northern Virginia

The Epilepsy Foundation

Monica Hall

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National Council of Independent Living

National Rehabilitation Association

The National Rehabilitation Hospital

The Paralyzed Veterans of America

Jack Powell

The President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities

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United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc.

# A FEW OF THE THOUSANDS OF PATRIOTIC CITIZENS WHO SUPPORTED WORK OF THE TASK FORCE AT THE STATE LEVEL

**Alabama:** Peggy Anderson, Barbara Crozier, Gary Edwards, Larry Johnson, Dan Kessler, Lamona Lucas, Charles Priest, Michael Roy, Patti Sheets

Alaska: Karen Button, Duane French, Kathy Matrone, Patrick Reinhart, Rick Tessendore

**Arizona:** Sue Castle, Phyllis Dalton, Patricia Fore, James Griffith, Naomi Harward, Abraham Jaffe, Robert Michaels, Bill Scott

**Arkansas:** E. Russell Baxter, Vincent Bond, Nan Ellen East, Delbert Lewis, Richard Petty, Burt Pusch, Bobby Simpson, Nancy Sullivan

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Colorado: Mike Auberger, Mark Bussinger, Carol Gaccetta, Nancy Hildebrand, Cynthia & Jennifer Keelan, Sherry Law, Frank Lozano, Sharon Mikrut, John Ozello

Connecticut: Marilyn Campbell, Kathy Coffin, Margaret Dignoti, John Galiette, Eileen Healy Horndt, Arthur Pepine, Shelley Teed-Wargo, Suzann Tucker, Governor Lowell P. Weicker, Phyllis Zlotnick

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Hawaii: Francine Wai Lee, Toshio Nishioka, Mark

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Maryland: Beth Anderson, Cristy Boswell, Frank DeGeorge, Andrea Farbman, Trudy Jeffers, Kenneth Jernigan, Sharon Julius, Roger Kingsley, John Lancaster, Fred Neil, Becky Ogle, Susan Parker, Allen Polland, Bob Reuter, Maggie Roffee, Bea Rodgers, Jane West

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Mississippi: John Cook, John Lee, J. Elton Moore, Morris Selby, Mark Smith

Missouri: Thomas Begley, Don Gann, Deborah Herr, Isaac Johnson, Gayle Miller, Mara Murray, Cynthia Schloss, Max & Colleen Starkloff, James Tuscher

Montana: Margaret Bullock, Joy McGrath, Zana Smith

Nebraska: Ginger Clubine, Dennis King, Timothy Shaw, Peg Westfall

Nevada: Madelene Capelle, Ron & Pauline Donoho, Holli Elder, Del Frost, Donny Loux, Sandy Napombejra, Steve Shaw

New Hampshire: Bruce Archambault, Susan Auerbach. Michael Jenkins, Jan Nisbett, Larry Robinson, Linda Shute

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Puerto Rico: Angel Jimenez

Rhode Island: John Bamford, Amy Brill, Sherry Campanelli, Marie Citrone, Bob Cooper, Bill Messore

South Carolina: Charles LaRosa, Louise Ravenel, Vince Rhodes, Huey Walker, J. Hewlette Wasson

South Dakota: John Ellison, John Madigan, Dennis Schmitz, Ben Soukup, John Stengle, James Van DenEykel

Tennessee: Diane Coleman, Mary Lynn Fletcher,

Michael Gibson, Frank Lee, Patsy Mathews, Tom Olin, David Twiggs

Texas: Allan Abeson, Patty Anderson, Vernon Max Arrell, Kaye Beneke, Malcolm Brodie, James Comstock-Galagan, Larry Correu, Steve Currier, Bob Dillard, Yayoi Disanto, Libby Doggett, Joyce Frieden, Roxy Funchess, Sharon Gardner, Laurie Gerken, Vicki Sorrells Harris, Jerry Hassell, Scott Haynes, Larry Johnson, Steve Jones, Jeffrey Kaufmann, Jack Kishpaugh, Linda Litowski, Viola Lopez, Stephen Mayeux, Durward McDaniel, Robert Mosbacher, Jr., Peg Nosek, James Parker, Carole Patterson, Eric Reed, Virginia Roberts, Margaret Robinson, Ralph Rouse, Bill Scarborough, Judith Sokolow, Naoko Suito, Stephanie Thomas, Ray Vaughn, Kent Waldrep, Pat Westbrook, Ed White

**Utah:** Ray Behle, Judy Ann Buffmire, Marilyn Call, Grant Mack, Blaine Peterson, Sherry Repscher

**Vermont:** Richard Douglas, James Dooley, Penny Gorbach, Chryss Jones, Fay Lawson, David Mentasti, Bernice Murphy, Thomas Pombar, David Sagi, Lee Viets Virgin Islands: Sedonie Halbert

Virginia: H. Latham Breunig, Bill Brownfield, Jack Campbell, Terrence Carroll, Alice Demichelis, Robert Demichelis, Mary Doremus, Donald Fennell, Eunice Fiorito, Laurie Flynn, Harry Hall, Clare Huff, Steve Johnson, Ken Laureys, Christine Lord, Kathleen Megivern, Ralph Shelman, Theresa Preda, Yuko Ryan, Gary Smith, Lori Summers, Paúl Wehman, Wes Young Washington: Sue Ammeter, Carolyn Brown (deceased)

Washington: Sue Ammeter, Carolyn Brown (deceased), Lisa Carl, Paul Dziedzic, Tobias Jean, Jerry Johnsen, Sharon Stewart Johnson, Paul Wysocki

West Virginia: Mary Kay Buchmelter, Gene Defabio, Susan Edwards, Tony Jones, Jan Lilly, Joseph Lobuts, John Panza

**Wisconsin:** Steve Kirschner, Michelle Martini, Judy Norman-Nunnery, Dick Pomo, Joyce Pomo, Sandy Popp, Jayn Wittenmyer

**Wyoming:** Woody Absher, Marion Kotterman, Kristine Smith, James Wagner, Joan Watson, Bob Wiederspahn

"It is up to each one of us to assure that ADA is the active law of the land, not passive words on a page. We must do the hard work of freedom, which may be bringing one individual through awareness to action, or leading the charge to change the system from dependence to independence." Dale Brown

"We must remember that ADA by itself will not result in equality for disabled people....we must continue to struggle." Judy Heumann

"For over half a century individuals with hearing and speech impairments have been forced to depend on others for access to the telephone network. The access that the ADA now guarantees will bring this discrimination to an end, and allow these persons to benefit from the civil rights promised by the other sections of the ADA." Frank Bowe

"Another phase of the ADA battle must be fought. It is for the implementation of individual empowerment....Let's go for the resources to furnish the home of ADA." Marilyn Price Spivack

"By itself, the ADA does not eliminate discrimination or create a just society, but it does strengthen our ability to achieve those noble aspirations. Ultimately, our empowerment will come not from the ADA, but from our willingness to use our individual talents under that law to advance the cause of human dignity and equal opportunity for all." James Havel

"The ADA will be a breakthrough for those with learning disabilities—not only in accessing employment, but more importantly, the accommodations required in the Act will ensure successful and continued employment with more job advancement opportunities." Ann Vinup

"The passage of ADA guarantees that in the future no other community will have to endure the delay, legal process and expense that Chicago did just to ride the bus. Instead we will be able to devote our time and energy to the more basic issues of empowerment like economic justice and political power." Marca Bristo