1967–70, in which perhaps one million people died. And it was what drives him in Kosovo.

Mr. Kouchner, now 60, holds to the healing power of time. He points to the reconciliation now of Germany and Israel, and of France and Germany.

''Working with Klaus Reinhardt is a good memory,'' he said. ''He called me his twin brother.'' They both came of age in the Europe of 1968. ''I'm a Frenchman and he's a German,'' and 50 years ago, he said, ''no one could imagine this.''

''It's much easier to make war than peace,'' Mr. Kouchner said. ''To make peace takes generations, a deep movement and a change of the spirit.'' He smiled, looked away. ''It's why I sometimes want to believe in God.''

### EXHIBIT NO. 3

### RESOLUTION ON SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly,

1. Recalling that conflicts in the former Yugoslavia since 1991 have been marked by open aggression and assaults on innocent civilian populations, have been largely instigated and carried out by the regime of Slobodan Milosevic and its supporters, and have caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people; the rape, illegal detention and torture of tens of thousands; the forced displacement of millions; and the destruction of property on a massive scale, including places of worship;

2. Viewing the overall rate of return of refugees and displaced persons throughout the region to their original, pe-conflict homes, especially where these persons belong to a minority ethnic population, has been unacceptably low;

3. Reaffirming the necessity of fulfilling in good faith UNSC resolution 1244 for the settlement of the situation in Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

4. Condemning the continuing violence in Kosovo against members of the Serb and other minority communities, including hundreds of incidents of arson and damaged or destroyed Serbian Orthodox church sites, and dozens of aggravated assaults and murders;

5. Reaffirming the commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as stipulated by UNSC resolution 1244;

6. Noting that the OSCE and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have jointly reported that a lack of security, freedom of movement, language policy, access to health care and access to education, social welfare services and public utilities are devastating the minority communities of Kosovo;

7. Expressing concern for the situation of missing Albanians, Serbs and people of other nationalities in Kosovo and for ethnic Albanians kept in prisons in Serbia;

8. Noting that reports indicate that hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of ethnic Albanians, transferred from Kosovo to jails in Serbia proper around the time of the entry of international forces into Kosovo, have not been released in the year since, that several have received harsh sentences in show trials, and that problems regarding access to and treatment of such prisoners continue;

9. Recalling that the people and governments of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Slovenia have positive records of respect for the rights of persons belonging jto national minorities, the rule of law and democratic traditions since independence;

10. Welcoming the commitment of the newly elected leadership of Croatia to progress regarding respect for human rights, refugee returns and the elimination of corruption;

11. Believing that the people of Serbia share the right of all peope to enjoy life under democratic institutions;

12. Viewing democratic development throughout Serbia and Montenegro as essential to long-term stability in the region, including the implementation of agreements regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo;

13. Noting that the regime of Slobodan Milosevic has been engaged in a planned effort both to repress independent media, and to crush political opposition, in Serbia, through the use of unwarranted fines, arrests, detentions, seizures, blackouts, jamming, and possibly assassination attempts, and also engaged in an effort to stop student and other independent movements;

14. Recognizing the importance of the Stability Pact to the long-term prosperity, peace and stability of southeastern Europe;

15. Supporting OSCE Missions throughout the region in their efforts to ensure peace, security and the construction of civil society; and

16. Recalling the legally binding obligation of States to cooperate fully with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, contained in UN Security Council Resolution 827 or 25 May 1993, including the apprehension of indicted persons present on their territory and the prompt surrender of such person to the Tribunal;

17. Insists that all parties in the region make the utmost effort to ensure the safe return and resettlement of all displaced persons and refugees, regardless of ethnicity, religious belief or political orientation, and to work towards reconciliation between all sections of society;

18. Encourages members of all ethnic groups in southeastern Europe, especially in Kosovo, Bosnia and Serbia, to respect human rights and the rule of law;

19. Reiterates its call upon all authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in accordance with international humanitarian law, to continue to provide for the ICRC ongoing access to all ethnic Albanians kept in prisons in Serbia, to ensure the humane treatment of such prisoners, and to arrange for the release of prisoners held without charge;

20. Encourages the newly elected leadership of Croatia to continue their efforts to reform and modernize their country in a manner that reflects a commitment to human rights, the rule of law, democracy and a market-based economy;

21. Condemns the repressive measures taken by the regime of Slobodan Milosevic to suppress free media, to stop student and other independent movements, and to intimidate political opposition in Serbia, all in blatant violation of OSCE norms;

22. Urges the regime of Slobodan Milosevic to immediately cease its repressive measures and to allow free and fair elections to be held at all levels of government throughout Serbia and monitored by the international community;

23. Calls upon Slobodan Milosevic to respect human rights and other international norms of behaviour in Montenegro;

24. Calls upon the international community to fully implement the Stability Pact, under OSCE auspices, in an effort to integrate the nations of South-Eastern Europe into the broader European community, and to strengthen those countries in their efforts to foster peace, democracy, respect for human rights and economic prosperity, in order to achieve stability in the whole region;

25. Encourages all representatives of the international community operating in southeastern Europe, including the OSCE, the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other non-governmental organizations to actively promote respect for human rights and the rule of law;

26. Urges participating States to provide sufficient numbers of civilian police to those international policing efforts deployed in conjunction with peacekeeping efforts in post-conflict situations such as Kosovo;

27. Calls upon the international community to target assistance programmes to help those persons returning to their original homes have the personal security and economic opportunity to remain;

28. Calls upon the participating States to organize, including through the OSCE and its Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) programmes that can assist and promote democratic change in Serbia, and protect it in Montenegro; and

29. Reiterates its condemnation of any effort to provide persons indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and its support for sanctioning any State which provides such persons with any form of protection from arrest.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

## TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I ask the indulgence of the Senate to do something that I did 10 years ago; that is, to recognize the 10th anniversary of the Americans with Disabilities Act by doing what I did on the floor 10 years ago. I will do a little bit of sign language with respect to that.

(Signing.)

Mr. President, what I just said in sign language was that 10 years ago I stood on the floor of the Senate and spoke in sign language when we passed the Americans with Disabilities Act. The reason I did that was because my brother Frank was my inspiration for all of my work here in Congress on disability law.

That was the reason that I became the chief sponsor of the Americans With Disabilities Act. I further said that I was sorry to say that my brother passed away last month. Over the last 10 years, he always said me that he was sorry the ADA was not there for him when he was growing up, but that he was happy that it was here now for young people so they would have a better future. Mr. President, we do celebrate today the tenth anniversary of the Americans With Disabilities Act, which has taken its place as one of the greatest civil rights laws in our history.

When you think about it, ten years ago, on July 25, 1990, a person with a disability saw an ad in the paper for a job for which that person was qualified, and went down to the business to interview for the job. The prospective employer could look at that person and say: we don't hire people like you, get out of here. On July 25, 1990, that person was alone. The courthouse door was closed. There was no recourse for that person because there was no ban on discrimination because of disability. We banned it on the basis of race, sex, religion, national origin, but not disability. So on July 25, 1990, a person with a disability held the short end of the stick.

But one day later, on July 26, 1990, the courthouse doors were opened. A person with a disability could now go down to that courthouse and enforce his or her civil rights. On July 26th, that one person who was alone the day before became 54 million people, and now that short end of the stick became a powerful club by which a disabled American could defend his or her rights.

Ten years ago, we as a Nation committed ourselves to the principle that a disability does not eliminate a person's right to participate in the cultural, economic, educational, political and social mainstream. Ten years ago, we said no to exclusion, no to dependence, no to segregation. We said yes to inclusion, yes to independence, and yes to integration in our society to people with disabilities. That is what the ADA is all about.

For me, the ADA, as I have just said, was a lot about my brother Frank. He lost his hearing at an early age. Then he was taken from his home, his family and his community and sent across the State to the Iowa State school for the deaf. People often referred to it as the school for the "deaf and dumb." I remember one time my brother telling me, "I may be deaf, but I am not dumb."

While at school, Frank was told he could be one of three things: a cobbler, a printers assistant, or a baker. When he said he didn't want to be any one of those things. They said, OK, you are a baker. So after he got out of school, he became a baker. But that is not what he wanted to do. So he went on to do other things, obviously.

Everyday tasks were always hard. I remember, as a young boy, going with my older brother Frank to a store and how the sales person, when she found out that he was deaf, looked through him like he was invisible and turned to me to ask me what he wanted; or how when he wanted to get a driver's license, he was told that "deaf people don't drive." So his life was not easy because the deck was stacked against him. He truly held the short end of the stick.

I remember when my brother finally changed jobs. He got out of baking and got a job at a plant in Des Moines. He had a good job at Delavan's. Mr. Delavan decided he wanted to hire people with disabilities, and so my brother went to work there. He had a great job. He became a drill press operator making jet nozzles for jet engines. He was very proud of his work. Later on, I was in the Navy, in the military. I remember when I came home on leave for Christmas, and I was unmarried at the time. I came home to spend it with my brother Frank, who was also unmarried, and the company he worked for had a Christmas dinner. So I went with my brother to it, not knowing that anything special was going to happen. It turned out that they were honoring Frank that night, because in 10 years of working there he had not missed one day of work and hadn't been late once. Mr. President, that is during Iowa winters. So, again, that is an indication of just how hard-working and dedicated people with disabilities are when they do get a job. He worked at that plant for 23 years, and in 23 years he missed 3 days of work. And that was because of an unusual blizzard.

Another little funny aside. In ADA, we mandated a nationwide relay system for the deaf, so that a deaf person could call a hearing person, and a hearing person could call a deaf person without having to use the TTY. One of the first calls made on the nationwide relay system was from the White House in 1993, when President Clinton put in a call to my brother Frank. We had it all set up. President Clinton called the number, and the line was busy. All the national press was there and everything. He waited a few seconds and the line was busy again. It was busy three or four times. Finally, I called my neighbor in Cumming, Iowa, and I said, "Go over and find out what is going on." My brother was so excited that he had been on the phone talking to his friends. He forgot that the President was going to call him. President Clinton related that story at the FDR memorial this morning in celebration of the Americans With Disabilities Act and reminded me again of what the ADA was all about. As President Clinton so eloquently said this morning, it is about ensuring that every American can just do ordinary things, such as use the phone, go shopping, use public transportation. It is also about ensuring that every American has access to resources as fundamental as health insurance, a job, an education—things that we take for granted.

The ADA is about designing our policies and physical environment so that we as a Nation can benefit from the talent of every citizen. It is about acknowledging that it costs much more to squander the potential of millions of people than to make the modest accommodations that let all Americans contribute fully. It is about tearing down the false dichotomy of abled and disabled, and realizing that each of us has a unique set of abilities.

Mr. President, a few weeks ago, in anticipation of this tenth anniversary celebration of ADA, I announced "A Day in the Life of the ADA Campaign." I asked people from across America to send stories about how their lives are different because of ADA. I wanted to find out just what the ADA meant to other people in ordinary life.

Based on these stories, I have learned that the ADA is truly changing the face of America.

A woman from Vinton, Iowa who uses a wheelchair wrote to tell me that because of the ADA, she now can travel around the country. She said:

> You can't understand until you've been there, searching for a hotel room, a restroom to stop in, a room to accommodate you, your spouse and your wheelchair. Oh, the joy of now knowing there are rest areas where we can stop, enter in without great difficulty, and then travel on to a waiting accessible motel room! What a good feeling to call ahead, make reservations and know that when we arrive there we'd find a clean room, ready to accommodate my needs.

A man from St. Paul, Minnesota who is visually-impaired wrote to say that because of accommodations required by the ADA, he can use city buses with dignity, hear the audible traffic signals, and work. He said that the ADA also enables him to enjoy cultural activities, because he can listen to narrations of plays through earphones and basketball games through special radio receivers. In his words:

> [The ADA] has made my life 1000 times better than my father's who was also totally blind.

And, a woman from Corpus Christi, Texas, whose daughter is hearing impaired told me that her daughter is able to join her schoolmates in classes and activities because of relay services and interpreters. The mother also told me that because of the ADA-required relay services, her daughter was able to speak with her father for the first time.

> When my daughter was just 4 years old, she got to call her real father for the first time. I wish you could have seen the sparkle in her eyes and the tears in mine as she 'talked' with her daddy. It took forever (she couldn't type) but the relay service was friendly and patient. I believe that Relay has played a part in keeping their relationship strong. Every little girl needs her daddy.

Mr. President, I have a whole stack of these stories. I will not ask permission for all, but I ask unanimous consent to have some of the more poignant stories that I received from around the country be printed in the RECORD. They are very short.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### SUCCESS STORIES FROM U.S. SENATOR TOM HARKIN'S "A DAY IN THE LIFE OF THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT" CAMPAIGN

#### NEW YORK

Summary: According to a man in New York with cerebral palsy, the ADA-required ramps, elevators, automatic doors, curb cuts, and accessible transportation have allowed him to be more independent in his life. Thanks to the ADA, he is now able to do his own banking, go to the post office or shop by himself, or enjoy a meal at a restaurant. Reasonable accommodation requirements have allowed him to work as an advocate for people with disabilities and earn money to contribute to his household expenses. In his words, the ADA has allowed him to "show my community that I am willing and able to be like anyone else in ways like getting a job and being independent."

Quotation: [Prior to the ADA,] I felt that I was not a real human being because people with disabilities . . . were not supposed to be seen or heard . . . [The ADA] opened the door to freedom for people with all types of disabilities . . . The ADA is a step toward reaching equal ground for EVERYONE! . . . Doing things on my own makes me feel like I am a PERSON and gives me a lot of confidence in myself".

### TENNESSEE

Summary: A man from Tennessee has been quadriplegic since an automobile accident in 1990, the very year that the ADA was signed. According to him, the ADA has helped him pursue his academic, as well as employment, dreams. The ADA helped him to earn an undergraduate degree and was even the subject of his master's thesis during graduate school at a Tennessee state university.

Quotation: [With the passage of the ADA], my physical impairments that had recently been introduced to a cold world now had a blanket. A blanket provided by my country . . . My disability and the ADA were born together and this year we celebrate 10 years of success, for the both of us.

### MARYLAND

Summary: A woman from Maryland is the mother of three autistic children—all of whom have benefitted from the ADA. Because of the ADA, she looks forward to her children graduating from school and working in the community when they grow up.

Quotations: Ten years ago before the ADA my boys would have been wrenched with heart ache as they walked with their heads hung down in shame. They would feel the pain of having a disorder that would make them stand and learn apart from the other children at school. I am not sure what their future holds in store. I know that the supports are in place.

### SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

Summary: A man with muscular dystrophy from Sacramento, California, cannot imagine what his life would be like without the ADA and celebrates July 26 as the ''Other Independence Day.'' He credits the ADA with making his life ''full and independent'' by requiring stores, restaurants, parks, and theaters to be accessible to all people.

Quotation: The ADA embodies what people with disabilities really want, to be viewed as people first, not judged or excluded because of our disabilities. We want to earn a living, raise families, go to restaurants, churches and live our lives as independently as possible with dignity and respect and not be excluded because of barriers—be they architectural, communication or attitudinal barriers.

### MOSS POINT, MISSISSIPPI

Summary: A woman from Moss Point, Mississippi has been in a wheelchair since 1997. The ADA makes it possible for her to do her own grocery shopping, attend events at her grandchildren's school, go to dinner ''anywhere,'' travel, and stay in a handicapped room at a motel with the ''greatest shower [she has] ever seen''.

Quotation: No one plans to become handicapped, but I am grateful the ADA Program planned for me.

### ARROYO GRAND, CALIFORNIA

Summary: A man from Arroyo Grand, California who uses a wheelchair says that he has benefitted from the ADA in a variety of ways. Because of the ADA, he is able to watch his nieces play basketball in an accessible gymnasium, to play chess in accessible recreation rooms, even to attend a Bob Dylan concert and to shut his own apartment door.

Quotation: The success of the Americans with Disabilities Act over the last ten years was caused by its enormous power. Knowledge of its power brings improvement. The reason the ADA is powerful is that all businesses know about it, and people with disabilities can communicate with that powerful knowledge . . . Everywhere I go today I can seriously say ''ADA'' and get a response.

### SALEM, INDIANA

Summary: A woman from Salem, Indiana, uses a wheelchair and has limited use of one arm. She credits the ADA for the construction of buildings where her disability ''never occurs to [her]''—with aisles wide enough to accommodate a wheelchair, bathrooms that are accessible, and drinking fountains at chair level. She writes of the joy of being allowed access, via outside elevators and ramps, to such historical sites as Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and the Lincoln Memorial.

Quotation: Dear ADA, Thank you for being there when we need you, the curb cuts, low-incline ramps, the grab bars and the list goes on and on . . . ADA, what life has done to us, you have equalized it, with accessibility.

### GREENBELT, MARYLAND

Summary: A man who lives in Greenbelt, Maryland and is hearing impaired thanks the ADA for increasing public awareness of the abilities the ''disabled'' have. He praises the ADA for helping him become an attorney and allowing him to help other people with disabilities ''achieve their dreams.'' According to him, the ADA has impacted almost every aspect of his daily life, from the time he turns on the television with closed-captioning in the morning, to the time he attends a city advisory meeting with an interpreter at night.

Quotation: The impact of the ADA is felt throughout my daily life. When I turn on the TV in the morning, I can watch captions and public service announcements because of the ADA. When I go to work and make phone calls, I use the telecommunication relay services enacted by the ADA. I talk with my friends who are given accommodations on the job as required by the ADA. In the afternoon I go to the doctor's office and am able to communicate with my doctor because the ADA has required the presence of a sign language interpreter. After the doctor's office, I decide to go shopping and am able to find a TTY (as required by the ADA) in the mall to call my family and let them know that I will be a bit late arriving home. After dinner with my family, I go to [city meeting] . . . and am able to participate fully . . . because the ADA allows me to receive the services of a sign language interpreter. In short, the ADA has had a major impact on almost every facet of my life.

### WAUKEGAN, ILLINOIS

Summary: A 25-year-old social worker who is sight impaired writes from Waukegan, Illinois. According to her, Title III of the ADA has allowed her to receive bank statements in Braille and to balance her checkbook. She is now able to enjoy a level of privacy that many Americans take for granted.

Quotation: I now receive my statements in the mail every month, as do other bank customers. This might seem like a small victory to some. Obviously such people have never been denied the ability to read something so personal as a bank statement.

### LAS CRUCES, NEW MEXICO

Summary: A woman from Las Cruces, New Mexico, uses a wheelchair and credits the ADA for allowing her to ''pick up and make a move across the country'' to a new home. She says that the ADA has given her her life back and made her a ''possibility-thinker'' again.

Quotation: I know that things are made possible for the disabled now because IT'S THE LAW. We have greater options, self-respect and better public awareness because of the ADA . . . My independence and free will are intact.

### TEXAS

Summary with Quotation: A woman from Texas is hearing-impaired and writes of how the ADA has allowed her to return to academia. After teaching for 20 years, she was forced to quit teaching college-level English when she could no longer hear her students in the classroom. In her words ''it tore my heart out to give it up.'' Now, because of services for disabled students required by the ADA, she can attend literature courses at a university by wearing a headset that amplifies her professor's voice. In her words, ''[it] was sheer heaven to be in the classroom again.''

### GLEN ELLYN, ILLINOIS

Summary and Quotations: A man in Glen Ellyn, Illinois who is sight impaired regards the ADA as ''a necessary civil rights law.'' Because of the ADA's employment provisions, he has been able to ask his employer to make materials—such as benefits information, texts for training courses, and time sheets—in an alternative format. Because of the ADA's transportation provisions, he has been able to travel on public transportation, because bus drivers now call out individual stops. Because of the ADA's public accommodation requirements, he is able to order what he wants at restaurants and to attend hotels and movie theaters independently.

### BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS

Summary and Quotations: A hearing-impaired man from Brookline, Massachusetts, writes to praise the ADA. Having grown up in Trinidad without the benefits of disability legislation, he appreciates being able to attend open-captioned movie theaters, use the Boston subways, which have visual displays announcing stops, and have access to interpreting services for work-related meetings and training sessions. He writes of the ''growing respect'' people give to individuals with disabilities and ''awareness'' that is motivated by more than ''just a legal obligation.''

### ROCKY MOUNT, NORTH CAROLINA

Summary: A man in Rocky Mount, North Carolina who has been a paraplegic all his life thanks the ADA for allowing him ''to become as independent as others.'' He now has access to a variety of school, shopping malls, and sports and entertainment events. Because of the ADA, he has job opportunities that he never could have dreamed of growing up.

Quotation: ''When I was growing up I had to go to certain schools and shopping malls that were accessible. Sports and entertainment was something you dreamed about, but was never able to participate in. . . . But now things are different, thanks to the [ADA] . . . [The ADA] has made us . . . able to say, ''Don't look at my disability, but look at my ability.' ''

### ARKADELPHIA, ARKANSAS

Summary: A sight-impaired student in Arkadelphia, Arkansas, credits the ADA for making her first year at a state university a ''beautiful experience and resounding success.'' Because the ADA requires colleges to ensure equal access to educational information, she is able to get a quality college education.

Quotation: [The ADA] has really helped the disabled people that are present on our campus to get as good an education as possible and also to make their college career a beautiful experience and a resounding success.

### SOUTH AMBOY, NEW JERSEY

Summary: A woman from South Amboy, New Jersey who has mental, behavioral, and learning disabilities says that the ADA has made her feel included in community life. Through her local independent living center, a psycho-social rehabilitation program, an anger management workshop, and other support and advocacy groups, she has learned to accept her disabilities and ''welcome them as a dimension to [her life].''

Quotation: Most importantly, I strongly believe that the ADA is breaking both physical and attitudinal barriers in the community and society so citizens with all disabilities are able to live, inclusive, full, productive, and independent lives.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, the ADA, of course, ultimately is about our children. They will be the first generation to grow up with the ADA—the first generation in which children with and without disabilities play together on the playground, learn together in school, hang out together at the mall and the movie theater, and go out together for pizza. These children who will grow up as classmates and friends and neighbors will now see each other as neighbors and coworkers—no longer segregated. That is what the ADA is about. It has opened up new worlds for people with disabilities—where people with disabilities are participating more and more in their communities, living fuller lives as students, as coworkers, as taxpayers, as consumers, voters, and neighbors.

But we must never forget that prohibiting discrimination is not the same as ensuring equal opportunity. President Johnson understood this when he said: "[Y]ou cannot shackle men and women for centuries, then bring them to the starting line of a race and say, 'You see, we're giving you an equal chance.'"

That is why we all work so hard for the Ticket to Work and Work Incentives Improvement Act because we had to set the stage to change the employment rate for people with disabilities. That is why we all work so hard to defend the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, because there is no equal opportunity without education.

I am proud that this morning President Clinton announced a new effort by the Federal Government to open up an additional 100,000 jobs in the Federal Government for people with disabilities. That is leadership. I thank President Clinton for providing that leadership.

Again, that is why we have to fight against genetic discrimination. That is why we have to add people with disabilities to the Hate Crimes Act that passed the Senate, and to make sure it becomes law.

That is why we have to fight to make sure we don't lose in the Supreme Court what we gained in Congress. There is a case now pending before the Supreme Court in which a State has argued that title II of the ADA which applies to State governments should be held unconstitutional because the Federal Government does not have the power to enforce the ADA against the States in the way other civil rights laws are.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, applies to all the States and State governments. Now a State is arguing that the ADA, a civil rights law for people with disabilities, should not apply to States. They are saying: Don't worry. The State says: Leave it to us. We will make sure that people aren't subject to employment discrimination. We will make sure that people aren't forced to live inside institutions or carried up the steps in order to get into the local courthouse.

Some of us remember after the 1964 civil rights bill was passed that States were arguing the same thing: Leave it to the States; they will take care of civil rights; we don't need the Federal Government coming in.

What I think we are forgetting is that this is a civil rights law that covers the citizens of America. We are all in this together. We are talking about citizens'—Federal, national—constitutional rights to equal protection under the law. It is up to this Federal Congress to ensure that citizens with disabilities get that equal treatment. That is why we have title II of the ADA.

In sign language, there is a wonderful sign for America. It is this: This is the sign for America, all of the fingers put together, joining the hands in a circle. That describes America for all. We are all together. We are not separated out. We are all within one circle; a family—the deaf sign. It is not separate and apart. It is not one State and another State when it comes to civil rights and ensuring equal protection of the law. We will not let the Supreme Court rewrite history and erase civil rights—the national civil rights for people with disabilities.

Finally, we have to close the digital divide to make sure that people with disabilities have full access to the new technologies.

Last night, Vice President Gore held a reception at the Vice President's house for literally hundreds and hundreds of people with disabilities from all over America. It was a great event to celebrate the 10th anniversary. In one tent, they set up a wide variety of new technologies to assist people with disabilities. I was particularly taken with one new device that had a cathode ray tube, CRT. It was hooked up to a PC. There was a little device under the net, a CRT that looked up at your eyes. You sat there for a second and it calibrated it. With your eye movement alone, you could turn on lights, turn off lights, make phone calls, talk to people, type letters, get on the Internet, only by moving your eyes.

Think about what that means for people who have Lou Gehrig's disease or severe cerebral palsy. There are a lot of disabled people who can't do anything but move their eyes. But their mind is perfect.

One perfect example that Vice President Gore always uses is Stephen Hawkins, perhaps the smartest individual in the world, who is fully immobile because of his disability. Yet here is a machine that will allow him to more rapidly access information and to write his wonderful books about the universe. That is what I mean when I say we ought to close the digital divide because there is so much out there that can help people with disabilities.

Lastly, I say that the next step we have to do is fight and win against the continued segregation of people with disabilities from their own communities. That is why we have to move forward on the bill called MiCASSA, S. 1935, a bill that is pending in the Senate right now—the Medicaid Community Attendant Services and Supports Act—a bipartisan bill that will eliminate institutional bias in the Federal Medicaid program and give people with disabilities and the elderly a real choice to live in their communities. Right now, Medicaid is biased toward institutionalization.

Why shouldn't we give a person with a disability the right to decide where he or she wants to live and how they want to live? Let them live in their own home, in their own community settings. That is what S. 1935 is about. The disability community all over this country understands personal attendants are sorely needed. No individual should be forced into an institution just to receive reimbursement for services that can be effectively and efficiently delivered in the home of the community. Individuals must be empowered to exercise real choice in selecting long-term services and supports that meet their unique needs and allow them to be independent. Federal and State Medicaid policies should be responsive to and not impede an individual's choice in selecting services and supports.

This bill eliminates the bias toward institutional care. It would help deliver services and supports consistent with the principle that people with disabilities have the right to live in the most integrated setting appropriate to meeting that individual's unique needs.

In last year's Olmstead decision, the Supreme Court found that to the extent that Medicaid dollars are used to pay for a person's long-term care, that person has a civil right to receive those services in the most integrative settings. Therefore, we in Congress have a responsibility to help States meet the financial costs associated with serving people with disabilities who want to leave institutions and live in the community. MiCASSA, as the bill is known, S. 1935, will provide that help.

A lot of people say this will cost money. Actually, it will save money. Medicaid spending on long-term care in 1997 totaled $56 billion, but only $13.5 billion was spent on home and community-based services. That $13.5 billion paid for the care of almost 2 million people.

In contrast, the $42.5 billion we spent on institutional care paid for just a little over 1 million people.

The average annual cost of institutional care for people with disabilities is more than double the average annual cost of providing home and community-based services. Right now, all across the country, hundreds of thousands of people are providing unpaid support to sons and daughters, mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers, to allow them to remain in the community. Yet when they turn to the current long-term care system for relief, all too often all they can do is add their name to a very long waiting list. That is not right. That is not just. That is not fair. These family care givers are sacrificing their own employment opportunities and costing the country millions in taxable income.

Lastly, I take a moment to remark on the surplus. Lately that is all we are hearing about is how much surplus we will have over the next 10 years. I hear now it is up to $2 trillion and counting. We have some very important decisions to make about what we do with the surplus. Everyone is lining up—tax breaks here, tax cuts here, tax breaks here, for business, for corporations, for this group, for that group—all lining up to get some of that surplus.

I believe we have to make some important decisions. I believe we have to use that money to pay down the debt, shore up Social Security, make sure that our seniors get what they need under Medicare. With all these groups lining up to get a piece of the action on the surplus, I am asking: What about the disability community? What about the Americans all over our country who want to live in their own communities, who want supportive services in their homes, who want personal assistance services so they can go to work every day? I believe we should use some of that surplus to make sure that all Americans have the equal right to live in the community—not just in spirit, but in reality.

As I said, our present Medicaid policy has an institutional bias. We need to use some of this surplus to get people in their own homes and communities. There may be some transitional cost, but we know later on when these people start going to work, when their families and the family care givers who are at home now and underemployed, are employed, when they go to work they are working, making money, paying taxes.

Yes, when we are talking about what we are going to do with that surplus, let's not forget we have millions of Americans far too long segregated, far too long kept out of the main stream of society, far too long denied their rights as American citizens to full integration in our society. It is time we do the right thing. It is time when we make decisions about the surplus, we use some of that to make sure that people with disabilities are able to live and work and travel as they want.

ADA may stand for the Americans with Disabilities Act, but it stands for more than that. It really stands for the American dream for all.

In closing, as I said earlier, my brother, Frank, passed away last month. I miss him now and I will miss him forever. He was a wonderful brother to me. He was a great friend. He was my great inspiration. He was proud of what the ADA meant for people with disabilities. For 10 years he and millions of people across our country lived out its possibilities. So I thank my brother, Frank. I thank everyone else in the entire disability community who was an inspiration for me, who worked so hard for the Americans with Disabilities Act.

I include in that many of my fellow Senators and Representatives. This was never a partisan bill. It is not now a partisan bill. It will never be a partisan bill. Too many good people on both sides of the aisle worked hard. Senator Weicker, who led the charge early on, before I even got to the Senate; Senator Dole, who worked so hard, so long, to make sure we got ADA through; Boyden Grey, Counsel to the President who worked with us every step of the way; Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, what a giant he was, hung in there, day after day, working to make sure we got it through. On our side of the aisle, Senator KENNEDY, who made sure we had all the hearings, got the people there, made the record, to ensure that ADA was on solid ground; Tony Coehlo from the House of Representatives, and Representative STENY HOYER in the House; Congressman Steve Bartlett, another great giant, Republican leader in the House at that time, later on became mayor of Dallas. He was there this morning, too.

At that time, there weren't Democrat and there weren't Republicans. We were all in that same boat together, and we were all pulling together. We were, as I said earlier, Mr. President—the deaf sign for Americans is this (signing)—all of us together, fingers intertwined, all of us in that same family circle. That is what ADA is about. It is about this deaf sign. We are all in this together.

We want to make sure the ADA really does stand for the American dream for all.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWNBACK). Under the previous order, Senator DEWINE is recognized.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I believe the Senator from Ohio will yield to me, and I ask unanimous consent to be recognized for a few remarks in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## REMEMBERING SENATOR PAUL COVERDELL

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, all last week I deferred coming to the floor to speak about my friend, Paul Coverdell, on the ground that it might be easier to do so this week. It is not. It is not, but it is vitally important to memorialize such a friend.

Every Monday evening or Tuesday morning, Paul Coverdell and I sat at the end of the table during leadership meetings in the majority leader's office, with an opportunity to comment on all of the issues that came before that group. Frequently, however, at the end of the table, we would exchange whispered remarks on some of the other people or subject matter, either present or not present. Paul Coverdell had a wonderful sense of humor, there and elsewhere: Dry, gentle, always to the point. It was a delightful pleasure to share those moments, sometimes stressful, sometimes marvelously relaxed, with such a man.

If you sought advice on a matter of vitally important public policy, Paul Coverdell was one of the first you would seek out. You knew that anything he would discuss with you would be filled with wisdom and common sense, and that stacking your remarks against his would focus and sharpen your own thoughts and your own ideas. It hardly mattered what the subject was—education, taxes, national security, a dozen others; the advice was always good and always relevant.

If you then sought tactics or advice on how to accomplish a shared goal, Paul Coverdell was a man whom you sought out. Particularly if there were an individual in your own party, or in the other party, whom you might be reluctant, for one reason or another, to approach, you could ask Paul Coverdell to do it for you, and he would. There was no task, there was no detail that was too small for him, none that he thought was beneath him, if it was constructive, if it would help the cause in the long term.

One way in which you can determine individuals' reactions to other individuals is in a group. At the Republican conference meeting immediately before the Fourth of July recess, Paul Coverdell, as the Secretary of the conference, presented us a little plastic note card, the top of which read "Republican Policy." I no longer remember the particular subject, but I do remember that first one or two people said, "I don't agree with point 3." Pretty soon, everyone was piling on. Finally, one of our colleagues wrote across the top of this, "One Republican's Policy," and handed it back to Paul Coverdell, who just went back to perfect his message.

Whom you tease, you generally love. That in many respects was an expression of the love and respect his Republican colleagues had for Paul Coverdell.

Paul Coverdell made us all proud of our profession, a profession often criticized, in fact a profession rarely praised. When a State sends a Paul Coverdell to the Senate, it is proof positive that our system works. And when the Senate of the United States listens to and respects and follows a Paul Coverdell, that, too, is proof that our system works. When, as was my privilege, you come to know and be befriended by a Paul Coverdell, you are especially privileged and especially honored. I was so privileged. I was so honored.

I will not know his like again.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.