

"The Cubist Cockatoo: Preliminary Exploration of Joseph Cornell's Hommages to Juan Gris," Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin, June 1978.

"The Fist of Boccioni meets Miss FlicFlic ChiapChiap," Art News, November 1980.

Introductory essay to exhibition catalogue for Futurism and the International Avant-Garde (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1980).

"We have eyes as well as ears," essay for publication accompanying exhibition "John Cage: Scores and Prints", 1982.

"Duchamp, 1911-1915," in the exhibition catalogue Marcel Duchamp (Tokyo, The Seibu Museum of Art). Reprinted as "Before the Glass: Reflections on Marcel Duchamp before 1915" in the exhibition catalogue Duchamp (Barcelona: Fundacio Joan Miro, 1984).

Preface to "Marcel Duchamp, Notes", arranged and translated by Paul Matisse (Boston: G. K. Hall & Company, 1983).

Preface to "Marcel Duchamp, Manual of Instructions for Etant Donnés . . ." (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987).

"Paying Attention," in the exhibition catalogue Rolywholyover/A Circus/John Cage (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1983).

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ROGER W. SANT

Mr. Sant is Chairman of the Board of the AES Corporation, which he co-founded in 1981. AES is a leading global power company comprised of competitive generation, distribution and retail supply businesses in 27 countries. The company's generating assets include interests in one hundred and sixty-six facilities totaling over 58 gigawatts of capacity. AES's electricity distribution network has over 920,000 km of conductor and associated rights of way and sells over 126,000 gigawatt hours per year to over 17 million end-use customers. In addition, through its various retail electricity supply businesses, the company sells electricity to over 154,000 end-use customers. AES is dedicated to providing electricity worldwide in a socially responsible way.

Mr. Sant chairs the Board of The Summit Foundation, and is a Board Member of Marriott International, WWF-International, Resources for the Future, The Energy Foundation, and The National Symphony. He recently stepped down as Chairman of the World Wildlife Fund-US after six years in that capacity and now serves on the National Council.

Prior to funding AES, Mr. Sant was Director of the Mellon Institute's Energy Productivity Center. During this period he became widely known as the author of "The Least Cost Energy Strategy"—where it was shown that the cost of conserving energy is usually much less than producing more fuel.

Mr. Sant earlier served as a political appointee in the Ford administration and was a key participant in developing early initiatives to fashion an energy policy in the US. Before entering government service, he was active in the management or founding of several businesses, and taught corporate finance at the Stanford University Graduate School of Business. He received a B.S. from Brigham Young University and an MBA with Distinction from the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

He is a co-author "Creating Abundance—America's Least-Cost Energy Strategy" by McGraw Hill and numerous articles and publications on energy conservation.

and President Gerald R. Ford turned 88 on July 14. A birthday tribute to our 38th President was written by White House correspondent Trude B. Feldman for the New York Times Syndicate; and it includes reflections by former Presidents Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, given to Ms. Feldman for Gerald Ford's 80th birthday. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

President Ford was a healing force at a time of much greater political upheaval than we have today. The lessons to us today are that: disagreements should not become divisive; and political revenge is a vicious cycle without winners.

Most important, as President Ford reiterates in this interview, is that "truth is the glue that holds government together—not only our government, but civilization itself."

He tells Ms. Feldman, who has also written numerous articles on Mr. Ford and his family for McCall's Magazine, that his main ambition was to become Speaker of the House of Representatives "because the legislative process interested me and was the kind of challenge I enjoyed . . ."

Gerald Ford concluded this interview—which I recommend to my colleagues and our staff—with his beliefs that during his 29 months as President, he had steered the U.S. out of a period of turmoil, making it possible to move from despair to a renewed national unity of purpose and progress. "I also reestablished a working relationship between the White House and Congress, one that had been ruptured," he notes. "All that made an important difference. I consider that to be my greatest accomplishment as President."

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

[From the New York Times]

GERALD R. FORD AT 88: A BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE

(By Trude B. Feldman)

On July 14, Gerald R. Ford will celebrate his 88th birthday. Having fully recovered from a stroke last August, the former president says he is now in excellent health—alert, active and keeping up with world affairs.

Asked—in a birthday interview—how he feels about turning 88, he says: "Age doesn't bother me. I'm not as mobile as I was 25 years ago, but I feel fortunate to still have my zest for life. I have more enthusiasm now because of the care I take of myself. I follow a good diet, I don't smoke or drink, and I keep busy."

In association with the American Enterprise Institute, one of Washington, D.C.'s leading think tanks, Mr. Ford established—in 1982—the AEI World Forum which he hosts annually in Beaver Creek, Colorado.

The forum is a gathering of former and current international world leaders, business and financial executives and government officials who discuss political and economic issues.

This year—in late June—the participants included Valery Giscard d'Estaing, former President of France; former Vice President and Premier of the Republic of China, Chien Lien; and Richard Cheney, Vice President of the United States, who was a former Chief of

Staff to President Ford and Secretary of Defense in the first Bush administration.

On May 21st, at the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum in Boston, Mass., Mr. Ford was the recipient of the John F. Kennedy Profile In Courage Award. Presented by the former President's daughter, Caroline, and his brother, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), the award cites President Ford's courage in making the controversial decision of conscience to pardon former President Richard M. Nixon.

Twenty seven years ago on August 9, 1974, Richard Nixon resigned the presidency of the U.S. and Vice President Ford became the 38th president. A month later (September 8), President Ford granted a "full, free and absolute pardon" to Nixon "for all offenses against the U.S. which he . . . has committed or may have committed or taken part in" while he was president.

Today, Mr. Ford concedes that he did not expect such a "hostile" reaction. "That was one of the greatest disappointments of my presidency," he told me. "Everyone focused on the individual instead of on the problems the nation faced. I thought people would consider Richard Nixon's resignation sufficient punishment, even shame. I expected more forgiveness."

In accepting the Profile In Courage Award, Mr. Ford told members of the Kennedy family and some 250 guests: "No doubt, arguments over the Nixon pardon will continue for as long as historians relive those tumultuous days. But I'd be less than human if I didn't tell you how profoundly grateful I am for this recognition. The Award Committee has displayed its own brand of courage . . . But here, courage is contagious."

"To know John Kennedy, as I did, was to understand the true meaning of the word. He understood that courage is not something to be gauged in a poll or located in a focus group. No adviser can spin it. No historian can back date it. For, in the age old contest between popularity and principle, only those willing to lose for their convictions are deserving of posterity's approval."

Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg said the award was inspired by her father's Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Profiles In Courage* (first published in 1955 by Harper & Row) and was "instituted to celebrate his life and belief that political courage must be valued and honored. And that Gerald Ford had proved that politics can be a noble profession . . ."

Sen. Kennedy said President Ford had "withstood the heat of controversy and persevered in his beliefs about what was in our country's best interest. History has proved him right."

"At a time of national turmoil, our nation was fortunate that he was prepared to take over the helm of the storm-tossed ship of state. He recognized that the nation had to get on with its business and could not, if there was a continuing effort to prosecute former President Nixon. So President Ford made a tough decision and pardoned him."

"I was one of those who spoke out against his action. But time has a way of clarifying things, and now we see that President Ford was right."

General Alexander M. Haig Jr., Mr. Nixon's White House Chief of Staff, concurs. "The passage of time has once again favored the truth and Gerald Ford has rightfully emerged as one of our nation's most courageous leaders," he told me in an interview, adding:

"Despite the risks, President Ford performed a singular and selfless act of courage. Almost 30 years have passed since 'Watergate' and the scurrilous accusation that then Vice President Ford had made or considered a secret deal with President Nixon—

BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD

MR. LUGAR. Madam President, former Congressman, Vice President

through me—which traded the presidency of the U.S. for the pardon of Richard Nixon.

Gen. Haig, also one of Ronald Reagan's Secretaries of State, went on to say that the source of this accusation came from individuals who claimed to be acting in the best interests of President Ford, but, that, actually, it was well recognized at the time that the politics surrounding "Watergate" would lead to either the impeachment or the resignation of President Nixon.

"Those who fed the rumors of a deal were actually damaging the reputation, if not the judgment, of our nation's first non-elected president," General Haig recalls. "Having personally informed Vice President Ford of President Nixon's intention to resign, I knew then, and now, that rumors of a deal were wrong-headed or worse. If believed, they would have the consequence of belittling what I have since referred to as a Cincinnati act of moral courage by President Ford."

"Years later, the Nixon pardon must rank with the most courageous acts of a sitting president. President Ford, almost alone, notwithstanding the advice of some of his most intimate advisors, recognized that the nation could not risk further prolongation of the 'Watergate' controversy and that the very effectiveness of his presidency was at stake."

Jack Anderson, long-time columnist for United Features and Washington Editor of Parade Magazine, remembers Gerald Ford from his days in Congress. "He was never pumped up with self importance," Mr. Anderson says. "Even after he became President, I was able to telephone him, leave a message, and he would return my calls, without a secretary."

Jack Anderson adds: "Even though I was number one on Richard Nixon's 'enemies list,' I agreed with President Ford's pardon of Mr. Nixon because I had learned that he was then in poor psychological condition. . . . It took great political courage to grant the pardon—against public will. So President Ford did what was best for Mr. Nixon and our country rather than what was best for himself. . . ."

Cong. Henry A. Waxman, (D. Calif.—29th district), ranking Democrat on the Governmental Reform and Oversight Committee and on the Energy and Commerce Committee, remembers that when he first came to Congress in Jan., 1975, Gerald Ford was President of the U.S.

"At the time, I was critical of his pardon of Richard Nixon," Rep. Waxman told me. "But, looking back now, President Ford took the right action for our country, and I believe history will show him as a president who helped bring the country together."

As a freshman Congressman, Gerald Ford was presented with the American Political Science Association's Distinguished Public Service Award by Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, who today recalls Mr. Ford's rise to the top—"where he well served America at a time of crisis . . . and the 'Profile In Courage' Award is a late, but well-deserved recognition."

Ambassador Kampelman, currently at the Georgetown University Institute for Study of Diplomacy, was the head of the American delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1980-3).

During our interview at Washington, D.C.'s Willard Inter-Continental Hotel, Mr. Ford was in an expansive mood while reviewing his life's journey. He evaluated his achievements and assessed the setbacks of his time in the Oval Office, and he reflected on the highs and lows of his 53 years in political life.

What does Gerald Ford most regret as he looks back over a long and distinguished career?

"Well, I wish I were a better public speaker," he allows. "I would have liked to be able to communicate more effectively. That is so very important."

He also regrets not having fulfilled his ambition of becoming Speaker of the House of Representatives. "I lost five times," he laments. "There were not, then, enough Republicans in the House. I wanted to be Speaker because the legislative process interested me, and was the kind of challenge I enjoyed. I was never as enthusiastic about being in the executive branch. I even turned down the chance to run for governor of Michigan."

In fact, he had made plans to retire from Congress in January, 1977. But in 1973, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's legal and campaign finance problems surfaced; and when he was forced to resign, Rep. Ford was selected as vice president.

Two years ago at the White House, President William Jefferson Clinton presented Gerald Ford with the Presidential Medal of Freedom (America's highest civilian award) for his legacy of healing and restored hope. "From his days as a student and athlete, Gerald Ford was destined for leadership," Mr. Clinton noted. "He was an outstanding player on the Michigan football team in a segregated era, and his horror at the discrimination to which one of his teammates was subjected, spawned in him a life-long commitment to equal rights for all people. He represents what is best in public service and what is best about America."

"When steady, trustworthy Gerald Ford left the White House after 895 days, America was stronger, calmer, and more confident . . . more like President Ford himself."

Two months later, (October 1999) in a U.S. Capitol Rotunda ceremony, both Gerald Ford and his wife, Betty, were presented with the Congressional Gold Medal, Congress's highest civilian honor. (He became the first former president to be so honored during his lifetime, and the event marked the first time a president and first lady were honored together.)

Cong. Vernon J. Ehlers (R. Mich), who introduced the legislation to award the medals, said they are a token of appreciation from Congress for the former First Couple's years of sacrifice and contributions . . . "They are living examples of truly great Americans. . . ."

Another speaker was President Clinton, who, after lauding Gerald Ford for his achievements, turned to him and revealed: "When you made your healing decision, you made the Democrats and Liberals angry one day, and you made the Conservatives angry the next day. . . . I was then a young politician trying to get elected to Congress. It was easy for us to criticize you because we were caught up in the moment. You didn't get caught up in the moment . . . and you were right . . . You were right about the controversial decisions you made to keep the country together and I thank you for that."

Donald H. Rumsfeld, U.S. Ambassador to NATO (1973) and one of Mr. Ford's White House Chiefs of Staff and Defense Secretary (1975-1977), who is now again Secretary of Defense, told me that Gerald Ford's basic human decency "helped to replenish the reservoir of trust for our country and I'm delighted that the enormous contributions he made are being recognized."

After a taste of the presidency, Mr. Ford still does not hide his disappointment at losing the 1976 election to Jimmy Carter. "As you well know," Mr. Ford notes, "I tried very hard to win that election. That would have given me a chance to expand individual freedom from mass government, mass industry, mass labor, and mass education."

Despite that election, former Presidents Ford and Carter are close friends and co-sponsors of various conferences on world affairs at the Carter Center in Atlanta. And, on the occasion of Gerald Ford's 88th birthday, Jimmy Carter today reflects:

"The recent Profile In Courage Award and the Presidential Medal of Freedom are long overdue recognition of Gerald Ford's importance to our nation. He was a strong leader during a time of great challenge, and his just and noble decisions may well have cost him the election. In the years since then, he and I have worked together on a number of issues. Each time we do so, I am reminded anew of our country's good fortune to have been led by a man of such principled convictions. Not only do we share the special bonds of the presidency, but I am also proud to claim Gerald Ford as my friend."

Eight years ago, for my feature on Gerald Ford's 80th birthday, another former president, Ronald Reagan, who narrowly lost the 1976 presidential nomination to him, told me: "First, I can tell Jerry that turning 80 doesn't hurt at all. Kidding aside, Jerry is an independent thinker and down to earth. He is not impressed with his own importance. That humility has stood him in good stead."

"He climbed to the top of his profession without wavering from his principles. When respect for government officials had begun to wane, he was, and still is, held in high regard."

For that same birthday tribute, former President Nixon told me that he had met Representative Ford in 1949 when he was sworn in to Congress. "I was then a representative from California, and for all these years, we remained good friends," Mr. Nixon said. "In an illustrious career, he became an eminent statesman, and as my vice president, he was an asset."

"Because he understood members of Congress, he was able to encourage them, to appeal to their best qualities and to unite them for the common good. He was admired for his decency and his respect for each individual's rights. And so this milestone gives me the chance to express my gratitude to Jerry Ford for all the good he has done for our nation . . ."

When Gerald Ford became president, he was faced with an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress. He recalls that he "struggled repeatedly" over such issues as government spending, presidential war powers and oversight of the intelligence community. He also advocated reducing the size and role of the federal government through cuts in taxes and spending, paperwork reduction and government deregulation.

In foreign affairs, he recalls, his administration emphasized stronger relationships with American allies, encouraged detente with the Soviet Union, and made progress in negotiating with the Soviets on nuclear weapons. With French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, he initiated annual international economic summits of the major developed economic nations. In the face of bitter opposition, President Ford signed the Helsinki Final Act, for the first time giving the issue of human rights a real "bite" inside the Soviet bloc, which eventually led directly to Eastern Europe throwing off the shackles of communism. His administration initiated the second Sinai disengagement agreement, further separating Israeli and Egyptian forces and reducing tensions in the Middle East. It also directed the final withdrawal of Americans and refugees from Indochina at the end of the Vietnam War.

President Ford recalls that the saddest day of his presidency was April 30, 1975, "when we had to pull our troops out of Saigon and withdraw from South Vietnam, which soon surrendered to the North Vietnamese."

Asked whether foreign affairs is more pressing today than during his White House tenure, he says, "I don't think it is any more important than when we were faced daily with the nuclear challenge from another superpower—the Soviet Union. Those were tense days.

"Yes, we have problems today in Europe, the Mideast and elsewhere. But they are no more serious than the Cold War days—with all the challenges that then existed."

Mr. Ford points out that President Nixon's skillful maneuvering in the Mideast will go down in the annals of great diplomacy. "In foreign policy," he says, "Richard Nixon is unequaled by any other American president in this century."

How was the presidency evolved since Gerald Ford left the White House 24½ years ago? "The office changes with each president," he says. "Each occupant defines the role and his responsibilities. In my case, I tried to make a difference in my leadership."

He went on to say that he learned about leadership and making decisions while serving as an officer in the US Navy during World War II. "I think," he adds, "I was a better vice president and president because of that military service."

He notes that there is "a majesty" to the presidency that inhibits even close friends and heads of state from telling the chief executive what is actually on their minds—especially in the Oval Office.

"You can ask for blunt truth, but the guarded response never varies," he says. "To keep perspective, any president needs to hear straight talk. And he should, at times, come down from the pedestal the office provides.

"I'm still convinced that truth is the glue that holds government together—not only our government, but civilization itself."

From his experiences, he cautions future presidents about general abuse of power and the dangers of over-reliance on staff.

At the outset of President Bill Clinton's first term, there was criticism of his staff and operation of his White House. Mr. Ford then expressed sympathy for a president undergoing periods of anxiety and disarray, even turmoil.

He noted that he, too, had problems with staff mismanagement. Today, he is still concerned about the image of the presidency, and still concerned that a solution has not been found about overzealous White House employees who are not instructed, from the outset, that they work for the president and for the people—and not the other way around.

He maintains that staff assistants are not elected by the people, and that the president himself needs to determine how much trust to invest in his aides. "Otherwise," he emphasizes, "the ramifications and the consequences of their arrogance and abuse of power—particularly by secondary and lower staff—can be dangerous."

Mr. Ford concurs with one of President Lyndon B. Johnson's press secretaries, George E. Reedy, who wrote in his book, "The Twilight of the Presidency": "Presidents should not hire any assistants under 40 years old who had not suffered any major disappointments in life. When young amateurs find themselves in the West Wing or East Wing of the White House, they begin to think they are little tin gods"

In his autobiography, "A Time to Heal," Mr. Ford wrote: "Reedy had left the White House staff several years before, but he was predicting the climate that had led to 'Watergate.' And that is disturbing."

Born in 1913 in Omaha, Nebraska, to Dorothy Gardner and Leslie Lynch King Jr., Gerald Ford was christened Leslie L. King Jr. His parents divorced when he was two years old. He moved with his mother to Grand Rapids, Mich., where she married Gerald Rudolph Ford, who later adopted the child and gave him his name, Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr.

If he were able to relive his 88 years, what would he do differently?

"I would make no significant changes," he says. "I've been lucky, both in my personal life and professionally. Along the way I tried to improve myself by learning something new in each of the jobs I held. I've witnessed more than my share of miracles . . . I've witnessed the defeat of Nazi tyranny and the destruction of hateful walls that once divided free men from those enslaved.

". . . It has been a grand adventure and I have been blessed every step by a loving wife and supportive family."

He says he will never forget one of the family's worst days in the White House . . . six weeks after they moved in, "Betty received a diagnosis of breast cancer," he recalls. "But her courage in going public with her condition . . . and her candor about her mastectomy increased awareness of the need of examination for early detection, saving countless women's lives."

Six years later (1980), former President and Mrs. Ford dedicated The Betty Ford Diagnostic and Comprehensive Breast Center, in Washington, D.C. (part of Columbia Hospital for Women). The Center's former director, Dr. Katherine Alley, a renowned breast cancer surgeon, says today: "As one of the first women of note to go public with her cancer diagnosis and treatment, Betty Ford helped women to face the disease more openly and with less fear."

Turning to his philosophy of life, Mr. Ford says: "I've always been an optimist and still am. Yes, I suffered a few disappointments and defeats, but I tried to forget about those, and keep a positive attitude. When I was in sports and lost a game by error, or in the political arena, when I lost by a narrow margin, no amount of groaning would do any good. So I don't dwell on the past. I learned to move on and look ahead."

Much as he had yearned to be elected president in his own right in 1976, Gerald Ford is confident that history will record that he "healed America at a very difficult time."

He believes that his presidential leadership for 29 months had steered the U.S. out of that period of turmoil, making it possible to move from despair to a renewed national unity of purpose and progress.

"I also re-established a working relationship between the White House and Congress, one that had been ruptured," he concludes. "All that made an important difference. I consider that to be my greatest accomplishment as president, and I hope historians will record that as my legacy."

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2001

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Madam President, I rise today to speak about hate crimes legislation I introduced with Senator KENNEDY in March of this year. The Local law Enforcement Act of 2001 would add new categories to current hate crimes legislation sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred November 3, 1991 in Houston, TX. Phillip W. Smith was shot to death outside a gay bar in Montrose. Johnny Bryant Darrington III, 20, was charged with murder and aggravated robbery. He told police he hated homosexuals.

I believe that government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2001 is now a symbol that can become substance. I believe

that by passing this legislation, we can change hearts and minds as well.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, at the close of business Friday, July 13, 2001, the Federal debt stood at \$5,705,050,480,267.56, five trillion, seven hundred five billion, fifty million, four hundred eighty thousand, two hundred sixty-seven dollars and fifty-six cents.

One year ago, July 13, 2000, the Federal debt stood at \$5,666,740,000,000, five trillion, six hundred sixty-six billion, seven hundred forty million.

Twenty-five years ago, July 13, 1976, the Federal debt stood at \$617,642,000,000, six hundred seventeen billion, six hundred forty-two million, which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion, \$5,087,408,480,267.56, five trillion, eighty-seven billion, four hundred eight million, four hundred eighty thousand, two hundred sixty-seven dollars and fifty-six cents during the past 25 years.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TRIBUTE TO JAMES A. TURNER

• Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a dear friend, James A. Turner of Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Jim Turner was a man of great courage, intelligence and character. We were friends for more than 40 years. I believe America has lost a great patriot with the recent death of James A. Turner.

Born in 1925, Jim grew up on a farm just outside of Tuscaloosa, Alabama. As World War II began, Jim left high school to serve his country. He enlisted in the Marine Corps and served with honor. Indeed, he earned and received the Purple Heart in 1945 on Iwo Jima when a machine gun blinded him during battle.

Jim returned to Alabama and in spite of his blindness earned his undergraduate degree in 1949. He received his juris doctorate from the University of Alabama in 1952. Jim always credited his wife and classmate, Louise, for his success in school. Louise read Jim's textbooks to him so he could keep up with his studies.

Following graduation, Louise joined Jim at their law firm, Turner and Turner. Today, their son, Don, and their grandson, Brian, also work at Turner and Turner. The family law firm has spanned five decades and continues to thrive in Tuscaloosa.

Together, Jim and Louise raised three wonderful sons, Don, Rick and Glenn, who have brought them great joy in life. Their grandchildren, Brian, Lindsay and Brittany; and great-granddaughter Farris, are sources of considerable pride.

Jim was active in his community. He was an active member of the Tuscaloosa Bar Association and also served