Policy Act, the Resource Recovery Act, the Critical Areas Act, the Power Plant Siting Act, the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, the Waste Management Act, Reinvest in Minnesota, the Solid Waste Reduction and Recycling Act, and the 1991 Wetlands Conservation Act. I was very privileged to work on some of these very measures in Gov. Wendell Anderson's ''Minnesota Golden Years,'' 1971–1976. Willard was also instrumental in establishing the Western Lake Superior Sanitary District in the 1960's, which provided wastewater treatment along the St. Louis River and ended a major source of pollution in Lake Superior.

The tireless efforts of Willard Munger on natural resource policy over the past 40 years have rightfully earned him the title ''the environmental conscience of the Minnesota Legislature.'' I was pleased to participate in a joint Minnesota House of Representatives and Senate program organized by former Minnesota Gov. Elmer L. Anderson, January 18, 1996. It is fitting that Minnesota has declared January 18 ''Willard Munger Day.'' He has made and continues to make a difference. On behalf of today's and tomorrow's generations I thank Willard for standing up for what is right and wish him the best in the coming years.

TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR S.S. RAY OF INDIA

HON. FRANK PALLONE, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 24, 1996

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I rise to pay tribute to a superb diplomat who has done a great deal to improve relations between the world's two largest democracies, the United States and India. Ambassador Siddhartha Shankar Ray, India's envoy to the United States since 1992, will be leaving Washington on February 20 and returning to domestic politics in his country. While many of our colleagues are sad to see Ambassador Ray finish his tour in Washington, we all gratefully acknowledge his many contributions to the improved climate in Indo-U.S. relations.

Ambassador Ray's appointment to Washington with the status of a Federal Cabinet Minister is indicative of the great confidence his Government has in his abilities. That confidence was well-placed. During Ambassador Ray's years in Washington, he was tireless in his promotion of India, not only as the world's largest secular democratic nation, but as a major emerging market for United States consumer products and business investment.

The last 4 years have been trying times in South Asia. Sharing a long border with China and facing an insurgency in Kashmir supported by outside forces, India has had its share of challenges. Throughout these years, my colleagues and I could always rely on Ambassador Ray to articulate India's concerns with eloquence and precision.

But, Mr. Speaker, these past 4 years have also been extremely exiciting times. India, under the leadership of Prime Minister P.V. Narosimha Rao, has embarked upon a historic economic reform policy that has opened up unprecedented opportunities for United States companies, large and small, as well as for Indian entrepreneurs. At the same time, the end of the cold war has forced all nations to rethink their security arrangements. Both of these historic developments are leading the United States and India to seek greater cooperation and partnership on many fronts. Many Members of this body were greatly impressed by the Prime Minister's address to this Chamber in 1994 in which he addressed many of these same points. The appointment of a statesman with the stature and experience of S.S. Ray—with his years of service as an attorney, Member of Parliament, Cabinet Minister, and top posts at the state level-shows the degree of importance that the Government of India attaches to its relations with the United States.

Mr. Speaker, we will also miss the Ambassador's extraordinary wife, Mrs. Maya Ray. Prior to their service in Washington, both Mr. and Mrs. Ray enjoyed distinguished legal careers as barristers, as well as Members of Parliament. Mrs. Ray's contributions to her husband's work in Washington will indeed be remembered with fondness and appreciation.

In my capacity as cochairman of the bipartisan Congressional Caucus on India and Indian-Americans, I look forward to working with Ambassador Ray's successor during this period of strengthened partnership between our two great nations, building on Ambassador Ray's excellent work.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I want to express my good wishes and those of my colleagues to Siddhartha and Maya Ray as they enter the next phase of their careers back home in India. Their many friends in the Congress and throughout our Nation hope they will return to visit frequently.

AMERICA NEEDS A NEW RUSSIAN POLICY

HON. GERALD B.H. SOLOMON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 24, 1996

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, the departures of Andrei Kozyrev, Anatoly Chubais, and Sergei Filatov from the Yeltsin administration and the appointment of a Brezhnev-era hardliner to be foreign minister should be the final wake-up call for the Clinton administration.

These reformers have been all but powerless for a long time, but their presence has allowed the administration to claim that Russia is on the right track and that any criticism of Russian policy would embolden the hard-liners. We see now that the hard-liners were emboldened long ago and are now in complete control.

For over 2 years, Russia has been engaged in a myriad of activities that range from the legal to the illegal to the morally repugnant, but all of which are contrary to United States national interests. These include Chechnya, nuclear dealings with Iran and Cuba, intimidation and subversion of nearly every former Soviet State, violations of numerous arms-control agreements, and strategic nuclear modernization, among many others.

All of this has been met by the Clinton administration with silence, arms control concessions, and a steady flow of U.S. taxpayer dollars. In other words, appeasement. True to its unvarnished record in history, appeasement has failed again. It is time for a new approach.

A more realistic policy toward Russia would involve several things: First, we must stop the mindless policy of giving foreign aid to Russia, especially its government. At this very moment, the Clinton administration and the IMF are preparing a $9 billion infusion into the Russian treasury. In addition to fostering complacency among economic policymakers in Russia, our aid, especially multilateral loans and Nunn-Lugar, has been subsidizing the dangerous activities listed above.

Second, we should give immediate and concrete assurances to qualifying countries in central Europe that they will become full members of NATO in the nearest possible future. With Primakov as Foreign Minister, there can be no doubt that Russia will attempt at least to ''Finlandize'' the former Warsaw Pact countries. It is silly to oppose NATO expansion with talk of drawing lines in Europe. There already is a line, and because of it, stability has been fostered in those countries west of it. Quite frankly, the farther east that line is, the better. Furthermore, the virtual military reabsorption of Belarus by Russia has resulted in the stationing of Russian border troops on the Polish border. They have already moved the line—to the west.

Third, it is high time we start to resist Russian policy in the near abroad and the Third World. For over 2 years, Russia has been methodically sapping the sovereignty of its neighbors, and is clearly moving toward reestablishing some sort of Russian-dominated union. Using classic Soviet-style divide and rule tactics, Russia has helped topple the democratic government of Azerbaijan, brought Georgia to heel, and pushed Armenia to allow Russian bases on its soil. Russia continues its illegal occupation of Moldova, routinely violates Lithuanian territory, and has threatened annexation of the Baltic States. This uncivilized behavior is not only outrageous, it is potentially highly destabilizing to Europe. The same can be said about Russia's renewed affinity for some of the world's worst rogue regimes, such as Iran, Cuba, Syria, and Iraq. We must make it plain to the Russians that their membership in Western organizations is directly linked to their international behavior. Right now, they don't make the grade.

Fourth, we must extricate ourselves from our slavish devotion to arms control. To the Clinton administration, what this means is that any agreement is a good agreement, Russian violations of existing agreements are to be hushed up, and protecting American citizens from ballistic missiles is bad. Thus, recent and clear Russian violations of the Biological Weapons Convention, CFE and START I and many others, have been excused. The administration's only response has been a rash drive to ratify the flawed START II and a stubborn insistence on unilateral adherence to the ridiculous ABM treaty, from which we can walk away legally anytime.

Mr. Speaker, the key issue is not whether Russia has 3,500 or 10,000 nuclear warheads. What is in our interest and what will ensure the security of our European friends is a Russia that behaves in civilized fashion internationally. So far, not a thing the Clinton administration has done has goaded Russia in this direction. Indeed, the administration has tolerated and even condoned, as in Chechnya, uncivilized and dangerous Russian behavior.

The past 3 years of behaving as though we feel guilty that we won the cold war have