

changes the oil in his or her own automobile. The truck renting and leasing segment generates well over 6 million gallons of used oil on an annual basis.

The Used Oil Recycling Act manifests the intention of the Congress, and I support its passage.

#### THE HARD WALK TO FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN SHORTENED BY ONLY A FEW STEPS

(Mr. KENNEDY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam Speaker, no one can deny that the recent steps taken by President de Klerk mark a significant change in Nationalist Party policy in South Africa. The unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the unconditional call for negotiations with the ANC and other political organizations are steps that South Africa-watchers could hardly have envisioned just a few weeks ago.

However, I simply cannot agree with our administration when it tells us that the South African Government "has gone a long way toward normalizing the political process in South Africa."

When close to 85 percent of the population, because of the color of their skin, cannot vote, cannot peaceably assemble without fear of tear gassing, cannot speak freely, when thousands of political prisoners remain imprisoned or in exile, when the police and military are still allowed to roam townships like predatory animals, maiming and imprisoning innocents virtually unchecked, and when black citizens are denied the basic human rights to live and to work where they choose, one can only conclude that the hard walk to freedom in South Africa has been shortened by only a few small steps.

President de Klerk is, in Mr. Mandela's words, "a man of integrity." But no one seriously denies that it is the prospect of economic collapse, not simply goodwill, that brings Mr. de Klerk to the bargaining table with the unvanquished victims of his Government's policies.

But our administration forgets this simple truth when it invites Mr. de Klerk to tea at the Oval Office and grumbles about the very sanctions that contribute to the changes we witness today.

The President would do well to read the lips of apartheid's opponents, both in South Africa and here at home: "Keep the heat on until the day of democracy is at hand."

□ 1110

#### CONGRESS MADE SANCTIONS HAPPEN

(Mr. WISE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WISE. Madam Speaker, yesterday this body celebrated with Czechoslovakian President Havel the emergence from oppression to democracy for his nation.

So in another part of the world the Congress should recognize another victory and its part in it. I refer to South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela after decades of imprisonment. For it was on this floor, several years ago, that the issue of debating sanctions for South Africa came up. "No sanctions" was the argument by the White House "because it will cut off communication with South Africa's leaders. Don't impose sanctions," we were told, "because the white government in South Africa will only become intransigent." Finally, "sanctions will only hurt those you are trying to help," we were told.

However, the Congress held firm, backed by black leaders in South Africa who reminded Members, "Yes, sanctions hurt, but apartheid kills."

Today, Mandela is free, the first fledgling attempts at negotiations have begun. This happened, in part, because the United States took a firm stand against apartheid and oppression, despite a Presidential veto of that legislation.

A good lesson for this administration. Congress made sanctions happen, and sanctions helped free Mandela. There are times to stand firm.

#### INTENSIFYING SOUTH AFRICAN SANCTIONS

(Mr. STOKES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STOKES. Madam Speaker, I rise today to express the joy experienced by my congressional district over the release of Nelson Mandela. After 27 years, Nelson Mandela has finally walked out of prison. Yet, it is a tragedy that although released from prison, Nelson Mandela is still not free.

The Government of South Africa has recently acknowledged that the policies of apartheid were illegal and unjust from the very beginning, and that the apparatus of apartheid must be dismantled and destroyed forever. However, this revelation on the part of the Government does not spring from any profound change of heart, but rather from the pressure brought to bear on the Government and the business owners in South Africa by international economic sanctions.

The United States played a significant role in bringing pressure to bear on the racist regime in South Africa by virtue of the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, imposing a number of economic sanctions against South Africa. The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act was the result of congressional initiative, and was

passed into law over President Reagan's veto.

This is not the time to relax the sanctions, while the laws prohibiting blacks from voting or owning property are still in force. The sanctions must be intensified until the entire apparatus of apartheid is destroyed forever. Then, and only then, can relaxation of the economic sanctions be considered.

In closing, Madam Speaker, I would like to quote the words of Nelson Mandela upon his release from prison, and at his trial in 1964:

I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

We have stood with you, Mr. Mandela, through your years of imprisonment, and we stand with you today, on the threshold of a new South Africa, where all men and women will be treated with equality and justice.

#### RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA

(Mr. PALLONE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PALLONE. Madam Speaker, the past few months have witnessed a remarkable trend toward democracy and human rights in areas of the world where these values have been lacking, or nonexistent. Only yesterday, this Chamber was honored by the visit of Vaclav Havel, once a jailed dissident and now a national leader. His appearance here gives us hope that regimes that rule without the consent of the governed will be rejected, and that those who speak out for human rights will ultimately be rewarded.

Before too much time goes by, I hope we can have the privilege of welcoming Mr. Nelson Mandela to speak before Congress. But, unlike Mr. Havel, Mr. Mandela is not really a free man. He is still not treated like a full citizen in his own country. He still does not have the right to seek elected office. Indeed, he doesn't even have the right to vote. Yes, it was a wonderful sight to see Mr. Mandela making his first public appearance in over a quarter of a century on global television. But his release should not be seen as an end in itself, but rather the beginning of a long road to democracy and freedom for all South Africans.

Madam Speaker, the lesson that Mr. Mandela's release teaches us about American policy is that our economic sanctions worked. I believe that we have a moral responsibility to use our country's strong economic leverage to put pressure on regimes that ignore and abuse the rights of their own people. The changes that are beginning to take root in South Africa show that economic sanctions are not only

H.R. 4003 will provide some financial security to dedicated servicemembers who have served their country with distinction, but have been denied reenlistment or have been involuntarily discharged in an effort to meet budgetary constraints.

This year, as we scrutinize future trends in defense spending and reductions in our conventional force structure, I urge my colleagues to make separation pay a top priority and I encourage the Defense Department to work with Congress to enact H.R. 4003 into law.

### SOUTH AFRICA

(Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, as Americans we rejoice in solidarity with the black majority in South Africa. The release of Nelson Mandela marks a time when freedom may triumph over oppression, when the walls of racial segregation in South Africa, like the walls of communism in Eastern Europe, may be razed to their very foundation.

In response, President Bush has recently invited Mr. Mandela and Mr. F.W. de Klerk to Washington to discuss the future of South African-United States relations. He has taken much credit for the United States part in prompting change. But it should be remembered that it was Congress which overrode President Reagan's veto of the 1986 antiapartheid bill, and Mr. Bush who supported the veto. The American people cried out for action, and it was Congress that went to work to address their appeal, not the executive branch.

I applaud the first steps made by Mr. de Klerk to prompt reconciliation in his country, but much remains to be done. The state of emergency has been maintained. Most of the political prisoners are still in jail; even though Nelson Mandela and 7 other political prisoners have been released, 1,800 still remain in jail. Troops are posted within black villages and townships, and all the laws which fundamentally support the apartheid regime are steadfastly defended by the government.

I question the wisdom of an invitation to Mr. F.W. de Klerk at the present time, but I would love to see Mr. Mandela address the joint Houses here.

The United States, as the leader of the free world, must continue to exert pressure on the South African Government to bring about substantive changes which have been so long overdue. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Members can be assured that I will continue to work toward this goal.

### ELATION OVER MANDELA'S RELEASE TEMPERED BY CAUTION

(Mr. OWENS of New York asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OWENS of New York. Madam Speaker, all over the world, particularly in South Africa, people are celebrating the recent release of antiapartheid leader Nelson Mandela after 27 years in South African prisons. I share their elation, but I also share Mandela's caution, and that of his organization, the African National Congress.

There are some world leaders who would like to use Mandela's release as an excuse to resume trade, business, and aid with South Africa. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has already lifted sanctions, and to my dismay, the Bush administration has indicated that it would like to lift sanctions and has invited South African State President F.W. de Klerk to the United States for an official visit.

The release of Mandela and other long-held political prisoners who belonged to the African National Congress and other antiapartheid activist organizations is indeed a giant step forward, but it is only a step. As Jesse Jackson has observed, Mandela was released from a small prison to a larger one—the whole of South Africa. As a nominally free man, Mandela still cannot vote, hold office, own land, live anywhere in his country he wishes, or do anything that would be considered a violation of the national state of emergency, which is still in force. The United States imposition of economic sanctions on South Africa was the decisive factor in the apartheid regime's releasing of Mandela and a handful of other political prisoners—money talks, and the sanctions were taking their toll on South Africa's economy.

The Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 set the terms under which United States sanctions may be lifted, including the unbanning of all organizations, full political involvement for the African majority, repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, an end to the state of emergency, and good faith negotiations between the South African Government and representative groups. We should demand that all of these concessions be met before the Bush administration lifts the sanctions.

□ 1130

### EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS OF 1990

(Mr. HOYER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOYER. Madam Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues who have observed 1990's first extraordinary event. During 1989 there were many such extraordinary events, and yesterday in this Chamber Vaclav Havel, the poet-

philosopher-playwright-President of Czechoslovakia spoke eloquently about human rights and the extension of those rights which he said had in many ways germinated in the Bill of Human Rights, as he referred to the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution, from the United States itself.

Madam Speaker, just over a week ago, a tall, dignified 71-year-old man walked out of the gates of prison for the first time since the time of John F. Kennedy. Nelson Mandela's release was a moment of tremendous drama and excitement as all of those in America, who spent many years fighting for his rights and the rights of his fellow men and women in South Africa, saw the first of our hopes fulfilled.

Madam Speaker, much remains to be done before South Africa is a pluralistic democratic state, an objective all of us should want to see and do want to see. Nelson Mandela, like Vaclav Havel, is a symbol for the hopes of the world. Let us continue the pressure until all in South Africa are free.

### FLYAWAY ROBBERY

(Mrs. SCHROEDER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Madam Speaker, we have heard about highway robbery. Today in the Armed Services Committee we heard about flyaway robbery. The Government Accounting Office testified today we will have to spend \$48 billion on the B-2 aircraft before we will know if it works. Of course that is only if current estimates hold.

If \$48 billion being spent before knowing whether the B-2 works is not flyaway robbery, I've never seen it. I hope taxpayers rebel. I think they'd rather have that \$48 billion locked up in the Social Security trust fund where it belongs rather than gambled on glitzy new toys we do not need that may not work.

### FARMERS FACING HIGHER COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND LOWER PRICES

(Mr. JONTZ asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONTZ. Madam Speaker, no part of our Nation's budget has absorbed more cuts than farm programs in the past 3 years. Yet, Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter came before the House Agriculture Committee earlier this week to defend even further cuts—\$1.5 billion in commodity programs for the coming year alone—with the admonition that our Nation just cannot afford existing expenditures.