

THE SOUTH AFRICAN VOTE: A Moment Never to Forget

THE OVERVIEW

Mandela Proclaims South Africa Is 'Free at Last'

Continued From Page A1

sensus rather than imposing his will on others.

The congress held apparently insurmountable leads in the balloting for seven of nine new provincial legislatures.

It conceded defeat in the Western Cape, which includes Cape Town, where the large mixed-race population sided with Mr. de Klerk.

In the most explosive province, KwaZulu/Natal, the focus of a murderous 10-year rivalry between the congress and Inkatha, Inkatha led but the voting lagged far behind other regions and pro-congress precincts around Durban had not yet been added to the total.

Black South Africans tonight poured into the streets of Soweto and Alexandra, lit the dim township streets with bonfires, danced and chanted Mr. Mandela's name in a triumphant delirium.

A Plea for Peace

Speaking in a voice husky from a head cold, Mr. Mandela tonight implored his supporters to keep their celebrations "peaceful, respectful and disciplined, showing we are a people ready to assume the responsibilities of government," especially in those areas that did not vote for his party.

Among the leaders who had called to congratulate him on his victory, and with whom he expected to work in the future, Mr. Mandela named Mr. de Klerk and — to some disapproving murmurs from his audience — Gen. Constandt Viljoen, the leader of the white separatist front. He did not name Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha, although Chief Buthelezi later said he had phoned.

Any party polling 5 percent of the votes is entitled to a seat in the coalition Cabinet, though in his acceptance speech Mr. Mandela hinted strongly that he would also invite some parties that fell short of the threshold to join the government anyway.

He suggested he would make an offer to the Pan Africanist Congress, the more militant rival liberation movement, which was winning a little more than 1 percent of the vote.

"I have got certain ideas," he said. "They have suffered together with us."

Composition of Cabinet

Details of the new Cabinet are to be negotiated in the coming days, but the new array is expected to include several holdovers from the de Klerk Government.

Mr. Mandela, who as president would have a veto over Cabinet appointments, said tonight he would not make room for anyone opposed to the African National Congress's social agenda, which calls for building a million houses in five years, a public works employment program, and free, compulsory education for all.

"If there are attempts on the part of anyone to undermine that program, there will be serious tensions in the government of national unity," he warned.

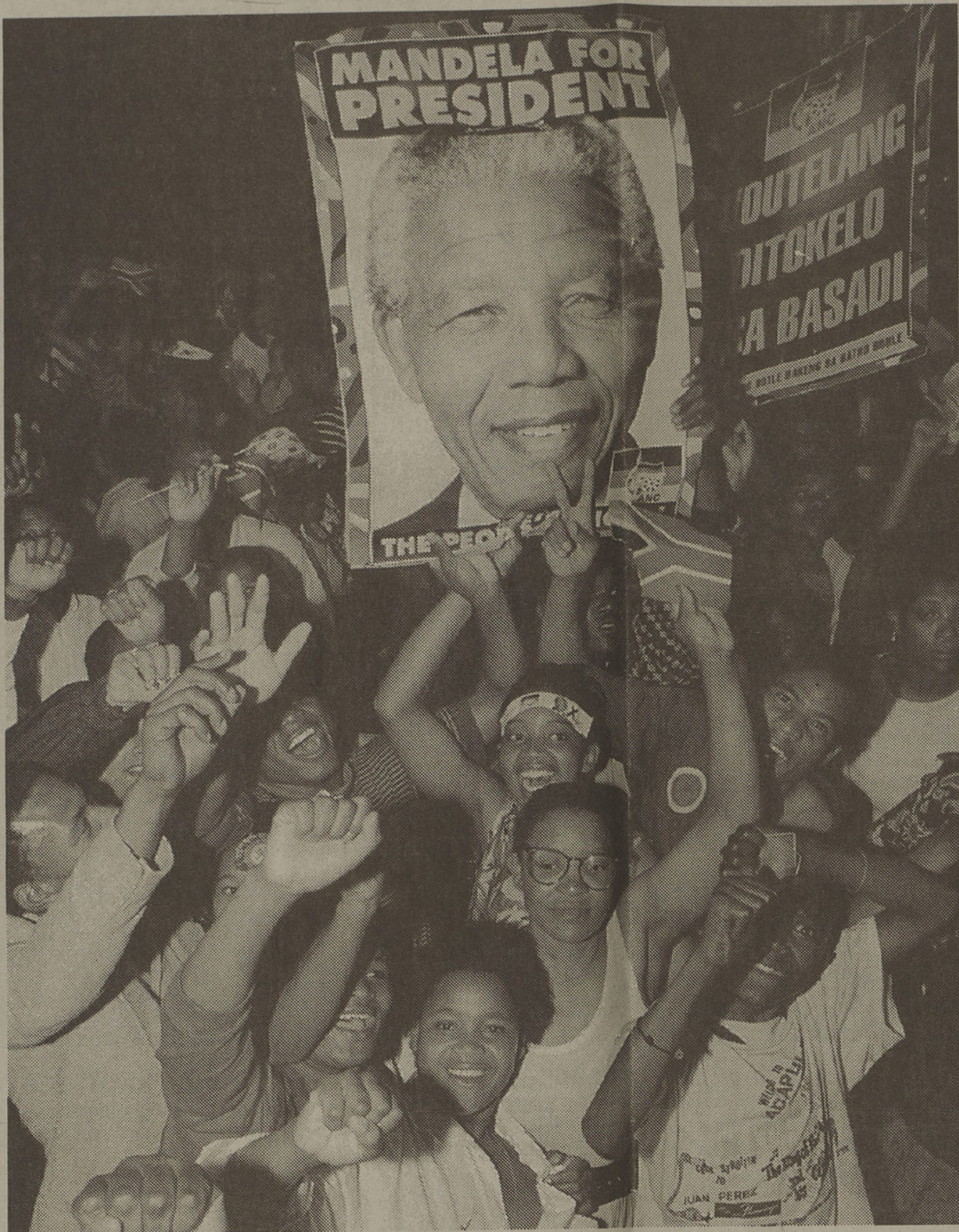
A Toast to the Future

After his speech rambled to a close with an unscripted invitation to foreign sports teams to come play in South Africa, Mr. Mandela toasted Mr. de Klerk and the new South Africa with a flute of sweet sparkling wine.

A choir of 70 voices erupted into a liberation song, and the 75-year-old patriarch danced stiffly across the stage, joined by his fellow congress leaders and an eclectic contingent of shimmering celebrities that included Coretta Scott King, wife of the American civil rights leader, and Kenneth Kaunda, the former president of Zambia.

Mr. de Klerk spoke to a sober and misty-eyed gathering of 300 of the party faithful in Pretoria.

Standing alongside his tearful wife, Marike, he pointedly reminded the world that he will not be in the government "at the whim of any person or any party" but by Constitutional right, and backed by a potent constituency that includes the civil service

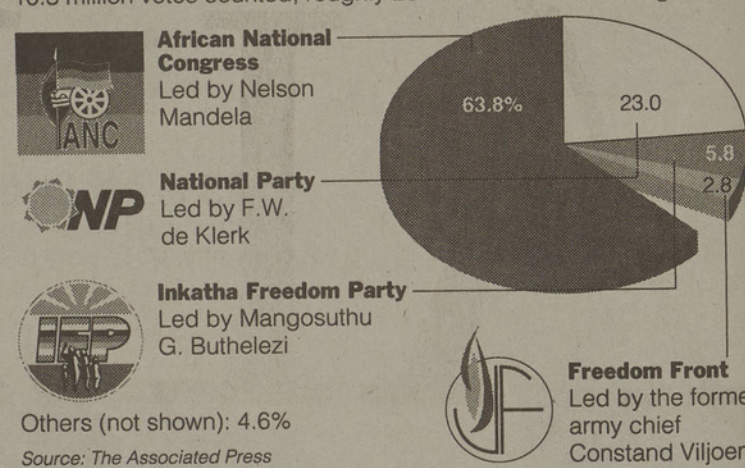


Jubilant supporters of the African National Congress cheering in downtown Johannesburg after Nelson Mandela claimed an overwhelming victory for the party in South Africa's first all-race national elections.

ELECTIONS

Early Returns From South Africa

Results in the nationwide vote for a new Parliament. The totals reflect 10.3 million votes counted; roughly 23 million voters were eligible.



Mr. Mandela will inherit.

"Just as we could not rule South Africa effectively without the support of the A.N.C. and its supporters, no Government will be able to rule South Africa effectively without the support of the people and the institutions that

I as your leader in the National Party represent," he said.

Path to Reconciliation

Bound by this mutual dependency, Mr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk have led South Africa on a remarkable course from lethal racial confronta-

In victory and defeat, new and old leaders pledge reconciliation.

tion through a negotiated revolution to a reconciliation many South Africans still regard with disbelief.

"Next Tuesday I shall lay down my responsibility as state president, secure in the knowledge that we have achieved what we set out to achieve four years and three months ago," Mr. de Klerk said, referring to the day in February 1990 when he ordered Mr. Mandela released from prison.

For one rare evening in their often contentious partnership, the two men were matched in their sense of the moment.

Mr. Mandela proclaimed this "a joyous night for the human spirit," and read an honor roll of fallen campaigners for racial equality in South Africa.

"After so many centuries, all South Africans are now free," said Mr. de Klerk, before concluding with the title of the liberation prayer that is now one of the country's two national anthems: "God bless Africa," he said. "Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika."

THE VOTING

Was the Election Fair? Voting Chief Is Satisfied

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, May 2 — Judge Johann Kriegler casually uses the word "breakdown" to describe the election he is running.

He concedes that many ballots never left the warehouse, that polling places failed to open, that ballot boxes were stuffed "to a significant degree," that voting places often had no impartial monitors and that some election officials were partisan, if not crooked.

But there is no doubt in South Africa that within a few days he will baptize the new democracy by pronouncing the required four-word benediction — "substantially free and fair" — over the results.

"From the outset the commission had no illusions that it could mount a really efficient election," the judge said today during an intermission from the crises that still beset the counting of votes. "It is an Africa-style election. It is not to be measured by European or North American standards. What we're trying to do is put together a credible test of the will of the people."

Perception Is the Key

In the end, he allowed, it is less important whether the election was really free and fair than whether people accept the outcome as a national verdict on their future.

Judge Kriegler, 63 years old, is a former trial lawyer and human rights advocate with a reputation for fierce independence, dry wit, flashes of arrogance, and, in his work on the appeals court, a somewhat greater devotion to the spirit of the law than its letter.

"If it is manifest in a given situation that the rules ought to be stretched because that would do justice, yes, that's my approach," he said today in his office at the electoral commission. "And I've applied it here."

To his critics, who have proliferated during the chaos of voting and counting, Mr. Kriegler is an imperious figure and a bad manager, thrust into a job that would have been more appropriate for a high-powered corporate executive.

A High Judicial Post?

The voting confusion has probably not enhanced his prospects for an appointment to the new constitutional court, although lawyers say he remains one of the top candidates.

The huge and insatiable press corps is annoyed at his testy reaction to questioning and his peremptory decision to ban reporters from polling places (a rule that few local poll officials enforced).

Foreign observers and some candidates say that in his determination to validate the election he has blinked at irregularities that did not affect the overall outcome but could have cost smaller parties seats in the new Parliament.

"It was just chaotic from the word go," said Tony Leon, a leader of the liberal Democratic Party.

"The things that could have gone wrong with this election didn't — violence, murder, mayhem," Mr. Leon added. "But then to be let down by a process that was so Fifth World is a disgrace."

Abuses in KwaZulu/Natal

Dennis Davis, a law professor who helped draft the new Constitution under which the election is taking place, said he was worried that the commission's failure to prevent rampant abuses in the embattled Zulu province, KwaZulu/Natal, could encourage the losers there to reject the result and resume their 10-year violent partisan conflict.

Almost everyone concedes that Mr. Kriegler took on one of the most impossible assignments in the history of elections: four months to organize an election in a country where three fourths of the population had never voted, with no voter roll, with any voter free to vote anywhere and with no reliable census to tell the commission where to send ballots.

"We estimated that we had an electorate of about 22½ million," he said. "Nobody knew. Nobody still knows."

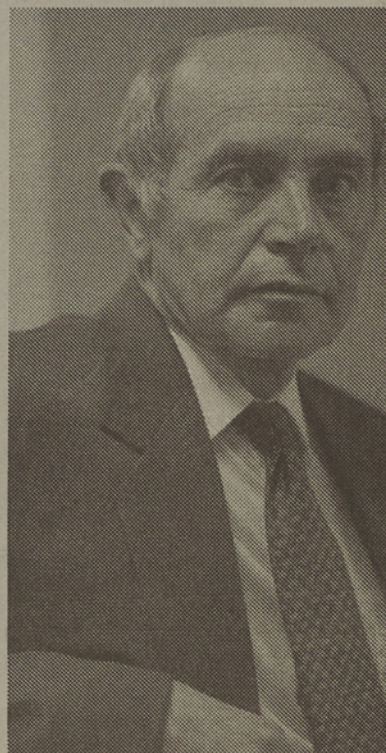
To satisfy the national pride — and the black suspicion of the existing Government — the commission was forbidden to depend on foreign organizations or on the ministry that handled past elections.

Many polling places were up unpaved roads in villages without telephones or electricity. Anyone hired to monitor the election was "likely to be the second cousin of the presiding officer and the son in law of the local chief," Mr. Kriegler said. "The societal pressures are quite considerable."

Change in the Rules

Halfway into the assignment, the rules were changed to include separate ballots for national and provincial legislatures, requiring that the floor plan of every polling place be redesigned.

Then a week from the end, after 80 million ballots had been printed, the Inkatha Freedom Party decided to participate, requiring that gummed



Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times
Judge Johann Kriegler

stickers be added by hand at the end of each ballot.

The voting became a giant improvisation. When ballot boxes got full because of unexpected turnout, poll officials ripped off the seals, poured the ballots into plastic bags, and reused the boxes.

When Inkatha stickers failed to arrive, officials let voters write in the name. Rather than risk an Inkatha walkout, Mr. Kriegler authorized the write-ins, and extended voting a day in the Zulu province.

When counting bogged down, Mr. Kriegler discarded the elaborate procedures designed to account for all ballots.

Hard to Affect Outcome

Cheating, he says, was widespread but probably not enough to distort the outcome seriously.

"To affect a national seat in Parliament, you need an error of 50,000 votes," he said, now an expert in the arithmetic of political larceny. "And if a ballot box was stuffed, what have you got? At the most 3,000 papers. If it wasn't very skillfully done 2,500, even a little less."

The irregularities were troublesome, he said but not nearly enough to make him revoke his post-voting pronouncement that the election had gone "astoundingly well" and his wry jest at the paranoia among his fellow whites.

"The dear little old ladies who were stocking up tinned food are probably feeling silly at the moment and looking for a market," he said.

THE SCENE

A Joy Born in Pain Dances Its Way Through the Streets of the Black Ghettos

Continued From Page A1

him govern."

"The chef, Lot Baloy, came out from the kitchen to hear every word. 'There'll be parties here,' he said. 'Alex knows how to party.'"

But on the tube, Mr. Mandela, business suit and all, was suddenly beating Alex to the punch and slipping gently into the boogie steps of the "toyi-toyi" — a political-musical shimmy done en masse that was a trademark of his African National Congress through the climactic months of transition to democracy.

White supremacists say they fear this dance as a prelude to social chaos. But Mr. Mandela had it nattily under control as the camera panned his victory rally in nearby downtown Johannesburg inside the luxury precincts of the Carlton Center hotel. For an instant, the screen here filled with a close-up of a gray-haired white man having a rhythmic go among the blacks bobbing and weaving in the toyi-toyi — Joe Slovo, a weathered leader of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Drinkers, pool players, bartender and chef all stopped silent, then whooped at this doughty white man's writhing. One black drinker shouted, "Slovo's getting down!"

With Mr. Mandela in sight again,

obviously enjoying his dancing, the bar crowd could not contain itself. They emptied out onto 17th Road, where taxi horns were blaring, dancing crowds were scuttling deliriously, and perfect strangers of all colors were subject to sudden hugs from one happily crying woman.

"We are free at last," Thembi Rametse, the restaurant hostess, said, swaying in the toyi-toyi as dogs darted about the heels of the dancers.

Other residents stood in silent bonhomie outside their hovels of tin and wood, cinder block and wallboard. A single throaty uproar, more heartfelt than any New Year's Eve outburst, seemed to hover over the valley.

Across the motorway intended to pen off Alexandra from the white affluence of Sandton, north of Johannesburg, a white man stopped at another bar to calm himself with a beer.

"I thought I was a goner," he said. "Driving through Hillbrow and all of a sudden people were screaming in the streets," he said of a heavily black neighborhood in Johannesburg. "Entire buildings of people coming out, blocking my car."

The Hillbrow blacks had done a toyi-toyi on a huge scale around the white man's car. "This all can be scary," the man said, smiling at his foolish fear for life. "But it's great, too, isn't it?"



Residents of Alexandra Township, in the city limits of northern Johannesburg, run with South African's new flag after the African National Congress was declared the winner of the first all-race national election in the country's history.

MANDELA PROCLAIMS A VICTORY: SOUTH AFRICA IS 'FREE AT LAST!'



Soweto residents celebrating yesterday after the African National Congress's election victory was announced.

DE KLERK CONCEDES

Victors Get Big Margin
in Vote — Leaders
Vow to Cooperate

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, May 2 — With a dignity that owed nothing to defeat, Frederik Willem de Klerk, the last white ruler in Africa, tonight conceded his presidency to Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

"Mr. Mandela has walked a long road, and now stands at the top of the hill," said Mr. de Klerk of the man he freed after 27 years in prison, and with whom he negotiated the surrender of white power. "As he contemplates the next hill, I hold out my hand to Mr. Mandela in friendship and in cooperation."

Mr. Mandela later seized his election mandate with matching grace before a rapturous crowd in a Johannesburg hotel ballroom. He welcomed Mr. de Klerk and other political rivals as partners in a new Government of national unity.

"I stand here before you filled with deep pride and joy," Mr. Mandela said. "Pride in the ordinary, humble people of this country — you have shown such a calm, patient determination to reclaim this country as your own. And joy that we can loudly proclaim from the rooftops: free at last!"

Acknowledging his political collaboration with Mr. de Klerk, Mr. Mandela said, "I also want to congratulate him for the many days, weeks and months and the four years that we have worked together, quarreled, addressed sensitive problems and at the end of our heated exchanges were able to shake hands and to drink coffee." [Excerpts from the Mandela and de Klerk statements are on page A14.]

Less than half the vote had been counted in the first South African election open to blacks, but the African National Congress majority was more than 60 percent and growing, and both men were eager to keep to a timetable that leads to Mr. Mandela's being inaugurated as president on May 10.

Mr. de Klerk remains President until that day, and then assumes a subsidiary role as one of two vice presidents. A galaxy of world figures, including Hillary Rodham Clinton and Vice President Gore, are expected in Pretoria to witness the last and most orderly relinquishment of white dominion on the continent.

With 10.3 million votes counted of an eligible electorate estimated at nearly 23 million, the African National Congress had 63.8 percent, Mr. de Klerk's National Party 23.0 percent, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi 5.8 percent, and the Freedom Front, which seeks a separate white homeland, 2.8 percent.

A two-thirds majority, which leaders of the congress dismissed Sunday as a faded hope, no longer seemed out of reach, since the later counts appeared to be coming more heavily from black townships that are African National Congress strongholds. The congress lead was growing with each increment of votes.

With two-thirds of the new Parliament, the congress would be able to write a new Constitution with few concessions to other parties, although Mr. Mandela has sworn that even with a landslide he would seek con-

A Joy Born in Pain Dances in the Street

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times

ALEXANDRA, South Africa, May 2 — An eruption of joy swept the vast black ghettos of South Africa tonight as Nelson Mandela claimed his presidential victory with a bit of boogie dancing on television that was instantly imitated by street throngs across the land.

Even the pool players dropped their cue sticks and poured out of the Lethabong barroom here in this landmark black township. They strutted and weaved with a spontaneous mass gathering that danced through the darkness enveloping their shanty hovels, singing: "We have have washed this land clean of apartheid."

Similar scenes were reported across the nation as the black majority of 30 million broke out in celebration at the evidence of what their balloting of last week had accomplished in the first democratic election of this racism-scarred land.

Mr. Mandela, the most revered of apartheid's black political prisoners, was before their eyes on television, one of their own confidently accepting the electoral leadership of a new South Africa and announcing to all, black and white: "I am your servant."

In scant minutes, dancing crowds illumined by fireworks snaked through the ghetto streets booming their response in song: "Nel-son Man-del-a! You're called to lead our nation!"

They converged at intersections, doubling in size and giddiness, and swept off in fresh directions, determined to make this the night for registering their political emancipation in the nation's streets.

Only minutes before, this valley of shanties widely called "Alex" rested sleepy and smoke-wreathed from the nightly fires that are the citizens' only form of garbage removal. Unofficial jitney buses cruised for passengers, but night life was well indoors, within some of the saddest jerry-built housing on earth, and within warm community gathering spas, too, like the Lethabong bar and restaurant.

"He never gave up on us," Madodo Mbalomba declared, raising his mug of cold Castle draft beer to toast Mr. Mandela on the TV above the bar. "This is a joyous night."

Farther down the bar, Johannesi Tloubatla put down his beer to applaud. "Mandela must make our place right," he said. "I want to see



Nelson Mandela dancing as he came on stage to claim victory.

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN VOTE: Words of Peace, Deeds of Death

Mandela and De Klerk: Words on a Transition

Following are excerpts from the statement yesterday by President F. W. de Klerk of South Africa conceding defeat in the election, as provided by Reuters, which translated that part of his speech that was in Afrikaans. It is followed by excerpts from the statement by Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress, as provided by The Associated Press, after Mr. de Klerk's remarks. Mr. Mandela spoke in English.

DE KLERK STATEMENT

Mr. Mandela will soon assume the highest office of the land with all the awesome responsibility which it bears. He will have to exercise this great responsibility in a balanced manner which will assure South Africans from all our communities that he has all their interests at heart.

I am confident that this will be his intention.

Mr. Mandela has walked a long road and now stands at the top of the hill. A traveler would sit down and admire the view. But a man of destiny knows that beyond this hill lies another and another. The journey is never complete. As he contemplates the next hill I hold out my hand in friendship and in cooperation.

As far as my own position is concerned, I should like to make clear that I believe that my political task is just beginning. Everything that we have done so far — the four years of difficult and often frustrating negotiations, the problems and the crises — have been simply a preparation for the work that lies ahead.

The greatest challenge which we will face in the government of national unity will be to defend and nurture our new constitution. Our greatest task will be to insure our young and vulnerable democracy will take root and flourish.

Principles for Economy

We must also insure that we adopt the right approaches in the economic and social spheres. We need a strong and a vibrant economy based on the tried and tested principles of free enterprise. Only then can we insure that we will generate the wealth which we need to address the pressing social needs of large sections of our population. We must insure that social services are affordable, caring and effective.

I will be in a good position in the government of national unity to promote these objectives. I will not be there at the whim of any person or any party, but in my own right as the representative of many millions of South Africans.

Just as we could not rule South Africa effectively without the support of the A.N.C. and its supporters, no government will be able to rule South Africa effectively without the support of the people and the institutions that I represent.

I enthusiastically pledge that support in the spirit of national reconciliation.

MANDELA STATEMENT

This is indeed a joyous night. Although not yet final, we have received the provisional results of the election. My friends, I can tell you that we are delighted by the overwhelming support for the African National Congress.

Within the last few hours I have received telephone calls from State President de Klerk, General Constand Viljoen [leader of the right-wing Freedom Front], Dr. Zach de Beer [of the Democratic Party] and Mr. Johnson Mlambo, the first deputy president of the P.A.C. [Pan Africanist Congress], who pledged their full cooperation and offered their sincere congratulations.

I thank them all for their support and look forward to working together for our beloved country. I would also like to congratulate President de Klerk for the strong showing the National Party has displayed in this election. I also want to congratulate him for the many days, weeks and months and the four years that we have worked together, quarreled, addressed sensitive problems and at the end of our heated exchanges were able to shake hands and to drink coffee.

To all those in the African National Congress and the democratic movement who worked so hard these last few days and through these many decades, I thank you and honor you. To the people of South Africa and the world who are watching: This is indeed a joyous night for the human spirit. This is your victory, too. You helped end apartheid, you stood with us through the transition.

I watched, along with you all, as the tens of thousands of our people stood

patiently in long queues for many hours, some sleeping on the open ground overnight to cast this momentous vote.

South Africa's heroes are legend across the generations. But it is you, the people, who are our true heroes.

This is one of the most important moments in the life of our country. I stand before you filled with deep pride and joy — pride in the ordinary, humble people of this country. You have shown such a calm, patient determination to reclaim this country as your own. And joy that we can loudly proclaim from the rooftops — free at last!

I am your servant. I don't come to you as a leader, as one above others. We are a great team.

Leaders come and go, but the organization and the collective leadership that has looked after the fortunes and reversals of this organization will always be there. And the ideas I express are not ideas invented in my own mind.

They stem from our fundamental policy document, the Freedom Charter, from the decisions, resolutions of the national conference and from the decisions of the national executive committee. That is the nature of our organization. It is not the individuals that matter, it is the collective leadership which has led this organization so skillfully.

I stand before you humbled by your courage, with a heart full of love for all of you. I regard it as the highest honor to lead the A.N.C. at this moment in our history, and that we have been chosen to lead our country into the new century.

I pledge to use all my strength and ability to live up to your expectations of me as well as the A.N.C.

Tribute to Fallen Comrades

I am personally indebted and pay tribute to some of South Africa's greatest leaders, including John Dube, Josiah Gumede, G.M. Naicker, Dr. Abduraman, Chief Luthuli, Lillian Ngoyi, Bram Fisher, Helen Joseph, Yusuf Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo. They should have been here to celebrate with us, for this is their achievement, too.

Let's get South Africa working. For we must together and without delay begin to build a better life for all South Africans. This means creating jobs, building houses, providing education and bringing peace and security for all. This is going to be the acid test of the government of national unity.

We have emerged as the majority party on the basis of the program which is contained in the reconstruction and development program. There we have outlined the steps that we are going to take in order to insure a better life for all South Africans.

Almost all the organizations that are going to take part in the government of national unity have undertaken during the course of the campaign to contribute to the better life of our people. That is going to be the cornerstone, the foundation on which the government of national unity is going to be based.

And I appeal to all the leaders who are going to serve in this government to honor that program and to go there determined to contribute towards its immediate implementation. If there are attempts on the part of anybody to undermine that program, there will be serious tensions in the government of national unity.

National Development Plan

We are here to honor our promises. If we fail to implement this program, that will be a betrayal of the trust which the people of South Africa have vested in us. It is a program which was developed by the masses of the people themselves in people's forums. It has been accepted by state corporations, by government departments, by business, academics, by religious leaders, youth movements, women's organizations. And nobody will be entitled to participate in that government of national unity to oppose that plan.

But I must add we are not going to make the government of national unity an empty shell. We want every political organization that participates in that government to feel that they are part and parcel of a government machine which is happy to accommodate their views within the



"I should like to make clear that I believe that my political task is just beginning," President F. W. de Klerk said in Pretoria yesterday as he conceded the South African election to Nelson Mandela.

context of the reconstruction and development program.

We do not want to reduce them into mere rubber stamps to rubber stamp the decisions of any organization except to say that that program has to be carried out without reservation.

The calm and tolerant atmosphere that prevailed during the election depicts the type of South Africa we can build. It set the tone for the future. We might have our differences, but we are one people with a common destiny in our rich variety of culture, race and tradition.

People have voted for the party of their choice and we respect that. This is democracy.

I hold out a hand of friendship to

the leaders of all parties and their members, and ask all of them to join us in working together to tackle the problems we face as a nation. An A.N.C. government will serve all the people of South Africa, not just A.N.C. members.

We are looking forward to working together in a government of national unity.

Now is the time for celebration, for South Africans to join together to celebrate the birth of democracy. Let our celebrations be in keeping with the mood set in the elections, peaceful, respectful and disciplined, showing we are a people ready to assume the responsibilities of government.

VIOLENCE

At Least 23 South Africans Die In Resurgence of Political Strife

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

Special to The New York Times

UMLAZI, South Africa, May 2 — After a brief respite during last week's balloting, violence returned to Natal Province, with at least 23 people reported killed since voting ended on Friday.

Some of the killings were believed to be politically motivated, part of the decade-long rivalry between the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose Zulu leadership is based in Natal, and the African National Congress, which claimed victory tonight.

Tonight, Stephanie Miller, coordinator of the Umlazi Peace Committee, which mediates community disputes, said President F. W. de Klerk's concession speech apparently sparked a heavy barrage of gunfire in Umlazi and the nearby black township of KwaMashu, where supporters of the African National Congress were believed to be celebrating.

Shooting in Downtown Durban

Meanwhile, bursts of heavy-caliber weapons fire erupted in the streets of downtown Durban tonight as several thousand congress supporters also reveled in their party's victory.

In an interview earlier today, Mrs. Miller said once the final results were announced, violence would almost certainly increase. "With the winner of the election," she said, "there's going to be jubilation, and the loser's probably going to be uptight about that, and in itself, that will be confrontational."

Vasco Shengu, a community development worker in Umlazi, agreed:

"A lot of people are going to be killed, because there's a widespread suspicion here that the elections were not free and fair."

Indeed, there were already signs tonight that Inkatha might challenge the results. Earlier today the party submitted a 40-page complaint alleging that the election was seriously marred by irregularities.

Most Violent Region

Natal province has a fifth of South Africa's population, but is believed to have been the scene of nearly half of the country's political killings in the last 10 years.

For a brief time last week, as millions of people flocked to the polls, the factional violence and bloodshed that has cursed much of Natal ceased. And many of the people of this sprawling black township dared to hope that the elections might bring lasting peace.

But within hours after the polls closed, a hand grenade exploded on Grace Ngongo's front lawn, harming no one but shattering the delicious mood of euphoria she had felt since casting her vote in South Africa's first post-apartheid elections.

"I really thought things would get better here," Miss Ngongo said. Like most victims of violence here, Ms. Ngongo insisted her family was not active in politics.

Nonetheless, since the first time since they moved here in 1966, they were considering finding a new place.

"I don't want to take any chances," Miss Ngongo said, "you can never tell when they might come back."

USA TODAY

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'IT'S LIKE IF YOU HAD LOST A CHILD' 1D

YMCA PROGRAM HELPS RUNAWAYS, FAMILIES GET BACK TOGETHER

UP TO 14 MILLION SEE 'A GROUND GLASS WORLD' 5D

LOW VISION A MYSTERY



Sam Upshaw Jr., The Courier-Journal
BROWNS: Ex-runaway Nick, parents Steve and Shirley, 1D

TUESDAY

New football league a 'sponsor's dream'

By Larry Weisman
and Gordon Forbes
USA TODAY

A football league of their own is what its organizers are touting to corporations.

Mike Lynn, a former NFL and World League executive, heads a group hoping to start the "A League" in fall 1995.

Organizers met last week in Memphis with CBS and potential advertisers. Selling points:

► CBS — it expects "continuing discussions" — would televise the games.

► Corporations would have a mega-marketing tool; the game would be the commercial.

CBS is searching for a sport of its own: 38 years of NFL

broadcasts ended last season. Fox now owns CBS' share.

And the corporations "aren't going to do this to own football teams," says Pepper Rodgers, spokesman for Federal Express CEO Fred Smith. "It's a sponsor's dream."

Estimated start-up cost is \$120 million. It would have:

► 11 teams in the top 50 U.S.

markets; a 12th team would likely be located in London.

► Corporate ownership, with an emphasis on regionality. Memphis-based FedEx would own the team there. Anheuser-Busch would run St. Louis'.

Disney has already said no.

► Logo-bedecked uniforms. Lynn's goal: take on the NFL for players, ratings, ad dollars.

"The last league that was successful was the AFL, televised by a network over the air to major markets," he says.

What does the NFL say? "If they have enough money and they're willing to spend it, they might be able to make it go," says spokesman Greg Aiello.

► John Madden a seer? 3C

'HEAVEN IS SMILING'



VICTORY SMILE: Nelson Mandela, soon to be South Africa's first black president, rejoiced Monday in his democratic triumph in Johannesburg. "This is indeed a joyous night for the human spirit," said the leader of the African National Congress.

Mandela wins in S. Africa

By Jessica Lee
and Chris Erasmus
USA TODAY

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — President-elect Nelson Mandela starts today to put together a government after claiming victory for his African National Congress in South Africa's first all-race elections.

"I stand before you filled with deep pride and joy, pride in the ordinary, humble people of this country," Mandela said Monday night. He and the ANC "are rolling up our sleeves to begin tackling the problems."

His victory speech touched off a night of celebration from Johannesburg to the most remote corners of the nation.

"Heaven is smiling on South Africa," shouted Esther Puza, 48, of Soweto, swaying with 14 family members. "All our lives we waited for this moment."

Ahead for Mandela:

► Friday, he is to be officially elected by the ANC-dominated National Assembly when it convenes for the first time.

► May 10, his scheduled inaugural is expected to attract world leaders, whose sanctions helped end South Africa's policy of separation of races.

Mandela's declaration came hours after President F.W. de Klerk conceded defeat, ending 342 years of white domination.

Anticipating selection as one of two deputy presidents, de Klerk said he looks forward to working with Mandela.

"Our greatest task will be to ensure our young and vulnerable democracy will take root."

The election result was hardly a surprise, but the ANC's margin of victory appears greater than expected.

With 43% of the vote in, the ANC had 63.6%, de Klerk's National Party 23.2% and the Inkatha Freedom Party 5.9%.

The constitution grants a deputy presidency to any party with 20% or more. Parties with 5% or more get Cabinet seats, but Mandela plans to include as many parties as possible.

Mandela also appealed to some of his favorite people: athletes. A former boxer, Mandela invited them to play again in South Africa, ending the boycott brought on by apartheid.

► Words of freedom, 6A



RAPTUROUS: African National Congress worker Bontelefela Setshoqe, left, revels in victory with Michaela Wotzel, center, and Thoko Daphne Makoloda.

COVER STORY

Cheers, hugs and dancing signal hope

Mandela's remarkable victory 4 years after prison release

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The heart of South Africa's financial district exploded Monday night with the joyful thunder of freedom.

Thousands of supporters of president-elect Nelson Mandela filled the streets, high-stepping the *toyi-toyi* jubilation dance, arm-in-arm, waving flags, hugging strangers, chanting and singing — celebrating a day 342 years in the making.

"It's like our New Year's Day for the new South Africa," said one of the curbside celebrators, Bobo Maquelpo. Celebrators also chanted "viva Mandela, viva Mandela."

"Isn't freedom beautiful?" said Lucy Mnguni, 54, of Soweto, the suburban township so torn by violence.

The historic nature of the day was reflected in Mandela,

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

Fish, shellfish most endangered wildlife

By Paul Hoversten
USA TODAY

The threat of extinction is greater for the nation's freshwater fish and shellfish than it is for other wildlife species, a new report says.

Causing the problems, says the Environmental Defense Fund: pollution, overfishing and poor water management.

"It's a genuine crisis and the problems are getting worse," says scientist David Wilcove.

Evidence cited Monday:

► While the number of endangered or threatened plants and animals has nearly quadrupled since 1973, threatened aquatic species have grown more than six times.

► The Illinois River is typical — two-thirds of all fish species have vanished since 1900.

► In northern Alabama, 30 of 63 mussel species in Muscle Shoals disappeared after a

dam was built.

► In the Chesapeake Bay, fish and shellfish harvests are off dramatically — a 96% decline in hickory shad catches since the 1960s.

The declines have occurred despite such action as the Clean Water Act and the Endangered Species Act.

Inadequate authority, limited funding and bureaucracy have blunted the laws' effectiveness, the group says.

Also to blame is mismanagement, such as stocking salmon and other fish that dilute genetic diversity.

EDF recommends improving laws, control of water content and fixing priorities.

"We need to put the focus on rivers before they lose their species and go down in history as dead rivers," says Lindy Turner of the Clinch-Powell Resource Conservation Development Council in Tennessee.

Skin cancer rates double since '70s

By Kim Painter
USA TODAY

Rates for the most common skin cancers have at least doubled in the USA since the '70s, a study says.

If the study is on target, 900,000 to 1.2 million cases of basal or squamous cell skin cancers will be diagnosed this year, making them about as common as all other cancers combined, says the American Academy of Dermatology.

"All indications are that rates are continuing to rise"

despite the change in sun exposure habits, says Dr. Martin Weinstock in the academy's May journal.

A national survey in 1977-78 found 480,000 of the cancers, which are rarely deadly but can be disfiguring.

Melanoma, a less common cancer, is fatal more often.

Sun exposure is the major cause of all types.

Weinstock, of Brown University, based his 1994 estimate on recent, regional studies of non-melanoma cases.

A separate academy study

shows many people are hearing the sun safety message. The survey of more than 1,000 adults and teens found:

► One-third of adults and teens never sunbathe.

► Nearly half of adults sunbathe less than before.

► 59% say a tan looks healthy — but that's down from 66% in 1986.

But, Weinstock says, "It takes a long time for changes ... to show up as fewer skin cancers." And, he says, the thinning ozone layer may be contributing to cancer rates.

A 'big-time' agenda for new head



By Timothy A. Murphy
'PEOPLE HAVE HAD IT': Thomas Constantine, new head of the Drug Enforcement Administration, says Americans 'are fed up with crime.'

By Sam Vincent Meddis
 USA TODAY

New Drug Enforcement Administration chief Thomas Constantine says one of his top priorities will be to crack down on violent drug gangs. "People have had it with crime — they're fed up," Constantine said Monday in a meeting with reporters.

Citing a weekend FBI report showing a 3% increase in killings last year, Constantine said much of the nation's violence is drug-related. Constantine, former superintendent of New York State Police who was sworn in as DEA administrator last month, also said:

► Heroin, long eclipsed by cocaine, is "coming back big-time," based on reports of increased worldwide opium production and an upswing in hospital emergency room cases involving the drug.

► Assault-style weapons, under attack by the Clinton administration,

put law officers at a grave disadvantage against better-armed criminals. "The battle opens up... they're going to win it."

► The cocaine cartel in Cali, Colombia, is now South America's premier drug organization, surpassing the rival cartel in Medellin.

Drug experts say Constantine has his work cut out for him.

"The new administrator couldn't be coming in at a worse time for narcotics law enforcement," says Robert Feldkamp, ex-DEA spokesman and editor of the periodical *Narcotics Demand Reduction Digest*.

Feldkamp says there's a long list of "grim news" awaiting Constantine — including increased LSD use, the surge in heroin, and a continuing cocaine problem in the inner city.

Constantine also faces a troubled political situation in drug-infested Mexico, after the assassination of its leading presidential candidate.

But perhaps most vexing is the tur-

moil in Colombia. General Gustavo Gaviria, law enforcement official, has been branded U.S. justice officials as being too lenient.

The federal turn threatened enforcement cooperation with authorities in Colombia.

The DEA is under pressure from Congress to "reinvent" itself. But Constantine

THE CONSTANTINE FILE

NAME: Thomas Constantine

AGE: 55

BACKGROUND: 34-year law enforcement veteran. His last job was superintendent of New York State Police. He began as a deputy with the Erie County, N.Y., Sheriff's Department. In 1987 he was mentioned as a possible FBI head. A Buffalo native, he's mar-

ried and has six children. The DEA job pays about \$130,000.

DEA: The USA's lead anti-drug law enforcement agency, with more than 3,600 agents and a more than \$700 million budget. Constantine's appointment put to rest speculation that the agency would be eliminated and its duties merged into the FBI.

COVER STORY

'Common destiny' unites

Continued from 1A

as he took Coretta Scott King's hand to lead his supporters in a dance of joy after his speech claiming victory.

He told giddy supporters: "For the people of South Africa and the world who are watching, this is indeed a joyous night for the human spirit."

But as the celebration went on, it also was accompanied by warnings that South Africa's blacks should not expect an overnight transformation of their living conditions.

"Nelson Mandela will not be able to produce miracles," said Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's former president and one of Africa's elder leaders. "All South Africans will not be able to work out miracles. The future of South Africa will depend on what all the people of South Africa do."

Mandela, a pragmatic 75-year-old with regal bearing, seemingly untouched by anger or bitterness, pleaded for unity among his election rivals and among citizens of all races, colors and political stripe: "We might have our differences, but we are one people with a common destiny."

South Africa's rainbow — white, Indian, Asian, mixed race and black — raised clenched fists as the country's new anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika*, filled the ballroom of Johannesburg's premier downtown hotel.

Elation pulsed through the cavernous room amid popping champagne corks and balloons in ANC's colors.

The remarkable triumph by a black man in Africa's wealthiest country came four years after Mandela was released from prison. He was serving life for a treason conviction stemming from his call for a violent overthrow of the apartheid policies that separated a nation by skin color.

Mandela's rise and apartheid's fall were in lockstep since 1989, when F.W. de Klerk ousted then-President P.W. Botha. One of de Klerk's earliest acts as president was to sit down with Mandela at a Cape Town prison.

Within months, Mandela was free and the ban on black political parties was over. A new nation had begun.

Mandela made clear Monday night that the past is just that: "I hold out the hand of friendship to all parties."

He also took special note of his working relationship with de Klerk, the last white man to rule South Africa since the first Dutch traders took control in 1652. "We have worked together, quarreled, addressed the sensitive problems," Mandela said, "and at the end... were able to shake hands."

They will continue working together in the new government. With the National Party receiving more than 20% of the vote, de Klerk will become one of two deputy presidents.

The rest of the government hierarchy will be filled by Mandela's trusted lieutenants.

He's looking for people to help carry out his top priorities: a massive public works program to create 2.5 million jobs in 10 years, build 1 million homes and provide free education.

One of Mandela's most important appointments will be the deputy vice president/prime minister — head of government in the parliamentary system. The ANC gets that slot by virtue of its vote tally.

Mandela's top aide, Jessie Duarte, said there will be a chief of staff similar to Washington's White House. "He'll have a number of directors working under him or her, looking after foreign affairs, internal affairs, defense, intelligence," she said.

Mandela's closest allies are veterans in disciplined struggle, nation building and negotiation. For many, their ties extend to prison cells. "Obviously, there's a tier of leadership below Mandela that's ready to govern," said pollster Stan Greenberg, who surveyed for Mandela just as he did for President Clinton. "The organization is deep in leadership."

Among the people holding Mandela's ear are ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki, director of international affairs.

They appear to be competing for the prime minister's job: ► Ramaphosa, 41, is the party's general secretary, Mandela's second in command. He's led the transition from deKlerk's government to Mandela's. He has solid negotiating skills polished in a decade of work as head of the National Mineworkers Union, South Africa's largest labor organization.

► Mbeki, 52, the urbane foreign secretary, represented the ANC from exile in Zambia. He's known for his strategic thinking and warmth. He is being mentioned for the job of chief of staff or minister of foreign affairs.

Other ANC veterans expected to land key jobs:

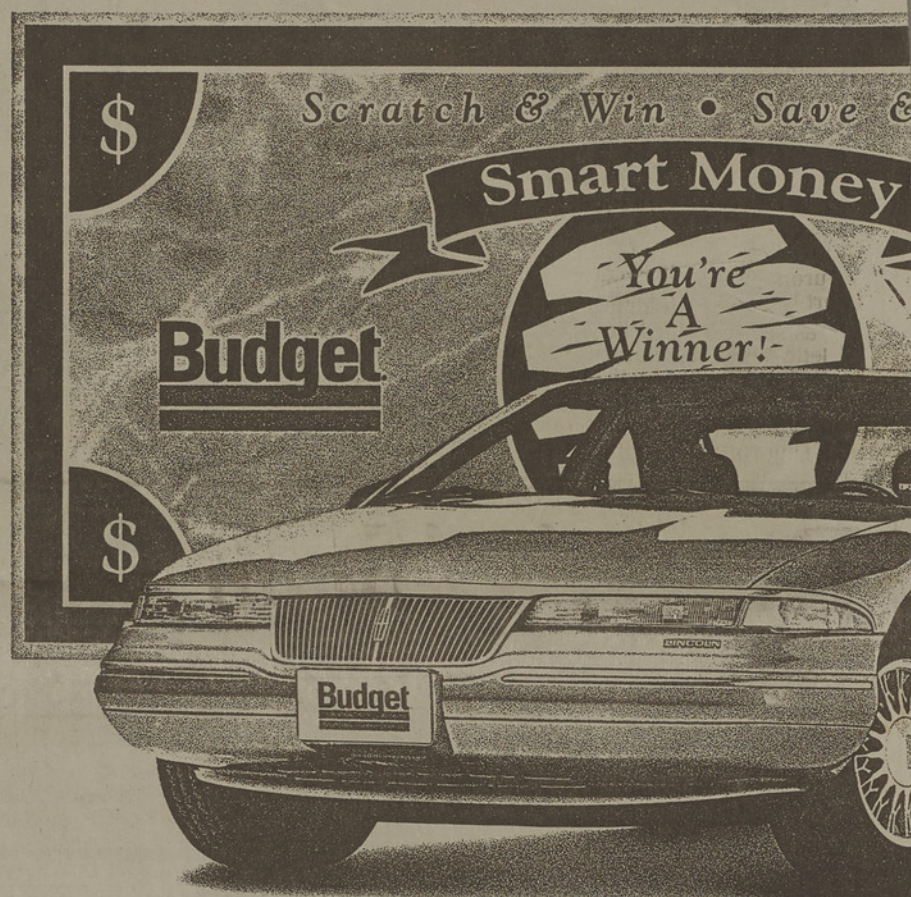
► Joe Slovo, 68, is leader of the South African Communist Party and 50-year member of the ANC. He is close to Mandela, and has softened his communist rhetoric. He too worked for the ANC from exile in Zambia. His wife was killed in a car bomb left by political rivals.

► Pallo Jordan, 52, is director of information and publicity. He studied at the University of Wisconsin and the London School of Economics, then worked for the ANC from Zambia. He lost hearing in one ear when a letter bomb explosion killed a colleague who was sitting next to him.

► Jayafeelan Naidoo, 40, an Indian and leader of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, is a powerful negotiator prized for his ability to build internal consensus in the ANC.

For most South Africans, those people are tomorrow's news. Right now, the country is too busy reveling in pride and joy. "I'm a South African exile," said Lorna Levy, a white back from London. "I came back to dream after 30 years."

Contributing: Jack Kelley and Chris Erasmus



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S. African resistance in a 'situation of war'

HISTORIC WORDS FROM MANDELA, DE KLERK



By Dixie D. Vereen, USA TODAY
'FREE AT LAST' South African President-elect Nelson Mandela hugs Coretta Scott King, widow of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., at a victory celebration Monday in Johannesburg.

'We must without delay begin to build a better life'

Excerpts from South African President-elect Nelson Mandela's speech Monday claiming victory:

This is indeed a joyous night. Although not yet final we have received the provisional results of the election. My friends, I can tell you that we are delighted by the overwhelming support for the African National Congress. . . .

I would also like to congratulate President de Klerk for the strong showing the National Party has displayed in this election. I also want to congratulate him for the many days, weeks and months and the four years that we have worked together, quarreled, addressed the sensitive problems, and at the end of our interchange were able to shake hands. . . .

For the people of South Africa and the world who are watching, this is indeed a joyous night for the human spirit.

This is your victory, too. You stood with us through the transition. I watched along with you all as the tens of thousands of our people stood patiently in long queues for many hours, some sleeping on the open ground overnight waiting to cast this momentous vote.

South Africa's heroes are legend across the generations. But it is you, the people, who are our true heroes. This is one of the most important moments in the life of our country. I stand before you filled with deep pride and joy. Pride in the ordinary humble people of this country. You have shown such a calm, patient determination to re-

claim this country as your own and joy that you can loudly proclaim from the rooftops, 'free at last!'

I don't come to you as a leader. . . . The ideas I express are not the ideas invented in my own mind. They stem from our fundamental policy document, the Freedom Charter, from the decisions and resolutions of the national conference and from the decisions of the national executive committee. That is the nature of our organization. . . .

And I stand before you humbled by your courage with a heart full of love for all of you. I regard it as the highest honor to lead the ANC at this moment in our history, and that we have chosen to lead our country into the new century.

I pledge to use all my strength and ability to live up to your expectations of me. . . .

Tomorrow, the entire ANC leadership and I will be back at our desks. We are rolling up our sleeves to begin tackling the problems our country faces. We ask you all to join us — go back to your jobs in the morning. Let's get South Africa working. For we must, together and without delay, begin to build a better life for all South Africans. This means creating jobs, building houses, providing education, and bringing peace and security for all. This is going to be the acid test for the government. . . .

Almost all the organizations that are going to take part in the government of national unity have undertaken in the course of the campaign to contribute to the better

life of our people. That is going to be the cornerstone, the foundation upon which the government of national unity is going to be based. And I appeal to all the leaders who are going to serve in this government to honor that program. . . .

If there are attempts on the part of anybody to undermine that program, there will be serious tensions in the government. . . .

I must add we are not going to make the government of national unity an empty shell. We want every political organization that participates in that government to feel that they are part and parcel of a government machine. . . .

The calm and tolerant atmosphere during the election depicts the kind of South Africa we can be. It set the tone for the future. We might have our differences, but we are one people with a common destiny in our rich variety of culture, race and tradition. . . .

People have voted for the party of their choice and we respect that. This democracy. I hold out the hand of friendship to the leaders of all parties and their members and ask all of them to join us in working together to tackle the problems we face as a nation. . . .

It is a clear mandate for action to implement a plan to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation and guarantee freedom for all South Africans. . . .

I promise that I will do my best to be worthy of the faith and confidence you have placed in me. . . . Let us build a future together and toast a better life for all. . . .

AWB vows to disrupt government

By Jack Kelley
 USA TODAY

RUSTENBURG, South Africa — Mention Nelson Mandela to 9-year-old Johannes and he says communist.

His mother, Christl, 42, watches proudly, dressed in military khakis and holding a shotgun. She says God is watching over her and her father, Pieter, 61, and her friends in South Africa's neo-Nazi group, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, known by its Afrikaans language initials, AWB.

Like all AWB members, they refuse to reveal their surnames, saying they could be arrested.

The AWB represents the most defiant white hurdle Mandela has to face as he launches a new government.

AWB vows to disrupt the new regime with a fight for a separate white homeland. Members insist they'll lose their land, jobs and rights under Mandela.

The AWB is tied to last week's bombings that killed 21 and injured 170.

"Steal guns if you must," AWB founder Eugene TerreBlanche tells supporters.

"We will make your women soldiers in the name of God and for the freedom of our fatherland. We are in a situation of war."

But South Africa's white-led police aren't sitting still. They've arrested 34 people, many members of AWB's elite Iron Guard, in connection with the bombings.

"(The arrests have) taken the core out of the radical right," says Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe.

"This is a strong warning to the right wing that they will not achieve anything through violence."

Adds President F.W. de Klerk: "We will use all the facilities of the state to suppress any efforts at sedition."

Mandela wants to negotiate with the AWB.

"There is no reason to believe we cannot bring the ultra-right on board (the democracy process)," Mandela says. "We are prepared to discuss a compromise but the right-wingers do not understand." He did not elaborate.

But their promises do little to quiet nerves here.

Some blacks and mixed-race "coloreds" run at the sight of the AWB, much as blacks in the USA did with the Ku Klux Klan. "Lord, help us. Help us," shouts gas station worker Esther Suthbe, 28, as she and her five co-workers run to lock themselves in the bathroom when three AWB members pull up for refreshments. "There will be no peace in South Africa as long as (the AWB) live."

Most whites, including Afrikaners, also despise the AWB. They want AWB militants jailed, calling them an embarrassment.

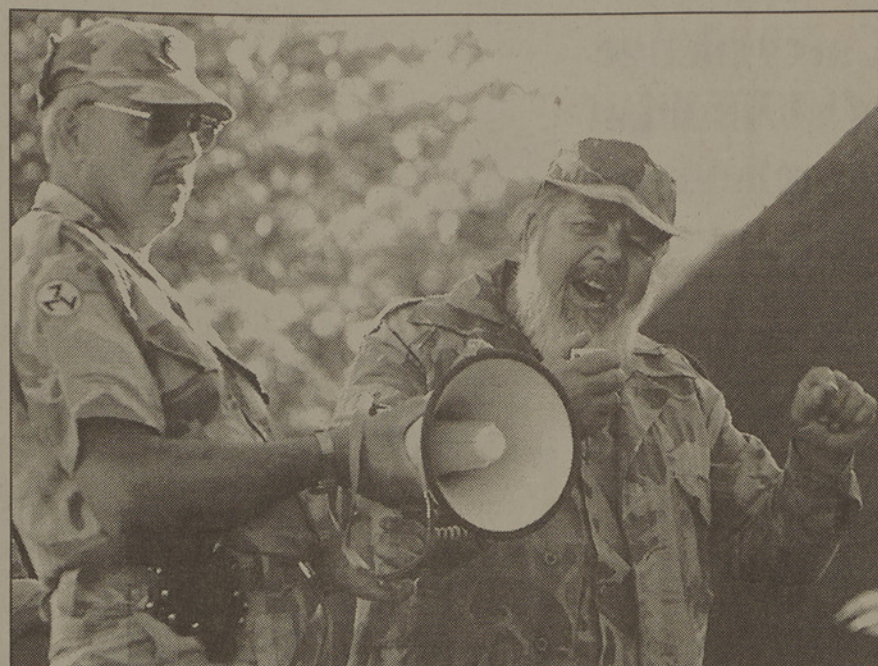
"They're out and out racists," says University of Cape Town political analyst David Welsh. "They feel themselves to be on the frontlines of saving South Africa."

But TerreBlanche says the AWB has been misunderstood by political leaders and the media which he says is run by "a Jewish conspiracy."

"We are a peace-loving people," TerreBlanche tells reporters last week in Rustenburg, two hours west of Johannesburg. "We don't mean any harm to anyone."

Seconds later, eight AWB members confront black reporter Michael Allen of the *New York Daily News*, pushing him to the ground, kicking him and calling him a "slave." Other members punch a white female reporter in the face and call a Japanese reporter a "monkey."

TerreBlanche, a former policeman, and six others founded the AWB in 1973. It operated secretly until 1979, when it tarred and feathered a speaker they said was offensive to Afrikaners, white descendants from 17th century European settlers. The group has reportedly shot and burned hundreds of blacks since.



By Philip Littleton, Agence France-Presse
'FATHERLAND': Movement founder Eugene TerreBlanche, right, at a rally near Rustenburg April 28. 'We will make your women soldiers in the name of God.'

“
 Arm your women. Steal guns if you must. . . . We are in a situation of war.
 ”
 — Neo-Nazi Eugene TerreBlanche



By Mike Persson, Agence France-Presse
COLORS: A child flies the Afrikaner Resistance Movement's flag as a guard stands watch in Rustenburg.

TerreBlanche, who as a child reportedly forced his schoolmates to listen to recitals of Hitler's speeches, often rides a white horse. His house is sandbagged. TerreBlanche says his home is fortified to prevent a South African military assault.

AWB members are farmers, miners and ex-police-men. Like most white South Africans, many served in the military. They are organized into military units with names like Iron Guard and Winning Commandos.

They wear khaki uniforms with Nazi-like arm patches, wave Nazi-like flags, and are always armed with handguns, assault rifles and knives.

Most of the arms are purchased from South Africa's huge underground market. Their explosives are often stolen from mining companies, police say.

The AWB claims up to 50,000 members, but police estimate only 2,000 are active and dangerous. But there are up to 100 other right-wing neo-Nazi groups, Welsh says.

"If you're a black person today in South Africa trying to use a public toilet (and are seen by the AWB), you'd be running a risk of losing your life," Welsh says. "There will be more lives lost, more damage."

That's exactly what Christl and father, Pieter, want.

► Victory and celebration, 1A; Editorial, 10A

'Realization of the vision': Freedom for all

Excerpts of President F.W. de Klerk's speech Monday conceding defeat to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela:

Four years and three months ago I said in parliament that the time had come for us to break out of the cycle of conflict, tension and violent struggle in which he had been embroiled for decades. . . . During the past week we have seen the realization of that vision:

- We have a new and dynamic constitution.
- We have the assurance that there will be no domination of any South Africans by any others.
- We have seen the end of discrimination.
- We have equality before the law.
- Minority rights have been secured.
- Individual rights and all these others rights are guaranteed by a charter of fundamental rights and by a strong and effective constitutional court.
- During the past week we have held our first universal franchise election.

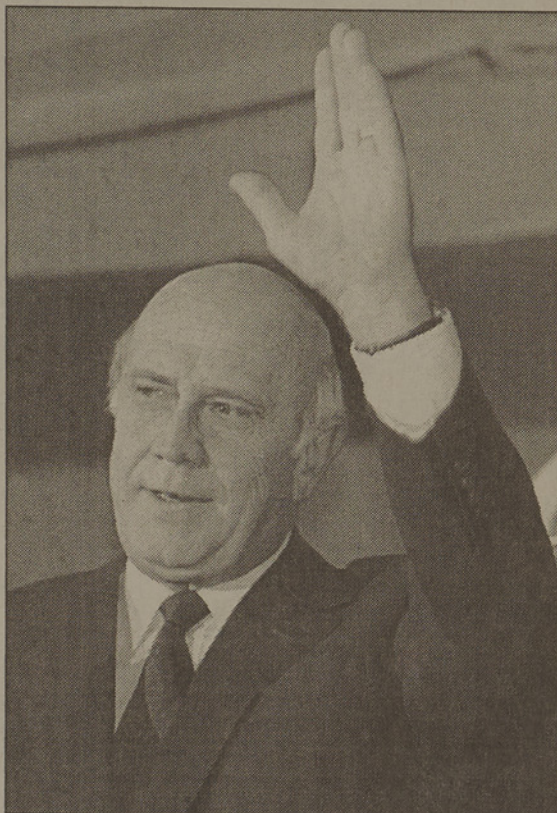
After so many centuries, we will finally have a government which represents all South Africans. All South Africans are now free. . . .

Mr. Mandela will soon assume the highest office of the land with all the awesome responsibility which it bears. He will have to exercise this great responsibility in a balanced manner which will assure South Africans from all our communities that he has all their interests at heart. I am confident that this will be his intention. . . .

Our greatest task will be to ensure our young and vulnerable democracy will take root and flourish:

- We must make the Transitional Constitution a living organism.
- We must remain vigilant against any attempt by . . . government to erode any aspect of the constitution or of individual, minority or religious rights.
- Our courts must build up a sound basis of case law which will provide further guarantees for the maintenance of constitutional rights.
- We must rally all the genuinely democratic institutions of our society in a grand coalition for the defense of the constitution and its principles.

We must also ensure that we adopt the right ap-



By Peter DeJong, AP
DE KLERK: 'Power greater than man has given South Africa the spirit, the chance to go forward in peace.'

proaches in the economic and social spheres. We need a strong and a vibrant economy based on the tried and tested principles of free enterprise. Only then can we ensure that we will generate the wealth which we need to address the pressing social needs of . . . our population. We must ensure that social services are affordable, caring and effective. . . .

I shall be handing over the presidency to Mr. Mandela, but I shall not be leaving government. I shall be surrendering power, not to the majority of the moment, but to the South African people. I shall do so with the strong conviction that henceforth sovereignty will ultimately lie with them and with the constitution.

A power greater than man has given South Africa the spirit, the chance to go forward in peace. God Almighty has been kind to us. Now it is up to the political leaders to join together for the good of our people and complete the task of healing and reconciliation. God bless South Africa. *Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika.*