

Now you still have not answered my question. Do you know that Mr Mandela wrote a book with the title "How to be a Good Communist"? -- No I am not aware of that.

Would you support the ANC if they seek a communist government in South Africa? -- I would be in the opposition. But I do want to concede that the system that ultimately governs our land must be based on a democratic assessment or a democratic agreement by the people of our land. We cannot impose a system unwillingly on our nation. We have got to allow people to vote. (10)

Lastly do you know what the ANC or the SACP means when they talk about a democratic government? -- Well I take it at face value that democracy means ...

No, no, no, do you know what they mean? -- I take it that they mean what democracy means.

You are ...

MR BIZOS: The witness was interrupted. I would appear that he is not interrupted my lord.

COURT: Yes. Do you have anything to add? -- In concluding I want to make an impassioned appeal, based on my leadership (20) involvement in this country I think things need to be made easier for us to get together as South Africans, black and white, and any sentence that is so severe as to erode the goodwill that must be generated and persist throughout the negotiating period would be counter-productive in my view and therefore my appeal is to the judge that as light a sentence as bearable and considerate a sentence be considered.

MR FICK: No further questions my lord.

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR BIZOS: No questions.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS

(30)

MR BIZOS: /.....

MR BIZOS: My lord what may be the last witness we are about to call. We have reports which we have shown to the state which will make it unnecessary to call a further witness but as they are both involved I wonder whether your lordship would take the adjournment now because a district surgeon may have to be consulted by them in order to interpret the reports of the doctors. The doctors examined Mr Matlole, accused no. 17, at 21h00 at night. They make appointments weeks, if not months, ahead and it is no sign of disrespect that they cannot just be here, having regard to their hospital and other - but I (10) think it can be dealt with by way of an admission.

COURT: Yes. Now what sort of time do you expect will be needed by the state to study your report?

MR BIZOS: Well let us give it to them and they can at least take the time available, say the next twenty minutes to possibly half an hour, to study that and also to decide whether they are going to call a district surgeon to interpret it for them or not and to see whether we need to formulate the facts and then call the witness so that the district surgeon can do whatever he may have to do whilst we are (20) busy with the next witness. It is clear, in terms of the reports, that he has atrophy of the brain but I do not know whether your lordship wants to take judicial notice of what that means or what the extent of it is.

COURT: If you explain it to me I probably could.

MR BIZOS: I do not want to set myself up as an expert on that issue.

COURT: How much time do you think you need Mr Jacobs?

MNR JACOBS: Edele ek is bly mnr Bizos het gesê hy sal nou vir ons die verslag gee. Ons het een verslag gekry gister (30) van/....

van hulle oor die X-straal fotos wat geneem is en wat ons hom tekenne gegee het vanoggend ons is bereid om dit ter erken. Ek weet nie watse verdere verslag is nou nodig nie. Ek het dit nie insae gehad nie. Ek weet nie die dikte daarvan nie, ek weet nie hoe lyk hy nie.

COURT ADJOURNS. COURT RESUMES.

MNR JACOBS: Edele net voor my geleerde vriend aangaan. Ek wil voorstel dat die ander getuies solank aangaan.

HOF: Ekskuus?

MNR JACOBS: Ek sê ek wil voorstel dat die getuie wat mnr (10) Bizos nog het wat hy wil lei, dat die solank getuienis gee want terwyl die ander getuie getuig het is mnr Smit met die verslag na die Distrik Geneesheer toe om opklaring te vind. Hy het nog nie teruggekom nie en ons verwag hom enige tyd terug. Ek kan nog nie op hierdie stadium vir die Hof sê nie. Dus wil ek voorstel dat ons voortgaan met die getuienis wat hier is.

BRUNHILDE HELM: d.s.s.

EXAMINATION BY MR BIZOS: Professor Helm what are you a professor of? -- I am a Professor of Sociology, Applied (20) Sociology.

What appointments have you held as a sociologist at various universities? -- I have been a professor holding the chair of applied sociology in the University of Cape Town since 1969 and I retired from that chair at the end of 1986 since when I have held the chair of social work in the University of Bophuthatswana.

Was that part of the, were you seconded there as part of the University of Cape Town's assistance to new universities? -- Yes the University of Cape Town had offered assistance (30)

to/....

to new universities and I had been working at the University of Bophuthatswana as a consultant in setting up its School of Health and Social Sciences as from 1979. But at the request of that university to my University of Cape Town I was seconded to the University of Bophuthatswana for two years which ended at the end of 1986 and then I volunteered to stay on for two further years at Bophuthatswana where I at present am.

Professor Helm have you studied, taught in the United Kingdom and in America and have you published widely on topics of sociology and more particular practical sociology? -- Yes (10) I studied in the University of London, the London School of Economics, as a graduate student and I have also studied at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague which was set up by the ten universities of Holland. I have taught at the University of Cambridge. I was an Honorary Fellow of Newman College in the year 1973 and I have held a chair at the University of Hull in the United Kingdom in social administration in the years 1978 to 1979. I have also been a guest professor in the United States at the University of Tennessee.

Yes. Although there are others I think that we will (20) assume that for the purposes of this case that you are an expert sociologist, for a time being unless you are asked any more questions about your experience.

COURT: Which is unlikely. -- It is a relief.

MR BIZOS: Dr Helm, I may say my lord that in the main a report has been prepared for your lordship's convenience. Some of these are preliminary matters that I am going to ask. You have been given the portion of his lordship's judgment on the Vaal triangle? -- Yes.

And did you, in the limited time available did you try (30)

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to read it and understand it all in relation to the Vaal?

COURT: Did you have time to read it, the first question, and the second one is did you understand it? -- Well I must make it clear that the defence approached me at rather short notice to come today to give evidence as an expert witness. I protested at the very short notice and asked whether there would be any possibility whatever of this being postponed but I was assured that that would not be possible. So in the circumstances and beside all my other duties I have done my best at least to read those sections of your lordship's judgment(10) as seemed to me to be the most applicable to the things that I have to say. Whether I have understood it sir is another matter but I have done my best.

Well that will soon become apparent.

MR BIZOS: Professor Helm do you know Profess Van der Walt of Potchefstroom University? -- Yes I know him personally as a colleague and a friend and I have been particularly interested, I was particularly interested therefore to see what he had to say in his report after he had investigated the circumstances of the disturbances in the Vaal Triangle in 1984. (20)

Did his report come to your notice before you were asked by us to give evidence in this case? -- Yes I saw the report shortly after it was issued and read it at the time. I have had an opportunity only fleetingly in the last day or so to refresh my memory as to its content.

Yes. In addition, for one aspect of your evidence contained in the report, did you see some half a dozen or so residents of the Vaal in order to verify one particular fact that will appear from your report this morning? -- Yes I had an opportunity this morning to see some half dozen residents(30)

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from the Vaal and to exchange some information with them, or some comment with them, some opinion.

Yes. Now did you, were you asked to draw a report in relation to the contributing factors that lead to disorder or rioting Professor Helm? -- Yes. I have done so and the document is before your lordship.

Well your lordship's registrar has it and I would ask your lordship to receive it as DS4. Would you please read your report and we will ask you to comment on it as you go along Professor Helm. -- Thank you. I have drawn up this (10) report under four headings. The first concerns Factors Contributing to Disorder in Crowds. The report mainly concerns the behaviour of people in crowds. The second section of the report deals with the characteristics of crowd behaviour. The third deals with the preconditions for civil disorder and the final one, which is rather brief, touches upon some consequences of aggressive behaviour. So with your lordship's permission I will present the report in that order, starting with the factors contributing to disorder in crowds and I recall that especially in the past two decades postwar (20) Britain has been plagued by urban riots and violence of increasing severity and Lord Scarman, after the widespread disorders of 1981, was appointed to inquire into their nature and origins and his report, which is known as the Scarman Report and which was published in 1981, sparked off renewed scientific inquiry in Great Britain into crowd behaviour. The Economic and Social Research Council in Britain, of which South Africa's Human Sciences Research Council may be regarded as the local counterpart, is a major source of funding for research in the social sciences and as early as 1978 this (30) council/....

council had concluded that the study of crowd behaviour had been neglected. Consequently with the added impetus of the 1981 riots and the Scarman Inquiry, this council, the Economic and Social Research Council in Britain, set up a multi-disciplinary panel of leading British academics to study crowd behaviour and this panel is now known as the Crowd Behaviour Panel of the ESRC. Now the reason why I am referring to this panel is that the extensive researches which have recently been done in Britain as a result of the work of these panelists was to discover, one of the objectives was to discover the (10) factors that led to the distinction between peaceful or orderly crowds and disorderly crowds. And in this connection a group of social scientists from the Sheffield City Polytechnic, they being led by the names which are in the report - Waddington, Karen Jones, Critcher and Fielding - concluded that "it remains impossible to make any definite statement about the 'causes' of crowd disorder". But it is possible to identify a number of what these researchers have called "key processes" which may increase or decrease the likelihood of crowd disorder and these key processes I have presented in the report (20) in two columns. The first headed "Factors Contributing to Order" and the second as "Factors Contributing to Disorder" and if your lordship will bear with me I will read them briefly. Positive and organised liaison between the police and crowd representatives will contribute to order and poor or none-existent liaison will contribute to disorder. The focussing of crowd attention on speeches and music will produce orderliness and the crowd, a crowd left to its own devices is more likely to disorder. I will read them in that order now. First the ones that contribute to order (30)

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and then those contributing to disorder. Low-key sensitive police intervention as against over-aggressive police intervention in relatively minor incidents. The presence of women and children as against a masculine culture amongst the crowd and the police. A shared sense amongst all those involved of a joint stake in the maintenance of order or groups that perceive each other as them and us in a polarised position as it were, and that we have therefore got to stand together against them. The next a belief amongst the crowd that expression of their rights has to be orderly or a belief (10) amongst the crowd that their rights have to be defended by any means necessary. Next media reporting which gives a balanced portrait of the event and several points of view as against media reporting which over-emphasises violence and adopts the police view of events. A political climate which encourages the moderation of conflict as against a political climate which encourages the discrediting and the vilification of one group of participants. And then finally public opinion which is informed and sympathetic to the crowd's right to be heard as against public opinion which is ignorant of or hostile (20) to the beliefs of the crowd. Now I am, my opinion is that the facts that we know to have existed in the Sebokeng march of 3 September 1984 strongly support the belief that the factors in the above list that are likely to have contributed to crowd disorder clearly outweigh those that are likely to have contributed to crowd order. Hence, regardless of the activities of its leaders, the crowd in question was likely to have become disorderly. The court has found that the leadership had responsibility for the disorderly outcome. In view of the findings of the Sheffield researchers, however, (30)

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the sole responsibility for the violence cannot have been theirs. Now the Sheffield researchers list "positive and organised liaison between the police and crowd representatives" as a factor that is conducive to order. In the case of the disorders of 3 September 1984, although the police ought to have known that the march was to take place, optimum communication with leaders in the community does not appear to have been sought.

Now could I ask you to pause there for just one moment.

-- Yes.

(10)

By asking you to accept what the evidence before his lordship was, one person was called by the head of the security police to be asked to co-operate with the police, who is no longer before the court, the person that was asked is no longer before the court and coming from an area where there was no march. But the other fact that I want to bring to your attention is this that this march was decided upon at a meeting where over 800 people were present and the evidence before his lordship was that the day before, that is 2 September 1984, for a number of hours the people were (20) called to gather at the Catholic Church where the meeting, where they met together for the purposes of marching, throughout Sebokeng. Under those circumstances what do you say the, in terms of that report the police duty was? -- Well I would not like to make a pronouncement as to what the police duty was but I would merely point to my evidence which is that when there is positive and organised liaison between the police and crowd representatives you are more likely to get an orderly demonstration or an orderly protest than if there has not been this type of connection. So I would assume (30)

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from that that if it had been possible for the police, or if it had been their intention to seek some kind of communication with the leaders in the community about the march it is possible that it might have taken place without the violent outcome which eventuated. That is speculation. But it is based on the evidence we have before us, my opinion based on the evidence I have quoted here that positive and organised liaison between the police and crowd representatives is a factor conducive to order.

And you quote a portion of his lordship's judgment (10) in the middle of page 4 of your report? -- Yes.

Will you read that out please? -- Yes, that your lordship has found in judgment on page 734 that the City Treasurer of Lekoa Town Council had no inkling of dissatisfaction about rent increases until 3 September 1984, and that the Orange Vaal Development Board did not expect trouble either. And that suggests to my mind that there was no a good communication between authorities and leaders in the community and the residents in the community themselves.

Would you go on to the next topic in your report please?(20) -- Yes, well the next one I am dealing with is the characteristics of crowd behaviour. There is probably widespread support among social scientists for the Economic and Social Research Council conclusion that the study of crowd behaviour has been neglected but nevertheless over the years it has been studied by a considerable number of eminent social scientists. And while they do not always agree with one another there is general consensus that there are some characteristics that are common to all crowds, and it has been my purpose here to select those characteristics that social (30) scientists/....

scientists agree about as common to all crowds and to address only those. And the first one I would like to mention is the relation of the crowd to its social and cultural environment. The crowd is, and I quote, "a product of the community and its system of social relations" and my report gives the reference. In other words leaders cannot make a crowd nor imbue values in it. Secondly crowd behaviour is in a large measure unpredictable. There is irrationality present and people are capable of excesses (when acting jointly in a crowd) of which they would be incapable when acting on (10) their own. Shared emotion heightens the excitability of people in a crowd. Rumours spread very quickly, but one cannot predict which way the crowd will interpret them. The individual finds his everyday judgment suspended. There is a sense of immunity - as if the normal consequences of an act can be escaped when the actor is a member of a crowd. Even when a crowd is being shot at, people in that crowd might believe that they will not be hurt. Gustave Le Bon, who is widely regarded as the classic authority on crowd behaviour, has this to say: (20)

"Participants feel, think and act in a manner quite different from that in which each individual would feel, think and act if he were in isolation."

And the effect of this is to reduce the accountability of members of a crowd for their individual actions, just as a drug or alcohol, may be said to reduce the accountability of an individual under the influence. A leader of a crowd, if he is not a trained social scientist well-read on crowd behaviour, cannot be expected to be aware of the nature of crowd behaviour. I then go on to quote Serge Moscovici (30)

who/....

who is a modern French authority on social psychology linked to the Institute of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences in Paris and to Churchill College, in the University of Cambridge and he has this to say - and I am quoting from his work on *The Age of the Crowd* published in 1985:

"Once men have been drawn together and fused into a crowd, they lose most of their critical sense. ... Their consciousness gives way to the thrust of illusions like a dam swept away by a river in spate. Thus, individuals forming a crowd are borne along by limitless waves of (10) imagination and tossed about by emotions which are strong but have no specific object."

The famous French author Guy de Maupassant puts it as follows:

"A popular saying tells us that crowds 'do not reason'. But why not, if each individual member of them does? Why should a crowd unreflectingly do what none of its component units would do? Why is a crowd subject to irresistible impulses, fierce desires and stupid, uncontrollable impulses and carried away by the latter, to the extent that it commits acts that none of its (20) members would commit. A stranger cries out, and suddenly everyone is seized by a kind of frenzy, and all are caught up in the same unreflecting movement which none tries to resist. Carried along by the same thought which immediately becomes common to all, despite differences of social class, opinions, beliefs, customs and morality, they will hurl themselves upon him, massacre him, drown him, without any real reason, whereas each of them, if he were alone, would dash forward to risk his life saving the very man he is now killing." (30)

Now/....

Now De Maupassant is asking questions here but in asking the questions he is describing a phenomenon that is characteristic of crowd behaviour. Now the third heading of my report deals with the preconditions of civil disorder and perhaps the best known and most widely read sociological authority in this field is Neil J. Smelser whose standard work is entitled "Theory of Collective Behaviour" published in 1962. Now Smelser's methodology was to compare numerous events in which crowds had got out of control with those in which crowds had almost got out of control, and he tried to establish the (10) difference between the two. He identified certain factors as necessary and sufficient conditions for an out of control crowd situation. I have selected of these that Smelser has so identified four and these four are structural strain, sorry structural conduciveness first, then structural strain, then the growth and spread of a generalised belief and finally precipitating factors and I will speak briefly to each of these four. Now as to structural conduciveness the point is that the structure of societies, of some societies more than others, permits or encourages episodes of collective (20) behaviour. Under conditions of economic pressure for instance the structure of some societies might enable those under pressure to take remedial action, such as to vote the government of the day out of power. But your lordship in judgment found on page 732 and 33 that for instance economic recession, the slump in the steel industry, unemployment and inflation were predisposing factors for unrest in this case. Legitimate and effective counters to such economic pressures are not available to black people in South Africa. Your judgment my lord also found that there was "black disappointment and (30) bitterness/....

bitterness about the new constitution and a heightened sense, a heightened political awareness, and all this constitutes what Smelser would call structural conduciveness. Then on structural strain, the type of societal structure that induces violent protest also produces an intense sense of strain. The two in combination radically reduce the chances of peaceful reactions. Professor Tjaart van der Walt in his report when he was appointed to investigate "Black education in the Vaal Triangle with reference to the events of 3 September 1984" devotes the whole of Section 3 of his report to what he (10) entitled "Local Circumstances". He highlights conditions of deprivation and inadequacy and concludes as follows:

"The effect of general socio-economic problems on the schools boycott and on the widespread unrest and violence in the Vaal Triangle should not be underrated. In the absence of these conditions there would probably still have been protest actions, but certainly not on such a scale, not with such intensity, and not over so protracted a period of time."

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I go on to the third of Smelser's characteristics, namely (20) the growth and spread of generalised belief. This generalised belief, says Smelser, identifies the source of the structural strain. A widespread belief has developed among black people throughout South Africa that the country's political system is the root cause of all their social ills, especially of poverty and that the government is discriminatory in its laws and its action. This belief might be exaggerated. If apartheid were to disappear, this would not guarantee the simultaneous disappearance of poverty. Yet the belief is real and has real consequences. Community Councillors in the Vaal (30)

Triangle/....

Triangle were not perceived as acting in the interests of their constituents in combatting the effects of apartheid. They were not seen as effective people in that role. Your lordship found in judgment on page 814 that:

"What is clear from all the evidence, however, is that at the meetings of the VCA councillors were attacked and vilified in strident language and accused of being spineless marionettes and traitors who were corrupt and in office only for their own monetary gain."

So there was this generalised belief about the situation in (10) which, the situation which existed in the communities in question. Then I go on to dealing with precipitating factors. Conduciveness, strain, and a generalised belief, says Smelser, "do not by themselves produce an episode of collective behaviour in a specific time and place". It is always a specific event or events which spark things off. Under conditions of racial tension this is particularly true. The coincidence of rent increases and the implementation of the new constitution which granted no real increase of political power to the majority of the country's population was the precipitating (20) factor in this case and your lordship's judgment commences its discussion on the Vaal triangle as follows:

"On 3 September 1984, the day the new constitution creating the tricameral Parliament became effective, the day upon which the first executive state president took the oath of office, the Vaal exploded and unrest and rioting spread country-wide."

Then the final section of my report deals with some consequences of aggressive behaviour. Overt aggression can sometimes have a healing effect in that it might constitute an (30) outlet/....

outlet for intense emotions. This is known to social scientists as catharsis, which has come from the Greek word meaning cleansing or purification, and social scientists define this as "the release, the liberation or reduction of emotional tensions through talking out or acting out" and this overt action might be less drastic than what would otherwise have occurred. Even though there will be many persons in the communities concerned who will in retrospect condemn the acts of violence that resulted from the crowd behaviour of 3 September 1984, the catharsis that they will have experienced (10) will also be remembered. Punishment will most probably serve to inhibit future aggression towards the source of frustration. But it will not destroy the aggression. It will merely displace, delay or disguise the aggression, which will reappear later. My authority for this opinion, besides my own observations over many years of events similar to those of 3 September 1984, is the joint work of George Gaskell, who is a noted social psychologist of the London School of Economics, and Robert Pearton, who is a sociologist on the staff of St Mary's College of the University of London. These two (20) writers have become acknowledged experts on Aggression in Sport, and I give the reference to the quotation. Your lordship will be reminded that Britain has recently had considerable trouble with crowds at soccer matches. Now I have been informed by the residents of the Vaal Triangle that I have had the opportunity to speak to that Councillor Esau Mahlatsi was recently voted out of office (by 38 votes to 4) by one Sam Kodisang. Kodisang's successful platform included cheaper rentals, the reprieve of the Sharpeville Six and "bringing our children from the Delmas trial back into the community". (30)

It/....

It can only be you lordship, I submit to you, in the interests of all South Africans to build bridges, to encourage reconciliation between polarised sections of the population and to effect social reforms. This is the policy of the government. And sentences perceived as unduly punitive will be counter-productive to these objectives. It should be remembered that leaders in aggrieved communities are looked to for hope, and for the reconstitution of values, because aggrieved groups seek to alter the values of society in their favour. The present government, in its reform movement, recognises the (10) legitimacy of the wish to reconstitute the values of South African society in favour of the disadvantaged. I end with the quotation from Smelser:

"The number of determinants for which a single leader is responsible - and the degree to which he is responsible for them - is always an open question."

Thank you my lord, I have no further questions.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR JACOBS: Mrs Helm you said you spoke to half a dozen people before you gave evidence? -- Yes.

Who were they? -- I regret that I did not have the time (20) to take a list of their names but they were presented to me as school teachers and one was a minister of religion.

Were they any of the people who gave evidence in this case? -- I cannot say that.

For how long did you have discussions with the six people? -- It was a very brief discussion. Time did not allow, I would estimate about fifteen minutes.

All six of them, you discussed ... -- Well I asked them, I put a series of brief questions to them and each responded of his own volition. In other words the responses I (30) received/....

received were volunteered.

And would you agree that that is not a representative view of what happened in the Vaal? -- I would certainly agree with that but nor, but I must say that the responses I received did not seem to me to conflict with what I know from other sources of the general feelings and beliefs that are common in black communities in urban areas in South Africa today. The limitations of my opportunity to speak to these people are well known to me and I am thoroughly aware of them. But I have already referred your lordship to the limitations of (10) time that have been placed upon me. It seems to me to be wiser at least to have met some people who were of the communities we have been talking about than to have met none.

And these six people were they all members of the riots and the march on 3 September 1984? -- I did not put that specific question to them but one of them in his response volunteered that he had not been in the area of that time at all, so I took it that he was not a participant in the march.

Yes. Were they members of any organisation in the Vaal? -- Again I did not put that question. There just was not (20) time but my impression was that they were folks who were in the position for instance of school teachers and ministers of religion as I have mentioned. They might well have been members of a specific organisation but that fact is not known to me.

How many were teachers? -- I am speaking from memory now, I think three..

How many were ministers? -- One I believe.

And the others? -- I am afraid I do not know what their occupations were, they were just presented to me as folk (30)

from/....

from the community.

Can you tell the court did you study the evidence on the Vaal and the judgment of the court on the evidence on the Vaal? -- No I did not have an opportunity to peruse the whole of the court record and I have not had a chance to acquaint myself with everything that was led in evidence. All that I was able to do ....

COURT: Do not be guided into doing so Professor. -- I take your lordship's advice.

You will have to take your sabbatical. -- I am a rapid(10) reader sir.

MR JACOBS: Is it possible for knowledgeable leaders in the community to use the characteristics of crowd violence and crowd behaviour for their own purposes? -- I think that the state's question there is opening up to what extent a crowd can be a tool in the hands of a leader, to what extent a crowd is likely to behave in a way that is in complete accordance with the wishes of the leader and the extent to which a crowd is maleable by a strong leader. If that is the question then this would be my answer, yes a crowd can be affected by (20) leadership but ...

And can ... -- No, I am sorry but this is, if I must give a proper answer I must say a little more. Crowds are not uniform. Social scientists recognise different nature of crowds and some would be more maleable to leadership than others. In addition to that whatever the type of crowd in my opinion now crowd is entirely predictable. I have already said that in my former statement and it would be impossible even for the most effective leader to be quite sure that a crowd would carry out his wishes. In fact what has been (30) known/.....

known to happen on many occasions is that a crowd having come together for one purpose changes its mind, if I may use that phrase, repudiates the leaders that have brought it together, finds a spontaneous leadership arising from among its own ranks and sets out to do something quite different from what was intended. This is well documented in social science evidence. A crowd will sometimes also throw up its own leader, depending on an incident that has occurred.

Now is it possible for the leaders in a series of meetings to work up the people for their own purposes when they get (10) them together as a crowd? Will that have an effect on the crowd? -- Yes, a series of meetings beforehand might have an effect on the crowd but not, in fact I would go so far as to say never unless the opinions and the feelings were already well established in the community and that this is precisely what people supported and believed, within their own ranks. This point has indeed been made in my document.

Well to use a campaign against the Black Local Authorities and to make them out as the enemy of the people, the puppets of the government that must be destroyed, will that have (20) an effect on the crowd if this goes on for a series of meetings? -- I think I have already said that no leader can imbue values in a crowd. He cannot create a crowd with a purpose of his own. He can only succeed in his effect upon the crowd if the crowd shares with him the values that he is advocating. It is in my opinion impossible for a crowd of people to be manipulated by a leader unless the crowd has complete sympathy with the objectives that the leader is advocating. In fact he would not be a leader if this were not so. The crowd would not acknowledge him in that role if he was not embodying (30) their/....

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