Getting to grips with a current favourite media catchphrase: the em dee em

THE MDM is not an organisation, has no formal structure, and was never officially launched. But it did not materialise out of nowhere. It arose after the banning of the United Democratic Front last year and represents the com-

ing together of Cosatu, the UDF"

and other organisations which were not affiliated to the UDF.

â\200\234It is quite wrong for the media and politicians to treat the MDM as if it were an organisation,â\200\235 says Professor Douglas Irvine, head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg. â\200\234What used to be referred to in lower case letters has suddenly acquired capitals.

 $\hat{a}\200\234No$  one has officially established the MDM and it therefore gives the impression of being shadowy. We donâ\200\231t know who the leaders are and we donâ\200\231t know who the followers are. Under these circumstances the MDM lends itself to possible manipulation. However, I am not saying that

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ the MDM is not supported by a

great many people who are prodemocracy,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  said Professor Irvine.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Because of the emergency it is impossible for an organisation (with the image of the MDM) to have proper organisation with a: clear mandate and accountability. MDM started off as a euphemism  $\hat{a}\200\224$  a kind of blanket term  $\hat{a}\200\224$  for ANC supporters inside the country.li

Freedom Charter Yunus Carrim, publicity secre-

tary for the Natal Indian Congress, " one of the organisations under the MDM umbrella, confirms that the

title refers to anti-apartheid organisations in the Freedom Charter tradition, which, he says, are â\200\234mass-based, democratic and

" | non-racialâ\200\235.

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234They include .a wide range of )

\_trade union, political, community

" and civic, student youth, women, ~ cultural and professional organisations. These orgamsations are bound together ina strategrc alli-

## - §

ance, at the core of which are the UDF and Cosatu.

. â\200\234The concept which the MDM represents surfaced in the mass struggles waged between 1984 and 1986. Scores of organisations sprouted throughout the country in this period â\200\224 and street, area and zone committees were formed in many of the key townships.â\200\235

Together with parent- /teacher/student associations and trade unions these groups  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$  constituted a mass movement  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$  whose features were the size of its membership and the depth of its democracy $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 235$ , says Mr Carrim.

## Cosatu

The idea of the MDM began to take root at Cosatuâ\200\231s congress in 1987. The UDF and Cosatu would, it was decided, co-operate more closely, and â\200\234the scores of mainly regionally based UDF affiliates would be converted into broader more powerful national organisations representing youth, women, civic associations etcâ\200\235, says Mr Carrim. This idea was re-affirmed at the Cosatu Congress in July this year.

After the banning of the UDF in February . 1988, the alliance between the UDF and Cosatu was referred to as the the  $\hat{a}\200\234$ mass democratic movement  $\hat{a}\200\235$ , in lower case. A spokesman confirms that the MDM is  $\hat{a}\200\234$ still somewhat amorphous, because of repressive conditions. It is  $\hat{a}\200\230$ more of a process  $\hat{a}\200\231$  than an organisation  $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

-Like UDF, the MDM uses power-fully evocative words in its title.  $a\200\234$ Mass $a\200\235$  says a spokesman, refers to the numbers who are represented. Cosatu, for example, has a paid up membership of nearly a million through its participating unions.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ The UDF, at the time of its ban-ning, clalmed to have more than

 $8\&a\200\231$  affiliated organisations.

```
legal, the numbers are reflected in
the meetings. You will recall that
we had a'_bout 6 000 at our meeting
Whatâ\200\231s
p S NTN&S
Y â\200\224-oR - RS
at Wadley stadium recently. The
\widetilde{a}\200\230mass\widehat{a}\200\231 is also an oblique way
of excludmg Black Consciousness,
Apdusa and other groups, who do
not attract
å\200\230Democraticâ\200\231
audiences.
that the
large
meansA
T T ol ) o G GBI
name?
in the
\hat{a}\200\230organisation must have structure
\hat{a}\200\230 and it must be accountable to its
\hat{a}\200\230members.\hat{a}\200\235
. Under the state of emergency,
ot all organisations falling under
the MDM can conduct meetings
ol G S ¢
where the accountablity of office
bearers can be validated. â\200\234But Co-
satu, for instance, has a well-tried
structure of accountability, \(\hat{a}\)200\235 sald
a spokesman.
â\200\234By calling ourselves demo-
cratlc we specifically exclude In-
```

e these organisations are

katha, which we regard as authoritarian. The MDM is accountable | when it is allowed to be. It has no | formal leader and no formal strueture, except when operating through the structures of Cosatu, for example.â\200\235

Broad masses

- UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe describes the MDM as â\200\234that political movement which unites the broad masses of the oppressed from all classes and strata, together with democratic whites, in action around a programme of securing the transfer of

olitical and economic power to

e democratic majority of the people $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

He told a Transvaal Indian Congress meeting at the weekend that the MDM â\200\234recognises the ANC as the vanguard in the national democratic struggle; has organised formations like the UDF, Cosatu (which form a strategic alliance); has a mass approach to organisation (thus involving the masses actively, purposefully and consistently in their struggles; has or seeked to have accountable

leadership; and engages in alli-

ances, and campaigns on the basis of unity in action and united mass action— behind a common pro-

- gramme $\hat{a}$ \200\235.  $\hat{A}$ £

Ultimately, says Mr Morobe,  $\hat{a}\200\234$ there can only be two parties at the negotiating table  $\hat{a}\200\224$  the leaders of the present minority Government. . and those of the demo- cratic maJonty, led bythe ANC $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

- So much for MDM spokesmen.
Not all anti-apartheid activists are
impressed by the phemonenon. A Black Consciousness spokesman,

decrying-the  $a\200\234$ so-called leaders $a\200\235$  for rldmg around in luxury cars ) e Sl  $'.'\$ 

{ RN 5 s B

```
' THE \hat{a}\200\234Trojan horse trial\hat{a}\200\235 \hat{a}\200\224
'.a private prosecution by pa-
rents of two youths killedin a
', police ambush \hat{a}\200\224 was close to
. collapse last night because of
a \hat{a}\200\230demand that the parents
a\200\230lodge security of almost one
million rand ($450,000). -
. (The trial, in which 12 South
; can police and an army of-
. ficer are accused of murder by
"' the parents of the dead youths,
opened â\200\230inâ\200\231the Cape Supreme
Courtyesterday. .
| Itâ\200\231immediately hit a snag idantsâ\200\231 b
when the aetenqunte miarns - 6 Defendants\hat{a}\200\231 bid
by LR
:* South Africah law allows for
' the \frac{200}{231} defence to ask for gua-
Jjudze was expected to rule
thé issue early today. EPTMIT
" The trial is the first private
. _Prosecution
South Africa.â\200\235 T
It ' follows " the
-horseâ\200\235
\hat{a}200\234the \hat{a}\200\234Trojan
incident . 'in October
rojan
Dy Shougs
i^2\202'kghisel ();a^2\00^2\01 G (2 i TN S T
B oy SEONS Inâ\200\231 March â\200\234last 'year anin-
- quest found the police were :
) ki 3= negligent ' and " caused . the-
{\rm \hat{a}}\ from private prosecu- deaths.ofShaun Magmoed, -
torsti udvertheir:ldgal costs s 16, Michael Miranda,
in the eventrof acquittal. Th'eâ\200\231.,:.fjonathan Claasens, 21.
or . murder in
A S ~only - one - brick and two -or-
been thrown
at the truck. . - B
HusiRp LA N
horseâ\200\231 trial faces
in Cape Town fipet Y
1985 in which police, who had
been hiding in packing cases
in the back of a truck at Ath-
```

" { From BRYAN PEARSON

lone near Cape Town, sprang out and sprayed a crowd with bullets when the truck was stoned. : ; The incident took place duranti-apartheid violence black . areas, particularly .prevalent in Cape Town at -the time. : ing a period of wldesprea:dâ\200\230 ' He also found 39 rounds of sho ammunition. had been fired into the crowd and there. was no. evidence to show the. three dead. youths had thrown stones, , .. i The parents of two of the youths started . the private - Th prosecution after the Attorney-General of Cape Prov-. ince,: Mr Neil Rossouw, declined to prosecute. - . Mr Rossouw gave no reason ' SRS deposit could eripple prosecutiond to boost security BBC and CBS videos showed three stones had â\200\230tificate enabling 11, and . : s - - The refusal. to prosecute led  $a\200\224$ The .magistrate said police . had exaggerated the extent of the stoning by ' the crowd. for 'ifbâ\200\231tâ\200\234""pro'sqdptâ\200\231lng, - but issued a non-prosecution ceranyone unhappy  $\hat{a}$ 200\230with. his decision to take the matter to court. .. " to .a.public outcry and the decision by Mrs Georgina Williams, mother of Michael, and Mr Martin Magmoed, father of Shaun, to institute the private prosecution.

â\200\230Mr

Though Mrs Williams-ang

```
+ was 'head of the
```

Force;

.. Tiaan , Ludclff,

., meulen, who commanded the

Magmoed have received funds from -overseas, - the battle is expected to be long and costly .and if the judge rules they must increase their security, - the . action . will â\200\230almost certainly collapse, . The 13 men who have been subpoenaed in the Trojan horse case are: Colonel Pieter Janse van Rensburg, who he South Afri-; can Police riot unit; Major Christiaan Ludolff, formerly of the Railways Police; Commandant Salmon Pienaar of the South African Defence Lieutenant = Douw: \n ] formerly 'of the : Railways . Police; - Coms . mandant Salmon Pienaar â\200\230of ¢ the South African Defence®â\200\231 Force; Lieutenant Douw Ver-"'

men.on the truck; Sergeant-:

 $\hat{a}\200\230F.$  van- Niekerk, Sergeant J,-- $\hat{a}\200\230Burger$ , ;

Constable Ww. >
Puchert, Constable P. du Toit,

Warrant-Officer A.. Swart, Sergeant J. Sayer, Constable . A. Smit, Constable A. Rossel . and Serge:m}1 g}.â\200\231M Smit. SR

R

V

```
10° THE AUSTRALIAN Friday August 4 1989
=10 -
Â¥
,4;( â\200\23014 i
' JOHANNESBURG: Sco-
an anti-apartheid campaign. | -
of-black patiÃOnts demand-
a\200\234medicala\200\231attention . were
dmitfed: to* \hat{a}200\234whites only\hat{a}\200\235:
hospitals:.. y
s yesterday Lfor the
first time after pressure from
\hat{a}\200\230Organisers ' promised a
mounting campaign of de
- At least, 260 sick black.people
wereistreated in â\200\230iwhites-only,
' hospitals; in Transvaal and
Natal provinces.: ff f. @0
- a\200\234The defiance campaign will
be taken a\200\230to every corner and;
every section of society \hat{a}\200\230until
apartheid / is unworkable, \hat{a}\200\235:
1) I R A
TR ot
that
hat the, people in the vicinity
get' | admitted = there, â\200\235: Mr
Coova»dia,gg:._t,old the . rally.
a\200\234Should ' a\200\230'they be refused
\hat{a}\200\230treatment, we will make sure
. that the whole world gets to
know about it.\hat{a}\200\235. Rt
The campaign will broaden,
..of ,whites-only ; hospitals . will ..
with individuals and sorgani- .
,;sations openlyâ\200\231 defying gov-
iliernment ' restrictions in a
```

```
series of open challenges to :
a\200\234a\200\230emergency regulations.
"""A spokesman for the United
Democraticâ\200\231; Front ' (UDF),
â\200\230which has been largely silent
isince it was:forbidden early
'last ' year :toâ\200\230 carry out any
politicaliâ\200\234activities, said the
trade; union; leader; Mr -Jay umbrella group would *\( \frac{200}{234} \) 200\230unban
Naideo told & a\200\230rally at Johan-:
nesburg's medicalschool. ¢
" Hospital adthorities â\200\230readily
itself\hat{a}\200\235 by holding -an, overtly,
' political meeting. .tk g
.. On Sunday, people bound to .
rted - some of the black their homes after dark under
:)â\200\230:t?gxï¬\201s"?gï¬\201?e fefirred â\200\230others official restriction â\200\230
orders will
- X & ; Ik". ¥ 41
to black li?ggp}?a_!sl ' e
§ik ERYictory g7ey
The union; youth and other
groups, *allied " as the Mass
Democratic'; - 7 ' Movement
(MDM),; said the protest was
break their â\200\230curfew by attend-:
ing an evening church service.:
â\200\234Aifew, openly! defied restric-
yMons yesterday by attending a
â\200\234political meeting. "B
" MDM leaders says the prot-
ests aim to be peaceful, but
' the Government has accused
an initial â\200\230victory in.a cam-. it of stirring up violence..
paign set to â\200\230culminate with al T\fvg â\200\230.hÃ@.ngdupgren:::: " were
. week of! as. yet' unspecified
" thrown into-the Soweto-town-
___action a\200\224hefore- a\200\230general elec-! ship home' of a\200\230a black police
tions on September st
The black majork
vote inith
peopleâ\200\231 were used as pawns by coloured
* 3 small group of radicals... & '.\hat{A}¥ joining a march in the centre:
â\200\234Any changes in health leg-
\hat{a}\200\230colonel ' | yesterday -~ evening,
```

```
8.
ty cannot . severely injuring one of his two
arliamentary sons and, wounding him and
poll. #4 "i 3t ALEE UHEENEE
" /The' Healthâ\200\235 Minister; Mr.
. Willie van Niekerk, scoffed at.
the 'campaign, ;saying:- â\200\234Sickl» protests, I i police s 4 stopped..
hool pupilsf from
\&7 the other boy less seriously. .. <"
In the only tense confronta-
"'tion reportedâ\200\231 in yesterday's
"of ' Cape Townâ\200\231s suburb of
islation will occur inside and'j Mitchell's Plain. =
-, hot outside Parliament. \hat{a}200\235 /' ' Witnesses 'said\hat{a}200\231 the police ;
\mbox{$\hat{a}$\200\230An.} MDM . spokesman, Mr fired tear gas and youths built
Cas Coovadia, said pressure * barricades across streets. i -
â\200\230against segregation of hospi-':
\hat{a}200\230tals would notletup. <
a\200\230yolved * black = mineworkers
â\200\2300ther protests yesterday in-
]
MDM : members = had . ex-
. pressed fears of attack on the
hospital - protesters - by \tilde{a} = \tilde{a} + \tilde{b}
treme right-wing whites, after
the :distribution of = leaflets\hat{a}\200\231
threatening them with death
in the name of a shadowy ^{\prime}
group called = the White
. Wolves. ©. H, L g S
, The largest protest turnout -
g n was_ at'Durbanâ\200\231s Addington*
\hat{a}200\234From today we will ensure - using a canteen for whites Hospital, \hat{a}\200\235 which tr
eated \hat{a} \ 200 \ 234150 -
he e
anci'ridihg'ii'lhitek-only_bï¬\201ses..iâ\200\230hon'â\200\224wh'it"e" " patients ~ while
about . 2000 . protesters gath-
ered outside. ;-
\hat{a}\200\234The_ only arrests connected
```

```
with the demonstration were !

of .12. middle-aged white
women of the .anti-apartheid

.7 WORLDNEWS

Black Sash â\200\230movementâ\200\231 who"

â\200\230were held briefly by police
--after picketing a main road in |

. Johannesburg in support of

the defiance campalgn, .= . â\200\2304

b 5 AR Ve LS - N
.+ 1. Reuters o

i
```

HE [JustRALL AN

e 018?

B0 s T iRt

"White nurse fends a black, patient at the whites-only\*Johannesburg Hospital (above) while anti-apartheid activists parade through the hospital grounds (top)  $a\200\224$  Reuters pictures .

i