RIGHT2KNOW

2015 Mid Term Review

10-12 July 2015, Oude Moulin, Cape Town

Meeting Report

INTRODUCTION & SUMMARY

On 10-12 July 2015 the Right2Know Campaign elected National Working Group (NWG), elected Provincial Coordinators and staff met for the Campaign's annual Mid Term Review (MTR) meeting[1]. The meeting reviewed the progress we have made, and the challenges we have encountered, since our National Summit in Johannesburg in February[2] – and charted a way forward for the Campaign.

Already 2015 has seen a number of important victories for the Campaign including:

- The release of the list of National Key Points;
- A defense of democracy in Parliament in the wake of the State of the Nation address;
- A partial victory on the Digital TV government announced that 5 million households would receive free Set Top Boxes;
- Ensuring court records remain in the public domain

Other highlights of the year so far have included:

- A spirited public campaign for the withdrawal of the Film and Publication Board's (FPB) efforts to censor the internet;
- The publication of Big Brother Exposed, our report on the surveillance of activists;
- Ongoing work popular education and solidarity work to promote the right to protest including demanding action be taken against police implicated in the Marikana massacre.
- The publication of our 2015 Whistleblower Calendar;
- Our "2015 Freedom Week" that saw 31 events around the country. any hosted by supporting organisations.

Some advocacy priorities for the remainder of the year include:

1. Developing the surveillance of activism as a more sustained public campaign;
2. Intensifying our work on corporate secrecy and our systematic support for communities to access information regarding local government/service delivery;
3. Focus our efforts to engage and promote community media, including campaigning for a national social justice TV station.

On the more operational side of the campaign (Section 2 of the report) the MTR confirmed that the Campaign remains a vibrant and democratic platform for activist driven interventions. Amongst others, the MTR resolved to intensify efforts to root the Campaign in struggles of local communities, to surface and challenge patriarchy within the Campaign. There is a need to contribute to strengthening and forging greater unity within civil society by contributing to the United Front and other initiatives.

We look forward to a strategic review at Provincial Summits in early 2016 culminating in our 6th National Summit in Durban. We are confident that by the time of the National Summit we would have addressed most, if not all, of the Resolutions made in February 2015.

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[1] See APPENDIX 1: List of Attendance

[2] See APPENDIX 2: Resolutions of the 2015 National Summit

SECTION 1: CAMPAIGN REVIEW

1.1. Securitization & Secrecy

The MTR identified the need for a closer link between protest and secrecy work as they relate the securitization of the State, as well as for greater emphasis on private sector secrecy.

1.1.1 Secrecy Laws & Regulation

The year began with a major victory when the Campaign forced the Minister of Police to release the list of National Key Points. While we continue to call for the scrapping of the National Key Points Act (NKPA), promised Parliamentary Review of the Act is yet to materialize. We have campaigned for access to the list of Strategic Installations, an apparently unregulated category of secret 'security' sites.

We welcomed the leaking of the Spy Cables that exposed the excessive and unacceptable secrecy adopted by South Africa's state-security structures. While the Secrecy Act is not yet law and remains a political hot potato unsigned on the President's desk, we have continued to sustain pressure and vigilance, demanding the President return the Act to Parliament for redrafting. It is of great concern that the State continues to use the Apartheid Secrecy Act to classify information.

On the regulatory front we have also engaged proposals to regulate drones, various aspects of the regulation of gatherings (see 1.1.4), efforts to regulate the internet (see 1.3.1) and media coverage of parliament (see 1.3.2).

1.1.2 Surveillance of Activists

Our work in the securitization of the State has taken on a strong focus on the surveillance of activists with the launch of Big Brother Exposed – a handbook on surveillance of activists, documenting the experiences of unionists and community activists who have been spied on by state intelligence, and advising people how to protect themselves against surveillance. We are in the process of taking a number of the cases documented as complaints to the Inspector General of Intelligence.

We have engaged Parliament's appointment of a new Inspector General of Intelligence and ensured that both greater transparency in the process and that the most draconian of candidates was not appointed.

Internationally we have challenged British surveillance of South African civil society and developed a close working relationship with Privacy International and drafted a brief on privacy and surveillance issues in South Africa for the United Nations Human Rights Commission. We have also participated in a number of screenings of the Edward Snowden documentary, Citizen Four, and plan to host six screenings of the film later this year.

The MTR agreed that the surveillance of activists needs to be developed into a more sustained public campaign focus including popular education on methods securing communications.

1.1.3 Corporate Secrecy

Our work on corporate secrecy has been limited to highlighting corporate tax evasion of Lonmin and supporting the My Vote Counts campaign for greater transparency of party funding.

The MTR agreed that this aspect of our work needs to be intensified. The MTR was also critical of an anti-corruption agenda that focuses only on the State. We will approach the upcoming Unite Against Corruption march with a focus on corporate secrecy and the intersection between the state and private sector.

We will hold a National Day of Action focusing on Secrecy for Profit on International Right2Know Day in September. This will include protests at the JSE and other sites of corporate power.

We will continue to support My Vote Counts in shaping the campaign and promoting it in popular struggles. We will challenge secret party funding in the run up to the 2016 Local Government elections through the lens of local government and service delivery (see 1.2.1 below).

1.1.4 Right to Protest

The right to protest is continuing to grow an area of the Campaigns work as people are increasingly seeing R2K as a resource when their right to protest is frustrated. We continue to distribute our popular Activist Guide to the Gathering Act and have run numerous workshops and screenings of "Miners Shot Down" with communities engaged in protest. Together with the United Front we undertook 21 pickets against police brutality on Human Rights Day.

We have offered solidarity and support to communities in struggle, including the community of Thembelihle, Community Health Workers in the Free State, the Glebelands hostel dwellers, and anti-xenophobia protestors in Durban. We have also rallied to protect freedom of association within Parliament (see 1.3.2 below).

We have called successfully for the release of the full Marikana report and subsequently for action to be taken against police implicated in the massacre. We've also issued an advisory informing journalists of their legal right to film and photograph the police and we are engaging the review of these laws with a view to expend them to non-professional video and photography.

People's right to protest is frustrated by municipal by laws. We will continue to engage the local governments on Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban to ensure their bylaws are in line with the Gatherings Act.

The MTR agreed that we would gather stories of protests from all 9 provinces and details of municipal policy framework with a view to challenging these individually and systematically.

We will also work with the Social Justice Coalition and Treatment Action Campaign to support legal challenges to the Regulation of Gatherings Act.

We will also partner MPDP and others to undertake research, popular education and advocacy regarding on police transparency and protest.

More needs to be done to give direct support to protestors whose rights are denied. In particular we need to do more to mobilize legal support. Giving legal advice and support is a major undertaking and we must take steps to communicate realistic expectations of what support we can offer.

The Right to Protest Hotline and legal referral network are necessary and urgent but have been moving too slowly. We need to take a lead and establish a central partnership with a well-resourced legal NGO and secure funding to drive the project.

We will also produce a popular poster on the right to protest, highlighting not only reasons for prohibiting a gathering and celebrating the right to protest.

1.2. Information Access

We continue to promote the centrality of accessing information as a mobilization and advocacy tool for social justice struggles. The need to root information access in a framework of participatory democracy, including the OGP demand for open meetings, is essential.

The MTR agreed that all our information access work needs to take a stronger emphasis on private sector lack of transparency.

1.2.1 Local Government & Service Delivery

We need to improve our consistency in engaging and supporting struggles. Our local government and service delivery focused project is on track to identify and engage more systematically with 9 community struggles in the coming months. We will convene a national meeting that will bring the community struggles and support/resource organizations together to draw lessons from each other, strengthen working relations, and map out a strategy towards the 2016 Local Government elections.

The MTR confirmed that, while our focus is on service delivery and remains our current priority, we envisage a similar process supporting local struggles around energy and extractives in the future. However, we need to urgently intensify our work around the unfolding nuclear deal in conjunction with allied environmental NGOs, unions and social movements.

1.2.2 National Advocacy

This year we have campaigned for information regarding the [deployment of the army in communities](), the release of the [full Marikina Commission report]() and then information regarding the [police implicated in the massacre](). We also intervened successfully to ensure [information submitted to court remains in the public domain](). We have also made a [call for a substantive budget]() to be allocated to the soon-to-be-established Information Regulator.

The MTR agreed that we should continue to engage in the Open Government Partnership (OGP) process in order to highlight all our access to information. This is related to the Campaigns that we are engaging in and we must call out the SA Government about the contradictions between their secretive practices and their leading the OGP.

We will also (join) with the Civil Society PAIA Network and use PAIA even more strategically.

Regarding supporting Chapter 9, institutions we will consider campaigning around the appointment of the next Public Protector.

1.2.3 Whistleblowers

As our [2015 Whistleblower Calendar]() confirms, Whistleblowers continue to take courageous stands under very precarious conditions. Efforts to amend the [Protected Disclosures Act]() appear to have stalled in Parliament.

The MTR reflected on our strategy of celebrating individual whistleblowers who – by virtue of their circumstances – often do not want to be highly publicized. We agreed to rather focus on the abstract role and value of whistleblowing in all the other aspects of our work.

We agreed to promote the ODAC's Whistleblowers Helpline and give direct solidarity where we can on an ad-hoc basis.

1.3 Right to Communicate

We continue to campaign to defend and advance the freedom of expression focusing on media freedom, diversity and access to affordable telecommunications.

1.3.1 Internet Freedom

A large focus of our work this year has been campaigning for the withdrawal of the Film and Publication Board's (FPB) efforts to censor the internet. We held workshops to prepare activists to participate in FPB public hearings in Joburg, Cape Town and Khayelitsha, picketed at the FPB offices, gathered over 8000 signatories to a petition, partnered the Legal Resource Centre to develop a legal opinion on the regulations and made a formal written submission. This campaign has had significant impact on the national discourse and we are confident the FFB will have to withdraw the policy.

The MTR agreed that we should continue to challenge the FPB and expand this focus to challenge the Cyber Security Bill and any draconian aspects of South Africa's internet agreement with China.

1.3.2 Media Freedom

Tensions between government and the media have begun worsen with Government again talking about the need for statutory regulation of journalism. When the securocrats cut the TV feed to the State of the Nation address in Parliament we held a mass rally and took the matter to court. We are confident we the case will win on appeal.

Our media freedom work has a international focus this year with a public meeting on the attack on Charlie Hebdo's offices in France, and solidarity with journalists criminalised under defamation laws in the Southern Africa region.

We also issued an advisory informing journalists if their legal right to film and photograph the police and are engaging the review of these laws with a view to extend them to non-professional video and photography for the protection of the rights of citizen journalists and activists when photo-documenting the police.

The MTR agreed that we should remain vigilant of attempts to introduce overt government censorship and initiate solidarity with journalists facing censorship in SA and abroad as well as build more sustained campaigns that highlight attacks on community journalists like Tom Nkosi (the independent newspaper editor harassed by state security in Mpumalanga) and Bra Mike (the community photographer whose police killers are currently on trial).

1.3.3 Digital TV

As the country moves towards the era of digital TV in fits and starts we have continued to campaign to ensure the cost of digital migration is not paid by the poor and no one is prevented from receiving television. We won a partial victory when government announced that 5 million households would

receive free Set Top Boxes – however concerns remain about the remaining boxes and the 'means testing' – as well as costs and corruption.

The MTR agreed to the need to build on foundations laid for engagement with digital TV. Our focus is shifting more from the technical aspects to questions of impact on users – particularly costs and content. We will continue to problematize the role of Naspers - and the relationship between Naspers, the SABC and the State - in undermining the future of free-to-air TV.

We hosted a [workshop](#) exploring strategies to ensure that new challenges, which are enabled by digital TV, contribute to greater media diversity and deepened our understanding regarding the feasibly of a national social justice TV station.

The MTR agreed that we should prioritise the campaign for a national social justice TV station.

1.3.4 Community Media

While our [march on Budget Day](#) included the call for public funding for community and public media, not enough has been done to engage and promote community media.

The MTR agreed that we should prioritize supporting local activists to engage with their local community radio stations. To this end we will produce a publication that informs communities on their rights and opportunities regarding community media.

We also noted that government has published a [Draft Community Broadcasting Support Scheme](#), with which we will engage.

1.3.5 Access to Telecommunications

We [launched](#) two publications to underpin our campaign for more democratic access to telecommunications. [The Lived Cost of Communications](#) illustrates the impact of cell-phone profiteering in the lives of poor South Africans, and [Alternatives to Privatized Telecommunications](#), presents international alternatives to South Africa's commercialised provision on internet and phone services. We also published an [Activist Guide to Internet Access](#) which will serve as the basis of workshops later in the year. These publications lay a basis for popular education and advocacy going forward.

We have also entered into a partnership with UWC to document and promote the [Zenzeleni telecommunications project](#), which is a living example of democratically controlled telecoms provision.

The MTR agreed that rather than getting drawn into highly technical and legal debates that dominate the sector we should focus on popularising and politicising the provision of telecoms as a right, utility, and basic service.

Critical issues on the horizon include the allocation of the spectrum freed up by digital TV migration (the digital dividend) and attempts to privatize Telkom.

We also need to revitalize our campaign on the cost of airtime, mobile data and SMS.

SECTION 2. INTERNAL REVIEW

The MTR considered a number of issues relating to the internal functioning of the Campaign as an organization that is activist led and action orientated, effectively governed and exemplifies our values of democracy, openness, and accountability.

2.1 Campaign structures and relations

The MTR reviewed the various campaign structures and capacities to assess if they are effectively enabling activism and ensuring synergies across the campaign.

2.1.1 Enabling Activism

We identified the need for more proactive engagement between thematic Focus Groups and Provincial Working Groups. This is to ensure that thematic priorities are shaped by supporters on the ground and that campaigns at a provincial level receive greater support from staff and activists.

Newer activists in campaign structures need more support to integrate and get up to speed on the issues. We must all become more conscious of 'inducting' new people in our structures. We will also produce an Activist Induction publication.

2.1.2 Review of National Working Group

The NWG is more than a traditional 'board of directors' as it provides oversight and strategic direction over the entire campaign as well as playing an active role in the Provinces and focus areas. As the organization has changed and grown over the years the workload of the NWG has grown and NWG members can become overwhelmed.

While not everyone in the NWG is steeped in every issue, NWG members must take an active role in campaign implementation in their respective areas of interest and provinces. Together we can then provide collective leadership. Accountability is critical, not only within and to the NWG, but to the Provinces where NWG members must report at each PWG meeting and also be active in their PWGs. The MTR agreed to hold each other more accountable to all the NWG Agreements. These Agreements should be circulated before annual elections to inform the nomination process.

We decided that the NWG monthly telecon should deal with less operational detail and focus on more strategic issues. Individual activists and staff should take more operational initiative and limit consultation with the NWG to strategic matters.

2.2 Combating Patriarchy

The MTR reaffirmed our National Summit commitment to discover and address patriarchy. This must include the power imbalances between men and women within the Campaign. A national Feminist Team has been constituted and all Provinces have begun discussions on feminist and gender issues.

The MTR agreed that, whilst we must work towards integrating a feminist perspective into all work of R2K and contribute to the revival of a broader feminist movement, we need to focus internally. Our

priority for the remainder of the year should be to make patriarchy visible, by documenting patriarchal incidents within R2K. There is a requirement to develop a policy around sexual harassment for adoption at the 2016 National Summit. The participatory process must include men and women. It should include separate meeting areas to create 'safe spaces' for reflection.

2.3 Supporting Local Organising

We remain committed to rooting the Campaign in poor and working class communities. To this end we continue to offer solidarity to community based struggles, focusing on our popular education and mobilisation work amongst the poor.

The MTR agreed we should be present in community meetings and that R2K activists should attend each other's meetings. We must undertake more regular door-to-door and pamphleteering work. We should proactively engage communities working on R2K issues and host public meetings using rR2K material like Discussion on a Disc.

The process of mapping the organised community base of the Campaign is an on-going task that must be prioritised to enable Provinces to prioritise their interventions.

While we should continue to welcome the contribution of all activists to the R2K, we should ensure that the work of the Campaign does not draw comrades away from the vital and task of building local organisations and other movements of the poor.

2.4 Beyond Urban Nodes

Our efforts, to expand the Campaign's presence beyond our current urban nodes to include rural and peri-urban communities in all provinces, has not seen much progress other than the establishment of relationships with a few of organisations in the Eastern Cape, North West and Limpopo.

The MTR reiterated that it is not the intention to have fully functional democratic R2K structures in other provinces at this point. We must enable action and provide practical solidarity where possible - especially in relation to the right to protest and access to information. The need for coordinating structures should emerge from collaboration.

We will prioritise local organisations that are organised and engaged in struggle, and identify others through other networks like the United Front, TAC, etc, as well as by responding to the various requests made to the Campaign.

By the end of the year we aim to have some presence in all 9 provinces.

2.5 Coalitions and Fronts

The MTR reaffirmed previous resolutions that the Right2Know cannot be won without a realignment of broader social and political forces. In the context of major upheavals in the trade union movement, R2K is committed to exploring greater unity forged in action within civil society.

2.5.1 United Front

Our primary contribution has been in building the United Front (UF).

Highlights of our work have included participating in joint march on [Budget Day](), various pickets against police brutality on [Human Rights Day](), partnering to launch our research on [surveillance of activists]() that profiles a number of organisations and activists from the UF, and working with the UF to ensure our [Freedom Week]() included a range of activities in provinces that R2K is not yet active in. We have also participated in the process of shaping the UF founding documents in the run up to their postponed launch in June.

The MTR reaffirmed our commitment to building the UF, on condition that political parties are not be part of the Front, it does not contest elections, and it strengthens its internal democracy.

2.5.2 Unite Against Corruption

The MTR also noted that the planned Anti-Corruption March offers opportunities to enable greater unity across a range of civil society organisations and reaffirmed R2K's commitment to engaging in the process and mobilising to ensure the march is a success.

2.5.3 Other Networks

We have also formally joined the [Civil Society PAIA Network]() and remain actively engaged in the [SOS Support Public Broadcasting Coalition]().

2.6 Media and Communications

2.6.1 Public Profile

The Campaign remains one of the higher profile popular civil society organizations in South Africa. We maintain an active social media presence and produce regular press statements on a range of issues that are covered by the mass media.

We are, however concerned that we rely too heavily on statements, and will diversify our methods of getting information out (including op eds, relevant/targeted publications, and social media). Provinces should draw on the capacity of Focus Groups and staff to prepare their communications.

2.6.2 Internal Communication

Regarding internal communication the NWG agreed to continue producing the [weekly events calendar]() and encourages all activists to contribute details. The calendar's efficacy will be reviewed again in 3 months. We will soon launch more professional contact database and continue to maintain our range of information sharing and discussion email list. We will also do more training on our [reporting system]() (including our mobile app).

2.7 Popular Education

2.7 1 Workshops and Schools

Our [2015 leadership school]() is currently in progress, as is our [online course]() **'campaigning in context'**.

Priority workshops, identified for the remainder of the year, will focus on digital TV, access to telecommunications, and protecting on-line communications.

2.7.2 Material Development

We produced or distributed a number of materials including the 2015 Whistleblower Calendar Discussions on a Disc, The Lived Cost of Communications, Alternatives to Privatized Telecommunications, and an Activist Guide to Internet Access, Big Brother Exposed, and an edition of the popular R2K Tabloid newspaper.

The MTR resolved that more needed to be done to produce popular education material (print and audiovisual) in languages other than English.

Priority material identified for production this year include another edition of the R2K Tabloid, pamphlet on Secrecy for Profit, posters focusing on the right to protest and rights, as well as opportunities in engaging community radio, an activist induction booklet, a redesigned R2K website, and a 2016 Calendar celebrating organisations and individuals that have made a contribution to the right to know.

2.8 Finances & Staffing

2.8.1 Finances & Budgeting

The Campaign's finances continue to be well managed with oversight of the NWG and Finance Team. We completed another clean audit for the 2014 year. The NWG and Provinces receive monthly financial reports tracking expenditure and indicating funds available for Provincial campaigns.

Our budget has grown considerably over recent years (with the 2015 Summit approving a 25% growth in campaign costs this year) .We have managed to raise 89% of our total budget and are confident we will raise the full budget this year.

The NWG reviewed and amended our current operational budget for 2015 and adopted a 2016 budget. This will be used for fundraising and presented for consideration at the 2016 National Summit. The 2016 budget includes another 25% increase in popular education and mobilisation spending to respond to growth in the campaign and ensure that our campaign costs out-pace inflation related increases in overhead and staffing costs.

Copies of the revised 2015 operational budget and 2015 fund raising budget are available to all R2K supporters upon request.

2.8.2 Campaign Staffing

R2K remains an activist driven campaign. It only employs staff who perform critical tasks and enable activism. Staff are themselves activists and, due to their permanent employment, must be more pro-active and drive their respective campaign work areas in conjunction with - and with democratic oversight of - volunteer activists. The MTR noted that the staff contingent of the campaign has grown in recent years (see Organogram) we do not anticipate any further growth. Our HR systems are functioning well and we have successfully implemented the National Summit resolution to increase provincial administration capacity freeing up Organisers to spend more time engaging supporters.

APPENDIX 1: List of Attendance

	Present	**Apology**
National Working Group	1. Nonhlanhla Chanza 2. Ghalib Galant 3. Thabane Miya 4. Asha Moodley 5. Karabo Raijuli 6. Nomvula Sikakane 7. Alison Tilley 8. Hennie Van Vuuren	Godfrey Phiri *Absent:* Colin Haskins Meshack Mbangula
Provincial Coordinators	9. Dale T. McKinley (GP) 10. Julie Reid (GP) 11. Ghalib Galant (WC) 12. Khaya Xintolo (WC) 13. Phezu Ntetha (Outgoing, KZN)	
Staff	14. Mark Weinberg (National Coordinator) 15. Janine Julisen (National Administrator) 16. Siviwe Mdoda (National Organiser) 17. Busi Mtabane (National Communicator) 18. Murray Hunter (Secrecy Organiser) 19. Micah Reddy (Right to Communicate Organiser) 20. Carina Conradie (InfoAccess Organiser) 21. Joanne Adams (KZN Organiser) 22. Bongani Xizwe (GP Organiser) 23. Vainola Makan (WC Organiser) 24. Nomacebo Mbayo (WC Administrator) 25. Phezu Ntetha (KZN Administrator)	

APPENDIX 2: 5th National Summit Resolutions

1. Secrecy & Whistleblowers

1.1 Secrecy

Noting that information struggles are shifting to struggles against state repression and the securitisation of the state, and noting the need to proactively take issues to our communities, the campaign resolves to:

- Link broader struggles around secrecy to community issues through popular education and solidarity action
- Engage critically with and ensure accountability of security oversight structures (for example Community Policing Forums, Safety Forum, Parliament, Independent Police Inspectorate Directorate, Inspector General of Intelligence)
- Sustain public attention on scrapping repressive laws such as the Secrecy Bill and National Key Points Act
- Document and publicise abuse of state security practices
- Develop an agenda for openness in response to state secrecy
- Advocate for party funding reform, including litigation, and highlight the link between public procurement/corruption in our communities in the run-up to the 2016 local government elections
- Monitor and where necessary respond to potential abuses of secrecy in future large-scale procurement, including the 'Nuclear Deal'
- Draw the link between secrecy and inequality by focusing on the non-payment of tax and the movement of money outside of South Africa by the very wealthiest corporations and individuals.

1.2 Whistleblowers

Noting the very real threats and increasing risks that whistleblowers face, and noting the legal challenges, the campaign resolves to:

- Push for and participate in amendments to the whistleblowers law, the Protected Disclosures Act, particularly shifting the burden of proof from employees to employers and provide adequate protection to vulnerable whistleblowers
- Continue to raise awareness of whistleblowers as sheroes from all walks of life, through public statements and media campaigns, as well as through solidarity events, road shows and rallies
- Produce a whistleblowers calendar in partnerships with others
- Engage unions and relevant organisations to support a programme to protect and defend whistleblowers
- Launch a media and solidarity campaign for justice for whistleblowers who have been killed
- Study and discuss the question of financial incentives for whistleblowers, as well as other proposals to give more protection to whistleblowers, which must be taken to the PWGs.

2. Access to Information

Working towards strengthening the focus of access to information work within the Campaign, we resolve to:

- Use popular education and mobilisation to deepen understandings of the tools and importance of access to information as the bedrock of all local struggles
- Continue to develop other strategies in addition to the Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA) that address the limitations of PAIA
- Monitor, engage and influence the Information Regulator, including the critical appointment of the Information Regulator
- Root access-to-information struggles in the right to public participation
- Continue to drive our solidarity strategy in pushing for access to information, identifying roles for different organisations based on respective capacities and the linkages to specific struggles
- Work within existing structures to champion open data and proactive release of information
- Adopt a focused approach to identify priorities for access-to-information solidarity, including:
  - South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) grants scandal
  - Energy and mining
  - Local government
  - Housing struggles
  - Ward councillors and ward committees
- Increase our focus on accessing private sector information
- Engage critically with the Open Government Partnership (OGP), pushing for a focus away from national government to local system of governance, and using it as a platform to put pressure on South Africa to make real commitments to openness
- Hold Chapter 9 institutions accountable to their constitutional mandate.

3. The Right to Communicate

3.1 Media Freedom & Diversity

The campaign will take the following action on democratizing digital television

- Campaigning for free set top boxes to be made available to all, and for the list of demands included in the *Call for Inclusive Digital Television and Free Set-Top Boxes* document to be met: "free-to-air" public service television should be FREE!
- Building deeper understanding of digital migration issues through popular education and mobilization

The campaign will take the following action on community media:

- Raising awareness in communities on their rights with regard to ownership and access to community media organisations: community media belong to communities!

The campaign will take the following action on media independence and diversity:

- Joining and supporting action against political interference in journalistic and editorial content at the SABC, in community media and in commercial/private media
- Campaign for the protection of the rights of media workers, including protection from interference in content by media employers and owners, and campaigning for the decriminalisation of defamation
- To work with media organisations in the SADC region (eg. Panos, SADC journalists and editorial networks) to promote media freedom and independence and to protect journalists from harassment and victimisation

The campaign will take the following action on the ICT Policy Review Process:
- We will continue to engage in the ICT Policy Review Process to connect and advance our various Right2Communicate demands.

3.2 Access to Telecommunications (Vula'ma Connexion):

The Campaign resolves to keep the cost of airtime and profiteering of telecoms corporations as the focus of our popular campaign. In doing so, we will:
- Continue to engage the cellphone companies and ICASA to reduce the cost of communication and deliver free basic and affordable air-time and data, and free SMSes for all
- Oppose the practice of expiring data bundles
- Demand the simplification and transparency in pricing structure.

The campaign resolves to ensure access to high-speed internet and telecoms and engaging communities in that regard. We will:
- Increase the focus on access to free high-speed Internet
- Push for Telkom to be made responsible for the high-speed internet backbone as a public utility. To achieve this Telkom must be de-commercialised and have a public service mandate
- Campaign for community participation in the governance and management on telecoms infrastructure at a local level
- The digital dividend – spectrum to be freed up by digital migration – must not to strengthen the current monopolies and must not be auctioned to the highest bidder. The digital dividend must be used in the public interest, including the delivery of free public WiFi
- Engage with the big metros regarding their plans to roll out Broadband
- Support working class communities building their own open WiFi infrastructure
- Campaign for access to free landline services
- Get a legal opinion (and develop a legal strategy) to establish that access to telecoms – in particular high speed Internet- is a right enshrined in the constitution
- Campaign within progressive civil society to promote the understanding of access to telecoms as a basic service and utility that should form part of the social wage like housing and water
- Go into communities and listen to people's needs and visions while raising awareness amongst the youth, focusing on schools and libraries. We must find specific concerns that people want to organize around
- Broaden the R2K activist base and ensure there are comrades to take this campaign forward in all provinces.

4. The Right to Protest

In order to promote the Right to Protest, the Campaign resolves to:
- Continue our popular education work on protest rights and tactics for defending the right to protest
- Ensure that popular education on the right to protest is being carried out through community organisations' structures
- Engage the police on our right to protest and their responsibilities in protests and towards protestors
- Adopt a collective position on the rules of engagement for R2K protests
- Engage media in protest actions, by publicising our actions, writing our own stories, and using our right-of-reply when media get it wrong

- Campaign against police brutality against protestors, the surveillance of protesters and use of paramilitary units in public-order policing
- Reject laws that can be used to intimidate or target protesters, including the Intimidation Act and incitement laws, and relevant municipal bylaws
- To advance a better legal framework for the right to protest, R2K will support strategic challenges to the Gatherings Act and progressive amendments to the Gatherings Act
- Conduct a research project: roving team to gather stories of protests from all 9 provinces and details of municipal policy framework
- Participate in the Human Rights Day action against police brutality called by the United Front
- Propose that provinces adopt June as 'right to protest' month
- Conduct naming and shaming of police members and police stations involved in abuses of our right to protest, including using all avenues of redress
- Examine strategies to strengthen our planning and preparation regarding:
  - Marshalling
  - Anticipating infiltration / agents provocateurs
  - Defence strategy including provocation and brutality
  - Conscious documenting of actions
  - Legal support and solidarity for arrests.

5. Building the Right2Know

5.1 Building Local Struggles

In 2015, the Right2Know Campaign resolves to:
- Identify key local struggles and commemorations throughout the year and work on those issues in those communities and organisations to support activities guided by those communities and organisations
- Improve the presence of R2K comrades at sites of protests and struggles, and to exhibit support for constituent and partner organisations
- Strive to create more spaces for grassroots organisers to inform R2K of key struggles and specific protest action
- Support grassroots organisations by providing educational support as well as sharing experiences and skills development where requested to assist these struggles
- R2K will carry out an audit of which member organisations are part of R2K, what their struggles are, and who is part of those organisations.

5.2 Building Coalitions and Fronts

The Campaign resolves to:
- Reaffirm our 2014 resolutions with respect to our approach to building coalitions and networks
- With respect to the United Front, continue to actively engage the organisation at a provincial and local level; and mandate the NWG to engage in discussions with the United Front's national leadership
- Engage in talks with the Freedom of Expression Network to explore closer working relations and the possibility of pooling our resources
- Identify networks and coalitions that we need to partner with and strengthen existing partnerships

- Strengthening relationships with feminist organisations.

5.3 Moving beyond urban nodes

The Campaign resolves to:
- Reaffirm our commitment to building a presence beyond our current urban nodes to include rural and peri-urban communities in all provinces
- To this end we should commit human and financial resources to ensure a sustainable presence in the areas where we have already built relationships and partner with existing organisations in these areas
- Set up a team that can support the provincial organisers in this outreach.
- To make better use of virtual networks and mobile phone and internet communication technology to link us up with progressive initiatives in other countries that resonate with our own struggles.

5.4   R2K internal democracy & enabling activism

The summit endorses the R2K Activist Code of Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures.

The campaign will take the following action in integrating and connecting the various pillars of the overall program:
- Work to improve coordination between campaigns, provinces and national work
- Maintain and regularly distribute a calendar of upcoming commemorations, R2K activities, and activities of organisations within the Campaign
- Mandate one member from each focus group to act as a liaison between her/his Focus Group and national level.

The campaign will take the following action in ensuring that R2K remains rooted in poor and working class communities:
- Mandate individuals from Focus Groups in the provinces to engage with communities
- Develop specific strategy guidelines to strengthen democracy, link campaign structures with communities and ensure accountability and adequate monitoring of responsibilities. This would differ from the code of conduct in that it would deal with structures rather than individuals and guide the relationship between R2K and community groups
- Actively engaging student organisations, religious groups and civil society organisations that could help extend our reach into poor and working class communities.

The campaign will take the following action in ensuring that we combat patriarchy and other reactionary/anti-democratic tendencies within our own ranks:
- Formulating, in the most inclusive way possible, a set of guidelines specifically for dealing with gender discrimination and bigotry.

5.5   Popular Education

The campaign will adopt the following resolutions regarding leadership schools for 2015:
- Leadership Schools will work with greater input from provinces to understand challenges faced by the particular province, which will be incorporated into the curriculum
- Curricula will be organised around a theme of 'Organising and Mobilising'
- We will increase the days from 8 to 12 and increase the number of participants from 12 to 36 people – 12 people per province and the schools will take place in the respective provinces
- We will mandate a group of people within R2K to facilitate the Leadership School process.

The campaign will adopt the following resolutions regarding knowledge and skills sharing:
- Provinces will select comrades to participate in the political economy reading course
- We will set up 'campaign cafes' that will provide spaces for robust political discussion
- We will foster a greater sense of transparency and accountability so that comrades can freely ask questions and get answers
- We will increase our social media presence, and participation therein, to improve popular education
- The Campaign will use the R2K annual Calendar as a tool for popular education on a variety of R2K issues
- We will work with partner and member organisations to extend the reach of our popular education
- We will engage with community media organisations to promote the inclusion of content on Right2Know issues
- At least one member of each provincial working group will be nominated to sit on the Popular Education Task Team
- We will actively engage youth at universities and schools, as well as unemployed youth.

5.6 Publications & Materials

With regards to the creation and distribution of Right2Know content, the Campaign resolves to:
- Publish an R2K Tabloid at least four times a year
- Ensure the content of our publications/materials is shaped by PWGs and to reflect the issues facing our communities
- Ensure that the language of our publications is accessible and clear.

5.7 Gender

- In keeping with the principles of R2K, we resolve to address patriarchy and the power imbalances between men and women within the Campaign
- Each province will have a substantive discussion/session on feminist and gender issues as soon as possible after the Summit

A task team will draw up guidelines for this discussion as well as a template of all the issues that need to be addressed and transformed

5.8. Finances & Staffing

The campaign will adopt the following resolutions regarding staffing:
- There will be no review of the basic salaries in light of frequent increases over the past two years
- We will recommend that we do away with the 13th cheque and instead spread the benefits over 12 months from this year (2015). This will in effect be a once off salary increment
- There shall be no additional changes to the staff contracts themselves
- Should concerns with contracts arise, this is to be raised with the Provincial Working Group and National Working Group
- There will be no substantive change to our Leave Policy but staff members will be encouraged to take adequate leave
- The relationships between provincial organisers and coordinators should be improved and there should be constant engagement between the two
- If provinces need added capacity, they should be in a position to motivate for that

- The National Working Group must look into the prospects for raising funds for a part-time administrator for all provinces
- Work beyond urban nodes is to be driven by the National Organiser.

The campaign will take the following resolutions regarding the budget and funding:
- We will aim to increase programmatic expenditure by increasing the 2015 popular education and mobilisation budget by 25%
- We will establish and grow a Sustainability Fund by ensuring all future funding proposals will include a line item for a sustainability fund of between 1 and 5% to be negotiated with the donor. The funds will only be used with agreement of the National Working Group.