

APPENDIX 2: Narrative Report Adopted by Summit



RIGHT2KNOW

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2016 Summit: Narrative Report

1. INTRODUCTION

When we launched the Right2Know five years ago to fight the Secrecy Bill many commentators said the Bill was the result of incompetent drafting. The R2K asserted that with the unfolding economic and social crisis South Africa the compromise negotiated in 1994 was reaching its limits and the Secrecy Bill formed part of a broader agenda of Securocrats preparing to rule by repression – determined to rule by any means necessary. Watching at the upheavals across the country today and the violent response of the State, it is safe to say the Campaign has been vindicated in our assessment.

2015 was the year of the student added their voice to the growing movement for justice in South Africa. We were moved by their militancy and courage, inspired by their ability to achieve results through direct action – struggling on a terrain of their own choosing and refusing to be drawn into processes of potential co-option.

The student struggle reaffirms the power of people organizing on their own terms, framing their issues in their own voice, and refusing to back down until their demands are met.

Right2Know can take some pride in the small contribution we made to the student struggle: We spoke out to defend their right to protest, assisted on coordinating legal support, offered direct support and solidarity on a number of campuses and ran a series of digital security workshops with student leaders. This is testimony to the responsiveness and capacity that resides within the Campaign, though more needs to be done.

2015 marked the [5th anniversary](#) of the Right2Know and saw the Campaign continue to flourish as a vibrant democratic activist-driven organisation. In the course of the year we have organized over 76 public meetings and protests, hosted 41 activist workshops and trainings, and produced and distributed 15 publications (all listed in Appendix 1).

While the nature of much of our advocacy work makes it difficult to establish direct causality between R2K's interventions and social outcomes, 2015 has seen a number of important victories for the Campaign and our allies. Highlights include:

1. The release of the [list of National Key Points](#);
2. A defense of democracy in [Parliament](#) in the wake of the State of the Nation address;
3. A partial victory on [Digital TV](#) when government announced that 5 million households would receive free [Set Top Boxes](#);
4. Ensuring [transparency in court processes](#) by joining a challenge against court secrecy imposed by SANRAL;

Other highlights in 2015 include:

1. A spirited public campaign for the withdrawal of the Film and Publication Board's (FPB) [efforts to censor the internet](#);
2. Our "[2015 Freedom Week](#)" that saw 31 events around the country, many hosted by supporting organisations.
3. The publication of [Big Brother Exposed](#), our report on the surveillance of activists, and a number of activist trainings in surveillance self-defense;
4. The release of the [Marikana Report](#) and on-going popular education and solidarity work to promote the right to protest including demanding action be taken against [police implicated in the Marikana massacre](#).
5. Hosting a series of [Media Transformation Summits](#) that brought together working journalists, community media and civil society to build alliances to advance a just media transformation
6. Promoting the [Zenzeleni model](#) of democratic 'bottom -up' community driven development of telecommunications infrastructure and internet access. .

2. CAMPAIGN FOCUS AREAS

2.1 Challenging Securotisation

The issue of securitization featured large in 2015, with the security agencies playing an increasingly visible role in policing the boundaries of democratic politics. Last year this manifested in a series of chaotic events in Parliament, and several public complaints of surveillance of activists, unionists, journalists and political figures.

It was alleged in media reports that a State Security official had accused R2K of espionage in a briefing to Parliamentary staff. R2K's response – to [picket Parliament and the State Security Agency and send a message through the media that we will not be intimidated](#) – put securocrats on the back foot as the SSA scrambled to explain itself. When similar allegations were leveled against #FeesMustFall protesters, R2K's [statement of support](#) was endorsed by a number of organisations and unions who have also been slandered with these labels. In 2016 it is likely that we will see even more use of this securocratic language to deal with dissent.

The securitization of Parliament was an especially visible example of the impact of security agencies intruding on democratic spaces. The events of 2015, with "signal jamming" at the [State of the Nation Address](#), riot police in the National Assembly, and Parliamentary staff undergoing invasive 'security vetting' to raise their security clearance to "Top Secret", are a concern both for Parliament's workers who fear intimidation, and for the broader public who need an democratic and open Parliament. R2K has taken a leading role in responding to these abuses, holding a mass rally in support of an open Parliament after the SONA, and partnering with the Legal Resources Centre to challenge the use of signal jamming

and censorship of the Parliamentary television feed. Though the Western Cape High Court dismissed this challenge, we are confident of winning on appeal at the Supreme Court of Appeal in 2016.

2.1.1 National Key Points

The year began with a major victory when R2K and the South African History Archive forced the Minister of Police to [release the list of National Key Points](#) – special zones, often in public places, designated to be critical to state security. This was a significant gain for transparency over a much-abused security policy.

R2K was able to use this list, and other information we have gathered on the Act, for regular advisories to journalists and activist organisations who face challenges to their rights in relation to National Key Points.

While we continue to call for the scrapping of the National Key Points Act (NKPA), the promised Parliamentary Review of the Act has yet to materialize. We have also campaigned for [access to the list of Strategic Installations](#), an apparently unregulated category of secret ‘security’ sites.

R2K also weighed in on a deeply flawed Bill proposed by the Democratic Alliance to replace the National Key Points Act. R2K's submission on the DA Bill and its implications for freedom of expression and the right to protest helped develop a framework for future submissions on legislation to repeal the Act.

2.1.2 Secrecy Bill

We [welcomed the leaking of the Spy Cables](#) that exposed the excessive and unacceptable secrecy adopted by South Africa's state-security structures.

We have ensured the Secrecy Act remains a political hot potato unsigned on the President's desk. And yet, it is of great concern that the State continues to use the Apartheid secrecy law to classify information. We have continued to sustain pressure and vigilance, demanding the President refuse to sign the Bill and refer it to the Constitutional Court. In late 2015 the President committed to reviewing the Secrecy Bill, which could see the Secrecy Bill back in Parliament and returning to be a key feature of our campaign in 2016.

2.1.3 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. In addition to publicizing these abuses, and giving individual advisories to organisations and activists who are having surveillance concerns, we have submitted a number of these cases as complaints to the Inspector General of Intelligence.

For most of 2015, we were engaged in a frustrating effort to bring attention to the fact that there has been no surveillance watchdog (the Inspector General of Intelligence) for nearly a year. When Parliament tried to appoint a new Inspector General of Intelligence behind closed doors, R2K intervened to ensure both greater transparency in the process and that the most draconian of candidates was not appointed. However, going into 2016 [we still do not have an Inspector General of Intelligence](#).

R2K has hosted several workshops towards the end of 2015 on surveillance self-defense, advising activists of the risks that they face and steps that can be taken to protect ourselves and our organisations.

We also used PAIA to [demand information about the government's use of 'grabber' devices](#), which are capable of mass, unregulated surveillance of mobile devices.

Internationally we have [challenged British surveillance](#) of South African civil society and developed a close working relationship with Privacy International and helped to draft 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 award-winning surveillance documentary, Citizen Four, and addressed many public meetings on the problems of surveillance.

2.1.4 Corporate Secrecy

Our work on corporate secrecy has focused on highlighting corporate tax evasion of Lonmin and supporting the My Vote Counts (MVC) campaign for greater transparency of political party funding.

MVC's Constitutional Court challenge resulted in a disappointing judgement in October that dismissed the challenge on a technicality. An excellent minority judgement, supported by four Constitutional Court justices, gave a clear articulation of why our constitution demands that voters have a right to know where political parties get their money. The judgement also gave a clear path forward – MVC must go to the High Court and begin its challenge anew. We will continue to support My Vote Counts in shaping the campaign and promoting it in popular struggles. We will challenge secret political party funding in the run-up to the 2016 Local Government elections and must link this issue of political corruption to bread-and-butter issues at a local level (see 1.2.1 below).

R2K participated in the Unite Against Corruption march, issuing pamphlets and statements that attempted to bring an increased focus on corporate secrecy and the intersection between the state and private sector. This was topped off by a rally against corporate corruption at the JSE and against MTN in Cape Town.

2.1.5 Right to Protest

The #FeesMustFall movement, though by no means the only site for serious clampdowns on protest in 2015, certainly brought protest issues to national prominence. The right to protest is continuing to grow an area of the Campaign's work as people are increasingly seeing R2K as a resource when their right to protest is frustrated.

In 2015, we distributed nearly all the remaining copies of our popular Activist Guide to the Gathering Act and have developed a new, expanded edition for 2016 which includes a focus on police brutality. We ran numerous workshops and screenings of "Miners Shot Down" with communities engaged in protest, and provided advisories and solidarity to students of the #FeesMustFall movement. Together with the United Front we undertook 21 pickets against police brutality on Human Rights Day.

In the latter half of 2015, the Gauteng and Western Cape working groups turned their attention to the bylaws used by [Johannesburg](#) and [Cape Town](#) metros to further undermine the right to protest, hosting protests for the right to protest! While this advocacy has led to a shift in some policies in those metros, more work needs to be done to tackle municipal bylaws on protest in 2016.

In April, R2K produced a [submission on the draft White Paper on Policing](#), with a focus on protecting the right to protest and clamping down on police militarization. R2K activists also presented this submission to Parliament's police committee.

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 regulations with a view to ensure that ordinary people, not just professional journalists, are protected when they exercise their right to film and photograph the police.

In 2016, two legal challenges against the Regulation of Gatherings Act are likely to come to court, through the Social Justice Coalition in the Western Cape and the Treatment Action Campaign in the Free State. We are committed to support these legal challenges to the Regulation of Gatherings Act, and work towards a more just framework for the right to protest.

After months of planning, the vision of a Right to Protest Hotline and legal referral network came to near fruition in 2015, with an agreement between R2K and allied organisations that the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) would host a hotline to advise protesters on their rights, and establish a legal referral network to assist those who face arrest. The project includes hiring a dedicated attorney to deal with the criminalization of protest.

2.2. Access to Information

We continue to promote the importance of accessing information as a mobilization and advocacy tool for social justice struggles.

2.2.1 National Advocacy

In 2015 we have campaigned successfully to ensure access to the [National Key Points](#) and the release of the [full Marikina Commission report](#) as well as ensuring [information submitted to court remains in the public domain](#). We have called for information regarding the [deployment of the army in communities](#), and information regarding the [police implicated in the Marikana massacre](#). We challenged the credibility of the Arms Deal Commission and made a [call for a substantive budget](#) to be allocated to the soon-to-be-established Information Regulator and for the process of the appointment of the Information Regulator to be fair and transparent.

Right2Know has also formed part of a coalition of civil society organisations that provided suggestions and input into the proposed Supply Chain Management Bill (or Procurement Bill), of which a draft is set to be released in early 2016.

In 2015 we also challenged Energy Minister's plans to keep details of the [proposed Nuclear Deal secret](#). We worked with a coalition of organisations to hold public actions and mobilisation in response to the nuclear procurement process, and will continue to campaign against nuclear secrecy.

Also on the energy/extractives front, we welcomed the release of the steelmaker ArcelorMittal South Africa (AMSA) 2003 Environmental Master Plan for its Vanderbijlpark steel plan and will [continue to support to the Steel Valley communities](#) in taking this matter forward and holding AMSA to account for the harm they have caused communities.

On the international front, at the International Open Government Partnership (OGP) Summit in Mexico, South Africa became the chair of the OGP, leading 51 countries that have put forward commitments to open governance. Right2Know participated in the Summit and [highlighted the hypocrisy](#) of the South African government leading on openness and accountability while promoting secretive and corrupt processes within the country.

2.2.2 Local Government & Service Delivery

This year R2K worked on a much more consistent and focused basis in several communities, promoting Access to Information as a tool to assist in local struggles. We worked with 10 communities across South Africa, initially on awareness raising around various strategies to demand access to information, and linking support organisations and community based organisations working on similar issues.

The programme resulted in several victories resulting from a wide range of strategies, including direct engagements with city and private officials, protest action, PAIA requests, media attention and various mobilisation and solidarity efforts.

The year culminated in a national meeting, where community leaders from the 10 communities and representatives from the support organisations came together to discuss successes and failures and the way forward for using both access to information campaigning and the information itself to forward local struggles.

The local government focus of our access to information work provided a great platform to begin preparing our response to the Local Government elections in 2016. We hosted a national meeting to explore a range of possible interventions around the 2016 election promoting participatory democracy.

2.2.3 The Promotion of Access to Information Act

In 2015 R2K joined the [PAIA Civil Society Network](#) to collect and distribute data around PAIA use and campaigning for the better implementation of PAIA across municipalities and other public and private bodies.

Right2Know has supported in PAIA applications and advocacy around several information requests for community organisations, including PAIA requests for housing information for the Fountainhead community residents in Blue Downs, with the community based organisation Gugulethu Backyarders and with workers organisations at the University of Johannesburg.

We have also participated in the South African History Archive's data capturing and information distribution project relating to different municipalities' compliance to PAIA – both with respect to proactive release of information and information requests.

In 2016, the CSN has committed to focusing information requests on the increasing trend of surveillance of activists and journalists, and the threat this poses to the free flow of information.

2.2.4 Whistleblowers

As our [2015 Whistleblower Calendar](#) confirmed, Whistleblowers continue to take courageous stands under very precarious conditions. A Bill to amend and strengthen South Africa's whistleblower law, the [Protected Disclosures Act](#), has been tabled in Parliament and requires our vigilance.

We've 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 promoting the importance of whistleblowing in all the other aspects of our work, but not to focus on individual whistleblowers.

We continue to promote the Open Democracy Advice Centre's Whistleblowers Helpline and give direct solidarity where we can.

2.3. Advancing the Right to Communicate

As per our strategic framework we continue to work towards ensuring that South Africa enjoys a free and diverse range of public, and private non-profit media and open and affordable access to the internet and telecommunications.

We published [Media Transformation and the Right to Communicate](#) taking stock of the full range of challenges and opportunities confronting communication system in South Africa. The publication served as the basis for a series of [Media Transformation Summits](#) in KZN, Gauteng, and the Western Cape late in the year. The Summits brought together working journalists, community media and civil society to build alliances to advance a just media transformation (a report on the Summits will be distributed early in 2016).

2.3.1 Media Freedom

Tensions between government and the media have begun worsen with Government again talking about the need for statutory regulation of journalism in the form of a Media Appeals Tribunal. On Black Wednesday and throughout the year we have participated in very lively media debates on topics such as media regulation, threats to media freedom and diversity, and the saga at the SABC.

When the securocrats [censored the TV feed](#) to the 2015 State of the Nation address in Parliament, we held a [mass rally](#) and took the [matter to court](#). Though the Western Cape High Court dismissed this application (with two judges upholding Parliament's right to censor its broadcast feed, and one judge supporting the public's right to know), we are confident we will [win on appeal](#).

In response to a high level of recorded incidents of police harassment, R2K issued an advisory informing journalists of their legal rights when filming/photographing the police. After the #FeesMustFall protests R2K was invited to a journalism training workshop at Wits University to advise journalists on covering protests.

Our 2016 Champions of the Right to Know Calendar highlighted [attacks on Tom Nkosi](#), the community journalist and publisher harassed by state security in Mpumalanga.

Our media freedom work has had an international focus this year with a [public meeting](#) on the attack on Charlie Hebdo's offices in France, and solidarity with journalists criminalized under defamation laws in the Southern Africa region. Together with the Southern African Litigation Centre and FXI, we hosted a public discussion on media freedom in the region with Angolan journalist Rafael Marques who has been persecuted by his country's ruling elite for exposing human rights abuses and corruption. We continue to work closely with regional rights groups and civil society in exposing and highlighting abuses against the media and to participate in the international Decriminalization of Expression (DoX) Campaign.

2.3.2 Media Diversity

Our [march on Budget Day](#) included the call for public funding for community and public media. Our [Media Transformation Summits](#) brought together working journalists, community media and civil society to build alliances to promote a media diversity agenda and two-day workshops were held in KZN, Gauteng and the Western Cape to engage the capacity of R2K activists to engage their community media.

We anticipate that engaging community media at a local level as well as campaigning for a national social justice TV station will be a major focus in coming years.

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 that no one is prevented from receiving television. We have continued to draw attention to the role of Naspers – and the relationship between

Naspers, the SABC and the State – in undermining the future of free-to-air TV. 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 methods that will be used to identify who will benefit from these free boxes, as well as costs and corruption.

Our focus has shifted from the technical aspects of digital migration to questions of how users will be affected, particularly with regard to content. We hosted a [workshop](#) exploring strategies to ensure that new channels, which are enabled by digital TV, contribute to greater media diversity. In the final months of 2015 we began consultations on the possibility of launching a national social justice TV station.

2.3.3 Internet Freedom

Over the past year we have devoted much time, energy and resources to campaigning against the [Film and Publication Board's \(FPB\) efforts to censor the internet](#). We conducted a sustained media campaign to raise awareness about the FPB's draft regulations for censoring the net, held workshops to prepare activists to participate in FPB public hearings in Johannesburg, central Cape Town and Khayelitsha, picketed at the FPB offices, gathered about 10,000 signatures on a petition, partnered with the Legal Resources Centre to develop a [legal opinion](#) on the regulations, worked with international internet freedom groups like [the Electronic Frontier Foundation](#), and made a formal written [submission](#). This campaign has had significant impact on the national discourse and we are confident the FPB will have a very difficult time attempting to implement a censorship policy. Late last year, however, the Film and Publications Amendment Bill, which would pave the way for the regulations, was tabled in Parliament.

Our internet freedom work expanded to challenge the draft [Cybercrimes and Cybersecurity Bill](#) where we coordinated a joint effort with a number of local and international rights groups and civil society organisations to [make submissions](#) and launched a [petition](#) against the Bill. While R2K was successful in a short space of time in drawing public attention to a very long and complicated Bill, more needs to be done to popularize this issue going forward.

2.3.4 Access to Telecommunications

In 2015 we resolved that rather than getting drawn into highly technical and legal debates that dominate the telecommunications sector we would focus on popularizing and politicizing the provision of telecoms as a right, utility, and basic service.

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 commercialized provision on internet and phone services. We also published an [Activist Guide to Internet Access](#) which served as the basis of activist workshops and advocacy.

We also published [Zenzeleni: Do it Yourself](#) (an introduction to community-run local telecommunications networks) in partnership with UWC and held a number of workshops aimed at promoting a democratic 'bottom-up' community-driven approach to the development of telecommunications infrastructure.

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

We are working with the Legal Resources Centre to develop a targeted legal strategy in pursuit of our telecoms objectives.

3. STRENGTHENING THE RIGHT2KNOW

2015 has demonstrated yet again the remarkable capacity of the Campaign to engage on a wide range of issues make a wide range of interventions from organising direct action and supporting local organising to undertaking high level research and making detailed policy submissions.

This volume and diversity of work is only possible because of the energy of the diverse network of activists and organisations that give their time collectively to build the Campaign. We can all take pride in the fact that we continue to build the Right2Know Campaign as a free, independent, vibrant and supporter-driven coalition that exemplifies our values of democracy, openness, and accountability.

3.1 Democratic governance & participatory structures

The Campaign remains democratic and activist-driven – with our programmes driven by Provincial Working Groups in KZN, Gauteng and the Western Cape, supported by a core staff and activists with thematic expertise. Our [National Summit](#) adopted a strategic framework for the year that we have begun to review at the 2016 Provincial Summits. In the next days we will produce a set of 2016 National Summit resolutions that will serve as our shared strategic framework for the coming year.

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 our popular education and mobilisation work at the grassroots. In doing so we must reflect on the difficult conditions under which comrades are struggling and the fragile state of many of our organisations. We need to honestly own our limitations so that we can develop strategies and democratic organizing practices to overcome them. R2K must ensure that the work of the Campaign does not draw comrades away from the vital task of building local organisations and other movements of the poor.

Our three Provincial Working Groups (PWGs) remain the engine of the Campaign's programme while thematic Focus Groups offer supporters with interest in specific issues a space to inform and shape the Campaign's perspective.

The National Working Group (NWG) – compassed of leaders elected at National and Provincial Summits, and all Staff - takes legal and fiduciary responsibility for the Campaign and works to give strategic oversight and direction to the various components of the organisation. In the course of 2015 Nomvula Sikakane resigned from the NWG, Carina Conradie stepped down to join the staff, and Colin Haskins was removed after a disciplinary procedure in the Gauteng PWG. Asha Moodley was co-opted to replenish our capacity.

As the scope and scale of the Campaign has grown the workload on the NWG has increased dramatically. We must pride ourselves on being an organisation that democratically elected our national leadership each year. Our participatory democracy requires leaders that are willing to do the hard work of stating informed on many issues and actively participating in PWGs and Focus Groups. When electing the 2016/7 NWG we appeal to this Summit to consider the capacity and significant time commitment we require from our NWG. (Please read the NWG Agreements only accept nomination of you can meet these commitments).

In the spirit of critical self-critique this Summit must ask probing questions about our own democracy. On one hand our structure enables activist participation and democratic accountability rooted in PWGs,

on the other it allows activists that share a common interest to take initiatives in the name of the R2K. This structure has enabled the relatively high levels of participation and ownership that R2K activists feel. However there is a mountain of capacity and passion within the Campaign that we are not drawing on. Too often too few voices dominate discussion. Too often while participation in Working Groups is broad, the task implementation falls to a core (and over-burdened) group of activists.

At our [Mid Term Review](#) in July we reviewed the various campaign [structures and capacities](#) to assess if they are effectively enabling activism and ensuring synergies across the campaign. 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 national staff and Focus Group activists.

We also identified the need to support newer activists in campaign structures offer more support to integrate and get up to speed on the issues. To this end we published an activist induction manual to orientate newer activists within the Campaign.

This Summit must identify other interventions that can deepen our internal democracy and unlock the passion and energy of comrades across the Campaign.

3.2 Combating Patriarchy

Patriarchy – together with racism and exploitation – makes up the soil in which authoritarianism grows. Our society is steeped in patriarchy and it affects almost every aspect of our lives, and R2K is no exception. As a Campaign that stands for democracy and equality we must consciously challenge patriarchal practices and relations. We must transform R2K into a feminist organisation.

The 2015 National Summit resolved to take up this fight and over the course of the year we made a good start, holding discussions and workshops in Provinces to make patriarchy visible and workshop a draft sexual harassment policy that this Summit must amend and adopt.

Sexual harassment is one of the most explicit expressions of patriarchy. This Summit has the challenging task of identifying strategies that can uproot the more systemic and implicit manifestations of patriarchy and promote a feminist practice.

3.3 Beyond Urban Nodes

Even the poorest communities in our cities have better access to solidarity networks, the media, and other resources than most communities in small towns, on feudal farms, and living under the undemocratic rule of traditional leaders.

In the course of 2015 our efforts to expand the Campaign's presence beyond our current urban nodes to include rural and peri-urban communities in all provinces, has seen us engage 33 organisation, signed 10 [MOUs](#) and supported 14 actions in the Eastern Cape, North West, Mpumalanga and Limpopo, Northern Cape, and Free State.

We've reiterated that it is not the intention to have fully functional democratic R2K structures in other provinces at this point. We've aimed to enable action and provide practical solidarity where possible, especially in relation to the right to protest and access to information. Our guiding slogan has been 'struggle before structure'. The need for coordinating structures should emerge from collaboration.

We have just appointed a full time National Outreach Organiser who will increase our capacity to advance on this front. This Summit must reflect on this emerging area of work and identify strategies

that do not create paternalistic dependencies but offer the support of the Campaign to comrades struggling outside our major urban centres.

3.4 Coalitions and Fronts

As we have resolved before, the right to know cannot be won without a realignment of broader social and political forces. In the context of major upheavals in the trade union movement, and the emergency of a militant student movement, R2K remains committed to exploring greater unity forged in action within civil society.

In 2015 we've engaged in processes to shape the United Front, participated in various United Front protests and marches, and played a central role in driving the [Unite Against Corruption](#) initiative in KZN, Western Cape and Gauteng.

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 where R2K is not yet active. We have also participated in the process of shaping the UF founding documents in the run-up to their postponed launch in June.

In the course of 2015 we have worked with OUTA and the Nine+ Unions and formally joined the [PAIA Civil Society Network](#) and remained active in the [SOS Support Public Broadcasting Coalition](#) and Marikana Support Campaign.

R2K has also been invited to join the Privacy International Network, a global network of South-aligned organisations working on surveillance issues.

This Summit must take stock of the UAC and the United Front initiatives that many would argue have not met our expectations. We need to identify the barriers to unity in action and the contribution R2K can make to overcome these. Our deliberations should be guided by the discussion document on coalitions and fronts produced for this Summit.

3.5 Media and Communications

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 that our growing team of spokes people have articulated through a wide range [mass media](#) platforms

In 2015 we redesigned the front page of our [website](#), produced and distributed [15 publications](#) (listed in Appendix 1) including our [5 Year Anniversary Timeline](#), two editions of our popular tabloid [Your Right to Know](#) and our 2016 Champions of the Right to Know calendar.

Regarding internal communication we piloted a [weekly events calendar](#), developed a contact database and [reporting system](#) (including our mobile activist app), and continued to maintain our range of information-sharing and discussion email lists.

Given the breadth and complexity of many issues the campaign tackles, many activists experience an overwhelming information overload. This Summit should consider innovative ways to package and

distribute Campaign information so that they have the desired impact both on external and internal stakeholders.

3.6 Popular Education & Mobilisation

Informed activism and popular mobilisation are at the centre of the Campaign's advocacy strategy. To this end, beyond the communications and 15 publications detailed above, in 2015 the Campaign organized over 41 Workshops and 76 public meetings and protests.

We completed the year with a review of our three-month [2015 leadership school](#) programme delivered at Provincial level and our pilot [online political education course](#). The review raised serious concerns about the impact of a School that only reaches a few comrades who can spare a series of days and attempts to address the breadth and depth of R2K's substantive and organisational issues. The model of a single residential Leadership School is an expensive and blunt Pop Ed tool given our leadership development challenges.

This Summit must consider alternative and innovative approaches to leadership development. These must include a more diverse set of interventions that speak to the developmental needs of different comrades grappling with different challenges in the Campaign.

3.7 Campaign Finances

The Campaign's finances continue to be well managed with oversight of the NWG and Finance Team. We completed another clean audit for the 2015-year. Our programme budgets are set in Provinces ensuring maximum responsiveness and activist control of resources. The NWG and Provinces continue to receive monthly financial reports tracking expenditure and indicating funds available for Provincial programmes.

Our budget has grown considerably over recent years (with the 2015 Summit approving a 25% growth in campaign costs for 2015). We successfully raised our full budget with the support of [seven donors](#) and have prepared a 2016-18 three-year fundraising budget that anticipates the campaign's growth in the coming years. A more detailed 2015 Financial Report will be presented to the Summit including a 2016 Budget with a further growth projection of 16.2%.

This growth of expenditure has placed additional burden on our financial management systems and everyone involved - especially Provincial Staff who have the responsibility of accounting for most cash expenses - should be acknowledged for the impeccability of our financial records. In the last months of 2015 the NWG adopted a number of special projects to maximize funding opportunities. These included hosting our Provincial Media summits and promoting Channel Free. This increased activity over a short period of time resulted in an over expenditure because budgets were not adequately monitored. While we had to abandon some of the special projects, all funds have been accounted for.

3.8 Campaign Staffing

R2K remains an activist-driven campaign and employs a limited staff complement that perform critical tasks and enable activism. Staffers are themselves activists and drive their respective campaign work areas in conjunction with – and with democratic oversight from – volunteer activists.

Our staff capacity has expanded in the course of 2015. As per the mandate of the 2015 Summit we have employed three Provincial Administrators to support the growth of Provincial programmes and free up Organizers to spend more time engaging supporters. We introduced two new Focus Organizers to support the thematic areas of our work around access to information and the right to communicate. The NWG chose not to renew our National Organizer's contract. After a review of R2K's organisational structures, we removed the post of National Organiser and have recently appointed a National Outreach Organiser to build a network of solidarity in our other six provinces and a National Advocacy Coordinator to drive greater strategic cohesion and synergy across the different capacities in the Campaign. We have also maintained our performance management system and aligned staff contracts to apply with relevant labour law.

4: IN CONCLUSION

While we should all take great pride in what we have achieved together after five years of fighting for the right to know, we must use this Summit to take stock of our organization and answer some challenging questions as we map the way forward.

Perhaps the most important set of questions relate to our sustainability and impact. While our open democratic structures and activist-driven practices enable us to be impressively productive and highly flexible and responsive, we must consider what impact we achieve as we tackle the wide range of issues on our agenda.

Processes of popular education, mobilization, alliance building and achieving changes in law all require a long-term and sustained commitment.

Many of us can see that we could achieve more by taking on less and working in a more systematic way on priority issues. But our organisation relies on the energy of a very diverse group of activists and organizations – can we agree on a narrower set of priorities without smothering the activism that drives the Campaign? This is a key challenge to all of us that call for wisdom and discipline as we move into the various Summit Commissions.

Five years of struggle have taught us that we can trust the collective wisdom dispersed across the Campaign. This Summit will conclude with a renewed strategic framework and democratic leadership to guide our action in our various Working Groups and Focus Groups. And next year we will gather again to reflect on the Resolutions we adopt here, the changing context, and draw a new set of conclusions to take us into the next phase of our struggle.

That is participatory democracy!

Narrative Report Appendix 1: Workshops, Public Meetings, Protests & Publications.

These lists are incomplete because of the quantity of activist across the Campaign and weaknesses in our documentation systems.

41 Workshops & Activist Trainings

- 2 x Combatting Patriarch – Gauteng & Western Cape
- 3 x Developing a Sexual Harassment Policy - KZN, Gauteng, Western Cape
- 6 x Leadership School Sessions - KZN, Gauteng, Western Cape
- 2 x United Front Orientation workshops – Gauteng & Western Cape
- 3 x Media Transformation Activist Workshops - KZN, Gauteng, Western Cape
- Briefing session on Climate Justice issues by SAFCEI and Green Peace – Western Cape
- Anti-Corruption Activist Training - Western Cape
- 3 x FPB Online Regulations workshop - Western Cape & Gauteng
- Campaign Cafe to reflect on implications and lessons learnt from #FeesMustFall campaign - WC
- Campaign Cafe to reflect on engaging the youth – WC
- Making Local Government Work (national meeting) – GP
- Sharing Access to Information lessons (national meeting) – GP
- Briefing on the public hearing on the appointment of the Intelligence Inspector General – WC
- 2 x Workshops with #FeesMustFall on digital surveillance – Gauteng & Eastern Cape
- 2 x Activists workshops on Internet Access – KZN and Western Cape.
- 3 x Right2Know Reflection Workshops – KZN, Gauteng, Western Cape
- Workshops on surveillance took place at Stellenbosch University – WC
- Digital security training workshop – GP
- Workshop held for AIDC Right to Protest – WC
- Orientation workshop in Newcastle – KZN

- Challenges facing the media, at the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism to the University of Venda's students – Gauteng
- Orientation workshop in community of KwaNyuswa - KZN
- Workshop with Black Sash on unlawful deductions of SASSA Grants in Mitchell's Plain – Western Cape
- Right to protest workshop at Philippi High School – Western Cape
- Right to protest workshop with the Marikana community – Western Cape
- Right to protest workshop in Blue Downs – Western Cape
- Meeting on Glebelands killings - KZN

76 Public meetings & Protests

- Public meeting on Freedom of expression: Je Suis Charlie? – Western Cape
- 2x Marches Against Xenophobia – KZN & Gauteng
- Picket at My Vote Counts Court Case – Gauteng
- Hands Off Parliament Rally – Western Cape
- Picket at SANRAL court case – Western Cape
- Budget Day March – Western Cape
- Picket at Film & Publication Board – Gauteng
- 12 x pickets against police brutality on Human Rights Day
- Mass meeting against Xenophobia – KZN
- Launch of Big Brother Exposed – Gauteng
- Public meeting on migration to digital TV – Western Cape
- Freedom Day public meeting – Western Cape
- Thembelihle Screening of Crumbs – GP
- Mitchells Plain Screening of Miners Shot Down – Western Cape

- Orlando West Screening of Miners Shot Down – Gauteng
- Greenpoint screening of Crumbs – Western Cape
- KwaMakhutha Screening of Miners Shot Down – KZN
- Soweto screening of Crumbs – Gauteng
- Schubert Park screening of Crumbs – Gauteng
- Austerville Screening of Miners Shot Down – KZN
- Orange Farm screening of Crumbs – Gauteng
- Solidarity protest at Gelebland Hostel – KZN
- Anti- corruption 14 October picket outside ANC office – WC
- Picket at SAPS Pretoria, following PAIA request related to Farlam Commission report - GP
- March in Eshowe to protest against corruption by the SASSA - KZN
- Picket in front of SAPS headquarters protesting surveillance of activists and organisations - KZN
- 2x International Right to Know Day Pickets at the City of Cape Town – WC, GP
- Picket at MTN offices – GP
- Launch of Zenzeleni publications – WC
- Launch of two research reports on access to telecommunications - Gauteng
- 3 x United Against Corruption Marches – KZN, Gauteng, Western Cape
- Stall at the Consciousness Café - Gauteng
- Picket in commemoration with Marikana victims - KZN
- Solidarity picket with Apollo Tyres workers, who were arrested after protesting for a lack of information on pension payouts - KZN
- Protest against the JMPD checklist – GP
- picket to protest against slow process of employing Inspector General of Intelligence – Western Cape
- Quality Housing Picket in Blue Downs - WC
- Film screenings of Citizen Four in Melville, GP
- R2K Ixopo public meeting - KZN
- Screening of film, Citizen Four – KZN
- Public meeting held in Gingindlovu on Access to Information – KZN
- Seminar with Rafael Marques and on criminalization of journalists - GP
- Big Brother South Africa: what you need to know about surveillance and the right to privacy - GP
- Greater KwaMakhutha Community Forum on issue of demarcation –
- KZN R2K Youth in communities of Illovo and Umnini - KZN
- Marikana commemoration: Screening of Miners Shot Down followed by a candle lit vigil at the Lenasia police station – GP
- Presentation on media freedom in South Africa at the Vega School of Photography – GP
- MTN Corruption picket at ANC offices – Western Cape
- Numsa lead anti-corruption march - Gauteng
- Access to information meeting at Philippi High School - WC
- Nkanini community on ongoing water crisis – KZN
- R2K meeting with civil society organisations at Civicus House - GP
- 3 x Provincial Media Transformation Summits - KZN, Gauteng, Western Cape
- Stall at the Open Book Festival – Western Cape
- Community seminar on corruption in Delft on SASSA grants with participants from Blikkiesdorp and Delft – Western Cape
- Picket at SSA – Gauteng
- SSA picket at Parliament – Western Cape
- Panel discussion on media freedom and diversity at the Jozi Book Fair – GP
- Community seminar on corruption in Delft on SASSA grants with participants from Blikkiesdorp and Delft – Western Cape
- Solidarity at General Moyo's Right to Protest court case (Boipatong 4) - Gauteng

15 Publications

1. 2015 Whistleblower Calendar
2. Discussions on a Disk
3. Expanding the Right to Communicate: an Activist Guide to Internet Access

4. Zenzeleni: Do it Yourself is an introduction to Community Telecommunications Networks
5. Big Brother Exposed
6. Zenzeleni.net website
7. Right2Know Five Year Time Line
8. Your Right to Know (May Tabloid)
9. The Lived Cost of Communications
10. Alternatives to Privatised Telecommunications
11. Activist Guide to the Right to Protest (revision)
12. Media Transformation & the Right to communicate
13. We have the Right2Know
14. Your Right to Know (September Tabloid)
15. 2016 Right to Know Champions Calendar

APPENDIX 3: Summit Programme

R2K 2016 NATIONAL SUMMIT PROGRAMME

26 – 28 February, Glenmore Pastoral Centre, Durban

	9h00 – 10h30 1.5h	11h00- 12h30 1.5h	13h30 – 15h00 1.5h	15h30 – 17h00 1.5h	18h30 – 20h30 2h
FRI 26 FEB	TRAVEL, ARRIVE REGISTER & LUNCH		13h30: Adopt programme, introductions & credentials 13h45: Presentation & Adoption of Organizational Report 14h30: Presentation & Adoption of Financial Report	15h30: Plenary discussion on the broader context	18h30: Presentation of the IEC and Electoral Procedure 18:45: Plenary discussion on State of our Struggles
SAT 27 FEB	8h30: Solidarity Pitch's & panning commissions 9h00: Thematic Commissions (90 min): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Securitization 2. Access to Information 3. Media Freedom & Diversity 4. Access to Telecoms 5. Right to Protest 	11h15: Thematic commission reports for discussion (15min/commission)	13h30: Movement Building Commissions (90 min): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. R2k internal democracy & enabling activism 2. Building local struggles 3. Fronts, coalitions, 4. Fighting Patriarchy 5. Building R2K beyond the urban nodes 6. Popular education & capacity development 7. Finances & Staffing 	15h30: Movement building Commissions reports for discussion (10min/group) 16h40: Nominations for the National Working Group	SOCIAL
SUN 28 FEB	9h00: Solidarity Pitches 10h00: Present & adopt 2015 resolutions on Building the R2K	11h00: R2K Pitches 12h00: Present & adopt 2015 resolution on thematic areas (VOTING DURING LUNCH)	13h30: Present & adopt 2015 resolutions (continued) 14;15: Announcement of 2015/6 NWG 14h20: Closing remarks from 2016/17 NWG. 14h30: Closure	DEPART & TRAVEL	

ENDS