



RIGHT2KNOW

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5th R2K National Summit

20-22 February 2015

Genderlinks Cottages, Observatory, Johannesburg

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Right2Know Vision

We seek a country and a world where we all have the right to know – that is to be free to access and to share information. This right is fundamental to any democracy that is open, accountable, participatory and responsive; able to deliver the social, economic and environmental justice we need. On this foundation a society and an international community can be built in which we all live free from want, in equality and in dignity.

Right2Know Mission

- To co-ordinate, unify, organise and activate those who share our principles to defend and advance the right to know.
- To struggle both for the widest possible recognition in law and policy of the right to know and for its implementation and practice in daily life.
- To root the struggle for the right to know in the struggles of communities demanding political, social, economic and environmental justice.
- To propagate our vision throughout society.
- To engage those with political and economic power where necessary.
- To act in concert and solidarity with like-minded people and organisations locally and internationally.

1. Introduction

The Right2Know Campaign held its fifth National Summit in Observatory, Johannesburg, from 20 – 22 February 2015. The Summit constituted of delegates elected at Provincial Summits in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, and the Western Cape, as well as members of the outgoing National Working Group and a number of observers from supporting organisations (see participants listed in APPENDIX 1).

Delegates assessed the progress made since the fourth National Summit (in March 2014) and the challenges and opportunities facing the campaign in the coming year (see Organizational Report in APPENDIX 3).

Delegates then developed and adopted the following resolutions and elected a 2015/16 National Working Group.

The Summit programme is included as APPENDIX 2.

2. 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 heroes 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 councilors 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 Wi-Fi
- Engage with the big metros regarding their plans to roll out Broadband
- Support working class communities building their own open Wi-Fi 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 protestors, 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:
 - a. Marshalling
 - b. Anticipating infiltration / agents provocateurs
 - c. Defence strategy including provocation and brutality
 - d. Conscious documenting of actions
 - e. 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.

3. Election of the 2015/16 National Working Group

The following people were elected to the National Working group (NWG) for 2015/16:

- Nonhlanhla Chanza
- Carina Conradie
- Ghalib Galant
- Colin Haskins
- Meshack Mbangula
- Thabane Miya
- Godfrey Phiri
- Karabo Rajuili
- Nomvula Sikakane
- Alison Tilley
- Hennie Van Vuuren

ENDS

APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS

The following 96 people participated in the 2015 National Summit.

KZN Delegation

Thulani	Mkhize
Zandile	Nsibande
Phezukonke	Ntetha
Thabane	Miya
Philisiwe	Mazibuko
Bonga	Sithole
Sithembiso	Khuluse
Megan	Lewis
Percy	Nhau
Velile	Ndlovu

Western Cape Delegation

Sizwe	Manqele
Karabo	Rajuili
Farah	Abdureihman
Ghalib	Galant
Imraahm	Mukaddam
Levona	Carstens
Mawethu	Mapotolo
Nonhlanha	Chanza
Nomacebo	Mbayo
Zukisa	Fumba

Gauteng Delegation

Palesa	Kunene
Godfrey	Phiri
Jabulile	Masina
Aubry	Lengane
General	Moyo
Collins	Haskins
Ntombiyebongo	Tshabalala
Philisiwe	Dhlahla
Sekoetlane	Phamodi
Bhaiza	Miya

2014/15 National Working Group

Roegchanda	Pascoe
Julie	Reid
Khaya	Xintolo
Carina	Conradie
Hennie	Van Vuuren
Alison	Tilley
Nomvula	Sikakane
Nkosingiphile	Mpanza
Dale	McKinley
Meshack	Mbangula

Guests & Observers

Ferrial	Adam	350.org
Sbongiseni	Zulu	AIDRASCL
Moleme		AIDRASCL
Glenda	Muzenda	AMNESTY
Caroline	Tangy	APC
Hassen	Lorgat	Benchmarks
David	Lewis	Corruption Watch
Ronald	Menoe	Corruption Watch
Lindiwe	Malindi	Democracy from Below
Lerato	Maregele	Earthlife
Nomalizo	Xhoma	Earthlife
Christina	Khosi	EEO
Qedusizi	Masina	EEO
Alfred	Tshabalala	EEO
Zororo	Mavindidze	FXI
Sphiwe	Segodi	FXI
Christian	Echle	KAS
David	Cote	LHR
Avani	Singh	LRC
Sbusiso	Buthlezi	MACODEF/ DLF
Jane	Duncan	MPDP
Martha	Sithole	Ndifuna Ukwazi
Trygve	Augestad	Norwegian Peoples Aid

Ameck	Ayong	Norwegian Peoples Aid
Suraya	Jawoodien	Numsa
Vuyo	Bikitsha	Numsa/United Front
Dinga	Sikwebu	Numsa/United Front
Mukelani	Dimba	ODAC
Michael	Marchant	Open Secrets
Sipho	Mthathi	OXFAM
Arthur	Mape	R2K
Dugan	Fraser	Raith Foundation
Liz	McDaid	SAFCIS
Bapate	Ntकिनca	SAHA
Toerien	Van Wyk	SAHA
Mark	Heywood	Section 27
Lwazi	Mtshiyoy	SERI

Right2Know Staff

Bongani	Xezwi
Busisiwe	Mtabane
Janine	Julisen
Joanne	Adams
Mark	Weinberg
Micah	Reddy
Murray	Hunter
Siviwe	Mdoda
Vainola	Makan

Apologies

Action Aid
Afesis-Corplan
Association of Independent Publishers
Black Sash
CASAC
Ceasefire Campaign
Children's Resource Centre
Code for SA
Community Media Trust
COPAC
DDP
Democracy from Below
Diakonia Council of Churches
Earthlife Africa (Cape Town)
Environmental Monitoring Group
Equal Education
FES

Ford Foundation
HBS
HIVOS
HRMC
IAJ
Inyathelo
LRC
MMA
Muslim Views
MWASA
My Vote Counts
NCRF
OSF-SA
Parliamentary Monitoring Group
People's Voices for Social Justice
Raith Foundation
Rhodes Journalism
SACCIS
SJC

ENDS

APPENDIX 2: NATIONAL SUMMIT PROGRAMME

	<i>8h30 - 10h30</i> <i>2h</i>	<i>11h00- 12h30</i> <i>1.5h</i>	<i>13h30 - 15h00</i> <i>1.5h</i>	<i>15h30 - 17h00</i> <i>1.5h</i>	<i>18h30 - 20h30</i> <i>2h</i>
FRIDAY 20 FEBURARY	TRAVEL, ARRIVE & REGISTER		13h30: Adopt programme, introductions& credentials 13h45: Presentation & Adoption of Organizational Report 14h30: Presentation & Adoption of Financial Report	15h30: Plenary discussion on the broader social, political, & economic context	18h30: Presentation of the IEC and Electoral Procedure 18:45: Plenary discussion on State of our Struggles
SATURDAY 21 FEBURARY	8h30: Plenary song & setting up commissions 9h00: Thematic Commissions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Secrecy & whistleblowers 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: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Building local struggles 2. Fronts, coalitions, networks & building R2K beyond the urban nodes 3. R2k internal democracy & enabling activism 4. Popular education & capacity development 5. Finances& Staffing 	15h30: Movement building Commissions reports for discussion (15min/group) 16h45: Nominations for the National Working Group	SOCIAL
SUNDAY 22 FEBURARY	8h30: Present & adopt 2015 resolutions 10h15: Voting for NWG	11h00: Present & adopt 2015 resolutions (continued) 12h15: Announcement of 2015/6 NWG 12h30: Closure	DEPART& TRAVEL		

APPENDIX 3: 2014/15 NARRATIVE REPORT

Introduction

The bold decision of our first National Summit in 2011 to expand the scope of the Right2Know campaign beyond opposition to the Secrecy Bill has laid the foundation for the R2K to grow into a multi-dimensional movement taking on a wide range of challenges to the free flow of information. As the report on our programme below shows, 2014 has been a busy period for the Right2Know and we have made good progress implementing our 2014 National Summit resolutions within our 2013-15 strategic framework.

The democratic activist-driven nature of our organisation has ensured a vibrant and action-orientated programme for the year. Apart from a number of important statements covered in the press, we have organised over 24 popular education workshops, 36 public meetings and 18 protests: a total of more than 79 actions averaging over 6 events per month!

Standing together for access to information and freedom of expression, our strategy of integrating popular education, mobilisation and advocacy has borne fruit. On the legislative front we made a submission on the ICT Green Paper, the Amendments to the Protective Disclosures Act and USAASA consultations on subsidies for Set Top Boxes. In court we won an important victory for the right to protest in the Tshwane High Court, forced the publication of secret documents in a SANRAL court case and won a court order for the Minister of Police to release the list of National Key Points.

Most importantly, we have continued to root the campaign in the network of progressive and popular organisations. We've maintained an exemplary internal democracy ensuring the campaign where our vision of a transparent, accountable, and participatory democracy find real expression.

There is not enough time or space to acknowledge every comrades contribution that has made 2014 such a successful year for the Right2Know. This report is a small attempt to capture our achievements and flag some critical questions we must confront going forward. As you read the report please know that we are all collectively grateful for your contribution and ongoing support.

Secrecy

2014 has seen continued economic stagnation, deepening poverty and inequality, and the resulting increases in social protest and political polarisation. As we have said many times in the past, rather finding democratic solutions, government is responding to the deepening crisis with further economic austerity, greater repression and securitisation. This trend found its fullest expression in 2015 when the Ministers in the Security Cluster justified the use of riot police to suppress opposition parties in the National Parliament. In this context we work to ensure secrecy legislation is limited and aligned to the South African Constitution and its underlying values.

The State of Secrecy

Throughout the year we have given regular briefings and inputs on secrecy-related matters from the use of riot police in Parliament and the heroic action of national security whistleblower Edward Snowden to launching Jane Duncan's book, *The Rise of the Securocrats*. We have also provided regular advice and guidance to journalists, researchers and civil society activists on an ad-hoc basis.

We published the highly influential annual State of Secrecy Report that provides empirical measures of transparency and potential abuse of secrecy in the state and private sector.

Secrecy Bill

The Protection of State Information Bill – the Secrecy Bill - has now been sitting unsigned on the President’s desk for over a year. Until it is signed the even more draconian 1982 Apartheid secrecy law and MISS remain in place and we cannot challenge the Secrecy Bill in court. We have continued to call on Zuma to “Scrap the Bill “and begin redrafting in Parliament, or sign it and send it to the Constitutional Court for review.

In anticipation of the Secrecy Bill being signed into law in the coming months, we have completed the preparations of our legal challenge and are preparing a pamphlet and an information road-show to ensure the legal challenge is supported by popular mobilisation.

National Key Points

Two years ago we lodged a PAIA request to the South African Police Service for a list of sites protected by the apartheid-era National Key Points Act. We did this after numerous complaints that the Act has been invoked to shield certain institutions from scrutiny and criticism, often far beyond the actual powers of the law.

This information is needed to challenge abuses of the NKPA more effectively and to highlight oversight problems inherent to expansive national-security practices – and most importantly, it needs to be in the public domain for the purposes of the upcoming Parliamentary review of the National Key Points Act.

We highlighted the abuse of the Key Points Act by the SABC to gag staff and by the Executive’s challenge Public protector report on Nkandla.

SAPS refused to release the information, citing national security concerns. We sought to challenge that decision in court and after two years of preparation we finally got a hearing and the North Gauteng High court handed down a judgment in our favour. Securing the list of Key Points is a great victory – we must build on this victory to ensure the Apartheid Act is scrapped in its entirety.

State Surveillance

Following years of delay, our activists successfully petitioned the Joint Standing Committee of Intelligence to publish its overdue annual reports from 2011 to 2013. Based on the reports released we published an op-ed on the internal turmoil within the state security services, the gross mis-expenditures by the spy agencies and poor oversight and evidence of abuses of state surveillance.

We’ve reasserted the right to privacy by ensuring that the interception of communications is on the ICT Policy Review agenda. These issues were workshopped in Gauteng and the Western Cape and included in R2K’s *Preconditions for a Democratic Broadcasting and Telecommunications System*. These preconditions formed the basis of our submission on ICT Green Paper.

Police militarisation and activist support:

The year has given us an opportunity to root activism against the security state in the security state’s most public manifestation: the militarisation of the police and criminalisation of protest. We have identified a pattern of infringements on freedom of assembly from local government officials and police, and an increasingly hostile environment for protest more generally.

In response, we have undertaken national awareness-raising in the media through statements and talk-radio discussions, hosted twelve screenings of the *Miners Shot Down* documentary and a high-profile rally against police brutality at Johannesburg Central Police Station on Human Rights Day and co-convened two marches against police brutality at Cape Town police stations on the anniversary of the Marikana Massacre. We also won an important legal victory defending the right to protest in the North Gauteng High Court. The case concerned the abuse of the NKPA and also to directly mention the Seriti Commission.

We have increasingly been identified as an organisation that can provide advice and support to activist organisations, and there is growing demand for information on protestors' rights and we continue to distribute the popular R2K Activist Guide to the Gatherings Act and "your right to protest". We also hosted four provincial workshops exploring the right to protest that have been condensed to one-hour information sessions that have been held in smaller community meetings and rural outreach.

The scale and geographical spread of protest is well beyond our capacity to offer the support required. Fro this reason we are working with a range of paralegal organisations to explore setting up telephonic advise centre for protests in every corner of the country.

Intelligence Policy Review:

In preparation for our response to the Intelligence Policy Review we have initiated consultations with the Open Society Justice Initiative to develop an overview of international best practice. This work will begin in earnest when Parliament undertakes the review.

Access to Information

Our opposition to secrecy is not limited to keeping a check on the police and intelligence agencies. Activists are denied access to information at every turn in their quest for social, economic and environmental justice. Together we continue to work towards ensuring that public and private sector information is easily accessible to all citizens.

Political Party Funding Secrets

In the run-up to the General Elections the total lack of transparency around political party was a focus of our access to information work. While all political parties receive a small amount of public funding, the majority of their funding comes from private donors with no disclosure requirement – it creates an environment for corruption and influence-peddling and is one of the most pressing 'secrecy' issues in the nexus between the private-sector and public politics. In the lead-up to the elections, R2K held a well-attended political party funding public event at Wits and was a founding signatory of a joint letter calling for parties to disclose their donors (over 60 organisations signed). During the election period we did a lot of media work to ensure that this issue becomes a talking point in the broader society, including an op-ed. We have established collaboration with My Vote Counts (MVC), a campaign for party-funding reform. MVC has approached the Constitutional Court to compel Parliament to enact a law to regulate money in politics and ensure transparency.

Arms Deal Secrets

We also focused on secrecy surrounding the Arms Deal commission where documents vital to exposing large scale corruption are being withheld from the public. We published an Arms Deal information portal – a website that curates all the evidence submitted to the Commission by the LHR clients – this provided proof of substantial evidence of wrongdoing in the Commission’s possession, and dispelled the popular myth that Arms Deal critics have ‘nothing but allegations’. We held public meetings in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg and picketed outside the Commission on three occasions and published an op-ed on the matter. After much debate we concluded that the Commission was a whitewash and supported the withdrawal of witnesses.

Secrecy and workers struggles

The first half of 2014 also saw increased campaigning in the labour movement and the longest ever strike in the Platinum industry. The Right2Know joined the Numsa-led marches for youth jobs in an effort to build solidarity across various struggles and recognise that South Africa’s jobs crisis can only be addressed through a national dialogue on economic policy that is shaped by the maximum participation of those most affected, in this case workers and the unemployed. We participated in the Gauteng Strike Support Committee, helping with material/food aid to miners and families and organising pickets at the Chamber of Mines. We also released a statement in support of platinum strikers highlighting secrecy in the pricing of platinum. In the second half of the year we supported the Save Our SAMWU (SOS) workers and their campaign for greater transparency and accountability within their union.

Western Cape E-Tolls

We intervened in a secret court battle between a range of government agencies regarding South African Roads Agency Limited (SANRAL) plans to put tollgates in the Western Cape. SANRAL argued that crucial parts of the plan are "commercially confidential", and successfully obtained a court order that sealed the entire court file. We intervened as amicus curiae to challenge the blanket secrecy.

While we won the release of a redacted version of the information, unfortunately the resulting judgment actually extended the role of confidentiality in court processes – effectively giving even public bodies the right to claim that their court papers are ‘confidential’ and preventing the public from accessing them. This is an aspect of the case that we continue to challenge.

The impact of secrecy on communities

We held public meetings in Cape Town and Johannesburg on the cost of secrecy in our lives, focusing in specific on the Arms Deal, electricity prices and basic services as well as community meetings on secrecy & service delivery in Delft, Blikkiesdorp and Meadowlands. In Durban we’ve highlighted the impact of secrecy on campaigns for clean environment and stood in solidarity with hostel dwellers right to organise. We are working with communities taking up various housing struggle in Gauteng and the Western Cape and anticipate that this will become an important focus of our information access work in the coming months.

The Open Government Partnership

In 2015 South Africa becomes chairperson of the International Open Government Partnership (OGP). The eyes of the world will be on South Africa, watching to see how government and civil society can work together to achieve greater transparency –

including mechanisms for the proactive release of information. The 2015 National Summit must identify the potential risks and opportunities this processes represents for our campaign or access to information.

Advancing the Right to Communicate

South Africa's deepening social crisis has again pointed to the need for a free and diverse media to inform citizens and facilitate a new social consensus. Again our media have been found wanting: we seen continued political interface at the public broadcaster, a commercial press dominated primarily by the concerns and voices of an economic elite, and community media remains trapped in resource strapped survival. The democratising potential of telecommunications and the Internet remains frustrated by the profiteering of telecoms corporations.

We have continued to campaign 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.

National Day Of Action for the Right to Communicate

A highlight of 2014 was the National Day of Action for the Right to Communicate held on 18 October to commemorate the banning of anti-apartheid publications in 1977. The National Day of Action saw a mass meeting in Durban, a Johannesburg march from Media24 to the SABC and a Cape Town march from Vodacom to Independent newspapers.

The Day successfully challenged the dominant idea that media freedom is under threat from the state alone and highlighted threats to journalists from media owners and the general commercialisation of the media with memorandums delivered to Independent Newspapers and Media24. We also focused on the critical role of the SABC and the process of digital television with our call for free Set Top Boxes.

We placed access to telecoms (phone & internet) into the media freedom agenda with memorandums delivered to cell phone companies. This is a critical shift in understanding as technology is leading us to a convergence of traditional and new media - and the SA media, civil society and government have been battling to break down media/telecoms silos and engage these issues in an integrated fashion.

The Day of Action was also a milestone for building the R2K. It was the first time we held events simultaneously in our different centres, the first time we had the luxury of many weeks to prepare - and we used these well to hold workshops and meetings in many communities ensuring people were familiar with the issues and shaped our demands, and the first time we produced a popular mobilisation tabloid to support our work.

Digital Free Set Top Boxes

The migration from analogue to digital television will have far reaching implications for the future of the media in South Africa and direct impact on every household in the country. Of particular concern is the cost of set top boxes that everyone will need to access digital TV. Together with the SOS Campaign we held workshops of digital TV in provinces and adopted a Call for Inclusive Digital Television and Free Set-Top-Boxes. We made a submission on STB subsidies at a picket outside the Universal Service Agency.

We anticipate that the campaign for a just migration to digital TV will be a major focus in the coming year.

Exposing problems with new government communication policy

Not surprisingly in the run-up to a general election, there was little movement regarding regulation of ownership or editorial content of the press. The new cabinet appointed after the elections saw the Communications Ministry split into two separate entities – one focused on broadcasting and government communication, the other on telecommunications. R2K raised concerns regarding both the delinking of telecoms and broadcasting and telecoms (undermining the ICT Policy Review) and the emphasis on government propaganda. The new Minister of Communication has already announced intentions to pursue regulation regarding media ownership and has hinted at the need for a more ‘loyal’ print media.

Promoting democratic broadcasting and telecommunications

Much of our work in this period has focused on the ICT Policy process – a review of all law relating to broadcasting and telecommunications. After hosting consultative workshops in Johannesburg and Cape Town in partnership with the SOS Coalition we adopted a set of *Preconditions for a Democratic Broadcasting and Telecommunications System*. These preconditions formed the basis of our submission on ICT Green Paper.

The cost of communication

The cost of telecommunication continues to be a concern with SA costs remaining amongst the highest in the world. In this context we welcomed ICASA’s reduction in the interconnection rate and called on MTN and Vodacom to drop the legal challenge to Icasa’s regulations. The court ruled in ICASA’s favour for the reducing of interconnecting rates; however, the ruling exposed serious weaknesses in ICASA’s regulatory capacity. The new interconnection rates sparked a wave of deceptive advertising and R2K called for real savings to be passed on to all users.

To deepen our capacity to campaign on this front we have concluded research on alternative models to the privatised provision of telecommunications, produced an activist guide to internet access, and undertaken a series of popular education workshops with campaign supporters in provincial nodes. We have also concluded research on the lived cost of communications in partnership with Wits Link Centre that will form a basis for ensuring prepaid communications users have a ‘voice’.

We also published two op-eds, one on RICA and the interception of communications and another explaining interconnection ruling. We commemorated the June 16 youth uprising with a march and public meeting demanding the provision of basic telecommunications as a basic right. On our National Day of Action we delivered memorandums to the cell phone operators.

Promoting Freedom of Expression:

On World Press Freedom Day we released a statement highlighting the importance of media freedom and the challenges it faces in the country. We commemorated Press Freedom Day with a protest at the SABC with a wide range of other allied CSOs, media organisations and NUMSA in Johannesburg and public meetings in Durban and Stellenbosch. We also protested attacks on Press Freedom on Swaziland and Gaza.

We also supported students of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) who faced disciplinary charges after they wrote an open letter to the Vice-Chancellor raising a range of concerns around the management of the University and decisions affecting students. The charges were dropped after the outcry.

Whistleblowers

Our work on promoting and defending whistleblowers has developed from a largely abstract level looking at the broad enabling environment to a more practical level of supporting various whistleblowers on the ground. As we become more effective in communicating our support for whistleblowers we receive increasing requests for support. We need to be realistic as to what we can do and what we cannot. While there are a number of legal and procedural guides available for whistleblowers, Right2Know will develop a political guide that spells out the real risks and give appropriate guidance.

Celebrating whistleblowers

We began the year by distributing our 2014 Whistleblower calendar. The calendar – profiling 12 courageous whistle blowers - was distributed through our networks as well as sent to all subscribers of the Mail & Guardian newspaper. By the end of the year the 2015 Calendar was produced and ready for distribution.

We held a public meeting in Soweto on whistleblowers with whistleblower Mike Tshishonga as speaker and shared a platform at Whistleblower Roundtable in Stellenbosch with the Public Protector and Dept of Justice on fighting corruption and proposed amendments to Protective Disclosures Act (PDA).

We joined the South African leg of a worldwide reading acknowledging the contribution made by NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden and in August, Women's Month, we held a public meeting celebrating women whistleblowers.

We also held six public screenings of the film “Crumbs: Toppling the Bread Cartel” – the documentary film that tells the story of Imraahn Mukaddam, the whistle blower who exposed corporate bread price fixing.

Empowering our Whistleblowers

We published ‘Empowering our Whistleblowers’, a publication that is the culmination of a process where we brought together different civil society organisations who work on whistleblower issues to reflect on the state of whistle blowing in South Africa. The publication shines a light on the silent crisis facing whistleblowers today; they face hostility in the public and private sectors, undertake risks to their safety and freedom, and there are gaps in the law that is meant to protect them. The report also presents practical and political interventions that will create an enabling environment for whistleblowers to come forward.

Amending the Protection of Disclosures Act

The long awaited drafted amendments to the Protection of Disclosures Act (PDA) were gazetted for public comment after the General Elections and we made a R2K submission on the amendments. The draft amendments have a number of positive changes that will help extend protection for whistleblowers in the workplace, but in our submission we also pointed out shortcomings, including the concern that these positive amendments will be seriously undermined by the Secrecy Bill (if it passes into law) as it contains penalties that can be used to criminalise whistle blowing.

Strengthening the Right2Know

We continue to build the Right2Know Campaign as a free, independent, vibrant, democratic and supporter driven coalition.

Democratic governance:

We continue to mature as an activist-driven campaign and develop institutional systems. Our 2014 National Summit in Cape Town affirmed and refined our strategic framework and elected a NWG included a good mixture of continuity and new leadership from provinces. National and Provincial Working Groups met monthly throughout the year to develop and coordinate the Campaign's programme and the NWG held a successful Mid Term Review meeting. Thematic Focus Groups convened via email list and teleconference on an ad-hoc basis to support various thematic focuses.

We have completed our NPO and PBO (tax exempt) registrations. We have adopted a R2K Policy and Procedure Manual that includes our activist code of conduct (adopted at the National Summit), staff code of conduct, our financial policies, and various other policies. These documents draw from good practice across the sector and were the subject of deliberation across the campaign.

Funding:

The Campaign's income has grown steadily from initial short-term project funding from a single donor to multiple donors and core and multi-year contracts. We currently have a total of seven donor partners, three of which provide province multi-year funding and four of which provide core support. Our donors are the Bertha Foundation, Bread for the World, Claude Leon Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Norwegian People's Aid and Open Society Foundation of South Africa.

We continue to grapple with the tension between ensuring we have sufficient financial resources and staff to support activism on one hand and the risk of professionalising or commodifying our work and closing the space for activism. The trend towards increasing salary and overhead expenses risks a reduction in funds available for popular education and mobilisation. The 2015 Summit should endeavour to provide some direction on how best to deploy our resources.

Increased Capacity:

We have sustained the Campaign as a primarily activist-driven organisation supported by a small professional staff lead by Provincial Organisers in KZN, Gauteng and the Western Cape and supported by a National Office including our National Coordinator, Administrator and recently appointed National Organiser. In 2014 we were joined by a Communications Intern to support our documentation and media liaison work as well as Murray Hunter as a Bertha Fellow to organise our work on Secrecy. Our mid-term review concluded that in 2015 we should make the Communications position permanent as it offers significant support to activists across the campaign.

Our work on the right to communicate has been hampered by a lack of coordination, research and advocacy capacity. To address this limitation we have agreed to appoint an Organiser to drive this important aspect of our Campaign.

Leadership School 2014: Communicating the Right to Know

Building on the 2013 Leadership School our 2014 R2K Leadership School was smaller, more in-depth and more focused than the previous year, in order to give more individual attention to participants and enable a more participatory and experiential approach to learning.

Critically the School was integrated into the building of the existing operational capacity of the Campaign. Provinces each selected four core activists who went through 8 days of training over two blocks and a month long 'practice session' in between the

blocks where participants returned home to practice and integrate their learnings. The School developed both their analytical understanding of the campaign's focus areas as well as their technical capacity to serve as local and provincial communicators.

In 2015 we propose to build on this success by multi-block Schools in Provinces to ensure we engage a core group of provincial activists and align the school to supporting the mobilisation programme of each province.

Fronts and Coalitions

Right2Know is committed to building fronts and coalitions of civil society that strive to coordinate related struggles on the ground. Our 2014 Summit resolved that we will only formally join fronts and coalitions if they meet a set of criteria including that they are democratic, action orientated and aligned to R2K's principles and programmes.

In the course of 2014 we have been engaging in the NUMSA-initiated United Front process and will continue to explore this as a space for building solidarity and linkages across struggles that is set to formally launch on the 27 April 2015. Our Summit must engage the United Front proposal and agree on the R2K position on critical outstanding debates including the ideological nature of the United Front and its' relation to electoral politics.

Expanding Beyond our Urban Nodes

We remain committed to our goal of becoming a truly 'national' campaign. A critical challenge remains how to build a sustainable Campaign presence in provinces beyond KZN, Gauteng and the Western Cape. Over the years we have accumulated experience of how challenging this is and are aware of the risk of setting up structures before rooting the campaign in real struggles. In the course of 2014 we engaged activities and built relationships in the Free State, Mpumalanga, North West and Eastern Cape provinces. The 2015 Summit must reflect on these experiences to chart the way forward.

Publications & Material

In the course of 2014 we produced a wide range of publications and campaigning materials. Publications ranged from high level research reports and policy positions to a range of popular pamphlets and audio packages for community radio. Material included red whistles, stickers, t-shirts, vibrant flags, and 'we have the right to know' posters. Perhaps a highlight was our eight-page popular tabloid newspaper covering a range of R2K topics.

While the Campaign has produced a range of effective popular education materials in the past, we acknowledge that this is a very resource intensive aspect of our work where at times we have failed to meet our ambitious targets. Developing successful popular education material is a complex process involving research, developing content in accessible language, deciding on a medium, possible translation, and technical production. All of these rely on scarce skills and we have been relying on those inside the campaign to do most of this free of charge.

Conclusion

It is almost a natural law that as repression increases so does resistance. This is hardwired into the human condition. There is little doubt that South Africa is reaching the limits of the social contract negotiated in 1994. The process of renegotiating our future will be highly contested. Those seeking the preservation of privilege by violent and undemocratic means have access to almost

unlimited resources – including the resources of the state.

But history has shown time and again that a mobilised people can face and overcome repression. But we are many, they are few. Let us take inspiration from the ground we've covered in 2014, from the democratic organisation we have built, from the people and communities we have reached, from the fights we have fought, and the fights we have won. Let us draw inspiration from the solidarity, discipline and comradeship we have each brought to the Campaign. 2015 promises to be an equally if not more challenging year. We proceed with the knowledge that the Right2Know Campaign, and the democratic movement of which we are a part, is up to the challenge.

APPENDIX 1: A snapshot of 2014 Action

2014 was a full and busy year for the right2Know Campaign. Here is a quick and incomplete list of some of our outputs:

24 WORKSHOPS/TRAININGS

- Workshop on Whistleblowers (Johannesburg)
- Two workshops on ICT Green Paper (Johannesburg, Cape Town)
- Seven Workshop on right to protest (Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Grahamstown, Malmesbury twice, and Caledon)
- Three workshops on digital television (Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban)
- Workshop on reaching out to youth (Cape Town)
- Workshop on social grant fraud (Cape Town)
- Two workshops consolidating learning from 2013 leadership school (Gauteng & KZN)
- 2nd National Leadership School (two modules)
- Three workshops on access to telecommunications and the internet (Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town)
- Workshop on the Arms Deal (Johannesburg)
- Workshop on National Key Points (Johannesburg)

36 PUBLIC MEETINGS

- World Press freedom Day (Durban, Cape Town)
- June 16 Right to Telecommunications (Cape Town)
- Arms Deal & Info Access (Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town)
- Delft Community Meeting: Secrecy & Service Delivery
- Public Meeting on Secrecy and Freedom of Expression (Durban)
- Blikkiesdorp Community Meeting: Secrecy & Service Delivery
- The True Cost Of Secrecy In Our Lives (Cape Town).
- May Day: Youth & Freedom (Redill, Durban)
- May Day: Reflecting on 20 years of Democracy (Eshowe, KZN)
- Media Freedom after 20 Years of Democracy, Journalism Department Stellenbosch University
- Spotlight on Press Freedom, Press Freedom Day, Durban
- Briefing to the Cape Town Press Club
- Public Meeting on Party Funding (Johannesburg)
- 12 public screenings of Miners Shot Down

- Six public screenings of “Crumbs: Toppling the Bread Cartel”
- Right to Communicate National Day of Action (Durban)
- How Secrecy Affects Our Lives (Johannesburg)
- Rise of the Securocrats book launch (Cape Town)

18 PROTESTS

- Rally Against Police Brutality (Johannesburg, Gauteng)
- June 16 right to telecommunications (Cape Town)
- Silent Witness against Secrecy (Cape Town)
- World Press Freedom Day Protest Against Censorship qt SABC (Johannesburg, Gauteng)
- Two pickets at the Arms Commission (Pretoria, Gauteng)
- March for Jobs with Numsa (Gauteng, KZN, Western Cape)
- Marikana Solidarity Picket (Johannesburg, Gauteng)
- National Day Of Action Marches (Johannesburg & Cape Town)
- SANRAL court protest (Cape Town)
- Marikana Commemoration protests (Cape Town & Marikana, North West Province)
- Protest for free Set Top Boxes at USAASA (Johannesburg, Gauteng)
- Two pickets outside the Swazi embassy for press freedom (Pretoria, Gauteng)
- Solidarity with the Public Protector (Durban)

13 PUBLICATIONS

- Eight-page tabloid newspaper covering a range of R2K topics
- Secret State of the Nation Report
- 2014 and 3015 Whistleblower Calendars
- Arms Deal Pamphlet
- National Key Points Pamphlet
- Empowering our Whistleblowers publication
- Right to Communicate audio (broadcast on Community Radio)
- Preconditions for a Democratic Communication sSstem
- Activist Guide on Access to Internet
- Research on Lived Cost of Communication
- Research on alternatives to Commercialised Provision Of Telecommunications
- Call for Inclusive Digital Television and Free Set-Top-Boxes.
- Arms Deal information portal (ArmsDealFacts.com)
- Numerous statements and op-eds circulated electronically

ENDS