YOUR RIGHT2KNOW



LET THE TRUTH BE TOLD! KNOWLEDGE IS POWER!

SHOW US THE MONEY!

New bill to make political parties open their books

The Right2Know Campaign believes that political parties should be required to make regular public reports on what money they receive, as well as how it is spent. This is the only way to "end the secrecy around money and politics, and move South Africa forward," said R2K's Noma Mbayo. In a recent submission to the Parliament, R2K said the lack of transparency around private donations to political parties has made corruption thrive.

South Africa is one step closer to finding out who funds our political parties, after Parliament produced a Bill that would require all political parties to disclose their major funders. This also follows a huge win by lobby group My Vote Counts (MVC).

MVC went to court to try to force political parties to open up their books. In September 2017, the Western Cape high court ruled that the law had to be changed to allow people to request this information from political parties.



Significantly, the court ruled that information about how political parties are funded is needed if people are to exercise their Constitutional right to vote and make political choices. While Parliament is changing that legislation, a new bill is being introduced in Parliament that will compel political

parties to make their funding information public, too.

After years of opposing any transparency around political party funding, in July 2017, the ANC in Parliament announced that it would establish an ad hoc committee to investigate the issue.

ANC chief whip Jackson Mthembu said, "The reliance on private funding fuels the perception that anonymous donations from business interests are a means to subvert democratic processes."

It remains to be seen if the Bill will become law in 2018.

Durban chooses secrecy!

New by-laws will shut the public out

Activists have cried foul after the eThekwini municipality passed new secrecy rules to allow it to shut the media and the public from council meetings.

Adopted in December 2017, the council's Rules of Order Amendment By-Law effectively gives the municipality the right to close council meetings to the media and the public "where it is reasonable to do so", prevents anyone from recording council meetings, and prohibits council members from "disparaging opinion or accusation" used in meetings.

The council says the by-law is merely to clarify the Speaker's powers and to make sure it was clear when the media was allowed in. But R2K says the by-law is unconstitutional because these amendments will infringe on media freedom, and it is unlawful for the council to take decisions like this behind closed doors.

The council first tried to adopt this

by-law, 26 October 2017, it illegally tried to do so in a closed meeting and R2K members were ejected from City Hall where they were picketing. In December, a new vote was called and the measures passed.

R2K is working with the Active Citizens Campaign to campaign against the by-law amendments. They have also met informally with the municipality in attempt to convince them to open their consultative process.

The South African National Editors Forum (Sanef) condemned the by-law amendments, saying the changes are unconstitutional and illegal.

Sanef KZN convenor, Judy Sandison said, "Further restrictions would have the end result of reducing the public's right to know about decisions and information that affects their lives."

The municipality also decided to purchase three Casspirs at nearly R20 million. It says these armoured military vehicles are to assist the metro



police when there are protests in the city, and to assist the police at the Glebelands hostel.

But opposition leaders say there are

already SAPS armoured vehicles at the hostels that have had little effect on crime there, and that crowd policing is not the work of the metro police.

Nowhere to hide

'People's Tribunal' to look at state capture and corruption, from apartheid to present day

By Neroli Price

In February 2018, civil society are hosting a 'People's Tribunal on Economic Crime in South Africa' at Constitution Hill in Johannesburg - an attempt to join the dots from past to present corruption. Focusing on the arms trade, these hearings will investigate apartheid-era sanctions busting, to the 1999 arms deal and present state capture.

The government's failure to deal with allegations of corruption despite ample evidence has prompted civil society to step in.

"It is important to have this tribunal in order to give a voice and a platform for citizens to air their experiences with economic crime in South Africa," says Moeketsi Monaheng, Right-2Know's Gauteng provincial administrator and a member of the Tribunal's organising committee. This call to action is part of a long history of people's tribunals that have considered human rights abuses from Vietnam and Indonesia to Japan and Palestine.

Over five days the panel of seven adjudicators will hear cases from the three eras backed up by evidence and witnesses. The cases will focus on the illegal supply of weapons to the apartheid state, the post-apartheid arms deal and allegations of more recent state capture related to Denel. The











A panel of seven adjudicators will hear cases from the three eras backed up by evidence and witnesse

panel, which includes former Constitutional justice Zak Yacoob and Numsa official Dinga Sikwebu, will then prepare a report on their findings which will be presented to the public.

Although this is not a legally-binding procedure, it is an opportunity to collect evidence. Khuraisha Patel from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS), another organising committee member, elaborates: "We hope that the People's Tribunal fosters a balanced and inclusive evidence-sharing forum that can morph into tenable legal endeavours in order to begin undoing the systemic effects of apartheid-era economic crimes."

While narrow political interests are

intent on forcing South Africans to choose between so-called white monopoly capital and Gupta state capture, the Tribunal seeks to reject both.

"Most people taking part in these criminal activities will continue robbing the country as long as they are not being put in the spotlight," says Monaheng.

The People's Tribunal on Economic Crime in South Africa is being led by organisations such as Open Secrets, Corruption Watch and Right2Know Campaign. The hearings will take place at Constitution Hill, Johannesburg from 3–7 February 2018.

• For more information, visit corruptiontribunal.org.za



Facing down the army

Marievale battles illegal evictions by SANDF

By General Moyo

The residents of Marievale in Nigel, on the outskirt of Ekurhuleni, faced a sad and painful festive season with the SANDF threatening to evict them from their homes.

The community, which lives on land that was once part of an army base, got a court order to stop soldiers from attempting to evict them. But in the days after the order was granted, evictions continued.

After residents held a picket outside a nearby barracks, Military Police showed up at the homes of two community leaders and arrested and allegedly tortured them. They were in detention for nearly two days before being released without charges.

Marievale was officially shut down and abandoned as a military base in 1996, and gradually the land was occupied by homeless families and military veterans and their families.

After coal was discovered in the area by a neighbouring farmer, the SANDF has returned to threaten the residents with eviction.

Community leader Tumi Weyi told media that the SANDF has been

evicting them from their homes without any formal notices or court orders. He says that they were told that the army "does not work with notices", and that they should move out. This makes the evictions illegal.

Community members have vowed to fight against this militarisation of their home as they have nowhere else to go, and this place is their only home. They have formed a community structure called the Marievale Residents Association (MRA), which also has some former soldiers and members of the SANDF among its ranks. They recently reestablished the structure to deal with the current threats of evictions and to have the area developed for residential purposes, not military Right2Know assisted the community with advocacy and to help to expose the situation.

An attorney from the Socio-Economic Rights Institute secured the release of the men arrested by Military Police, but they reported being tortured in detention.

R2K wrote to the Minister of Defence demanding action against the commanding officers.

Umphakathi uzobamba isigcawu sokubhekana nenkohlakalo

By Neroli Price

KuNhlolanja 2018, umphakathi uzobamba Isigcawu Sabantu Sokub-Nobugebengu Bezomnotho eNingizimu Afrika esizoba se-Constitution Hill eGoli – lapho kuzobe kuzanywa ukuhlanganisa inkohlakalo yangezikhathi zobandlululo kuze kufike obandlululweni lwamanje. Kuzogxilwa ekuthengweni kwezikhali, lapho lezi zigcawu zizophenya ngokunswinywa kwangezikhathi zobandlululo, kuye ekuthengweni kwezikhali kwangonyaka wezi-1999 kanye nokubanjwa kukahulumeni kwamanje.

Ukuhluleka kukahulumeni ukubhekana nezinsolo zenkohlakalo yize noma kunobufakazi obuphathekayo balokhu sekuholele ekutheni umphakathi ungenelele.

"Kubalulekile ukuthi kube nalesi sigcawu ukuze kunikwe izakhamuzi ithuba nengosi yokuzwaklalisa abakwaziyo ngobugebengu bezomnotho eningizimu Afrika," kusho uMoeketsi Mohaneng, ongumlawuli weRight2Know eGauteng futhi oyililungu lekomidi elihlela lesi sigcawu. Leli khwelo lomzabalazo liyingxenye yomlando omude wezigcawu zabantu esezibhekane nokuhlukunyezwa kwamalungelo abantu kusukela e-Vietnam kuya e-Indonesia nase-Japan kuya e-Palestine.

Ezinsukwini ezinhlanu ithimba labahluleli abyisikhombisa lizolalela amacala asukela eminyakeni emithathu edlule futhi kuzobe kukhona nofakazi. Amacala azobhekana nokuthengiselwa ngezikhali kuhulumeni wobandlululo okwakungekho emthethweni, ukuthengwa kwezikhali emva kbandlululo kanye

nokwakamuva okusolwa ukubanjwa kukahulumeni okubandakanya i-Denel. Ithimba elibandakanya abantu abafana noDinga Sikwebu, Barbara Hogan nowayeyiJaji leNkantolo yoMthethosisekelo u-Zak Yacoob, lizolungisa umbiko ngabakutholile ozokwethulelwa umphakathi.

Yize noma lokhu kungabophezeli muntu ngokomthetho kodwa kuyithuba lokuqoqa ubufakazi. Khuraisha Patel wasesikhungweni i-Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS), kanye nomunye wabahlela lo mhlangano, unaba uthi: "Sithemba ukuthi lesi sigcawu sikhankasela ukuvuleka kwengosi yokwabelana ngobufakazi ngokulinganisiwe angaphetha ngokuba yizinyathelo eziqinile zomthetho ukuze kubhekwane nemithelela yamacala ezomnotho angezikhathi zobandlululo."

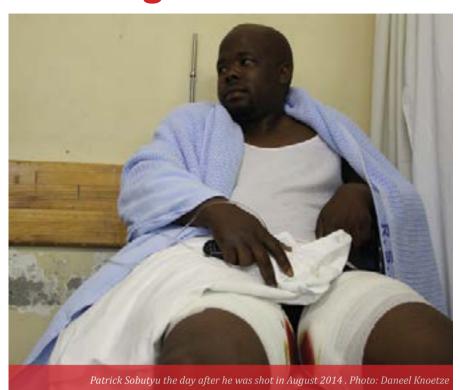
Yize umbono okhombisa ingqondo encane ophoqa abantu baseNingizimu Afrika ukuba bakhethe phakathi kwe- white monopoly capital kanye nokubanjwa kukahulumeni i-Zupta, lesi sigcawu sihlose ukuchitha konke lokhu.

"Abantu abaningi abenza lobu bugebengu bazoqhubeka nokuqola izwe uma beqhubeka nokungavezwa obala," kusho u-Monaheng.

Isigcawu Sabantu Sokubhekana Nobugebengu Bezomnotho eNingizimu Afrika sihlelwe i-Open Secrets, Corruption Watch, kanye Right2Know Campaign. Izigcawu zizoqala eGoli kusukela zi-3–7 February 2018.

Iyaku corruptiontribunal.org.za uma udinga imininingwane

IPID fails to act on police shooting



Patrick Sobutyu has spent years trying to get justice from the police after he was shot in both legs during a protest against evictions in the Marikana informal settlement in Philippi East in August 2014.

A month after the shooting, Ground-Up reporters asked the Investigative Police Investigative Directorate (IPID), which investigates police misconduct, if there would be an investigation into the shooting. Neither the police nor the IPID had contacted Sobutyu, even though IPID is required by law to investigate any complaints about the discharge of an official firearm by a police officer.

The law also says the police must report the use of live ammunition to IPID. It appears this was not done.

In July 2016, then-acting national spokesperson for IPID, Robbie Raburabu, told GroundUp that an investigation was in progress. He said all that was outstanding was a medical report which "shouldn't take long".

In September 2017, Sobutyu's wife, Likhona, told GroundUp that police and IPID had never contacted them.

A few weeks later, IPID spokesperson Moses Dlamini told GroundUp that the case should have been solved already. He said he would check what had happened to the case.

But on the 2nd of October, Dlamini said the matter was never reported to IPID. He said the family could contact IPID directly and inform them that the police didn't open a case.

Likhona told IPID that they were able to lay a charge at the Phillipi East police station on 30 July 2016.

"The policewoman who was busy on the counter sent us to the detective who was on duty," she said. He told them "it is not an easy case". It appears no details were taken and no case opened. GroundUp contacted IPID again on 9 October 2017. Dlamini said the family could lay charges at

Documenting brutality against protesters:

- Try to get as much information as possible about what happened, including names, badges or ranks of any officials that are involved.
- Take note of what type of weapons and ammunition are used.
- If you can, take photos or collect any cartridges or canisters that you see on the ground
- Take video or photos of any injuries (with the permission of the injured person or their family). Also get the names and contact details those who are injured.
- If you are taking video footage, keep the camera as steady as possible and capture the 'action' as clearly as possible. Focus on what police officers or security are saying or doing.
- Stay safe! Do not do anything that could put you in danger.

1. Lay a complaint against police

- The Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID). is a special independent body that deals with complaints against the police. If the police have abused their power through assault, torture, death, rape or corruption, you can lay a complaint with IPID.
- Find the IPID complaint procedure here: www.r2k.org.za/IPID
- Contact IPID on 012 399 0000 or complaints@ipid.gov.za

2. Lay a complaint against private security

- The watchdog body that deals with complaints against private security is called the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority
- (PSiRA pronounced pee-see-ra).
- If you want to lay a complaint against any private security company for their conduct you can email your complaint to info@psira.co.za or call 086 133 3850.

any other police station.

On 16 October, GroundUp and the Sobutyus went to the Nyanga police station to lay charges. There was an hour wait before a docket was finally opened by Warrant Officer De Bruyn. He called IPID for Sobutyu. The phone was answered by a man who refused to give his position and only identified himself as "Meyer". He said IPID could not take the case as it fell outside a one-year investigation period, unless there are exceptional circumstances.

De Bruyn explained to Sobutyu and his wife that the case would not be investigated by IPID, but he had would

take the family to the Phillipi East station where the police would investigate the shooting.

De Bruyn took the couple to Phillipi East and explained the case to the officer on duty. A case of attempted murder was opened.

"We feel relieved," said Likhona, after finally being able to lay charges.

Axolile Notywala from the Social Justice Campaign (SJC) said that IPID is severely under-resourced. He added that the organisation had leadership problems at the highest level. Published originally on GroundUp



RIGHT2PROTEST 0800 212 111

Call this hotline number for legal advice on the right to protest. @ProtestZA fb.com/ProtestZA

Moitseki ya lwantshang bobodu o wa tshoswa

Ba etsa sena sohle hobane sebaka sena se tletse ka bobodu

Moitseki ya bitswang Lerato Mo- o hlole dikgethong hammoho le ho bobodu le tlhokahalo ya phano ya ditshebeletso motseng wa Nketoana. O gadile ho itseka ka 2014 mme o nnile a hlekefetswa le ho tshoswa ke mapolesa le batshehetsi ba ANC, a ba a tshoswa ka hore o tla bolawa, esita le ho tshwarwa tlasa diqoso tsa bohata.

Mofokeng o re ho na le bobodu bo bongata ka hara masepala. Batho ba bangata ba iphapanyeditse sena ho fihlela Mofokeng a ema ka maoto mme a theha mokga wa hae o ikemetseng wa dipolotiki.

Sepheo sa mokga ona e ne e le hore

fokeng ke moetapele wa baahi ba pepesa bobodu sebakeng seo, hahol-Lindley (Foreisitata), ya lwantshang oholo bobodu bo mabapi le di-tender le tjhelete e fumanweng ka tsela ya bokunyata.

O re batho ba bangata ba ile ba kena mokgeng wa hae, mme "ke moo mathata a ileng a galeha teng."

Mofokeng o re: "Ka la 24 November. 2014, ke ile ka bona mapolesa a fihla ha ka. A ile a ntshwara ka goso ya peto eo ke sa tsebeng letho ka yona, mme nvewe e ile va hula ho fihlela ka 2015."

O ile a tshwarwa ka la 24 November, 2014, mme a lokollwa ka beile ya R500 ka la 8 selemong sona seo.

Ha a ka a hlola a bitsetswa ka pela



lekgotla mme ka tshohanyetso feela nyewe ya hae ya phumulwa ka May 2015. Empa sena ha se a ka sa etsa hore a kgaotse ho susumelletsa setjhaba hore se lwantshe bobobu bo ka hara masepala.

"Ha e le hantle, batho ba bangata le ho feta ba ile ba ntshehetsa ka mora ho bona batho bana ba sebedisa matla a bona a dipolotiki hampe ho senya mokga wa rona. Ka 2016, re ile ra kena tlhodisanong ya bonkgetheng dikgethong tsa lehae empa ka bo-

madimabe ra se ke ra ba le batho ba bangata ba re kgethang hore re hlole dikgetho, empa re ile ra etsa qeto ya hore re tla tswela pele ka mokga wa rona hammoho le ho lwanela ditokelo tsa baahi ba habo rona."

Empa ditshoso ha di a ka tsa fella

Mofokeng le baitseki mmoho le vena ba ile ba gala ho fumana ditshoso tsa

Continued on page 5

I-IPID isilele ekuncedeni umhlali

Ityala lokuzama ukubulala uPatric Sobutyu ngamapolisa livulwe emva kweminyaka emithathu engxwelerhekile.

Umnumzana Patric Sombutyu uchithe iminyaka emininzi ezama ukufumana ubulungisa kwinkonzo yesipolisa, emveni kokuba wadutyulwa ngamapolisa kwimilenze yomibini, ngexesha abahlali bakwi ngingqi yaseMarikana babeqhanqalazela ukukhutshwa ngesixhanti kwimbancu zase Marikana ePhillipi East kwinyanga yeThupha kunyaka ka2014.

Emveni kwenyanga esisehlo sokudutyulwa kuka Sombutyu, intatheli zephephandaba iGroundUp bafune incazelo kwi kwiqumrhu elizimeleyo lokuphanda ubugwenxa bamapolisa (IPID) ukuba lukhona uphando olwenziwayo ngokudutyulwa kuka Sotyumbu ngamapolisa?.

Akekho obuye nencazelo enesihlahla phakathi kwamapolisa ebefanele ukuthathi ncukhacha ngesisehlo, kunye ne IPID ebifanele yenze uphando. Ukongeza akekho umntu osuka kweliqumrhu leIPID okhe wazidina walandelela lenyewe, nangona eliqurhu lisekelwe ngokusemthethweni ukuba lilandele neziphi na izikhalazo zokuphathwa gwenxa kwabantu ngabakwinkonzo yasesipoliseni namapolisa.

Ngokomthetho amapolisa kufuneka enike ingcaciso exolisayo ngalo lonke ixesha xa ethe asebenzisa imbumbulu eziphilayo, kodwa kukhangeleka ukuba khange yenzeke njalo kwesi siganeko.

Kwinyanga yekhala, kunyaka ophelileyo, ibambela likasomlomo kuzwelonke kwi qumrhu lezikhalazo (IPID) uMnumzana Robbie Raburabu, uxelele iphepha iGroundUp ukuba uphando kwesisehlo lusaqhubeka. Wongeze ngelithi okusadingekayo yingcombolo ephuma kugqirha "nayo engazukuthatha xesha lide".

Phakathi kwi nyanga yomsintsi kulonyaka umileyo, inkosikazi ka Sobutyu, uLikhona uxelele kwalo GroundUp ukuba namnye phakathi kwamapolisa kwakunye no IPID bakhe bazama ukunxibelelelana nosapho lwabo.

Noxa kunjalo usomlomo weliqumrhu lwe IPID, umnumzana Moses Dlamini , ubuyele kwi Ground-Up emveni kwezimvo zibethanayo ngelithi elityala bekufanele ukuba selisombulekile. LokaDlamini uthembise ukuba uzakuphinda abuyele kwabo banexanduva lokujongana nelityala.

Kuse njalo ngomhla wesibini kwinyanga yeDwarha, lokaDlamini ubuye senyevulela ukuba kwakhe kwavulwa elityala ngokokutsho kwamaxwebhu abo.

Unkosikazi wexhoba uxelele eliqumrhu ukuba bakwazi ukuvula ityala ngesisehlo kwisikhululo samapolisa ase Phillipi East ngomhla we 30 kwinyanga yekhala kunyaka

ka2016

Ngokutsho kwenkosikazi yexhoba, ipolisakazi abafika likhona mhla beyokuvula ityala lalixakekile ngomnye umsebenzi labathumela kumphandi owayesemsebenzini ngalomini, wanabisa ngelitshoyo uLikhona, umphandi lowo wasixelela ukuba "lityala elinobuzaza eli". Okucacileyo kukuba elityala zangelithathelwe ngqalelo, kuba kukhangeleka ukuba zange kuthathwe zingcombolo kungekho tyala lavulwayo.

Ngokubona ukuba akho mkhondo ude ufumaneke ngetyala likaSobutyu, iGroundUp iye yaphinda yanxibelelana ne IPID kwakhona ngomhla we 9 kweyeDwarha apho uDlamini eye wachaza ukuba olusapho lungavula ityala nakwesiphi na isikhululo samapolisa.

Ngokusebenzisana neGroundUp, olusapho luye lwathezela emnxebeni, lwawubopha wamncinci umbhinqo ukuya kwisikhululo samapolisa aseNyanga ngomhla we16 kweyeDwarha, apho bayovula khona ityala.

Noxa bakhe bahlala ixesha elingange yure phambi koba banikwe ingqwalasela baye balivulelwa ityala ngu Warrant Officer De Bruyn, nothe wathathela kuye inxaxheba yokutsalela umnxeba le ofisi ye IPID, nalapho ehoywe yindoda efune ukwaziwa ngelika Meyer kuphela. Meyer lowo oyibeke kwacaca ukuba eliqumrhu alikwazukulilandelela elityala kuba liwudlulile umgomo wexesha lamatylala aphandwayo leliqumrhu elingunyaka omnye, unabise ngelithi umnyinyiva unikwa amatyala angaqhelekanga.

Loka De bruyn uchazele loka Sobutyu nonkosikazi wakhe ukuba lenyewe ayizokwazi ukuphandwa leliqumrhu phantsi kwezizizathu zibekwa ngulowakwa Meyer, kodwa angalisa kwakhona olusapho kwakwesasikhululo sase Phillipi East, apho amapolisa kuzakufuneka beluphandile oludaba luka Sobutyu.

Uluphelezile olusapho, njengoba ethembisile loka De bruyn kwisikhululo samapolisa ase Phillipi East nalapho ityala lokuzama ukubulala livulwe khona.

uLikhona uchaze ukwaneliseka, emveni koba bade banikwa ithuba lokudebavule ityala ekugqibeleni

Ipapashwe kuqala ngu GroundUp. org.za

Ngokokokutsho kuka Axolile Notywala osuka kumbutho olwela imiba yokuhlala eKhayelitsha, iSocial Justice Coalition uthi eliqumrhu le IPID luqhwalela ekubeni nezixhobo zokusebenza.

Wongeze ngelithi eliqumrhu linengxaki yokungabinasikhokhelo eyonanto ibabethayo ngamandla, yiyo lento kulula ke ukungaboni ziphumo zintle nasesipoliseni.

 $Ibipapashwe\ yiGround Up$



Abalwisana nokumbiwa komhlaba bathole ukwesatshiswa

Izishoshovu zasemiphakathini yase-Majuba okuhlanganisa i-Newcastle, Dannhauser ne-Utrecht, bathole ukwesatshiswa ngoba bephikisana nemizamo yenkampani enkulu ka-oyela ezama ukumba umhlaba abahlala futhi abalima kuwo.

Yize kunjalo, imiphakathi ithi isikwenze kwaba impokophelo yayo ukulwisana nokumbiwa komhlaba kuze kufike ekugcineni. Imiphakathi, isebenzisana nezinhlangano zayo njenge-Groundwork ne-Church Land, balwisana nalolu hlobo lokumba, abathi lubeka engcupheni indlelampilo yabo emhlabeni wokhokho babo.

Konke lokhu kuqale ngesikhathi kumenyezelwa uhlelo lwe-"Sungu Sungu". Inkampani i-Sungu Sungu Mining ibifuna ukumba amakhilomitha amabili ukuya phansi kuthungathwa igesi yomkhumenge.

Kodwa umphakathi ubungeneme ngohlelo lokuxhumana nabantu futhi uthi lokhu kumba kungaba nomthelela ekulimeni kwabo okuyinto ehamba phambili abaziphilisa ngayo. uJabulani Somnandi Hadebe wase-Botha's Pass uthe, "Sengihlale lapha iminyaka engaphezulu kwengama-44 futhi nobaba wayefuye izinkomo zakhe lapha. Impilo yami ilapha kanye namathongo ami, asikwazi ukuyekelela konke lokhu kushabalale ngenxa yongxowankulu abangogombela kwesabo".

Kuyo yonke imihlangano

yomphakathi kucace ngokusobala ukuthi umphakathi usho ngezwi elilodwa ukuthi "Asiyifuni i-fracking". ULucky Mhlaladuma Shabalala, oyisishoshovu esimkantshubomvu sasepulazini i- Normandien, sezwakalise ukukhathazeka ngokusongelwa osekubhekiswe kulabo abaphikisana nalo msebenzi wokumba. Uphinde wathi lokhu kumba kulimaza imvelo futhi le miphakathi ithembele ekulimeni, kodwa uhulumeni uyakuyekela kuqhubeke ngaphandle kwemvume yomphakathi.

Ngonyaka wezi-2016, inkampani i-Sungu Sungu ayiphumelelanga esicelweni sayo sokumba Kwazulu-Natali ngoba ingaxhumananga ngokufanele nabaninimhlaba. Kwathi kuNtulikazi 2017, inkampani yasihoxisa isicelo sayo sokuthungatha igesi endaweni.

"Lezi ziinkampani zihlasela imiphakathi ehlwempu zithembisa imisebenzi nemifundaze kodwa imiphakathi seyiyazi ngamanga aluhlaza. Lo mzabalazo oholwa yizishoshovu ezisebenzela umphakathi ukufanele ukwesekwa nokuhlonishwa ngoba uveza obala izethembiso ezingamanga zamathuba amaningi emisebenzi ezenziwa yizinkampani zokumba ezingamagovu zangaphandle," kusho uShabalala.

Imiphakathi ihlangene kulomzabalazo olwisana nokumba okuyingozi futhi izibophezele kulo mshikashika. "#FRACKINGMUSTFALL".

R2K demands info on Nuclear costs

Government's 'secrecy' faces new challenge in trillion-rand deal

R2K has submitted information requests demanding that the Minister of Energy, David Mahlobo, release the details of costs for the proposed the nuclear programme.

This is the latest in a series of challenges to the secrecy shrouding the programme. In April, the Western Cape High Court ruled that all of government's decisions about the programme, and the agreements it has signed with other countries, are null and void because there was not public participation process. That case was brought by EarthLife Africa and the Southern Africa's Faith Communities' Environment Institute, who are taking government to court again, this time to stop Mahlobo rushing the deal through without any public participation.

It's been widely reported that Mahlobo is pushing for government's energy plan to be implemented months ahead of schedule. This will give him a pretext to push ahead with the nuclear programme, despite ob-

jections by National Treasury. Mahlobo announced that an energy indaba will be held, and this is supposed to ensure that there is public participation on energy issues, specifically the nuclear programme. But R2K says this is not meaningful public participation.

"We will not stand for token processes that do not consult and include ordinary South Africans," says R2K in a statement. "The minister has not provided the public with key information needed for full and effective public participation to occur. The minister has not answered key questions around the cost, feasibility and timeframe of nuclear energy projects, and has given no new information on the agreement with Russian company Rosatom."

The campaign has also submitted a request for the government's report on estimated costs of a deal with the Russian nuclear company, Rosatom. The report was produced in secret in November 2016 and it is suspected that certain government leaders want



to sign a deal with Rosatom. "We cannot allow secret deals to be made with big companies that are not in the interest of a cost-effective energy solution that will provide jobs in South Africa. It is essential that all information on Rosatom and on the relationship between Rosatom and the South African government is transparent and included in consultation processes," R2K said in its statement.

Late last year, R2K activists picketed in Langa, joining protests around

Cape Town before Parliament's Energy Portfolio committee sat to hear from the Minister. Mahlobo made government's stance clear when he told MPs that, "The nuclear horse has bolted"

R2K's Pupa Fumba says the nuclear deal will affect the poor the most. "We are trying to raise awareness of the impact this deal will have on all of us. It will increase inequality in SA. It is going to impact the poor the most – it will be a nuclear poverty."

Geen meer kernkraggeheime nie!

R2K eis informasie oor die geheime kernkragooreenkoms

R2K het twee PAIA versoeke ingedien wat vereis dat die Minister van Energiesake, David Mahlobo, besonderhede oor die kernprogram aan die publiek bekendstel. R2K het 'n versoek ingestel vir alle bevindinge en verslae wat verkry is uit navorsing oor die ekonomiese haalbaarheid van ander energie-opwekkingstegnologieë aan die Regering se Tegniese Raadgewende Sentrum (GTAC).

Dit is die jongste in 'n reeks uitdagings oor die geheimhouding rondom die program. In April het die Weskaapse Hooggeregshof beslis dat al die regering se besluite rondom die program, sowel as die ooreenkomste wat met ander lande gesluit is, nietig verklaar moet word aangesien dit nie 'n proses was waaraan die publiek deelgeneem het nie. Die saak is hanteer deur EarthLife Africa Iohannesburg en die Suid-Afrikaanse Faith Communities' Environment Institute (SAFCEI), wat weer die regering hof toe vat, hierdie keer om te keer dat Mahlobo die proses verhaas sonder enige publieke deelname.

Daar is bekendgemaak dat Mahlobo besig is om die regering se geïntegreerde energiehulpbronne plan maande vooruit te implementeer. Dit sal vir hom 'n verskoning gee om 'n plan goed te keur om voort te gaan met die kernprogram, ten spyte van teenkanting deur die Nasionale Tesourie. Mahlobo het aangekondig dat 'n energie indaba wel gehou sal word, en dit is veronderstel om te verseker dat daar publieke deelname in energiesake is, spesifiek die kernprogram. Maar R2K sê dat dit nie betekenisvolle publieke deelname is nie.

"Nadat die Wes-kaapse Hooggeregshof in Maart vanjaar beslis het dat die kernooreenkomsproses weer na die tekenbord moet terugkeer om te verseker dat publieke deelname plaasvind, is dit belangrik dat betekenisvolle deelname en ingeligte besprekings die hart van energiebesprekings is. Ons sal nie staan vir prosesse wat nie gewone Suid-Afrikaners raadpleeg en insluit nie," sê R2K. "En steeds het die minister nie belangrike inligting verskaf sodat effektiewe publieke deelname kan plaasvind nie. Die minister het nie belangrike vrae oor die koste, uitvoerbaarheid en tydraamwerk van kernenergie projekte beantwoord nie, en ook geen nuwe inligting oor die ooreenkoms met die Russiese maatskappy, Rosatom, aan die publiek verskaf nie."

Die navorsing wat R2K op die GTAC webtuiste aangehaal het, toon dat navorsing tot op hede 'n spesifieke fokus op herwinbare energie gehad



het. "Ons dring daarop aan dat alle navorsing en verslae oor ekonomiese lewensvatbaarheid aan die publiek bekendgemaak sal word!" sê R2K.

Die veldtog het ook 'n versoek gerig vir 'n verslag wat in November 2016 deur GTAC saamgestel is oor die Russiese kernmaatskappy Rosatom. "Die bestaan van hierdie verslag is bevestig in die Regering se Tegniese Raadgewende Sentrum vir Verslag oor Aktiwiteite van Desember 2016 tot Januarie 2017. Ons kan nie geheime transaksies met groot maatskappye toelaat as dit nie in die belang van 'n koste-effektiewe energie oplossings is wat werk in Suid-Afrika sal verskaf nie."

R2K se Pupa Fumba is van mening dat die armes die meeste deur die kernooreenkoms beïnvloed gaan word. "Ons probeer om bewustheid te skep oor watter impak dit op almal van ons gaan hê. Dit sal ongelykheid in SA vergroot. Dit sal ons armes die meeste beïnvloed – dit sal 'n kern armoede wees."

From page 3

Moitseki ya lwantshang bobodu o wa tshoswa

hore ba tla bolawa ho tswa bathong bao ba sa ba tsebeng. Ka morao ho moo, mapolesa a ile a futuhela ha hae.

"Dikgwedi tse mmalwa tse fetileng, mapolesa a ile a tla haka mme a qala ho phenyekolla ntlo ya ka ho se tlhaloso ya letho. A ile a nka khomphieutha ya ka, sebuelahole le thipa ya ka. Ntho e makatsang ke hore ha ke ya seteisheneng sa mapolesa ho ya batla dintho tseo tsa ka, di ne di le siyo moo sepoleseng."

Hamorao letsatsing lona leo, lefokisi le ileng la nka dintho tsa Mofokeng le ile la ya ha hae mme la kgutlisa laptop ya hae. "Nako le nako ha re batla ho hlophisa seboka, re lokela ho kadima sebuelahole ho bomphato ba QwaQwa e le hore ke kgone ho bokella baahi motseng. Ka dinako tse ding baa tla mme ba tshose ba lekang ho bokella baahi ka le reng ha re na tumello ya ho tshwara diboka tse jwalo, kapa ho seng jwalo sebuelahole sa rona se dule ka koloing. Ba etsa sena sohle hobane ha ba batle ho bona leha e le mang a itseka le ho botsa dipotso kaha sebaka sena se tletse ka bobodu."

Mohlophisi wa mokgatlo wa Tokelo ya ho Tseba (R2K), Bongani Xezwi, ya lekang ho fumana batho ba hlokang ho thuswa, o re R2K e behile boemo leihlo le ho tshehetsa Mofokeng moo ba ka kgonang.

O itse: "Ho hlekefetswa ha Mphato Lerato ho ke ke ha etsa hore re kgaotse ho pepesa bobodu Lindley."



Villagers' cheap data solution wins big

The people of Mankosi in the Eastern Cape have built their own low-cost telecommunications network, showing one way that people can win the #DataMustFall campaign. And now their idea is soon to spread.

Zenzeleni, which means "Do it for yourself" was recently awarded a So-

cial Impact prize by the Department of Science and Technology. The Department of Telecommunication wants to promote collaboration between government and community networks.

R2K's Michael Graaf said that government's support is a major boost for the Zenzeleni network. But while government can be crucial partners in bringing affordable communication to poor communities, it remains to be seen whether their commitment will be more than just lip service.

"Government often says the right things and does the wrong things, so let's just hope they follow through with their promises," said Graaf.

"They hold the keys. Even if they just open doors, that will mean a lot, because then communities can do things for themselves - as the name Zenzeleni suggests."

He said that the most important thing that government can do for projects like Zenzeleni is to improve licensing and regulations.

"Government determines who can operate telecommunications. We were able to operate after years of asking, so if they could at least speed up that process, that would help a lot," he said.

On the technology front, the South-African-developed Mesh Potato devices, used in community networks until now, are about to be superseded by an international project supported by the world movement of community networks. The Mesh Potato device is a low-cost device made of mesh potato that can be plugged into a telephone to provide cheap connectivity. A device called the Libre Router will become available in the next few months, which features several improvements over the Mesh Potato.

With the growth of community based initiatives like Zenzeleni and cheaper technologies for telecommunications in poorer communities, the right to information and the right to know can finally be realised for millions of people.

For more info go to zenzeleni.net

State spies target journo for 'anti-Zuma' book

When investigative journalist Jacques Pauw launched his book, The President's Keepers, he revealed not only how public money was being plundered, but also how the state security apparatus victimises whistleblowers who expose corruption.

Aside from adding new evidence of corruption surrounding President Jacob Zuma, including allegations that he owes Sars millions in unpaid taxes, the book also blows the lid on the State Security Agency (SSA), which operates in complete secrecy, with almost no oversight whatsoever. The SSA is supposed to use intelligence to protect the country from domestic and international threats, but as Pauw's book shows, it is often used as a political tool by those in power.

This has been a key area of activism for the Right2Know Campaign, which has been working to challenge the secret powers of the SSA and its role in spying on citizens, including by intercepting their communications.

Pauw uncovered a secret unit in the SSA that allegedly spent R1 billion, with nothing to show for it. This included hiring spies to go undercover in movements like Fees Must Fall, and to try to undermine union structures like Amcu.

Instead of launching an investigation into the allegations made in the book, the SSA laid charges against Pauw with the Hawks, who are now investigating those who leaked the information to Pauw.

But Pauw and the publishers of his book have refused to take the book



off the shelves. SSA spokesman Brian Dube confirmed that no other action had been taken following the exposure of the serious allegations against the SSA, except the agency's complaint against Pauw.

It's not clear whether Pauw will be charged personally, but he and his lawyers have prepared for the possibility of an arrest.

Right2Know has condemned the victimisation of whistleblowers and journalists who expose corruption. R2K organiser in Gauteng coordinator, General Moyo, said, "People have a right to know, so the author and publishers need to be protected by the readers – masses that stand for nothing but the truth. Let the truth be told, enough is enough with this kind of corruption."

Another R2K activist, Murray Hunter, said journalists should not be criminalised. "We reject any attempt to intimidate journalists using criminal charges. Journalism is not a crime. The media must bring information to light, and people must be able to read the story and make up their own mind."

Anti-corruption activist under threat

Community activist Lerato Mofokeng is a community leader in Lindley (Free State), fighting against corruption and service delivery failures in the Nketoana community. He has been active since 2014 and has been the victim of harassment and intimidation from the police and supporters of the ANC, even receiving death threats and being arrested on trumped up charges.

Mofokeng says there's a lot of corruption in the municipality. Many people had turned a blind eye to this until Mofokeng became involved and formed his own independent political movement.

The purpose of the movement was to win elections and to expose corruption in the community, particularly tender corruption and money laundering.

He says that many community members joined his party, and "that is where all the problems started."

"On the 24th November 2014, I saw police coming to my house. They arrested me for a rape case I knew nothing about and the case went on until 2015," said Mofokeng.

He was detained on the 24th November 2014 and released on R500 bail on 8 December that year.

He never appeared before the court again, and the case was suddenly dropped in May 2015. But this did not stop him from mobilising the community against corruption in the municipality.

"In fact, even more members of the community supported me after seeing that these people are using their political power to destroy our movement. In 2016 we contested the local elections and unfortunately we didn't get enough votes to win, but decided that we will continue the movement and fighting for our community's rights."

But the intimidation did not stop there.

Mofokeng and his fellow activists started receiving anonymous death threats. And then the police raided his house

"A few months ago, the police came into my house and started searching without saying anything to me. They took my computer, loudhailer and my knife. What is strange about all this is that when I went to the police station to claim back my belongings, nothing was found."

Later that day, the detective who took Mofokeng's belongings went to his house to return his laptop. "Every time when we want to organise meetings, I now have to ask comrades from QwaQwa to lend us the loudhailer so I can organise my community. They will sometimes come and intimidate those who try to organise the community, saying we don't have permission for gatherings, or our loudhailer must stay in the car...They are doing all of this because they don't want to see anyone active and asking questions because this place is full of corruption."

R2K outreach organiser Bongani Xezwi says R2K is monitoring the situation and supporting Mofokeng where they can.

"The harassment against Comrade Lerato will not stop us from to exposing corruption in Landley," he said.



Death threats for anti-fracking activists

By Nkanyiso Mthombeni

Activists from the communities of Amajuba, which includes Newcastle, Dannhauser and Utrecht, received death threats while opposing attempts by a large oil company to frack the land on which they live and farm

In spite of this, the communities say they have made it their mission to challenge fracking til the bitter end. The communities, working closely with civil society movements like Groundwork and Church Land, are opposing this "deadly" mining activity, which they say threatens their livelihood in the land of their birth.

It all started when the so-called "Sungu Sungu project" was announced. Sungu Sungu Mining wanted to drill 2 kilometres underground to look for shale gas.

But the community was not happy with the consultation process, and said that the drilling could impact farming, which is their primary

source of income. Jabulani Somnandi Hadebe from Botha's Pass said, "I've been living here for more than 44 years and my father left his livestock to graze here. My life is here and my ancestors are here, we can't allow all that to disappear because of few greedy capitalists".

In all public meetings, the communities emerged with one voice saying, "Asifuni iFracking". Lucky Mhlaladuma Shabalala, veteran activist from Normandien farm, raised concerns about death threats already surfacing against those who strongly oppose the cause. He added that fracking is environmentally harmful, and these communities are agriculturally dependent, but the government has allowed it to proceed without their consent

In 2016, Sungu Sungu lost their application to frack in KwaZulu-Natal because they did not properly consult landowners. And in July 2017, the company withdrew its application to explore the area for gas.

"These companies prey on the vulnerability of our communities by promising jobs and bursaries, but society now knows these are blatant lies. This struggle carried by the vocal custodians of community struggles is worthy of recognition and support, as it exposes the false promises of more jobs, by the greedy foreign-based mining companies," said Shabalala.

The communities remain united in their struggle against harmful fracking, and remain committed to their call: "#FRACKINGMUSTFALL".

OP ED: Free, decolonised education is central to the right to know

By Phezu Nthetha and Mhlobo Gunguluzi

Why is the free education campaign is essential for Right2Know's existence? Those who are pro-establishment would cynically say campaigning for Right2Know is a liberal campaign. However, nothing can be further than the truth. A campaign on the right to know is very radical, depending on the leadership and constituency of the campaign.

The poet's argument says, "in a knowledge economy, the flow of information is equivalent of the oil pipe in an industrial economy, and there is a direct correlation between nurturing of information flow and knowledge systems."

And yet there are some fundamental misconceptions about a free and decolonised education campaign, including entrenched narratives of decommodification of education, transformation of education, equal access to education, treasury fiscal discipline, and so on.

This is why it is not surprising that the recent Hefer Commission of Inquiry

into the feasibility of free higher education concluded that banks should play a pivotal role in restructuring the higher education financing model. The truth is that these narratives are part of the incompleteness of neo-liberal concepts of education.

Two critical components of education on the African context do not exist: the concept of the recognition of prior learning, and recognition of African languages.

Paulo Frere talked about pedagogy of the oppressed, in that the knowledge we learn from so-called "uneducated" adults and the working class is crucial. Frere's concept translates into the pioneering work that has been done on the recognition of prior learning at higher education institutions. Recognition of prior learning to date does not exist in the neo-liberal theory of education, until it can be configured into capitalism.

Indigenous knowledge systems also remained marginalised, if not non-existent. University libraries are still waiting for science and technology books which are written in indigenous languages.



The logical conclusion to be drawn is that, because the neo-liberal concept of education is missing these two critical components, it is based on a false premise. And yet these are just primary substantive issues in education, and secondary issues include the fact that the materiality of education in the neo-liberal concept of education is inherently unequal. For example, Wits is four times expensive compared to Zululand, and Stellenbosch is six times expensive compared to Mangosuthu. If this analysis sounds too pessimistic, do we really need free education? Yes, but not higher education as we know it today. A campaign for free, decolonised, quality education is a revolutionary one where South African students and their communities must de-link, disrupt and deconstruct the

concept of neo-liberal education and its knowledge systems.

The contradiction of free education in the current form is that it will strengthen the commodification of education. The current system that is recommended by the Hefer Commission means that the minority, whites and tenderpreneurs, will get access to education and the majority, blacks, particularly Africans who are getting poorer, will not get access to this neoliberal education. Those who get this neo-liberal education will just get better places in the chain of exploitation by capitalists. The system of education is therefore not really nurtured education, but the training of lieutenants for further oppression, exploitation and legalising the corruption embedded in capitalism.



2017 was a hectic year on the political front in South Africa, with major threats and major wins for the right to know!

2017 IN REVIEW











- 17 Jan: R2K pickets at Rustenburg court in support of Marikana community activist Napoleon Webster who faces trumped up charges
- *3 Feb:* R2K calls on the Gauteng government to take full responsibility for Life Esidimeni deaths at least 118 patients died a result of being transferred from government care to unlicensed NGOs.
- *3 Feb:* R2K rejects the draft Hate speech Bill, which would clamp down on freedom of expression and could even make it a crime to insult politicians!
- **9 Feb:** R2K Western Cape joins pickets against Nuclear Deal on the highway that Zuma must take to State of Nation Address.
- **20 Feb:** R2K welcomes the Competition Commission findings on the price fixing collusion against banks.
- **27 Feb:** R2K launches a monograph on new terrains of privacy in South Africa, looking at privacy risks of new Smart ID cards, SIM card registration and others.
- **2 Mar:** R2K demands the University of Johannesburg to come clean about the contracts it has with private security firms accused of spying on students
- **30 Mar:** Zuma reshuffles his cabinet after months of speculation.
- **20 Apr:** R2K write to the new SABC Interim Board calling for them to reverse the damage done by Hlaudi Motsoeneng.

- **26 Apr:** The Western Cape High Court hands down a victory for transparency on the the nuclear deal.
- *3 May:* On Press Freedom Day, R2K pickets at MTN offices demanding that #DataMustFall.
- **17 May:** State Security Minister David Mahlobo once again makes bogus claims of a 'regime change' plot involving civil society.
- 19 May: R2K activist Hennie van Vuuren releases Apartheid Guns and Money, sparking a national dialogue on the legacy of corruption and profit of our apartheid past.
- **31** *May:* R2K lodges complaint against Red Ants security firm after a man died during a brutal eviction in Ivory Park. The Red Ants may be stripped of their operating license.
- 16 Jun: R2K joins allied organisations in the Western Cape United Front, Africa Unite, Left Students Forum, Ilrig and PYM to host a Youth Arise event championing #DataMustFall.
- **23 Jun:** R2K marked the World Whistleblower Day by picketing the Department of Education in Pietermaritzburg in support of R2K activist Jacob Dube who lost his job as a whistleblower.
- **4 Aug:** R2K allied organisations SAHA and Open Secrets take the Reserve Bank to court over failure to release documents about economic crimes committed under apartheid.
- **16 Aug:** On the fifth anniversary of the Marikana Massacre, R2K hosts a series of protest events against police brutality and resisting repression.

- **18** Aug: R2K joins Unpaid Benefits Campaign (UBC) to picket outside Liberty Life against the abuse of pension funds and the victimisation of whistleblowers.
- **21 Aug:** R2K Gauteng marches to Home Affairs Head Office to raise concerns about the "Smart ID" system.
- **23** Aug: R2K intervenes in Parliament's appointment process of SABC board members to ensure that candidates' CVs are published.
- **23 Aug:** R2K reveals new surveillance stats that show the government is using a loophole in the surveillance laws to spy on tens of thousands of cellphone users every year.
- 31 Aug: Parliament launches an inquiry into instability at the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) after R2K's urging.
- 19 Sept: In support of #DataMustFall, R2K pickets at MTN, Vodacom and Cell C demanding cheap cost of communications.
- **28 Sept:** On International Right to Know Day, R2K pickets at the Cameroon and Togo embassies in Pretoria to protest internet shutdowns in 19 African countries since 2016.
- 11 Oct: R2K speaks out in solidarity with Zelda Holtzman, a civil servant dismissed after exposing abuse of power by the Secretary of Parliament.
- 17 Oct: Zuma shuffles his candidate again, giving South Africa its seventh Communications Minister in eight

- years, and bribe-accused hardline Bongani Bongo as the new Minister of State Security. Mahlobo as new Energy Minister is a champion of the Nuclear Deal.
- 19 Oct: After millions of people's sensitive data is leaked online by a real estate company, R2K lays a complaint with the Information Regulator watchdog.
- 19 Oct: R2K co-hosts media freedom dialogues and community media workshops on Black Wednesday national media freedom day.
- **24** Nov: State Security Agency makes legal threats against the publishers of *The President's Keepers* book, a blatant Secrecy Bill-style act of censorship. R2K pledges full solidarity to journalist Jacques Pauw.
- **24** Nov: R2K Gauteng stood in solidarity with community of Marievale, where SANDF rolled out illegal brutal evictions and arrests of people who are living on abandoned army land.
- **28** Nov: To mark the 16 Days of Activism Campaign, R2K Western Cape pickets outside the SABC against how women are portrayed in the media.
- **30 Nov:** R2K calls for Public Protector & Parliament to probe MultiChoice 'kickbacks'.
- **7 Dec:** eThekwini defies calls for transparency, and passes new secrecy rules for the council.
- **20 Dec:** R2K joins the court challenge to RICA, South Africa's spying law.

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