Report on Right2Know Mid-Term Review Meeting

3&4 August 2013

Cape Town

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Attendance

<u>National Working Group:</u> Vinayak Bhardwaj, Carina Conradie, Jane Duncan, Murray Hunter, Dale McKinley (also GP Coordinator), Nosipho Mngoma, Thembani Onceya, Nomvula Sikakane, Alison Tilley, Hennie Van Vuuren.

<u>Provincial Leadership:</u> Des Da Sa (KZN Coordinator), Pupa Fumba (WC Coordinator), Phumza Somlota (WC Treasurer)

<u>Staff:</u> Mark Weinberg (National Coordinator), Josie Abrahams (National Organiser), Tinashe Njanji (National Administrator), Bongani Xezwi (GP Organiser), Joanne Adams (KZN Organiser), Nkwame Cedile (WC Organizer)

Appology: Meshack Mbangula (NWG), Jayshree Pather (GP Coordinator)

SUMMARY

The recent Right2Know Campaign Mid-Term Review reviewed the progress we have made, and the challenges we have encountered, since our National Summit in Durban in March. This has been a period of both growth and consolidation as we have become more active on aspects of our work beyond the Secrecy Bill and strengthened and formalized many aspects of our young organization. Highlights of the report include:

- Intensifying our call on Zuma not to sign the Secrecy bill! (Please popularize the call);
- Plans to have ongoing protests at National Key Points;
- A commitment to ingrate all our work in the secrecy sector (<u>Secrecy Bill</u>, <u>National Key Points</u>
 <u>Act</u>, <u>Spy Act</u>, surveillance of activists, party funding and the upcoming Intelligence Review) under a
 broader campaign to *STOP THE SECRECY BULL!* with a strong emphasis on popular education;
- Plans to intensify our <u>solidarity work linking access to information</u> with current struggles for social and environmental justice;
- An exciting proposal to launch an ambitious <u>Open Data project</u> lead by a consortium of supporter organizations;
- A review of the successful launch of our <u>Vula 'ma Connexion Campaign</u> (the right to communicate) and a more focused strategy going forward;
- A commitment to continue engaging the Minister of Communications <u>ICT Policy Review</u> process to campaign for greater media diversity and access to telecommunications;

The meeting also reviewed the Campaign's internal capacity. Highlights from this section of the report include:

- The adoption of a Right2Know <u>Policy Statement on Institutional Structure, Capacities, and</u>
 Coordination that documents our practices and serves a point of reference and induction for activists;
- Plans to intensify popular education including ensuring the translation of popular material into local languages;
- Various decisions to further strengthen our financial management and accountability ensuring activist have the necessary resources to campaign;
- The review of our staff job descriptions and a process to adopt a staff policy document;
- Lastly, a 'action agenda' pulling together all the actions agreed and allocating tasks to various comrades.

We can all be very proud of the work R2K is doing to advance the free flow of information on many fronts. We owe a great acknowledgment the hundreds of R2K activists and many support organizations that engage to advance our ambition agenda and find ways to make things happen coherently in our rather complex organization.

Please share this report with all stakeholders as you see fit.

SESSION 1: REVIEW OF CAMPAIGN LEGS

1.1. Secrecy

Our work on the practices and accountability of the secrecy sector has taken on many fronts. We need to continue to pursue the Secrecy Bill, National Key Points Act (NKPA), Spy Act, surveillance of activists, party funding and the upcoming Intelligence Review.

However, we must pull these technical aspects under a broader campaign to Stop the Secrecy Bull! In weaving these various stands together prioritization will be given to popular education framed by a regular update of the State of the Secret Nation report.

Given the current political climate R2K will be on the offensive.

1.1.1 Secrecy Bill

Perpetrations to launch a legal challenge to the Secrecy Bill are at an advanced stage. We want our supporting affidavits to include both legal value and political value. We need to give deadlines to the LRC as we are close to crunch time and aim to have documents ready by the end of August as we aim to be the first to lodge court papers.

We are also finalizing a pamphlet that will be used for popular education explaining why we want to go to the Constitutional Court. The pamphlet and our mobilization will marry the three years of struggle with the legal case.

In the interim we need to hold a series of public pickets to refocus our public pressure on the President not to sign the Bill.

1.1.2 National Key Points Act

There is a raised awareness of the NKPA since we began campaigning for a list of key points and crowed sourced a list of key points from the public. We have held a protest outside the SABC and must follow this with protests at other Key Points.

The Minister of Justice recently announced that he would lead a view of this draconian legislation. The NWG resolved that R2K will campaign for the total scrapping of the Act.

COSATU has consistently opposed the NKPA and we will aim to work with them on this campaign.

We are currently perusing a legal challenge to our denied PAIA request for the list of key points and have also brief lawyers to prepare a legal opinion on the Act itself.

We need to gain a better understanding of how the NKPA – and the so-called "Strategic installations" are currently used.

We also need to develop a better understanding of the NKPA amongst our supporters through the development of a discussion document and a popular pamphlet.

1.1.3 Surveillance

The R2K needs to root the campaign in the experience of activists on the ground. To this end we need to collect activists account of their experience with intelligence. We will document these accounts to submit to inspector-general.

1.1.4 Transparency in the Intelligence Sector

The South African intelligence bodies operate with very limited oversight and transparency by global standards. Recently a series of PAIA applications for have been declined. The NWG decided that R2K should take up these demands for greater transparency and release a statement in this regard.

1.1.5 On the Arms Deal

The NWG agreed that the review of the arms deal was a critical site of struggle against secrecy and R2K should release a statement and pamphlet - and conduct popular education workshops in the coming months.

1.2. Info Access

1.2.1 Info Access Solidarity

The campaign to stop secrecy and advance access to information are two sides of the same coin. Going forward we must make this link clearer: Secrecy is a barrier to participatory democracy and social justice.

Our focus on providing solidarity to social justice initiatives by highlight the centrality of accessing information to winning their struggles has been unfolding. This work must intensify in coming months.

1.2.2 Traditional Courts Bill

The Traditional Courts Bill threatens to undermine the democratic gains in rural areas. The Focus Group is still completing the briefing/position document mandated by the national summit. The meeting agreed that we would wait for the discussion document to be completed before proceeding with any further practical moves/activities etc.

1.2.3 Open Data

In recent months we have worked with ODAC to engage a survey of civil society information needs and explore innovative strategies to meet these needs. While there are huge amount of information needs and increasing (albeit unevenly) the state is collecting information, we again note the limits of PAIA and recommit to finding creative ways to access information. We must make requests for information less about law and more about politics, This must include demanding the proactive release of information and the release of full and regularly updated datasets.

The NWG considered and endorsed a 'concept note' to convene a consortium of progressive civil society to lead a campaign for open data. This consortium will set an information access agenda (using PAIA, direct action, and hacktivism), commit to sharing information already in the pubic domain but tied up in different 'silos', and set a research and packaging agenda to drive the interpretation of data and the production of popularly accessible material including infographics.

For this ambitious project to succeed it would require significant professional capacity (including technical capacity) and thus significant donor support. It may also require R2K to partner a more established NGO to oversee implementation.

The full concept note is presented at APPENDIX 1.

1.3. Media freedom, Diversity, Right to Communicate

1.3.1 Vula 'ma Connexion

The meeting noted that the campaign fro free basic and affordable airtime and data had been publicly launched with a great energy and high profile amongst R2K very high profile protests in WC, GP and KZN. We have also participated in Parliamentary hearings on the cost of communication in KZN and EC and gained extensive media coverage. This is an issue burning in people's hearts and pockets. In a short space of time we have established R2K as a critical voice on the right to communicate.

There is however a concern that we have at times been unprepared for the arguments we have been confronted with and have allowed inaccuracies to creep into our communication that provide our critics with a means to undermine the campaign.

In addition the speed in which the campaign has taken off has resulted in a lag in understanding of the various and complex issues amongst sections of our support base. More popular education using the Activist Guide to the Right to Communicate is required in this regard.

We have succeeded in placing the privatized profiteering nature of the telecommunications industry at the centre of the agenda. This sets an important context, but we must also identify very practical demands that are winnable in the short term to build our credibility and confidence. In this regard the issue of 'stolen airtime/data' – prepaid services that expire after a few months if they are not used – should be our immediate campaign focus.

We also face a challenge of being drawn into very technical debates (that we lack the expertise to argue) or debates on price and cost (that we lack the access to information to win). While we should aim to quantify the industries profiteering, what cannot be disputed is that people are paying too much money for services. We should make this a human issue by putting the focus on the real cost to real people. To this end we should conduct a survey of prepaid users looking at their telecommunication costs in the context of their income and other demands on their budgets. This will create a sound foundation to articulate the perspective of the majority of – and the most – exploited telecoms users.

While there is much consensus in SA that communications costs are too high, there is little consensus on he interventions required to bring them down. While the private sector argues for more liberalizations, R2K is arguing for more state intervention – especially greater ICASA regulation.

It is not a coincidence that ICASA and Parliament are moving on this process at the same time, we believe that the ANC has identified the high cost of communication as an issue it can 'deliver' on for the elections. This is both advantageous as there is political space to win victories, but is also a risk in that if we do not articulate clear positions we will do little more than support the limited reforms that parliament and ICASA can deliver.

We have established a consensus that communication is not a privilege or luxury, that the right to communicate is a basic necessity, a public utility, and a human right. This is sufficient consensus to advance the campaign in the short term.

However in order to position ourselves in the current context where the ANC and sections of the private sector are all pushing for a reduction in communications costs, we need to develop a shared understanding of the appropriateness of the role of the private sector (and profit), the state (regulation/intervention) and citizens (active stakeholders/passive consumers) in the provision of telecommunications.

The meeting agreed that the Campaign should undertake a strategic discussion addressing a number of key questions:

- Can the 'market' deliver our constitutional rights? Can rights be commodified?
- What role should the state play in provision of constitutional rights (lasses fare, intervention, regulation)?
- Is nationalization in the current climate desirable and can socialization be an alternative to nationalization and privatization?
- Can 'market forces' deliver to all in South Africa given the uneven development of the market and so-called 'market failure' in many areas?

The meeting felt that while it was critical for this campaign focus that we develop agreement on these questions, this discussion was too important to be rushed. Every PWG should take time at their next meetings to being this discussion and the Campaign should host a national meeting to draw our consensus together.

We also need to link this R2K focus to other R2K campaigns: The lack of transparency and access to information of telecoms providers and the role that telecoms play in secrecy (surveillance).

1.3.2 Media Freedom and Diversity

On the media freedom front calls for a Media Appeals Tribunal have gone quite. We will continue to monitor this other threats to print editorial independence.

The Ministry of Communications embarking on broad ICT Policy Review process that addresses issues of broadcasting and telecoms access, independent as well as diversify, ownership, diversity and costs. R2K hosted a successful civil society consultation on the first phase of this process and made a submission. The Ministerial Policy Review Panel will release a revised draft Policy Faming Document shortly and then work towards a green and white paper before the end of 2014. The meeting agreed that this was a critical process and R2K should aim to convene civil society consultations and articulate progressive perspectives thought this process.

1.4. Whistleblowers

The Campaign has forged a partnership with key organisations working with whistleblowers, undertaken research on the enabling environment for whistleblowers and convened a mini-summit in Johannesburg to engage this research and develop an action plan to support whistle blowing and expanding a R2K Focus Group. The research report will be published shortly.

The Focus Group is developing a "sunshine test" to focus issues/demands on whistle blowing.

SESSION 2: Campaign Capacity

2.1. Provincial Nodes

The meeting noted that all Provincial Working Groups (Guateng, KZN, Western Cape) are meeting regularly and implementing programmes in line with the broader R2K strategic framework contained in our a three-year plan, the National Summit resolutions and NWG decisions.

The meeting focused on addressing challenges identified by specific provinces.

The meeting agreed that each province's programme should be shared so that provinces can co-ordinate and that it can be clear to the public that action is continuing. Provinces should also set up task teams to deal with issues that come up and can be dealt with specifically, this works better than fixed focus groups as they are less flexible.

The meeting stressed need to develop creative ways of connecting R2K issues to communities' issues – our info access solidarity work is critical in this regard.

KZN and WC are both working with active student groups and there is also a presence at Rhodes. GP has found campuses to be unresponsive but this could still present opportunities for interesting synergies across provinces.

KZN and WC both identified the challenging of responding to new people who want to become active in the Campaign. The meeting noted that people should be able to take p the Campaign without being active in a PWG and agreed we should develop a short list of basic things that people can do within their communities to help – for example writing letters to newspapers etc.

In KZN the rural areas are lacking focus at the moment. While there are rural members on the PWG, the actions have not been taken out into these areas the provinces focus on the Traditional Courts Bill could help in this regard. However the meeting felt that we needed to strike the correct balance between expanding into new areas and consolidating and the areas we already cover though ongoing engagements.

KZN also stressed the importance of translating our documents into local languages.

In the WC communication between the PWG and the WC working group must be strengthened.

The meeting reaffirmed the National Summit resolution that PWGs should serve as 'nodes' and support activism in their surrounding provinces.

The WC will cover the NC. GP will cover LIM and NW. KZN will cover MPL. KZN/GP will cover the FS depending on the location of activists and KZN/WC will cover the EC depending on the location of activists. WC will cover Grahamstown where there is a strong R2K presence.

The meeting noted the challenges (logistical and financial) of supporting activists in remote locations and agreed that PWGs needed to prioritise their capacity and resources in response to specific requests.

The Popular Education Team is developing a broad Activists Guide to Building the Right2Know which will include practical tips for organizing and campaigning to support activists on the ground.

2.2. Campaign Focus Groups

The R2K's National Focus Groups providing strategic support to the NWG and all the provinces on a specific issue and also provide experts on these issues. The Campaign currently has Focus Groups on secrecy, info access, media freedom and diversity, right to communicate, whistleblowers, key points, party funding, and the Traditional Courts Bill.

While Focus Groups differ in the size, frequency and sale of engagement, this activist layer plays a critical role in capacitating the Campaign.

At times focus groups lead their own activities (statements, submissions, strategy meetings etc) tey also rely on the buy-in from Provinces to implement other aspects of their work. This has presented challenges at times. Provinces can decide what their focus areas are, based on capacity and the applicability of certain issues to their province. However, on occasion the NWG will give a resolution to certain action (for example, NKP protests). If these actions are not possible within a certain province they must discuss it with the NWG.

See APPENDIX 2 for a list of the current Focus Groups and participating NWG members.

2.3 Role Clarification

The R2K is almost 3 years old an over this time we have adopted a constitution and developed a number of practices regarding how we are structured, the different roles people play, and how these relate to one another.

The meeting considered, revised and adopted a Right2Know Policy Statement on Institutional Structure, Capacities, and Coordination. This policy statement documents our practices and serves a point of reference and induction for activists

The revised policy is presented in APPENDIX 3.

2.3 Internal Communication

Because of the size scope and spread of the Campaign there are a number of R2K email list (thematic, structural and geographical) there is often a barrage of information that is sent out and at times urgent issues do not get precedence. Further, there is also sometimes a very short period of time for commenting on issues or decisions that are required. The extensive use of email also poses a challenge in disseminating information to activists without easy email access.

We should work to prioritize of what is sent out so that people know what to take time to read and acknowledge that there are some things that need thorough interaction, and others that are clearly within mandates and therefore need less interaction. In addition it is critical that every PWG meeting include a NWG report where critical developments and issues can be communicated.

2.4 Financial Management

The meeting studied the June 2013 trail balance and looked at the proposed budget for 2014. The meeting confirmed that we have raised sufficient funds to cover our core costs for 2013 and funds where available for programme costs. While there was a need for additional programme resources there where still funding opportunities being explored.

An updated record of funding available for provincial programmes (and the campaign legs it is committed to) will be circulated to all provinces.

Given that both the Provincial Organizer and Provincial Coordinator/Treasurer have responsibilities regarding the management of finances in provinces the meeting felt it was important to further clarify these roles. It was agreed that while the Provincial Organizer reported to the Provincial Coordinator/Treasurer and the Provincial Coordinator/Treasurer need to have oversight and sign off on all budgets and reconciliations, unless otherwise unavoidable, it should be the provincial organiser that actually handles funds/cash and thus the provincial organiser who accounts for its expenditure. If there is a case where someone else such as the provincial coordinator or a working group task team member has to handle funds due to practicability etc. then they must account to the working group. Overall, the provincial organiser with oversight from the provincial coordinator/treasurer must account.

Regarding the 2014 budget the meeting agreed that more resources should be allocated to publications to cover increased 'hard copy' materials and envisaged translations. The NWG Finance Team will review 2013 expenditure and table a 2014 'fundraising budget' at the next NWG meeting.

As per our contracts with staff the feasibility of a 13th cheque for 2013 will be decided by the NWG in November.

The WC is unable to account for about R6500 in expenditure. This problem arose over the last 6 months because of inadequate record keeping in the province and advances being made by national office and not being reconciled before further advances where paid. The meeting agreed that national office and WC should sit together for and look at an activity time line together with expenditure and attendance registers identify any gaps that we can full with memos. A full report will be tabled at the next NWG meeting.

Where possible Provinces should find service providers to can invoice and receive payment by EFT to reduce the amounts of cash we currently use.

In respect of advances by national to provinces the meeting agreed that as a general rule, the previous advance of funds must be accounted for before the next advance is forthcoming but that where practical circumstances dictate, room should be made for the advancement of one (1) tranche of funds before the previous one has been fully accounted for.

2.5 Popular Education

Popular education must be at the centre of strengthen the Campaign. The Campaign develops statements and other material, holds stakeholder, public and community meets and distributes the various print materials on an ongoing basis. We he also planned for a national leadership school and are in the process of raising funds for this

The meeting considered a proposal to develop more popular education material (See APPENDIX 4). The meeting identified the following priorities:

- Popular pamphlets on the Secrecy Bill legal challenge, the National Key Points Act, and Secrecy in General.
- An Activist Guide to Building the Right2Know (including the Policy statement on structure, capacity, etc. and practical tips on organizing and campaigning).
- Translations of materials into local languages;
- The need to hold the planned Leadership School.
- Piloting the proposed "Discussion on a disk" where files are linked to discussion questions and further readings.

The meeting also noted that the collective drafting & circulating statements is an important capacity building opportunity.

In addition the meeting notes that we are working with CTV to produce a series of TV shows and we should draw on the material of other organisations including ODAC's "open journalism" workshop online, DDP's community radio shows, WWMP's radio programme, as well as previous episodes of CTV Free Media Free Minds (already on Youtube).

2.6 Diversifying Spokespeople

The Campaign has a few and very good spokespeople on a wide range of topics. However the pool is too small and we need greater diversity. The meeting agreed that Joanne, Nomvula & Josie will join our team of National Spokespeople.

2.7 Staffing issues

2.7.1 Job Descriptions

In September 2012 the NWG decided that the National Coordinator position was too large for one person and introduced the position of National Organizer and where raised to bring a part-time National Organizer on board in May 2013.

In reviewing the division of labour between these 2 roles over the last months the meeting decided roles outlined in the current job descriptions are very vague and overlapping and should be better specified in order to enable accurate reviews of the roles. The distinction should however remain between provincial and national support.

Further there is an overlap between the Provincial Organisers' roles and the National Organisers' roles also needed clarification.

A team where put in place to develop reworked job descriptions.

The meeting also noted that it is difficult for the National Organiser to get a real sense of the state of all the provinces when the organizer is in the WC and has telephonic and e-mail contact with other provinces only. It was agreed that the job of the National Organiser would include much more fieldwork.

2.7.2 Staff Policy Document

The meeting considered a draft Staff Policy Document that was crafted from our existing employment contracts a policy document of a partner NGO.

The meeting made the following comments before agreeing that a team would rework the document:

- The context should note that R2K is an activist campaign and staff work in the context of many unpaid activist volunteers.
- Duty of employees should not mention "disrepute" but rather "not behave in a manner that constitutes a conflict of interest with the R2K" and/or "always uphold the principles of r2K".
- Benefits should include staff development, the development of relevant skills will be encouraged amongst all staff. This will be linked to performance appraisal.

- There should be no per duim travel advances that will be accounted for.
- The Disciplinary procedure conflates disciplinary and performance issues. The disciplinary process should be separate document.

Staff will engage further on the current version and give staff feedback. The revised document will be sent to the provinces for comment before the NWG finalize and adopt it.

2.7.3 New Administrator

The meeting accepted comrade Tinashe's resignation and congratulated him on his move to the People Health Movement.

The meeting agreed that the post should be advertised as soon and as widely as possible – including with a print media advert and by email. We will aim to make an appointment before end of August and an emphasis should be placed on strong financial skills.

2.8 Constitutional Amendments

The meeting had little time to consider a set of draft Constitutional amendments developed after the 2013 National Summit. These draft amendments are presented in APPENDIX 5 below.

The meeting agreed to accept amendments 3, 4 5, and 9 as well as amendment 1 (retaining the last sentence). Because of insufficient time to engage fully the NWG will review amendments 2, 6,7 and 8 at their next meeting before sending all draft amendments to provinces well before next year's National Summit where they will be formally considered.

3 Action Agenda

In conclusion the meeting reviewed the 2013 Mid Term Review proceedings and identified the following points for action:

<u>1.</u>			
<u>1</u>	Secrecy		
	Finalize legal documents	Hennie	End August
	Finalize Secrecy bill Pamphlet	Hennie/Josie	End August
	Intensify petition to president on Secrecy Bill	Provinces/all	To signing
	Hold Pickets on Secrecy Bill	Provinces	To signing
	hold Key Point protests	Provinces	Ongoing
	NKPA PAIA challenge	Vini/Jane	Ongoing
	NKPA legal opinion	Vini/Jane	
	NKPA pamphlet	Vini	

	Research on activists experience of surveillance		
	Statement on Arms Deal	Hennie	End August
			Next
	Workshops on Arms Deal	Hennie/Provinces	months
	Use state-of-secrecy report to unite issues under		
	"secrecy" updated by end of the year	Murray	2014
	Reach out to others working on partly funding	Hennie/Jay	
1. 2	Info Access		
	Intensify Solidarity work supporting orgs	Provinces	Ongoing
	Develop Traditional Courts Bill position paper	Joanne/Zion	
	Develop Info Access Consortium Proposal	Alison/Mark	End August
<u>1.</u>	Media Freedom, Diversity, Right to		
<u>3</u>	communicate		
	Focus on prepaid 'stolen airtime/data		
	Survey of prepaid users	Jane/Mark MPDP	
	Provincial discussions on the role of private		
	sector	Provinces	
	National Meeting on role of private sector	Jane/Mark MPDP	
	Engage ministerial review process and hold civil		
	society consultations at each step		
1. 4	Whistleblowers		
	Print report	Mark	End August
	Develop Sunshine test		
<u>2.</u> <u>1</u>	Provinces		
	develop a short list of basic things that people can do within their communities to help		
<u>2.</u>	Eineneiel Management		
<u>4</u>	Financial Management		
	Updated budget for provincial programmes	mark	NI ATTUC
	Develop 2014 Budget	Fin Team	Next NWG
	Agree on 13th cheque	NWG	November
	Do audit of WC cash for missing Funds	Mark, Tinashe & Nkwame	Next NWG
	Less cash more payments by EFT	Provinces	
<u>2.</u> <u>5</u>	Popular Education		
			1

	Pamphlet on KNPA	Pop Ed Team	
	Pamphlet on Secrecy in general	Pop Ed Team	
	Activist Guide to Building the R2K	Pop Ed Team	
	Piloting the proposed "Discussion on a disk"	Pop Ed Team	
	Hold leadership school	Pop Ed Team	
2. <u>6</u>	Diversify Spokespeople		
	Develop Josie, Nomvula. Joanne	Spokespeople	
2 <u>.</u> 7	Staffing Issues		
	Finalize Job Descriptions	Mark/Jane	next NWG
	Finalize Staff Policy	Alison, Nosipho, Mark (Joanne for staff)	next NWG
	Appoint new administrator	Mark, Hennie, Murray, Alsion Tinashe	end Aug
2. <u>8</u>	Constitutional Amendments		
	Finalize proposed amendments	Alison/Vini	

ENDS

R2K 2013 MTR Report

APPENDIX 1: Open Data Concept Note

In separate document:

http://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/Draft-Concept-Note-on-ATI-Open-Democracy-Open-Data-August-2013.pdf

APPENDIX 2: Focus Groups & NWG Members

Secrecy Bill	Dale, Alison, Hennie, Vini, Murray
2. Info Access	Alison, Dale
3. Media Freedom, Diversity,	Noshipo, Jane
4. Right to Communicate	Nomvula, Jane
5. Whistleblowers	Alison, Vini, Murray, Meschak, Dale
6. Key Points	Murray, Vini, Jane
7. Traditional Courts Bill	Nomvula, Zion
8. Finance Team	Murray, Alison, Dale, Hennie

APPENDIX 3: Right2Know Policy Statement on Institutional Structure, Capacities, and Coordination.

In separate document:

http://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R2K-policy-statement-on-institutional-structure-v1.pdf

APPENDIX 4: Popular Education Proposal

In separate document:

https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B54ONZaxMoB LUFiMmFTd2UzY3c/edit?usp=sharing

APPENDIX 5: Draft Constitutional Amendments

In separate document:

 $\underline{https://docs.google.com/document/d/1m6wp2cpfe5FOeADwrQct3vsfxxq16m1LM45zvVao97s/edit?usp=sharing}$