



# RIGHT2KNOW

## Report on the Right2Know Strategic Review Meeting

11-13 December 2019, Shalimar Hotel, Cape Town.

*(complete report & appendices)*

|  |           |  |           |
|--|-----------|--|-----------|
| <b>1. Introduction</b>                     | <b>3</b>  | Nature of R2K  | 27        |
|  |           | Asking, We WALK  | 28        |
| <b>2. The Context</b>                      | <b>3</b>  | <b>APPENDIX 5: Financial Report Presented</b>                  | <b>29</b> |
| <b>3. State of the Right2Know Campaign</b> | <b>4</b>  | 2019 Summary   | 29        |
| 3.1 Combatting Patriarchy                  | 4         | Detailed 2019 spending   | 31        |
| 3.2 Class Character of the Campaign        | 5         | 2020-23 Income   | 33        |
| 3.3 Coalition Character of the Campaign    | 5         | 2020-23 Budget proposed  | 34        |
| 3.4 Restructuring of Right2Know            | 6         | <b>APPENDIX 6: Advocacy Report</b>                             | <b>37</b> |
| 3.5 Campaign Culture                       | 6         | After the New Dawn – Same old sh#T?                            | 37        |
| 3.6 National Working Group                 | 7         | A step back – The National Development Plan 2030               | 37        |
| 3.7 Provincial Coordinators                | 8         | Diagnosis  | 37        |
| 3.8 Staffing                               | 9         | Medicine   | 38        |
| 3.9 Finance and Budget.                    | 9         | From the National Summit                                       | 38        |
| 3.10 Internal Communication                | 10        | Our Activism   | 38        |
| <b>4. Review of Advocacy</b>               | <b>10</b> | Structuring Our Activism – Integrated Advocacy Team            | 39        |
| <b>5. Closure</b>                          | <b>11</b> | Our Focus Areas  | 39        |
| <b>APPENDIX 1: Delegate List</b>           | <b>12</b> | Our Highlights   | 40        |
| <b>APPENDIX 2: Programme presented</b>     | <b>14</b> | Challenges:  | 40        |
| <b>APPENDIX 3: NWG Report presented</b>    | <b>15</b> | Programme Plan:  | 41        |
| <b>APPENDIX 4: Diagnostic Report</b>       | <b>22</b> | <b>APPENDIX 7: KZN Provincial report</b>                       | <b>42</b> |
| The Sky is falling!                        | 22        | 1. Introduction  | 42        |
| “Morbidity Symptoms”                       | 22        | 2. Brief contextual analysis and some remarks on R2K campaigns | 42        |
| Contestation & Conflict                    | 22        | 3. R2K imperatives   | 43        |
| Structure & Governance                     | 22        | <b>APPENDIX 8: Task Team Report</b>                            | <b>48</b> |
| Who’s the Boss?                            | 23        | 1. Staff matters   | 48        |
| Roles, Autonomy & Accountability           | 24        | 2. PWG matters   | 48        |
| Slicing up the pie - Resource Allocation   | 24        | 3. Constitutional amendments proposal.                         | 48        |
| Resources                                  | 25        | 4. Right2Know Structure  | 49        |
| Race, Class, Gender                        | 26        | 5. Budget  | 49        |
| What is a comrade?                         | 26        | 6. Diagnostic Report   | 49        |
| Self Rating                                | 26        | 7. The PoA and priority focus                                  | 49        |
| In a nutshell...                           | 26        |  |           |

# 1. Introduction

The Right2Know Campaign's elected leaders, provincial delegations and staff met at the Shalimar Hotel in Cape Town for a National Review Workshop to bring to reflect on the progress we've made and develop consensus and plans to take to the 2019 Provincial and National Summits for engagement and adoption (see APPENDIX 1 for participant list).

The meeting began with a debate about the powers, purpose and focus of the meeting. It was agreed that the meeting could not have the status of a constitutional sitting as only Gauteng had supported this proposal before the meeting and calling such a meeting required 21 days notice. The NWG proposed the meeting focus primarily on a review of our advocacy work and address internal issues as a secondary matter. There was a view that internal issues should be prioritised. The programme proposed by the NWG was adopted by the meeting (APPENDIX 2).

Ultimately the meeting did not follow the programme and spent most of its time focusing on internal matters of governance, structure and even operations. Only a short session focusing on programmes (in which a report was presented without any engagement).

The bulk of the meeting was taken with presenting reports that had not been circulated in advance. This gave little time for engagement. All the discussion (except for a breakaway reflecting on the NWG report) took place in plenary. This limited participation and the meetings capacity to engage issues in depth. Issues were not systematically discussed, debated and resolved - or differences and majority views established. As a result this report can only summarise the variety of points made. It draws on notes taken by staff<sup>1</sup> and reports presented to the meeting (presented as Appendixes below).

On the final evening it was clear that the meeting would not have time to address the many issues that had been raised so a Task Team was established to work through the night to prepare a set of proposals. The meeting closed with the adoption of the TaskTeam proposals (APPENDIX 8) as a basis for discussion at 2020 Provincial Summits in preparation for the 2020 National Summit.

## 2. The Context

The meeting confirmed that the Campaign works in a very challenging context. Some defining characteristics included:

- An environmental/economical crisis including climate change, dependence on fossil fuels like coal, pollution, water shortages, loss of land etc.
- An economic crisis including privatization, high unemployment, underemployment and casualisation, mechanisation (4th Industrial Revolution), bad working conditions, lack of food security, the rise of

---

<sup>1</sup> See meeting notes here:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1IXTjIVsZJF9VRzRYUTYm5KvVHUmekfZXPNo0qRdvEk/edit?usp=sharing>

China as a colonial power, spatial inequalities exacerbated by the sale of public land in cities like Cape Town,

- A service delivery crisis including rising cost of electricity, lack of capital and management skills in the public sector and SOEs, corruption and patronage, mismanagement at ESKOM threatening privatisation, the health system in crisis and the proposed NHI is contested, the education system is failing as students lack funding, accommodation, etc.
- A social & political crisis including high levels of migration, xenophobia, patriarchy and gender based violence. Politically leadership is struggling and accountability, State Capture is a very big issue, we lack a capable state with skills and professionalism, there's a political focus on personalities rather than issues.

Participants emphasized that we live in a world that is increasingly in a protest where there are many movements rejecting neoliberalism and demanding a more meaningful democracy. Globally, citizens are claiming their power back. There are many opportunities for solidarity and to learn from other struggles.

### 3. State of the Right2Know Campaign

This section of the report summarises key points from the NWG Report (APPENDIX 3), Diagnostic Report (APPENDIX 4) the Management Report (presented verbally), the Financial Report (APPENDIX 5), the programme Report (APPENDIX 6), KZN Report (APPENDIX 7), and participant contributions as well as the Report of the Task Team mandated by the plenary to propose a wayforward before closing the meeting (APPENDIX 8).

#### 3.1 Combatting Patriarchy

The meeting prioritised a focus on patriarchy noting that Right2Know is not unique as patriarchy persists in all spaces. The NWG Report noted that women leadership are not respected and women undermined. There is a lack of gender sensitivity and sexuality training and must be compulsory for all leadership. The Report proposed reviewing the sexual harassment policy (as mandated by the National Summit).

Participants observed that binary identities hide gender non-binary people. Internalised patriarchy (by womxn) and patriarchy by men as well as bullying that must be addressed. We need a skills audit on gender and to look at who drafts gender policies within R2K. Gender framework must go beyond just Sexual Harassment Policy. Men must engage more. Language is very important when we talk about gender/intersectionality. There needs to be conversations about how to have gender-related conversations separately as genders within R2K and take these out to the broader sphere noting that we are not a GBV organisation so it is crucial to collaborate with specialist organisations and individuals. We must address the current two sexual harassment cases in a manner consistent with policy, treating both cases the same with a victim centered approach.

The Task Team proposed that fighting and combating patriarchy has to be incorporated into all our focus areas/PAG's.

### 3.2 Class Character of the Campaign

R2K was previously a broad church but as the middle class activists and NGOs have moved away from the R2K, we are increasingly a network of the broader working class, employed and unemployed, organised and individuals.

Some felt that we should embrace our emerging working class character and play to this as a strength in the context where the broader working class (the majority) have a very limited voice in public discourse.

Others felt we needed to maintain our multi-class character and find ways to bring the capacity and perspectives of the middle class back into the organisation. We have academia and civil society. We need each other.

We need both 'bottom up knowledge' and 'academia knowledge' - we need to value grassroots knowledge more than we currently do.

The Diagnostic Report confirmed that a lack of clarity on the nature of the campaign (or the shifting/contested nature) was a key driver of many of the challenges we face. The Task Team agreed that the nature of R2K needed to be clarified and competing conceptualisations resolved.

### 3.3 Coalition Character of the Campaign

The meeting noted that in the context there are many issues for R2K to engage, but there are many other civil society organisations whose work relates directly to certain issues. Access to information is an enabling right as is freedom of expression. Participatory Democracy is key to many struggles.

We should not substitute but rather look at how we can better partner and support struggles. We must find the correct relationship between solidarity work and driving campaigns around R2K's core issues.

R2K remains a coalition but we have grown weaker due to specialised research and advocacy capacity leaving the organisation. Further we see other organizations and coalitions taking up and leading on R2K's core issues like the right to protest.

Struggles out there are not waiting for us. At times we are not even invited to the table. When we are officially part of broader coalitions our contribution is often limited to mobilization without doing the necessary popular education - as a result we are seen by some as a 'rent a crowd'. Our high media profile means we are often presented as a leading force on issues where we make a limited solidarity or strategic contribution - as a result we are seen by some as opportunistic.

We need to use our coalitions to further work in areas where we don't have capacity. We need to reflect on how R2K was a more effective coalition in the past to develop a clearly defined process of building coalitions. This must include identifying what we offer coalition partners.

### 3.4 Restructuring of Right2Know

The National Summit resolved “our structures must be aligned to best supporting those areas at a provincial or local level and that those broad campaigning areas must be joined-up between regions and nationally. At the provincial level this will consist of an activist-led programme oversight structure (the Provincial Working Group) that will meet periodically as well as at least 3 campaigning focused action groups that will meet and work as required to achieve our resolutions. We endorse the approach of joining and connecting local actions into a national approach.”

The Diagnostic Report questioned if the structure was fit for purpose. It found that roles and responsibilities as well as authority and autonomy were sites of contestation and conflict. and noted that lack of clarity and contradictions in accountability mechanism needed to be addressed.

The NWG reported that Provincial and National Action Groups had been established and were functioning. The Advocacy Report noted that National Action Groups had not been constituted. The NWG conceded that the outline of new structure and accountability mechanisms had not been documented and committed to developing a policy outlining criteria for participation in R2K structures in consultation with these structures.

The Advocacy Report called for re-engagement with Focus Groups.

The Task Team reaffirmed the model of PAG`s and to remain being an activists led campaign and that policies should be aligned to the constitution.

### 3.5 Campaign Culture

The Diagnostic Report identified a number of ‘morbid symptoms’ in the organisation including a culture of conflict, high levels of stress, low morale, distrust, fear, blaming, allegations and unresolved formal grievances, “Uncomradely behaviour”, cliches and groups, disruption and distraction, rumours and counter-rumours, and poor communication. The Diagnostic Report also identified fault lines of unequal racial, class and gender power relations that privilege some voices and forms of knowledge at the expense of others.

Much of this culture was evidenced in various other contributions to the meeting.

The meeting reaffirmed the democratic activist lead nature of the campaign. The Advocacy Report called for a clarification of the definition of “Activist-led” that addressed the “broken coalition between Technical Activists and Grassroots activists” and addressed the need to shape programme of action in line with national priorities & Focus given many activists lack of knowledge of R2K content matters.

Participants also identified many instances where there was a conflict between staff and activists (in particular between senior management and the NWG). Some emphasised this is based on a lack of role clarity, a lack of respect for activist structures, undermining of staff and a lack of activist capacity.

Participants called for more capacity building of activists and less personalization of issues. We must treat each other in such a way that we all feel safe around each other. The Code of Conduct and other policies must be used.

### 3.6 National Working Group

The performance of the elected National Working Group (NWG) was a large focus of the meeting. The NWG Report (APPENDIX 5) said that while many processes had been initiated to implement Summit resolutions none had yet been completed.

The NWG Report said that they had encountered many challenges including the high volume of emails, conflicts and contestations, the absence of the NWG Chairman, who was stuck in Zimbabwe for over 3 months. Their failure to resolve grievances added a toxic environment. Even though the elected NWG is diverse, there was an uneven skills level which placed a greater burden on a few.

The NWG Report conceded that they took too long to reach consensus and many times matters were left unresolved and the list of outstanding matters became longer. They did not meet deadlines for many of the resolutions and dropped the ball on several processes. They never held the National Coordinator properly accountable. They did not communicate effectively to provinces. They spent most of their time in meetings addressing governance and operational matters and the programme work did not get the attention it needed.

Some participants felt the NWG was making excuses by blaming staff or members of the NWG that had resigned, others accused management of dictating to the NWG, and others raised concerns about Provincial Coordinators failure to keep PWGs informed of developments.

The NWG Report acknowledged that at certain times the elected NWG had to meet to discuss issues on their own outside of broader NWG, especially where staff matters were concerned or whether they needed to develop a position on a matter without management interference. Participants raised concerns that the elected NWG had distanced themselves from the broader NWG (that includes Provincial Coordinators and staff) rather than drawing on the collective to resolve issues.

Participants raised concerns that the current NWG has been over bureaucratic with examples given of the special meetings that bore no fruit, and that there is a constant over reach of governance into operations whereby the NWG tries to do the staff job.

The Management Report noted that in a sense the elected NWG had been set up to fail by the National Summit, that gave them a mandate that they did not have the capacity to implement. In this sense all R2K activists across provinces need to take some responsibility for the state of the Campaign. Further, participatory democracy demands all R2K activists remain informed and hold the NWG accountable - but PWGs, despite attempts from Gauteng and KZN, have failed in this regard.

Participants proposed that elected leadership should participate in programmes so that they can also assist in building R2K and that NWG selection criteria process needed to be improved. The majority elected NWG is active in the Pags and programmes of R2K.

National Summit resolved that "If an elected NWG does not collectively have adequate experience and skills to govern an organisation of R2K's nature after skills training, they must co-opt comrades to fill the identified gaps." After the letter from the Gauteng GWG, elected NWG co-opted Stanly Malematja in June and Jebe Sikungo in December. The NWG Report recommended co-opting more members.

The NWG Report recommended adopting a clear two-month plan that speaks to Summit resolutions.

The Task Team made a number of recommendations related to the elected NWG:

1. We need to co-opt two members from GP on an interim basis up until national summit, to address the geographic representation on the NWG;
2. When electing people to lead at the provincial and national level, they need to be people that we are sure that will add value and have a vision for the organization;
3. The geographically spread and the NWG member doesn't represent the province, they will represent the national because we have the coordinators at the province level;
4. The NWG candidate must have served the province for at least a year. This criteria has been dealt with, we need to move to the implementation;
5. NWG's duty is not to manage the staff but to communicate with the provinces in every discussion and decision making;
6. NWG should report to the provinces continuously;
7. The NWG's role is to give direction and should develop a template that will assist the incoming NWG to formulate a monthly work plan and implementing strategy.
8. There must be 5x guaranteed geographic balance of the elected member into the NWG.
9. The NWG Election and voting criteria to be developed and implemented for the 2020 Summit;
10. The online nominations process should be scrapped;
11. No voting for members outside your Province;
12. Nominees to present to their PWG's for their endorsement and support;
13. Maintaining the provincial independence and autonomy in establishing the ADHOC committee/to deal with urgent matters in the province in a case by case incident;
14. The NWG and Elected Provincial Coordinators to commit themselves by signing the transparency and accountability pledge and the right to recall.

### **3.7 Provincial Coordinators**

The National Summit resolved that "Provincial Coordinators will continue to be an important component of the provincial / local structures. Their primary responsibility will be to coordinate and drive the provincial / local programme(s) of action. We confirm that the administration and finance functions will be performed by appropriate staff who have been properly capacitated."

The NWG reported that the process of revising the role of Provincial Coordinators had been completed. The National Coordinator pointed out that this had not been done as policy amendments needed to be finalised and this delay has led to much of the confusion and conflict with provincial leaders.

Participants proposed that Provincial Coordinators be paid for their service.

The Task Team reaffirmed that the provincial coordinators as the political heads of the provincial programmes and that the proposal to pay Provincial Coordinators for their time should be discussed again.

### **3.8 Staffing**

The National Summit mandated the NWG to restructure the Campaign's staff to support the new Campaign Structure and fill all vacancies. The NWG reported that while some progress had been made, they had not completed consultation on a new staff structure and key vacancies have not been filled.

The Advocacy Report bemoaned delays in finalising the restructuring & stabilising the staff establishment, lack of staff reporting & accountability and lack of cohesion as a Team as well as staff "playing politics", a lack of content knowledge and a skills deficit.

The NWG conceded that they had not completed the 2018 salary review and consultation was ongoing.

Everyone agreed that low staff morale was a problem that needed to be addressed.

Participants raised concerns about the failure to finalise the staffing structure and salary review. Some thought staff are being stifled and denied a voice. Others alleged discrimination on the basis of race and language. There was a call for more staff, especially in KZN. and for posts to be made permanent. Participants called for fair treatment of all staff.

The Task Team proposed that office assistance to be appointed by January 2020 and work 3 days per week. Consultation processes around staff contracting should include an observer, and all staff members should get the once off incentive with immediate effect because 2019 has been a difficult year.

### **3.9 Finance and Budget.**

The Diagnostic Report found resource allocation was a site of contestation and conflict.

The meeting engaged provisional income/expenditure reports for 2019 and projections for 2020-23 (see APPENDIX 5).

The NWG Report claimed that they had addressed under expenditure on programmes. The meeting noted levels of underspending because of the lack of implementation of Summit Resolutions. Some identified the lack of workplans, key performance indicators and proper planning as a major factor that contributed.

Concerns were raised that the 2020-23 Budget had no basis other than inflation increases because it was not based on any actual plans/programs.

Concerns were raised that the percentage going to salaries is higher than that spent on programmes.

We had time to deliberate on the finance report, questions of why national programme budget been underspend, salary budget been over spend had not been answered.

Concerns were raised that the DNC was usurping the Provincial Coordinators power to decide on provincial spending. The DNC told the workshop that he is the budget holder which contradicts the R2K Constitution. The



TaskTeam proposed “ the financial team” has to be the team vested with powers in decision making around provincial budget approvals. The coordinators should approve the budget as per the 2019 summit resolution.

The NWG conceded that no progress had been made on establishing an Activist Solidarity Fund. It is also important to note that two proposals re the solidarity fund were proposed and discussed. Participants called for the Fund’s establishment and the Task Team proposed the Fund be implemented after the Provincial Summits.

### 3.10 Internal Communication

The National Summit resolved “to ensure transparency and enable synergies and connections structures must share minutes of their meetings - including any POA - within 3 working days of a meeting with other structures.”

The NWG conceded that reports and minutes has not been shared because minutes where not adopted as people recalled meetings differently.

Participants called for communication channels to be open and noted that communication on our platforms and meetings need to change. The Task Team proposed that for transparency all relevant reports must be circulated monthly with PWG`s.

## 4. Review of Advocacy

The session focusing on our advocacy and programmatic work took place on the second evening after a long day. The Advocacy Report was presented (APPENDIX 6) but there was no substantive discussion about the state of the right to know in South Africa (free expression, accountability, protest, etc). Neither the NWG Report nor the Diagnostic report reflected on the state of our programmatic work or the impact of our advocacy.

The Advocacy Report identified a number of highlights and achievements in 2019 including:

- Advocacy campaign around Community Radio, Data charges, NDPP Appointment Process, Party Funding, the Moerane Commission Report, protest rights, and the 2019 Elections.
- Workshops and meeting including the Surveillance National Meeting and Spectrum Allocation Workshop.
- Legal victories on the Seriti Commission, RICA case, Intimidation case.

The Report proposed an advocacy framework that was not discussed:

1. Countering Repression (Countering the Security State, Surveillance – Real world and digital, Protest & Petitions)
  - a. Surveillance
  - b. Protest
  - c. Securitisation

2. Freedom 2 Express (Freedom of Expression, Access to a free, fast and secure internet, Digital Security)
  - a. Freedom of Expression (Hate Speech, Community Voice - Radio)
  - b. Free, Fast & Secure Internet (#DataMustFall 2.0)
  - c. Digital Security (Hoezit my China, Activist Digital Security Toolkit)
  
3. Participating in Democracy (Open Meetings & Meaningful Engagement, Open Structures & Good Governance, Open Processes and Integrity)
  - a. Open Meetings / Meaningful Engagement (Focus on Local Govt, Meaningful Engagement Toolkit, Curriculum)
  - b. Open Structures / Good Governance (ParliWatch expansion to GP and KZN, State Capture - selected SOEs)
  - c. Open Processes / Integrity (#Right2Recall Campaign 2020-2021, Party Funding Regulations, Municipal Procurement)

The Advocacy report also presented a number of internal challenges and proposals that are integrated into the section above.

The Task Team agreed that we must look at the programmes going forward and that we needed less talk and more action. They proposed that advocacy work must also be the key issue amongst other issues. They cautioned that we must be very careful of saying ,fighting the capitalism, while our actions look Neoliberal and reaffirmed our involvement and participation on the Climate justice struggle.

## 5.Closure

In the final session of the meeting provinces presented reports and the Task Team presented thier proposed way forward (APPENDIX 8).

The meeting agreed that the Diagnostic Report and Task Team proposals should be taken to provinces for further engagement before the 2020 Provincial and National Summits.

### ENDS ###

# APPENDIX 1: Delegate List

|    | NAME                | PROV          | ROLE |               |   |
|----|---------------------|---------------|------|---------------|---|
|    |                     |               |      |               |   |
|    | PARTICIPANTS        |               |      |               |   |
| 1  | Eunice              | Manzini       | GP   | Prov<br>Coord | F |
| 2  | Rendani             | Muvhango      | GP   | Prov<br>Coord | M |
| 3  | Bongani             | Xezwi         | GP   | Staff         | M |
| 4  | Lazola              | Kati          | GP   | Staff         | F |
| 5  | Moeketsi            | Monaheng      | GP   | Staff         | M |
| 6  | Ntombi              | Tshabalala    | GP   | Staff         | F |
| 7  | Thami               | Nkosi         | GP   | Staff         | M |
| 8  | Jebe                | Sikungo       | GP   |               | M |
| 9  | Caroline            | Sunday        | GP   |               | F |
| 10 | Charles             | Dlova         | GP   |               | M |
| 11 | Cleo                | Shezi         | GP   |               | F |
| 12 | General             | Moyo          | GP   |               | M |
| 13 | Jabulani            | Mtsweni       | GP   |               | M |
| 14 | Margaret            | Mabala        | GP   |               | F |
| 15 | Moloko              | Mashangoane   | GP   |               | F |
| 16 | Siyabulela          | Huluhulu      | GP   |               | M |
| 17 | Thabo Azael         | Myakayaka     | GP   |               | M |
| 18 | Toto                | Nzamo         | GP   |               | M |
| 19 | Wakhile             | Tafani        | GP   |               | M |
| 20 | Daniel              | Byamungudunia | KZN  | NWG           | M |
| 21 | Ngazini             | Ngidi         | KZN  | NWG           | F |
| 22 | Percy               | Nhau          | KZN  | NWG           | M |
| 23 | Sinenhlanhla        | Manqeke       | KZN  | NWG           | F |
| 24 | Thabo               | Maile         | KZN  | NWG           | M |
| 25 | Sithembiso          | Khuluse       | KZN  | Staff         | M |
| 26 | Asha                | Moodley       | KZN  |               | F |
| 27 | Bandile             | Malindisa     | KZN  |               | M |
| 28 | Blessing            | Nyoni         | KZN  |               | F |
| 29 | Bright<br>Mdumiseni | Gumede        | KZN  |               | M |

|    |                |            |     |               |   |
|----|----------------|------------|-----|---------------|---|
| 30 | Fortunate      | Mazibuko   | KZN |               | F |
| 31 | Lucas Sibusiso | Nzama      | KZN |               | M |
| 32 | Nompumelelo    | Shozi      | KZN |               | F |
| 33 | Burton         | Jaganathan | KZN |               | M |
| 34 | Nhlanhla       | Mtshali    | KZN |               | M |
| 35 | Thami          | Ngidi      | KZN |               | M |
| 36 | Zandile        | Nsibande   | KZN |               | F |
| 37 | Zanele         | Sibisi     | KZN |               | F |
| 38 | Ashley         | Louw       | WC  | NWG           | M |
| 39 | Vainola        | Makan      | WC  | NWG           | F |
| 40 | Wendy          | Pekeur     | WC  | NWG           | F |
| 41 | Joyce          | Malebo     | WC  | Prov<br>Coord | F |
| 42 | Khaya          | Xinthlo    | WC  | Prov<br>Coord | M |
| 43 | Noncedo        | Bulana     | WC  | Prov<br>Coord | F |
| 44 | Alois          | Mushambi   | WC  | Staff         | M |
| 45 | Amina          | Abrahams   | WC  | Staff         | F |
| 46 | Busi           | Mtabane    | WC  | Staff         | F |
| 47 | Ghalib         | Galant     | WC  | Staff         | M |
| 48 | Janine         | Julisen    | WC  | Staff         | F |
| 49 | Mark           | Weinberg   | WC  | Staff         | M |
| 50 | Noma           | Mbayo      | WC  | Staff         | F |
| 51 | Rowena         | Salo       | WC  | Staff         | F |
| 52 | Lunga          | Guza       | WC  |               | M |
| 53 | Mele           | Dube       | WC  |               | M |
| 54 | Nick           | Balabala   | WC  |               | M |
| 55 | Nompumelelo    | Njana      | WC  |               | F |
| 56 | Roegshanda     | Pasoe      | WC  |               | F |
| 57 | Sakhekile      | Dinga      | WC  |               | M |
| 58 | Siviwi         | Mdoda      | WC  |               | M |
| 59 | Sizwe          | Manqeke    | WC  |               | M |
| 60 | Songezo        | Mazizi     | WC  | NWG           | M |
| 61 | Steve          | Maciko     | WC  |               | M |

|    |               |          |     |  |   |
|----|---------------|----------|-----|--|---|
| 62 | Thilda        | Jack     | WC  |  | F |
| 63 | Unathi        | Ndiki    | WC  |  | F |
| 64 | Washeem       | Abrahams | WC  |  | M |
| 65 | Zimasa        | May      | WC  |  | M |
|    |               |          |     |  |   |
|    | <b>GUESTS</b> |          |     |  |   |
| 66 | Akiedah       | Mohamed  | OSF |  | F |
| 67 | Ameck         | Ayong    | NPA |  | F |
| 68 | Katrin        | Seidel   | HBS |  | F |
| 69 | Thoko         | Madonko  | HBS |  | F |

|    |                  |           |            |     |   |
|----|------------------|-----------|------------|-----|---|
| 70 | Vanessa          | Ludwig    | Consultant |     | F |
|    |                  |           |            |     |   |
|    | <b>APOLOGIES</b> |           |            |     |   |
|    | Stanley          | Malematja | GP         | NWG | M |
|    | Wendy            | Trott     | Luminate   |     | F |
|    |                  |           |            |     |   |
|    | <b>ABSENT</b>    |           |            |     |   |
|    | Biko             | Chisivi   | GP         | NWG | M |

# APPENDIX 2: Programme presented

Wendy to add.

# APPENDIX 3: NWG Report presented

This report contains errors - highlighted here:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1tfZcETntnC3RZNqy9S6ZsT3Ky8Eq0-4d8s-ZV0vHN3Q/edit?usp=sharing>

## Introduction

After the National Summit in March 2019, the NWG was very energetic and ready to start the journey. Our work was cut out for us. This report will focus on the key governance aspects and fiduciary responsibility that we see was our key role. We inherited unfinished business of the former elected NWG and before we could even start to fulfil our mandate we had to resolve these. We thought that it is important to establish what skills we had among us and embarked on a skills audit.

## Resolution on restructuring

### On the structure of Right2Know:

We resolve to place strategic and effective action at the heart of our activism and to ensure that the Programme of Action along with the budgetary process with provincial oversight structures within all national and local structures is activist-led.

Recognising the challenges of ensuring proper administrative and financial management, we resolve to support these functions with dedicated and properly capacitated staff.

### Staffing & Finance

1. Recognising the resolutions to better structure and focus our activism and recognising the proposal to restructure staffing to better support the new Activism structures, we resolve that the incoming NWG establish a sub-committee to formulate a proposal on an integrated Advocacy Team and an integrated Admin/Finance Team within a period of three (3) months after the Summit;
- We have established a subcommittee (restructuring team)
  - 2. Recognising that currently there are several vacancies in the staffing complement throughout the organisation, we resolve that the incoming NWG come up with a proposal on the filling of those vacancies within 3 months of taking office. The NWG should fill the vacant posts as soon as possible in line with this proposal.
    - *Management proposed that we finalize the structure before any new appointments are made*
    - *We also had to consider the financial situation of R2K*
      - We resolved the following:*
      - *To appoint Thami as Acting Protest organizer*
      - *Biko was holding the Access to information programme until Ghalib stepped in to hold Programmes*
        - *Nomacebo was appointed Organizer*
        - *Rowena was appointed on a temporary contract in the national Office*
        - *Amina was appointed on a temporary contract as Provincial Administrator*

We confirm the resolution that Provincial Coordinators will continue to be an important component of the provincial / local structures. Their primary responsibility will be to coordinate and drive the provincial / local programme(s) of action. We confirm that the administration and finance functions will be performed by appropriate staff who have been properly capacitated.

- *As per the new activist structure this had been implemented*
- *Coordinators hold the political programme in Provinces, sign of on the monthly budget*
- *Proposed activist structure was taken to PWG's for input*

3. We resolve that a Solidarity Fund be established within the next three months on the following terms:

- i. Contributions to the fund be on a voluntary basis by any staff or activist members on a regular or monthly basis;
  - ii. That the contributions be paid into a separate bank account established solely for this purpose;
  - iii. The account will be administered centrally by the FinTeam with regular reporting and accountability to the NWG;
  - iv. The procedures for application, criteria for eligibility and other practical arrangements to be finalised by FinTeam within 3 months of the National Summit
- *We had deliberations on the fund and how to sustain it*
  - *Two draft solidarity fund proposals was drafted*
  - *The huge question was whether we agree that activists voluntary contribute to the fund, how the money will be collected etc*
  - *Nothing had been done to start the fund*

2. Recognising the recent appointment of the Deputy National Coordinator and the Finance Coordinator, we resolve that the National Administrator and Finance Coordinator visit each province to set up and explain the revamped financial systems within the first six months after the summit; further we resolve that the Deputy National Coordinator engage all advocacy staff and provincial / local activists about the integrated advocacy approach.

- *FC to report*

3. Recognising that the R2K is currently reviewing the salary scales, we resolve that the incoming NWG finalise the salary scales as soon as possible.

- CMDS was contracted to do a salary review.
- CMDS send us a scale that suggested that we reduce lower paid staff (Organizers, Administrator) salaries whilst adding huge increases to Management salaries.
- They said the Administrators and Organizers were already overpaid and that they do not recommend a salary increase.
- The scale also found that the campaigns organizers salaries should be on higher scale as their work require different skills.
- The elected engaged CMDS on their recommended scale and decided not to reduce any staff salaries, except in the case where a job becomes redundant as in the case of the outreach post.
- We looked at the financial sustainability of R2K before any decisions were made
- We decided to increase cleaner's salaries, campaigns organisers salaries and to put FC and DNC on the same band.
- Management refused to accept the proposed salary scale by the elected and this led to a lot of conflict.

4. The incoming NWG should develop an IT policy for the campaign including a sound IT system
  - *Nothing has happened in this regard to be done in Feb*
5. The incoming NWG should review the Safety Net policy
  - *We reviewed the Policy and concluded that money will no longer be handled by activists*
  - *No secondary advances to be given to activists as staff members were held accountable if money is unaccounted for*
  - *We also took the financial oversight from the PWG*
  - *We strengthen our internal finance*
  - *According to the new structure we appointed a finance assistant tracker to support national admin that was overloaded*
  - *We have a separate fin team and H.R and now have a dedicated Fin team*

Recognising our adoption of 3 broad campaigning areas detailed below, we recognise that our structures must be aligned to best supporting those areas at a provincial or local level and that those broad campaigning areas must be joined-up between regions and nationally. At the provincial level this will consist of an activist-led programme oversight structure (the Provincial Working Group) that will meet periodically as well as at least 3 campaigning focused action groups that will meet and work as required to achieve our resolutions. We endorse the approach of joining and connecting local actions into a national approach.

- *Provincial Working Groups are functioning*
- *PAG's was established and meet periodically*

Recognising that the practical implementation and details of the new structure will need further engagement and work, we resolve to mandate the incoming NWG to establish as a matter of urgency, a sub-committee to work out the details in consultation with all affected structures.

- *After long deliberations and discussions, with coordinators, staff and management the elected NWG adopted a two tier structure for the campaign and that was taken to Provinces*

A key task in front of us was the restructuring of the organisation to implement the structure decided at the Summit. This structure confirmed the activist led structure with National Action Groups and Provincial Action Groups as the vehicles for implementing the three thematic areas namely participatory democracy, communication rights and right to protest, and surveillance.

- *Provincial Action Groups and National Action Groups were established*

### **Staff restructuring and finalising appointments**

We had to finalise the new staff structure. A proposal was received by management and we agreed on a workable structure for line managers to start consulting staff on. Management made a proposal for Administrator positions to fall away as it was merely a function of handling cash. Management also proposed to do away with outreach post as all campaigns organisers need to serve these outreach areas.

- It was adopted by the Elected NWG
- We were clear that no staff will lose their jobs
- Decision was to appoint minimum **two** organisers in each Province
- Minimum is shaped around the current budget
- New organizers to be appointed by Feb 2020

### **The new staff proposal by the elected NWG**

|                             |
|-----------------------------|
| <i>Elected NWG</i>          |
| <i>National Coordinator</i> |



|  |  |                       |                                 |
|--|--|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Programme and Advocacy Manager</i>        | <i>Finance Coordinator</i>                                     | <i>Communications</i> | <i>Governance Administrator</i> |
| <i>Campaigns Organizers &amp; Organizers</i> | <i>National Admin &amp; Tracker Assistant Office Assistant</i> |                       |                                 |

### **Staff Appointments**

One of the main things that we needed to do was to finalise the appointments of acting staff. There was weak handling of this process of the side of management as contracts were allowed to laps, no new contracts were given and it necessitate intervention by elected NWG in steering this process.

As per the new proposal the elected proposed to:

- *Appoint Rowena as Governance Administrator*
- *Appoint Amina as Tracker Assistant*
- *Appoint Moeketsi as Organizer*
- *Appoint Bongani as Provincial Participatory Democracy Organizer*
- *Appoint Ghalib as Advocacy and Programme Head*

### **Resolution on Internal Communication & Accountability**

Monthly narrative and financial reports submitted to the NWG as well as NWG minutes must be shared electronically with other structures who may choose to consider reports and give the NWG feedback.

- Monthly reports were given to the NWG, but it often came late or just before the meeting
- Many minutes have not been adopted as we recalled the decisions made differently
- We consolidated all the minutes into one document, but it was contested by Management
- This resulted in minutes not been shared with other structures
- We are in agreement that minutes should be shared with other structures and see that this is the role of coordinators to ensure that we do justice to this resolution
- We apologize for the none implementation of this resolution due to internal differences

The NWG will remain responsible for all policy and the national budget - when policies and/or budgets impact on any structure these structures must be consulted.

- *The elected ensured that we discuss and endorsed the 2019 proposed budget*
- *We also ensure that we stay within our budget and have addressed under expenditure on programmes*
- *Staff made a proposal for a 13 cheque and salary increases and we considered our policy on remuneration, financial sustainability, budget and agreements with donors*
- *We decided not to give a 13 cheque*
- *We agree that consultation need to happen should there be policy or budget impacts, hence our proposal to review our sexual harassment policy, consultation also took place with regards to PWG request for transport and food increases, consultations also took place with regards to new staff structure*

To ensure transparency and enable synergies and connections structures must share minutes of their meetings - including any POA - within 3 working days of a meeting with other structures.

- *This did not happen*

If an elected NWG does not collectively have adequate experience and skills to govern an organisation of R2K's nature after skills training, they must co-opt comrades to fill the identified gaps.

- *We accepted Gauteng's proposal to coopt Jebu and Nosipho. We learned that the latter has resigned*

- *We co-opted Stanley, a lawyer from the Right to Protest*
- *The resignation of NWG members (Dale, Veruska and Carina) had an impact on our functions as the work load for elected NWG became greater*
- *Suspensions of Lundi and Pupa also had an impact on our functions*
- *We decided to coop people balancing skills and geography*
- *There is room for new co-option*

We will develop a policy outlining criteria for participation in R2K structures in consultation with these structures.

- This did not happen

We should assess whether the flat structure has served the effective functioning of the NWG. Once this is done, an informed decision on whether or not to adopt the formal division of labour on the NWG can be taken.

- *We resolved to appoint a chair and vice chair (Biko and Vainola)*

Once the questions on the new campaign structure are resolved (see above), the accountability mechanisms must be reviewed.

- *We reviewed the accountability mechanisms as highlighted above*

### **Capacity Building and Orientation**

In July, we had our induction training with the elected NWG and the coordinators were present. Two coordinators from Gauteng were absent. Here we had a senior commissioner of the CCMA comrade Joseph facilitating the training. And covering various aspects of governance. The governance principles were discussed. Ghalib and Wendy made a presentation on Governance and the Coordinators were present at this induction. We also looked at the new structure and agreed on the broad principles

We clarified the roles of the coordinators and that staff will be line managed by senior staff.

We identified the need for finance training

### **Governance:**

#### **NWG Meetings:**

The tasks by the elected NWG included attending and driving consensus of the agenda of Monthly NWG. This meeting happened regularly.

#### **Elected NWG Meetings**

In between NWG meetings, at certain times the elected NWG had to meet to discuss issues on their own outside of broader NWG, especially where staff matters were concerned or whether they needed to develop a position on a matter without management interference.

#### **Fin team meetings**

We had several financial team meetings. It was agreed that all payments should be sent to the finteam to approve regularly.

The transport and catering policy was also discussed.

#### **HR Meetings**

Review of Policies and New Policies (acting appointments, handling cases of sexual harassment, Equipment policy, transport and catering policy)

We decided on procedure to follow and set out guidelines

Fiduciary responsibility included approval of advances, budgets, signing of requisitions, signing of audits, ensuring our policies is uphold.

#### Meeting with funders

The NWG attended 3 fundraising meetings with funders HBS, NPA and Raith Foundation. Two elected NWG members also attended the Bread for the World information meeting of how there funding operations will shift and the impact on the organisation.

#### Meeting with auditors

We had one meeting with the auditors to discuss the audit process, discuss writing of bad depth

We engage them on the laptop crash, the fact that elected NWG is not involve in the audit process and why the audit report did not mention the laptop crash

The auditor could not answer many of our questions as he never worked with R2K directly

### **Challenges**

We have to contend with many e-mails a day which almost keep the elected NWG busy.

Due to contesting environment in the organisation, we took long to reach consensus on matters and any times matters were left unresolved and the list of outstanding matters became longer

For the last three months' comrade Biko was stuck in Zimbabwe

We had to contend with a National Coordinator who refused to submit a monthly action plan so we could him accountable.

### **Grievances**

A mediation team was appointed

Comrades was willing to let go of their grievances in order to move forward, except the NC

When contestations are high and lots of pressure of the tasks at hand, there is often uncomradely behaviour among each other by elected NWG members.

Staff responded opportunistically to the challenges between management and the organisation by demanding and a 13<sup>th</sup> cheques as a compensation for the conflict in the organisation and the low staff morale.

### **Patriarchy**

Patriarchy in the organisation where women leadership are not respected and women undermined. There is a lack of gender sensitivity and sexuality training and must be compulsory for all leadership.

We dealt with an existing and two new sexual harassment cases.

There had been an inconsistent application of the R2K Policies and Procedure

### **Shortcomings and Challenges**

Culture of resolving grievances created a toxic environment.

We dropped the ball on several processes as there were too many issues that we had to deal with at the same time

We never held the National Coordinator properly accountable.

Some grievances were never properly handled

We did not communicate effectively to provinces, especially where there was a vacuum

On certain items on the agenda we found it difficult to reach consensus

We did not meet deadlines for many of the resolutions. We met most resolutions, but not in the time frames agreed.

We spend most of our time in meetings and the programme work did not get the attention needed

Even though the elected NWG is diverse, there was an uneven skills level which placed a greater burden to ensure we do things right.

### **Recruitment of New National Coordinator**

Action Appointment was contracted for the process

A recruitment team was established

Criteria was developed

Scoring was done by recruitment team

Interviews to be done in the next week

### **Recommendation:**

Co-option of more members onto the elected

Elected Endorsed Jebe as a member of the elected NWG

Adopt a clear two-month plan that speaks to our resolutions

# APPENDIX 4: Diagnostic Report

## The Sky is falling!

“The crisis consists precisely in the fact that *the old is dying and the new cannot be born*; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear” Antonio Gramsci (my emphasis)

## “Morbid Symptoms”

- Rumours and Counter-rumours
- Allegations and Grievances
- “Uncomradely behaviour”
- Cliches and Groups
- Disruption and Distraction
- Stress levels are high
- Low morale
- Deficit of Trust
- Lack of / poor communication
- Tightening of ‘control’ – policies vs people not balanced
- No Joy in Struggle, and Fear of interacting due to ‘blame-game’

## Contestation & Conflict

- Roles and Responsibilities
- Authority and Autonomy
- Resource Allocation
- Intersectional Factors – class, gender, race – and Power

## Structure & Governance

- National Summit
- NWG
- PWGs
- National Coordinator

## •Constitution

- National Summit Resolutions
- Policy and Procedures (Manual)

## Who's the Boss?

### Constitution:

- 10.1 The **National Summit is the highest decision-making body** of the Campaign. The ultimate authority and responsibility for the exercise of the powers of the Association; including power to determine policy, values, and strategy; and for authorising and mandating the National Working Group (NWG), the establishment (or dis-establishment) of Provincial Working Groups, and for determining their operating conditions (with an ancillary right to review such decisions and actions), shall vest in the National Summit.
- 6.1 The **National Working Group shall be responsible for the running of the affairs of the Association**. The NWG shall be the **highest decision making authority between National Summits and or National General Meetings**.
- 8.7 The **National Working Group shall be entitled to delegate any of its powers and prerogatives** to one or more of its Members, or to a Special Purpose Committee (which may include persons who are not members of the National Working Group), or to an employee or agent for the Association, **as it deems appropriate**.
- 9.2 The **Provincial Working Group** shall only have such **powers and prerogatives as may be delegated** at the discretion of the **National Working Group**; and it shall conform to any such directions, conditions and procedures as may be stipulated by the National Working Group from time to time.
- 9.4 Save **insofar as the context** may clearly otherwise indicate, the provisions of this Constitution which have reference to the National Working Group shall also apply mutatis mutandis with respect to the conduct of the affairs of a Provincial Working Group, within the designated area of this mandate.

### Section 2 PPM of the R2K: How We Work Together

- Right2Know is a unitary national organisation legally represented by the NWG that is elected annually by Provincial Delegates at the National Summit.*
- The NWG takes full **legal and fiduciary responsibility** for the entire organisation and is responsible for **overall strategic cohesion**.*
- Provinces are at the heart** of the Right2Know - this is where most activists participate in the development, coordination, and/or implementation of the Campaign's work.*
- To enable this activism, **Provinces** (through their Coordinators and PWGs) **have autonomy over their Provincial programme and priorities**. Provinces are mandated by the NWG to **take all decisions regarding the provinces programme of action (POA) - including activities, formal communication, and press statements - as well as to administer and manage the allocated programme budget for the province**. Provinces are expected to do this **in line with the strategic framework adopted by the National Summit and policies and budgets adopted by the NWG**.*

### 2016 National Summit Resolutions:

- *Improve record--keeping and accountability, especially with regards to reporting on tasks and when comrades represent R2K;*
- *[R]eaffirm that PWGs are the body that hold the provincial staff accountable organizationally and politically.*
- *Ensure NWG members hold one another accountable to their agreements and are active in their PWGs and selected Focus Groups taking on specific responsibilities. A report from the NWG on its performance must be tabled at the National Summit.*

### **2017 National Summit Resolutions:**

- *We are activist led and the role of staff is to support activism and to be accountable to activists.*

### **2018 National Summit Resolutions:**

- *We remain committed to building an organisation that ‘walks the talk’ - a campaign that practices democracy, transparency and accountability in our own organizational conduct*
- *R2K draws on a range of expertise across the Campaign and must work to strengthen synergies*
- *We will reflect on the ‘coalition’ nature of R2K to ensure we draw more on the strengths of both individual and organisational participation.*

### **2019 National Summit Resolutions:**

- *[E]nsure that the Programme of Action along with the budgetary process with provincial oversight structures within all national and local structures is activist-led” .*

## **Roles, Autonomy & Accountability**

- Role Conflict (Responsibilities)
- Delegation and Autonomy
- Accountability & Authority
- (High) Performance
- Administrative Efficiency
- Adaptability vs Deadline Driven
- Carry-overs of unresolved / incomplete processes/ activities
- “No room for errors”

## **Slicing up the pie - Resource Allocation**

- Programmatic work’ vs Salaries
- Compensation for time vs Expenses
- Unemployment/ under-employment / precarious employment
- Dwindling resources – Greater Demands
- Crisis of capitalism

*“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”. – 2015 Report to National Summit*

**2016 national Summit:**

*“[r]eaffirm our decision not to pay our elected leaders”.*

**2017 National Summit:**

*NWG was mandated to look at reducing staff salaries.*

*Explore establishing an ‘activist solidarity fund’, to be discussed at the NWG’s first meeting*

**2018 National Summit:**

*“[r]evisit Salary Bands and Remuneration policy to review the percentage gap between top and lowest (full-time) staff and ensure we respect the equal work for equal pay principle”.*

**2019 National Summit:**

NWG mandated to “finalise the salary scales as soon as possible”.

**Resources**

| Resources |             |           |            |           |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Year      | Total Spend | Salaries  | Programmes | Overheads |
| 2013      | 1 700 000   | 800 000   | 700 000    | 200 000   |
| 2014      | 3 200 000   | 1 600 000 | 1 000 000  | 700 000   |
| 2015      | 4 800 000   | 2 400 000 | 1 700 000  | 700 000   |
| 2016      | 5 700 000   | 3 200 000 | 1 800 000  | 700 000   |
| 2017      | 6 200 000   | 3 400 000 | 2 000 000  | 800 000   |
| 2018      | 6 900 000   | 3 500 000 | 2 500 000  | 900 000   |

[1] Includes costs of governance and national meetings

[2] First full year of audit

[3] Approximately R 800 000 was spent on “Internal Democracy”, “Leadership Development” and “Evaluation”



## Race, Class, Gender

•Other fault lines are embedded in what is broadly termed “identity politics”. This, however, is a misnomer because, inasmuch as categories of difference are socially constructed, they have material bases and affect people’s lives and life chances.

- Knowledge
- Voice
- Space
- Systems and structures – reinforcement
- Mechanisms to address this

## What is a comrade?

## Self Rating

# Self-Rating

| Category                   | Average Rating |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| Administrative Efficiency  | 4              |
| Proactive Planning         | 2              |
| Programmatic Relevance     | 3              |
| Programmatic Delivery      | 4              |
| Political Credibility      | 5              |
| Democratic Practice        | 3              |
| ‘People First’ Practices   | 2              |
| Accountability             | 2              |
| Decision-making Mechanisms | 2              |

## In a nutshell...

- Current crisis is not new – culmination of years of unresolved matters
- Decision- making processes
- Programme priorities
- Resources
- Power and Self-Realisation
- Nature and Purpose of R2K

## Nature of R2K

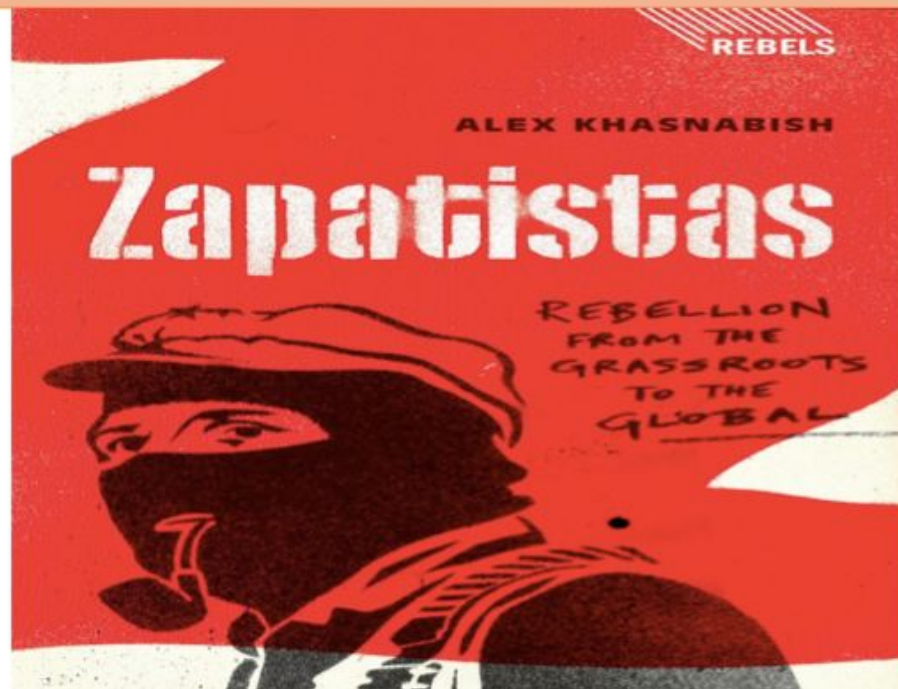
# Nature of R2K



shutterstock.com • 366324233



# Asking, we walk...



# APPENDIX 5: Financial Report Presented

## 2019 Summary

| UPDATED 2019 MANAGEMENT REPORT -Summary |                        |                     |                     |             |             |
|---|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Account                                 | Description            | BUDGET              | SPENT               | Balance     | % SPENT     |
| 2100/000                                | NATIONAL COORDINATION  | 1 455 604,59        | 1 655 204,39        | -199 599,81 | 113,7       |
| 2200/000                                | OVERHEADS              | 864 410,73          | 850 915,18          | 13 495,55   | 98,4        |
| 2600/000                                | CAPITAL ITEMS          | 62 000,00           | 28 447,40           | 33 552,60   | 45,9        |
| 3950/000                                | INTERNAL DEMOCRACY     | 584 857,87          | 655 325,13          | -70 467,26  | 112,0       |
| 4100/000                                | KZN NODE PROGRAMME     | 1 322 311,61        | 1 012 947,88        | 309 363,73  | 76,6        |
| 4200/000                                | GP NODE PROGRAMME      | 1 322 311,61        | 1 043 847,69        | 278 463,92  | 78,9        |
| 4300/000                                | WC NODE PROGRAMME      | 1 300 968,09        | 1 047 052,64        | 253 915,45  | 80,5        |
| 4400/000                                | NATIONAL PROJECTS      | 383 353,67          | 141 804,00          | 241 549,67  | 37,0        |
| 4500/000                                | LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT | 169 247,02          | 53 774,30           | 115 472,72  | 31,8        |
| 4600/000                                | COMMUNICATION/MEDIA    | 471 154,57          | 117 360,78          | 353 793,79  | 24,9        |
|   | <b>TOTAL</b>           | <b>7 936 219,75</b> | <b>6 606 679,38</b> |             | <b>83,2</b> |

| UPDATED 2019 MANAGEMENT REPORT |                                |                     |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| INCOME                         |                                | RECEIVED            |
| 1000/010                       | Norwegian People's Aid         | 1623000             |
| 1000/020                       | Open Society Foundation for SA | 1000000             |
| 1000/050                       | Heinrich Boll Stiftung SA      | 5560                |
| 1000/060                       | Claude Leon Foundation         | 400000              |
| 1000/100                       | Bread for The World            | 2316055,8           |
| 1000/110                       | Raith Foundation               | 630000              |
| 1000/120                       | FOSI/LRC                       |                     |
| 1000/130                       | Constitutionalism Fund         | 750000              |
| 1000/140                       | Luminate                       | 1707228             |
| 1100/000                       | DONATIONS                      |                     |
| 1100/010                       | R2K Donations                  | 73854,05            |
| 1100/020                       | Solidarity Donations           | 32002               |
| 1300/000                       | SPECIAL PROJECTS               |                     |
| 1300/021                       | Privacy International          | 108501,6            |
| 1800/000                       | INTEREST RECEIVED              | 62991,79            |
|                                | <b>TOTAL</b>                   | <b>8 709 193,24</b> |

| <b>NOTES</b> |                                    |                      |
|--------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1            | Total Income                       | 8 709 193,24         |
|              | Total Expenditure                  | -6 606 679,38        |
|              | Less Deferred Luminate             | -1707228             |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>395 285,86</b>    |
| 2            | Salaries Budget                    | 4 291 279,85         |
|              | Salaries Expenditure               | -3 913 157,53        |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>378 122,32</b>    |
| 3            | KZN Budget                         | 377 086,52           |
|              | KZN Expenditure                    | -364 436,25          |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>12 650,27</b>     |
| 4            | GP Budget                          | 377 086,52           |
|              | GP Expenditure                     | -220 576,97          |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>156 509,55</b>    |
| 5            | WC Budget                          | 355 743,00           |
|              | WC Expenditure                     | -260 881,85          |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>94 861,15</b>     |
| 6            | National Projects Budget           | 383 353,67           |
|              | National Projects Expenditure      | -141 804,00          |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>241 549,67</b>    |
| 7            | Leadership Development budget      | 169 247,02           |
|              | Leadership Development Expenditure | -53 774,30           |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>115 472,72</b>    |
| 8            | Communication Budget               | 471 154,57           |
|              | Communication Expenditure          | -117 360,78          |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>353 793,79</b>    |
| 9            | Internal Democracy Budget          | 584 857,87           |
|              | Internal Democracy Expenditure     | -655 325,13          |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>-70 467,26</b>    |
| 10           | Equipment Budget                   | 62 000,00            |
|              | Equipment Expenditure              | -28 447,40           |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>33 552,60</b>     |
| 11           | Total budget                       | -6 606 679,38        |
|              | Total Expenditure                  | 0,00                 |
|              | <b>Unspent</b>                     | <b>-6 606 679,38</b> |

## Detailed 2019 spending

| Description                   | BUDGET              | SPENT               |                    | % SPENT      |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <b>NATIONAL COORDINATION</b>  | <b>1 455 604,59</b> | <b>1 655 204,39</b> | <b>-199 599,81</b> | <b>113,7</b> |
| Salaries                      | 1 379 913,15        | 1 560 618,03        | -180 704,88        | 113,1        |
| UIF & SDL (ALL)               | 75 691,44           | 94 586,36           | -18 894,92         | 125,0        |
| Leave Provision               | 0,00                | 0,00                | 0,00               | #DIV/0!      |
| <b>OVERHEADS</b>              | <b>864 410,73</b>   | <b>850 915,18</b>   | <b>13 495,55</b>   | <b>98,4</b>  |
| Rental & hosting              | 277 681,83          | 314 698,61          | -37 016,79         | 113,3        |
| Cleaning                      | 42 365,28           | 31 839,72           | 10 525,56          | 75,2         |
| Repairs & maintenance         | 15 483,42           | 5 339,99            | 10 143,43          | 34,5         |
| Telephone & postage           | 150 265,80          | 218 999,05          | -68 733,25         | 145,7        |
| Printing & stationery         | 31 970,53           | 24 527,14           | 7 443,39           | 76,7         |
| Refreshments                  | 12 062,80           | 10 489,63           | 1 573,17           | 87,0         |
| Other/Sundries                | 1 843,34            | 0,00                | 1 843,34           | 0,0          |
| SERVICES                      |                     |                     | #VALUE!            |              |
| Accounting Fees               | 119 860,56          | 75 989,15           | 43 871,41          | 63,4         |
| Audit Fees                    | 131 196,20          | 105 761,73          | 25 434,47          | 80,6         |
| Bank Charges                  | 50 339,40           | 35 167,81           | 15 171,59          | 69,9         |
| Insurance                     | 31 341,57           | 27 894,38           | 3 447,19           | 89,0         |
| Interest paid                 | 0,00                | 207,96              | -207,96            | #DIV/0!      |
| Penalties and Interest (SARS) | 0,00                | 0,00                | 0,00               | #DIV/0!      |
| Other services                | 0,00                | 0,00                | 0,00               | #DIV/0!      |
| <b>CAPITAL ITEMS</b>          | <b>62 000,00</b>    | <b>28 447,40</b>    | <b>33 552,60</b>   | <b>45,9</b>  |
| CAPITAL ITEMS                 | 62 000,00           | 28 447,40           | 33 552,60          | 45,9         |
| Equipment                     | 0,00                | 0,00                | 0,00               | #DIV/0!      |
| <b>INTERNAL DEMOCRACY</b>     | <b>584 857,87</b>   | <b>655 325,13</b>   | <b>-70 467,26</b>  | <b>112,0</b> |

|                           |                            |                            |                          |                    |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| NWG Meeting               | 76 640,00                  | 46 812,14                  | 29 827,86                | 61,1               |
| National Summit           | 243 210,45                 | 199 156,49                 | 44 053,96                | 81,9               |
| Provincial Summits        | 62 482,76                  | 71 263,92                  | -8 781,16                | 114,1              |
| National Staff Travel     | 178 126,64                 | 241 500,52                 | -63 373,88               | 135,6              |
| Other Governace           | 24 398,02                  | 96 592,06                  | -72 194,04               | 395,9              |
| <b>KZN NODE PROGRAMME</b> | <b><u>1 322 311,61</u></b> | <b><u>1 012 947,88</u></b> | <b><u>309 363,73</u></b> | <b><u>76,6</u></b> |
| Natinonal Support (KZN)   | 384 417,81                 | 369 293,01                 | 15 124,80                | 96,1               |
| Provincail Staffing (KZN) | 560 807,28                 | 279 218,62                 | 281 588,66               | 49,8               |
| Transport (KZN)           | 187 292,88                 | 184 191,92                 | 3 100,97                 | 98,3               |
| Catering (KZN)            | 124 884,17                 | 151 870,58                 | -26 986,41               | 121,6              |
| Fees (KZN)                | 37 005,41                  | 21 219,00                  | 15 786,41                | 57,3               |
| Other (KZN)               | 27 904,06                  | 7 154,75                   | 20 749,31                | 25,6               |
| <b>GP NODE PROGRAMME</b>  | <b><u>1 322 311,61</u></b> | <b><u>1 043 847,69</u></b> | <b><u>278 463,92</u></b> | <b><u>78,9</u></b> |
| Natinonal Support (GP)    | 384 417,81                 | 378 941,44                 | 5 476,37                 | 98,6               |
| Provincail Staffing (GP)  | 560 807,28                 | 444 329,28                 | 116 478,00               | 79,2               |
| Transport (GP)            | 254 117,80                 | 144 617,45                 | 109 500,34               | 56,9               |
| Catering (GP)             | 99 461,52                  | 70 993,87                  | 28 467,66                | 71,4               |
| Fees (GP)                 | 6 763,52                   | 1 750,00                   | 5 013,52                 | 25,9               |
| Other (GP)                | 16 743,68                  | 3 215,65                   | 13 528,03                | 19,2               |
| <b>WC NODE PROGRAMME</b>  | <b><u>1 300 968,09</u></b> | <b><u>1 047 052,64</u></b> | <b><u>253 915,45</u></b> | <b><u>80,5</u></b> |
| Natinonal Support (WC)    | 384 417,81                 | 388 830,99                 | -4 413,18                | 101,1              |
| Provincail Staffing (WC)  | 560 807,28                 | 397 339,80                 | 163 467,48               | 70,9               |
| Transport (WC)            | 222 001,00                 | 152 872,07                 | 69 128,93                | 68,9               |
| Catering (WC)             | 85 255,00                  | 94 056,15                  | -8 801,15                | 110,3              |
| Fees (WC)                 | 38 520,00                  | 9 109,38                   | 29 410,62                | 23,6               |
| Other (WC)                | 9 967,00                   | 4 844,25                   | 5 122,75                 | 48,6               |
| <b>NATIONAL PROJECTS</b>  | <b><u>383 353,67</u></b>   | <b><u>141 804,00</u></b>   | <b><u>241 549,67</u></b> | <b><u>37,0</u></b> |
| Outreach (BUN)            | 171 680,15                 | 87 829,00                  | 83 851,15                | 51,2               |





## 2020-23 Budget proposed

| LINE ITEM                    | 2020 Budget      | 2021 Budget      | 2022 Budget      | TOTAL             |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| NATIONAL COORDINATION        | 1 640 036        | 1 726 958        | 1 818 486        | 5 185 480         |
| OVERHEADS                    | 916 275          | 894 578          | 941 991          | 2 752 844         |
| CAPITAL ITEMS                | 65 720           | 32 860           | 34 602           | 133 182           |
| INTERNAL DEMOCRACY           | 619 949          | 587 067          | 600 213          | 1 807 230         |
| KZN NODE PROGRAMME           | 1 714 445        | 1 785 179        | 1 879 793        | 5 379 416         |
| GP NODE PROGRAMME            | 1 546 651        | 1 607 439        | 1 692 633        | 4 846 722         |
| WC NODE PROGRAMME            | 1 546 651        | 1 607 439        | 1 692 633        | 4 846 722         |
| NATIONAL PROJECTS            | 406 355          | 224 374          | 236 266          | 866 995           |
| LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT       | 179 402          | 179 402          | 188 910          | 547 714           |
| COMMUNICATION/MEDIA          | 499 424          | 499 424          | 525 893          | 1 524 741         |
|                              |                  |                  |                  |                   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                 | <b>9 134 907</b> | <b>9 144 719</b> | <b>9 611 420</b> | <b>27 891 046</b> |
|                              |                  |                  |                  |                   |
|                              |                  |                  |                  |                   |
| <b>NATIONAL COORDINATION</b> | <b>1 640 036</b> | <b>1 726 958</b> | <b>1 818 486</b> | <b>5 185 480</b>  |
| Salaries                     | 1 640 036        | 1 726 958        | 1 818 486        | 5 185 480         |
| UIF & SDL (ALL)              |                  | 0                | 0                | 0                 |
| Leave Provision              |                  | 0                | 0                | 0                 |
| <b>OVERHEADS</b>             | <b>916 275</b>   | <b>894 578</b>   | <b>941 991</b>   | <b>2 752 844</b>  |
| Rental & hosting             | 294 343          | 309 943          | 326 370          | 930 656           |
| Cleaning                     | 44 907           | 47 287           | 49 794           | 141 988           |
| Repairs & maintenance        | 16 412           | 17 282           | 18 198           | 51 893            |
| Telephone & postage          | 159 282          | 167 724          | 176 613          | 503 618           |

|                               |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Printing & stationery         | 33 889           | 35 685           | 37 576           | 107 150          |
| Refreshments                  | 12 787           | 13 464           | 14 178           | 40 429           |
| Other/Sundries                | 1 954            | 2 057            | 2 167            | 6 178            |
| SERVICES                      | 0                | 0                | 0                | 0                |
| Accounting Fees               | 127 052          | 63 526           | 66 893           | 257 471          |
| Audit Fees                    | 139 068          | 146 439          | 154 200          | 439 706          |
| Bank Charges                  | 53 360           | 56 188           | 59 166           | 168 713          |
| Insurance                     | 33 222           | 34 983           | 36 837           | 105 042          |
| Interest paid                 | 0                | 0                | 0                | 0                |
| Penalties and Interest (SARS) | 0                | 0                | 0                | 0                |
| Other services                | 0                | 0                | 0                | 0                |
| <b>CAPITAL ITEMS</b>          | <b>65 720</b>    | <b>32 860</b>    | <b>34 602</b>    | <b>133 182</b>   |
| Equipment                     | 65 720           | 32 860           | 34 602           | 133 182          |
| Loss of Fixed Assets          |                  | 0                | 0                | 0                |
| <b>INTERNAL DEMOCRACY</b>     | <b>619 949</b>   | <b>587 067</b>   | <b>600 213</b>   | <b>1 807 230</b> |
| NWG Meeting                   | 81 238           | 81 238           | 81 238           | 243 715          |
| National Summit               | 257 803          | 257 803          | 257 803          | 773 409          |
| Provincial Summits            | 66 232           | 69 742           | 73 438           | 209 412          |
| National Staff Travel         | 188 814          | 151 051          | 159 057          | 498 923          |
| Other Governance              | 25 862           | 27 233           | 28 676           | 81 770           |
| <b>KZN NODE PROGRAMME</b>     | <b>1 714 445</b> | <b>1 785 179</b> | <b>1 879 793</b> | <b>5 379 416</b> |
| Natinonal Support (KZN)       | 439 848          | 463 160          | 487 707          | 1 390 715        |
| Provincail Staffing (KZN)     | 894 758          | 942 180          | 992 115          | 2 829 053        |
| Transport (KZN)               | 189 211          | 189 211          | 199 239          | 577 662          |
| Catering (KZN)                | 125 608          | 125 608          | 132 265          | 383 481          |
| Fees (KZN)                    | 37 116           | 37 116           | 39 083           | 113 315          |
| Other (KZN)                   | 27 904           | 27 904           | 29 383           | 85 191           |

|                               |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <b>GP NODE PROGRAMME</b>      | <b>1 546 651</b> | <b>1 607 439</b> | <b>1 692 633</b> | <b>4 846 722</b> |
| Natinonal Support (GP)        | 439 848          | 463 160          | 487 707          | 1 390 715        |
| Provincail Staffing (GP)      | 707 091          | 744 567          | 784 029          | 2 235 688        |
| Transport (GP)                | 269 365          | 269 365          | 283 641          | 822 371          |
| Catering (GP)                 | 105 429          | 105 429          | 111 017          | 321 875          |
| Fees (GP)                     | 7 169            | 7 169            | 7 549            | 21 888           |
| Other (GP)                    | 17 748           | 17 748           | 18 689           | 54 186           |
| <b>WC NODE PROGRAMME</b>      | <b>1 546 651</b> | <b>1 607 439</b> | <b>1 692 633</b> | <b>4 846 722</b> |
| Natinonal Support (WC)        | 439 848          | 463 160          | 487 707          | 1 390 715        |
| Provincail Staffing (WC)      | 707 091          | 744 567          | 784 029          | 2 235 688        |
| Transport (WC)                | 296 992          | 296 992          | 312 733          | 906 717          |
| Catering (WC)                 | 74 233           | 74 233           | 78 167           | 226 632          |
| Fees (WC)                     | 23 530           | 23 530           | 24 777           | 71 836           |
| Other (WC)                    | 4 957            | 4 957            | 5 220            | 15 135           |
| <b>NATIONAL PROJECTS</b>      | <b>406 355</b>   | <b>224 374</b>   | <b>236 266</b>   | <b>866 995</b>   |
| Outreach (BUN)                | 181 981          | 0                | 0                | 181 981          |
| Research Projects             | 118 877          | 118 877          | 125 177          | 362 931          |
| National Meetings             | 105 497          | 105 497          | 111 088          | 322 082          |
| <b>LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT</b> | <b>179 402</b>   | <b>179 402</b>   | <b>188 910</b>   | <b>547 714</b>   |
| Transport (LEAD)              | 86 114           | 86 114           | 90 678           | 262 906          |
| Catering (LEAD)               | 57 408           | 57 408           | 60 451           | 175 267          |
| Other (LEAD)                  | 35 880           | 35 880           | 37 782           | 109 541          |
| <b>COMMUNICATION/MEDIA</b>    | <b>499 424</b>   | <b>499 424</b>   | <b>525 893</b>   | <b>1 524 741</b> |
| Publications                  | 100 032          | 100 032          | 105 334          | 305 397          |
| Electronic communications     | 39 283           | 39 283           | 41 365           | 119 930          |
| Materials & distributions     | 360 109          | 360 109          | 379 195          | 1 099 414        |

# APPENDIX 6: Advocacy Report

Off the Beaten Track: A review of our Programme in 2019<sup>2</sup>

## After the New Dawn – Same old sh#T?

The 2019 National Summit acknowledged:

- Post-zuma era poses a fundamental challenge to how we have been Organising, Mobilising and Advocating
- Positive Moves by National Government – How do we engage? Can we engage?
- Need to rework our approach, upgrade our skills, sharpen our focus, broaden our footprint

## A step back – The National Development Plan 2030

Chapter 13: Building a Capable State:

- From Quick Fix/Policy Fads pursuing a long-term sustained focus on tackling major obstacles
  - Frequent Changes lead to Instability
- Key Obstacles:
  - Deficit of skills and professionalism
  - Political interference in selecting, recruiting and Managing Snr Staff
  - At junior levels: Insufficient focus on a stimulating career paths that ensure a reproduction of skills and that foster a sense of professional common purpose

## Diagnosis

- Where will the next generation of activists come from?
- How will specialist/ technical/ professional skills be reproduced?

Environment:

- Lack of clarity about division and coordination of roles / powers / responsibilities
- Lack of clarity about the coherent & predictable mechanisms for delegation

The Need:

- A State capable of playing a transformative and developmental role
- A well run, effectively coordinated staffed by skilled Public Servants committed to the Public Good and capable of delivery of consistent high-quality services

---

<sup>2</sup> Powerpoint online here: [https://drive.google.com/open?id=1\\_hpDqfVEcLi2h0wt8G2lmbT00BD4DBRW2qTHrzcNXPE](https://drive.google.com/open?id=1_hpDqfVEcLi2h0wt8G2lmbT00BD4DBRW2qTHrzcNXPE)

## Medicine

- Stabilise the political – administrative interface
- Make public service & local government careers of choice
- Develop Technical & specialist professional skills
- Improve the role division across the (3) spheres
- Oversight: setting Norms and Standards, not daily operational matters
- Adequate Experience must be a prerequisite for Senior Posts or Leadership

## From the National Summit

1. Recognising the growth of the Campaign over the past eight years and recognising the challenges of the shifting socio-economic and political context, the R2K acknowledges the need to adapt its structure(s) to respond more effectively to the more focused advocacy approach and the shifting needs within the R2K and in communities.
2. We resolve to place strategic and effective action at the heart of our activism and to ensure that the Programme of Action along with the budgetary process with provincial oversight structures within all national and local structures is activist-led.
3. Recognising the challenges of ensuring proper administrative and financial management, we resolve to support these functions with dedicated and properly capacitated staff.
4. Recognising our adoption of 3 broad campaigning areas detailed below, we recognise that our structures must be aligned to best supporting those areas at a provincial or local level and that those broad campaigning areas must be joined-up between regions and nationally. At the provincial level this will consist of an activist-led programme oversight structure (the Provincial Working Group) that will meet periodically as well as at least 3 campaigning focused action groups that will meet and work as required to achieve our resolutions. We endorse the approach of joining and connecting local actions into a national approach.
5. Recognising that the practical implementation and details of the new structure will need further engagement and work, we resolve to mandate the incoming NWG to establish as a matter of urgency, a sub-committee to work out the details in consultation with all affected structures.

## Our Activism

- 3 Focus Areas:
  - Countering Repression
  - Freedom to Express
  - Participating in Democracy
- Combating Patriarchy in Activist Spaces
- Building Solidarity / Rooting the R2K Work in Local Struggles

How do we make the most meaningful change with the furthest reach?

- Policy Change & Proper Implementation
- Policy Intervention
- Legal Advocacy
- Grassroots & Other Mobilisation
- Popular Education

## Structuring Our Activism – Integrated Advocacy Team

- Activists:
  - Provincial Action Groups Per Focus Area
  - Convenors of PAGs
  - Provincial Working Groups (Oversight & Governance)
  - National Focus Groups
  - National Leads drawn from the Elected National Leadership
  - Elected National Working Group (Oversight & Everything)
- Staff:
  - National Integrated Advocacy Team
  - Support to Activism
  - National Team with some staff in Provinces ( related to the activism work)
  - Organisers Fit for purpose: Focus, Campaign, Community

## Our Focus Areas

- Countering Repression
  - Countering the Security State
  - Surveillance – Real world and digital
  - Protest & Petitions
- Freedom 2 Express
  - Freedom of Expression
  - Access to a free, fast and secure internet
  - Digital Security
- Participating in Democracy
  - Open Meetings & Meaningful Engagement
  - Open Structures & Good Governance
  - Open Processes and Integrity

## Our Highlights

- Countering Repression
  - Seriti Commission
  - RICA case
  - Intimidation case
  - Protest Monitoring
  - Surveillance National Meeting
  - Marikana
- Freedom 2 Express
  - LYCR
  - Competition Commission – Data charges
  - Spectrum Allocation Workshop
- Participating in Democracy
  - Appointment Process: NDPP
  - Moerane Commission Report
  - Elections2019
  - Party Funding Act and Regulations
  - ParliWatch – extension to Gauteng
  - Kickstart #Right2Recall

## Challenges:

- Activists
  - Definition of “Activist-led”
  - Who is an activist for R2K’s mission & Programme?
  - Broken coalition between Technical Activists and Grassroots activists
  - Shaping of programme of action in line with national priorities & Focus.
  - Lack of knowledge of content matters
- Staff
  - Delays in finalising the restructuring & stabilising the staff establishment
  - Demoralisation,
  - Lack of Reporting & Accountability
  - Lack of cohesion as a Team
  - Playing politics
  - Lack of Content knowledge, skills deficit
  - Limitations
- Subject matter
  - What is the purpose of the R2K?
  - What is the change we want to see in the world?
  - Who are our content experts?

## Programme Plan:

- Countering Repression
  - Surveillance
  - Protest
  - Securitisation
- Freedom to Express
  - Freedom of Expression
    - Hate Speech
    - Community Voice - Radio
  - Free, Fast & Secure Internet
    - #DataMustFall 2.0
  - Digital Security
    - Hoezit my China -
    - Activist Digital Security Toolkit
- Participating in Democracy
  - Open Meetings / Meaningful Engagement
    - Focus on Local Govt
    - Meaningful Engagement Toolkit
    - Curriculum
  - Open Structures / Good Governance
    - ParliWatch (expansion to GP and KZN)
    - State Capture (selected SOEs)
  - Open Processes / Integrity
    - #Right2Recall Campaign 2020-2021
    - Party Funding Regulations
    - Municipal Procurement



# APPENDIX 7: KZN Provincial report

## KZN Provincial Coordinator's Report to NWG

December 2019

### 1. Introduction

R2K is at a crossroads. While the national context is still characterised by deepening crisis the character of the national dispensation is shifting from the outright corruption and authoritarianism of the previous decade, making the activist intervention of R2K and its allies both possible and necessary. There is much for the campaign to celebrate. At the same time, internal weaknesses hinder R2K's potential to maximise the advantages offered by the current context and drive the nation towards the creation of a robust and transparent democratic order.

### 2. Brief contextual analysis and some remarks on R2K campaigns

Despite some positive developments, South Africa remains deeply troubled, with high levels of poverty, a faltering economy that is not able to create work, and deeply embedded levels of inequality. Low/no levels of economic growth will continue to fuel social and political instability and conflict.

At the same time, levels of interpersonal and gender-based violence are high across the country with hotspots such as Inanda and Umlazi in KZN where murder and rape reports place the local police stations in the ten highest nationally.

Social and gender-based violence is not limited to civil society. Political formations across the country and especially in KZN remain characterised by authoritarian tendencies which erupt into violence and assassinations from time to time with an inadequate police and justice response. As understood by R2K, authoritarianism intersects with a patriarchal system of dominance across all social, political and economic structures.

Given the deepening social and economic crisis in South Africa, and the state of political flux currently dominating trends in the province, there is a risk that we may fall deeper into political, social and

gendered violence and authoritarianism, making our determined efforts to develop empowered communities and a transparent society more urgent than ever.

In a context of ongoing SOE governance and operational crises and the resulting adverse impacts on the lives of already struggling South Africans, the New Dawn dispensation of the ruling party continues its painstaking progression towards consolidating its control of both the party and the state machinery, while some progress is being made to bring perpetrators of economic crimes to justice and recover lost monies.

The right to organise (free association, assembly, expression and access to information) is a vital precondition to addressing poverty and inequality, to preventing violence and to moving the state to accountability. Continued inequality and exploitation rely on authoritarianism, secrecy and explicit or implicit censorship to thrive. It is only when the poor have a strong and informed voice that they can make their just claim on the allocation of resources in society.

Within this unfolding context, R2K has achieved much in the past years. After more than thirty amendments made to the Secrecy Bill following demands from civil society, and after victories including the public identification of national key points, the Bill still hasn't been signed into law yet. The Moerane Commission of Enquiry into political killings has reshaped the political landscape in KZN, and the Political Funding Bill will change the nature of forthcoming election campaigns.

R2K's activism initiated some five years ago in favour of lowered data costs has moved the nation closer to our goal of liberating access to information with the recent declaration by the Competition Commission on lowered data rates.

These and other victories must be claimed and celebrated by R2K, but at the same time it needs to urgently re-organise to confront and shape the unfolding context.

### **3. R2K imperatives**

In this context of a hesitantly reforming state and ruling party, R2K activism demanding accountability and transparency becomes even more critical so that these progressions can be correctly interpreted as an acknowledgement of democratic demand rather than as a "self-correction" within the ruling party.

Given the dominance of the ruling party in the national legislative processes, as well as within most provinces, there is a risk that many of the formal public consultation processes that R2K will participate in will not carry sufficient weight in the final legislative outcome. To mitigate this risk R2K will and must win and express broad public support for our desired reforms in a broader public space through public meetings, protest, media engagements etc. This is vital for ensuring the formal mechanisms of participation are respected.

At the same time, the struggle for accountability, transparency and democracy must be deepened by R2K both within its own structures and throughout society broadly. We have an urgent task of ensuring that demands made by community campaigns are continually and consistently made from a clearly informed position, and that strategic linkages are made between local level activism and national strategic priorities. This task is critical to the furthering of our aims as we simultaneously strengthen the ability of our own activists to respond strategically to contextual shifts at the same time as strengthening the structures of our allied organisations.

A coherent response to the ongoing social and political impact of patriarchy in its many forms, including and especially violence against women is lacking in the campaign. This results not only in a failure to defend the rights of women but a weakening of our own efforts to build a campaign which demonstrates an open and democratic culture, in opposition to patriarchal authoritarianism and secrecy. Combating Patriarchy is not the task of some or all women, but a strategic priority for all if we are to liberate women and men from authoritarianism and oppression and build an organisation that reflects its principles of transparency and accountability in its daily practice.

Nationally and within the provinces, R2K is deeply engaged with local communities and responsive to the issues and concerns raised from these communities. We further our aims as R2K through our work with communities and in strengthening people's organisations to campaign for their rights we also embed our core principles and strategies in their mission. In addition, our structures and activists learn from local struggles, integrating an understanding of local experiences into the strategic mindset of the campaign as a whole.

There is always the danger however that the campaign reacts unstrategically to concerns raised by communities – simply being absorbed into activism rather than analysing the concerns, aligning these concerns with the broader mission of R2K, empowering communities with critical knowledge and

skills related to our core concerns as R2K, and then referring communities to other organisations better able to respond more fully to concerns that are not in line with our core purpose. We must continue to fine-tune our strategic thinking in this regard and insist on excellent and accountable leadership from our mandated structures to provide strategic guidance to our campaigning.

The campaign is well-equipped with a range of essential educational materials. However, these are inconsistently distributed and used resulting in communities and organisations being deprived of knowledge relating to R2K's mission.

We need a new breed of activists: courageous, well- schooled politically, primed with relevant information including a deep understanding of state policies and procedures, and with considered, decisive and relevant, coherent positions on cutting edge issues. This ongoing task must be thoroughly considered, planned for and implemented as soon as possible in the new year.

At the same time, we need to demand a high standard of political literacy from our activists that includes the willingness to engage with difficult material, especially in a written form. Without this readiness, we will be unable to fulfil our commitment to develop capable and empowered communities engaging with and demanding accountability from government.

With the advent of the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution, activists should be well-acquainted with advances in information and communication technology (ICT) that can enhance our ability to acquire and use information furthering our objective of ensuring government accountability at all levels, but especially to the most vulnerable. At the same time, our activists should be spearheading the ability of communities to use this technology, both as an inherent right and in order to facilitate their activism. The internal use of ICT coheres with the imperative to ensure that we do not abandon campaigning around lowered data costs noting the potential from the two established networks to push back legally against the Competition Commission finding and again we must insist through our campaigning at all levels that this moment is not lost.

We must develop new educational material in line with both the technological advantages characterising our age and new government policies and ensure that this educational material is thoroughly studied and critiqued by our activists. It is important that in this process of development activists take the lead to ensure that the material is relevant in content and form.

The NWG has not provided consistent leadership to the campaign nationally or to the work of the provinces and this has resulted in incoherence within and between provinces and has led to a failure to identify strategic issues and maximise impact at this critical juncture. While failing to provide direction to the provinces, the NWG itself and its deeply mired internal controversies is sometimes more of a point of discussion within the provinces than the campaign itself. This is an indictment on the campaign as a whole and on the NWG in particular and every effort needs to be made to address the weaknesses of this structure so that it can provide essential coordination and leadership and ensure that it fulfils its mandate and places the interests of the campaign above all.

R2K is an activist driven campaign relying largely on the voluntary participation of supporting organisations and individuals to implement our programme. The work is intensive and demanding with a risk that levels of participation in the R2K could drop leaving insufficient capacity for our work. To mitigate this risk, we must ensure that R2K remains action orientated, democratic, and participatory, and makes efficient use of activists' time, ensuring supporters have control of the Campaign to shape our work and lead in the areas where they have most interest and capacity.

We need to adhere to our communication policy on all communication media including WhatsApp, email etc. There remains the possibility that some activists are reluctant to engage in discussions via these platforms because of the unfortunate tendency of other activists to engage harshly and / or dismissively when using these media. This tendency hinders the development of activists and stifles debate, creating division and hierarchies within the campaign, and reduces transparency and accountability. We need to ensure that that activists feel able to advance opinions and that they receive constructive guidance in order to support the development of their analysis, and that our communications practice is in accordance with our principles at all times.

PAGs remain unable to function properly because they work in silos and fail to appreciate the strategic importance of joint action. This reflects the tendency within provinces to engage in activity reactively rather than strategically and to always link activism coherently to the provincial strategy as discussed above. At the very least, convenors of the PAGs need to engage with one another and with Provincial Coordinators regularly in order to develop coherent and synchronised action. Further, at all times activism should be directed by a thorough analysis of how the proposed action will further the aims of the provincial strategy as a whole, as well as complement the actions of fellow PAGs. Again,

the NWG is failing its responsibilities to ensure coherence across all elements of the campaign as discussed above.

Resourcing and infrastructural inequalities existing between the various structures and offices of the campaign across the country is resulting in flawed, impeded and inconsistent implementation and cannot be maintained. Efforts must be made to ensure that all offices are equipped with necessary basic equipment such as desk top computers, a printer-photocopier etc. and enough staff to coordinate campaigning and administration, including campaign coordinators, community organisers and office administrators.

In conclusion, we need to ensure that the campaign becomes adequately and equitably resourced and cohesive at all levels with effective mandated structures prioritising the interests of the campaign. We need to ensure that our principles are reflected at all times in our practice and in our interactions with one another. We need to ensure that structures tasked with leadership focus on this responsibility and navigate the campaign at national and provincial levels through the unfolding crisis that engulfs our country. In the campaign and in the nation we are a cross road: how R2K moves forward now will determine whether R2K becomes irrelevant to the unfolding conditions, or whether it will step up and set the national agenda shaped by our demands for an open, democratic nation and a transparent and accountable state.

# APPENDIX 8: Task Team Report

Report of the Task Team mandated by the plenary of the R2K National review meeting of 11-13 December 2019 in Cape Town to propose a wayforward before closing the meeting.

## 1. Staff matters

1. Office assistance to be appointed to their job posts with immediate effect, because the structure does not affect them in any way. By January 2020 they should start at their post(3 days per week).
2. Coordinators matter to be paid the issue has been discussed for a long time when are they going to be address
3. Consultation of staff contracting are still underway however the observer has to be part of this processes
4. All staff members should get the once off incentive with immediate effect. We would like to agree that, this has been the difficult year,2019

## 2.PWG matters

1. We need to co-opt two members from GP on an interim basis up until national summit, to address the geographic representation on the NWG.
2. When electing people to lead at the provincial and national level need to be people that we are sure that will add value and had a vision of the organization
3. The geographically spread and the NWG member doesn't represent the province represent the national because we have the coordinators at the province
4. At the NWG candidate must be served at the province for at least a year this criteria has been dealt with we need to move to the implementation
5. The are other issues that the provinces can learn from each other

## 3. Constitutional amendments proposal.

1. There must be 5x guaranteed geographic balance of the elected member into the NWG.
2. The NWG Election and voting criteria to be developed and implemented for the summit of 2020.
3. Scrapping of the online nominations process.
4. No voting for members outside your Province.
5. Maintaining the provincial independency and autonomy in establishing the ADHOC committee/to deal with urgent matters in the province in a case by case incident.
6. Nominees to present to their PWG`s for their endorsement and support.
7. The NWG and Elected Provincial Coordinators to commit themselves by signing the transparency and accountability pledge and the right to recall.
8. We need finalisation on the proposal on the solidarity fund, and it has to be implemented after the Provincial Summit. the has been strategic report which has not been implemented every just es has been about operations not implementation

9. NWG's duty is not to manage the staff but to communicate with the provinces in every discussions and decision making
10. Policies that overlap constitution and contradiction there are many adjustment that need to be looked at
11. NWG should report to the provinces continuously it has never implemented any

#### 4. Right2Know Structure

1. Who is the Boss?
2. The restructuring process was proposed in June MTR and adopted towards the end of October 2019. This has led to many confusions in the Coordination of programmes and lacked the participatory democracy in the PWG's in terms of the broader consultations.
3. The MTR must aim to reflect what other provinces and doing
4. The finalization of the process of restructuring
5. Defining the nature of R2K( Horse, Donkey etc).
6. Provincial engagements around the proposal to be finalised on the first week of Feb 2020.
7. Staff consultations and contract to be finalised on the first week of the office opening in Jan 2020.
8. All vacant posts to be filled before the national summit of 2020.
9. The "I" must fall and the "We" must rise( we are not in a cooperate company here). This spirit of unity must be maintained at all cost.

#### 5. Budget

1. Transparency "all relevant reports must be circulated monthly to the PWG's.
2. The financial team has to be the team vested with powers in decision making around provincial budget approvals.(avoiding and doing away with the " I " syndrome and culture.
3. Why the budget was underspent yet the NDC keep on saying there is no budget
4. The role of the NWG's role was to give direction as the outgoing NWG we manage to put template that will assist the incoming NDG to plan of monthly work plan and implementing strategy
5. On the report that was requested from the staff and NDC was not an impactful report that has directives R2k doesn't have the report plan systems
6. Provinces carried out the mandate of R2k and without them the is no organization we cannot put lots of money were is not needed

#### 6. Diagnostic Report

1. It was not printed and finalised, so it must be referred back to the PWG's for further engagement, endorsements and adoption.
2. Strategy that has been used is too technical it will better if the NWG consider the working floor without clashes ,if we talk about autonomy what exactly we mean?

#### 7.The PoA and priority focus

1. We must look at the programmes going forward" less talk and more action, walk the talk.
2. We must be very careful of saying fighting the capitalism while our actions look Neoliberal.
3. Reaffirming the model of PAG's and to remain being an activists led campaign.



4. Reaffirming the provincial coordinators as the political heads of the provincial programmes.
5. Fighting and combating patriarchy has to be incorporated into all our focus areas/PAG`s.
6. We reaffirm our involvement and participation on the Climate justice struggle.
7. Advocacy work must be also the key issue amongst other issues ,the provinces are responsible to induct their provinces with understanding of the operations of the organization
8. The is a document that we need to take it to our provinces that will guide us until the national summit