

2016 Mid-Term Review



24 - 26 June 2016, AIDC Solidarity Centre, Cape Town

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INTRODUCTION

On 24-26 June 2016 the Right2Know Campaign's elected National Working Group (NWG), Provincial Coordinators and staff met for the Campaign's annual Mid-Term Review (MTR) meeting. This is the fifth such meeting since the NWG began this practice in 2012. The meeting reviewed the progress we have made, and the challenges we have encountered, since our National Summit in Durban in February¹ 2016 – and charted a way forward for the Campaign. (See APPENDIX 1 for MTR attendance and programme)

Highlights of the year so far have included:

- Our campaign for a SABC free of political influence including for the removal of COO Hlaudi Motsoeneng gained great prominence;
- Our "2016 Freedom Week" saw 31 events held around the country, many hosted by supporting organisations.
- We played an important role in setting up a right to protest hotline that will be hosted with the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) at Wits. The hotline should become operational in the coming months;
- Our presentation to the UN Human Rights Committee resulted in a far-reaching and critical finding of various aspects of South Africa's surveillance policies – the highest institutional condemnation of RICA on record;
- We continued our dogged engagement with Parliament's secretive intelligence committee over the appointment of the surveillance watchdog, the Inspector General of Intelligence and celebrated a significant victory when the favoured candidate, former ANC MP Cecil Burgess, was voted down in Parliament;
- Solidarity and support for many struggles for access to information and participation at a local level.

The MTR agreed that we must be more concrete in identifying how our national thematic issues affect ordinary people's struggle for justice, and ensure that the substance of the campaign is relevant and accessible. When mobilising, we must avoid the 'rent-a-crowd' syndrome and take time to ensure that all supporters we mobilise understand the issue and support our position.

On the operational and organisational side of the campaign (Section 2 of this report) the MTR confirmed that the Campaign remains a vibrant and democratic platform for activist-driven interventions. In the first half of 2016 we organised 42 protests and public meetings and 20 popular education workshops, and participated in at over 25 events organised by fraternal organisations.

Among other decisions, the MTR resolved to intensify efforts to root the Campaign in struggles of local communities and to ensure closer linkages between the work of R2K provinces and thematic Focus Groups.

The MTR agreed that we should not approach the National Summit Resolutions as a 'boxticking' exercise, but instead, that R2K structures should assess the strategic priority of all resolutions on an ongoing basis. With that noted, the progress shown in recent months suggests that by the time of the 2017 National Summit in Cape Town, R2K structures will have substantially addressed most, if not all, of the Resolutions made in February 2016.

See 2016 National Summit Report & Resolutions: http://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R2K-2016-SummitReport-FINAL1.pdf

SECTION 1: CAMPAIGN REVIEW

1.1. Secrecy & Surveillance

The thread that runs through much of our work on securitisation and secrecy is the fact that the state security structures are becoming increasingly visible and influential in our politics and public life. For example, when the State Security Minister referred to the threat of "NGOs" involved in "regime change". R2K has pushed back against this a few times in recent months, especially through public writing and PAIA requests²³.

The MTR noted that R2K must build a more comprehensive programme to challenge this tendency, and link this to new developments in proposed regulations for non-profit organisations (NPOs).

1.1.1 Secrecy Laws & Regulation

This focus area of R2K has been fairly reactive during the past months, focusing on two major policy developments. More energy has been channelled to the conduct of the security structures (section 1.1.2), focusing on practice rather than policies.

Draft Critical Infrastructure Bill

In June 2016, we made submissions on the police's draft bill to replace the apartheid-era National Key Points⁴. This draft Bill contains similar issues that we faced with the National Key Points Act around the lack of independent oversight and transparency - we therefore rejected this draft Bill. We also collaborated with and supported several member organisations and allied organisations to make their own submissions (Catholic Parliamentary Liaison Office, GroundWork, SDCEA, Equal Education Law Centre).

Draft Cybercrimes Bill

In 2015 R2K played a public role in mobilising awareness and opposition to the draft Cybercrimes Bill⁵. In 2016, as a result of this pressure the deputy Minister of Justice met with a delegation from R2K and promised to tighten the Bill significantly and try address as many of the concerns as possible. The draft Bill is currently being redrafted by the Dept. of Justice with an 'expert panel' - R2K proposed Alison Tilley and she now sits on the panel as a human rights law specialist. We will know in a few months whether this process delivers any tangible results, but likely be required to intensify the campaign against a new draft of the Cybercrimes Bill.

1.1.2 Surveillance of Activists

Since the National Summit, R2K has been rolling out a campaign to tackle surveillance of activists and ordinary people, resulting in a number of highlights and gains. However, the MTR noted that this has quietened down after initial momentum, especially during a three-month

² See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/04/2<u>6/blog-the-problem-with-state-securitys-secret-budget/</u>

³ See http://africasacountry.com/2016/02/jacob-zumas-party/

⁴ See submission on Draft Critical Infrastructure Bill: http://www.r2k.org.za/20<u>16/06/14/briefing-draft-critical-infrastructure-protection-</u> $\frac{\mbox{bill/}}{\mbox{5}} \mbox{See submission on Cybercrimes Bill: http://r2k.org.za/cybercrimesbill}$

period where there was a vacancy in the role of 'Secrecy Organiser'. We must therefore increase the pressure.

The MTR agreed to re-focus on telling the stories of people who have been the victims of surveillance, and to use concrete examples of surveillance abuse to make our case.

Submissions to the UN Human Rights Committee

In February 2016, R2K partnered with Privacy International and the Association of Progressive Communications to make a submission to the United Nations Human Rights Committee on South Africa's surveillance policies⁶, especially the Regulation of Interception of Communications & Provision of Communication-Related Information Act (RICA). This was part of a routine review of South Africa's implementation of international human rights law. As part of the submissions, Professor Jane Duncan of R2K's secrecy focus group and the Media Policy & Democracy Project attended the hearings and made a presentation to the Committee². This resulted in a far-reaching finding by the UN Human Rights Committee, which is very critical of various aspects of RICA as a surveillance policy⁷. This is the highest institutional condemnation of RICA on record.

Demands to Fix RICA

The UN Human Rights Committee's findings were an opportunity to press home an advantage on RICA. After holding two consultative roundtables with members and allies, R2K rallied 40 organisations to endorse a statement demanding RICA's reform⁴, and launched a memorandum of demands to 'fix RICA'⁸ – a modest, tactical intervention calling on South Africa to at least go as far as addressing the Human Rights Committee's concerns with RICA. Our memorandum was handed over to officials at the Office for Interception Centres (OIC) at Gauteng on 27 April, and sent by email to the Deputy Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development⁹.

This has been accompanied by several protest actions, including the first ever protest at the OIC, a picket at Parliament and a picket at the trial of an intelligence officer charged with illegal surveillance¹⁰.

It has also been accompanied with workshops, seminars, public speaking, and media engagements. As this is a particularly overlooked or misunderstood issue, each public engagement is a step forward in shaping public understandings of the problem.

Outstanding actions include: finalising production on the activist guide on surveillance commissioned by Media Policy & Democracy Project, which has been delayed over the past two months. This requires an update to the specific demands of R2K's campaign against RICA and proposals for further activism, and will be accompanied by further workshops on surveillance.

Inspector General of Intelligence

R2K continued its dogged engagement with Parliament's secretive intelligence committee over the appointment of the surveillance watchdog, the Inspector General of Intelligence¹¹. The

⁶ See submission to UNHRC: http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/02/15/submission-right-to-privacy-to-the-united-nations-human-rights-commission/

See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/03/31/un-report-shows-sa-government-must-start-respecting-human-rights/

⁸ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/04/26/stand-against-surveillance-fix-rica-now/

⁹ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/04/26/memorandum-demands-to-stand-against-surveillance-and-fix-rica/

¹⁰ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/04/12/protest-mass-surveillance/

¹¹ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/01/22/no-more-interference-no-more-delays-inspector-generals-appointmen

matter stalled for many months during 2015, but was finally shifted when we threatened to take Parliament to court in 2016. We celebrated a significant victory when the favoured candidate, former ANC MP Cecil Burgess, was voted down in Parliament¹². The matter has now gone back to square one, with a new round of applications and interviews¹³, and has stalled once again. This requires more vigilance from us, and potentially further court action.

Mobilising victims of surveillance

Linked to R2K's campaign against RICA and engagement over the appointment of the Inspector General has been R2K's work on mobilising victims of surveillance, either by helping comrades to submit complaints to the Inspector General, and tracking those complaints, or by using other mechanisms to raise grievances or highlight abuses (e.g. publishing stories of surveillance). In 2016 this has mainly involved staying in touch with existing complainants – more needs to be done to identify and document new cases.

1.1.3 Right to Protest

Issues around the right to protest have continued to demand action and solidarity from the Campaign. R2K has not kept up with this demand, especially during a three-month vacancy in the organiser role. However, gains have still been achieved during this period.

The MTR reflected that 'crisis fatigue' is a particular challenge in this area of work, whereby an abuse that is repeated several times becomes 'normalised' and gets less traction within R2K structures, and even less in the broader public. The right to protest also presents a particularly unmanageable volume of work – repression is so widespread that we cannot give adequate support to all who need it. We could focus more on challenging regressive public perceptions of protest through storytelling and public statements; there have been too many missed opportunities.

The MTR noted that the State uses arbitrary arrest as a tactic to frustrate activists' capacity to organise. This is exacerbated by the lack of access to funds for bail. We agreed that R2K should debate the possibility of campaigning for Free Bail for Protesters.

Right to protest support and hotline

R2K has played an important role in setting up a right to protest hotline and legal support network, with the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) at Wits hosting the hotline and R2K being a member organisation to the service. Funding has been secured for the hotline and an attorney and coordinator is being hired.

Legal challenges to the Gatherings Act

R2K has agreed to be approached as friend of the court (amicus curiae) in two separate challenges to the Gatherings Act – one brought by Social Justice Coalition/Legal Resources Centre in the Western Cape and by TAC/Section 27 in the Free State. These will only arrive in court at a later stage.

Ad hoc support for protesters facing violations of the right to protest

¹² See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/03/16/statement-r2k-welcomes-the-national-assemblys-decision-on-burgess/

¹³See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/04/20/confirmed-interviews-for-inspector-general-will-be-public-but-more-is-needed/

R2K has continued to play an important role in linking protesters to legal support and the media when their rights are violated. R2K has released seven statements about repression of the right to protest over the past six months¹⁴.

1.2. Information Access

Campaigning around information access, and pursuit of the National Summit resolution to offer sustained support of local struggles, has resulted in a huge amount of work and action.

The MTR noted that we still have much work to do to effectively highlight the links between party funding secrecy and procurement corruption and service delivery failings at local level. We must find better ways to actively engage private sector corruption. The MTR further noted that R2K should explore engaging Ward Committee processes and IDP service delivery issues. The Nuclear Deal should become a focus of our InfoAccess work after the Local Government Elections.

1.2.1 Local Government & Service Delivery

In the lead up to the local elections, we have produced content that relates to local government transparency and accountability, with direct links to our relevant legs and issues. In the April tabloid we published our 'right to recall' form, a campaigning pledge that activists can demand that councillor candidates sign. This focuses on using the right to recall as an accountability mechanism that reaches beyond the 3rd of August, and that can link to our other demands, focussing on open meetings and open processes. We have held workshops and public meetings relating to different aspects of local government to enable our activists to engage in the local elections in ways that can forward local struggles.

We are producing an Activist Guide on Local Government Transparency, including sections on the right to recall, party political funding, and open meetings and open processes and transparency more broadly. In partnership with this publication we are also producing a tabloid with content focused on local government and youth. This will include some more informal stories of different situations that have been faced by comrades in fighting for transparency at local government level, as well as informational pieces and excerpts from the Activists Guide. This will lead to three public meetings, which will focus on the right to recall, and will invite political parties to commit to transparency and accountability. We have also engaged with My Vote Counts (MVC) to have shared local government focused workshops in Free State, Gauteng, Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal, with discussions around party political funding and the right to recall.

We have also continued our sustained engagements with many community struggles around transparency and service delivery. These include Blikkiesdorp, Blue Downs, Faure, Makhaza, Ex-midrand workers, Thembelihle and Precast, Dunlop workers (KZN), Glebelands, and MACUA – East Rand.

- http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/02/10/r2k-statement-the-right-to-protest-denied-for-the-opening-of-parliament/
- http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/02/11/right2know-pickets-on-n2-ahead-of-sona/
- http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/02/19/r2k-kzn-statement-ukzn-protesters-are-in-urgent-need-for-legal-representation/
- http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/03/21/r2k-statement-respect-the-right-to-protest-as-a-fundamental-human-right/
- http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/03/23/amadiba-assassination/
- http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/13/in-solidarity-with-break-free-sa-we-have-the-right-to-protest-at-gupta-hq/
- http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/06/20/r2k-statement-solidarity-with-bophelohouse94-and-the-right-to-protest/

Recent protest solidarity statements:

1.2.2 National Advocacy on Access to Info

We have focused on a number of national Information Access issues in recent months.

SA Procurement Monitoring Network:

The civil society coalition led by the International Budget Partnership met last year with Treasury to discuss transparency in the procurement process and the new 'Procurement Bill', after which Treasury gave the group the opportunity to comment on omissions in the bill before the first draft was released for consideration. The coalition made a submission and agreed that they will request a follow up meeting with the Office of the Chief Procurement Officer for an update on issues relating to the Central Supplier Database, the e-Tender portal and The Public Procurement Bill. However, since then Treasury has made it clear that they will not engage our submission, but that only submissions made through the Public Affair Research Institute (PARI) will be considered. Due to the limited nature of this process, the coalition withdrew from the process, and most organisations have chosen to not engage directly with PARI so as not to allow them to tick that off as "civil society consultation".

Information Regulator:

R2K and ODAC wrote to the portfolio committee with our demands for openness in the process. All the CVs of the shortlisted candidates were made available and the interviews were made open. An open letter with outlined questions for the interviews was sent to the committee from the ATI Network.

The motion to appoint the panel of 5 people nominated by the Justice Portfolio Committee failed. The House will only reconvene after the local government elections and the SAHRC estimated that it would take over 2 years to get a functioning office of the Information Regulator.

The Open Government Partnership:

R2K was part of a civil society meeting to respond to the SA government's poor engagement with the OGP process. R2K, along with a few others pushed for a strong line and we managed to agree to a few deadlines that, if the government does not meet, we will engage disciplinary action within OGP against SA. We released a statement, a joint letter and a cartoon¹⁵. We have also made it clear that we will not engage in OGP work until government come to the table, and at the very least set up a sufficient engagement platform.

PAIA for State of the Nation Address Budget to CoCT and SAPS:

We are pursuing information regarding the massive security force shown at the 2016 State of the Nation Address (SONA). The City of Cape Town have asked for an extension on their 30 days to work through which information can be released. The CoCT has responded with very basic information around overtime employment costs for SONA. SAPS have not responded.

Zimbabwe Access to Info coalition:

We participated in a meeting held by the Media Institute of Southern Africa of Zimbabwe in Harare, around the setting up a coalition for Access to Information in Zimbabwe. They would like to collaborate in future and there are many issues on which we could share strategy.

Access to information network:

¹⁵ See: http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/05/statement_south-africas-open-government-partnership-under-lock-and-key/

The PAIA Civil Society Network had a strategic planning meeting which brought forth some big changes: the network has been renamed the Access to Information Network (ATI Network), and it was decided that the network can only continue to grow and live up to its mandate with extra capacity – we will approach donors to see whether a full time employee can be funded. This is broadening the mandate of the network and allowing for greater collaboration between organisations.

1.2.2 Corporate Secrecy

We continue to develop our focus on private sector secrecy.

Nuclear Secrecy:

We are working with <u>350.org</u>, EarthLife Africa, Greenpeace, Organisation Undoing Tax Abuse (OUTA) and South African Faith Communities Environment Institute (SAFCEI) to develop a campaign around transparency in the Nuclear Deal. We plan to produce a series of small video clips and pamphlets highlighting what the cost of nuclear could mean for service delivery, along with the basics of the deal. These tools will come together with existing materials to form a toolkit for discussion sessions that can then be used by the various organisations around the country in anticipation of the hearings process.

Arms Deal Commission:

R2K hosted meetings in GP and WC to discuss how to engage the whitewashed Arms Deal Report. R2K has also supported screenings and discussions of the documentary, Shadow World, in WC and GP. One standing proposal is for R2K to join efforts to challenge the findings of the Seriti Commission. The MTR resolved to take that discussion to provincial working groups for support.

1.2.3 Whistleblowers

In May, we supported Lerato Moyaba, a whistle-blower who spoke out against police brutality against her by JMPD. GP protested outside the court case, and will continue to monitor and provide support.

We agreed to continue our support to ODAC in their engagements with the Public Disclosures Amendment Bill, currently under consideration before the National Assembly. We also agreed to keep August as Women's Whistle-blower month, during which provinces will consider different ways to celebrate Women Whistleblowers in SA.

1.2.4 Solidarity Work

Break Free Campaign:

The Break Free Campaign was a coalition brought together by 350.org as part of an international anti-coal campaign for 2016. In SA 350.org focused on different angles of the coal industry, with R2K's specific focus on corruption and lack of transparency, both at a local level in areas such as Witbank, where communities are directly affected by coal, and in national corrupt connections such as with the Guptas. The Campaign decided on three separate actions in the space of the international week of action: 1) a speak out in Witbank, where mining-affected communities could discuss and draw attention to the social and health affects of coal 2) a

bread-price march, led by COPAC and 3) a mass gathering outside the Gupta residence, with a coffin of coal being delivered to their gate.

Despite rain and some logistical issues, including a denial to protest, which R2K stepped in to assist with and mobilise around, the events went well, and future collaborations are being discussed.

Marikana Support Campaign:

The decision was made to hold the Civil Society Inquiry into the Marikana massacre before the end of the year, and Right2Know has committed to support this process. R2K supported a picket on the first day of Phiyega's inquiry into her fitness to hold office and her role in the massacre. In the first week of July, MSC will be screening Miners Shot Down on the outside wall of the SABC. GP is working with MSC so as to provide support. We should consider what we would like to do for August 16 (4th anniversary of the massacre).

Hands Off Our Grants:

Black Sash was the amicus curiae in the case around grant subtractions taken to the Constitutional Court. Subtractions for funeral policies were being made directly off child grant payments. The Con Court ruled this to be unconstitutional. There is a possibility that people who had money subtracted from their accounts can attempt to get this money back. R2K could assist in this process.

Glebelands Hostel killings

In light of the continued crisis in Glebelands, in which at least 62 people have died in apparent political killings since March 2014 and at least 13 people have been victims of police torture, R2K has continued to administer donations and public statements on behalf of concerned residents of Glebelands Hostel and allies. In April, R2K supported an appeal to the UN Human Rights Committee (UNHCR) to intervene in the crisis at Glebelands¹⁶. The April edition of the R2K tabloid also featured an article on the Glebelands crisis.

Amadiba Solidarity

After Cde Bazooka Rhadebe, a prominent anti-mining activist and head of the Amadiba Crisis Committee, was gunned down in Xolobeni in March, R2K helped to coordinate a crisis response. Over 193 organisations endorsed our joint statement condemning the killings¹⁷, and R2K helped to convene solidarity meetings in the provinces and screenings of *Shore Break*, a documentary about the struggle in Xolobeni. R2K KZN also sent a delegation to Bazooka's memorial. The struggle in Xolobeni was the front-page story in R2K's most recent tabloid.

1.3 Right to Communicate

It has been a busy few months of 2016 with regards to media freedom and diversity issues. Threats against journalists and other media workers, both physical and structural, continue to increase. South Africa's relatively high standing in this year's RSF Press Freedom Index (39 out of 180 countries) belies the increasingly challenging and at times hostile climate in which journalists operate. The ranking perhaps says more about the worsening state of media freedom the world over, from revelations of the extent of mass surveillance by US spy agencies

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 $^{{\}small 16 See} \ \underline{\text{http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/04/18/r2k-kzn-supports-glebelands-residents-call-to-the-unhrc/linear contents and the support of the support o$

¹⁷ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/03/23/amadiba-assassination/

and America's war on whistle-blowers, to threats from non-state actors such as the spate of killings of secular bloggers in Bangladesh and murders of journalists by drug gangs in Mexico.

The MTR agreed that we must continue to prioritise struggles around the independence of the SABC. However, as additional priorities the MTR noted that more must be done to promote Channel Free as a concrete example around which to engage digital migration and media diversity, as well as promoting the Zenzeleni model of community-owned telecommunications through our outreach work beyond KZN, Gauteng and the Western Cape.

1.3.1 Internet Freedom

Internet rights have become increasingly important to our mandate given the growing threats to online freedoms. A raft of draft legislation and regulations seriously threaten the Internet as a free and open medium and imperils the privacy and other rights of users. Our campaign against the Film and Publications Board continues. The FPB recently released its amended regulations for online content, which contain major flaws. Together with the Films and Publications Amendment Bill, this represents a real threat to Internet freedom. We have responded to the regulations and bill with a formal submission and by circulating an accessible summary of their flaws 18.

1.3.2 Media Freedom

At home, threats to the physical safety of journalists continue to be a problem. We witness an alarming number of cases of harassment against media workers by police and security officials. The politicization and overreach of our intelligence services, loopholes in laws like RICA, and weak oversight, make it easy for journalists and their sources, activists and others to be spied on, and this has a chilling effect on free speech and media freedom. R2K has been consistent in speaking out against phone-tapping and other surveillance abuses against journalists. For example, in May an R2K delegation stood in solidarity with two Sunday Times journalists outside the Specialised Commercial Crimes Court in Pretoria, where a case relating to surveillance of the two was heard 19. At around the same time, R2K was very involved in publicizing and supporting the case of former Cape Times editor Alide Dasnois, who was fighting her former employers at Independent Media in the Labour Court after she was purged from her paper for publishing content that was not to the taste of Independent Media's boss lqbal Surve 20.

Meanwhile our public broadcaster continues its descent into state broadcasting. Attempts by a political faction to hijack the SABC has undermined its ability to uphold free expression, inform the public through critical journalism, and serve as a platform for a diversity of views from across the country. R2K has pushed back against attempts by Minister Faith Muthambi and her department to exert greater control over the SABC and the egregious mismanagement and interference in editorial policy by COO Hlaudi Motsoeneng²¹. The MTR agreed that we must continue to prioritise struggles around the independence of the SABC.

 $^{{\}small 18 \,\, See} \,\, \underline{\text{http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/25/films-publications-bill-internet-censorship/open contents} \\$

¹⁹ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/05/6594/

²⁰ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/08/dasnois-case/

²¹ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/28/r2k-statement-sabc-stop-self-censorship/ and http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/23/r2k-demands-an-end-to-sabc-censorship/

The Right2Know Campaign has consistently drawn attention to global threats to free expression and the free flow of information and have stood in solidarity with allies in other parts of the continent²². This year we held two pickets outside Angolan consular buildings in Pretoria and Cape Town to condemn that country's brutal repression of dissenters and journalists, in particular the 17 activists that are being persecuted by the state for legitimate and peaceful political activity and forming a reading group were literature deemed "subversive" was circulated and read²³. We have written to our own government and the South African embassy in Angola to insist that more be done to exert diplomatic pressure on Angola and other regional countries that do not respect free expression and other fundamental human rights.

1.3.3 Digital TV

We have also taken a very proactive approach on media diversity by working with CTV to champion Channel Free - a national TV station initiative that aims to fill an important gap in the media landscape by prioritising social justice issues and giving a voice to the marginalized and their struggles. Linked to this, we continue to campaign for more quality, locally produced free-to-air content when South Africa finally transitions to DTT. To this end, we have collaborated with the SOS Coalition in holding three popular education workshops in Soweto, East Rand and Tsakane.

The MTR agreed that more must be done to promote Channel Free as a concrete lens to engage digital migration and media diversity – this should include consultations on the programme and ownership structure of the Channel.

1.3.4 Community Media

We have also reinvigorated our campaign to strengthen ties with community media and help build community media. Following the three media transformation summits held late last year in KZN, Western Cape and Gauteng, we are now in the process of hosting consultation meetings in the three provinces – through these meetings we aim to bring media representatives and activists together in one room, in order to formulate MOUs and strategies on how to build formal and lasting ties in future engagement, so that R2K activists are more engaged in community media and journalists more engaged in communities.

1.3.5 Access to Telecommunications

Internet freedom and Internet access are two sides of the same coin and we continue to push for fast, reliable and affordable Internet access for all. We also help provide a living example of an alternative model of internet access through the Zenzeleni project, empowering the rural Mankosi community in the Eastern Cape to be self-sufficient in much of their telecommunication needs and thus avoid having to rely on telecoms giants that charge prohibitive rates for airtime and data²⁴. R2K also participated in the FAST-Africa Internet access week, a pan-African initiative to promote a fast, affordable, safe and transparent Internet. As part of FAST-Africa, R2K hosted a national public discussion in Johannesburg that brought together activists and Internet experts from different parts of the country. The meeting initiated a discussion on the

²² See http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/24/africa-day-statement-promote-freedom-of-expression-in-africa/

²³ See here http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/06/06/free-the-angolan-activists/ and http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/04/11/angolan-17-picket/

²⁴ See http://www.r2k.org.za/2015/09/23/zenzeleni-do-it-yourself/

forming of a coalition/common front that will campaign for Internet access in South Africa. We have already begun to hold follow up workshops with different partners in other parts of the country in the run-up to a large national workshop planned for later in the year. This national workshop's aim will be to formalize the coalition/front.

The MTR agreed that the Zenzeleni community owned telecommunications model should be promoted through our outreach work beyond KZN, Gauteng and the Western Cape and that we should reinvigorate the campaign for free airtime internet – including publicizing existing free internet access points.

SECTION 2. INTERNAL REVIEW

We have continued to build the Right2Know Campaign as a free, independent, vibrant and activists driven coalition that exemplifies our values of democracy, openness, and accountability.

2.1 Campaign Structures and Relations

As evidenced by the report above, Campaign structures continue to function well. In the first half of 2016 we organised 42 protests and public meetings and 20 popular education workshops, and participated in at over 25 events organised by fraternal organisations.

In January and February the Campaign completed our annual Provincial and National Summits, electing our 2016/7 leadership and adopting a strategic framework for the year²⁵.

Two key themes emerging from the 2016 Summits are the need to deepen the internal democracy of the campaign - in particular to ensure closer linkages between thematic Focus Groups and Provincial Working Groups and to root the Campaign in the community organisations and other struggles.

The MTR noted that we working under pressure with limited resources and often do not pay enough attentions to interpersonal relations - the "people side of things". We should not focus on action and deliverables at the expense of building relationships of trust and comradeship. How we treat others reflects our values and should be seen as part of our activism. We must stop using language that is disrespectful, bullying, badmouthing, undermining, and gossiping and frame problems in a manner that enables collective solution seeking. We must ensure more spaces in the campaign for strategic and organisational reflection.

We have put a lot of energy into ensuring R2K has developed a range of policies. We must continue adherence to our policies, ensure that everyone is familiar with relevant policies and use our well-established structures and channels for better democratic decision-making. We must improve the provision of induction for both staff and activists – including the use of the "We have the Right2Know" induction publication.

²⁵ See 2016 Summit Report: http://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R2K-2016-SummitReport-FINAL1.pdf

Too many comrades still speak about the R2K in the third-person. We must do more to ensure comrades take ownership and identify as part of the Campaign. In many cases activists are over-reliant on staff and coordinators to implement decisions. We must strive to enable stronger participation from other R2K supporters in implementation, ensure that Staffers support and enable activism and work to maintain internal democracy rather than substituting for activists and undermining their authority.

After the National Summit the Gauteng Province raised a number of concerns regarding uncomradely conduct of some Summit participants. The NWG launched an independent investigation into these concerns that found that - while there was insufficient information to find a basis for most of the concerns raised - the R2K should review our Campaign's approach to electing the NWG and the structure of the annual Summits to ensure better preparation of delegations at Provincial Summits to ensure Summit delegates are prepared for discussions at the National Summits. The investigation also concluded that because the Campaign is a microcosm of South African society, it must do more to air and address underlying issues of race, class and gender discrimination and inequality – as well as other power dynamics²⁶. The MTR ratified the NWG telecom decision to accept the Investigation Report findings, further engage its Recommendations, and share it with R2K Structures for further engagement.

The MTR concluded that we live in a patriarchal, racist, and exploitative society shaped by unjust and undemocratic power relations. As a result we all bring undemocratic beliefs and behaviours into the Campaign. We must unlearn cultural/political approaches and practices that undermine democratic movement building. We must approach this task with humility, in the spirit of building one another.

2.1.1 Enabling Activism in Provinces

Our Provincial Working Groups (PWGs) in KZN, Gauteng and Western Cape remain the heart of the Campaign - controlling our programme budgets and meets monthly to review and plan action.

Uniform monthly financial reports & NWG minutes are being circulated but are not adequately engaged by PWGs. The MTR suggested that PWGs should consider extending their meeting time and should receive training in how to read budgets and financial reports.

More must be done to support the decision making capacity of PWGs and implementing capacity of Task Teams – as well as mechanisms, including provincial email lists – to hold Coordinates and Staff accountable in between PWG meetings. PWGs and the NWG must ensure Provincial Coordinators must have sufficient capacity to provide financial and human resource oversight.

2.1.2 Enabling Activism in Focus Group

Thematic Focus Groups continue to network R2K activists with content expertise on various issues. Focus Groups monitor developments, identify critical issues for R2K to engage, and contribute to shaping R2K responses.

²⁶ See investigation report: http://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R2K-Investigative-Team-Report-2016-summit-.pdf

The MTR noted that Focus Groups are uneven but getting stronger and more integrated with Provinces. Focus Groups should consider having more regular meetings to agree priorities and responsibilities to ensure all our intellectual capacity is channelled into action.

There remains a need to ensure closer ties between Focus Groups and PWGs. Focus activists should be encouraged to get more active in PWGs and PWGs & NWG activists should become more active and vocal in FGs. Provinces must nurture "champions" on each of our focuses.

We must take greater care to manage tensions and competition with sister organisations in Focus Groups. R2K should draw in their capacities and add value to their programmes without getting into petty 'turf wars' over ownership – R2K should belong to everyone.

2.1.3 Enabling Activism in Local Struggles

The National Summit mandated R2K to increase the focus on local solidarity work. Over the last four months we have increased our focus on local access to info struggles in our tabloid and this month the tabloid focuses almost exclusively on local struggles and local government information.

We have also reached out to many new community struggles through our outreach work (see Outreach Report below), and have continued our sustained engagements with many community struggles including Blikkiesdorp, Blue Downs, Faure, Makhaza, Ex-midrand workers, Thembelihle and Precast, Dunlop workers (KZN), Glebelands, and MACUA – East Rand.

The MTR identified the need for greater follow-up, consistency, and partnership in supporting local struggles – in particular on complex issues like the crises at Amadiba and Glebelands. We should strive to deepen relationships and offer support beyond attending local meetings. Each Province should consider budgeting monthly for work with local struggles but should not perpetuate the gap between R2K and local struggles as it might easily translate into welfarist relation between R2K and local activism.

We should include local events in provincial calendars & communication.

2.2 Combating Patriarchy

Confronting patriarchy remains a priority within the Campaign as we drive to challenge undemocratic power relations and ensure R2K is a safe space for women characterized by equality, dignity and respect. We have run one workshop in KZN, adopted a Sexual Harassment Policy²⁷ and appointed a Sexual Harassment Officer.

The MTR agreed we should strive for a gender balance in selecting R2K representatives to attend various forums. Each province should consider drawing at least three organisations working on issues related to patriarchy into the Campaign and report on at least two efforts to integrate feminist perspectives in the thematic areas of our work. Provinces should run another round of workshops on understanding patriarchy.

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²⁷ http://www.r2k.org.za/sexual-<u>harassment-policy/</u>

2.3 National Solidarity Network (Beyond Urban Nodes)

We continue to build a network of R2K supporters in the Eastern Cape, Free State, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, North West and Northern Cape provinces to ensure a Campaign presence beyond KZN, Gauteng and the Western Cape.

We've formally signed MOUs with 15 organisations as well as the Freedom of Expression Network to support the principle of "struggle before structure"- to develop sustainable relationship of mutual solidarity that are action orientated. We've distributed R2K publications and flags, and created provincial email and WhatsApp lists to enable communication across the network. We've also supported protests in the Free State, Mpumalanga, North West and Northern Cape and run two workshops in the North West.

The MTR agreed that we need better integration with other R2K focus areas and provincial structures to ensure that capacities elsewhere in the campaign are available to the outreach network and that issues/capacities in the network feed into the rest of the Campaign. We must do more to make remote struggles more visible by offering communication support and circulating statements, action alerts and photographs.

2.4 Coalitions and Fronts

In 2014 the Campaign acknowledged that the right to know could not be won without the greater unity and strengthening of broader civil society. To this end we have participated in a number of efforts to build coalitions and fronts. Sadly, our progress here was frustrating. After its initial promise the United Front has all-but collapsed, as has the Unite Against Corruption coalition. In the wake of Constitutional Courts Nkandla ruling we saw a rush of activity calling for the President to resign, but this has not been sustained.

R2K remains active in a number of issue based networks and coalitions including the SOS Coalition, Access to Information Network, SA Procurement Monitoring Network, Marikana Solidarity Campaign, Break Free Campaign and Privacy International.

2.5 Media and Communications

The Campaign is a complex organisation with a broad scope and engages on a wide range of issues with a variety of stakeholders, from local, provincial and thematic activists to sister organisations, journalists, academics, international networks, policy makers, state officials, and the general public. The Campaign values transparency and the free flow of information – however, paradoxically, too much information results in 'information overwhelm' and serves as a barrier to stakeholders engaging the work of the Campaign. We must strive to develop our communications systems and capacity to ensure the right information in the right quality and quality reaches the right stakeholder group, thought the appropriate channel.

2.5.1 Media Coverage

R2K maintains a high media profile. Between January and May 2016 we have released 34 media statements (and 4 partner organisations statements) and received extensive media

coverage (See APPENDIX 3 for 222 examples of coverage). On social media our Twitter 'followers' have grown from 20.600 in January to 22,400 in June, Facebook 'likes' from 11,000 in January to 12,347 in June.

While R2K has a strong team of spokespeople, we still rely too heavily on statements to engage the mass media and we need to diversify our methods of getting information out (including op eds, relevant/targeted publications). Provinces should draw more on the capacity of Focus Groups and staff to prepare their communications. We should also intensify our efforts to engage community radio.

2.5.2 Materials & Publications

The year kicked off with the distribution of our 2016 "champions of the Right to Know"²⁸ that celebrated the contributions of a number of individuals and organisations. We also published a revised Activist Guide to the Right to Protest²⁹ and an edition of our popular tabloid newspaper, Your Right2Know³⁰. We are planning to publish a fourth edition of our tabloid and an activist guide to the participatory democracy (that will be launched in the run -up to the Local Government elections) as well as an activist guide on surveillance, Secret State of the Nation Report and small video clips and pamphlets on the nuclear deal.

The MTR affirmed that we must do more to simplify and unpack academic language and package material into diverse and creative formats including podcasts.

2.5.3 Internal communications

Given the complexity of our networks and structures effective internal communication remains a challenge. The MTR agreed to revive the Weekly Events Calendar and populate it with all events in the R2K network. NWG members should be more thorough in giving NWG reports to Provinces and we should stop (unintentionally) excluding activists from communications channels and create more – and more appropriate spaces for communications. R2K's social media platforms (including email and WhatsApp groups) should only be used for R2K related discussions. Lastly, we should explore setting up a communication Task Team to work with the National Communicator.

2.6 Popular Education

Popular Education remains a foundation of R2K's mobilization work. In the first half of 2016 we held 9 activist workshops on issues ranging from surveillance and Internet access to protest, community media, and digital TV (See APPENDIX 2, Section 2 for details).

The National and Provincial Leadership Development Teams held a workshop with the support of the Popular Education Project and developed workshops focusing on the right to protest, building coalitions, oppression & democratic movement building, and media freedom & diversity that will be delivered in provinces by campaign activists. We also plan to rerun our political

²⁸ http://www.r2k.org.za/2015/12/22/2016-r2k-champions/

http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/03/21/r2k-protest-guide/

http://www.r2k.org.za/2016/05/10/r2ks-tabloid-get-a-copy-of-your-right2know-may-2016/

economy reading course³¹ and explore the possibility of running workshops on access to information, patriarchy, and digital security.

2.7 Finances

The Campaign has maintained our commitment to the prudent use of funds as well as striving for maximum transparency and accountability in our financial management. The NWG Finance Team continues to provide oversight of our finances and we continued to produce monthly financial reports for the NWG and Provinces as well as completing clean audits for 2015.

We are grateful for growing donor confidence in the Campaign. We have successfully raised funds to cover the 2016 budget adopted at the 2016 Summit and - thanks to a number of multi year donor contracts - we have confirmed 66% of our projected budget up to the end of 2018. Almost all our donors provide 'core' funds that allow for flexibility and responsiveness as campaign activist decide spending priorities on an on-going basis³².

The MTR agreed that we must stop providing resources to some comrades and not others and making decisions based on self-interests. We must treat all comrades with dignity – including in how we manage cash reimbursements.

Noting a tension between the need to manage risk, minimize administrative workload, and enable activism, the MTR agreed that we would discuss the need to amend R2K financial policy and systems to allow for secondary advances to activists and staff in Provinces further in our Provinces, get an opinion from CMDS and our auditors, and feedback to Fin Team who would make a recommendation to the NWG within a month. The recommendation should include whether Provincial organisers or Administrators should be the primary recipients of Provincial advances.

The MTR also agreed that Fin Team should review and recommend revisions to the 2016 and 2017 Budgets based on 2016 spending patterns.

2.8 Staffing

The Campaign now has a total staff of fourteen³³. Murray Hunter was appointed Advocacy Coordinator to provide more strategic support and synergy to the various campaign focuses. Alex Hotz was appointed as Secrecy & Securitisation Focus Organiser. Bongani Xezwi was appointed full-time Outreach Organiser to build the R2K presence beyond KZN, Gauteng, and the Western Cape. Ntombi Tshabalala was appointed full-time Gauteng Organiser. Part-time Provincial Administrators as well as the Information Access and the Right to Communicate Organisers were all made full-time. There are no plans to employ additional staff in 2016.

The MTR confirmed that while staff is accountable to activist and activists are accountable to their various collectives, staff must be encouraged to take initiative, but this must be accompanied by greater accountability. National Staff need to give each Province a more equitable attention and Provinces must be more proactive in identifying support required from

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³¹ See details of political economy course: http://school.r2k.org.za/

³² See list of donors and links to audits: http://www.r2k.org.za/about/donors/

³³ See list of Staff: http://www.r2k.org.za/leadership/

National Staff. Now that we have had some months of experience with full time Provincial Administrators we should consider reviewing and clarifying Provincial Organiser and Administrator job descriptions. We must enable greater activist participation in staff appointment processes, including providing reasons for appointments.

ENDS

APPENDIX 1: MTR ATTENDANCE & PROGRAMME

24 - 26 June, AIDC Solidarity Centre, Cape Town.

MTR Attendance

	PRESENT	APOLOGY	ABSENT
National Working Group (NWG)	 Alison Tilley Asha Moodely Cleopatra Shezi Ghalib Galant Nonhlanha Chanza Percy Nhau Precious Mazibuko Siviwe Mdoda 	 Godfrey Phiri Meshack mbangula Mhlobo Gunguluzi 	Philisiwe Dladla
Provincial Coordinators	Thabane Miya (KZN) Ghalib Galant (WC) Khaya Xintolo (WC)	Godfrey Phiri (GP)	Nokuthenjwa Bulana (WC)
Staffers	 Mark Weinberg (National Coordinator) Murray Hunter (National Advocacy Coordinator) Bongani Xizwe (Outreach Organiser) Busi Mtabane (National Communicator) Janine Julisen (National Administrator) Micah Reddy (Right to Communicate Organiser) Carina Conradie (InfoAccess Organiser) Alex Hotz (Secrecy & Securotisation Organiser) Ntombi Tshabalala (GP Organiser) Vainola Makan (WC Organiser) Nomacebo Mbayo (WC Administrator) Phezu Ntetha (KZN Administrator) Palesa Kunene (GP Administrator) 	Joanne Adams (KZN Organiser)	•
Alternates ³⁴	Stena Molepo (GP) Albrey Lengane (GP)		

 $^{^{34}}$ Gauteng sent alternates to attend the MTR because due to unforeseen circumstances the two GP Coordinators and two elected NWG could not attend.

MTR Programme

FRI	SESSION			
1600	Welcome			
1615	Breakaway: Snapshots of Context & Campaign			
	R2K on a good day (strengths)			
	R2K on a bad day (weaknesses)			
	Opportunities in our environment			
	Challenges in environmental (threats)			
1645	Presenting the Snapshots of Context & Campaign			
1705	Impressions of Snapshots			
1750	Reflections on individual roles in R2K			
1825	MTR Logistics			
1835	Dinner			

SAT	SESSION		
900	Fishbowl: The impact of Investigative Process		
1015	Breakaways: Internal Democracy & Enabling Activism		
	1. Local Struggles		
	2. Provincial Activism		
	3. Focus Group Activism		
	4. NWG Activism		
1100	Plenary Reports: Internal Democracy & Enabling Activism		
1300	LUNCH		
1400	Breakaway: Review & Setting Agenda (THEMATIC)		
	1. Secrecy		

	2. InfoAccess		
	3. Media Freedom & Diversity – and Access to Telecoms		
	4. Right2Protest		
1445	Breakaway: Review & Setting Agenda (BUILDING R2K)		
	6. Fighting Patriarchy		
	7. Beyond Urban Nodes		
	8. Popular Education		
	9. Communication		
	10. Finance & Staffing		
1530	Present breakaway reports		
1700	Identify issues for further discussion		
1730	CLOSURE FOR DAY & SOCIAL		
SUN	SESSION		
900	Fishbowl: The Nature and Strategic Orientation of R2K		

SUN	SESSION		
900	Fishbowl: The Nature and Strategic Orientation of R2K		
1200	Revisiting impact of investigative process		
1300	LUNCH		
1400	Breakaways: Critical Issues		
	Provincial Finance Policy & system		
	Secrecy Legal Action		
1500	Plenary: Breakaways report back		
1600	CLOSE & TRAVEL		

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF PUBLIC MEETINGS, PROTESTS, WORKSHOPS

Protests & Public Meetings (43)

- 1. Hosted three open studio shows with CTV in March and April
- 2. KZN Picket supporting Thuli Madonsela, Feb
- 3. GP Internet freedom and media rights, public discussion at Wits University, March 2016
- 4. 2 RICA round tables
- 5. KZN eShowe SASSA community dialog, March
- 6. GP Protest against Surveillance at the Office of Interceptions Centre (OIC), April 2016
- 7. KZN Port blockage to protest Transnet: encroachment on Clairwood & Merebank), April 2016
- 8. KZN Eshowe Community Dialogue, April 2016
- 9. WC marching with ZumaMustFall, April 2016
- 10. Eastrand community discussion: Democracy Today, April 2016
- 11. Ivory park Screening: Miners Shot Down, April 2016
- 12. WC Movie Night at {code}bridge: Miners Shot Down & Crumbs, April 2016
- 13. GP Protest against the selling of new ID's, April 2016
- 14. GP Screening: Dear Mandela, April 2016
- 15. KZN Screening: Shore Break, April 2016
- 16. GP Media Freedom & Social Justice: A conversation with our journalists, April 2016
- 17. GP Screening: Shore Break, April 2016.
- 18. WC Amadiba Solidarity Meeting, April 2016
- 19. GP Amadiba Solidarity Meeting, April 2016
- 20. GP Thembelihle film screening: Shore Break, May 2016.

- 21. GP Picket at hearing of Lerato Moyaba, police whistle-blower
- 22. WC Channel Free launch: Women & Media . May 2016
- 23. KZN Picket outside the Angolan Embassy to mark World Press Freedom Day, May 2016
- 24. IAJ/FXI 2016 Freedom of the Press Report Launch, May 2016
- 25. WC "Hands Off Our Grants" Picket on Sassa Grant Deductions. May 2016
- 26. Picket at Parliament on interception of communication
- 27. Picket at the trial of an intelligence officer charged with illegal surveillance
- 28. GP Meeting on Arms Deal
- 29. WC Meeting on Arms Deal
- 30. WC meeting on Internet access, June 2016
- 31. GP Picket outside the Angolan Embassy in protest against clampdowns on dissenters and 17 political prisoners, Pretoria, June
- 32. 1st WC Protest at SABC, June 2016 33. 1st GP Protest at SABC, June 2016
- 34. 1st KZN Protest at SABC, June 2016
- 35. 2nd WC Protest at SABC, June 2016
- 36. WC Protest at SABC in support of journalists, June 2016
- 37. GP Protest at SABC in support of journalists, June 2016
- 38. KZN Protest at SABC in support of journalists, June 2016
- 39. Co-hosted an Encounters Film Festival Q&A Session KwaLanga in June
- 40. Northern Cape SABC protest, June

R2K Workshops (20)

- 1. WC a Campaign Cafe to learn how to run an effective campaign, Feb.
- 2. GP Workshop on surveillance and interception of communications, March 2016.
- 3. GP Internet access workshop, Johannesburg, March 2016
- 4. WC workshop on racism (Human Right Day).
- 5. WC Right to Protest workshop, March
- 6. NW Right2Protest workshop in Potchefstroom

- 7. WC Internet access workshop, Johannesburg, March 2016
- WC workshop on strengthening community media, Cape Town, May 2016
- National FAST-Africa internet access workshop, May 2016
- 10. WC Freedom Week Summit: The Right to Recall, May 2016
- 11. NW Digital TV workshop in Potchefstroom, May 2016.
- 12. Three GP Digital TV workshops

- Popular Education Design Workshop, June 2016
- Four local government workshops in Free State, Gauteng, Western Cape and KZN with MVC
- 15. KZN gender equality workshop with SDCEA and Ubunye maHostela

Participation in Events hosted by others

(Note this is an incomplete list)

- March organized by Theunesen Community in Free State, March 2016
- UF and NUMSA march in Mpumalanga fighting against job losses, March 2016
- 3. SDCEA organised a picket outside the old Clairwood race course, March
- SJC & NU Launch of the Khayelitsha Commission of Inquiry Companion, April 2016
- 5. UKZN Anti-Racism Week panel, March
- Digital content regulation workshops, hosted by Media Monitoring Africa at Wits University, April 2016
- ISC Global Internet Workshop, Washington, June 2016
- Internet Freedom Festival, Spain, March 2016
- 9. Umtapo Students Movement a session with students on Human Rights, April
- 10. Secrecy Lecture to UCT
- 11. Abahlali Unfreedom Day meeting
- 12. Amadiba Funeral, April
- 13. Presentation to ITWeb conference
- 14. Presentation to Drupal conference
- 15. Presentation to Raith Foundation on Democratic Movement Building

- Presentation to Ford Foundation on the implications of foreign funding.
- 17. Presentation on Political Economy of Social Media, Centre for Activist Education
- Meeting with OSF Global Board on threats to Freedom of Expression and media independence
- 19. Bertha Justice Initiative Convening in March
- 20. Presentation on use of Social Media, Centre for Activist Education
- 21. Presentation at University of Stellenbosch Press Freedom Day event in April
- 22. CTV AGM (Mark elected to represent R2K WC)
- 23. WC marching with ZumaMustFall, April 2016
- 24. Participated in 3 "Zuma must go" meetings
- 25. Attended Amadiba Solidarity March to Parliament in May
- 26. KZN Amadiba Solidarity protest in May
- 27. WC Amadiba Crisis Committee march on Africa Day.
- 28. Presentation to Bertha Media Session.
- 29. Marikana Picket at Phiyega's hearing.
- 30. Wintervelt community meeting
- 31. Schubart Park community meeting

ENDS

APPENDIX 3: MEDIA COVERAGE

Social media & website stats

	Facebook likes	Twitter Followers	Website Visitors
January	11,000	20.600	7, 478
February	11,000	21.100	5, 599
March	11,751	21.500	8, 762
April	11,987	21.800	7, 032
Мау	12,000	22,100	9, 242
June	12,347	22,400	5,644

Online and Print sample (Jan- May 2016)

- Independent Online <u>Right2Know slams</u> Vodacom and MTN
- 2. Eyewitness News -'There are other ways for Eskom to produce power'
- 3. News24 I will shoot you cop to News24 journalist
- 4. ITWeb Anti-OTT regulation voices swell
- 5. BDlive Insult laws: dying horse's last kicks
- Pretoria East Rekord Right 2 Know to meet police over recording of police activities
- 7. AllAfrica.com South Africa: Vodacom and MTN Hands Off WhatsApp and Skype
- 8. Citizen Right2Know gears up
- 9. Independent Online Eskom holding hearings in secret: R2K
- 10. Citizen Right2Know fears 17% Eskom tariff
- 11. Citizen R2K to meet police over cop recordings
- 12. eNCA R2K demands impartial inspector general of intelligence be appointed
- AllAfrica.com South Africa: R2K Rejects the Call to Regulate OTTs!
- HTXT R2K flags up digital privacy and spying concerns ahead of
- 15. AllAfrica.com R2k Statement the Right to Protest Denied for the Opening of Parliament!
- 16. HTXT <u>Cape Town bars protest outside</u> parliament during #SONA2016

- AllAfrica.com R2k KZN Statement UKZN Protesters Are in Urgent Need for Legal Representation!
- News24 Cybercrimes bill criminalises range of lawful activities - R2K
- 19. journalism.co.za (blog) <u>EVENT: Challenging</u>
 Mass Surveillance in South Africa
- 20. Eyewitness News Pressure mounts for Parly to choose Inspector General of Intelligence
- 21. eNCA R2K demands impartial inspector general of intelligence be appointed
- 22. Eyewitness News Mbete given ultimatum over an appointment of Inspector of Intelligence
- 23. BDlive Right2Know takes on Parliament over intelligence post
- 24. Times LIVE <u>UN reviews South Africa's</u> human rights record
- 25. News24 Questions raised around high costs and heavy security for Sona2016
- 26. Independent Online #SONA2016: A nation waits
- 27. SABC <u>Critics blast proposed online</u> legislation
- 28. HTXT.com <u>DEPARTMENT OF</u>

 <u>COMMUNICATIONS TO PRESENT</u>

 <u>"INTERNET CENSORSHIP" DRAFT BILL</u>

 TO PARLIAMENT
- 29. Rand Daily Mail Zuma, the Guptas and the great media heist

- 30. Politicsweb <u>OTTs: Vodacom & MTN trying</u> to protect super-profits R2K
- 31. ITWeb Anti-OTT regulation voices swell
- 32. TechFinancials news <u>Cybercrimes bill</u> <u>criminalises range of lawful activities</u>
- 33. Independent Online <u>Do hostel dwellers'</u> lives count?
- 34. Polity.org.za R2K strongly condemns the attack on journalists & ACC members by ...
- 35. Links.org.au <u>South Africa: Condemn the</u> murder of Sikhosiphi Bazooka
- Daily Maverick <u>Goodbye Bazooka: Wild</u> <u>Coast anti-mining activist killed</u>
- 37. Politicsweb <u>SA govt must respect human</u> rights UN report
- 38. BDlive -Groups fear increase in state surveillance
- 39. BDlive ANC gives in to pressure to withdraw candidate for key intelligence position
- Daily Maverick <u>Analysis: Under David</u>
 <u>Mahlobo, State Security plays an</u>
 increasingly powerful role
- 41. BDlive Mbete in curious vote request
- 42. BDlive <u>Inspector-general vote poses stern</u> test for ANC whip
- 43. BDlive Access to nuclear documents denied once again
- Daily Maverick <u>Thrown out of Parliament?</u>
 It's now harder to get back in.
- 45. AllAfrica.com South Africa: To Stop Guptification We Must Challenge Secret Deals
- 46. GroundUp Opinion piece: Guptas & Party Funding
- 47. LegalBrief.co.za Ombud ruling on Parliament and securocrats
 - 48. eNCA R2K wants review of RICA laws after journalists' phones 'tapped'
 - 49. Times LIVE Cop pleads not guilty in Sunday Times bugging case
 - Independent Online R2K condemns RICA 'spying'
 - Rand Daily Mail Agent in court for spying on Sunday Times journalists
 - 52. Htxt.africa <u>Civil society pleads for</u> transparency in Open Government letter
 - AllAfrica.com <u>South Africa's Open</u> <u>Government Partnership Under Lock and</u> <u>Key</u>
 - 54. Times LIVE <u>Spy minister sees enemies</u> everywhere

- 55. BDlive <u>Ban on donations 'would hurt party</u> politics'
- 56. Bizcommunity.com Challenges to media freedom in South Africa
- 57. Times LIVE Defiant whimper
- 58. StarAfrica.com <u>Former S/African policeman</u> in court for spying on reporters
- 59. News24 MPs mull over new intelligence inspector-general, who 'won't be a ...
- 60. journalism.co.za (blog) <u>Internet Freedom</u> and the Media
- 61. News24 Marchers demand that Zuma fall
- 62. Htxt.africa- R2K to protest against abuse of the state's surveillance capacity
- 63. Daily Maverick Britain's Investigatory Powers Bill: A gift to securocrats everywhere
- 64. GroundUp Police watchdogs are "outright liars"
- 65. Screen Africa (press release)- FPB invites public to submit their opinions concerning the ...
- 66. The Daily Vox (blog) Whatsapp encryption doesn't protect you from everything
- 67. News24 <u>Fill Inspector General of</u> Intelligence post urgently - R2K
- 68. News24 <u>R2K protests against Rica</u> surveillance
- 69. BDlive Minister wants wider blackout of violent acts
- News24 <u>Minister welcomes SABC's</u> broadcast ban on violent protests
- 71. Daily Maverick <u>Cosatu: SABC protest policy</u> assumes we're imbeciles
- 72. Daily Maverick You always feel like somebody's watching you? They probably are.
- 73. GroundUp Minds meet to increase access to communication
- News24 <u>SABC decision is not censorship</u> -ANC
- 75. Times LIVE- Posting that raunchy pic on Facebook could make you a criminal
- 76. Bizcommunity.com Africa Day: Call for AU to protect journalists
- 77. ITWeb Rica needs greater transparency
- 78. BDlive <u>Dasnois's case set to begin in the</u> Labour Court
- 79. BDlive Activist groups denied permission to protest at Gupta home in ...
- 80. Independent Online http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/sabcagrees-to-air-da-campaign-adverts-2030364

Radio and TV Sample (Jan - May 2016)

1. Business Day - Ministerial Handbook

2. Radio 702 - Media Freedom

- Radio 702 Threats to freedom of expression, Media Regulation
- 4. Power FM -
- 5. Bush Radio SAPS and harassment of journalists
- 6. Radio 786 OTT regulation
- 7. Media24 -
- 8. SAFM -Eskom tariff hike
- 9. Rise FM Eskom tariff hike
- 10. Jacaranda Eskom tariff hike
- 11. Valley FM Eskom tariff hike
- 12. SABC TV News Eskom tariff hike
- 13. ANN7 Eskom tariff hike
- 14. Bush Radio Eskom tariff hike
- 15. Radio 786 Eskom tariff hike
- 16. SAFM Eskom tariff hike
- 17. Die Burger Eskom tariff hike
- 18. Cape Talk Eskom tariff hike
- 19. KFM Eskom tariff hike
- 20. RSG Eskom tariff hike
- 21. Bush Radio Malema's threats to journalist
- 22. Karas Community Radio R2K 2016 statement
- 23. Bush Radio Provincial Summit
- 24. Radio Islam OTT regulation
- 25. Radio Sonder Grense OTT regulation
- 26. Radio Mafisa Eskom tariff hike
- 27. Radio Islam Eskom tariff hike
- 28. UWFM Eskom tariff hike
- 29. Voice of the Cape UN submission on surveillance
- 702 Midday Report Surveillance (Apple vs FBI encryption)
- 31. Media24 Securitisation of Parliament / SONA
- 32. Business Day Surveillance & Inspector General
- 33. EWN Surveillance & Inspector General
- 34. RiseFM Surveillance & Inspector General
- 35. Voice of the Cape Surveillance & Inspector General
- 36. ANN7 Intelligence Scandals & SARS
- 37. PowerFM Intelligence Scandals & SARS
- 38. SABC Durban Surveillance Submission to UN
- 39. Radio 786 Surveillance Submission to UN
- 40. SAfm Surveillance Submission to UN
- 41. Business Day Surveillance Submission to UN
- 42. eNCA Surveillance Submission to UN
- Daily News (KZN) Open Meetings / secrecy at KZN provincial parliament
- 44. SAfm Forum@8 Surveillance of Activists
- 45. SAfm Forum@8 Surveillance of Activists
- 46. SAFM (Forum @8) Local councillors and use of bodyguards
- 47. Radio 786 SONA
- 48. SABC radio Thembelihle arrested bail
- 49. Wits Vuvuzela PAIA request security Wits
- 50. Radio 786 Eskom tariff hike
- 51. GroundUp SONA
- 52. Munghana Lonene FM Submission to UN
- 53. VOC Submission to UN
- 54. East Coast Radio R2K National Summit
- 55. Radio 786 OTT regulation
- Aljazera (The Stream) Media freedom & print ownership
- 702 Midday Report Surveillance (Apple vs FBI encryption)
- 58. Media24 Securitisation of Parliament / SONA

- 59. Business Day Surveillance & Inspector General
- 60. EWN Surveillance & Inspector General
- 61. RiseFM Surveillance & Inspector General
- 62. Voice of the Cape Surveillance & Inspector General
- 63. ANN7 Intelligence Scandals & SARS
- 64. Power FM Intelligence Scandals & SARS
- 65. SABC Durban Surveillance Submission to UN
- 66. Radio 786 Submission to UN
- 67. SAfm Submission to UN
- 68. Business Day Submission to UN
- 69. eNCA Submission to UN
- Daily News (KZN) Open Meetings / secrecy at KZN provincial parliament
- 71. Radio 786 Appointment of Inspector General
- Business Day Right to Protest and Human Rights Day
- 73. eNCA Right to Protest and Human Rights Day
- Radio Sonder Grense Right to Protest and Human Rights Day
- SABC TV Panama Papers / Offshore financial secrecy
- 76. Cliff Central Radio Surveillance of activists
- 77. Jacaranda FM Surveillance/Vote Burgess
- 78. Newspaper Challenging mass surveillance workshop
- 79. Eastwave Radio Inspector General
- 80. Bush Radio Inspector General
- 81. Eastwave Radio Right to Protest
- 82. Radio 786 Sikhosiphi's assassination
- 83. City Press Sikhosiphi's assassination
- 84. EWN Amadiba solidarity
- 85. Phalafala FM UN Human Rights Committee Review Report
- 86. Munghana Lonene FM UN Human Rights Committee Review Report
- 87. Inkonjane FM Amadiba Attack
- 88. SABC TV Panama Papers / Offshore financial
- 89. Cliff Central Radio Surveillance of activists
- 90. Daily Vox Surveillance (WhatsApp encryption)
- 91. Tatler Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 92. Kaya FM Law Report Surveillance and the right to privacy
- 93. News Flash Seriti Commission
- 94. The Times Seriti Commission
- 95. SABC News Inspector General
- 96. News24 Inspector General
- 97. Radio 786 Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 98. EWN Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 99. Cape Talk Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 100.ENCA Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 101.Radio Sonder Grense Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 102.Cape Times Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 103. Business Day Party Funding secrecy
- 104.Radio Islam Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 105.Rise FM World Press Freedom Day
- 106.Kyknet Surveillance: Fix RICA
- 107.eNCA Surveillance of journalists
- 108.EWN Surveillance of journalists
- 109.Pretoria News Surveillance of journalists
- 110.SAFM on the Media Surveillance of journalists
- 111.Channel Islam Press freedom index
- 112.Mamba SA FPB

113.khaya fm - Press freedom

114.A Limpopo community station - press freedom

115.EWN - press freedom

116.Enca - surveillance of journalists

117.soweto tv - press freedom

118.Radio 786 - RICA 'spying'

119.SABC Radio - Arms Deal Report

120. Jacaranda FM - Arms Deal Report

121.Ligwalagwala FM - Arms Deal Report

122.Rise FM - World Press Freedom Day

123.Kyknet - Surveillance: Fix RICA

124.eNCA - Surveillance of journalists

125.EWN - Surveillance of journalists

126.Pretoria News - Surveillance of journalists

127.SAFM on the Media - Surveillance of journalists

128.Die Burger - Alide Dasnois court settlement

129.Northwest community radio station - Alide Dasnois court settlement

130. Sowetan - National Key Points Bill

131.Channel Islam - Press freedom index

132.Mamba SA - FPB

133.khaya fm - Press freedom

134.A Limpopo community station - press freedom

135.EWN - press freedom

136.Enca - surveillance of journalists

137.soweto tv - press freedom

138.Rise FM - SABC censorship

139.Aljazeera - SABC censorship

140.Algoa FM - SABC censorship

141.Rise FM - SABC censorship

142.Radio 786 - RICA 'spying'

Some YouTube coverage

- 1. GP protest against state surveillance
- 2. Mark Weinberg talking about DTT on CTV.
- 3. KZN activists calls for an end to mining in Xolobeni
- 4. Alison Tilley on Blikkiesdorp situation
- 5. Micah Reddy on the SABC we want
- 6. Hlaudi must fall
- 7. Aljazeera: Jacob Zuma's friends and foes in South Africa's media
- 8. Protest outside Nersa hearing in Midrand
- 9. Affecting policy in South Africa: Reflections from the Right2Know campaign By Ayesha Kajee

ENDS