

2018 Organisational Report

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1. Introduction

Throughout 2018 Right2Know continued to work as a democratic platform for activist-driven action - the many public meetings, workshops, protest and other campaign interventions would not have been possible without the commitment and dedication of the hundreds of volunteer activists and allied organisations that contributed across the campaign.

This reports reviews the work of the Right2Know Campaign since our National Summit in Johannesburg in March 2018, and serves as the basis for reflection and planning scheduled to occur during the 2019 National Summit.

After sketching our context (Section 2) we present an overview of our 2018 campaign work (Section 3). Here are some highlights:

- After years of campaigning with My Vote Count Parliament adopted the Political Party Funding Bill which would force all political parties to disclose their finances and major donors¹.
- We celebrated an important victory for internet freedom after Parliament made major concessions to the Cybercrimes Bill;
- We also took our advocacy to the courts and recorded a number of important victories most notably in the SJC10 case which saw the striking down of s12(1)(a) of the Regulations of Gatherings Act;
- Our challenge to the Presidency resulted in the opening up to public scrutiny the appointment process of the National Director of Public Prosecutions (NDPP). In the climate of #StateCapture this was an important victory for openness and transparency;
- We released several important publications, including Spooked which highlighted state-sanctioned surveillance of journalists;
- We helped roll back the FPB 's re-classification of th Inxeba film as hardcore pornography².
- We continued to ensure that we broaden the footprint of our work through our collaboration in a number of important coalitions and fronts.

Our internal review (Section 4) reflects that we have successfully confronted a number of unprecedented governance challenges and launched a though strategic review generating proposal that - if accepted by the 2019 Summits - will halt the decline and see the revitalisation of the the Campaign.

It cannot be stressed enough: R2K only employs a small team of staff to support the work of activists - our vitality flows from the energy and creativity of R2K activists and their organisations most of the progress reported below would not be possible without them.

2. Context

The elected leadership of the Campaign gathered September in for the first of two Mid Term Review meetings where they developed a comprehensive review of the shifting context³:

Low/no levels of economic growth will continue to fuel social and political instability and conflict, creating fertile soil for the continued growth of populist authoritarianism and securitisation. The civil society response to this very challenging context remains muted and uneven. The labour movement remains weak and fragmented. While

¹ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/06/08/r2k-submission-on-the-political-party-funding-bill/

² https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/06/28/joint-statement-a-victory-for-inxeba-is-a-victory-for-freedom-of-expression/

³ https://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/MTR-2018-Report.pdf

community protests are likely to increase in the run-up to the 2019 local government elections - communities are largely demobilised and local struggles are relatively weak and sustained local organising is very difficult.

Within this context the MTR emphasised the following trends/risks:

The Ramaphosa regime's 'dark dawn' remains faithful to the ANC's commitment to a neo-liberal and unsustainable capital driven development path. However the tactics deployed by the Ramaphosa regime will differ significantly from those of the Zuma regime. While Zuma ignored and openly resisted civil society, Ramaphosa is adopting a more open and reconciliatory posture - we have already seen a number of 'consultative' summits and 'corrective' commissions of enquiry.

In a sense R2K, launched months after Zuma came to office, was custom built to confront the Zuma regime with a capacity for building broad coalitions, advancing principles, popularising slogans, and organising protests. While Zuma made it relatively easy to campaign, the Ramaphosa regime will take a more nuanced, technical, and 'consultative' approach to engagement. This will require more sophisticated engagement in more formal spaces while remaining rooted on a popular terrain.

The risks of division and co-option are high.

Broad coalitions and popular campaigns will be harder to sustain as opportunities are created from some of our traditional allies to 'work with the state'. The dominant media will communicate that 'while problems persist, the government has in place legitimate and inclusive processes to find solutions'. The resulting 'solutions' will be presented as 'reasonable compromises that should be given a chance'. Civil society organisations that continue to organise in popular spaces outside of formal spaces and/or reject the emerging 'solutions' will be characterised as 'uncivil', further laying the ground for the criminalisation of resistance.

Further, the Ramaphosa regime represents the consolidation of the ANC/business alliance. Ramaphosa is a 'captain of industry' who made his fortunes fronting for capital in the name of BEE transformation. Ramaphosa's "Thuma Mina" can be heard as a recommitment to the ANC's project of defending the interests of big business in South Africa.

Under Ramaphosa we anticipate the increased consolidation of power in the state/capital nexus. Increasingly campaigns to defend democratic space and to advance socio-economic and environmental social justice will need to confront corporate power directly. While this is not a new trend identified by R2K, it is set to intensify under the Ramaphosa regime.

Lastly, turning to civil society, the trends identified above are likely to make popular mobilization and broad civil society coalition building far more difficult. Fragmentation and weakening of the labour movement seems set to continue as labour laws are weakened and further attacks on the right to strike. Sections of civil society will be co-opted by Ramaphosa's tactic of 'inclusion'.

That said, the Ramaphosa regime is tasked with governing in the context of an increasingly fluid politics, increasing conflicts between factions of the elite and increasing discontent amongst the poor. To maintain cohesion they must make new friends and enemies, in this lies potential opportunities to advance the right to know.

In short, we will be required to work in an increasingly difficult terrain with increasing contradictions and the possibility of advancing our campaigns. To remain effective in the Ramaphosa era we are going to have to "up our game".

3. Campaigns Review

While the complex nature of the terrain we work on with its many actors makes it very difficult to ascribe change to any one organisation, we have made a number of important contributions to advancing the campaign priorities identified at the 2018 National Summit⁴ and other developments in our three focus areas.

⁴ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/03/19/2018-summit-resolutions/

3.1 Securitisation & Surveillance

The resignation of Jacob Zuma in February 2018 opened up new terrain for R2K's campaign against securitisation of our politics⁵. As the incoming administration of Cyril Ramaphosa grappled with possible reforms – albeit through narrow self-interest⁶ – this created a platform for serious consideration of R2K's efforts to see existing securocrats kicked out of public institutions⁷, and to see lasting changes to prevent further drifts towards secrecy and securitisation.

Campaigns against surveillance

We called for the reform of the State Security Agency⁸ and prepared three major interventions on surveillance abuses. The Legal Resources Centre acts for R2K in these three cases.

In the first, we act as *amicus curiae* in amaBhungane's challenge to the constitutionality of RICA. The case focuses primarily on challenging the lack of transparency and weak oversight in South Africa's legal framework for surveillance, and on the lack of regulation of mass-surveillance practices.

We are an applicant in the second matter in which we seek to challenge other aspects of RICA that could not be addressed in the amaBhungane case, primarily focusing on RICA's requirement for every user to register their identity to their SIM card, and for every user's metadata to be collected and stored for years, as well as on challenging the inherent constitutionality of mass-surveillance practices.

The third case is a court challenge of the secrecy surrounding surveillance statistics, which targets three major mobile network operators (MTN, Telkom and Cell C), for failing to provide statistics on how often surveillance is conducted on their networks in terms of RICA.

We released a major research report, **Spooked**, on state-sanctioned spying of investigative journalists ¹¹. This is a follow up to reports and activist handbooks in 2015, 2016 and 2017 ¹² detailing different aspects of surveillance. In addition to the publication itself, the report's research fed into four panel discussions and seminar events. We also drafted an updated version of Privacy International's State of Privacy Briefing for South Africa ¹³. We wrote op-eds about surveillance, abuse of private information and data breaches, and raised public grievances with the South Africa government's failure to implement its own data-protection law ¹⁴ and drafted an updated version of Privacy International's State of Privacy Briefing for South Africa ¹⁵.

On the popular education front, we ran two full-day workshops on surveillance and digital security for activists, two workshops on biometric surveillance for activists, as well as three separate digital-security trainings for journalists

⁵ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/02/14/r2k-statement-on-the-resignation-of-jacob-zuma/

 $^{^6\ \}underline{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/18/r2k-statement-on-state-security-budget-vote/}$

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/11/hands-off-the-inspector-general-of-intelligence-fire-arthur-fraser/

⁸ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/18/r2k-statement-on-state-security-budget-vote/

¹⁰ https://techcentral.co.za/court-battle-to-get-rica-data-from-mobile-operators/84945/

¹¹ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/07/04/surveillance-report-r2k-launches-spooked/

¹² See https://r2k.org.za/rica-guide, https://r2k.org.za/rica-guide, https://r2k.org.za/rica-guide, https://www.r2k.org.za/privacy-monograph, www.bigbrother.r2k.org.za/privacy-monograph, https://www.r2k.org.za/privacy-monograph, https://www.r2k.org.za/privacy-monograph, https://www.r2k.org.za/privacy-monograph, https://www.r2k.org.za/privacy-monograph, <a href="https://www.r2k.or

¹³ https://privacyinternational.org/state-privacy/1010/state-privacy-south-africa

https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-12-21-cybercrimes-bill-defanged-but-our-privacy-rights-are-still-not-secured/https://gijn.org/2018/07/24/south-africas-state-of-surveillance-how-journalists-are-targets-for-spying/https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-06-06-the-eus-new-privacy-rules-set-a-new-standard-for-privacy-regulation-across-the-world/

https://www.groundup.org.za/article/spying-mg-reporter-shows-how-wrong-our-surveillance-laws-are/

¹⁵ https://privacyinternational.org/state-privacy/1010/state-privacy-south-africa

and media groups and are now collaborating with staff from the Yale Privacy Lab at Yale University to produce a digital security guide for the South African context.

We protested surveillance at Vodacom regional offices in Umhlanga¹⁶, staged a silent =protest in the back benches of the incoming State Security Minister's first address to Parliament in May, and defended attacks on the Inspector General of Intelligence and called for the firing of Intelligence Director General Arthur Fraser¹⁷. Our coalition building work included engaging the SA Council of Churches-led initiative on 'Anchoring Democracy'. A legal bid by the new Inspector General of Intelligence for more independence has also created a strategic opportunity for R2K to work towards a more transparent and independent intelligence watchdog.

This sustained public pressure, coupled by the call for the incoming administration to remove key securocrats who had been installed under the Zuma administration, appears to have gained traction: in 2018 the President suspended or dismissed a range of problematic figureheads from the security agencies and appointed an independent panel to investigate the rot in the State Security Agency. At the close of 2018, this panel was expected to be finalising its report, after which R2K will challenge the Presidency to release its findings.

Critical Infrastructure Protection Bill

R2K played a leading role in coordinating civil society responses to the Critical Infrastructure Protection Bill (a proposed replacement to the National Key Points Act which would replicate many of the draconian provisions of the apartheid Act). In January 2018 R2K presented its grievances to Parliament on the Bill – with the key demand being the introduction of a clear public-interest defence to protect whistleblowers or journalists who fell foul of the Bill's secrecy clauses . This intervention, together with subsequent public engagements, resulted in a number of its flaws being addressed in drafting. However, by the end of 2018, Parliament approved a version of the Bill which, though improved, retained some very problematic provisions: most notably, the Bill could still be used to severely criminalise disruptive protests at 'protected' sites, and still lacked a public interest defence to protect journalists who expose secret information about security measures for legitimate public interest reasons.

Defence Amendment Bill

In November 2018, R2K made a submission on the Defence Amendment Bill, a largely overlooked Bill in its final stages of drafting in the National Council of Provinces²¹. The Bill contains provisions that would negatively impact transparency and accountability of South Africa's defence structures, including harsh new secrecy powers relating to Defence matters (in addition to existing statutes) and harsh new criminal penalties for unauthorised access to any site or property which is owned by or being used by the Defence structures. As a result of R2K's submission, the NCOP decided to postpone its work on the Bill until 2019.

Scrapping the Secrecy Bill

While R2K resolved in 2018 to press for the Secrecy Bill to be scrapped entirely, after seeking legal advice on the limited constitutional options available (which may result in the Bill being subject to another uncertain political process in Parliament or being signed fully or partially into law), the Campaign took a wait-and-see approach,

¹⁶ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/30/kzn-protest-rica-vodacom/

¹⁷ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/11/hands-off-the-inspector-general-of-intelligence-fire-arthur-fraser/

¹⁸ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/06/21/letter-to-president-on-state-security-review/

¹⁹ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/01/31/statement-r2k-rejects-the-new-national-key-points-bill/

 $^{^{20}\,\}underline{\text{http://www.r2k.org.za/2017/11/24/r2k-submission-on-critical-infrastructure-protection-bill/2012}}$

²¹ http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=53835

allowing the Secrecy Bill to die a 'political' death. While it is likely that the Ramaphosa administration will still seek to deal with the Bill in 2019, the Bill's now five-year limbo continues to be a resounding success for the Campaign.

3.2 Right to Protest

R2K continued to play an important convening or supporting role in a range of campaigns and struggles to secure the right to protest and dissent in 2018, with several significant victories or opportunities for further work in the coming year.

Regulations of Gatherings Act

We joined allied organisations in a court challenge to the constitutionality of the Regulation of Gatherings Act, scoring major legal victories for the right to protest along the way. In January, the Western Cape High Court handed down its landmark judgement in the <u>Mlungwana</u> matter (the 'SJC10' case, brought by members of the Social Justice Coalition), declaring s12(1)(a) of the Regulation of Gatherings Act to be unconstitutional. Unfortunately, the Minister of Police sought to appeal the judgement in the Constitutional Court: the Constitutional Court held its hearings on the matter in August, with R2K, on behalf of the Right2Protest project, entering the case as a friend of the court.

The Constitutional Court's decision confirmed the High Court's decision, striking down the provision of the Regulation of Gatherings Act which made it a criminal offence to fail to notify the authorities when organising a protest. In its judgement, the court cited R2K's submissions favourably. Although this victory does not do away with the criminalisation of protest, it does advance protesters' rights, all the same.

Outside of the litigation process, R2K partnered extensively with the Social Justice Coalition (whose members were the applicants) to promote the cause behind the case – including joint statements with the applicants and amici, and demonstrations at the High Court when judgement was handed down in January 2018, and at the City of Cape Town civic centre and Constitution Hill during the Constitutional Court hearings in August 2018.

We are also intervening in a legal challenge involving Engen and protesters from Kwazulu Natal who staged a demonstration outside Engen's refinery. Engen has approached the High Court, seeking to interdict future protests in and around its refinery. In doing so, Engen is invoking the same s12(1)(A) of the Gatherings Act (declared unconstitutional in the SJC10 case) and also the problematic National Key Points Act. We have asked the Court to accept us as *amicus curiae* in order to make submissions on the Gatherings Act and on the National Key Points Act.

Joburg protest fees

R2K Gauteng's prioritisation of localised violation of the right to protest in the City of Johannesburg was a major focus in 2018, with R2K activists maintaining a regular help desk at the Johannesburg Metro Police department to give advice and make connections with people and communities who are trying to navigate the City's unlawful procedures to hold a gathering. Throughout the year, R2K sought to engage local government structures to highlight and challenge a range of unlawful by-laws and policies targeting protesters – most notably through the levying of 'fees' on protest organisers, often running to thousands of Rands. After City leaders failed to heed an initial R2K memorandum²⁴, R2K's activist structures drove a sustained campaign to bring public pressure to bear on the City,

 $^{^{22} \}underline{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sjc10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-to-protest/2018/01/25/statement-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-right-the-sic10-have-scored-a-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-victory-for-the-vi$

²³ Webber Wentzel and Advocates Geoff Budlender and Mukesh Vassen acted for R2K pro bono.

²⁴ https://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/180125-Letter-to-Speaker-of-JHB-protest-fees.pdf

culminating in a march to the Mayor's office and using op-eds²⁵, statements²⁶, radio panels, door-to-door leafletting, research submissions and protest memoranda²⁷.

While this campaign still suffered from elite indifference which plagues many struggles for the right to protest, the sustained efforts to give this issue national prominence did enjoy some results. By the close of 2018, the City had promised to attend to the grievances, but it appears likely that this matter will end in legal action in 2019. Nonetheless it is a valuable case study in the benefits of sustained focus and prioritisation.

Rustenburg & the right to protest against mining companies

Systemic abuses of protester rights in mining-affected communities in Rustenburg became another focus for R2K in 2018, with ongoing multi-pronged advocacy resulting in concrete victories and further opportunities going forward. After R2K's local affiliates faced a history of unlawful prohibitions by Rustenburg local officials that prevented them from staging protests against against certain mining companies, R2K helped to coordinate a local campaign to secure right to protest in Rustenburg²⁸, which included marches to the mines, a memorandum to the Department of Mineral Resources, as well as a national publicity campaign through op-eds and media articles²⁹. This campaign sparked the ire of a particularly problematic Marikana mine operated by Tharisa Minerals, which employs former provincial police commissioner William Mpembe in a senior position while he now faces murder charges in relation to the Marikana Massacre: the company's lawyers sought a late-night court interdict to stop a planned march (the purpose of which, ironically, was to highlight attacks on the right to protest). The court action also sought to stop activists in Marikana and R2K national office from organising further protests against the mining company³⁰.

Although this outrageous legal attack was designed to derail the campaign, it created an opportunity: with pro-bono representation from the Legal Resources Centre and Power Singh Attorneys, R2K successfully blocked the attempt to interdict the Marikana march and negotiated a court order that would bind the municipality, police and mining company to enable lawful protest activity going forward ³¹. This court order has helped to secure the space for further protest work in Rustenburg – leading to a series of public marches and events to promote freedom of assembly ³² and a two-day workshop with North West activist groups to unpack the Tharisa court order and develop further strategies to secure the right to protest. Furthermore, in light of the growing trend of private companies and other entities resorting to court interdicts to disrupt and shut down protests, the Tharisa court order has provided a strategic template for how activists can fend off legal attacks on protest action going forward.

https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/the-star-late-edition/20181116/281835759734843

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/17/r2k-statement-marikana-police-must-respect-the-right-to-protest/
https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/24/right-to-protest-prevails-in-marikana-the-march-to-tharisa-mine-is-going-ahead/
https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/06/20/statement-rustenburg-municipality-and-dmr-must-respect-the-right-to-protest/

 $^{^{25}\,\}underline{https://www.thedailyvox.co.za/joburgprotestfees-are-robbing-the-poor/}$

 $[\]frac{^{26}}{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/11/14/r2k-statement-mashaba-scrap-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-to-respond-on-joburg-protest-fees/https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/media-alert-mashaba-misses-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-deadline-d$

²⁷ https://r2k.org.za/joburgprotestfees

https://www.groundup.org.za/article/right-protest-being-violated-small-mining-towns/

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/08/15/statement-the-right-to-protest-banned-again-in-marikana/

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/08/16/joint-statement-court-delivers-marikana-protest-victory/

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/09/27/right-to-protest-in-rustenburg/

Popular education, leadership development and local organising

Activism for the right to protest continued to be a defining success for R2K structures in 2018. R2K's activist handbook on the right to protest continued to be its most popular publication, and in 2018 was translated into isiZulu, Afrikaans and SeSotho³³. In addition, R2K activists hosted and participated in regular workshops on protest law and strategies to secure the right to protest.

These popular education programmes have helped to build activists' capacity to assert their rights in the face of attempts to restrict or stop protests from going ahead.

R2K also played a pivotal role in advocating for activists to secure their right to protest in a variety of other local struggles. This included the use of letters, memoranda, legal referrals and onsite negotiations to face down unlawful protest restrictions in eThekwini (where police effectively re-classified a planned march as a sports event in order to try ban it in October; this was only overturned after an urgent court application by the Legal Resources Centre), Pietermaritzburg, uMhlathuze, Lephalale, Johannesburg, Tshwane and Cape Town.

In addition, R2K activists undertook a variety of actions to engage state and civic representatives directly to highlight the need to intervene against abusive officials, including presentations to the South African Local Government Association in February 2018, and to government and civil society stakeholders at a conference commemorating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December 2018.

Securing the space to organise

In an effort to combat negative and hostile perceptions of protest as wantonly violent or unlawful, R2K released regular statements promoting protest as a positive right ³⁴.

In addition to advocacy specifically related to protest laws, R2K also continued to campaign against broader attacks and restrictions on dissent and the right to organise through statements and solidarity action ³⁵. In October 2018, R2K was pivotal in ensuring civil society organisations rallied behind *Abahlali Base Mjondolo's* call for a national day of solidarity against ongoing attacks and violence on its members, with R2K structures helping to convene pickets and marches in Johannesburg and Cape Town while Abahlali led a mass march in Ethekwini. R2K also draft statement and pamphlet for these events ³⁶.

Similarly, R2K's outreach organiser helped to convene a variety of innovative local actions and advocacy responses to highlight threats of violence against activists of the Lephalale Unemployment Forum (an R2K affiliate in Limpopo) at the hands of ANC members in Lephalale. As a highlight, in December 2018 Lephalale activists travelled to Johannesburg to camp outside the ANC's national headquarters in Luthuli House demanding that ANC leadership intervenes: within 24 hours, ANC national officials had scrambled to organise a stakeholders meeting. While this has not resolved the long-term threats facing independent activists in Lephalale, it is testament to local strategic innovation.

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 $\frac{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/03/20/r2k-human-rights-day-statement-on-this-day-we-are-reminded-of-how-crucial-it-is-to-defend-the-right-to-protes}{\text{t} \angle}$

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/25/right-to-strike/

 $\underline{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/07/27/the-right2protest-project-and-r2k-kzn-condemn-kzns-war-on-protests/rest.}$

³³ https://r2k.org.za/protestguide

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/07/19/joint-statement-we-strongly-condemn-attacks-on-civil-society-organisations-and-activists/ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/20/statement-r2k-stands-with-amadiba-crisis-committee/ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/24/r2k-kzn-solidarity-with-abahlali-basemjondolo/ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/02/27/statement-r2k-commemorates-world-ngo-day

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/10/05/defend-the-right-to-organise-defend-the-right-to-dissent-stop-the-killing/

Overall these actions demonstrated the importance of maintaining a responsive national structure that can offer organising support at short notice, while also building national solidarity networks that are sensitive to the continued threat of violence against activists.

Throughout 2018 R2K continued to participate in solidarity and activism in relation to the Marikana massacre, where efforts for accountability and justice are ongoing ³⁷.

The Right2Protest Project: Hotline

R2K has continued to play a central role in the governance of the Right2Protest hotline and advisory service, hosted at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) at Wits University. The hotline (0800 212 111) is a toll-free advice service to protesters who face restrictions on their right to protest and also seeks aims to refer protesters in need of legal representation to the appropriate legal services. R2K activists made regular use of the hotline and played a significant role in building awareness of the service, through joint workshops, communications and referrals for members of the public.

R2K organisers also contributed to the research and drafting of the Right2Protest Project's first annual State of Protest Report³⁸, which documents local case studies of protest violations across the country. In an effort to bring these insights to mainstream attention, R2K co-organised a well-attended launch event as part of the Public Interest Law Gathering at Wits University in September 2018, which included a panel discussion on its findings with two R2K representatives, the Right2Protest staff, and a leading academic on protest issues³⁹.

FeesMustFall

We were part of a collective of organizations who aimed to support/give voice to the many FMF students who are being perniciously hurled through the justice system with consequences such as dropping out of university.

3.3 Participatory Democracy incl. Access to Information

Over the years our of Access to Information work has expanded to embrace a fuller notion of participatory democracy in which transpared we understand that transparency is critical but not sufficient for meaningful engagement and holding power to account.

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/08/17/workers-commemorate-marikana-in-cape-town-and-johannesburg/
https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/08/15/joint-statement-civil-society-movements-to-support-ex-mine-workers-on-marikana-day/
https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/08/14/marikana-support-campaign-right2know-campaign-socio-economic-rights-institute-press-release/
https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/08/15/r2k-statement-we-demand-demilitarisation-of-policing-release-the-ntshangase-report/

³⁸ http://www.r2p.org.za/2018/09/05/state-of-protest-report/

⁴⁰ http://www.r2p.org.za/2018/06/25/ioint-press-statement-remember-fees-must-fall/

Party Political Funding

We welcomed the MVC judgment which was delivered by the Constitutional Court ⁴¹ and made written and oral submissions to Parliament on the Party Funding Bill ⁴². The Bill was eventually signed into law and will be promulgated in early 2019. The IEC is in the process of setting up the administrative infrastructure to deal with the reporting required now of political parties, and has called for comments on the drafted regulations. Unfortunately, given the promulgation of the date of the National and Provincial election in May, the Party Funding Act will NOT make a huge difference to our knowledge of private funding in the 2019 election.

Privacy & Personal Information

As part of R2K's ongoing work on protection of personal privacy, in addition to ongoing lobbying and advocacy to ensure the state fulfills its responsibilities to protect privacy through the Protection of Personal Information Act (POPI), R2K produced a nine-page pamphlet and poster explaining and championing user protections under the POPI Act, to be used in mobilisation in 2019. We have also started training up activists to further disseminate this information through their own networks and communities.

POPIA & the Information Regulator

One of the biggest hurdles to the proper implementation of the POPI Act – and therefore leaving millions of citizens at risk of abuse of their personal information – is the failure by the State to operationalise the Office of the Information Regulator. We've engaged the information regulator asking a number of questions related to its functionality and adequacy to fulfil its constitutional mandate ⁴⁴. Treasury wants to classify the Regulator as a Schedule 3 company - an institution that reports to the Minister of Finance and that the Regulator rejects this classification and wants to be classified as a constitutional body reporting to Parliament. This tension between Treasury and the Regulator has the consequence that the Regulator is not operationalised and will not be operationalised until this issue is resolved. We also supported the CER, SAFCEI and PSAM's call on the Information Regulator to better service communities ⁴⁵.

Moerane Commission

The Moerane Commission was established in 2016 to investigate the ongoing political killings in in KwaZulu-Natal. After campaigning the Moerane Commission report was released. We continued to put pressure on the Moerane Commission and the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal in order for the transcripts to be released to the public 46.

The commission found "serious weaknesses in the criminal justice system", as well as national intelligence and other security apparatus, that affected the effectiveness of personnel, coordination and coherence among security entities. This level of interference "obviously hampers the prevention and resolving of cases related to political murders". Furthermore, "the recruitment of criminal elements by politicians to achieve political ends, resulting in a complex matrix of criminal and political associations, inevitably contributes to political murders." Given

⁴¹ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/03/13/mvc-con-court/

⁴² https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/06/08/r2k-submission-on-the-political-party-funding-bill/

⁴³ https://r2k.org.za/popi-guide

 $^{^{44}\} https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/06/letter-to-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator/letter-to-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operations-of-the-information-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-the-operation-regulator-inquiry-regarding-regarding-regarding-regarding-regarding-regarding-regarding-regarding-regardi$

⁴⁵ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/09/statement-r2k-wants-answers-from-the-privacy-watchdog/

⁴⁶ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/23/r2k-statement-moerane-commission-we-demand-transparency/

the importance of these findings, we continue to put pressure on the Premier to release the transcripts⁴⁷ so that the full extent of this capturing of the criminal justice system can be understood.

Local Government accountability

The local government sphere is where the day-to-day decisions of government have the most immediate impact. The vast majority of protest action in South Africa relates to socio-economic rights and services that have not been delivered. The protest actions are invariably a result of frustrations with the lack of access to and engagement in the processes that led to the decisions being taken. This lies at the heart of R2K's work on "Open Meetings, Meaningful Engagement".

Across the country, R2K has been supporting communities to better engage their local or metropolitan authorities around the issues of importance to them.

R2K KZN partnered with Legal Resource Centre to challenge Umlazi evictions at Durban High Court, partnered with ACM and LRC to challenge Rules of Order Amendment By-law and keep municipal meetings open to the public 48.

We are working with GrassRoots against new tariffs for protest actions adopted by the City of Johannesburg. The City organised six public meetings on its IDP plans and on its proposal to increase tariffs. We are in the process of sending a PAIA request in which we request the meeting minutes of all the six public hearings and of all the budget vote discussions. The purpose of this will be to find out if the increased tariffs were indeed agreed on in the public meetings or during the budget votes. If they were agreed on, was the basis legitimate and the purpose constitutionally defensible ⁴⁹. Grassroots is continuing to put pressure on this issue and we continue to assist.

R2K WC, in collaboration with ODAC, has been assisting the community of Blikkiesdorp to have a meaningful engagement with the City of Cape Town and the Airports Company (ACSA) about the relocation of the community out of the flightpath of a realigned runway at Cape Town International Airport. For over 2,5 years we supported the elected Blikkiesdorp Joint Committee members by strengthening their structures and assisting with getting information pertinent to the development. We also supported them in their discussions with both of those stakeholders. Those engagements bore fruit for the community with extra services being provided and the negotiations got to the point of identifying the timetable and location of the relocation.

Access to Land Information

We joined the chorus of voices calling for justice over access to land urging those involved in Parliamentary process to ensure that such processes are about people and fighting inequality. We received the processed land audit information from Open-Data after struggling to make sense of the massive data dump we received in 2017. The process highlighted that even where one gets access to the information, it is equally important to have the right tools to interpret the data meaningfully. Even with the help of others in the 2017 coalition, the sense-making remains difficult.

People's Tribunal into Economic Crime

⁴⁷ https://www.r2k.org.za/?s=Moerane+Commission+report

⁴⁸ https://www.r2k.org.za/2017/10/25/r2k-statement-proposed-ethekwini-by-laws-unconstitutional/

^{49/}https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-05-15-no-luke-jordan-the-city-remains-committed-to-advancing-the-needs-of-poor-residents/#.WzY1uNlzbIU.

 $[\]frac{50}{2} \underline{https://www.r2k.org,za/2018/10/17/r2k-demands-that-the-land-discussions-must-be-about-peoples-dignity-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-bread-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-about-rhetoric/linear-and-not-abo$

⁵¹ https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1l1Zq7qp5VyutADKnGPrOmrj7BVJNFBGz?usp=sharing.

R2K co-hosted the People's Tribunal into Economic Crime shedding light on the continuities between Apartheid and post-Apartheid corruption ⁵². We continue to support Open Secrets in their quest to ensure that the government reveals apartheid secrets. We co-wrote an Op-Ed with Lawyers for Human rights on the SAHA v SARB judgment. ⁵³ SAHA had brought a PAIA application against the SA Reserve Bank to share apartheid-era information about parties who had ignored international sanctions on doing business with apartheid South Africa. The awarding costs against SAHA of over R2.7m in this matter could have a chilling effect on the use of an already weak legal framework for access to information and access to justice. This is in stark contrast to the imperative in the Constitution for openness and transparency.

Unpaid Benefits Campaign

R2K continues to be part of the Unpaid Benefits Campaign which is aimed at seeking to ensure that the billions of Rands in unclaimed benefits (pensions and provident funds) go to the beneficiaries to which they are owed. The unpaid benefits campaign is a partnership led by civil society organisations including CWAO, Workers World, and ILRIG. Registration for beneficiaries is currently happening with the help of volunteers working on data capturing.

We supported Rosemary Hunter on her case against the Financial Services Board in the Constitutional Court. She lost the case. However, we succeeded in convincing the Court that she should not be made to pay the cost of the litigation as she was vindicating Constitutional rights⁵⁴.

NDPP Interviews

We successfully challenged a decision of the President to hold the interviews of the National Director of Public Prosecutions in secret. 55

ParliWatch

R2K is part of a collective of social justice organisations seeking to ensure that our legislatures (national and provincial) remain open and accessible to ordinary citizens. Over the past 3 years, R2K activists have been monitoring targeted National Parliament portfolio and ad hoc committees in an effort (1) to introduce grassroots activists to those spaces, (2) developing the skills to interact with decision-makers in those spaces and (3) to shape our advocacy efforts on issues that matter to us. We are currently focusing on the third aspect more firmly. In 2019, the project will expand to include the WC provincial legislature; inside the R2K we will explore how we might open up the Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal provincial legislatures to ordinary people in a similar way.

3.4 Communication Rights

While our freedom of expression work - media freedom/diversity and access to telecommunications - lacked an Organiser for an number of months, important inventions were made.

Media Freedom

 $^{^{52}\,\}underline{\text{http://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R2K-submission-to-Peoples-Tribunal-On-Economic-Crime.pdf}$

⁵³ https://www.groundup.org.za/article/cost-order-against-ngo-weakens-democracy/

⁵⁴ https://www.r2k.org.za/2017/08/17/ubc-protests-liberty/

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/11/12/r2k-statement-we-demand-transparency-and-openness-in-the-ndpp-interviews/

On Press Freedom Day we released our annual statement highlighting the threat of surveillance of journalists and challenges to media freedom in Africa. We also conducted a picket to highlight the challenges faced by journalists in particular, especially how governments continue to surveil journalists and the personal threats that they are subjected to. The picket was also aimed at the intention of the SABC to vet it's employees. On Africa Day we released a statement and held a public meeting on the harassment and surveillance of Journalists. The SABC also had decided to begin a process on of retrenching journalists as a turnaround strategy, we have written a statement opposing this action, we also partnered with the SOS to oppose the retrenchments and we held a march outside the SABC in Cape Town. We released a statement on the sexual harassments in the SABC and held a picket outside the SABC offices during 16 Days of Activism Against Violence against Women and Children to show our solidarity for the survivors of sexual harassment within the SABC.

Cybercrimes Bill

We celebrated an important victory for internet freedom after Parliament made major concessions to the Cybercrimes Bill before it was passed by the National Assembly. The dramatically revised Bill stripped out in full the provisions which would give the state-security structures far-reaching internet governance powers under the guise of 'cybersecurity', and implemented other key reforms to limit the scope for the Bill to be misused to clamp down on legitimate online speech. These concessions meet nearly every objection and proposal made in R2K's submissions to Parliament in 2017 and in its final form the Bill no longer presents a significant erosion of internet freedom principles for South Africa. This development is the result in no small part of sustained institutional advocacy led by the Right2Know Campaign and the Open Democracy Advice Centre. The Ministry of State Security is likely to draft a new Bill in the future that would reintroduce these provisions.

Film and Publication Board

We challenged the Film and Publication Board rating of the film *Inxeba* (the Wound) as pornographic ⁶². We held screenings, protests, and joined the legal challenge as *amicus curiae* intervention, represented by the Legal Resources Center ⁶³.

We welcomed the judgment in the matter that Inxeba will not be classified as a pornographic movie and will be able to be viewed publicly. This was an important victory against apartheid-era type censorship in democratic South Africa by the Film and Publications Board ⁶⁴.

Copyright Amendment Bill

⁵⁶ https://<u>www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/03/r2k-statement-world-press-freedom-day/</u>

⁵⁷ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/24/africa-day-statement-surveillance-and-harassment-of-journalists-in-africa-must-end/

 $^{^{58}\,\}underline{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/10/22/urgent-media-alert-r2k-to-picket-outside-sabc-in-cape-town/}\\$

 $^{^{59}\,\}underline{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-we-are-concerned-about-the-culture-of-sexual-harassment-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-within-the-sabc/2018/11/14/joint-statement-within-within-withi$

 $^{^{60}\ \}underline{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/11/28/victory-new-cybercrimes-bill-kicks-government-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now/linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-internet-for-now-linear-spies-off-the-i$

⁶¹ https://www.r2k.org.za/2017/08/11/r2k-submission-on-the-cybercrimes-bill-2017/

 $^{^{62}\,\}underline{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publications-boards-reclassification-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/16/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-and-publication-of-inxeba/2018/02/r2k-rejects-the-film-$

⁶³ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/03/27/joint-statement-r2k-sasfed-amicus-intervention-in-inxeba-litigation/

⁶⁴ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/06/28/joint-statement-a-victory-for-inxeba-is-a-victory-for-freedom-of-expression/

We joined the ReCreate coalition in demanding a "fair use" clause in the Copyright Amendment Bill. We attended parliamentary sessions, made a submission, and held an activist workshop 65.

Media Diversity

When Multichoice decided not to renew ANN7's contract we called on call on the government to invest seriously in opening up the media space for truly independent and alternative journalism⁶⁶. When the Department of Communications opened up another round of comments on the draft SABC Public Broadcasting Policy, we made a significant submission that was taken into consideration in the final draft⁶⁷.

Community Media

When SENTECH cut the transmission of 15 community radio stations we called for them to be put back on air and for the implementation of an annual grant to secure the sustainability of community radio 68 . Our Press Freedom Day statement again emphasised this call 69 .

Material for our Love your Community Radio campaign (#LYCR) will be printed in the new year.

Cost of Communication

We welcomed ICASA's End User Regulations of cell phone companies ⁷⁰, hosted a dialogue on the comparative study of the reduction of data cost, and released a statement on June 16 calling for a range of interventions to enable access to telecommunications ⁷¹. We made a submission to the Competition Commission on data costs. That submission was well received by the Commission; other organizations at the Commission expressed an interest to take some of our demands forward by doing further research ⁷².

4. Internal Review

The significant campaign work described above speaks to the vibrancy and activist driven nature of our organisation. That said, internally 2018 was an extremely challenging year fraught with often unprecedented challenges from the collapse of governance in KZN, our first case of sexual harassment, two instances of financial gross negligence, two appearances at the CCMA, integrating four new staff members then losing five.

The capacity challenges and structural tensions we have reported in recent years have continued to exacerbate. As a result in September we launched a strategic review with a thorough diagnostic⁷³ workshopped in Provinces that

⁶⁵ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/22/workshop-on-copyright-reform-thursday-24-may-cape-town/

 $^{^{66}\,\}underline{\text{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/02/05/r2k-statement-on-multichoices-decision-to-drop-ann7/2}}$

⁶⁷ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/09/04/r2k-submission-on-the-sabc-broadcasting-policy/

⁶⁸ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/19/statement-r2k-condemns-sentech-for-switching-off-community-radio-stations/

⁶⁹ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/03/r2k-statement-world-press-freedom-day/

⁷⁰ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/26/r2k-welcomes-progress-in-the-struggle-for-datamustfall/

⁷¹ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/06/15/r2k-youth-day-statement-free-our-phones-datamustfall/

 $^{^{72}\,\}underline{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/10/17/r2k-calls-for-competitions-commission-to-intervene-on-high-data-costs}$

⁷³ https://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/MTR-2018-Report.pdf

culminated in a set of proposals for tee 2019 Summits to consider⁷⁴. If accepted the proposal will result in a significantly refocus advocacy programme a new structure that promises to unite activists and draw more effectively on our diverse reach and capacities.

4.1 Campaign Structures and Relations

The Campaign remains a democratic and activists driven - a hybrid nature drawing on elements of NGOs, coalition, network and movement.

Review of the National Working Group & Governance

The year saw more unprecedented challenges on the financial and staffing fronts (See 4.7 and 4.8 below).

The 2018 National Summit elected Alison Tilley, Biko Mutsaurwa, Carina Conradie, Cleopatra Shezi, Dale McKinley, Gcina Makhoba, Ghalib Galant, Mhlobo Gunguluzi, Mshengu Tshabalala, Muzi Mkhize, Ngazini Ngidi, Sinenhlanhla Manqele, & Wendy Pekeur to serve on the 2018/9 National Working Group (NWG). Mhlobo Gunguluzi was suspended from the R2K in August 2018 after he was found guilty of sexual harassment.

Over the course of 2018, the NWG attended to various issues on an almost daily basis and met monthly to review progress. Overall (while participation has been uneven) collectively the National Working Group (NWG) have effectively taken legal and fiduciary responsibility and provided strategic oversight and coordination across the Campaign and effectively guided the organisation through a challenging period including the collapse of R2K KZN, high staff turnover, and our first sexual harassment case.

The NWG also lead a number of difficult discussions in the strategic review process positioning R2K for a renewal after the 2019 National Summit. The strategic review also raised concerns about the capacity of NWG members, calling for the 2019 Summit to consider extending the term of office to two years to give elected leaders more time to develop capacity to meet tier mandate.

The various governance challenges and the reflection in the strategic review has resulted in an emerging consensus that teaches aspects of operational govence like finance management and HR should be drive by skilled staffers while activists must maintain control of our programme and strategic direction.

Enabling Activism in Provinces & Focus Groups

Our Provincial Working Groups (PWGs) in KZN, Gauteng and Western Cape remain the heart of the Campaign - controlling our programme budgets and meeting monthly to review and plan action. Thematic Focus Groups continue to network R2K activists with content expertise on various issues, monitor developments, identify critical issues for R2K to engage, and contribute to shaping R2K responses.

In recent years we have battled to sustain strong connections between PWGs and between PWGs and Focus Groups. We have seen more community activists and fewer Focus activists participating in the Campaign. This has weakened the organisation's capacity to campaign, undertake focused advocacy, and develop activist capacity. The strategic review has considered a number of proposals to restructure the campaign to ensure greater unity and consolidate our capacity.

Lastly, the governance and oversight challenges in KZN in 2017 resulted in the Province being suspended in 2018 and the establishment of a national team to reconstitute the province at a 2019 Summit. Governance challenges also emerged in the Western Cape where significant amounts of campaign funds have not been accounted for.

⁷⁴ https://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/MTR2-2018-report.pdf

Enabling Activism in Local Struggles

High levels of poverty and unemployment, low levels of political consciousness, as well as underdeveloped resistance strategies, make local organising very difficult. Within local organisations internal democracy and more long term strategic perspectives are limited. The lack of institutional capacity including weak communication and gate-keeping of information often, result in mistrust and fracturing amongst activists.

In this hostile context - and with our limited capacity - we anticipated limited results from our efforts to root the campaign in communities and set our priorities and expectations accordingly. That said, we have seen Provinces intensifying efforts to root the Campaign in communities and give solidarity and support to local struggles. We've worked with a wide range of communities including in KwaZulu-Natal the *Abahlali baseMjondolo* community in Enkanini and Cato Crest, the *Mayibuye Movement* in Cato Manor and the *Umlazi Community Movement* in Umlazi; in Gauteng we supported the Marievale community to stand up to the SANDF, the *Soweto People's Forum* to raise a host of socio-economic issues plaguing that community and the community in Orange Farm; in the Western Cape we strengthened our relationship with the community in the Marikana informal settlement, grappled with issues facing the LGBTQIA community while working with the *Ithemba Lam Centre* and in partnership with WWMP, reached out to communities in De Doorns and Worcester, Beaufort West and Saldanha Bay. A more complete list of the communities we have worked with can be found in Appendix 1 below.

4.2 Fighting Patriarchy

We continued to confront patriarchy within the Campaign, joined the #TheTotalShutdown march⁷⁵, engaged in broader civil society debates⁷⁶, and took steps to bring a feminist perspective to our advocacy work^{77 78}. However little progress was made on our ambitious 2018 resolution as much energy was spent dealing with the fall out of our first sexual harassment case. While our victim-centric policy resulted in the suspension of the perpetrator, the support he received from some campaign activists was a stark reminder that R2K remains a microcosm of our society and we have to continue builing this aspect of our work to ensure the Campaign is a safe space for women and that we increase our relevance to one of the great injustices of our broader society.

4.3 National Solidarity Network (Outreach)

With an increase in resources and a more focused approach to working with local struggles, our efforts to build a National Solidarity Network in provinces beyond the urban centres of KZN, Gauteng and the Western Cape saw great results.

We offered solidarity, popular education and legal support to the Marikana Youth Development (North West Rustenburg), Marikana Concern Resident (Mpumalanga Kinros), Mpumalanga Environmental Justice association (mpumalanga), Thabazimbi united Forum (Limpopo), Lephalale Unemployment Forum (Limpopo), Woman environmental Justice (limpopo), FXN (Free State Harrismith), Lephalale Community Justice Movement (Limpopo), Kroonstad Network (free State), and Matwabeng Concerned Resident (Free State Senekal).

it should also be mentioned that in the year 2018 we payed more focused on the outreach communities that had active mobilised struggles happening in within their communities, it is that reason most of the work was done in four provinces as stated above.

4.4 Coalitions and Fronts

We have acknowledged that the right to know cannot be won without the greater unity and strengthening of broader civil society. To this end, we participated in the Working Class Summit and remain active in #UniteBehind and a

⁷⁵ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/07/30/r2k-statement-right2know-to-join-the-national-totalshutdown-march/

 $[\]frac{76}{https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/05/28/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-all-have-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right-to-be-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-committed-to-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/2018/we-a-right2know-confronting-patriarchy/$

⁷⁷ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/02/22/film-board-denies-roadshow-linked-to-inxeba-furore/

⁷⁸ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/12/06/16-days-of-activism-r2k-supports-survivors-of-sexual-harassment-at-the-sabc/

number of issue-based networks and coalitions including the SOS Coalition, Access to Information Network, Parliwatch, the Hands Off Our Grants Campaign (HOOG), the Unclaimed Benefits Campaign (#UBC) and the Privacy International Network.

4.5 Media and Communications

Mass communication remains a key feature of our advocacy strategies and the Campaign continues to be one of the more high profile civil society organisations produce regular press statements and maintaining a strong social media presence.

We've successfully sustained and grown our weekly e-newsletter keeping campaign activists informed of developments on many advocacy frontas and targeting layer of people who support our work but have no direct communication with the Campaign. We've published a range of material including pamphlets, stickers, a 2018 "champions of the Right to Know" calendar, Spooked! (a report on the surveillance of journalists)⁷⁹, and three editions of the Your Right2Know tabloid^{80 81 82}. We distributed the Right2Protest Booklet into three languages (Afrikaans⁸³, seSotho⁸⁴ and isiZulu⁸⁵) and produced the 2019 calendar⁸⁶.

4.6 Popular Education & Leadership Development

Popular Education remains a cornerstone of R2K's mobilization work. We produced and distributed a range of publications (see above); we also spent much time and effort in engaging and workshopping the various substantive issues the impact on someone's right to know.

Our a 2018 Leadership Development programme focused on running 3 long term thematics schools for a limited number of activists aiming to connect provincial activists with National Focus Groups. These schools bore little fruit and the strategic review processes concluded that we need to undertake a critical redesign of our popular education and leadership development work.

4.7 Finances

With the support of our committed donors⁸⁷ we raised all the funds to cover our 2018 budget. We have used these funds prudently, ensuring democratic control and oversight, and have received a clean audit for the year. The National Finance Team continues to provide financial oversight and we delivered a series of Walk The Talk workshops aimed at capacitating provincial activists to better read and engage with R2K financial systems.

We encountered a number of financial management challenges in the course of the year that saw us charging two staff members with gross negligence and amending our financial policy to reduce the use of cash and tighten control over programme advances. Both the KZN and Western Cape Administrators were disciplined for gross negligence. The KZN Administrator's case was resolved at the CCMA and we parted ways at the end of December 2018. The Western Cape Administrator's case is still unfolding.

As per the 2018 Summit resolutions, we have begun to review our salary Bands and develop a Remuneration Policy and finalised the Activist Solidarity Fund proposal for consideration the 2018 Summit. Our efforts to involve activists in our fundraising work have not been sufficiently consistent.

A detailed 2018 financial report has been prepared for the National Summit.

 $^{^{79}\} https://www.r2k.org,za/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-spooked-surveillance-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k-launches-of-journalists-in-sa-report/2018/07/04/r2k$

⁸⁰ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/01/10/r2ks-activist-tabloid-get-a-copy-of-your-right2know-jan-2018/

https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/04/15/r2ks-activist-tabloid-your-right2know-april-2018/

⁸² https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/11/26/r2ks-activist-tabloid-your-right2know-december-2018/

⁸³ https://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R2K-Right2Protest-Handbook-Afrikaans-2018.pdf

https://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R2K-Right2Protest-Handbook-seSotho-2018.pdf

⁸⁵ https://www.r2k.org.za/wp-content/uploads/R2K-Right2Protest-Handbook-isiZulu-2018.pdf

⁸⁶ https://www.r2k.org.za/2018/11/29/presenting-2019-champions-for-the-right-to-know-calendar/

⁸⁷ See list of donors: r2k.org.za/about/donors

4.8 Staffing

This has been a turbulent year on the staffing front. Provincially, after the KZN Organiser was dismissed for fraud and gross negligence in December 2017, we employed two Organisers: one to focus on community mobilisation and another to drive thematic campaigns in the province. In Gauteng we appointed a Provincial Campaigns Organiser. The Western Cape Organiser resigned to take up a post at a sister organisation, the Provincial Administrator was appointed acting Organiser and a temporary Administrator was appointed.

The KZN Administrator left our employ in December 2018, after being disciplined for gross negligence.

At a national level, after our Communication rights Organiser resigned for health reasons, the KZN Campaigns Organiser was promoted to National Communication Rights organiser creating a vacancy in the provincial post.

The National InfoAccess Organiser resigned in December 2018 to take up a pupilage at the Johannesburg Bar.

In management, the Operations Coordinator resigned prompting a review and restructuring of our senior management - creating two new posts of Deputy National Coordinator and Finance Coordinator. These posts will be filled shortly.

In light of the strategic review process the NWG decided not to full the other five vacancies until a new programme and structure have been finalised.

ENDS