



MANAGEMENT NARRATIVE REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 2018

ORGANISATIONAL UPDATE

The amaBhungane Centre for Investigative Journalism is a non-profit company¹ that develops investigative journalism—a public interest task we believe promotes free, capable media and open, accountable, just democracy.

We do so through the best practice of investigative journalism; by helping others do the same; and by advocating for the information rights that are the lifeblood of our field.

The review period was our most exciting yet. The #GuptaLeaks, which we and two partner publications brought to the public, finally uncovered the extent of the rot that had set in under Jacob Zuma’s administration. This, arguably more than anything else, led to the president’s early exit from office and nudged South Africa back towards a more sustainable political ecosystem.

It was also a period of organisational growth. We and our partners won prizes and accolades. We garnered immense public goodwill. AmaBhungane became a household name. And our crowd-funding campaign got traction, helping to cement a sustainable future for this little band of journalists eager and able to make a difference.

The fruits of independence

We have now completed our second year of full independence after terminating our priority publication agreement with the Mail & Guardian at the end of March 2016.

Our decision to spread our wings and follow a distributed publication strategy—following readers to where they are via a range of publication partners—was vindicated by our #GuptaLeaks experience. We cobbled together a collaboration with a number of news organisations best to research the leaks and reach a large and diverse audience. This included the Daily Maverick (whose editor was first approached on behalf of the whistleblowers) and its newly formed Scorpio investigative unit; News24, which is South Africa’s largest news site; OpenUp, which helped with data crunching; and Finance Uncovered, a UK investigative journalism outfit.

Media locally and internationally—Reuters even did an article entitled [Digging dung: South Africa's amaBhungane heaps pressure on Zuma](#)—quoted our articles often. We remain in regular demand for broadcast interviews.

We also attracted less savoury attention when Gupta-apologist organisations Black First Land First (BLF) and the MK Inkululeko Foundation broke up a townhall meeting we convened in July 2017 to discuss the #GuptaLeaks. We subsequently joined the South African National Editors’ Forum to obtain a contempt order against the BLF and its leader, who the High Court had earlier interdicted from harassing journalists.

To prevent a recurrence, we partnered training organisation FrayIntermedia in November to hold our final townhall for the year virtually. A panel discussion on whistleblowers and sources, it was live-streamed to an online audience.

All in all, we have reinforced our position as a powerful, independent media voice, achieving reach and impact.

Sustainability from crowd-funding

Investigative journalism takes time and money. And we are independent. We do not sell advertising and do not accept grants from governments or corporates, or for specific stories or themes.

When we terminated the Mail & Guardian service agreement in April 2016, we lost the about 30% contribution it made to our budget. So as to maintain our independence, we decided not to charge our new publication partners for stories (although we

¹ We are registered with the Companies and Intellectual Property Commission as a non-profit company (NPC), number 2009/024323/08, and with the SA Revenue Service as a tax-exempt public benefit organisation (PBO), number 930049364.

do require them to carry the legal risk of publication). The budgetary gap was filled only partly by belt-tightening and larger contributions from two existing funders.

This led us to seek funding directly from the public—then a new strategy for South African media. At its core is our “be an amaB supporter” campaign, which we have driven via the GivenGain fundraising platform, our website, social media and links accompanying our stories on publication partner websites.

The crowd-funding strategy has exceeded our expectations. In the first year, we raised R817 528, the equivalent of 11% of operating expenditure. In the year under review, this rose to R2 294 503, about 28% of operating expenditure.

We are aware that this success, driven by the #GuptaLeaks, may not be easily replicable. But we will be implementing software and online solutions to build our relationship with potential and existing supporters, hopefully to grow crowd-funding sustainably over time. We have set a target of 33% of operating expenditure in three years.

Achieving the target will help establish voluntary reader contributions as part of the solution for how to fund South African investigative media in the digital era.

AmaBhungane’s people

Our board remained unchanged with the following members:

Professor Tawana Kupe, Wits University deputy vice-chancellor (non-executive chair)

Sisonke Msimang, human rights and gender activist, writer (non-executive)

Angela Quintal, Committee to Protect Journalists Africa programme coordinator, ex-editor (non-executive)

Nicholas Dawes, Human Rights Watch deputy executive director for media, ex-editor (non-executive)

Sithembile Mbete, University of Pretoria politics lecturer (non-executive)

Tabelo Timse, amaBhungane investigator (non-executive, staff representative)

Sam Sole, amaBhungane joint managing partner (executive)

Stefaans Brümmer, amaBhungane joint managing partner (executive)

Our staff grew during the review period with the appointment of two young investigators: Micah Reddy and Zanele Mji (both of whom graduated from doing fellowships with us). Our permanent staff consisted of:

Managing partners: Investigative old hands Stefaans Brümmer and Sam Sole, who lead jointly at editorial and corporate levels and participate in investigations, investigations support and advocacy.

Investigations support coordinator: Veteran journalist and teacher Drew Forrest, who plays nanny to our fellows and helps to nurture new investigative centres in the rest of the SADC region.

Advocacy coordinator: Karabo Rajuili, who drives our advocacy for the information rights that are the lifeblood of our field.

Digital coordinator: Sally Evans, who manages all things digital, including our web and social media activities.

Investigators: Tabelo Timse, Craig McKune, Susan Comrie, Micah Reddy and Zanele Mji, who are at the heart of our operation.

Administrator: Gugu Nyoni, who does anything and everything.

During 2018-19 we hope to make two further appointments: an organisational development officer who will drive our crowd-funding effort and other sustainability initiatives, and a digital journalist.

ACTIVITIES

Investigations programme—developing the best practice of investigative journalism

The period under review has been nothing short of historic and has delivered an unequivocal vindication of the 2009 decision to form amaBhungane, then tied to the Mail & Guardian, as well as our decision to go independent of any particular publisher as of April 2016.

For years, amaBhungane had been writing about the Gupta family and the way it inveigled itself into our political life. Exposé upon exposé led to little direct consequence, but left an increasingly disaffected public in little doubt as to a root cause of the governance and economic decline afflicting state-owned companies and the polity at large.

What happened next cannot yet be told in full for fear of exposing identities, but this is the outline:

During the first quarter of 2017, an approach was made to Branko Brkic, editor of feisty online publication the Daily Maverick. Behind that approach was a small group of people who had access to a trove of evidence from inside the “state capture” machine built by the Guptas. Brkic, recognising that this was bigger than just his publication, called in amaBhungane, which he knew to be the Gupta experts.

Our independence allowed us the freedom and nimbleness to take on this task.

Weeks of cloak-and-dagger effort led to terms being agreed (importantly to relocate the whistleblowers for their safety); the information (a hard drive with hundreds of gigabytes of emails and other data) being secured; and systems being set up for a group of Daily Maverick and amaBhungane journalists to work on the trove quietly.

We judged that it was best not to publish immediately. While low-hanging fruit would certainly have produced quick headlines, the real results, we could see, would flow from painstakingly piecing together a puzzle of proportions that would defy individual effort and skill.

But we faced circumstances not entirely under our control. As it turned out, someone we had trusted grew impatient with our insistence that the politics of the moment should not dictate editorial timing. They handed the material to a political grouping, which, in an apparent attempt to influence an ANC national executive meeting due to discuss Jacob Zuma’s potential recall as president, handed the material to other media, which splashed initial stories in late May 2017.

As the cat was out the bag, we started publishing what we dubbed the #GuptaLeaks a few days later, on June 1. Our launch spread included the disclosure that China South Rail was paying the Guptas and associates a 21% “commission”—billions of rand in total—on a massive locomotive deal with state logistics company Transnet.

We set up a war-room of amaBhungane and Daily Maverick personnel at the latter’s Cape Town offices. To increase our investigative resources and publication reach, we also drew in News24, data outfit OpenUp, UK-based specialist investigative journalism outfit Finance Uncovered and freelance help.

Our philosophy about how to handle the information remained as intended despite the earlier release. We focused on following the money and discovering the sheer scale of the financial crime—fraud, bribery and money laundering—that underpinned the Gupta empire and capture of state institutions.

The leaks mostly did not provide stories on a plate: instead they provided a dizzying series of snapshots of financial information, communications and relationships that had to be painstakingly stitched together into coherence not only from the leaks, but from our own previous research and new sources we sought out.

Early on, we decided to make the leaks more widely available, but only to bona fide journalists because of legal considerations and to avoid harm to innocent third parties. In November, after overcoming technical and legal hurdles, amaBhungane, the Daily Maverick, the Paris-based Platform for the Protection of Whistleblowers in Africa and the US-headquartered Organised Crime and Corruption Reporting Project released the trove to journalists internationally via an online platform.

Our local collaboration, built on trust and professionalism, worked extremely well. It showed the value of journalists working together across commercially and personally competitive boundaries.

This project, which during the review period produced some 70 stories, delivered arguably some of the finest investigative reporting in South African history and emphatically set the national agenda over the battle against corruption and state capture.²

The #GuptaLeaks certainly revealed the astonishing audacity and depth of the Gupta project.

Our and our partners' stories outlined the Guptas' involvement in the appointment of senior officials in government and state-owned companies and how they were able to draw on these "employees" to advance their interests, whether by muscling in on contracts with state enterprises like Eskom or to obtain work permits from the department of home affairs.

Often their favoured beneficiary, the president's son Duduzane Zuma, served as both a cut-out and a proxy for his father's influence.

The Guptas wielded a sophisticated propaganda machine with the help of UK spin outfit Bell Pottinger, using their media channels and an online troll army. This allowed them to present themselves as politically progressive, while our reporting showed evidence of racist behaviour and sexual harassment.

Our reporting also delved deep to expose the "enablers": firms such as KPMG, McKinsey, China South Rail, Shanghai Zhenhua Heavy Industries, SAP, Software AG, Liebherr and MultiChoice, who were all willing to enter into highly dubious arrangements with Gupta-linked companies in order to secure contracts or advantage.

The full trove of our #GuptaLeaks stories is available [here](#),³ but to choose a few highlights:

[Guptas and associates score R5.3bn in locomotives kickbacks](#) showed how the family and their associates were diverting billions of rands in kickbacks offshore from China South Rail, which had landed multibillion-rand rolling stock contracts from Transnet.

[The Dubai Laundromat - How millions from dairy paid for Sun City wedding](#) showed that the foundation of the Guptas' opulent showcase of their wealth and influence was part funded from money looted from a Free State government agricultural project.

Three stories—[How KPMG saw no evil at the Sun City wedding](#); [KPMG missed more money laundering red flags](#); and [The confidence game - How professionals missed the colossal fraud at the heart of Oakbay's listing](#)—together made a detailed case of how auditors and other oversight professionals made corporate governance a meaningless box-ticking exercise.

[Working for the Guptas, where sexual harassment was part of the job](#) showed how political power and entitlement spilled over into alleged sexual predation.

A handful of our headlines gives a taste of the extensive evidence of state capture we uncovered: [The captured presidency](#); [How the Guptas paid for Zuma home](#); [How Eskom was captured](#); [How the Guptas screwed Denel](#); [Software giant SAP paid Gupta front R100m "kickbacks" for state business](#); [How the family encircled Lynne Brown](#); [How Anoj Singh sang for his supper](#).

During the course of the year, the first impact of our and others' reporting became visible in the corporates that started navel gazing over their collaboration with the Guptas. In some instances, they issued public apologies, fired implicated employees, offered to repay money and reorganised the way they do business.

² Altogether, amaBhungane published about 170 articles during the review period. This included stories relating to the Guptas but not from the #GuptaLeaks, and stories relating to a range of other topics.

³ <https://amabhungane.org/stories/special-report-the-guptaleaks-and-more-all-our-stories-on-state-capture/>

Bell Pottinger, the spin outfit, collapsed. McKinsey, the consulting firm, agreed to repay almost R1-billion to Eskom. The SA Institute of Chartered Accountants began an investigation into audit failures by KPMG, which let go its South African leadership team. SAP, the software multinational, also let go its top local executives and announced changes to its global rules on paying commission.

The reporting galvanised an aggressive inquiry by a parliamentary committee. And an FBI investigation got under way following evidence we exposed of the Guptas channeling kickbacks through US companies and banks.

And then in December, the Zuma camp was defeated at the contest for the ANC presidential succession.

In January 2018, Zuma, facing increased pressure to step down as president, announced the establishment of a commission of inquiry into “state capture” headed by Deputy Chief Justice Raymond Zondo.

Zuma’s recall as president of the country followed in February. There can be little doubt that the #GuptaLeaks was a key factor in Zuma’s defeat and recall. Zuma’s successor, President Cyril Ramaphosa, later said: “When the #GuptaLeaks came out, it became clear that the wheels had come off completely... It became patently clear to everyone that we were dealing with a much bigger problem than we had ever imagined.”

Belatedly, the National Prosecuting Authority went on the offensive in the new year. It applied to freeze almost R2-billion in assets and said that it was hoping to seize more than R50-billion in total in 17 separate matters related to the Guptas. But several preservation orders were overturned by the courts when it became clear that the authority, severely weakened during the Zuma era, did not understand the money flows and sophisticated laundering techniques the Gupta network had used.

The authority also started Gupta-related criminal prosecutions, including of Zuma junior.

After the reporting period another audit firm, Nkonki, opted to liquidate after we exposed that the Guptas were behind a management buy-out.

There has been unprecedented recognition of our work.

We won the Vodacom Journalist of the Year award for our team submission on the #GuptaLeaks, made together with our partners at Daily Maverick and News24, OpenUp and Finance Uncovered.

That was followed by the joint team also winning the prestigious Taco Kuiper award for investigative journalism.

The #GuptaLeaks was named 2017 newsmaker of the year award by the National Press Club, with amaBhungane as the recipient.

Branco Brkic, the editor of Daily Maverick, was named the winner of the Nat Nakasa award for courageous journalism. The full team including amaBhungane was also cited in the award.

And then finally, the full #GuptaLeaks team won the investigative journalism category and “story of the year” at the Sikuville journalism awards.

We are satisfied that we have not only served the public with our continued exposure of wrongdoing, but also journalists and the media in general by developing and showcasing the best practice of investigative reporting.

Investigations support programme—helping others do it

We previously called this our skills transfer programme, but its widening and changing remit has made the new name more appropriate. The key focus of this programme has become to support investigative centres founded by our alumni elsewhere in the region, as it cements sustainability by making efforts to develop investigative journalism self-replicating.

During the review period we also conducted five training workshops and hosted four fellows (and commenced hosting a fifth).

Our efforts to support investigative journalism in the rest of Southern Africa, where resource constraints and sometimes repression make journalists’ accountability task so much harder, have borne tangible fruit. During the review period,

investigative centres and a unit were up and running in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Namibia, while a centre in Zambia was taking early steps.

Each centre or unit was driven, at least in part, by alumni of the amaBhungane fellowship programme.

We worked with these five investigative centres and units:

The INK Centre for Investigative Journalism in Botswana, launched in October 2015. Its managing partners were amaBhungane fellowship alumni Ntibinyane Ntibinyane, previously editor of Mmegi, and Joel Konopo, former editor of the Botswana Guardian.

Our initial assistance consisted of training and inspiration, followed by guidance on budgeting, fundraising, etc. During the review period, amaBhungane provided editorial input on a number of the centre's investigations and had some of them placed for co-publication in South Africa for wider exposure.

We also commenced hosting an INK journalist for a three-month fellowship towards the end of the review period, and conducted a workshop for Botswana journalists in association with INK.

The Centre for Investigative Journalism Malawi (CIJM), run by amaBhungane alumnus Collins Mtika, was supported during the review period. Our work included a two-day training workshop on investigative journalism for Malawian media practitioners, the hosting of two Malawian journalists for three-month fellowships, and the editing and co-publication of a number of stories produced by or in association with CIJM.

However, near the end of the review period, Mtika was accused of sexual harassment by a prospective employee. The complaint was not adequately addressed. This led to amaBhungane and a major funder severing ties with CIJM.

A new centre, the Institute for Investigative Reporting and Civic Education (IIRCE), has been registered by two journalists who had resigned from CIJM during the events described above. We are exploring a relationship with IIRCE so as to save what can be saved of the effort expended on CIJM.

The Namibian has ramped up its investigative capacity in recent years through our hosting a series of its reporters as fellows. With our input, the newspaper moulded this capacity into a dedicated investigative unit, headed by amaBhungane alumnus Shinovene Immanuel.

During the review period, amaBhungane helped to process a number of investigations produced by the unit, including two stories about controversial Namibian businessman Knowledge Katti. We also staged a workshop in Windhoek in association with The Namibian and arranged for a member of the unit to do a fellowship with us after the review period.

The MNN Centre for Investigative Journalism in Lesotho: Four of Lesotho's small group of investigative journalists, two of them former amaBhungane fellows, banded together to register a new centre in Maseru, which launched during the review period.

By the end of the period, it was producing a steady flow of investigative stories. One of these, an exposé of how South Africa's Gupta family ingratiated itself with Basotho politicians and gained diamond rights, resulted from a full-blown collaboration with amaBhungane. We also edited a number of their stories and had some placed for co-publication in South Africa.

We also helped the centre with publishing agreements, which it signed with a number of news organisations.

The Makanday Centre for Investigative Journalism in Zambia: An earlier initiative associated with the publication The Bulletin & Record failed to get off the ground despite our intermittent advice over a number of years.

However, a new, independent centre has been registered and started operating during the review period, albeit not at full capacity for lack of funding. Both of the leading lights in Makanday, Charles Mafa and John Mukela, are former amaBhungane fellows.

In July 2017 we proposed using the INK Centre’s web developer to clone INK’s website for Makanday, so it could start showcasing its work. AmaBhungane sponsored the fee. The website is now up and running.

We conducted a workshop for Zambian journalists organised by Makanday.

AmaBhungane journalists gave a number of presentations at conferences. We also conducted these formal workshops:

June 2017: Our Drew Forrest travelled to **Lilongwe, Malawi**, for a two-day training workshop with nine local print and radio journalists, co-hosted by amaBhungane and the Centre for Investigative Journalism Malawi. The workshop focused on typical problems in researching and writing investigative stories.

July 2017: Drew conducted a one-day training session for Basotho journalists in **Maseru, Lesotho**, in conjunction with the Media Institute of Southern Africa. The workshop was attended by 26 journalists, almost double the number that attended the 2016 training.

August 2017: Our Susan Comrie travelled to **Gaborone, Botswana**, for a one-day training session with 15 journalists employed or nominated by the INK Centre on the lessons of the #GuptaLeaks exposés. INK partner Joel Konopo described the interactive session as “an eye-opener” and “inspiring”.

November 2017: AmaBhungane’s Stefaans Brümmer and Craig McKune travelled to **Lusaka, Zambia**, to conduct a training workshop on investigative journalism for eight Zambian journalists selected by the new Makanday centre, at a venue it secured. The training included a detailed introduction to the field and a hands-on exercise in investigating a mining company implicated in environmental abuse.

February 2018: AmaBhungane’s Micah Reddy conducted a one-day training workshop in association with **The Namibian in Windhoek** for 15-plus journalists from the print and electronic media on investigative journalism basics, ethics and some digital techniques.

During the review period, we hosted these fellows, each of whom was investigations-ready and receptive to new skills:

Shanti Aboobaker (Apr-Jun 2017): A journalist with previous reporting experience at Independent Media, Shanti had a keen interest in the South African political scene. Her published stories while with amaBhungane included an important exposé based on a confidential internal ANC document in which “Western imperialist powers” were accused of trying to engineer regime change in South Africa.

Tamanda Matebule (May-Jul 2017): A radio journalist employed by the Malawi Institute of Journalism, Tamanda specialised in stories about corruption in state services. These included an investigation into the scandal of a multibillion-kwacha contract for the Lake Malawi-Lilongwe water scheme.

Zanele Mji (Jul-Sep 2017): Zanele’s three-month fellowship was her first foray into investigative journalism—her previous experience had been as a magazine writer. Her particular focus was on the eThekweni municipality; she wrote two stories about the ongoing scandal of municipal security contracts that have remained with the same companies for 13 years. Zanele subsequently joined amaBhungane as a full-time staffer.

Wongani Msowoya (Aug-Oct 2017): A reporter from The Nation newspaper in Malawi, Wongani had a particular interest in health issues. One of her exposés, based on a leaked government report, showed an enormous shortfall in funding for Malawi’s five-year health plan, caused in part by a collapse in aid funding.

Kago Komane (Mar-May 2018): Kago was employed as an investigative reporter by the INK Centre for Investigative Journalism early in 2018, and INK sponsored her fellowship with amaBhungane as a way of preparing her for her new position. During her fellowship, she focused on a major investigation into Tati Ltd, a colonial-era company that owns large tracts of land in northern Botswana.

Advocacy programme—advancing the information rights that are the lifeblood of our field

Our more significant engagements during the review period to help secure better information rights for investigative journalists included:

Critical Infrastructure Protection Bill: In January 2018, Parliament’s portfolio committee on police started public hearings on the Critical Infrastructure Protection Bill, intended to replace the hated National Key Points Act. AmaBhungane made a submission on problematic offences and penalty clauses, which could see journalists jailed for 30 years just for taking pictures at a key point.

We also briefed the South African National Editors’ Forum executive, which then partnered Media Monitoring Africa and the SOS Coalition to make a submission.

Our submissions were well received and resulted in changes being made in relation to the offences. However, our interactions with the committee continued after the review period and included representations on the need for public interest and public domain defences. Parliament is likely to finalise the Bill during 2018.

Privacy law and press freedom: When the Protection of Personal Information Bill was processed by Parliament in 2012, amaB made submissions, largely accepted, for better journalistic exemptions. In September 2017, the newly formed Information Regulator issued draft regulations under the Act. These, in our view, overreached the limits of the regulator’s powers over journalists.

We made a joint submission with the Press Council, the editors’ forum and Media Monitoring Africa. Our and our partners’ interactions with the regulator are ongoing. The regulations are to be finalised during 2018.

Maharaj and the right to publish: In September 2017, the Supreme Court of Appeal handed judgment firmly in our favour in this longstanding censorship matter, which started in 2011, when we were prevented from publishing a corruption exposé on Mac Maharaj, then presidential spokesperson, on pain of imprisonment by dint of a secrecy clause in the National Prosecuting Authority Act. We have now published and consider it an important victory over pre-publication censorship.

Interception and the protection of sources: We launched a constitutional challenge in the High Court to RICA (the interception Act) and unregulated bulk interception in April 2017.

Already the justice department has responded by saying it will fast-track intended amendments to RICA. Final papers were filed after the review period. The matter has high priority given the damage that unregulated interception can wreak on journalists’ relationships with sources.

The Right2Know Campaign and Privacy International have applied to join the matter as amici curiae.

Review of SA’s surveillance laws at UN: Through Right2Know, our Karabo Rajuili made submissions to UN Human Rights Council member states in Geneva in May 2017, placing privacy protection, particularly for journalists and their sources, firmly on the review agenda for South Africa for the first time.

Cybercrimes and Cybersecurity Bill: The Bill has gone through various drafts since 2015, and already the “Secrecy Bill clauses” amaB made representations about were removed before the review period. However, dangers remain.

We assisted Right2Know with parliamentary submissions in August and September 2017. The prognosis for further amendment in the face of recalcitrant drafters and under-capacitated MPs appears dim, but a study group of civil society organisations including amaB is considering options for when the Bill goes to the National Council of Provinces.

Political Party Funding Bill: Parliament’s move to regulate private flows of money to parties opened a unique opportunity for transparency. In August 2017, we contributed to a Right2Know submission to the National Assembly ad hoc committee processing the Bill.

In October, amaBhungane and the South African National Editors' Forum made a further submission, focusing on specific problems with the Bill's disclosure provisions. The committee finalised the Bill, including some of our suggested amendments, in November. After the review period, amaBhungane made further representations during National Council of Provinces public hearings, but it adopted the Bill without further changes. We consider our intervention a partial victory.

With the Constitutional Court ruling in favour of My Vote Counts in a pitched battle to have the Promotion of Access of Information Act amended to provide for access to party funding information, there are now further opportunities for reform, with which we intend engaging.

Copyright Amendment Bill: In July 2017 we filed a parliamentary submission focusing on the right, important to journalists, to quote others' work. This was part of a larger set of submissions coordinated by the Global Expert Network on Copyright User Rights and the Freedom of Expression Institute. In response to overwhelming criticism, the parliamentary committee processing the Bill decided it should be completely redrafted with the help of technical experts.

A new draft included the fair use principle, widely considered a positive step in encouraging the free flow of information.

Whistleblower reform: The Protected Disclosures Amendment Act was signed into law in August 2017. The amendments included closing a loophole that would have left whistleblowers vulnerable to prosecution that we identified, and the Open Democracy Advice Centre argued in Parliament.

Guarding the guardians: A new Inspector-General of Intelligence (IGI) was appointed in March 2017 after a lengthy struggle by amaBhungane and civil society partners to get this crucial oversight position filled. In May, we met the new IGI with our partners to impress the need for transparency.

In August and September, we received responses to two complaints submitted before the new IGI's term. Neither revealed anything unexpected, but the new IGI broke published details of the investigative process and evidence, turning his back on the opaque precedent set by his predecessors of issuing bald findings only.

We litigated in these access-to-information matters:

The Gupta Waterkloof landing: Our longstanding Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA) battle to get information on private landings at the air force base where the Guptas landed their wedding jet came before the High Court in May 2017. The department failed to mount a defence and the court ruled in our favour, with costs. The department handed over the records in June.

Mining rights transparency: We filed a High Court application in our PAIA battle to access records of all coal mining rights in July 2017. It was not opposed, and the court ruled in our favour in mid-October, giving the department of mineral resources 30 days to disclose. The department finally produced records as of December, a process that sadly remains incomplete. We are now working with environmental journalism outfit Oxpeckers to make the information publicly available on its #MineAlert portal.

Hawks appointment: We approached the High Court in February 2017 to appeal the police minister's failure to disclose records we had requested under PAIA relating to the appointment of former Hawks boss Berning Ntlemenza. The matter was to be heard in November. The State Attorney requested a settlement days before the hearing. A consent order was issued in December under which we would be given all the records in 30 days, which deadline was missed.

In February 2018, our attorneys put the respondents on notice to disclose of face contempt proceedings. This elicited no reaction. We are likely to bring a contempt-of-court application.

World Cup bribery: In 2016, we launched a High Court application against the FIFA World Cup local organising committee after its failure to hand over information relevant to an alleged \$10-million bribe paid to secure the 2010

tournament for South Africa. We stalled the litigation in mid-2017 pending a promise from its parent body, the SA Football Association, to disclose. After months of back and forth between our and the association's attorneys, many of the promised documents were handed over in January 2018, but more remained outstanding.

Access to Zuma foundation records: In August 2017, we applied to the social development department's NPO directorate for access, as provided for in the Nonprofit Organisations Act, to the records of charities linked to the Zuma family. Officials refused, insisting we should apply via PAIA.

We felt that this would negate the unqualified access provisions of the Nonprofit Organisations Act and unduly impose PAIA's qualified access regime, diminishing the chances of disclosure. The department made an about-turn and agreed to disclose after we launched a High Court challenge shortly after the review period.

In many of the above matters, we worked in partnership with like-minded organisations. We highlight three partnerships active during the review period:

We continue working closely with the Right2Know Campaign, which we helped found, by serving on a number of focus groups and assisting with campaigns relevant to our mandate. Our advocacy coordinator, Karabo Rajuli, served as an elected member of its national working group during the review period. She stepped down from the working group in March 2018 having served two terms but remains active in the various focus groups.

We were active in the Access to Information Network (previously PAIA Civil Society Network), which shares experiences, takes joint action and publishes an annual report on PAIA compliance in South Africa.

During the review period, Karabo chaired the South African media freedom committee of Unesco's World Association of Newspapers and Newspaper Publishers. These committees facilitate training and opportunities to define and address media freedom concerns. The South African committee consists of members from 14 print and digital titles. During the period Karabo organised training sessions with a Committee to Protect Journalists safety specialist; with Frayintermedia's head of research on journalism and social media usage; and with attorney Avani Singh of Alt Advisory on media law in the digital age.