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The Doc Impact Award 2016 is presented by:



We are so proud to share with you the story of the five remarkable winners of the Doc Impact Award 2016.

To qualify for the Doc Impact Award, excellence in filmmaking is not enough. Doc Impact Award films must also have created significant and measurable social impact.

Since 2011 this annual prize has been celebrating the power of film as a driver of change. **Our aim:**

- To help build new fans for the films
- Create new partners for the campaigns
- To share best practice for the whole community

Read on to learn about the campaign strategy & impact achievements for *Miners Shot Down*.

To read all five case studies and see previous winners go to www.docimpactaward.org and follow the conversation online at **#docimpact**

Revealing
the truth about
South Africa's
most devastating
massacre since
apartheid

WINNER: MINERS SHOT DOWN



Photo: Greg Marinovich

MINERS SHOT DOWN

The Film

On August 16th 2012, six days into a wildcat strike by a group of platinum miners from Lonmin Marikana mine in South Africa, police opened fire killing 44 and injuring 78. Post mortem results show many miners were shot in the back and at close range.

Miners Shot Down has become part of a forensic case that forcefully indicts the police, the government and the Lonmin mining company for their respective roles in the most deadly display of state violence witnessed in post-apartheid South Africa. The film follows the strike from day one, covering seven days in total, including the massacre. The actual events sharply contrast the official police narrative of acting in self-defense. The film provides forensic proof that the police attack was planned, that the mineworkers were on their way home when attacked and that 17 mineworkers were executed at short range. The first priority of *Miners Shot Down* and its campaign was to get the truth out, to begin a national conversation on why this happened and to build support for the justice campaign.

Critical Acclaim

“In this regard, *Miners Shot Down* follows in a great tradition of films that helped to change the course of South African history over the last 50 years... From this perspective it is only fitting, then, that the current regime would not – as was the case with their political predecessors – be too keen for ordinary citizens to see this important and courageous film, which is why it will not be screened by the South African Broadcast Company.”

—
Marian Thamm
Daily Maverick



THE CAMPAIGN





CONTEXT

While South African Film Director Rehad Desai was making a film about inequality in the mineral resources industry, an unprotected strike broke out at the Lonmin Marikana mine. A group of rock drill operators had defied their union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), and struck out on their own to demand a fair working wage. Having captured the shocking trajectory of events on film, *Miners Shot Down* has prompted the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) to take a revolutionary stand against the repression that resulted in the massacre.

In South Africa, as in the wider world, there was little knowledge of the facts surrounding the killing of the Lonmin miners. The nation's leading politicians and figureheads from the ANC-aligned South Africa Communist Party (SACP), and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) all blamed the strikers for the violence. The goals of the film's campaign were forged within this context of powerful private and political forces

controlling the media and thus the historical narrative. Countering this opposition through a fight for public broadcast and grassroots organizing, the film served as a driving force to bring justice to the families and victims of the Lonmin Miners Massacre.

THE CAMPAIGN

How the Campaign Worked

The team employed an aggressive campaign that worked on multiple planes. Fearing that the Marikana Commission of Inquiry would be a whitewash, the filmmakers recognized that public pressure would be needed to force the Commission to bring justice to the families and victims of the massacre. Central to this effort was using the film and footage to bear witness to the events that led up to and occurred during the strike. The most efficient way of reaching the South African public would be through a broadcast on public television. However, when both free-to-air domestic channels, SABC and eTV, refused to broadcast the film, the team strategically designed a campaign that engaged media, grassroots organizers, international communities, South African leaders and the general public to surround and pressure the public broadcast decision-makers and ultimately force them to air the film.

Whilst still in production on the film, the *Miners Shot Down* filmmakers joined the Organizing Committee of The Marikana Support Campaign, a group forged by activists, mineworkers and members of the Marikana community three weeks after the massacre, so that there was a presence on key dates at the Commission of Inquiry. The campaign worked closely with NGOs working on behalf of the families of those killed at Marikana and the 270 arrested and injured miners, as well as other social movements and campaigns active in South Africa, such as the Right 2 Know Campaign (the first post-Apartheid movement centered on freedom of expression and access to information).

Media Campaign

A broad social and visual media campaign was mobilized to promote stories about the film, or the campaign, into the media. While producing the feature, the filmmakers were also shooting and editing short films

of protests outside courtrooms, the women's march and key dramatic moments inside the Commission, and posting them on social media sites.

This approach led them to produce content reflecting their followers' interests and responding to the ongoing

“Many workers and grassroots organizations saw the film. People were moved and wanted to take action. People discussed how joint action could be taken and how the film could be rolled out under a united front. Speakers commented and asked to use the film to make sure the campaign is kept alive, justice is served and those responsible are prosecuted.”

—
General Moyo
Community Activist

developments around the Marikana Support Campaign. Google alerts were used to track direct mentions of the film as well as any references to the unfolding events that happened since the film's release. By adopting this organic approach, the *Miners Shot Down* social media campaign achieved high levels of reach and engagement.

Following the release of the feature, the priority was to keep the massacre in the news, to release press statements and consistently produce content designed to keep up momentum in the conversations around state apathy. The news media generated as a result of this effort has seen *Miners Shot Down* featured prominently as a point of reference for many of these articles. Most recently the film has been referenced in a series of articles critical of the ruling political party. For example, the general secretary of the country's largest trade union, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) publicly stated, “*The detailed look at the Marikana Massacre provided by Miners Shot Down has prompted NUMSA to take a revolutionary stand against such repression. We can never allow this to happen again.*”

 **Trev**
@Tokyo_Trev

I have no interest in political views, I'm just disgusted at how little lives are valued #MinersShotDown

 **Airaab**
@Martias

ANC killed people for wanting a better life, but come elections, they will tell us about “A Better Life For All” #MinersShotDown

 **Amo**
@Amzodo

Watching #MinersShotDown feels exactly lthe same as watching Apartheid doccies/ the holocaust doccies. Exactly the same.

Grassroots Engagement

Because the film was denied broadcast, an aggressive community screening and outreach campaign was employed to get the film seen widely by all sections of South African society. They identified South Africa as the main battleground for the justice campaign and set about planning speaking tours in all nine provinces of the country. The primary target for the first six months had been mining-affected communities and organized workers.

Provincial speaking tours began in April 2014, starting with Western Cape, where over the course of a 7-day tour, film events at community venues reached over 1,200 people. Using a mobile cinema kit, the campaign brought the film to schools, universities, churches, independent movie clubs, and people's living rooms – and when possible, included a lawyer from the Commission and/or a mineworker from the film. Screenings were also held outside platinum mines using large exterior spaces. In one screening alone, 4,000 miners stood in silence watching the film. The filmmakers re-versioned the film into local languages to increase accessibility on the tour.

Out of these screenings free and open dialogues have emerged, conversations between participants that have helped to not only create awareness of what happened, but have also developed critical responses and calls to actions to support the campaign. For example, a Take Action flyer distributed at screenings offers practical things audiences could do to assist the campaign (such as donating to the widows and victims, organizing a public action and hosting a screening event).

To assist in organizing and producing the local events, the campaign identified grassroots coordinators, a technical team and an outreach coordinator, who could confidently perform the various tasks of the campaign – technical, logistical, social and political.

From the beginning, the campaign team was careful to maintain freedom from an overly constricting commercial model that might not be compatible with their impact goals. This has been particularly important in South Africa, where Jacana Media holds distribution rights in book and music stores. Negotiating a contract that was flexible enough to be innovative about DVD sales in communities and at screenings

was essential to ensure ongoing grassroots support. For example, the campaign sold 1,400 DVDs directly to mineworkers at the Marikana Commemoration in 2014. The campaign also allows individuals in poor communities to sell the DVDs for a small profit. This enables the film to screen in hard-to-reach areas while creating a small income for unemployed activists. The campaign estimates that each DVD sold is watched by 10+ people, in shacks, homes and rural schools.

Enlisting the support of the Marikana widows, an Amandla.mobi petition garnered 5,000 signatures within a few days. On 15th August 2014, the Marikana widows presented a memorandum to officials representing both broadcasters. The film team used this as a rallying cry that drove a social media campaign, #Marikana, #RememberMarikana and #JusticeForMarikana, that resulted in over 500 shares and 100,000 views.

Influencer Activity In South Africa

The release of the film in 2014 led to renewed media attention on the Marikana Commission of Inquiry. Mentions of Marikana in the press, blogs and social media



posts, conflated with those of film. The Economic Freedom Fighters (the EFF - a new political party with 25 MPs) are now showing the film to their members in local structures.

In early March 2014, a sold-out screening sponsored by the Bertha Foundation and partnered by Encounters Film Festival, was held at the Cape Town Convention Center. This resulted in numerous screening requests from other organizations across the country.

Partnering with NGOs, trade unions, faith communities and progressive government organizations allowed the film to reach thousands of people throughout South Africa.

Academics and journalists have been vital, as the film screenings have generated high-level debates, workshops, articles, radio shows, and book chapters.

When the film was screened at the Research and Policy Unit of the Western Cape Government in October 2015 it led to further



Photo: Jacqui van Staden

screenings in the ruling party of the Western Cape. Public demand for the film to be broadcast on SABC led to commitments to place political pressure on the Minister of Communications for public broadcast. Additionally, two opposition parties (EFF and Democratic Alliance), representing 30% of votes, have on several occasions raised the issue of Marikana, or specifically questioned why the film had not been aired by free-to-air channels in parliamentary meetings.

The campaign also made the film available to universities and institutes, in particular those with legal studies. The film continues to be used as a tool by the Legal Resources Center, Social and Economic Rights Institute, and Center for Applied Legal Studies, all of whom were representing the victims and their families at the Commission of Inquiry.

Shareholder Pressure

While there were no formal screenings to Lonmin, the Marikana Support Campaign

lobbied Lonmin's annual general meeting in January 2015. Standing outside the meeting, not allowed in, the team gave out DVDs to 25 shareholders with letters asking for compensation for the widows of the miners.

Through a partnership with individuals at the University of Vienna, who took on non-commercial distribution for the German version, a number of screenings and creative interventions aimed at influencing ethical shareholding have taken place.

Crucially in May 2015, a leading member of the Marikana Support Campaign, Bishop of Pretoria, Jo Seoka, addressed the BASF annual general meeting in Germany, emphasizing the company's responsibility given its long-standing relationship with Lonmin. This presentation resulted in the establishment of a reparations campaign for the victims of Marikana.

Then in the UK, the film's partnership with the Bureau for Investigative Journalism led to UNISON, the country's biggest trade union and a Lonmin shareholder, pledging to challenge Lonmin about the massacre. A number of UNISON branches

screened the film, with James Nicol, a lawyer from the film, in attendance.

Building Support Outside of South Africa

While the primary battleground for the campaign was South Africa, it was essential to galvanize support from many quarters. In the UK, the campaign employed community outreach and engagement activities through organizations, universities, and concerned individuals.

The team secured international partners in Europe, North America and Australia who organized engagement screenings, set up support campaigns and generated news stories. Through an international screening program, the film took the story of what happened to the miners at Marikana to large auditoriums and small community spaces around the world.

The Take Action flyer was deployed at all international screenings, as a result, money was collected for the campaign, in some cases motions were passed, press were invited to write about the story and in some cases, deeper lobbying took place. For example:

Europe

—The London School of Economics screened the film and the University College branch passed a motion calling on the executive to endorse the NUMSA decisions.

—National Union of Teachers, Islington, London district passed a union motion in support of Marikana miners, calling for justice.

—The Unite trade union in the UK passed a motion at their 2014 policy conference.

—UCL (University College London) screened the film then held a picket at the Anglo American AGM (Annual General Meeting) in London.

—Heinrich Boell Foundation, Berlin screened the film with the support of the German metalworkers union and then helped fund the outreach campaign in Zimbabwe.

—The Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin screened the film to several hundred people and several political parties attended the debate on South Africa 20 years into democracy.

—University of Naples: the leading

institution for African studies in Italy partnered with a well-established film association to screen the film in local cinemas. It led to the film finding non-commercial distribution in Italy through a leading Italian NGO, Time For Africa.

Australia

—Brisbane Community Action Network: at the First Nations Conference, and other screenings in Australia, money was collected for women's activism around the Commission of Inquiry.

Russia

—Confederation of Labor of Russia and Trade Union Rights' Defense Center. The film was translated into Russian, they organized screenings and wrote a letter to the South African Embassy in Moscow, and met the Ambassador thereafter to raise the issue.

North America

—University of Ohio partnered with a public service union to screen the film, leading to roll out of screenings and engagements across several US universities, including, Illinois, Columbia, Cornell, Berkeley, and NYU, bringing together university communities with a host of trade unions.

“I recently watched the documentary at the Franschhoek Literary Festival and it is the first time in my life I have been utterly ashamed to be a South African and was completely unaware that this atrocity happened in our country in the way it did. Although I did not live through the Sharpeville massacre, I can only assume this shameful event rivals that massacre as a point of reference for my generation.”

—
Daniel Palm
Director, Evolution Africa





Photo: Jacqui van Staden

IMPACT DYNAMICS AT WORK

As a tool for analyzing campaign strategies, BRITDOC uses what we call the Four Impact Dynamics; broad categories for the kinds of change you can make in the world. This has been developed by studying the films that we have worked with as well as working with NGOs and activists to understand how they conceptualize their campaigns. More information on the impact dynamics can be found in impactguide.org.

Here we apply the Impact Dynamics to the goals of *Miners Shot Down*.

CHANGING MINDS

Mass awareness and understanding – creating a shift in public attitudes.

To reach the largest audience possible, securing a public broadcast on free-to-air public television was essential.

Target Audience:

International public, Lonmin shareholders, media, South African public.

CHANGING BEHAVIOURS

Actively mobilizing people to do different, not just think different – whether that's to buy or boycott, donate or volunteer.

Before the film was complete, footage was used to galvanize people into activism around the demands of the Marikana Support Campaign.

Target Audience:

General public, youth leaders, churches, trade unions, South African universities.

Understanding the power of the film to draw empathy to the widows and living victims of the massacre, the campaign sought to raise funds to support living and legal expenses.

Target Audience:

General public, youth leaders, churches, trade unions, South African universities.

BUILDING COMMUNITIES

Grassroots – providing the focal point around which people come together.

As witnesses to the massacre, the filmmakers became fully immersed in activities to gain justice for the families of the slain mineworkers and to defend the rights of the miners facing criminal charges.

Target Audience: Regional Coordinators of Mining Affected Communities United in Action (MACUA), Right 2 Know Campaign, Trade unions, churches, poor communities.

CHANGING STRUCTURES

Top down change whether in politics or business, directly influencing law and policy to change the context.

With eyewitness footage, the team remains dedicated to support the investigation into the conduct of key cabinet ministers and police involved in collusion.

Target Audience:

Media, politicians, business leaders

Using the film to support ongoing advocacy dedicated to improving miners' living conditions and wages is essential to address the underlying conditions that led to the Lonmin Miners Strike.

Target Audience: Lonmin shareholders.

WHO SAW IT?

Cinema

133 INTERNATIONAL
SCREENINGS,
IN 23 COUNTRIES

289 SCREENINGS
IN SOUTH AFRICA

Community Screenings

150 screenings in 9 provinces of South Africa

Festivals

- One World Human Rights Film Festival, Prague, Czech Republic
- Movies that Matter Human Rights Film Festival, Den Hague, Netherlands
- New York African Film Festival, USA
- Cannes Film Festival, National Film & Video Foundation Selection, France
- Sydney International Film Festival, Australia
- Sheffield International Documentary Film Festival, England
- Durban International Film Festival, South Africa
- Cinemas D'Afrique Film Festival, Lausanne, Switzerland
- FESPACO, Oagadougou, Burkina Faso
- International Emmys World Television Festival, New York



- International Emmy Award: Winner 2015
- Cinema for Peace: Justice Award 2015
- South African Film and Television Awards: Best Documentary Feature 2015
- FESPACO: Best Documentary Film 2015
- Black Movie Film Festival Geneva: Audience Prize 2015
- Durban International Film Festival: Amnesty International Human Rights Jury Award 2014
- One World Human Rights Film Festival Prague: Vaclav Havel Jury Award 2014
- Movies That Matter Human Rights Film Festival: Camera Justitia Jury Award 2014
- Encounters South African International Documentary Film Festival: Special Choice Award 2014
- Myanmar Human Rights Film Festival: Aung San Suu Kyi Jury Award 2014

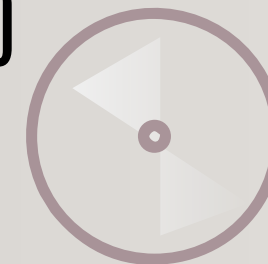
Broadcast

South Africa: potentially 6million viewers per broadcast

DVD

OVER 7000

DVDs sold in SA
in first 18 months



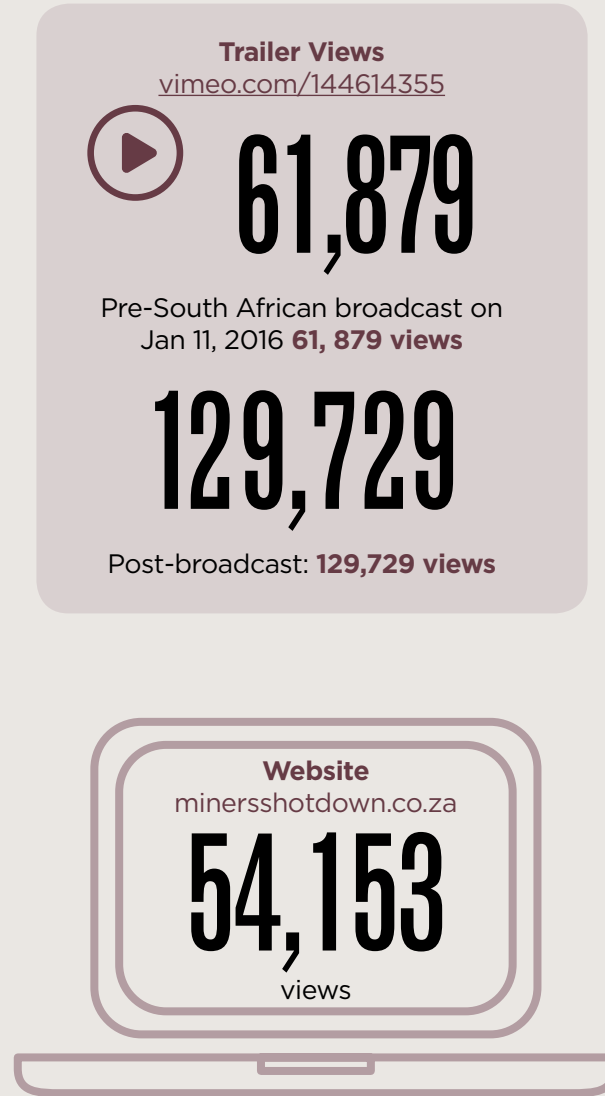
Internationally:

NHK, JAPAN
AL JAZEERA ENGLAND
AL JAZEERA US
IKON HOLLAND
AFRIDOC - DSTV
RTS SWITZERLAND
DR DENMARK
SVT2 SWEDEN
TV3 SPAIN
FORMULATION INC
NRK NORWAY
YLE FINLAND, VOD

Distribution And Broadcast Strategy

The campaign followed traditional routes of independent film distribution, including sales, theatrical and festival release. The film was released in cinemas in South Africa in May 2014 (Cinema Nouveau). Part of the Ster Kinekor chain, the cinema marketing team organized a series of pre-release press screenings in April. These created media interest that was vital for the campaign. Due to good audience turn out, the film ran for three weeks, two weeks longer than the initial week committed to.

WHO SAW IT?



Special Use of Social Media:
 Between October 2015 and January 2016, the Amandla.Mobi Twitter campaign to pressure the broadcasters to air *Miners Shot Down* reached 1,439,897 people resulting in 8,800 shares.

IMPACT & ACHIEVEMENTS

MINERS SHOT DOWN TIMELINE

2012

2013

AUGUST 2012

Aug 10th Employees from Lonmin Mine go on strike demanding a wage increase

Aug 12–15

10 people are killed at the strike – 2 security guards, one NUM official, 5 mineworkers, and 2 police

Aug 16th

Police open fire on the strikers killing 34 and injuring over 70

Aug 30

Authorities charge the 270 arrested miners for the murder of their colleagues shot on August 16

OCTOBER 1, 2012

The Marikana Commission of Inquiry into the August killings opens in Rustenburg

MARCH 11, 2013

Steve Khululekile, regional leader of the AMCU and key witness in the Commission of Inquiry, is shot dead in a tavern by three unidentified gunmen.

DECEMBER 2013

National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) vote on withdrawing support for the ANC.

THE FILM

AUGUST, 2012

Marikana Support Campaign formed.

THE CAMPAIGN

DECEMBER 2013

Rough-cut of the film is screened for 1,200 members of the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA) at the Special National Congress.

IMPACT & ACHIEVEMENT

OCTOBER 2013

—Legal team representing 270 miners wins High Court case for state funding.
—Footage is released to Commission of Inquiry and press conference held demonstrating the evidence of police ambush. Over 70 international reports follow interview with filmmaker on Sky News.

DECEMBER 2013

NUMSA Special National Congress Resolution passed and \$33,000 USD collected for Marikana widows.

2014

JANUARY 2014
AMCU Strike (“The Great Strike”) breaks out in 3 of South Africa’s largest platinum mines

WORLD EVENTS

MARCH 2014
—Screening at Cape Town Convention Center
—One World Human Rights Film Festival Prague: Vaclav Havel Jury Award, Movies That Matter Human Rights Film Festival: Camera Justitia Jury Award.

FEBRUARY 2014
Audience outreach and engagement campaign is launched with screening for mineworkers and people from the local mining community

MARCH 2014
—Organizers from 50 mining-affected communities attend a screening in Johannesburg, hosted by Action Aid.
—MACUA (Mining Affected Communities United in Action) affiliates to campaign.

IMPACT & ACHIEVEMENTS

MAY 2014
South Africa’s General Election

JUNE 2014
After five months the AMCU strike ends – partial victory

MAY — SEPT 2014
—South Africa premiere and 3-week theatrical run with Cinema Nouveau (estimated audience 6k)
—Internationally broadcast in 12 countries reaching 400k homes (excl SA).

MAY 2014
Increased demand for community screenings around South Africa in preparation for the General Election.

JUNE 2014
—NUMSA host local branch screenings in Johannesburg.
—Over 50 representatives from African organizations see film at an OSISA (Open Society Initiative of South Africa)-hosted workshop.

JULY 2014
Durban International Film Festival: Wins Amnesty International Human Rights Jury Award.

AUGUST 2014
—To commemorate the anniversary of the massacre, over 25 protests, benefits, marches, vigils, church services panel discussions, street art events, banner hangings, etc. take place in South Africa.
—The Common Purpose Doctrine charge against the 270 injured and arrested miners is dropped.
—**21st August** Defense Minister Nosiviwe Nolutshando Mapisa-Nqakula becomes the first South African government official to apologize for the shooting and ask for forgiveness from angry miners who hold up plastic packets of bullet casings to her.

AUGUST 2014
11,000 watch film on YouTube over the course of 3 days.

AUGUST 2014
—Amandla.mobi and the widows’ campaign for the film to be broadcast on television.
—International protests and screenings take place in the UK, Philippines, Russia, Germany and Austria.
—Over 25 protests, benefits, marches, vigils, church services, panel discussions, street art events, banner hangings etc take place in SA.
—Mineworkers at the Marikana Commemoration received 1400 DVDs.

MARCH-DEC 2014
—290 community screenings in 9 South African provinces.
—133 international screenings in 23 countries, including Namibia, Zimbabwe, Russia and the Philippines.

AUGUST 2014
—Film used during a cross-examination of Cyril Ramaphosa (Lonmin Shareholder) at the Commission of Inquiry.
—Director Rehad Desai interviewed by Al Jazeera on the second anniversary of the massacre.
—Marikana widows present a memorandum to officials representing both broadcasters asking that Miners Shot Down be broadcast on the free-to-air channels in South Africa.

2015

NOVEMBER 2014
Marikana Commission of Inquiry concludes

MARCH 2015
Commission of Inquiry findings are released to the President, only recommending ongoing investigation

JANUARY 2015
Cinema for Peace: Wins Justice Award.

APRIL 2015
South African Film and Television Awards: Wins Best Documentary Feature 2015.

NOVEMBER 2015
International Emmy Award: Winner

MARCH — JUNE 2015
The Marikana Support Campaign use film screenings and protests to pressurize the President to release the report to the public.

JUNE 2015
Commission of Inquiry findings are released to the public

JUNE 2015
Commission of Inquiry findings are released to the public.

2016

JANUARY 2016
Free-to-air broadcast premiere in South Africa.

JANUARY 13, 2016
First free-to-air broadcast across South Africa.

IMPACT & ACHIEVEMENTS

Pressure On The Marikana Commission Of Inquiry

In October 2013, one year into the Commission proceedings, and prior to the release of the film, the filmmakers released previously-unseen footage of police officers staging an ambush before the attack on the miners. This was incontrovertible evidence that the police were lying to the Commission. The Marikana Support Campaign held a press conference to explain the significance of the footage, and simultaneously handed the footage to the Commission. Less than a year later, *Miners Shot Down*, was used during cross-examinations of the police at the Commission of Inquiry. Footage from the film was also submitted by the SA Human Rights Commission as forensic back up.

In 2014, months after the release of the film, 25 EFF MPs were forced out of Parliament for insisting that the ANC ‘murdered people in Marikana.’ This was repeatedly played on national television. When the Commission

came to a close and the report was released to the President, the campaign organized protests, often with the film to center the event, to demand the release of the report to the public. A screening of the film to members of the Western Cape government led to Opposition MPs raising the issue of Marikana in parliamentary meetings, in particular questioning the reasons behind the film not being aired by SABC.



Union Support

At a Special National Congress in December 2013, South Africa’s largest trade union, NUMSA (National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa), planned to vote on withdrawing support for the

ANC, whom the leadership claimed no longer represented the interests of the poor and oppressed. A preview screening of *Miners Shot Down* was shown to the 1,200 delegates on the first day. For the next three days, delegate after delegate stood up and referred to the film they had seen. Days after the screening, NUMSA passed a unanimous resolution that called for justice for the families and for the charges to be dropped against the 270 mineworkers. The resolution called for a day of action to be organized if the Commission failed to bring a just outcome. And after hearing the testimony of a mineworker and a widow, R350,000 (\$33,300) was raised by metalworkers for the Marikana widows.

Increased Public Activism

There was great demand for the film to be screened in communities before the May 2014 General Election (and before the film’s public release). These screenings often provoked strong reactions; silent crying, anger, or people singing “Zuma Must Go!”. Following several screenings, audience members hosted the film in their churches, community groups and schools. These screenings brought new champions such as Mr. Jimmy



Resolution on Marikana

Marikana as a turning point

Since the first post-apartheid massacre took place in Marikana, it has been the view of NUMSA that what happened on that day, similar to the 1922 Rand Revolt and the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, marked a turning point in the social and political life of South Africa.

What happened in Marikana is one of the reasons why we convened this Special National Congress. As a union we said that after the mowing down of 34 miners in Marikana, it can’t be “business as usual” in South Africa. How do we explain the killing of striking workers in a democracy? As a union we have conducted a sustained and thorough analysis of the political meaning of Marikana.

What we wanted to do at this Congress was to look closer home and ask what Marikana means for trade unions and the entire labor movement. We wanted to do this introspection because as NUMSA we sincerely believe that as a union we are not immune from the mass desertion by members of a traditional union to a new union.

Marikana was a deliberate defence of mining profits and mining capitalists! Delegates at this Congress were shown a new documentary that gives an alternative narrative to what we have been fed; that the police in Marikana were acting in self-defence. What we saw was that Marikana was a well-planned and orchestrated strategy by the state to defend the profits of mining bosses.

Baigrie, an individual who worked with a local church to organize weekly showings of the film until the elections concluded, and continues to enthusiastically promote it.

The Marikana Support Campaign also organized protests on strategic days throughout the two years of the Commission of Inquiry. For example, on the first day of the Commission, protesters stood outside the building holding blown up photographs of the slain miners.

On another occasion, proceedings were interrupted for 20 minutes when the gallery erupted into a chant of 'blood on his hands,' on the appearance of the Deputy President, also a former Lonmin shareholder. This made the evening news and was widely reported.

In the first six months after film was released in May 2014, the campaign held 150 screenings in nine provinces of South Africa reaching more than 25,000 people, coinciding with the conclusion of the Commission of Inquiry in November the same year. The screenings provided an opportunity for robust disagreement over attempts

to reframe the divisions from a political concern, to one of human rights.

On the 2nd anniversary of the massacre in August 2014, 20,000 people gathered at a large rally in Marikana. Simultaneously, across the country 25 events took place, including protests at police stations, marches, vigils, church services, benefit concerts, and street art exhibits. To evidence the growth of the campaign, the following year more than 75 events took place, of which 33 were public screenings. To support the public efforts, Ster Kinekor's Cinema Nouveau showed the film across the country on the anniversary of the massacre.

Support for Families and Widows of Marikana

Screenings of the film were used, where possible, to collect donations for the hardship fund during the great miners strike of 2014, called in protest of the low wages platinum miners received. These efforts brought over 1m South African Rand to families of striking mineworkers during the five-month boycott. Teaming up with South Africa's Gift of the Givers Foundation, the Marikana Support Campaign was able to disperse food parcels to mining

villages, where local committees identified families most in need.

In 70% of screenings, donations were collected towards the campaign. Even in some poor areas, people gave small donations to the hardship fund. Raising money – through T-shirt sales, DVD sales, bucket collections and a Givengain site (an online global donation site connecting activists and movements) became vital for the campaign.

Before the 2014 strike, donations had been split between the campaign activities and the widows; the Marikana Support Campaign helped win the case for state funding for lawyers

representing the injured and arrested at the Commission of Inquiry; they also assisted the legal NGOs in winning funding for the families to be present at the Commission. Without this crucial assistance, the widows could not afford the costs of travel, food and lodgings during the course of the two years that the Commission took – a factor that remarkably, the commissioners initially overlooked.

Impact on Subjects and Film Team

The intensity of the screenings and the surrounding events had a profound impact on both the subjects and the campaign team. The mineworker, Mzoxolo

Magidiwana, who had been shot nine times at the massacre, agreed to come on tour with the film. He soon found himself standing on stage telling his story to diverse groups of people – white people, academics, workers from unions that were critical of the strike, school children, etc. At first he was shy, and spoke just a few shaky words. But as the speaking tours progressed, the deep empathy and respect given by audiences gave him a new confidence. Having evolved into a profoundly moving orator, Mzoxolo has become the campaign's secret weapon. In some areas there has been strong political opposition to the film – ANC members have been





Photo: Jacqui van Staden

hostile and on several occasions, the team has been forced to cancel a screening because they have been under threat. There is some evidence that leaders of local ANC structures have instructed communities not to watch the film. On one occasion one of the filmmakers was arrested with other advocates while lobbying the Deputy President.

Broadcast On Free-To-Air Television

With the growing pressure and the film's national and international attention (in particular, *The International Emmy*), calls to broadcast *Miners Shot Down* inundated the television stations SABC and eTV. After succumbing to pressure eTV agreed to air it, but refused to pay for it, despite the fact that filmmakers are typically compensated for their work. SABC continues to refuse to show the film.

Two years since the film's release, the first public airing of *Miners Shot Down* in South Africa was on January 13th and 20th, 2016.

Since these broadcasts, the campaign is in a period of renewed enthusiasm for screenings. The two public broadcasts trended at number one on Twitter (there were more

than 25,000 tweets after the first broadcast), with many people tweeting that they hadn't known what had happened at Marikana until seeing the film. Within two weeks of broadcast, hosts are booking large venues for community screenings. The Marikana Support Campaign has been given full rights to use the film and with a strong social media presence, the film continues to sit at the center of this crusade.

Work Left To Do

Since concluding in 2014, the Commission's recommendations are still being deliberated by the State. They are minimal in terms of delivering justice to the miners and their families; Instead of recommending prosecutions, the Commission of Inquiry merely favored further investigation into the role of the police.

In September 2015, when the President announced that the miners families would be compensated, it quickly became apparent no-one had spoken directly to the families or their lawyers. The campaign's continuing role is to clear a path for resolution on the legal case and to keep the public informed of progress. A picket was planned for January 2016 when

the lawyers representing the families finally got to meet the state's lawyer to set out the terms for compensation.

The campaign continues to use the film to build public support - and to gain justice for the miners whose lives were lost.

"I believe that *Miners Shot Down* has much to do with the greater awareness and level of activity around the second anniversary of the Marikana massacre (there was much more than for the first anniversary). Also, in raising funds and support for the families of the slain miners as well as awareness about the strike and the living and working conditions of the miners."

—
Mike van Graan, Executive Director, African Arts Institute

CONCLUSION

Miners Shot Down has become part of a forensic case that forcefully indicts the police, the government and the Lonmin mining company for their respective roles in the most deadly display of state violence witnessed in post-apartheid South Africa.

The filmmakers continue to work closely with the legal NGOs, justice campaigns and social movements dedicated to seek justice and compensation for those impacted by the Marikana massacre.

Miners Shot Down has demonstrated the potential of film to influence significant sections of public opinion, galvanize people into activism around the demands of a campaign, raise funding for campaign activities, strengthen local campaigns for social justice and bring together and fortify social movements that currently exist in isolation from each other.

In the coming period, the film will highlight the justice campaign to key influencers during this crucial

next phase; collaborating with the Socio-Economic Rights Institute as it visits the villages from where many miners migrate, the campaign will use the film as a tool to speak about the Commission and the ongoing fight for justice.

“This film exposed a critical story that had significant political implications for the ANC government and the filmmakers appear to have ensured that it moved through the unions, oppositional political parties (and those that influence them), and the South African press in ways that actually shifted the political debate and have begun to shift who holds political power and how they address inequality in South Africa.”

—

Review Panel

“*Miners Shot Down* reveals exactly the nexus of power in this country, and no amount of officialese or political jargon can disguise it.”

—

Marianne Tham
Daily Maverick (South Africa)

WATCH THE FILM
ITUNES, GOOGLEPLAY

WEBSITE
MINERSSHOTDOWN.CO.ZA/

TRAILER
Vimeo.COM/144614355

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CONTACT
INFO@MINERSSHOTDOWN.CO.ZA

THE TEAM





THE FILMMAKERS

REHAD DESAI

Director / Producer

Rehad is a Producer/Director who runs his own company, Uhuru Productions. Following his return from exile in the UK, Rehad worked as a trade union organizer, a health and safety/media officer for a chemical workers union and a director of a HIV prevention NGO. In 1997, he completed his Masters Degree in Social History at the University of the Witwatersrand. Rehad entered the TV and film industry as a current affairs journalist and soon after, moved on to focus his energy on historical and socio-political documentary film.

In 2000, he completed a post-graduate degree in TV and film producing through AVEA. In 2009, he completed a post-graduate diploma in



documentary through Eurodoc. He has produced over 20 documentaries, many directed by himself that have been broadcast internationally, accepted into numerous festivals and been received with critical acclaim. He is a leading activist and spokesperson of the Marikana Support Campaign.

ANITA KHANNA

Writer/Producer/ Impact Producer

Anita Khanna is the scriptwriter of multiple-award-winning documentaries, Born into Struggle, Bushman's Secret and Miners Shot Down. She has written and co-directed several social justice documentaries including Looting the Nation and You Chuse. She is the writer and producer of The Mating Game, an award-winning feminist drama series for the SABC.



Since 2003, Anita has been a leading member of the Tri Continental Human Rights Film Festival team, becoming festival director in 2012. In 2010, she worked with Women of the Sun to coordinate a film festival specifically showcasing the work of African women filmmakers. She has recently contributed to a book on women in film and in 2014, was a jury member at One World Human Rights Film Festival. In 2011, Anita was the Outreach Director of Africa's first Good Pitch.

LEAD ROLES

Editors

Steen Johhannessen, Menno Boerema, Kerryn Assaizky, Reuben Van Der Hammen, Megan Gill

Assistant Editor

Jabulani Mzozo

PARTNERS THAT ACTIVATE

The Marikana Support Campaign

Created three weeks after the massacre to keep the massacre in the news, hold the government accountable and be a presence during the Marikana Commission of Inquiry. The filmmakers continue to sit on the campaign's organization committee.

The Right 2 Know Campaign

Worked closely with the Marikana Support Campaign on behalf of victims and families of the Lonmin massacre.

Amandla.Mobi

Successfully mobilized social media campaign to get the film broadcast on free-to-air television, eTV.

Gift Of The Givers Foundation

Raised hardship funds for widows and families of slain miners. Managed overseas donations.

Givengain

Organization that connects activists and causes around the world. Served as the central portal for international donations.

Legal Resources Center and Lawyers for Human Rights

Provided legal representation to the widows and families. Participated in post-screening panels.

Sustainability Institute

Provided donations to miners.

Additional Partners Include:

- Bertha Foundation
- Ford Foundation SA
- Action Aid
- OSF-SA
- Socio-Economic Rights Institute
- Treatment Action Campaign
- Concerned Education Forum
- National Union of Metalworkers South Africa
- Socio-economic Rights Institute of South Africa
- Mining Affected Communities United in Action
- Rondebosch United Church
- Equal Education
- Jesuit Institute SA
- Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee
- Democratic Left Front



ORGANOGRAM

TRADITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Marketing And Distribution:
Zivia Desai Keiper

Accounting:
Julie Machin

Theatrical Marketing:
Ster Kinekor

TV Distributor
Cote Ouest

Consulting Producers:
Helle Faber/Brian Tilley

International TV Distribution:
Deckert Distribution Gmbh

Domestic TV Distribution:
Jacama Media

Social Media Campaign:
Melissa Griesel

IMPACT CAMPAIGN

Advisors:
**Mzoxolo Magidiwana
Tholekele Dlunga
James Nicol
Kathleen Hardy**

Educational Guides:
**Insighters Educational Consulting, with contributions from:
Abhishek Srivastava,
Kimberley Sevcik and
Ellie Adelman**

Community Cinema Technicians:
**Duncan Tilley
Jabu Mzozo**

Strategy Development;
Fundraising (Film and Impact Campaign); Partnership Management:
Rehad Desai (Director)

Impact Producer; Strategy Development; Fundraising (Film and Impact Campaign); Publicity; Partnership Management:
Anita Khanna (Writer/Producer)

Social Media; Publicity:
Jonathan Hilligan

Community Outreach Coordinator:
Bheki Buthelezi

Consulting Producer:
Bhekizizwe Peterson

PRODUCTION BUDGET
\$551,475

Production Funders

- Ford Foundation Southern Africa, mining film development grant
- Ford Foundation JustFilms Global Fund (US)
- Multi Agency Grant Initiative
- Bertha Foundation
- Worldview
- Uhuru Productions (South Africa)
- DRTV (Denmark)
- IKON (The Netherlands)
- NFVF (South Africa)
- SVT (Sweden)
- RTS (Switzerland)
- NHK (Japan)
- NRK (Norway)

IMPACT CAMPAIGN BUDGET **\$244,701**

Impact Campaign Funders



- Ford Foundation JustFilms (US)
- Bertha BRITDOC Connect Fund (UK)
- ActionAid (SA)
- OSF (SA)
- OSISA (SA)
- Heinrich-Boell Foundation (GER)





PRESS

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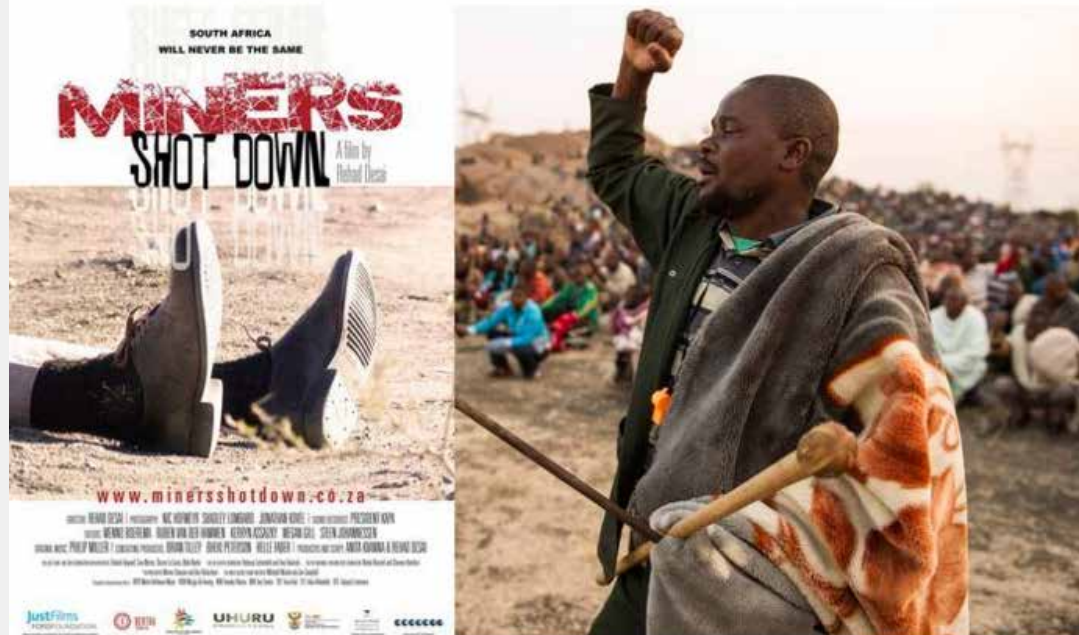
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DAILY MAVERICK

LIFE, ETC

Miners Shot Down: The film every South African should see, and never forget

 MARIANNE THAMM  LIFE, ETC 04 JUN 2014 01:12 (SOUTH AFRICA)



Rehad Desai's beautifully filmed and uncompromising documentary, 'Miners Shot Down', is about so much more than the massacre by police of 34 striking workers at the

RELATED STORIES



Lonmin platinum mine at Marikana in August 2012. The film offers a unique prism through which to view contemporary power relations in 'democratic' South Africa (and perhaps globally) where the unholy trinity of capital, politics and security were (and are) pitted against labour - poorly-paid, badly educated and exploited workers. The film also shows that the miners had been so shockingly "othered" that killing them was not beyond the imagination or capacity of those in power and authority. The movie just won the International Emmy Award for best documentary on Monday night in New York. By MARIANNE THAMM.

There is much that is disturbing and shameful in Rehad Desai's tender 86-minute filmic exploration of events over six days in August 2012 leading up to what has become known globally as the Marikana massacre, one of the most disgraceful events to have taken place in post-Apartheid, "free" and democratic South Africa.

So significant were the tensions that played themselves out on the ochre koppies of Marikana that winter that they feature in the opening lines of the first chapter of Thomas Piketty's book *de jour*, the international bestseller, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*.

After describing the massacre, Piketty writes "this episode reminds us, if we need reminding, that the question of what share of output should go to wages and what share to profits – in other words, how should the income from production be divided between labour and capital? – has always been at the heart of distributional conflict."

So, on one level what happened at Marikana was not just a tragedy for South Africa, but emblematic of the potential for state-sanctioned violence in the face of increasing inequality and



Literature and Identity: Who's Afraid of K Sello Duiker?

By MARK HEYWOOD



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Miners Shot Down: The Film Every South African Should See and Never Forget

dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-06-04-miners-shot-down-the-film-every-south-african-should-see-and-never-forget/#.Vjn1oqR3JTU



SKY.COM

Marikana Massacre
Damning Evidence
Emerges

news.sky.com/story/1158899/marikana-massacre-damning-evidence-emerges

Marikana Massacre: 'Damning' Evidence Emerges

New footage appears to suggest that South African police opened fire on striking miners - killing 34 - without provocation.



Video: 2013: 'Damning' Marikana Evidence



By Alex Crawford, Special Correspondent

The Marikana Miners Support group has called for South African police to be prosecuted after apparently unearthing new evidence which disputes the authorities' version of what happened on the day more than 30 striking miners were shot dead by police.

The evidence was uncovered by a film-maker - who is also a member of the campaign group - while he was doing research for a documentary on the incident at the Lonmin mine in August 2012.

It appears to throw more doubt on the police claim that they acted in self-defence when they opened fire on striking miners.

As well as the 34 miners killed, nearly 80 others were left wounded.

The footage has been submitted to the Commission of Inquiry which is continuing into just what went wrong at Marikana.

Film-maker Rehad Desai called it "damning" evidence which showed - in his opinion - that the police had not only engineered the situation which led to the miners being shot, but had then lied repeatedly to the South African public and the inquiry to cover up their actions.



New video shows a miners' leader (circled) who was shot dead minutes later

Blogs » [Dr. Marsha Coleman-Adebayo's blog](#)

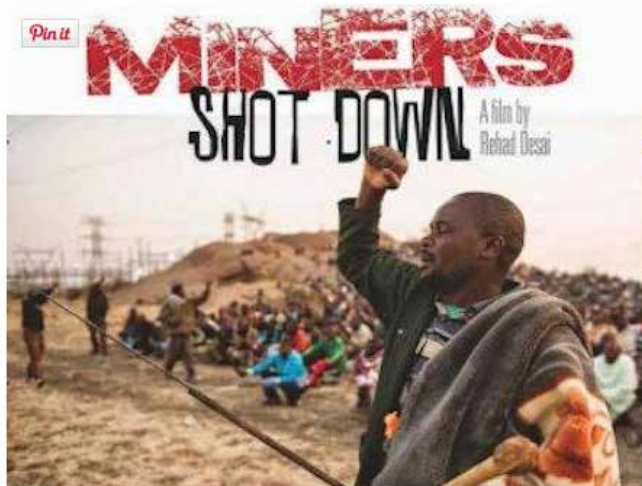
Miners Shot Down! The Marikana Massacre Represents the Beginning of the End of the ANC - Part II

Submitted by Dr. Marsha Cole... on Tue, 11/03/2015 - 19:26

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by BAR editor and columnist Dr. Marsha Coleman-Adebayo

The bloodbath at Marikana was a watershed for post-apartheid South Africa. The compact between Big Capital and the ruling African National Congress is no longer acceptable to the workers that produce fabulous wealth for multinational corporations. “The youth, the labor movement have seen the ANC for what it is” - a protector

of white supremacy and the neocolonial order.

Miners Shot Down! The Marikana Massacre Represents the

South African filmmaker/Director Rehad Desai’s film: “*Miners Shot Down*” has exposed the illicit, deadly relationship between multinational mining concerns and the Zuma government. Rehad is a producer/director of Uhuru Productions, where he is the CEO.

Below is part two of the interview with Rehad Desai on the Marikana Massacre documented in: *Miners Shot Dead*. Part one was published [last week](#).

Marsha Coleman-Adebayo: I would like to focus on the role of Cyril Ramaphosa, considered the author of the new South African constitution, one of the heroes of the anti-apartheid movement and a stakeholder in the Lonmin Mining Company. What was his role, if any, in the decision of the police to attack the striking miners?

Rehad Desai: Cyril Ramaphosa, was a stakeholder in the Lonmin Mining Company. Instead of attempting to quell this situation through dialogue he continued to press for more police, calling the striker’s action “criminal” rather than a labor dispute. He argued that force (rather than dialogue) was needed to meet the level of violence. There are a string of e-mails and phone messages that confirm that Ramaphosa was in regular contact with Lonmin mine management, police, politicians and NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) officials in an attempt to break the strike.

Marsha Coleman-Adebayo: You mentioned earlier that the day before the Massacre On August 15th, there was a meeting in Cape Town of cabinet ministers. That evening, there was also a meeting of the National Police Management Force. The National Police Management Force is the highest decision making group inside the South African police force. They decided to conduct an operation against the striking miners that involved 4,000 rounds of live ammunition, extra ambulances, extra police and 4 mortuary bags - each of which each can hold 8 bodies. These items arrived, August 16th, the morning of the Massacre. Do we know if Cyril Ramaphosa was aware that the police were arming themselves for such an attack?

Rahad Desai: No, what we can say is that it was clear that Cyril Ramaphosa wanted an end to the disruption and an end to what he called the “wanton violence.” Ramaphosa was instructing the Police Minister and Minister of Mineral Resources to do what they needed to do to end the strike. Ramaphosa was a far more senior politician than the Police Minister and Minister of Mineral Resources so it’s understandable how his message of “ending the violence” could be



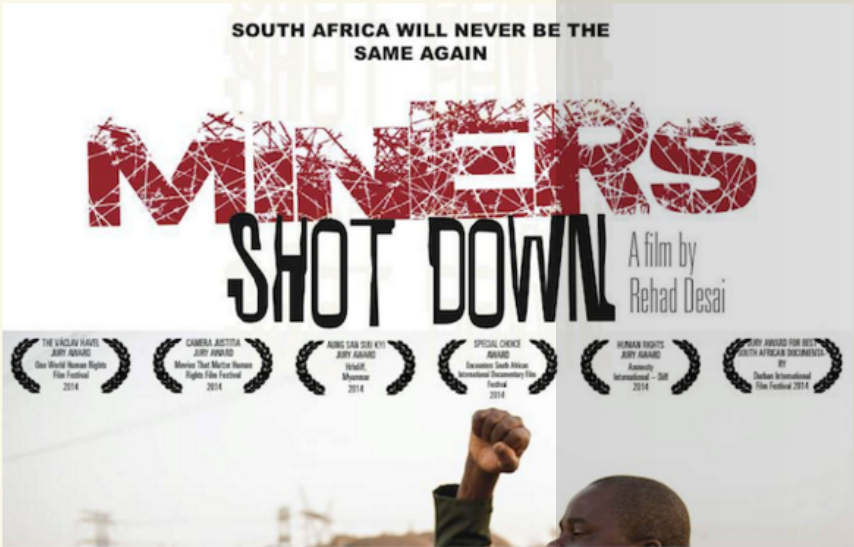
**BLACK AGENDA
REPORT**
Miners Shot Down
End of ANC



POPULAR RESISTANCE
Miners Shot Down Blood
on Whose Hands?

popularresistance.org/miners-shot-down-blood-on-whose-hands/

Miners Shot Down: Blood On Whose Hands?



EDUCATE! LABOR RIGHTS, MINING, POLICE BRUTALITY, SOUTH AFRICA
By Tom Gardner, www.thinkafricapress.com
November 17th, 2014

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Photo courtesy of Uhuru Productions “Repeatedly shot as they tried to surrender,” says Greg Marinovich. “Not just once. Coming up – two, three times with their hands in the air – shot repeatedly.”

Marinovich is a photojournalist who closely covered the so-called Marikana massacre of August 2012 in which 34 striking mine workers were shot dead by police. According to him, the police’s story of acting in innocent self-defence is a lie. “They went and carried on hunting down people, for twenty minutes.” Interviewed by Rehad Desai in his new documentary, *Miners Shot Down*, Marinovich’s words form part of a forensic case built up over the course of the film that forcefully indicts the police, the government and the Lonmin mining company for their respective roles in the most deadly display of state violence witnessed in post-apartheid South Africa. It may have been rank-and-file police officers pulling the triggers, but, Desai’s film concludes, it is those at the top – “those who pulled the strings” – who bear greatest responsibility.

“Heads need to roll at a very high level,” argues Ronnie Kasrils, a former minister for the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and outspoken critic of President Jacob Zuma’s government. To date, not one policeman has been charged for what took place at

These are the questions that ought to detain the official inquiry, though Desai is sceptical of the integrity of the process and doubtful it will produce satisfactory results. But the film goes further, situating the events of Marikana within a context wider than that of police or government corruption. As Desai reflects in the film’s opening scenes, Marikana can be placed along a historical road leading from Sharpesville in 1960 via Soweto in 1976: a mass killing uncomfortably redolent of the massacres of apartheid, reminding citizens of the new South Africa that the arrival of formal democracy has not brought about the full dismantling of the apartheid state. Rather, Marikana was a thoroughly familiar event: as Charlayne Hunter-Gault wrote in the *New Yorker* at the time: “The bloody episode in this eighteen-year-old black-majority democracy takes many back to the days of white-minority rule, when policemen routinely fired on and killed thousands of South Africans fighting for their freedom.”

The real meaning of Marikana, Jerome Roos argued, is that it showed how “the violence of the state simply reasserted itself anew under the ANC.”



As *Miners Shot Down* tells it, Marikana was a pre-eminently South African tragedy. It demonstrated how the legacy of apartheid – particularly the centuries-old collusion between foreign capital and government violence – continues to undergird the character of the new South African state. Furthermore, it offered a graphic illustration of the extent to which the once radical leaders of the ANC and their allies, the trade unions, have been co-opted by the country’s established capitalist elites. It is for this reason that Desai’s interviews with Cyril Ramaphosa stand out as some of the film’s most unsettling and memorable scenes. In the 1980s and 1990s, Ramaphosa was renowned for being a hero of the trade unions movement, an apartheid-fighting ANC grandee, and Nelson Mandela’s favoured successor.

But by 2012, he was perhaps better known for having amassed vast personal wealth through his business interests and, at the time of Marikana, was a board member of Lonmin. Despite the controversy over his role in the massacre, he shortly later rose to the position of Deputy President of the ANC, though his recent appearance at the Marikana Inquiry was momentarily held up as victims’ families chanted “blood on his hands.”

Miners Shot Down: The Marikana Mine Massacre and the Sell Out of South Africans by the Black-Led Regime

White supremacy doesn't necessarily need white people in order to function

By Margaret Kimberley

Global Research, June 04, 2014
Black Agenda Report

Region: sub-Saharan Africa
Theme: Law and Justice, Poverty & Social Inequality

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A new film, *Miners Shot Down*, shows in graphic detail the massacre of dozens of miners at Marikana, South Africa, in 2012. "Footage from the South African police shows the miners being penned in by barbwire, mowed down by a fusillade and the survivors being hunted down yet again." The slaughter may mark the beginning of the end of a Black-led regime that sold out its people.

Before August 16, 2012, the town of Marikana was little known outside of South Africa. On that day it entered the lexicon as a place of infamy where 34 striking platinum miners were shot dead by police. The massacre at Marikana left no doubt that black South Africans had been sold out by the African National Congress and its leaders, including Nelson Mandela.

The struggle against apartheid galvanized millions of people all over the world. Black Americans in particular saw themselves at Sharpeville and Soweto. Nelson Mandela became an international icon but was especially beloved by a people whose own mass movement was destroyed by assassinations, COINTELPRO and shrewd co-optation.

Mandela's release from prison in 1989 and his election as president in 1994 were greeted with celebration – which was too often lacking in real political analysis. Black people had the right to vote, the dreaded pass system was gone, but the grinding poverty is now worse than under the days of white minority rule. That is because people who should have fought to dismantle the grotesque racially based inequities took seats at the table where the loot was divvied up.

"Ramaphosa made lucrative deals with these multi-national corporations instead of representing the mine workers who looked to him for leadership."

Cyril Ramaphosa was one of those people. He led the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and was one of those who aided and abetted the terrible accommodations that led to the continuing impoverishment of black South Africans. The London based Lonmin platinum mining corporation made Ramaphosa a board member, as did Coca Cola and Unilever. He made lucrative deals with these multi-national corporations instead of representing the mine workers who looked to him for leadership. Ramaphosa's net worth is now estimated to be \$700 million.

It is disheartening in the extreme to see people so pleased to have jobs and titles that they gave no thought to killing on orders from government functionaries, turn coats and a big corporation. The white faces at Sharpeville and the Soweto uprising have now been joined by black people who helped to plan and carry out the massacre. The police brought live ammunition to confront the miners who were armed only with clubs and knives. They even made sure to bring morgue ambulances and body bags. The murders were clearly premeditated but after the fact it was the miners who were charged with murder.

White supremacy doesn't necessarily need white people in order to function. It only needs people who understand clearly where whites stand vis a vis other groups. The black police who ordered the shootings and who carried them out were as much white supremacists as the white police who killed in the days of minority rule.

"The black police who ordered the shootings and who carried them out were as much white supremacists as the white police who killed in the days of minority rule."

Apparently we have more in common with black South Africans than we thought. Twenty years after Nelson Mandela became president another black man, a so-called son of Africa, became president of the United States. The powerful people here, the 1% of the economic elite, chose him to lead. It was the right time for a new face in America. The Republicans' unpopularity made their "brand" unsustainable politically, making the Democrats the go-to party to commit the dirty work. What better way to get that job done than to have a black man bail out banks and continue the endless war of terror around the globe? Who better to solidify America's empire? The same sort of question can be asked of South Africa. Who better to keep South African workers trapped in poverty and starvation wages than black political leadership?

The legacy of the dead miners has not been made in vain. Lonmin workers are again on strike, this time for four months and they have been joined by other miners. This struggle is taking place twenty years after it should have. Now the truth about freedom and liberation is clear, Mandela and other leaders have passed away, and younger people can fight their own fight. Marikana should not be forgotten, nor should the hard lessons that it teaches.

Margaret Kimberley's Freedom Rider column appears weekly in BAR, and is widely reprinted elsewhere. She maintains a frequently updated blog as well as at <http://freedomrider.blogspot.com>.

Ms. Kimberley lives in New York City, and can be reached via e-Mail at [Margaret.Kimberley\(at\)BlackAgendaReport.com](mailto:Margaret.Kimberley(at)BlackAgendaReport.com).

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HUGE CHEERS

Huge cheers to all our partners who have worked together over the past year to realise this program.

In particular we would like to recognise the significant work invested in the Impact reports which were produced by Erin Sorenson in collaboration with the team at BRITDOC and then lovingly designed by Involved Design in London.

The Impact Award trophies which were designed and manufactured by Susan Banks, Professor at New World School of the Arts in Miami and photographed by Arion Doerr in New York.

Finally the graffiti art made for this year's announcement was created by Victor Ving, working on location at the Container Yard in Los Angeles. In a film concept devised by BRITDOC and executed by Director and DOP Dallas Sterling and Producer Shelby Hill.

Thank you one and all.

docimpactaward