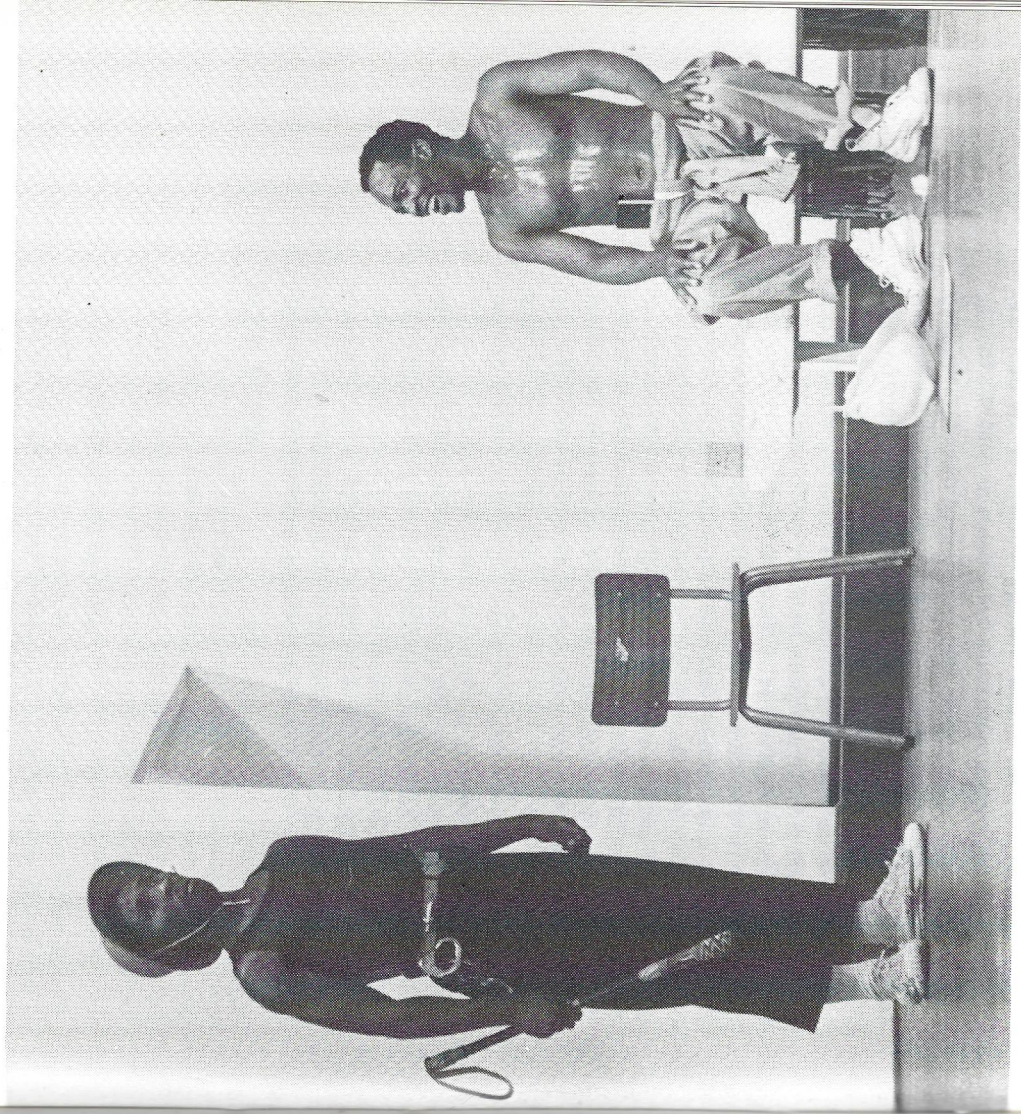


appendix

The plays



Most of the worker plays were oral. Apart from the two plays written by Ml Hlatshwayo USUKU and GALLOWES FOR MR. SCARIOT MPIMPI none of the plays exist in written scripts. They will live on only in the memories of the people who have participated in performances as players or as the audience. One of the tasks for the future must be to try and transcribe recordings of performances.

In this appendix I have tried to recreate the stories of the plays. Obviously no written description can do justice to the richness of the dialogue, the colour of the language, the vibrancy of these processes. But from these stories readers can get an idea of the scope of the DWCL's projects. The plays tell about different aspects of workers' lives. These are the stories of hardship and of struggle, of suffering and of unity, of laughter and of hope.

WHY LORD

Qabula played the migrant worker in the play and he tells the story: "In the beginning I ask the question: What makes us come to town to look for work? I say to my wife: hey, I come home and I have the feet, the skin and the horns of my goat but the goat is dead. My neighbour must have slaughtered it, they always steal, because they are as poor as we are. There has been no rain, no mielies - therefore I have to go out to look for work in town. I leave even though my wife objects."

While the wife is preparing her husband's luggage he has a dream. He dreams that a driver in a smart car has come to fetch him to town. The driver brings with him a smart suit and promises of food. He tells him that in Durban the ships in the harbour offload great bags of money each day. When they arrive in Durban he sees a policeman with loaves of bread which he gives out freely to the people. Arriving at the factory he is met by the manager who hands over the factory to him: these are your workers, your machines, your profits. He even inherits the manager's wife. His golden dream slowly turns into a nightmare when he imagines himself drinking tea with the wife.

Finally, he wakes up feeling very hungry. But there is nothing to eat in this house, and he leaves home.

"When I arrive in town I am found stranded by the landlord Mr. Matiwane. Since I cannot read I show him the

letter from my uncle, but there is no address on it. The landlord asks me my name. 'I am Qabula. Nqokolo of Qawukeni'. That is too difficult for Mr. Matiwane, so he says that I must change my name to his. In exchange I have to protect him after work, be his body-guard. I have to pledge that I will fight till I die."

The play shows the confusion of someone from the country: he gets lost in town, on the buses - and the people fool around with him. "They are not friendly and helpful. So I have to take the offer of this landlord."

"Then I manage to get a job as a security guard, and at the yard where I stay I meet Jabu. That's the beginning of the destruction of my family at home. To her, I pretend that I am not married at home, that I only have a girlfriend with two children."

The worker sends home letters and money, but they do not reach his wife. So after some time she sets out to look for him. She finds a job in town and lives at the same yard as he does, but because he works nightshifts and she dayshifts and because he has changed his name while she refers to his Xhosa home-name they never meet.

On account of poor wages and therefore financial difficulties she decides to accept the offer of marriage from the landlord. "The day I see my wife again is the day of her wedding with Matiwane. That day I decide to leave the job because I have had enough of being taken for a fool. I tell them that I want to go home. The thieves can steal the factory but I am off."

I enter the wedding room shouting about leaving work. Although Jabu tries to calm me down I keep on shouting that I have left the factory and that I want to go home and see my wife and my children. My wife enters the room, asking who is making that noise. We suddenly see each other. Silence. Jabu is the first to speak. She asks: Do you know each other? - "Yes, this is my wife, but I don't know what she is doing here. - Wife: where do you come from?" "You never sent us any money, you never contacted us, you left us to die from hunger, you sent nothing." She had never received anything because since I cannot read or write I had asked Jabu to send it. But Jabu had sent the money to her own home. So now my wife looks at the slips and realises that I have been fooled. So - who do you blame? When things are evil around you such things are caused. It is the system, the government who is to blame."

The play ends with that question.

KOZE KUBE NINI

Scene 1: Unemployment and poverty in the rural areas.

The play starts in the countryside. A young man introduces himself to the audience. He is tired of looking for employment. His sister arrives to offer him some home-brew and to deliver a message from their mother: "She asks when you would be going out looking for a job like other young men. We are dying of famine in this house." The young man is upset because he has been trying very hard - but to no avail and not even the remedies of the witch doctor have helped him. On the verge of despair and confusion he even mixed up the bottles and drank the inyanga's medicine which was meant to be rubbed on his backside.

He decides to go and visit a friend in the hope that he will be offered more beer. While they drink they talk about traditional customs around courtship and marriage. The audience is made aware, that these are people who adhere to old moral values and ways passed on by their fathers.

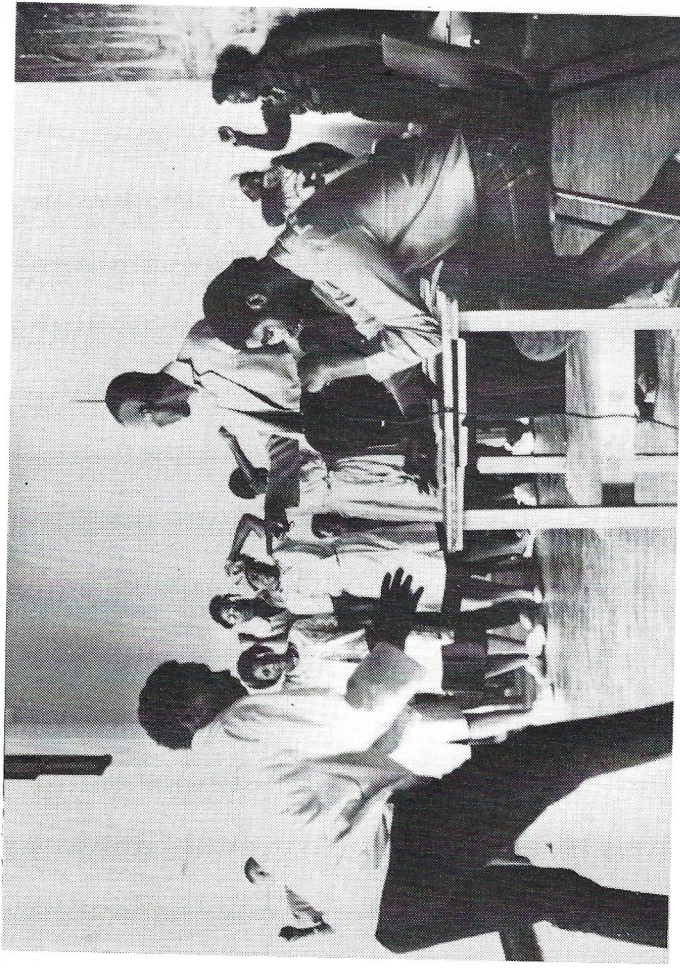
The two men discuss a labour recruitment officer who is in the area and decide to go and see him after having drunk some more. The recruiter, a Mr. Ngcobo, offers people jobs in a factory in Durban. They must meet him at the Chief's kraal the next day.

Scene 2: The effects of the recruiter

A young woman talks about the situation of poverty and the effects of migrancy on the rural areas: "The head of this house left me alone with famine, this child, these broken walls, weeds in the fields. He said I should support this child. How am I going to support it? Oh I remember those days when I was myself going to the river to fetch water, where there were a lot of young men in the spring...Today, I have a long neck like a giraffe, wrinkled arms like the sunburnt peel of an orange." After conflicts with her mother the young woman is allowed to go to town and take up a job. Another old woman who weaves sleeping mats complains about her tiredness. But her husband drinks and does not support them. He enters and announces that he will take one of the jobs offered by the recruiter. They quarrel because she knows that when he goes she will be left without anything but promises.

Scene 3: Recruitment

The chief is angry because Mr. Ngcobo has enlisted people before consulting him first. But a variety of old and young men and women are registered and get onto the bus. The chief



instructs Ngcobo to tell his people that he wants a goat from each person from their wages.

Scene 4: On the bus to town

People are singing, praising the beauty of the countryside and lamenting their fate for having to leave it.

Scene 5: In town - the manager

The manager is angry: "I told John to do one, two, three things - one for my overjacket, one for my coat and one for my hat. He didn't do them. He's got nerves, I'll have to fire him. All wages, strikes, wages, disputes." Ngcobo arrives and announces, that he has brought workers and they are not smelling, not lazy. He calls them in.

In the following 'conversation' the manager's words are interpreted incorrectly so that they become insults to the workers. Ngcobo tries to establish himself as the 'boss'. Finally the manager announces the working conditions: "Just tell these people that they are going to work 8 days a week, 24 hours a day. Their wages are going to be R3.50 a week." Again the translation is distorted and the manager is mocked and ridiculed so that the response to what the boss has said is great hilarity rather than anger.

The manager inspects the new recruits:
"Here we work 24 hours a day."

Scene 6: The sleeping place

Workers arrive at their sleeping place and find quite unacceptable filthy conditions. A young girl is called out and offered alternative accommodation in exchange for sexual favours. We see the exploitation of rural girls by urban men who prise on their inexperience.

Scene 7: The factory

The theme of sexual harassment continues. A woman is threatened by her supervisor that unless she agrees to his sexual advances he will see to it that she is dismissed. Generally working conditions are extremely exploitative and workers suffer.

Scene 8: The union

People decide to unite and join a union. A representative of NUTW (National Union of Textile Workers) explains to them how a union operates and how it can help them in their struggle. After discussions they join NUTW.

Scene 9: The strike

The protests against working conditions have not been heard by management and workers decide to strike. While they sing the supervisor arrives: "Firstly, when you left for this job from your farms you said this wage is enough. Secondly, you say this food we provide for you is bad. Thirdly, you say that you do not want this brand new tractor which my boss has bought for you." The response to his words are long lists of grievances, but he is not finished. "Fourthly, you say this place we give you for sleeping is unsatisfactory. But you left your homes sleeping on the floor, bitten by lice. But now we use electricity for you. You are happy. This issue of yours is nonsense. I do not go for it."

Workers invite the supervisor to stay with them and experience the conditions first hand. They point out that his two bits of education have made him into an impimpi for the boss. They reject him and give more examples of harassment and ill-treatment. He is thrown out and the strike continues. The play ends with an assertion of the workers' strength in unity.

**If you don't want to listen you will learn when the blood comes, or:
ONCE BITTEN, TWICE SHY**

The play starts with a young woman, Nosipho, walking back from the river, carrying water. In a song she tells us of her thoughts. She is engaged to a man at home but she wants to

leave the countryside and go to town. She wants to earn her own money in order to be independent from her parents and her husband. She decides to approach her mother about leaving because she knows her father will object. Her parents argue over her plans. The mother supports her against her husband's wishes and this results in a fight. The daughter watches her parents fight. She finally leaves home against her father's will. Bit by bit the conflict between them spreads to the whole district because a young man has already paid lobola for the girl. All the traditional laws have been broken.

In town the girl is taken in by an old woman. Like most girls from the rural area she does not know about the evils of town and the old woman uses her instead of warning her. Nosipho falls in love with a tsotsie. He pretends to be employed but he spoils her with money which he has won at gambling. We see that she still does not have a job, that she got side-tracked and has lost what was important to her. She falls pregnant. The father of her child disappears and the landlord turns her out because she cannot pay the rent. Nosipho and her child end up living under a bridge. There she is found by a young boy from her village. He and others from home collect money and buy her a ticket to send her back.

When Nosipho arrives at home she finds that her mother has poisoned her father. She is very sick but there is no one to support her. Nosipho's brothers have left because the mother killed their father. After the mother dies Nosipho has to take all the blame for her family's misery. But finally she is accepted back by her brothers and the play ends with a feast: she is forgiven.

THE SPAR PLAY

The play opens with a song: "Pay us our money down" performed by the whole cast. One worker then plays a picketer outside a Spar-shop while the others become passers-by, who have different responses to the picket. We learn about the history of the dispute and the issues involved: "Sir, we are the Spar workers who were dismissed on the 7th of December. The managers refuse to enter into negotiation with the workers. We would like you to support us in our bid to demand wages up to R80, to reinstate fellow workers who were sacked unfairly, to have our union recognised. Please support us by not buying from Spar until we have won our

struggle..." Picket and shoppers discuss different forms of support. Shoppers are encouraged to approach the managers of their shops and threaten boycott action if workers' demands are not met.

In the next scene workers discuss a counter-pamphlet issued by the chief executive of the Brown Group and distributed amongst 'loyal' customers outside the shops. In responding to the claims made by management the workers put the issues into their perspective and a wider context of debates on worker rights. The discussion leads to decisions on further strategies adopted by workers and their union.

We now see how ideas were put into practise: workers approach managers of shops who get their supplies from the Brown group and request them to put pressure onto their supplier. Again they are met with varying responses. While some managers are openly hostile some pledge support and promise that they will look for alternative suppliers.

Scene four takes place in the yard of the supplier - truck drivers are loading their trucks with supplies for their stores. A striker surprises one of the drivers who had assured him that he would not fetch orders from this yard. But fear of dismissal and subsequent unemployment stand in the way of his support. The Spar struggle is yet again put into the broader context of worker rights and exploitation.

We then see the effects the dismissals have on striking workers at home: children asking for school books and clothes, husbands scolding their wives for 'cheakiness' at work, grandmothers lamenting the scarcity of food etc. The gloomy atmosphere at home is interrupted by the arrival of a fellow worker who announces the first victory: a recognition arrangement between the union and management has been reached. There is hope that their other demands will also be met. There is great jubilation and celebration.

At the end, one of the players comes forward and addresses the audience. At each performance he/she up-dates information on the struggle so far and thanks the audience for their support. He/she then requests continuing solidarity until workers have been re-employed and the struggle has been won.

USUKU (The Day)

The play opens with the chairman of a meeting summing up to close the meeting:

Chairman "The day, the day. Workers, you know it. Let me say this: Workers' dignity will be preserved by the workers themselves. Because it's the worker ..."

Worker 1 "who knows about the agony of not finding a job"
Worker 2 "who knows exploitation by employers and being sacked because one is affiliated to a union..."

Worker 3 "who knows the meaning of being looked down upon in society because people say you are illiterate and therefore know nothing."

The workers commit themselves to the day: Usuku.

The next scene shows Shabalala arriving home after the meeting and talking to his wife. He is excited about the pledge of unity and the commitment to restoring the workers' dignity on the day. But his wife is weary: "You must be careful not to be misled by young people who are educated and are into politics because you will be dismissed from work." But his spirit is only dampened when they read a letter from their daughter who is at college: she is very sick.

In Scene three Bhodwe the manager has called the workers together. They are suspicious because he seems too friendly: talking about how everybody at his factory is one happy family. He is trying to find out about the resolutions they have taken at their meeting. He offers them an increase - if they tell him the 'day'. They refuse - but he advises them to consider his offer or else...

Workers decide: no deal, and Mzobe is elected to deliver the message: "They say that your offer does not advance the struggle to regain the dignity of the workers. We have made a vow. We have set a day. We have said: between this day and us nothing, not even death shall stand. We cannot betray our consciences. Unity is our conscience."

Bhodwe is very angry. Mzobe reports back to the workers and they reaffirm their dedication to the 'day' and in a song celebrate their sense of strength arising out of unity.

The manager has received a phone call that Shabalalas daughter is very sick and needs an operation which will cost R300. He calls in Shabalala and reminds him how he has always helped him - even in marrying his wife who is educated. He offers to pay for the operation - in exchange for 'the day'. But Shabalala remains firm: "I will never betray our cause because of the help I received from you." Bhodwe: "Then your child will die."

Shabalala now turns to the audience and tells them of his conflict. Meanwhile the workers have heard about his plight and start a collection - but they cannot raise enough.



Ida, Shabalala's wife puts pressure on him: "Go on, reveal the day and our child will be saved." There is a fight - but the child has already died. Ida turns on the workers: "Take delight, workers. Your strength. Why do you look at me like that? Say your slogans. Your victory songs. Oh, my child..."

The scene turns into a funeral for the dead child. It is a funeral of the Holy Zion Church and the wife does not attend, because she scorns the working-class church. The reverend asserts that "in the course of the struggle death is powerless over those who live for the liberation of others from the throes of slavery." The child is part of a history of people who died for the cause.

The manager apologises but his action is explained as part of the structures of capitalism: "The aim of the factories making profits is really nothing. Many a time the employer is tempted to exploit the workers in order to extract more surplus value. You employers, you workers are like hunters, you are directed by your stomachs. Whether they are made of clay or steel, these factories are doomed. They are a forest. Now if the antelopes decrease in number in the forests is it not true that the hunters end up being the rodents?"

The funeral ends with a letter from the child being read out. She thanks her father for being strong - because the struggle demands sacrifices.

At the end of the play Bhodwe tries to renew his 'friendship'

USUKU: the day cannot be bought. It belongs to workers.



with Shabalala. But Shabalala addresses him: "My nation has always been friendly to you. That's why you are here, not in Europe. That's why you vote, I don't. That's why you detain, exile and kill leaders, but I don't. That's why I will never sell my labour where I want to. That's why your children are swamping college corridors while my only one is sharing with the ants. For others who are more fortunate than I am their kids are swamping the dark street corners. That's why we see our wives and children once or twice a year while you see yours every day. Are all these not gestures of friendship? Is that not enough? (...) The day, the day belongs to the workers. Two days have gone past. Let the day of freedom be hastened."

GALLOWES FOR MR. SCARIOT MPIMPI

The play starts with Mr. Scariot Mpimpi, man educated african gentleman who is self-consciously proud of his position. He pretends he is going to work in his car. He arrives at work and enters Mr.Slayers office, where he pretends to be the boss himself. Noticing the audience he launches into an attack: "You lazy layabouts! What are you doing there, sitting instead of working? Look at me! I am smart, I am educated, I am the boss' right-hand man - and all because I worked for it! If you try to advance yourselves you can also be where I am now!"

There are many sacrifices in the struggle for freedom.

Mr. Slaver has been standing behind him for a little while. He is impatient to have his 'servant' attend to him. Mr. Slaver wants to inspect the factory, so they put on glasses and hard hats and examine the audience. Mr. Slaver praises his faithful servant: "If only the government would produce a hundred of your kind, South Africa would indeed be able to defeat her enemies."

He goes back to his desk and looks at the financial reports: The profit margins are down. They are losing money. Mr. Mpimpi has some suggestions on how to save money: stop overtime, pay less. But Mr. Slaver reminds him, that he does not believe in theories: "What did I tell you about theories when I employed you here in this factory?". "You said this factory is a jungle. You said muscles rule here, not theories." - "About game?" - "You said the game is not only to kick the weak but also to know when and how to kick." - "Well, I'll teach you a practical lesson. Now! Now! (He kicks him) Go and do some kicking! Move it! Tell them - one hundred of them are dismissed!"

Mr. Mpimpi picks out some members of the audience and 'fires' them. This is the beginning of a lengthy process during which more and more workers are retrenched. Mr. Mpimpi has learnt his lesson well and like his boss he blames "the ANC, the communists, the OAU's, the Cubans, the UDF, the AZAPO, the Tutus for the state of affairs. Oh, I wish I could strangle all of them!" Finally Mr. Mpimpi has fired everybody on the shop floor.

But still the company is not making profits and Mr. Slaver now dismisses his boss-boy. Mr. Mpimpi pleads for his life: "Mr. Slaver, I risked my life for you. I have double-crossed my nation, sold them, betrayed them for you, for this firm, protecting your interests, your profits. I have stood by you and now ..." After pleading he threatens his boss and finally the two men begin to fight. Mr. Mpimpi decides, that if he must go, his boss must go with him. The struggle between them ends with both going down.

YOU'RE A FAILURE MR MPIMPI

A 'manager' comes forward and addresses the audience. He talks about himself as 'Mr. Big' and brags that he has factories all over the country. He has just received a big order but that is not a problem. He will just push all the workers a little harder and get very rich.

Suddenly he turns to the audience of workers and shouts "Are

you on strike? Get back to work! You won't work? Oh yes, I remember, I didn't give you what you demanded..." He tells the audience that he is not worried because he has his man who will tell him what is going on. He begins to search the audience for 'his man and makes the impimpi come forward.

The manager wants to know the reason for the impimpi's change of heart. In the past he had always been informed of the goings-on before they happened so why not this time? The impimpi tells him that he is scared - he fears for his life and that of his family. His house will be burnt down. It had been easy in the past because there were no 'comrades', but now it is too dangerous.

The manager pressurises the impimpi until he finally begins to point out the leaders: "that one, member of the ANC, that one, member of the UDF, those two, members of Umkonto, others, members of Azapo..." As a 'reward' for his work Mr. Mpimpi is sacked. "Because you only told me now, and didn't warn me, you will be the first to get fired."

When the impimpi returns to his home that day, his wife is watching TV. He tries to talk to her and he is afraid of her temper. But she is looking at an advertisement of furniture, which has been reduced, and she decides that she wants him to buy it. Finally, when he manages to speak to her they quarrel. She says: "everyone knows you are an impimpi. They say I am married to a bad man. You are a failure, Mr. Mpimpi."

The wife has to go out to work, while Mr. Mpimpi will stay at home and do the housework and look after the baby. We see him hanging up the washing, very embarrassedly, because his neighbours might see him. Then his friend comes to visit - but he cannot enjoy chatting, because he is worried that his wife might return and surprise him before he has finished doing the work and preparing the food. When she does return he tries to stop her anger by pointing out how well he has cared for the home - but she shouts at him: "you're a failure both at work and at home. You are a useless man!" With these words she throws him out of the house.

ITRESHO (The Job)

A young woman in smart clothes enters the stage and tells the audience how lucky she is. She boasts about all the material things she possesses. She praises herself for having such a caring boyfriend who provides for her and loves

her. In return, she has now made him come 'clean' - he has quit robberies.

The young man appears and he too shows off his smart clothes and many possessions. He admires her but says that in comparison with the neighbours she still does not have enough. He must do one more 'job' so that he can buy a big car. The woman is unhappy and threatens that if he cannot give up this idea of a last 'job' she will leave him. After some arguments she walks out on him.

We then see him doing his 'jobs'. He hopes that when she sees his wealth she will come back to him.

But the next scene finds him in court - and much to everybody's surprise the woman is the presiding magistrate. She has advanced herself while he carried on his life as a gangster. He appeals to her by singing the tune of their old love-song. But she puts a wedge between herself and the past.

The young man does not defend himself and his council does not deny the accusations but explains how the young man became a criminal. He turned against the system when he thought this was the only means of survival. The real accused in this trial is the capitalist apartheid system. In the end the accused warns the magistrate: "Be lucky because this man did not challenge the system. He just grabbed money and goods. But others later will use their daggers and clubs against us."

MKHUMBANE (Gato Manor)

The play takes place in the yard of Mr Matiwane, the shack-lord. The first scene shows the conditions of life in the shack-yard: overcrowding, no sanitation, no privacy. A young woman is busy hanging up her washing, complaining about the dust. The shack-lord watches her. He sees pyjamas on the washing line and complains: "take that down! I don't own any pyjamas so you can't hang up yours!"

Meanwhile the shebeen queen runs a profitable business - everyone knows her place because she sells good brew. Her room is a meeting place for a lot of different people. Mr Smart comes past to sell his clothes. Everyone knows he is a 'fence' and sells stolen goods but he is also a member of the Zulu Hlanganani and has a lot of influence. The 'busha' comes to sell his meat and bring news about a meeting of the ANC in Red Square.

In the background the musician plays his tunes. Then he sees

Sipho. This must be a young man from the mines. He is a stranger in the yard and the musician starts up a mocking-song. Sipho needs accommodation - and the shack-lord promises to build on a room for him.

In the next scene the shebeen queen approaches the young woman. The queen knows that the young woman has no means of income and is struggling hard. She has a proposition to make: "You can buy from the Coloured people as I used to do. You can buy some beers and a bottle of 'white' each week and keep it till Sunday - and then give it to me. I run short of the stuff at times..."

The young woman is desperate enough to try it. But as she is trying to hide the bottle of illegal liquor she is surprised by Mr. Smart. He has not been successful with his approaches for sexual relations so he decides to teach her a lesson. Her room is raided - but the police pretend that they cannot find anything. She is very frightened and smashes the bottle.

The next scene teaches us about the drinking traditions of Mkhumbane. The 'regulars' meet and discuss the different kinds of brew found in the shebeens and the beerhalls. The queen criticises the men for going to the halls. Brewing is a traditional source of income for women and therefore the men must not support the beerhalls. "Anyway," says one man, "Shimeyane is better. The men who drink at the beerhalls cannot please their wives. The boy does not jump."

The young woman and Sipho are falling in love. A happy scene between the young lovers is interrupted by Mr. Smart who threatens the boy. Mr. Smart proposes to the woman that in exchange for favours he will help her to get a stall at the market. But she is angry: "You say you want to help me? No, you just want to help yourself to me. You are trying to exploit my state for your own gain. Get out of here - I am not for sale!"

But the woman desperately needs a source of income. Maybe the shacklord will help her. He is also a member of the Zulu Hlanganani. He agrees to help, but she must first pay a membership fee - otherwise she will not get her license. The woman sells her finest pot so that she can raise the fee.

The next scene the shacklord holds a Stokvel to raise money so that he can join the ranks of the transport owners in the Zulu Hlanganani. There is a lot of music and dancing and bidding for food and drink.

In a meeting at Red Square Chief Luthuli addresses his people. Mr. Smart betrays Sipho by pointing him out to the police



so that he gets arrested.

The women's passes have been introduced - and the young woman, the shebeen queen and her helper have to go to have their photos taken for the passes. They fight about having to remove their doeks- but then the young woman announces: "The light shone on my brain and I saw the light!"

The woman's struggle is taken up in the next scene. The women of Mkhumbane have had enough of the men patronising the beerhalls- and they raid the halls and beat up the men. When the police arrives the men are in a difficult spot: are they going to have their women beaten up by the police or are they going to help them although they themselves had been attacked?

The last scene of MKHUMBANE shows the destruction of Cato Manor in the mid-sixties. Residents are being removed and they are in confusion about where they are supposed to go. The shack-lord fights with a tenant about a chair. He insists on taking it because of outstanding rent money. The musician has no place to go to since he was an illegal shack-dweller. Like so many others he will be homeless.

QONDA (Vigilantes)

The play opens with two street cleaners who perform a song and dance with their brooms. While they are sweeping they are talking about how the councillors make all kinds of promises. "Your children won't have to go to the sea, but I will bring the sea right here to KwaMashu" they tell the people. After they are elected, they don't fulfil any of their promises.

One of the workers leaves and the other is surprised by the arrival of Qonda. His behaviour changes instantly - he becomes submissive and subservient. He begins to praise Inkatha and flatters the vigilante whom he fears. We realise that there are two sides to this migrant worker. He has adapted to urban life and so he has to play many parts if he wants to survive.

Qonda decides, that these men should put their actions where their mouth is. He marches them off and orders them to beat up some youth. They oblige. But when they are alone again they talk about how they hate this life in Durban.

In the next scene one of the workers is surprised by a vigilante again. This time they ask him for his papers. They search him and beat him and when they find his papers not in order they arrest him and he is put into prison.



In prison people are searched again - they have to strip down. From their position of humiliation and 'nakedness' they build up strength. They stand up and rise in unity. They sing the songs of the 'comrades' even when the warder arrives.

Qonda comes back: "shut up!" But they appeal to him and manage to convince him that the struggle must be fought along their lines. They win him over - and the audience realises that like them he had two faces. He lets them free.

The workers build up strength and win the vigilantes over to their side.

Performance dates and venues

- Why Lord**
Dunlop Strike, August 1984, St. Antony's Church Hall
- K'oze Kube Nini**
FOSATU Education workshop, July 1984, Milner Park, Johannesburg
- Once Bitten Twice Shy**
May Day 1985, Curries Fountain Stadium
- The Spar Play**
May Day 1985, Curries Fountain Stadium
- Usuku**
AGM of the T&G workers Union, September 1985, Edendale Ecumenical Centre
- Gallows for Mr. Scariot Mpimpi**
Opening of the Clairwood trade union & cultural centre, October 1985, Clairwood.
- You're a Failure Mr. Mpimpi**
MAWU Congress, July 1986, Johannesburg
- Ithesho**
MAWU Sleep-in seminar, August 1986, Clairwood Centre.
- Mkhumbane**
Natal Regional Culture Meeting, September 1986, Howard College
- Qonda**
Natal Regional Culture Meeting, September 1986, Howard College