



“Culture of Resistance” in the Apartheid System in South Africa as represented in Peter Horn`s Poetry

ABSTRACT

This research aims to explore the concept of resistance against the apartheid regime in South Africa. The theoretical framework of the research concentrates on Edward Said`s theory of cultural imperialism and his perspectives on resistance during colonialism, then it negotiates the culture of resistance according to the mentality of the South African citizens, especially the black majority. The theory is derived from the tough practices of the imperial powers that invaded South Africa for decades. Accordingly, the movement of resistance in this country during the apartheid system was established by the freedom claim of pioneer fighters who took upon themselves to start the resistance movement. The research also focuses on the heroic role Nelson Mandela and his remarkable effort to regain South African dignity and put an end to colonial oppression. The research further discusses the impact of resistance on Peter Horn`s poetry, and how he manages to portray the crisis with its possible solution and the way out of the maze of colonialism and subjugation. Unlike many South African poets who reflected the dilemma of the apartheid regime, Horn was the one who declared many solutions to put an end to the harsh policies implemented by the South African governments.

Keywords: *Nelson Mandela, The Black Majority, The White Minority, Cultural Imperialism, colonial oppression*

South Africa has suffered greatly as a result of the apartheid system's racial discrimination and injustice. The movement of struggle and resistance is essential for overcoming this inequity. The suppressed black majority announced their steadfast resistance to all sorts of imperial rule in order to lead a stable, free, and dignified life. Nelson Mandela was a magnificent leader who maintained the dignity of the black majority and made them feel like human beings with the right to live a democratic lifestyle. Peter Horn's poetry represented the resistance movement, as he took the side of the oppressed and struggled for their human value through his poetic production. Despite being a member of the white minority, he expressed deep sympathy for the dire circumstances of the black majority in his poetry. He highlighted the struggle of South Africans and demanded an immediate policy against the apartheid government.

To take the action of resistance, one should have endurance and perseverance to object. Kept desires for freedom are not sufficient to mobilize a nation against a tyrant regime teeming with many forms of racial discrimination and injustice. The decision to resist in a colonized nation is difficult because it involves more than just military action. However, it is important to recognize a significant ideological movement. Resistance is like culture or doctrine that deserves to be thoroughly investigated. This action requires a systematic approach; otherwise, it will develop into a destructive chaos, which is the fundamental cause of its difficulty. Unfortunately, intellectual transformation is difficult to implement because many ills have already been instilled in the colonized people, and many of them are unwilling to live without strict control.

The title of the research "Culture of Resistance" is quoted from Edward Said's book *Culture and Imperialism*. Said has perspectives on fighting the invasion of the imperial movements. He remarks: "No one needs to be reminded that throughout the imperial world during the decolonizing period, protest, resistance, and independence movements were fueled by one or another nationalism." (261) The previous lines emphasizes the most fundamental motivator for any resistance movement: the quest for nationalism. Finding a distinct national identity for the colonized nation is critical to ensuring its freedom. The initial goal of any imperial endeavour is to distort the colonized nation's national identity, and as a result, Said suggests that the task of resistance should begin by looking for this distorted notion.

Another motive, which should be rendered behind the movement of resistance, is overcoming the legend of the "White Man". Said writes: "For the successful nationalist parties that led the struggle against the European powers, legitimacy and cultural primacy depend on their asserting an unbroken continuity leading to the first

warriors who stood against the intrusive white man.” (238) Said attempts to refute Kipling's argument in the preceding lines regarding the tough racial dominance of the "White Man" in various parts of the world and his supremacy. Said believes that the endeavour of the colonized people to eradicate this kind of racial discrimination is a crucial step in the rise of nationalism and resistance. Therefore, in order to preserve a degree of justice and balance, the myth of the "White Man" needs to be eliminated.

Said calls for an act of resistance because it needs intellectuals who can reflect the cruelty of the imperial attitudes and their harsh impacts on the colonized nations. He sees that culture should have the same cunning and smart doctrines as those of the colonizers. Thinkers should have a clear vision and smart philosophy in order to persuade and mobilize the colonized people towards a positive reaction so that the imperial governments cannot distort this project of liberty. (241) First and foremost, this philosophy ought to challenge the period of intellectual stagnation that was caused by colonialism. Unfortunately, the colonized minds become powerless and relentless because of the identity distortion, harsh racism, and brutal imperial dominance. Therefore, the culture of resistance cannot be applied before a revolution of correction of ideas and philosophies that infected and warped the human morality of the colonized people. Therefore, it is crucial for the colonized people to learn how to value and respect themselves as human beings. in other words they should affirm their actual worth as human beings in this world.

Every colonized nation has its unique culture of resistance according to the nature of the imperialistic powers that take its control. The imperial policy towards the colonized people and their reaction towards it shape the resistance plan. In a country like South Africa, the situation is a bit complicated because it is not just about the policy of the colonizers, but it is about the psychological nature of the South African citizens that has played a vital role in reinforcing the existence of the colonizers. Both the British and Dutch colonizers exploited the worldly point of view about blacks, and they intended to use this point of weakness in a country like South Africa. (Said 238) Once the black majority in this country had the complex of inferiority, the colonizers' task was can be easily applied. The colonizers will able to inculcate their ideas of injustice, subjugation and humiliation in the South African souls. Therefore, the act of resistance in South Africa is more complicated than in any other colonized nation. The matter should have its start from the South African people.

In a nation such as South Africa, resistance ought to be the inevitable outcome. There will be a lot of anger, dissatisfaction, and hostility as a result of the widespread corruption in all domains. The deliberate division between the majority of Black people and the minority of White people forces Black people to choose between

demanding their right to a fair and pleasant life or living in extreme poverty, malnutrition, and high death rates as a result of deliberate neglect. It is time to put an end to the paradox that exists between the growing welfare of the white minority and the worsening circumstances of South African citizens, even if the country's income is high enough for everyone to lead fulfilling lives.

The first step towards getting rid of tyranny and colonial oppression is to put an end to religious fascism which is considered the start of the apartheid system with all its dire consequences. The Christian missionaries, who were sent from Europe to reinforce the concept of Eurocentrism, contributed to this religious fascism. Therefore, the cover of religion to fulfil these greedy interests should be abolished. G.J.A Lubbe argues: "On the other hand, I discovered that there were two Christianities in South Africa, a white one and a Black one. Entering the world of the Black Church was to me almost like getting acquainted with people of a different religion. I learnt a new way of looking at the Bible and discovered God's liberating power and His concern for the poor and the marginalized." (213) Lubbe makes clear the focal point of the religious crisis in South Africa. There are no flexible ideas in religion since religious precepts of human equality and collaboration are unchangeable and unalterable. However, the situation is different in South Africa, where religion is converted to fit and maintain white dominance over the black majority. For the white people, there is a rewritten scripture that grants them the authority they seek to subjugate the black majority. These black people ought to adhere to another interpretation of the bible that persuades them that they are considered inferior than the white people, and they should be satisfied with that. The original Bible, however, does not include any suggestion of discriminatory behavior or marginalization and affirms God's intention to extend freedom and parity among all people, regardless of their race, social class, or economic standing. Thus, eliminating this kind of Christian fascism should be the first goal of South Africa's resistance movement.

In addition, the resistance wave found its assonance by a series of accidents that happened due to the oppression implemented by the apartheid regime against the black population. When the Black Trade Unions went on strike to call for improving wages, and they demanded a convenient atmosphere for working, the apartheid system began to conquer these demands and these strikes were ended by the martyrdom of Biko; the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. He was the one who called for the concept of black nationalism by arousing the blacks to feel pride in their real identity. Xolela Mangcu believes that :

Biko offered a political definition of Black Consciousness that drew Africans, Coloured, and Indians together as a collective movement for liberation. And he always made it a point that the struggle was for a nonracial democracy based on what he called the 'joint culture' of black and white people, constructed out of the hybridity of their respective cultures, ... Biko also insisted that black people could not effectively participate as equals in that process as long as they had internalized notions of inferiority. Consciousness raising in the black community thus became the movement's praxis. (282)

Mangu portrays the role of Biko in supporting the spread of the heritage of black South Africans. According to him, black people's statement of dignity and honor is based on their original history, not the one that colonists rewrote. As such, they have the right to feel independent. Some police officers terminated his resistance by killing him, intending to kill him while he was in detention without a fair trial.

The incident that caused the arrest and murder of Biko was the one of the Uprising of Soweto in 1976. Dan O'Meara mentions that "Soweto regenerated a deep sense of pride in much of the black population. It was a key catalyst of the psychological liberation which the Black Consciousness Movement had worked so hard to produce." (181). According to Meara, Black people were driven to take strong action against the oppressive regime of apartheid and the tight control they were living under by the Soweto uprising. Thousands of kids in South Africa expressed their protest against the unfair practice of limiting their language education to Afrikaans and prohibiting them from learning English. A fair educational procedure was demanded by some groups, but the oppressive police forces of the apartheid state met this demand with brutal methods. Regardless of the costs, military forces planned to demolish any possible demonstrations by opening fire and using tear gas on these people. Jonathan Freeman comments:

The June 16 1976 uprising in Soweto was the catalyst for new energy and sustained mobilization and protest. The uprising that began in Soweto and spread countrywide profoundly changed the socio-political landscape in South Africa. Events that triggered the uprising can be traced back to policies of the apartheid government that resulted in the introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1953. (10)

Freeman argues that the exclusion of the black majority from a vital sphere like education triggers the spirit of revolution and resistance. The repressive policy was intensified in 1953 by passing the Bantu Education Act. There was no possibility to get rid of this colonial system due to the distortion of the educational system. The apartheid regime reduced South Africans to mere subjects of its tyrannical laws. Even though English is regarded as a worldwide language, it was once available for White people because they were the only ones who deserved a modern and civilized education.

According to Dawne Y. Curry, the belief in segregation in schools has a strong presence. Many black students did not reach their desired goals because of politics, as South African citizens were assigned menial roles. Every benefit was for the interests of the white minority. The apartheid system was all the time following the policies of Verwoerd who believed in the "inherent inferiority" of blacks, as he saw them just like slaves who were at the service of whites (94). Even if white supremacy controlled every privilege in South Africa, the black revolution might be able to overcome the boundaries of oppression and tyranny with ease. Although the situation seems to be difficult for finding a way out of the colonial maze, there is an urgent need for change even if it means sacrificing some souls.

Azi Ayubi declared that The political parties which took the lead in the resistance movement against the apartheid regime in South Africa were the African National Congress (ANC) and its supporters: Pan African Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) that struggled for the rights of the coloured people. ANC's rise was in 1912, and its existence was first because of the intended ban from voting in elections. The coloured races like Indians, Asians, and the black majority in a specific way were banned from their legal right to participate in political life. (127-128) As a result of that, ANC was considered the main supporter and fighter to gain these lost rights. This party bore a great portion of colonial oppression and was banned from its activity many times. This ban was directed to its leaders who were destined to fight for the legal rights of this colonized nation.

The most remarkable freedom fighter was Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) who made a great achievement towards the independence of that nation. Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni believes that Mandela is the actual South African hero who led the movement of liberation. He considered the anticolonial/anti-apartheid struggle as a humanistic movement for restoring human life. This is the true aim behind ANC's fighting for freedom. It struggles to gain nationalism. This struggle was powered by the African people, and it was inspired by their suffering and

experience. (31) Mandela joined the ANC party in 1944 and found his way to call for liberation in the early time of his youth. He was engaged in numerous political activities; he was an active member who supported the discriminated blacks. He managed to hold a peaceful negotiation with Frederik Willem de Klerk who was the president of South Africa from 1989 to 1994. They concluded by giving legitimate rights for the black majority to present a legal existence in all spheres, especially the political one. According to these negotiations, there was a peaceful transition of authority to the black majority who deserved that right a long time ago as they were the main inhabitants of this country.

Mandela accomplished many achievements for the sake of the oppressed South African people. He made a sort of campaign to oppose the Act of Group Areas. He exposed the racial discrimination implemented by the whites against blacks. So, he completed the policy of Luthuli and called for a peaceful solution to reach the result of democracy and liberty. To fulfil this strategy, Mandela was concerned with the Freedom Charter which entailed the steps towards a non-racial society in South Africa. Joseph Osei comments: “This bold Charter called for freedom, democracy, and egalitarian rights, or equal human rights and civil rights, for all races, tribes, and ethnicities. This document that Mandela helped to create also called for the nationalization of banks, gold mines, and land as a means to equal redistribution of wealth.” (371-372) Freedom Charter was a document that depended on the principles of both ANC and SAIC. This document had no violent rules against any race, even the white minority: it implied and even guaranteed legal rights for everyone who lived in South Africa. All races were equal in rights and duties, and there was no supremacy of a specific race over the other: as all citizens in South Africa should live by the spirit of brotherhood. This document paid great attention to human rights, just laws, national security and equal distribution of the country`s wealth.

A country suffering from colonialism is not committed to peaceful opposition all the time. Ayubi mentions that when colonial oppression reaches its peak, there is an urgent need for legal violence that justifies the dire need for a just life. after the bloodbath of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, when the police forces opened fire on 20,000 South African citizens and ended with the murder of more than 69 blacks and more than 180 wounded, Mandela declared his tough reaction and called for a decisive civil disobedience. He called for sabotage to reinforce the meaning of “inevitable” terrorism or rightful violence. Mandela had a point of view about that strategy, as while the colonizers intended to practice terrorist acts towards the black majority, blacks had the actual right to defend themselves in the same way. (129) While the colonizers called South African citizens, who adopted this strategy,

terrorists, Mandela and his supporters saw it as a justified terrorism to make a sort of counter-revolution against this immense deal of segregation. Mandela mentions the justification of the movement of sabotage: "I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force." Mandela justified violent deeds because of the violent initiation first intended by the apartheid government. As a result, Mandela was the first one of his colleagues who establish the military wing of ANC. He believed in the need for power to retain the stolen rights in some way, and that was the core of sabotage or civil disobedience.

The imprisonment of Mandela exposed the tyrant political system in South Africa. The ills of the apartheid system were shown to the whole world, and many voices from the international community condemned the imprisonment of Mandela and denounced it. Due to pressures on the government of South Africa, the South African political system began to fall apart, and it finally began to find a way out to justify its policies in front of the whole world. It started negotiations with Mandela, as President de Klerk made a deal with Mandela to bring the apartheid system to an end. On February 11, 1990, Mandela was released from prison, and after that, he was elected as the president of ANC from 1991 to 1997.

To put South Africa on a peaceful track, Ayubi elaborates that Mandela worked with President de Klerk to ban the great amount of racial discrimination that ruled South Africa for many decades, and they promised a fair life to everyone living in South Africa. Their attempts were dedicated to stopping violent practices and civil disobedience in Transvaal and Natal: vital places for industrial activities that witnessed a series of sabotages. One of the negotiations on which Mandela made a sort of concentration was the peaceful transition of authority, as it should be based on the desire of the majority of the South African population without considering any racial perspectives. (130) Mandela and de Klerk reached a peaceful solution through constitutional legislation. They saw that the whole system of the country should be organized to achieve equity among the individuals of this nation whether they were blacks or whites. South Africa was divided into nine provinces and every one of them was following regular and fair rules. Every race in each province had its complete power without any hint of inferiority; all individuals were equal and no one had an over-authority or any kind of superiority over the other. Following these fair policies, blacks were able to enjoy the ownership of many lands of which they were deprived during the apartheid system. In addition, blacks enjoyed existence in civil services, police forces and the army as true

participants of this nation. After achieving complete and equal power for every province of the nine, all provinces would work together to achieve a renaissance in South Africa without the consequences of the apartheid system.

During Mandela's reign, the notions of freedom, discipline, and unity had a clear presence in every sphere of South Africa. Mandela adapted the drawn policy he established with de Klerk to guarantee the political autonomy of the country without any regression to the ills of the apartheid. The progress was not only in political affairs, but the country's economy also witnessed many achievements. Communism played a great part during Mandela's presidency. Every individual in this country had his portion of its economic growth and also his share in its political system. Everyone, whether black or white, knew his role and worked for the prosperity of this country under a fair policy. Also, many external aids, like foreign investments, were sent to South Africa to immensely contribute to the economy's growth.

One of Mandela's great achievements was the establishment of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1995. Erik Doxtader and Philippe-Joseph Salazar mentioned that TRC's main mission was to investigate the amount of violation, segregation and oppression that were the results of the intended racial discrimination during the apartheid system. This commission did not give tough offences to the true criminals who intended to make a violation against human rights in South Africa. Most of them got amnesty and the rest made applications for gaining forgiveness also by adding some weak justifications. On the other hand, this commission was deeply criticized because it did not accomplish the revengeful target for the blacks due to many years of slavery and segregation. Also, whites considered it a sort of inferiority to be just charged with any crime, as in their own belief, they still had the imperial and arrogant point of view of being the superior race which would never make any sort of mistakes. (14-16) The intention behind establishing this commission was a very ideal one, but in fact, it did not adequately fulfil its claimed target. It was contaminated by some hints of the apartheid system, as many criminal acts implemented against ANC's leaders were covered and kept in a hidden way from being exposed.

There were some faulty perspectives about the mechanism of this commission, the consideration of the legal struggle should be out of the zones of trials as if this was called a terrorist act by the colonizers, it was a legal defence and even a justified terrorism for the colonized people to gain their rights with the same power by which it was stolen. Therefore, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela; the ex-wife of Mandela, did not deserve to be blamed for her violent deeds during the apartheid era. Adrian Guelke argues that the core of this commission's criticisms of the ANC was according to its political activities and armed struggle. The ANC and its armed wing had committed

gross violations against human rights in terms of international perspectives. But the actual point is the ANC's priorities to oppose the government of apartheid which had exceeded any kind of peaceful negotiations. (305) As a result of that, it can be figured out that through the process of resistance, there were also some complications, and it was not a very easy mission to get rid of all the residues of the apartheid regime or the whole consequences of the colonial era in South Africa. As a result, there should be constant perseverance and sharp observation of the attempts of the apartheid system to not surrender its criminal acts without fair trials.

The resistance movement in South Africa passed through many challenges, and the whole world truly appreciated this struggle and perseverance. When contemplating the ways that portray the mechanism of resistance, it is notable that they are reflected in the literary production of many novelists, dramatists, and poets. Through the poetry of Horn, one can see the development of the resistance movement in South Africa, and how this struggle is perfectly described.

Many of Horn's poems deal with resistance. He plans to spread the concept of resistance as a response to put an end that violent dominance, and he condemns the political situation in South Africa. According to him, resistance is the best way to confront South Africa's crisis and preserve its identity. He portrays resistance as if it were a light that would chase away the oppression brought by colonialism. He accomplishes this by arousing the oppressed people's rebellious instincts, which compels them to fight and resist colonial rule over their way of life and culture. The poems that handle the theme of resistance are divided into three parts. The first one includes poems talking about the indirect meaning of resistance. The second part contains poems that expose the direct meaning of resistance, while the third part tackles a very important type of resistance which is the dirty one.

In the volume "*Egofuge*", the poem "*THE DESIRE OF WORDS*" carries the first hidden call for resistance: "words are not born in chains/ they run along the beach and kiss/ and form clouds against the sky/ unreachable patterns of happiness (1-4) Through the use of words, the poet gently urges resistance and overcoming the situation of paralysis and terror. Here, the poet uses phrases that connote rebellion and freedom to discuss the intellectual function of resistance. The definition of freedom of expression, which is given in the first line, implies that there are no limitations on words because they already have a significant impact. The personification seen in the second and third sentences illustrates how powerful words can be when used as if they were real people. The personification in the final two lines refers to the clouds as the masses of the marginalized Black people that will

fill the "sky," which represents South Africa. When these masses realize how valuable they are and how they have the right to live free lives, then they will finally find happiness.

Horn consequently emphasizes the significance of the role of ideological opposition: “words explode in your brain/ shattering other words/ dislodging your conscience/ and building soft nests for their offspring (17-20) The poet asserts the role of words that entail effective ideas of freedom and salvation. In the first two lines of the previous stanza, the metaphorical style has a great impact on the general meaning, as the words “explode” in the first line and “shattering” indicate a tough bomb which can strongly blow the stagnated ideas of silence, passivity and fear. In the third line, the metaphorical style still dominates the meaning by using the word “dislodging” which mirrors the complete elimination of the current case of concession. The word “conscience” is a metonymy of the current mood of passivity. This word's common usage has a positive effect, but because of the current circumstances, which have an impact on word usage, the passive South African mindset has a negative effect. The final line of the stanza implies a metaphor to compare the principles of freedom and resistance to birds, which are unstoppable in their quest to escape the confines of colonial oppression and instill their beliefs of justice and fairness in the brains of South Africans. These minds are like trees that can have “soft nests” as shelters for these ideas. Words can change every ideology that affect minds and behaviour.

As mentioned before, Horn opposes the inappropriate use of religion, Christianity, in South Africa, is distorted and used as a tool for colonial exploitation and tyranny. In his poem “*AN EASTER YODEL FOR UNBELIEVERS*” , in his volume “*Useless pleas*”, he calls for a push of resistance by using the real version of Christianity that calls for equality and salvation not that of the English commissioners. He writes:

Come now, Saviour, come in the owl's hour,

risen from one hell into another, climb

into the black field, visit this landscape

of RAND and CENTS, raining through our brain, and

nail banners

in jet writing

against the stars. (42-48)

misperception and the state of delusion in which this impoverished country finds itself. However, in reality, their tenacity and call for liberation are like a powerful song that inspires black masses to leap over barriers erected by invaders. The fight against fear and repression is depicted in the fifth line. Despite this atmosphere of inequity and stagnation, it is time to start again and construct a new life full of innovative and fruitful ideas and newly created heroes. The term "barbed wires" refers to the colonial barriers that were placed in the path of individuals pursuing independence.

In this stanza, Horn asserts the struggle against the oppressive colonial system that the black majority is subjected to, drawing a contrast between the black effort that goes into this fight for freedom and the colonizers' intended humiliation. The poet describes this struggle as "filling us with hope and fright," but the word "fright" no longer has a negative connotation because it represents the fear that the white oppressors feel in their hearts because they need to feel it in anticipation of the impending black rebellion against their despotism. This poem is regarded as a transitional one to the second section of the direct poems that express the clear call for liberation.

The part of the direct resistance- poems starts with the poem "*THE THIRD ELEGY*". Most of Horn's poems are like screams and shouts to reflect the tough situation that this colonized nation suffers from. As a result, a reaction should be taken out of darkness and delusion:

Say no by organizing a union and strikes and sit-ins.

Say no, when the time has come, by deeds.

Ask who eats our meal

who fills his plate

with our future.

Ask insistently for all to hear.

Ask and make public the answer.

And remember:

We are poor with the accumulated poverty of 300

years.

Poverty is our flesh and blood and breath. (71-80)

Horn demands a clear response. He addresses the people of South Africa, asking them to reject authoritarianism. He continues, saying that in the midst of this corruption and abuse, it is time to demonstrate their true human existence as well as their crucial political role. He elaborates on to assert that they need to be in charge and dominate their state not these avaricious invaders. He continues by declaring that "It's time for real actions and hard choices against oppression, discrimination, and manipulation." He is, in a way, raising a loud warning to the obedient and quiet citizens who once coped with this form of injustice. He never gets tired of reminding South Africans how bad things have gotten and how poverty has been a standard for more than 300 years in this country. Poverty affects not just the economic side of things but also the soul and the heart. It is like an infection that spreads to everything.

Horn uses an example of perseverance, and he presents the true freedom fighters who truly oppose colonial oppression. In his poem "*CANTO ELEVEN*" mentioned in the volume "*The civil war cantos*", he remarks on the heroic action of the children of Soweto:

Children of my blood, you of my love and tears,

I see the anger in your brow and the posters in your

hand:

I see you march against the iron monster

that sows death in a wide radius, armed with guns

and impregnable steel it stands ready to run over you.

And there is no mercy. There is no mercy

In its blind eyes. (1-7)

The poet honors the Soweto schoolchildren's rebellion, which demonstrated a rejection of the racial inequality that both white students and teachers had imposed upon them. They are the first heroes who, fearlessly, moved to express their opposition to the harsh policies of the colonizers. Here, Horn goes into specifics about the rebellion's setting. His use of metaphor in the third line, "iron monster," suggests that the policemen's hard-line demeanour is

akin to the harshness of an iron monster devoid of sympathy or compassion. This is only one example of how he employs imagery to further the sense of the scene. The metaphorical use of the term "monster" is completed in the next lines by employing a personification in the verb "sows." This "monster" possesses human traits, which are exemplified by his capacity to cause destruction and death throughout his territory. The fifth line's "ready to run over you" suggests that the colonizers are prepared to use their tremendous authority and dominance to put an end to any indication of resistance because they are prepared to fight back for their existence by using violence.

In the poem "*CANTO FIFTEEN*" mentioned in the same volume, Horn presents a convenient policy to regain the devastated dignity and equality. The reasonable solution is communism with its fair style and policy:

Comrades,

oppression has torn a hole into our pockets

and the wealth of the country is not there!

Now I propose, there is a way to change this!

The bosses make their profits from our work

and our poverty comes from their profits;

so we want to have a say in this thing:

we want a living wage and secure jobs,

and time to relax in,

and we want them near our work,

we want medical care and maternity leave,

and schools which are fit for our children.

So let us get together, and you'll see,

that nothing on earth is unchangeable. (89-103)

Horn 's poem is built upon the actual theory of Marxism. The fight continues between the ruling class, represented by the white minority, and the working class, represented by the black majority. Whites receive the majority of profits, but blacks are disproportionately poor. As a result, it is time for the black majority to assert their legal rights. The poet encourages this class to speak out for a reasonable level of living, comfortable work, accessible housing, medical care, and a high standard of education. To acquire all of these benefits, South Africans must take action and make a change, because "nothing on earth is unchangeable." It is not impossible to correct a corrupt situation and improve one's way of life.

Thus, Horn manages to direct his speech to the revolutionary citizens who become so aware of their country's need for stability and a civilized position in the world. The poet tackles that in his poem "*CANTO THREE*" mentioned in the volume "*The civil war cantos*":

You spray black paint onto peaceful walls in

white suburbia:

RELEASE MANDELA! FREE ALL DETAINEES!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

Songs of revolution travel with you into

football stadiums.

As you walk through classrooms, students begin

to understand economics and history. (19-26)

The direct action of resistance is demonstrated without fear. The fear of expressing opinions and complaints is no longer present because heroes have broken down oppressive barriers. South Africans are shouting the name of "MANDELA," the hero of struggle and endurance who has rescued the nation's dignity. Calls for revolution and revolt appear everywhere, including "football stadiums" as a metonymy for a wide variety of resistance activities and revolution. Everyone in this country should be involved in its political and economic affairs.

The colonizers must grasp an essential truth: the more the colonized are suppressed, the more they will keep tremendous amounts of animosity, rage, and frustration, which will explode one day without warning. In the poem "*Statement to the Press*" in the volume "*Survivors*", Horn reflects the idea as he writes:

No more courting,

I have outgrown this mood

of speaking

no more screams for help

and no more pleas for understanding (14-18)

As a result of deep colonial tyranny, there will be no tolerance for any form of limitation or censorship. Horn signifies that these colonized people cannot endure any more injustice, and they have already passed this phase. The current atmosphere will be for a clear rebellion that is not motivated by "pleas for understanding". It is time for a firm reaction, which will be carried out regardless of what the colonizers name it.

Horn is an outstanding poet in the art of visualization. In his poem "THE FOURTH ELEGY", he succeeds to visualize an ideal scene of stability and equality that will occur in South Africa once it has its free rights of independence after the success of the resistance movement:

Incredible things could happen! The mind boggles

to contemplate

that workers, actual workers, could take over factories,

and organise work for the benefit of workers

the owners suddenly freed from their tremendous

responsibility to the nation, jobless, penniless,

reduced to beg, as they have learnt to trade. (69-75)

Through this stanza, Horn creates a positive image of life in South Africa following the Declaration of Independence and freedom. Following the victory of democracy, the true spirit of resistance will demonstrate its

success in carrying out its duty. Applying Marxist principles will allow metropolitans, who represent poor workers, to take control of factories and put their white and greedy bosses in their proper positions. When considering the prevailing tone of the preceding line, it is clear that it is one of irritation, which leads to a wave of total fury and revenge. The peak of that revenge is so clear in the phrase “reduced to beg”. This phrase in the final line exemplifies the colonized people desire for revenge against the colonizers.

While the greedy style of the colonizers created a feeling of rage inside the colonized people and made many rebellious groups, there is another reaction represented in the third type of resistance that is called the dirty classification of resistance. This sort of resistance is covered by a big deal of hypocrisy that turns out to be a kind of hybridity. Horn gives hints about this kind of resistance in his poem “*MORNING IN DURBAN*” which is mentioned in the volume “*Walking through our sleep*”: “.....The sea/ rises with festive surf to greet the towering hotels/ and cranes on the shore. (5-7) He portrays this type of resistance in a metaphorical scene with a shameful connotation. These lines include two images, each representing a specific case. "The sea rises festive surf" is a metaphor in which the sea depicts those of the colonial people who willingly serve the colonizers. These colonized people greet them as masters, but the reality is one of suppressed dread and shame if they dare to defy these tyrannical colonizers. The phrase "the towering hotels and cranes on the shore" also suggests a metaphorical approach, as the words "hotels" and "cranes" represent the colonizers arrogant position in comparison to the colonized's low one.

In *After the catastrophes* in the volume “*The Rivers Which Connect us to the Past*”, Horn reflects the harsh truth about South Africans who follow this dirty type of resistance:

Those who dreamed of survival this time
those who believed that they could rebuild
their free market stalls in Disaster Street
and trade with the skeletons of the last war
those who believed that even this catastrophe
could be left behind and a new life could start
on an empty planet purified by fire

were walking through clouds of illusion: (81-88)

These hybrid personalities, who believe that hypocrisy is the only way to survive and gain a human life without further subordination, achieve nothing more than living in a great illusion. As a result, they contribute to "Disaster Street," which the poet uses as a metonymy for South Africa. Those hypocrites are not so different from the true colonizers, who established their state on the bodies and "skeletons" of victims of the "last war," which signifies harsh discrimination. There is no chance of "new life" after any form of humiliation, including genocide against a specific race. Fire and battle will never build a disciplined society, and those who believe these lies are deluded.

In the poem "*One more massacre*" mentioned in the same volume, Horn makes a detailed elaboration of the task of these hypocrites:

Because those who kill also talk:

They sell their refurbished tongue

to the highest bidder, their strong-arm tactics

to the most powerful bandit,

their black skin as an alibi

to the white-washed rulers. (31-36)

Those hypocrites who feel they can escape tyranny through this awful kind of resistance are like an inferior good that can be sold to white dictators. Some blacks choose to use their tremendous powers to protect themselves without considering the other subjugated groups. As a result of their selfishness, they "sell their refurbished tongue" and choose to be apartheid system guards. It is not a fair kind of resistance because the colonizers took away these hypocrites' self-esteem, as well as their freedom to express and think. In the lines "their black skin as an alibi\ to the white-washed rulers", the poet highlights the idea of losing the black identity while following this dirty type of resistance. Hence, this kind of resistance is nothing but a share in the process of colonial oppression, and once it is followed, it can demolish the whole idea of resistance in general.

In the poem "ENIGMAS" which is mentioned in the volume "*Walking through our sleep*", Horns talks about hybridity as an inevitable consequence to this dirty kind of resistance:

he was
loved by gods (they said)
muttering
babbling
and wrote some six hundred feeble verses
i remember his face: while
some lines still deepened and other
lines: disappeared
he lost his mask (17-25)

The implication of the poem is clear from its title, "ENIGMAS" which means that " A riddle, usually one involving metaphor; in figurative usage, a person or thing that is mysterious, puzzling, or difficult to understand" ("Enigma"). Horn refers to the hybridists who support this filthy opposition as "ENIGMAS" since they are difficult to grasp and already feel fragmented and unstable. Although individuals who engage in this type of resistance are preferred to colonizers because they are not troublemakers, these hybridists find themselves lost and lacking a distinct identity. The lines "he was\ loved by the gods (they said)" clearly depict this form of resistance, which compels some people to surrender their trust in the integrity of the resistance culture. They do whatever the colonizers demand in order to satisfy them. The expression "loved by gods" is a metaphor, with "gods" representing the conquerors. Indeed, the phrase "gods" contains hyperbole since it emphasizes the colonizers strong authority, which is similar to a divine one that governs the fate of the colonized people. Furthermore, Horn argues the contradictory scenario of colonial people who follow this sort of resistance, as the lines "some lines still deepened and other\lines: disappeared" have a metonymy in the word "lines" that offers the idea of dignity and the South African identity. Although the colonized have a particular identity, when they choose to engage in this type of resistance, it is "disappeared". These people will eventually lose everything, even their self-esteem.

Conclusion

This research displays the historical background of resistance in South Africa, and how it passed through many challenges and obstacles. It was not an easy mission to get rid of the cruel policies of the apartheid system and even completely overcome the massive amount of racial discrimination. Many martyrs offered their souls for that. In addition, many freedom fighters spent most of their lifetime in prisons in order to apply fair notions in South Africa that guarantee a respectful and just life. One of these fighters was Mandela who created such a legend through his perseverance and endurance. Mandela and his supporters passed many fair acts to preserve the right of the black majority to lead a normal life. Mandela's movement of resistance did not strip the white minority from their rights. He intended to create a balanced policy to guarantee a peaceful life in South Africa. When this movement of resistance found its echo in literary production, especially in the art of poetry, Horn showed his talent in portraying the spirit of struggle. His poetry is considered revolutionary because he did not only describe the tragedy of the black majority but he recommended the way of salvation and supported the freedom fighters in South Africa.

Horn's poems were so organized to make clear the mechanism of the resistance movement. He divided them into three parts: the first one contained the indirect poems that gave hidden hints and calls for resistance through indirect words; the second part tackled the direct poems of resistance, while the third part declared the role of those South African civilians who preferred to retreat into their shell and cover themselves with hypocrisy. The third type was the most dangerous one because it represented the actual problem of hybridity. These passive characters were not satisfied with the tyrant mood in the country, but they have no courage to show that, and instead, they turn out to be distorted characters. As a result, the act of resistance should more direct and strict to avoid this type of characters who can distort the spirit of freedom and justice.

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