
Post-colonialism and Political Satire in South Africa

Submitted by

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Abstract

South Africa suffered from the British colonial rule after which the Dutch settlers took over the country and exercised an excessive discriminatory regime. This research explores the ways through which political satire was able to reflect the post-colonial situation in Peter Horn's poems and his use of such technique to revive the spirit of liberty in the South Africans and to highlight the fact that the colonial regime led to the deterioration of many moral and religious values.

Key Words: Political Satire, Post colonialism, South Africa, religion distortion, irony

The research aims at exploring the relationship between the theory of postcolonialism and political satire in South Africa. This country experienced a tough period of colonialism, and it had many challenges even after the departure of the oppressive authority of the British colonialism. Unfortunately, after the departure of the British colonizers, they handed their colonial policies to the Dutch settlers who set the apartheid regime that was based on a big deal of racial discrimination in all spheres. So, the post-colonial era in South Africa was not so different from the colonial one. The situation during the apartheid regime was so cruel and reached high levels of suppression and subjugation. As a result of that, the hidden anger began to find its way to be expressed in many literary branches like drama, novel and poetry. The study



clarifies how political satire successfully reflects the tough experience of postcolonialism in South Africa. The research further discusses how the technique of political satire is used in the poems of Peter Horn, as he employs this technique as a means to awaken the South African citizens in order to take a revolutionary and resistant action.

The word satire means, “The use of humour, irony, exaggeration, or ridicule to expose and criticize people's stupidity or vices, particularly in the context of contemporary politics and other topical issues.” (“Satire”). From the previous lines, the meaning of satire can be figured out as a technique used by writers to present the harsh reality of a specific situation in a comic expression. Needless to say that the meaning of satire contains a mix of tragedy and comedy at the same time. Andrea Hairston comments on this technique, through satire, the entertainment comes when the audience recognizes the source material, grasps the original core of experience and can relish the playful extensions that reveal the truths of the criticized situation. (340) According to Hairston's point of view, it is very clear that the most disastrous situations evoke a great amount of laughter and fun. Satire can be related to entertainment, but it holds a tragic meaning inside. This contradiction bears the core of the tragic satire.

The tragic meaning of satire lies in its connection to irony. Irony entails the distinction between the utopian announcement and the actual deeds that are not like



what is said or announced. Irony completes the meaning of satire as Northrop Frye believes, "Satire is militant irony, where moral norms are relatively clear, and standards are assumed against which the grotesque and absurd are measured" (223). Frye mentions the intelligence of this technique, presenting its critical function that reflects tough and serious criticism while it has the restrictions of morals. Whatever the seriousness of the situation is, the use of absurdity to express it should not be excessive. Getting out of morals can deform the diplomatic function of satire. But sometimes, the doctrine of Frye cannot be applied, as the gravity of the criticized situation overcomes this code.

Satire has its technical function when describing the foolishness of a specific situation, person or even a country. Writers, who tend to use satire and irony, make a sort of shocking scenes in front of the readers to prove the gravity of the situation. Satire can be considered a means of announcing a threat of a coming disaster. Actually, this technique can be a method to curb and prevent many disastrous defects, as satire evokes the revolutionary feeling inside souls to resist these failings. It has not just the function of criticizing and cursing a specific situation, it also gives a step towards awakening and confrontation. It uses the cure of shock to make the readers contemplate the severity of the situation and think about a way out. Satire is thus a helpful means to take a reaction towards a ridiculous action.



The use of satire is common in the field of politics, and this research concentrates on political satire. Politics, in general, counts many tricks and sometimes it has some sorts of cunning styles. When governments are not achieving justice or parity, and the political situation begins to be shaken, political satire is the best way to express the suppressed voices that are forbidden to show up. It is a way of entertainment about the severe political situation. Rebecca A. Glazier argues:

Beyond entertainment value, there is evidence that satire promotes learning. Scholars have found modest gains in the political knowledge of people watching late-night comedy and other “soft news” sources. (867)

From the previous quotation, it can be understood that political satire, whether read or watched through T.V shows, increases intellectual awareness. People can grasp more elements and details about political life from using this technique, as it makes the complicated process of politics be understood for people by the use of laughter. Sometimes light means of knowledge can deliver ideas more than artificial ones. Once people have their political awareness, they will have the capacity to take a positive part in this political life especially when it is full of many disorders and defects that need a kind of reformation.

Political satire can be shown when the concept of suppression becomes the first priority in the policies of a specific country. This technique reflects the opposing



powers to these tyrant policies in an indirect way. During the period of any political disorders, much deal of political satire is banned and suppressed. But at the same time, it finds its way to express its rejection of this oppression. Leonard Freedman contends:

Censorship is a defining characteristic of authoritarian regimes. Although there are wide differences in the rigor with which censorship is exercised, satirists in many autocratic systems must play a dangerous game, confronting deletions, bans, and confiscations of their work, and personal penalties ranging from fines, prison, exile, even death. (87)

It is so clear that this technique has a big danger to be vividly used. Many governments afford restricted censorship on satirists; they reject the role of enlightenment played by them. Many penalties are practiced against satirists because of their vital role against the political disorders of these governments. As a result of that, some tough reactions are expected from people as a sort of protest against these greedy systems, and that will stop their tyrant and dictatorial policies.

Political satire as an idea exists in many political regimes around the world. There is a deep relationship between this technique and the theory of post-colonialism, as this idea finds its assonance widely in the imperial regimes. Many territories around the world have fallen under the control of some imperial powers like Britain, France and the Dutch Empire. These territories suffered from deep racism and colonial



oppression, and one of their weapons against these tyrant powers was using satire. Political satire was a way to show how big the crisis is.

South Africa is one of the oppressed regions that suffered from the severe consequences of colonialism. The beginning of using political satire in this country was during the South African War that lasted from 1899 to 1902. This war broke out between the British power and the Dutch one over dominating the authority of South Africa and exploiting its mineral resources. Although this war happened between two white minorities, most of the death rates and victims were from the black majority. The sarcastic point was about the real cause of this war. The Boers or the Dutch settlers were defending a territory which was not theirs, whilst neglecting the patriotic right of the blacks who had nothing to do with this imperial hegemony. A colonizer was fighting another colonizer, and the native inhabitants of the South African land were the fuel of this war. The real name of this war was the White Man's war. After that, the Dutch settlers, who were the beginners of the colonial movement in this country, were searching for their nationalism in South Africa under the umbrella of the British command, and it was the zenith of the ridiculous sarcasm. They considered themselves the primal holders of the South African lands, and as a result of that, if the British Empire tried to permit an independent authority, it would be granted to the descendants of the Dutch settlers which are the other colonizers not for the South Africans



themselves. This case of the contradiction of notions and the tyrant exclusions implemented against the black majority created the worst cases of political disorders. These conflicts led to a suppressed anger that was translated to a harsh political sarcasm which was out of the restrictions of morals and politeness. From that date, the series of oppressive strategies continued till it reached its legal authorization by the declaration of the official apartheid system in 1930.

The core of irony in South Africa lies in the diversion of notions, as the white people, who present a minority, enjoy their complete rights, and they represent the ruling class there. Whilst the black people present the excluded and alienated party. Satire has its place in that contradiction which represents the real crisis in this country. Political satire in South Africa completes the debate about the oppressive style in this country. The added value here is the shocking description of the most dangerous degrees of that oppression and their consequences accompanied by sarcasm.

The essence of political satire in this country lies in the appearance of one of the most criminal Acts which is the Publications and Entertainment Act (1953), as James Currey and Randolph Vigne mention:

Our Cape Town troubles were not over. The obscenity charge under the Publications and Entertainments Act (1953) against Insight Publications for publishing Can Themba's story "The Fugitives" brought the company



to court in November 1964. The trial itself was a source of much amusement among the chattering class at the Cape. (66)

In the previous quotation, it can be noted that the series of colonial oppression in South African has its legal position. The Publication and Entertainment Act (1953) is considered a tyrant tool to curb the last relief for the black majority. Once freedom of speech is banned, the last hope for the colonized nation is eliminated. The role of enlightenment and knowledge is banned in order to enable the colonizer to maintain his imperial control over the oppressed black majority. This Act bans the role of satire, as the colonizer is so aware of its effective use since this technique arouses the revolutionary feeling inside South Africans and that is denied by the colonizers. Currey and Vigne mention the example of Can Themba's story "*The Fugitives*" that concludes a huge amount of oppression during the apartheid regime. The hints of satire itself exist in the trial that was against this story's publication, and how the colonizer is affected by this sarcastic story.

This technique has its great place in the political affairs in this country. It was imposed due to the high levels of racism practiced by the apartheid regime against the black majority. Freedman remarks that in South Africa, the power of apartheid is based on unjust racial considerations. Under the apartheid regime the authorities, anxious not to exacerbate international hostility to their racist policies, had allowed a good deal of



leeway to the satirical writers of playwright and solo performer, Peter-Dirk Uys. Even so, some of his plays and performances were censored, he recognized that he had to be careful not to upset his audiences too much. He intended to use more “tickles” than direct “punches” before the end of the apartheid regime, but after its end, he used punches to express the situation without restrictions (91). Freedman shows the great amount of colonial oppression, subjugation and racial distinctions during the period of apartheid. As it was said before, the more disastrous the situation is, the more it can cause a great amount of laughter and irony, and that was what happened during the apartheid system in South Africa.

Freedman has mentioned Uys as one of the most well-known satirists in South Africa who presents a big deal of political criticism under the cover of satire. He has the talent to characterize many political and hypocritical figures from the ruling class. He presents many plays which mock the apartheid regime and its impacts on the black majority. Uys is so brilliant in presenting his own ideas in an indirect way so that nobody can confiscate them, while they are shooting their exact target. It can be said that he manages to follow the same cunning policy of the apartheid regime. He uses fiction and plays to mock this regime without relying on more “punches” but by depending on “tickles”.



Political satire is an attempt to expose the true face of colonialism and the apartheid regime, and it fights the alienated case of South African people by giving them the chance to be a real and felt part of this world. Actually, the ideal use of this technique should have a cunning style like the one of the colonizers, as they afford this way to impose their political hegemony on blacks. Political satire should follow the same way to inculcate many questions in the colonized minds that need inevitable answers. This technique re-shapes the lost relationship between the colonized people and the state. It can help to give a voice to blacks in order to reflect their big predicament and fight repression and inequality. Laughing and entertainment are the best covers to deliver the actual ideas of colonial oppression in South Africa in a very simple way. Daniel Hammett claims that these sarcastic ideas have a powerful impact that lies in their ability to capture and express underlying notions. The ironical images are not meant to be just for humor or laughter, they also arouse some negative feelings about the gravity of the situation in South Africa. (9). Following Hammett, when South African people have negative reactions towards tyranny through political satire, they will have the capacity to reach the zenith of the protesting mood and make a revolution.

Literature also expresses political satire and its consequences. Doubtless, this technique has its impact in many branches of literature like drama, novel and poetry. This research will present some of Peter Horn's poems that reflect this technique.



Though much of his work is banned from publication because of his use of that kind of satire, he has tried to fight for justice and the right of humanity during apartheid. His literary production opposes the unjust apartheid regime and argues people to protest against it and express their opinions freely. His major concept is pushing people to have a free mind and not just being controlled like slaves. Satire and irony are the most common techniques in Horn's poetry, and he uses them to describe the intensity of the political situation in South Africa. This style also explains the negative situation of the citizens towards the unjust government and its policy.

Horn uses satire and irony to show the deep contrast between the miserable case of many classes in the South African society and their absent role to have a reaction against that. He wants to stress the catastrophic circumstances in a way that can arouse such a rebellious reaction to find a solution. He uses a big deal of his poetry to mock the tyrant style of the government and its discriminatory practices against the poor classes.

According to Horn's evaluation, life in South Africa can be reflected in such a hypocritical scene in the mass media. In his poem "*From the underground*" he writes:

this country
has been packaged
behind the glasses



of countless tv screens (1-4).

In the previous lines, Horn wants to describe the position and the limitations given to this country by the apartheid system. He uses the metaphor in the word “packaged” to reflect the narrow zone in which this country is kept. What appears in media and on T.V screens is a deceitful image of what really happens inside this tyrant system. Horn uses the word “glasses” as a symbol of an interval between the illusory situation of South Africa and the cruel truth inside its unjust government. In the same poem, he mocks this case of contradiction:

fear me

love me

now that nobody is thirsty

and the books are dusty

like dynamite

in a forgotten cellar (17-22)

The core of satire lies in the essence of contradiction “fear me/love me”. The poet makes a sort of denouncement about this case of confusion. The zenith of irony is when someone asks another to have two different feelings at the same time. Fear and love cannot be one feeling, or they cannot meet in a mutual point. The true situation in South Africa can reflect only fear and silence, while the satirical point is about the colonizer’s



desire to attain love and loyal service from the oppressed colonized. Horn talks about the schizophrenic style of the colonizers, as in spite of the imposed fear, they call for love as if “now that nobody is thirsty”. What exacerbates irony is the sweet cover made by the colonizers, while the situation is so disastrous; as the true reality is what Horn mentions: “and the books are dusty/ like dynamite/ in a forgotten cellar”. In the line “and the books are dusty”, the poet refers to “the books” as means of enlightenment that are covered by dust. He uses the word “dusty” as a metaphor of the imposed ignorance and passivity. In line (21), Horn further uses simile to put a similarity between the dusty books and “dynamite”. Dusty books, which refer to the suppressed freedom, are like dynamite that is ready to explode at any moment. The Poet reinforces the meaning in the last line: “in a forgotten cellar” as these kept desires of freedom are excluded and locked in a gloomy place like “a forgotten cellar”. This line has a metaphor too, as the expression of forgotten cellar reflects the neglected and poor souls of South African civilians.

Thus, satire can be used to reflect the climax of the miserable case of South Africa. In the poem “*THE FIFTH ELEGY*”, Horn talks about the lifestyle of the current generation in South Africa according to the colonizers` interests:

And we, grown up and pedantic, have a mocking smile
and a stiff upper lip, when we feel like crying.



Unmoved we observe human beings, wearing only sacks,
with holes for their heads and arms,
laughing and shivering. (9-13).

In the above, the cruel truth of the situation in South Africa can be seen clearly. It makes a briefing explanation of the mechanism of their misery. This hard reality lies in the problem of paradox and blacks` ironical treatment with it. The poet wants to make clear that all coming generations in South Africa will face this gloomy fate, as the situation is full of tragic scenes, and it will be constant and prevailing. The word “pedantic” in the ninth line indicates the great amount of accuracy and precaution imposed on the colonized. Their words and reactions are calculated, and if they want to express themselves, there is nothing but “a mocking smile”. The irony lies in this great paradox, as in the following line “and a stiff upper lip, when we feel like crying”, there is an antithesis between appearance and reality. While they are covering their desperate gestures with cold and “stiff” smile, their hearts are crying. The last line of the stanza summarizes their life; it is the kind of life where laughing and fear are mixed.

Hornuses political satire as an evoking tool to wake South Africans up from their negative situation. In his poem “*POEMS AT BARGAIN PRICES*”, he gives some satirical hints at Publications and Entertainment Act (1953). He writes: “Poems? You want poems? We got poems!”. At first, the title of the poem can reflect the concept of



materialism mixed with satirical hints. Materialism rules every sphere even the freedom of expressing opinions in South Africa. Horn starts the poem by raising rhetorical questions “Poems? You want poems? We got poems!”, as he makes a sort of wondering about the right of free speech. The whole tone or attitude of the poem is a sarcastic one, and Horn mocks the passive case of South African people and their laziness. Maybe some poems can make them wake up and arouse their resistant souls against the racist regime. He expresses that in the following stanza:

Poems for you and your aftermeal sleep.
Poems which do not disturb you nor
The quite of a Sunday afternoon.
When the sermon in the morning was comforting
And the chicken at launch was tasty. (7-11)

The speech in this stanza is directed to South African people. He criticizes their lifestyle that shows their negative attitude towards the colonial system. Horn sees that poems can be means to wake them up from their deep sleep. The lines: “Poems which do not disturb you nor/ the quite of a Sunday afternoon” are sarcastic ones especially the second line. South African people adopted that segregating lifestyle, and the poet considers that any means to arouse their revolution will disturb their comfort on Sunday afternoon when they take their rest to receive anew hard-working day. There is a hint



here when Horn writes the word “Sunday” with capital “S”, unlike Horn’s style, in which he is not committed to capital letters in well-known nouns, but he uses it here for a specific purpose. He uses this word like that because it belongs to the colonial daily system which should have its precious worth, unlike the neglected colonized. In many poems also, Horn intends to disrespect this rule of grammar as a way of underestimating the cruel reality of the situation.

In the following stanza, the speech is directed to the colonizers who are in the same case of “sleep” and absence. Horn mentions:

Ah, you sleep?
May you wake in peace!
Because we got other poems.
Poems which will disturb you
With announcement of bloodshed,
War, atrocities, atomic bombs, and jails.
Jails, visible from the window
Of your peaceful bedroom,
Wherever you open the blinds. (13-21)

The poet mocks the colonizers with his words: “May you wake in peace”, as they will not live in such a peaceful atmosphere anymore, since poems will be heard and have



their assonance in souls, and they will disturb indolence about that oppressed population. Horn mentions the atrocities of the colonizers like the intended bloodshed, wars, atomic bombs and jails. But actually, their case of artificial sleep has nothing to do with their hidden reality. They acknowledge the existence of jails and the huge amount of oppression, so they should stop acting like being blind, and they also should stop their deceitful announcement which is for the good of the colonized. Their truth is clear in “War, atrocities, atomic bombs, and jails”. The repetition of the word “jails” highlights colonial oppression. But Horn asserts that there is a way out of these satirical acts as he announces: “Poems. / You do not want to hear these poems? / They will come to you nevertheless.”.Horn ends the poem by his assertion that poems, with their ideas of freedom and resistance, will actually find their place and impact on souls. If not now, there will come a day when they force out their way and light up life.

Horn reflects the misery of the black majority in a sort of black comedy to reveal how the disaster is great. He continues denouncing the arrogant style of the statesmen who honestly apply the cruel role of the apartheid system. In his poem “*THE BROTH*”, he says:

The mayor, whom I asked
What was necessary to help the hungry of our town,
Answered: Ten million gallons of broth



In which one could drown all of Soweto. (1-4)

The poem describes a sarcastic scene that bears much suffering. It reflects the misery of the black majority in a short dialogue, as the poet asks the indolent mayor about the suffering of the hungry people on Soweto province who work under the label of forced labor. They are deprived of their simplest rights and most of them suffer from fatigue, diseases and starvation. The shocking answer from the mayor is a sarcastic one: “Answered: Ten million gallons of broth/ In which one could drown all of Soweto”. A sort of egomania can be felt in his answer. The disaster lies in the bad need for someone to think about these poor people. And when someone from the statesmen remembers them, he can see that only “broth” is sufficient for them, and it will be even a kind of favor. The sarcastic point is kept in the concept of underestimation practiced by the colonizers towards the poor black majority. Unfortunately, Horn gives some hints that this kind of statesmen is the demanded one for the benefit of the colonizers in order to complete the series of exploitation and tyranny. Horn wants to assert that arrogance and idiocy are inevitable characteristics for taking authority in the apartheid system.

Horn employs many scenes from his daily life to serve his use of political satire. In the poem “*EXPECTING A SON*”, he presents the misery inside a sarcastic description of the ruling system in South Africa. He says:

My wife, expecting a son,



Wishes him to be intelligent.
I, having ruined my life
Through intelligence
Can only hope my son
Will be found
Ignorant and indolent.
Only then his career will be assured:
Why! He will be a minister in our cabinet! (1-9)

He describes the expected future of the country like his expected son. He thinks that both of them are tied to the same fate. Horn gives the impression that everyone thinks about himself as if he will have much deal of intelligence to do his role and rescue South Africa from the apartheid regime. Unfortunately, the poem mocks intelligence because it may ruin the situation, as intelligence has no estimation in this country. Horn asserts his satirical way by admitting that being “Ignorant and indolent” are good characteristics to have a good position in that country. Once one is ignorant and careless, he will have the capacity to endure a big deal of oppression and political exploitation. And what is so funny is that he can reach the position of a minister in the cabinet. As a result of that, any attempt to create an honest hero who can rescue this country become a hard task to be easily applied.



Following the sarcastic style, Horn mentions the brief definition of the concept of heroism according to the colonizers` system in South Africa. He highlights that the meaning of heroism is reversed to be belonged to the cruel colonizers who manage to kill innocents for their illegal existence. In his poem “*Exchange control*”:

..... Even then
 killing thousands made you a hero; killing one
 made you a murderer to be cut to pieces,
 to be fed to the vultures outside the gates. (66-69)

Here, the reversed situation in this country can be clearly seen. The meaning of the word “hero” has a different indication. This word is just confined to the colonizers who kill thousands of the colonized people and even commit the act of genocide, while when the backlash comes from the colonized by committing a murder for the sake of revenge, they are punished by brutal death and they are considered as terrorists. Even the meaning of dignity is lost and fragmented. The colonized should know their own penalty if they think about taking any reaction. The last line implies the deep meaning of loss that cruelty committed by the colonizers against the colonized. This paradoxical case presents the climax of sarcasm.

As a result of that, Horn is convinced to expose the true meaning of heroism, as while colonizers consider their criminal acts as heroism, the truth about it is being a



tough kind of terrorism. In his poem “*CANTO SIX*”, he mentions many violent accidents practiced by the police forces; he talks about them in such a cynical way, describing the core of the South African misery. He has been mentioned in this poem the accident of Steve Biko`s torture. Horn mentions:

The interrogator
whose fists pounded Steve Biko`s skull
until he lay unconscious on the floor
said:
I was frightened by his stubborn refusal
to divulge the names of his comrades.

Everybody can see
that Steve Biko was a terrorist:
as we all know
it is easy to confuse
the one who breaks the skull
with the one whose skull is broken. (38-49)

Horn talks about the anti-apartheid activist Steve Biko who was a real hero who called for retaining the black dignity. He was the one who took the lead of the anti-apartheid campaign known as the Black Consciousness Movement. No doubt that he was



exposed to great oppression, and it resulted in a physical one too. The word “skull”, in the last line, is a symbol of mentality and ideology, and the last line as a whole is a metonymy of the destructed mentality and the intended ideological oppression. This poem declares what happened to him during interrogations and the comic justification lies in his bravery and refusal to talk about his colleagues; “I was frightened by his stubborn refusal/ to divulge the names of his comrades”. In this poem, Horn makes clear the true meaning of heroism and terrorism and how the colonizers reversed these notions to complete their deceitful image of keeping order.

Horn’s use of satirical mood expresses the criminal style of the politicians in South Africa and their deceitful attitude towards the colonized people. Politics in South Africa is nothing but a dirty game with dirty rules, while the colonized people are just like puppets acting specific roles under the label of oppression and imposition. In the poem “*ELECTION POEM*”, Horn mentions how the political process takes place in South Africa:

Come gather round all you friends
of freedom and democracy,
let’s have, yes, let’s have, let’s have
another of those nicely rigged elections.
Let’s have an election



so that this tottering giant
has a foot to stand on (or is it a toe?).
Yes, let's have another of those elections
where hardly anybody votes
for freedom and democracy
(South African style) (1-11)

The poet presents a sort of black comic scene about the mechanism of elections in South Africa. The claimed freedom and democracy are deceitful tools used by the colonizers in front of the world to maintain the false picture of their modernity and civilization. Actually, the situation is harder to imagine, as the process of election is nothing but a hypocritical one which is so far from integrity or transparency. In the line “so that this tottering giant”, the poet uses the word “giant” to express a metaphor of the colonizer who has the tough control over the political process there. The line “has a foot to stand on (or is it a toe?)”, has a sarcastic impression about the tough domination of the colonizer, as the big thing for the colonized which is represented by “a foot” is just “a toe” for the colonizer. Horn raises this rhetorical question to imply the meaning of the inferiority of the colonized as compared to the superiority of the colonizer. No secret that the colonizer himself has a conviction that the colonized will never have the culture of choice, and he has not the ability to decide his own fate



properly. Unfortunately, the colonizer is right in this point of view; as he managed to create a large base of cowards and passive people who adapted fear and the feeling of alienation from their homeland.

In the following stanza, Horn elaborates the real rules of the political game in South Africa:

The rules of the game are easy:
the ruling party first elects its voters,
to ensure that it is safely returned
and none of its heaviest is voted
out of a plush and comfortable job.
That means that you have to restrict the numbers
severely to five percent:
but that way you can be assured
that the vote goes the way that you planned. (18-26)

The absurdity of the sarcastic political situation in South Africa is frankly revealed. Here are the rules of the dirty political game of election in this country, as the colonizers intend to make the colonized idiots and servants to their political interests. The poet uses the word “easy” at the beginning of the stanza to strengthen the impression of this black satire and reflect the feeling of accommodation to this kind of



oppression. The absurd rules of this game depend on a reverse position, as the ruling party, which is controlled by the white minority, has the right to choose its voters. These voters are the hypocritical ones who represent the servants of the white authority, they are a poor rank from the black majority who can relinquish their dignity for attaining more comfortable jobs. Actually, the colonizers do not care about the percentage of their voters and their actual attitude towards them. The only concern is dedicated to the existence of their tough control over the political situation so that they can complete the series of corruption and oppression without resistance or objection.

Unfortunately, the climax of sarcasm was revealed when the effects of apartheid reached the concept of religion. When distorting the religious beliefs, the hope of getting out this series of oppression will be demolished. Horn reflects that is in his poem “*Grandmothersalesmen*”, as he shows his black satire in declaring the cruel reality lived by blacks everyday under the artificial umbrella of religion, he writes:

they rape my sister language with
their violinated prayers
and light up the sky with rotating crosses
gold on blue
love poems to a crucified liar



while they fill in
insurance policies on vellum payable on
the day after the end of the world (15-22).

Horn highlights his satirical attitude towards the prevailing religious approach in South Africa. Actually, it is the climax of disaster when many illegal actions are committed under the cover of religion. The poet here talks about a catastrophic result of the dirty policies of the apartheid regime which is losing the concept of faith. The intended distortion, committed in the religious side, kills the last mean of salvation, as the prayers, that should have the impression of justice and peaceful partnership, have a criminal purpose. Most of violating acts are done beside these prayers. The lines: “and lights up the sky with rotating crosses/ gold on blue”, have a satirical tone because the beautiful scene of shining crosses in the sky opposes their horrible use in many acts of violation and colonial subjugation. The only pure relief that can be a shelter to anyone who feels oppression and delusion is deformed for the sake of some dirty interests. The line “love poems to a crucified liar” reflects the zenith of disaster when satire gets mixed with a holy thing.

To sum up, this research reveals how satire can express the colonial problem in South Africa and its dire consequences. These consequences lead to the destruction of many morals, social pillars and religious concepts whilst it made the situation reaches



its worst cases in this county. Horn crystalizes the crisis in South Africa in very simple and sarcastic lines in his poem “*CANTO FIFTEEN*”, he makes a sort of deduction of how to live under the control of the colonial system in South Africa:

When we want to live,
I mean just live,
they tell us
that living is seditious
that living is revolutionary
that living is treason to the state
that living is bad for business (11-17)

Horn wants to show that he, as any South African citizen, who wants to live in his country, should relinquish his humanity and forget his legal rights because they oppose the colonizers` interests. But, it is not a conclusive solution to the crisis, and there should be a way out of this series of humiliation and surrender. The relationship between political satire and post colonialism can pave the way to create the spirit of resistance. In some countries, the action of reformation should be taken by shocking its citizens. The constant case of passivity and intellectual absence should be ended by a shock in order to push people to have an opposing action and regain their human



dignity. And as a result of that, political satire can be this shock in order to get out of this predicament.

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مستخلص الدراسة:

عانت دولة جنوب أفريقيا من حكم الاحتلال البريطاني والذي تلاه حكم المستوطنين الهولنديين الذين مارسوا نظام حكم يمتاز بالتفرقة العنصرية المفرطة ولذلك فإن تلك الدراسة تتناول الطرق التي استطاع عن طريقها الهجاء السياسي أن يعكس مظاهر المعاناة في أشعار "بيتر هورن" واستخدامه لتلك التقنية لإيقاظ الروح الثورية للشعب وإبراز مظاهر التدهور الأخلاقي والديني في مرحلة ما بعد الاحتلال .

الكلمات المفتاحية: دولة جنوب أفريقيا- التفرقة العنصرية- السياسة- شعار "بيتر هورن"- مرحلة ما بعد

الاحتلال- ادب مع بعد الاحتلال.

