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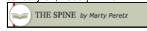
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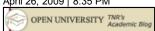
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16.04.2009

Cry, the Beloved Country

This morning, I attended a panel at the CATO Institute entitled, "Left Turn? South Africa after the Election." The referendum in question is the country's fourth general election since the end of apartheid, and will take place next Wednesday. As with every election in South Africa since 1994, there is little question about which party will win, and win big: The African National Congress of Nelson Mandela, now led by the far less reassuring figure of Jacob Zuma.

I've written about Zuma before, most recently here and here. For a colorful -- and somewhat more dispiriting profile -- see Peter Hitchens's dispatch in last weekend's Sunday Mail. To put it bluntly: Zuma is a disaster waiting to happen, and one can only hope that South Africa's resilient people, civil society and private industrial sector will keep the country afloat while he's in power. Contrast the near-lack of concern about what's about to happen in South Africa next week with the recent Israeli elections. That there can be endless agonizing about how Israel's new conservative government -- with its "racist" foreign minister -- will give the Obama administration headaches, while few people seem to care that the economic engine and political anchor of the African continent is about to be helmed by a demagogue, crook and accused rapist, implies that there exists a double-standard in how we discuss Israel in relation to other nations, that Africa is a mere blip on Washington's radar screen, or both.

Present at the panel this morning were Karol Boudreaux of the libertarian Mercatus Center, Bush administration Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Tom Woods, and Welile Nhlapo, South Africa's Ambassador to Washington. Interesting observations were made by all, but what was noticeable about the conversation was what wasn't discussed: the man who will be installed as president next week and what his presidency will mean for South Africa's future. When I posed this question to the ambassador -- specifically in the context of Zuma's voluminous ethical problems and serious questions about his fitness for office -- he responded that "it would be a mistake to base bilateral relations on the strength and weaknesses of individuals." It can be hoped that the relationship between South Africa and the United States, based upon shared values of democracy and pluralism, will survive the vicissitudes of individual presidential administrations. Yet the election of Zuma is part of a disturbing pattern in South African politics, and seems to be part of a deliberate policy on the part of the ANC to move further and further away from the

4/27/2009 3:59 PM 2 of 9

United States and Western Europe and into the arms of countries like China, Russia, Iran, and Venezuela. The most recent example of this approach was the decision by the South African government to <u>deny a visa</u> to the Dalai Lhama, a move taken to appease Beijing.

But after making this perfectly fair point, Nhlapo became accusatory. He said that to oppose the impending election of Jacob Zuma indicates a belief that "the majority of the [South African] people — that there's something wrong with them. ... You can't have so many people making so fundamental mistake." Well, yes you can. Electoral credentials do not automatically confer a reputation of respect for liberal government and the institutions that sustain it. The popular election of Illiberal demagogues has occurred throughout history and well into the present day (see Hugo Chavez) and the phenomenon is more acute in countries with huge wealth disparities and where a large proportion of the population is uneducated, South Africa being a fitting example. But personalizing purely political issues seems to be a habit of South Africa's man in Washington. When asked by a reporter from the Voice of America if the country's astoundingly high crime rate, deteriorating education system, increasing corruption, and many other social problems, constantly characterized by the South African government as a set of continuing "challenges," should instead be referred to as "failures," Nhlapo responded that such a charge "has to do with me personally." He felt it necessary to remind his audience that he had been born in 1948, the year the National Party came to power and that the country was still dealing with the scars of its past.

It goes without saying that the legacy of apartheid effects contemporary South Africa. But dredging up past injustices whenever the slightest criticism is registered about its present performance has become a crutch for the ANC. It is 15 years now that the party has been in power (and near-unchallenged power at that; it domiantes 70% of parliament) and it has very little good to show for it. Instead, we've seen the ANC thoroughly politicize state institutions, prop up a bloodthirsty dictator in Zimbabwe, and implement a HIV-AIDS policy that can only be described as insane and criminal. Now, they have chosen as their leader a man who sings a song entitled "Bring Me My Machine Gun" at political rallies and claimed that he had protected himself from infection after having intercourse with a woman he knew to be HIV-positive by taking a shower afterwards. If the South African Ambassador doesn't understand why people might have legitimate concerns about the state of affairs in his country, perhaps he should find a new line of work.

-- James Kirchick

Posted: Thursday, April 16, 2009 7:38 PM with 28 comment(s)

Comments

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ndmackenzie said:

-- It goes without saying that the legacy of apartheid effects contemporary South Africa. But dredging up past injustices whenever the slightest criticism is registered about its present performance has become a crutch for the ANC. It is 15 years now that the party has been in power

15 years is nothing. The Civil War ended more than 140 years ago but more than a few people in the South appear to still hold a grudge about being on the losing side

April 16, 2009 8:08 PM

dhauck said:

Umm... the fact that South Africa isn't a nuclear-armed country with multiple regional enemies that have threatened to wipe it from existence, one of whom is probably working on a nuclear arsenal of its own, which a right-leaning government might take into its head to try to bomb out of existence, inflaming regional tensions to the point where the U.S. will either have to start a third war or just abandon the region entirely - that just *might* have something to do with the disparity in concern between South Africa and Israel.

April 16, 2009 8:48 PM

iambiguous said:

CATO consists of libertarians. Either straight up or Objectivist challenged.

This makes them either authoritarian ideologues or ideological authoritians.

In either case, it reflects the weakest of minds. They are just one of many secular religions in our post-Nietzsche world that claim to worship the almighty God, Reason. Their owm for example.

As for South Africa, to the best of my knowledge, Nelson Mandela was not and is not a libertarian. And given the path he chose in transitioning from apartheid there he was neither an ideologue nor an authoritarian. This despite the fact that ANC was once part of the Red Menace toppling dominos around the globe.

I would be curious to hear Mandela's take on the ANC in South Africa today.

george walton

April 16, 2009 9:03 PM

jobeek2 said:

My JK count was only reached in the second para. I agree Zuma is a disturbing figure, and thus suspected nothing in the introductory para. But when the second para betrayed that, apparently, the single thing the author most acutely wanted to note about the South-African elections is that they reveal how *Israel* is unfairly treated, I scrolled down and presto - Jamie Kirchik. Who else.

I would love to read more about the South-African elections and the worrying portents involved - but preferably by an author who doesn't, first off, see the subject as an opportunity to grind his axe.

April 16, 2009 10:56 PM

Crock1701 said:

Didn't we just send Eve down there if only so that (among other reasons), someone at TNR would know about South Africa more than Jamie "I spent a week in Zimbabwe in College" Kirchick?

April 17, 2009 12:20 AM

Rhubarbs said:

jobeek, my Kirchick Quotient was reached at exactly the same place as yours.

This gave me a good laugh:

"Israel's new conservative government -- with its 'racist' foreign minister ..."

So Marty says that Lieberman is a neo-fascist, without quotes, while Jamie asserts with his scare quotes that Lieberman is not a racist. So either Lieberman is the world's first rainbow fascist, or we have a disagreement between Jamie and Marty on Israel. First time for everything.

Also, Jamie seems to be legitimately concerned that Zuma is a corrupt criminal. Well, apparently so is Lieberman, and so it appears was Olmert, and so it appears was Sharon, and as for being a rapist, one has only to look to Israel's most recent president to cover that base too. So this would seem to be an instance where the "double standard" Jamie implicitly complains about actually works to Israel's advantage, because the level of criminality in Tel Aviv seems to be if anything worse than in Pretoria.

(I must say, though, that despite my quibbles with Jamie's insufferable poor-Israel schtick, I find the rest of his post here pretty good. He doesn't persuade me of his entire thesis, and going to a Cato event and repeating what one hears isn't actually journalism anywhere above the junior high level, but this is otherwise an unobjectionable post. So kudos.)

April 17, 2009 7:31 AM

Rhubarbs said:

Also, I kind of admire the cheek of a white American saying to the entire black community of South Africa: "Dudes, Apartheid ended like fifteen years ago. Get over it already."

April 17, 2009 7:37 AM

jacksondyer said:

You forgot to mention the obsession some South Africans have with Israel and with Jews:

"Bongani Masuku Pushes Antisemitism Again"

"Our old friend Bongani Masuku, the international relations secretary of the South African trade union confederation COSATU, has been in action again at Wits University.....

"Anthony Posner, who was at the event, documented some of the choice phrases being recited:

"Away with Israel" "Away with oppressive regimes" "Amandla etc" "Viva Wits PSC Viva" "Viva Cosatu Viva" "Free Free Palestine." "Amandla" "We are fighting our own struggle" "Apartheid Israel is apartheid South Africa." "Viva, Viva, Viva, Viva". "Zionism Down" "Palestine will be free."

And there was the usual other stuff. "You can leave this country. We will defeat the racists" "I don't care whether it is antisemitic" "Anyone who handles goods to or from Israel...Beware!" "Your life will be hell"...."

blog.z-word.com/.../bongani-masuku-pushes-antisemitism-again

April 17, 2009 9:10 AM

jacksondyer said:

and here

"Fatima Hajaig: "I Meant to Say Zionists, Not Jews"

As I reported last week, Fatima Hajaig, the Deputy Foreign Minister of South Africa, delivered a speech at a Palestine solidarity rally that could have been scripted by a sub-editor on Der Sturmer. "The control of America, just like the control of most Western countries, is in the hands of Jewish money," she screamed, "and if Jewish money controls their country then you cannot expect anything else.""

blog.z-word.com/.../fatima-hajaig-i-meant-to-say-zionists-not-jews

April 17, 2009 9:13 AM

jacksondyer said:

More on Fatima:

"South African Deputy Foreign Minister: "Jewish Money Controls America"

"The control of America, just like the control of most Western countries, is in the hands of Jewish money and if Jewish money controls their country then you cannot expect anything else." These words were spoken by South Africa's Deputy Foreign Minister, Fatima Hajaig, at a Palestinian solidarity rally organized by the Cosatu trade union federation in the town of Lenasia on January 14th.

Jewish leaders in South Africa have now lodged a complaint of hate speech against her. Wendy Kahn of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies correctly declared: "Deputy Minister Fatima Hajaig had crossed all limits."

Observes David Saks:

Comrade Fatima's brazen invocation of the spectre of Jewish money exercising its malign behind-the-scenes influence in shaping world events was greeted with a particularly enthusiastic roar of appreciation by the audience. She even used the words "Jew" and "Jewish" rather than the code-word "Zionist".

In addition to such revolting conspiracy theorising, various other speakers at the Lenasia rally made threatening statements against the local Jewish community. This included calls that anyone with Zionist sympathies be expelled from the country, that "Israeli" businesses be boycotted (a list of Jewish-owned businesses is in fact now doing the rounds within the Muslim community and further afield) and that action be taken against South African Jews who served in the Israeli military.

As the consistently excellent It's Almost Supernatural blog points out, it was a shameful day in South Africa...."

blog.z-word.com/.../south-african-deputy-foreign-minister-jewish-money-controls-america

April 17, 2009 9:15 AM

jacksondyer said:

No wonder mackenzie defends South African squalid political culture. He'll defend any antisemitic country or organization.

April 17, 2009 9:16 AM

jacksondyer said:

"jobeek, my Kirchick Quotient was reached at exactly the same place as yours." Rhubarbs

these two are not that far behind mackenzie in their views.

hey guys if you hate KIrchick and Peretz there is always The Nation. Go post there. You be in your element there.

April 17, 2009 9:20 AM

Rhubarbs said:

First off, jackson, if you're calling me an antisemite, and you are, then I challenge you to slander me to my face. Or, to put it in language you might understand, cowards should shut up.

Second, I "hate" neither Marty nor Kirchick. I respect Marty more than may be evident, but find him to be frustratingly lazy in his thinking whenever Israel is involved, and sadly to Marty Israel is always involved. (I actually agree with Marty quite often, but just because I like the guy and agree with many of his positions, I'm not going to pretend his analysis makes sense when it does not. It's not a sign of friendship to refuse to criticize one's friends; that's a sign of authoritarian submission.)

Kirchick, on the other hand, is a disgrace to his profession, but young enough that there's at least some chance that he could learn to be either a real journalist or a good writer, or possibly even both. He's had a few flashes of potential achievement in both regards, always in circumstances involving significant editorial oversight. I make a sport of criticizing the kid because I think that if he takes to heart some basic lessons about the vocation of journalism and the craft of writing, he might just make something of himself in his chosen profession. Plus I make a point of praising Kirchick when he does well, as I did above with regard to this post. The single best thing that could happen to Jamie for the sake of his professional development would be to be banned from posting anywhere on the internet for at least two years. The medium encourages the worst aspects of self-indulgent bullshitism in even the best writers; and at this impressionable point in his career, working without constant editorial oversight poses a real danger to Kirchick's development.

The point of my harping on Kirchick isn't that I disagree with him -- I often don't -- but that even when I agree with him, as I mainly do here, he's simply too often a lazy thinker and a poor writer. I don't come to TNR to be told things I agree with by any lazy hack. I come here to read challengingly good analysis and excellent writing.

And, dude, sentences have verbs. "You be in your element there" -- really? Then again, I suppose functional illiteracy would go a long way to explaining the chip on jacksondyer's shoulder.

April 17, 2009 9:57 AM

jacksondyer said:

Rhubarbs said:

"First off, jackson, if you're calling me an antisemite, and you are, then I challenge you to slander me to my face. Or, to put it in language you might understand, cowards should shut up."

Quit vour bellvaching. Rhubarb.

If I wanted to call you an antisemite, a racist or any other such term I would do so directly and if you were standing in front of me I would do it to your face.

It gets boring reading your (and those of others here) anti Jamie tirades without engaging what he actually said.

South African political culture is in a pretty sorry state and we should speak honestly about it.

Jamie should be commended and not excoriated for talking about it.

April 17, 2009 10:14 AM

jacksondyer said:

"Kirchick, on the other hand, is a disgrace to his profession, but young enough that there's at least some chance that he could learn to be either a real journalist or a good writer, or possibly even both."

What makes you so competent to judge Jamie's or anyone else's achievements, Rhubarb?

You are a joke. Jamie has been posting impressive articles here and at the city journal website as well as the Jerusalem Post among other publications.

Where have you been positing?

April 17, 2009 10:18 AM

Geoff G said:

The best thing about any Kirchick column are the comments. And Rhubarbs' reply to jd here is enough to make me haqppy Jamie decided to tell us what he learned at Cato. Both Kirchick and Peretz would be worth reading, in their own right, if they simply wrote with the aim of persuading intelligent doubters, instead of seeking to fire up only the most monomaniacal, wilfully blind, supporters. More light, less heat - you guys can do it, I know you can. And as strange as it may sound, you may actually bring more people to your point of view than you do by insulting our intelligence and sense of decency.

April 17, 2009 10:19 AM

jacksondyer said:

Rhubarbs said:

"First off, jackson, if you're calling me an antisemite, and you are, then I challenge you to slander me to my face. Or, to put it in language you might understand, cowards should shut up."

"The point of my harping on Kirchick isn't that I disagree with him -- I often don't -- but that even when I agree with him, as I mainly do here, he's simply too often a lazy thinker and a poor writer. I don't come to TNR to be told things I agree with by any lazy hack. I come here to read challengingly good analysis and excellent writing."

You are modest too, rhubarb. Why should anyone here care what your opinion is of Jamie or any other writer?

If you are not "challenged" by him, don't read him.

The problem I have with posters like you is that you ignore the content of the topic in order to make your trivial personal points.

Got anything to say about South Africa?

April 17, 2009 10:24 AM

jacksondyer said:

"And, dude, sentences have verbs. "You be in your element there" -- really? Then again, I suppose functional illiteracy would go a long way to explaining the chip on jacksondyer's shoulder."

You are the last person that should be giving grammar lessons to people, rhubarb.

Pretentiousness isn't a good substitute for clear thinking.

In any case, given your "high standards," you ought to be reading only Samuel Johnson, don't you think?

Here is something of Johnson's from which even a blockhead like you could profit:

"I advised Chambers, and would advise every young man beginning to compose, to do it as fast as he can, to get a habit of having his mind to start promptly; it is so much more difficult to improve in speed than in accuracy."

April 17, 2009 10:37 AM

jacksondyer said:

Geoff G said: "The best thing about any Kirchick column are the comments."

Jumping Jehosophat, here is another grammar maven and friend of rhubarb. Hey rhubarb I'd be embarrassed to be praised by Geoff G.

Neither yours and nor those of Rhubarb and especially those of mackenzie have anything to offer an intelligent reader.

April 17, 2009 10:43 AM

jacksondyer said:

Geoff G said: "The best thing about any Kirchick column are the comments."

Jumping Jehosophat, here is another grammar maven and friend of rhubarb. Hey rhubarb I'd be embarrassed to be praised by Geoff G.

Neither yours and nor those of Rhubarb and especially those of mackenzie have anything to offer an intelligent reader.

April 17, 2009 10:56 AM

jacksondyer said:

The last sentence of the above post should read:

Neither your posts nor those of Rhubarb, and especially not those of mackenzie have anything to offer an intelligent reader.

April 17, 2009 11:07 AM

The Ignorant Populist said:

A Jamie post and a Jack thread. That's talkback double chocolate dripping in chocolate sauce.

April 17, 2009 11:58 AM

Geoff G said:

Then I stand corrected, JD - thanks for helping me see the error of my ways. Your analysis is irrefutable. You would make me feel even worse if you would lump me in with even more of the commenters here. I'd hate to get tarred by a comparison to williamyard, wandrey, woody, boneil, ratner, blackie, icarus, dylan, irony, drdan and all the other supposedly thoughtful people who think their opinions are worth sharing here.

Now I'm off to look up "grammar maven." I hope it's not an insult.

April 17, 2009 11:59 AM

jacksondyer said:

"You would make me feel even worse if you would lump me in with even more of the commenters here."

Well, here is one more for you, Ignorant Populist.

April 17, 2009 12:28 PM

jacksondyer said:

"Now I'm off to look up "grammar maven." I hope it's not an insult."

Look up subject verb agreement, also, while you are at it.

April 17, 2009 12:30 PM

Rhubarbs said:

But jackson, I did engage what Jamie actually wrote. I offered a minor quibble with his unnecessary and basically nonsensical whining about an implied double standard toward Israel, snarked a bit at the cheek of a white American telling black South Africans to stop whining about Apartheid, and praised the rest of his post. However, I can see why jackson is afraid to acknowledge my actual comments about Jamie's article: it would force him to acknowledge the criminality that plagues Israel's government these last years. Which is just as legitimate a concern for friendly foreigners as is the disturbing malfeasance among South Africa's governing elite.

I should perhaps point out that I see real improvement in Jamie's work over the last year, due I suspect in large part to working under a closer editorial watch from his colleagues than formerly. I would rather read ten people I disagree with who do good reporting and write well than one person I agree with who's a sloppy reporter and a lazy writer, and I see in the course of Jamie's work some reason to hope that he can be one of the former. It's fun sport to mock him a bit as a sort of hazing ritual and communal bonding, but I really do want to see the kid improve and succeed.

And finally, to jackson, while I stand by everything else I've written here, I do apologize for the grammar insult. That was bad form on my part. Just as committing embarrassing grammatical blunders can be a clue to others that one is posting in haste, with too much heat and too little thought, the same is true of me with regard to knocks on spelling or grammar. It was a stupid thing of me to write, and I'm sorry I did and personally sorry to jackson for doing it to him.

April 17, 2009 1:37 PM

jacksondyer said:

"I should perhaps point out that I see real improvement in Jamie's work over the last year, due I suspect in large part to working under a closer editorial watch from his colleagues than formerly."

This is still pretty snarky. No one cares what you think of Jamie's editorial skills. Give me a break. All your laughable editorial comments merely show that you are jealous of his success. He is young and you are old. He is successful and you are not. He posts under his own name and you post under the name of a vegetable.

I know you have a grand vegetable love which is why you embrace the rhubarb family.

This brings me to your quasi-apologia:

"I do apologize for the grammar insult. That was bad form on my part. Just as committing embarrassing grammatical blunders can be a clue to others that one is posting in haste, with too much heat and too little thought..."

How much thought is needed to answer one of your posts, rhubarb?

As for haste, I'll borrow a sentence from Andrew Marvell:

"Had we but world enough, and time,..."

However, lack of time is no excuse and if I made a typo, I made a typo. No big deal in my book and posters a little more charitable than you wouldn't even have noticed it.

April 17, 2009 2:25 PM

jacksondyer said:

Finally,

"However, I can see why jackson is afraid to acknowledge my actual comments about Jamie's article:"

How do you know I was "afraid to acknowledge it, rhubarb?"

It was a comment worthy of mackenzie which is why I ignored it.

"... it would force him to acknowledge the criminality that plagues Israel's government these last years."

You are wrong no criminality plagues the Israeli government. Some public officials have been indicted or are under investigations for crimes (mostly financial, though a former President was indicted for sexual assault) that they may have been involved in.

Israel has one of the most stringent, almost draconian, anti-corruption laws in the world and members of the government are often under investigation. The former Prime Minister Rabin was under investigation at one time because his wife had opened a checking account in the US while he served as ambassador here.

Is there a Western country which hasn't launched investigations of high public officials? Former President Clinton here and Chirac in France were almost convicted of corruption.

Are you showing a "legitimate a concern for friendly foreigners as is the disturbing malfeasance among South Africa's governing elite?"

Moreover, do you really think that the South African case is analogous to that of Israel?

The Lieberman case has become the latest excuse for Israel haters to use in their campaign against the Jewish State. Jamie was right to put the word racist within quotes. He is a thug but not a racist. Being a racist individual isn't the worst thing in the world, being a murderer or even a thug is worse.

It's interesting how some people will not acknowledge the antisemitism of Arabs because to them its part of their struggle against the Jewish State; yet most of these same people would never dream of excusing the anti-Arab feelings among some Israelis because it's part of their struggle against the Arabs who want to destroy their country.

April 17, 2009 2:25 PM

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